

Broadway Times

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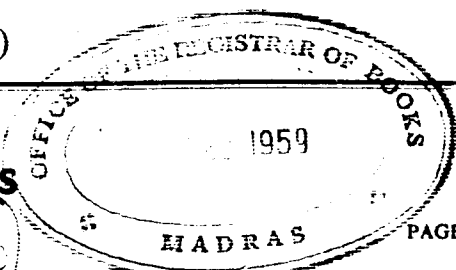
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BROADWAY TIMES

(MONTHLY)

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BROADWAY TIMES

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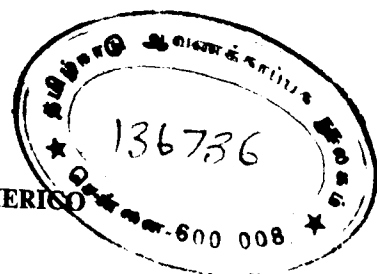
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Editorial

THIS MAGAZINE IS MAINLY
DEVOTED TO SOCIAL SCIENCES

One of the salient objectives of this monthly is to bridge the gulf between academic theorising and practical application. The people in academic occupations, educational institutions and the like, are likely to hold opinions with a theoretical bias. Those who are engaged in the management of Government Departments, Industry or Commerce are generally satisfied with the execution of their particular assignments and they shun writings of any sort. It is true that some do pen their opinions while engaged in practical fields. Very often, we come across a gap between these two spheres, the one with its traditional theoretical bias, and the other with its indifference and aloofness to writing.

BROADWAY TIMES will endeavour to solve this gulf to the best of their ability by having a panel of writers taken from both sides. They will compose both of academicians and men in applied fields of activity, Professors of Universities and Educational Institutions on the one hand, and persons engaged themselves as Lawyers, Businessmen, Government officials and the like, on the other.

We hope that by expounding the views of both these sections, we shall be able to give a better appreciation of the various subjects dealt with in BROADWAY TIMES. It is generally agreed that in India we do not have a proper correlation between our educational institutions and practical fields of activity, whether private or public, whereas in western countries we find a closer link between the Universities and the outside world. Very often, we find the appointment of University men on Enquiry Commissions and Government departments, thus effecting a closer link between theory and practice.

Secondly, it is our aim to devote greater attention to articles with an original zeal and touch while commentaries on day-to-day problems will also be accorded adequate attention. Thus we hope to encourage contributors engaged in research operations.

We intend to publish articles on the influences of some of our writers and poets in our several languages. The section on literature will be dealing mainly with this aspect of our culture.

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We are devoting a section for Law, Municipal as well as International. Under this head we will be spotlighting topics of current national and international importance.

In every issue we intend to publish a "personality" sketch. Local or national boundaries are no barriers particularly in this section.

Another regular feature of this monthly is a series. We begin our first series this month, "From Pentland to Prakasa a Long Shot." This will be the first of a series of four articles wherein the author gives a personal glimpse of the personalities he met and heard over a span of nearly half a century.

BROADWAY TIMES will include one sports article every month. Again the field of sports surveyed will be international in character.

We intend to devote a section for book reviews. We welcome review copies of books of a suitable kind, but we take no responsibility for the publication of the reviews of any particular book. Although this monthly mainly deals with social sciences we will be publishing articles of general interest by eminent writers.

We believe in objective writing, impartial and non-partisan. We do not encourage controversies of a political nature and it shall be our aim to present view-points of writers in the several subjects covered by this monthly.

The fruition of these aims and objectives depends on the co-operation of both the sponsors of BROADWAY TIMES and you mainly, the reading public. We hope that we shall be able to carry out these objectives to your satisfaction.

We deeply regret to announce the news of the sudden demise of one of our most valued writers in our panel, Dr. V. K. John, a brilliant academician and an authority on Company Law as well as an extremely successful lawyer.

FROM CHAOS TO PROSPERITY

BY

FR. F. BASENACH, B.Sc.(LOND.)

So much has been written about the economic recovery of West Germany that a further instalment on the subject may seem no better than one more glimpse of the obvious; still, there is no harm in recalling to the complacent or indifferent republicans among us how steep and thorny was the path over which the Germans of the Western Zones had to work their ascent from chaos to recovery.

Up to the day of capitulation, May 8, 1945 Western Germany had been part of a highly developed economic system, and the separation from Central and Eastern Germany meant the disruption of an organic division of labour and of the natural flow of goods between the industrialised regions of West Germany and the agricultural surplus regions of Central and Eastern Germany. The area of Federal Republic comprises now only 52% of the territory of the former Reich of 1937 while its population is, at present, almost a third more than it was in 1937. But in the first years after the collapse, even this reduced area, instead of being allowed to function as a single economic unit, was cut up into three separate entities isolated from each other—the English, French and American Zones. In addition to the disruption of a balanced national economy, there was the damage caused to the national wealth by war destruction and the process of dismantling. The influx of over nine million poverty-stricken refugees, the collapse of all confidence in the political leadership and the bad harvest and severe winter of 1946–47 exhausted the last reserves and brought on final catastrophe.

It is a matter of fascinating interest to the economist and the casual observer alike, to

view in retrospect the dynamic expansion that followed in the wake of Marshall Plan aid. Whereas the vicious circle of negative factors, if allowed to run its course would have led to total disintegration, American aid was the spark which set off an economic revival, jumping from sector to sector and kindling new life in the economic organism wherever it fell. In its way, American willingness to help, but, above all, the indomitable creative will of German industrialists and workers, of officials and employees, of professional men and last but not least of the unfailing housewives and mothers, have—since the middle of 1948—achieved the miracle of West German recovery and transformed that country into an industrial giant. In the eight years since 1950, the West German Gross National Product has doubled, the value of exports has quadrupled and that of imports trebled, the volume of employment has increased regularly with wage rates at some 80% above 1950, the surplus on the balance of payments has been of an ever increasing magnitude, reaching the peak of \$1353 million for 1957 compared to less than \$450 million for 1955 and a negative amount in 1950, the monthly average increase in foreign exchange reserves has gone up from \$97 million in 1956 to over 140 million in 1957 and by the end of June 1958 the reserves held by the Central Bank reached an all-time peak of \$5,772 million. These reserves represent well over 80% of West Germany's annual imports compared to a reserve-import ratio for the U.K. of 22% and of other West European countries at about 30%. Thus within a period short of a full decade, the West German economy has been transformed into a dom-

smugglers, to go ahead with their nefarious work. For the above reasons, purchase of gold under the Government auspices should be ruled out.

Another method suggested relates to the issue of gold deposit certificates and obviously this scheme should be operated by the Reserve Bank of India. Under this scheme investors will deposit gold calculated in fine tolas and the depositors will be given gold certificates or bonds carrying a specified rate and a guarantee that gold will be returned tola for tola after a specified period. This scheme will have to face the problem of converting the quantity of gold into monetary value for purpose of calculating the rate of interest to bond holders. The Government will have to fix the value of gold and since India is a member of the I.M.F. scheme she cannot offer normally a price higher than the official price of gold viz., \$ 35 per ounce. But it has been said in certain quarters, that India can adopt a notional figure as value, and if it exceeds the official price of gold as it should be to attract gold, she can get the permission of the I.M.F. In this regard it can be expected that much difficulty will not be met with, when the scheme is launched by the authorities. Once the value is affixed for the purpose of evaluating a certain quantity of gold, that price should not be altered during the currency of the scheme. It is also suggested in some quarters that like the small savings scheme there should be a limit to individual holdings, say a limit of 300 tolas of gold should be fixed. But this proposal will not be in time with the object of the scheme namely to draw the maximum amount of gold from hoardings. It therefore appears that to set a limit to individual subscriptions will unnecessarily restrict the utility of the scheme. To impart liquidity to the bonds it is suggested that the gold certificates should be transferable and marketable after a certain period. If this suggestion is adopted certainly the gold certificates will prove to be an attractive investment

from the point of view of middle class investors.

The success of the scheme depends on a number of factors. In the first place people who offer gold should be certain that they will not be subjected to inquisitorial enquiry by Government departments like the Income-tax department. Secondly these investments should be exempted from income-tax. Thirdly the rate of interest should be sufficiently attractive in the sense that it must be higher than the average yield on first-class securities. In this connection it can be suggested that the period of investment may be varied. For example one type of gold investment may run for, say ten years, and another class may run for fifteen years. Rate of interest offered will be common to both the investments up to the tenth year and beyond that the investment for fifteen years will carry a higher rate of interest. This will offer sufficient incentive to investors when choosing the period of investment.

Whatever may be the variants of the Gold Scheme we have to take note of many obstacles to the scheme. As already said this scheme received fresh impetus after a similar scheme was adopted in France which met with a qualified success. The chief use of gold in India is for ornamental purpose and the ornaments are mostly with women who lacking in economic independence prefer to keep gold in their possessions as hedge against the vagaries of their menfolk. These are not in the form of gold bullion and so these cannot be readily offered for subscription. In certain cases gold will be in the form of gold vessels used in religious ceremonies and images of gods and goddesses, which have great sentimental value and therefore will not be offered for subscription. In France, usually gold has been kept in the form of gold bullion and in spite of this fact she could mobilise only 2% gold hoards.

The gold mobilization scheme has posed a larger issue. People in our country, at any rate a majority of them have pronounced their traditional preference for gold for jewellery and this habit should be discouraged if we have to succeed in using the gold for monetary purposes. It is true just like any other reform it must go slow and a beginning should be made now. People must get convinced that a Government Bond which fetches them some income is equally good for many who prefer to have their small savings in the form of gold. It has been suggested that some type of state intervention to discourage gold hoardings in the form of jewellery will yield good result. But at the present moment it is better that the State takes a back seat and let public opinion bring about a change which will lead to a better appreciation of the role of gold in modern economy.

From 1931 to 1937, there occurred the phenomenal export of gold to the tune of 36,618,000 ounces. This is a pointer how the people will react to a certain situation like the increase in price of gold coupled with economic distress. We can mobilise gold provided, sustained and well informed propaganda is done in bringing home to the people that dormant gold has no economic value, and this gold can become activated by lending them to Government which will pay interest on the value of gold deposited. It is better a small beginning is made now and the question whether the gold now offered will be commensurate with the trouble taken should not discourage any pioneering effort. There can be little doubt that the development of the country requires sooner or later some method which will eradicate the evil of gold-hoarding which saps the vitality of the nation at many points.

(Continued from page 8)

rhetorics, no cataracts of rosy promises can shake the verdict of logic and history that a democratic order goes necessarily with economic freedom and that a nation will never remain politically free if regimented economically.

Germany has come a long way since its crushing defeat in the last war. A nation

that twelve years ago lay prostrate—a vast cemetery of broken hopes and ambitions—has risen again; new things are being born but in the midst of it all, a great hunger is being felt—the hunger for unity and though many storms have been successfully weathered in this decade of division, “the final rainbow has yet to appear.”

inant economic power in continental Europe, sharing with Britain an almost equal place in world trade and finance; the German output of 23 million tons of crude steel in 1956 equalled the combined production of France and the United Kingdom, during the same year the West German motor-car industry produced 1,073,084 cars, trucks and tractors of which 45.2% were exported, the corresponding British figures show a production of 994,866 units. Visible evidence of the new German prosperity is the fact that every third family is now motorized in some way, if only by means of the popular "Moped" a lighter and less expensive version of the motor-cycle.

Plain hard work, along with improved machinery, accounts for the rising curve of Germany's industrial production. It was not until 1956 that the working week in heavy industry, which includes metallurgy, chemicals and textiles, was cut from 48 to 45 hours while maintaining the same take-home pay. A recent news story provides a significant example of this hard work and industrial co-operation. Through their worker's council the 40,000 employees of the Volkswagen Automobile Company have agreed that longer working hours are necessary to maintain the company's position in foreign markets; shall we ever see the day when our Indian Unions will rise to similiar self-denying ordinance? But neither hard work nor Marshall aid nor technical knowledge could, by themselves have achieved this astounding recovery; it required an appropriate economic policy to bring out the best in Germany, and few realize the magnitude and gravity of the decision which had to be taken in 1949 when West Germany was faced with the alternative of a free market or a planned economy. The planning and organizing-microbe has forever been furiously active in the German blood and the idea of directing economic reconstruction according to a thoroughly comprehensive plan was the obvious

thing one would have expected. However this time Hitler had supplied an effective antibiotic the Germans had learned under him that a planned economy would mean the continuation of the previously existing system of irksome, all-pervasive, bureaucratic regulations that had stifled initiative, strangled the desire for achievement and snuffed out all sense of responsibility; nor was there again to be any surrender in the purely economic sphere of those spiritual and moral forces which thrive and are secure only where true freedom prevails; also, the poorer a country in material assets, the less can it afford to surrender these forces. Thus both for political and purely economic reasons the Federal Government decided in favour of a "social market economy" in which the State is firmly committed to establish certain basic principles for the economy and to apply the instruments of its economic policy in such a way that the free decisions of persons acting in all economic categories will nevertheless produce the desired effect. Hence the basic principle of the free and social market economy is competition the limits of which are reached where social or cultural questions begin to clash with the principle of unrestricted supply and demand. House building and the present system of housing allocation are examples of the method followed; both are at present under Government control because of prevailing shortages. If they were not, many families in need of a home would be exposed to great hardship. The achievement of the free market economy is effectually challenging the intellectuals who prophesied the demise of capitalism. But that system is, apparently, revealed as a good, alive and kicking servant so long as he is kept in his place and made to subserve the social needs of the economy and then only will competition and freely formed prices prove a sure protection of the consumer.

Of course what suited Germany might not do for India, still no wishful thinking, no

(Continued on page 11)

GOLD AND OUR PLANS

BY

PROF. K. VASUDEVAN, M.A.

The Second Indian Plan ever since it began had to face heavy weather. In recent months the steady drain on our foreign exchange reserves, made the situation so critical that even the Planners began to feel that the time has come to make the supreme effort to gather enough foreign resources to carry on what was termed the 'core' of the Plan. A frantic attempt was started and India's Finance Minister visited the U.S.A. and for the time being the situation has become somewhat less difficult owing to the foreign aid promised and to a certain extent implemented by U.S.A. and some European countries. But the future is not so rosy and the search for some tangible resources well within our grasp should have to be continued. In this context it has been suggested that gold, the alluring yellow metal which India has attracted to herself traditionally should be canalised to help to carry on the Plan.

From very early times, India has shown considerable ability in gathering gold bullion. Some of the foreign observers ridiculed the somewhat insatiable hunger of India for gold and it is ironical to note that a similar hunger was shown by U.S.A. when she began to suck away a huge quantity of gold and 'bottle' it during the inter-war period and thereafter. In an estimate arrived at by Reserve Bank of India the total private stocks of gold was placed at 105 million ounces which at the current internal price of Rs. 289 per ounce would be Rs. 3,035 crores and at the present international price of gold will be Rs. 1,750 crores. This huge quantity of gold to a large extent is held in small quantities by hundreds of people. These private gold hoardings need not be regarded as something out of the way,

but it simply underlines India's traditional method of saving when times are good, which was later (that is, in recent years) accentuated by the fiscal policy of the Government. It is said, that if by some device a part of this sterile gold is made to flow in to Government account then India's external finance can be strengthened to a great extent. The proposal utilising the dormant gold has received a fresh impetus from the success achieved though to a limited extent by France recently.

The real problem connected with any proposal for gold mobilisation, is the one connected with, a scheme which will appeal to the gold hoarders. It is doubtful whether it will be possible to make these people invest their gold by appealing to them on sentimental grounds alone. Something more substantial ought to be offered to these people. There is no short cut to this problem.

Several measures have been suggested. It is said that the monetary authorities should purchase gold in the open market. Even at the outset, one can see that this proposal is far from practicable. India is a member of the International Monetary Fund and she cannot offer a price higher than the official price fixed by the I.M.F., viz., \$ 35 per ounce which works out at about Rs. 62.50 per tola. The internal price prevailing in the bullion market is Rs. 115 per tola and unless this price is offered, gold will not come out for sale. Granting that the Government enters the bullion market as purchaser this will lead to monetisation of idle gold which will touch off a first class inflation and this will be bad for the economy. Further official purchase at the market price, will be an invitation for gold

THE ARMY IN A DEMOCRACY

BY

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

In the year that is coming to a close as these lines are written a number of democratic governments have been thrown out of power by the army. Sudan is only the latest—it may not be the last—of the democratic governments to fall before the army under General Aboud and disappear. It was immediately preceded in this experience by Pakistan under General Ayub Khan. Just a month before in October, General Nu Win had assumed supreme power in Burma here at the request of the civil power represented by U Nu the Prime Minister. A little earlier Marshall Sanil Thomart dismissed the civil government of Thailand and assumed supreme power. In Indonesia the rebellion of Sumatra and other islands was overcome by the Army Chief of Staff who has become the power behind the throne if not the power itself. Last July witnessed a coup in Iraq where the military dictatorship of General Karim al Hassem was established. Earlier Syria had decided to be united to Egypt under the dictatorship of Colonel Nasser who indeed had set the ball of army dictatorship rolling in Asia. As if to show that Asian democracy does not possess a monopoly of the process of democracy changing into military dictatorship we saw France calling General De Gaulle to supreme power on the shoulders of an army in rebellion. Fortunately for France this dictatorship has proved to be only a transit procedure. But more permanent have been the dictatorship of General Franco in Spain, of Salazar in Portugal which latter came into being with the support of the army like the evanescent dictatorships of Hitler and Mussolini. Across the Atlantic in the Latin American republics the displacement of democracy by a military dictatorship has been a frequent experience.

The causes for the overthrow of democratic government by the army in Asian countries recently are fairly obvious. It was the failure of the democratic governments that had been set up at the end of World War II to give the people the elementary services expected of a Government—security of life, liberty and property and to remove the obstacles and promote the conditions favourable to economic progress. The people do not require to be provided by Governments with food, clothing and housing—except in communist countries. But they expect bad laws like the Hindu and Muslim Laws of Succession and Inheritance which allow the subdivision of land holdings to the point of fragmentation into uneconomic holdings, customs which allow child marriages and therefore the reproduction of weak men and women who cannot work hard, ill conceived and ill organized systems of education which give to the country more drones than workers, to be got out of the way. Positively they would like Government to provide them with the peace and security that would enable them to earn their living, to put down the evil of black marketing and profiteering which puts unlawful gains into the hands of merchants and traders, and thus allow prices to go up, to provide the working classes with pure drinking water, sanitary surroundings in villages, roads to carry the farmer's produce to the nearest market or railway station, decent housing so that the resultant health and strength may increase the productivity of the worker. If these elementary needs cannot be supplied by Governments within a reasonable period of time, people in a democracy may begin to question whether the system of government which produces

many of these evils and does not prevent the others referred to, is worth preserving.

That is what has happened in all these countries. In Burma the Government has not yet, ten years after Independence, come to terms with the Karen rebels, or overcome the communist menace with a powerful Communist State hovering on its borders. In Thailand also Communist infiltration has not been stopped or controlled by the democratic Government. In Indonesia the Government instead of solving the problems of internal disunion (the recent Sumatra rebellion is evidence of it) an unprepared civil service, lack of capital for industrial development is wasting its time and energy on the intractable problem of Western Guinea. In the Middle East and Sudan democracy has had an uneasy reign because political parties have not been national enough and have been military minded and foreign intrigue has been allowed an influence which should not have begun at all. In Pakistan, splinter-parties based not on principle but on interest, corrupt and incompetent ministries and a selfish landlordism and a Pacific India from whom there was no fear of trouble which might have united Government and people explain the disappearance of democracy.

And the army has stepped in because the army has the power that enables it to step in and stay where it has stepped in. The army in these countries as in all States represents the physical power of the State. And the modern army with its terrific force is a formidable power. With the modern equipment of armoured powers, terrific artillery-fire, murderous air-power and modern training and discipline and unified command, the army had become irresistible—except before an army which commands greater force. No number of the civilian population, no mass movement among them, no combination however cleverly conceived and effectively organized, can stand before the offensive action of a modern army,

and the army steps in to take up the government of a State in order to save the State from destruction. If the anarchy and disorder that the failure of the democratic government has brought about were allowed to continue the State would fall an easy prey to a foreign invader. The vacuum created by the failure of a Government to supply the elementary peace and order would invite any foreign power to slip in and fill it. It is to prevent such a disaster, the loss of independence and freedom, that the army steps in and takes over the government of the State. The law of self-preservation endorses this act. And the people allow the army to do it. For to them army rule with all its drawbacks and disadvantages is better than no rule. And they know that no native rule means foreign rule. Political nature like other nature abhors a vacuum. The history of our country alone proves this truth.

How can the army take such a step and set aside the system of government of which it formed a part. It has taken a step outside the Constitution. Under the Constitutions of all these countries, the army was the subordinate of the civil power. It has disobeyed the civil power, it has broken the Constitution. Under the Constitution the civil government had the power to call the army to order and to obedience. But if the army should disobey—what then? The civil government is helpless against the army—even if it had the police behind it.

"I can call spirits from the vasty deep" said Glendower and Hostipur replied "Why so, can I, and so can any man, but will they come when you do call for them." The civil government may order the risen army to go back to barracks—but if they do not who can force them? The Constitution has been broken. But it has been broken to preserve the life of the State. The Constitution after all is a means to an end—it is not an end in itself. The Constitution is a means to a life of order, peace and progress, popular government. But

if the popular government cannot govern, it has to be laid aside and other means for protecting the life and liberty of the State has to be found. The Government under the Constitution having failed it has to be replaced by another Government working outside the Constitution.

Are democratic governments and democratic Constitutions therefore helpless against the army? Yes, if they do not live up to their claims and fulfil their essential duties. Every democratic government if it is to justify its existence and continuance must serve the purpose for which all government exists—not to speak of the special purposes for which democratic governments have been brought into being. In the Constitution of the U.S.A. the oldest national democracy, the Preamble speaks of these essential purposes. The Preamble to the Constitution of the U.S.A. says that the Constitution is established “to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.” Our own and the Constitution of Pakistan and the Constitutions of all the free countries of Asia state these objects and purposes in one part or other of their Constitutions. And if these governments are to live, they must try to fulfil these objects and purposes enshrined in their Constitution. If they themselves forswear their Constitution should they be surprised if their people or any other institution in the State treats it in a similar way.

Beside ensuring good government, democracy, if it is not to be turned out and sent about its business, it must cover itself with certain political safeguards and defences. The great constitutional safeguard it has in most Constitutions is that the civil power is supreme over the military. In our Constitution as in the Constitution of the U.S.A. that safeguard

consists in the elected President being the Commander-in-Chief of all the Defence Forces of the State and a member of the Cabinet, the Supreme Executive of the State, being in responsible charge of the administration according to the principles of government and by the requirement that the Defence Estimates and Appropriations without which the Defence Forces cannot be paid by the Accountant-General have to be passed by Parliament year by year. We have no Mutiny Act passed year by year as in England, but that is not necessary as we have the other safeguards and the Mutiny Act is explained by an historical event that happened in England.

Other precautions suggested by the historical experience of other peoples are not very helpful. Greek democracies tried to prevent danger from the army by appointing archons (heads of State who were nominated Generals at the peoples desire) and Generals for each campaign (also by popular election) and sometimes by way of abundant caution divided supreme military command between them. But that did not prevent democracy being changed into tyrannies as at Corinth and Athens. In Rome also they tried annual Consuls (elected by the people) and temporary Generals appointed by the Senate and pitted Consuls against military tribunes and divided commands and forbade Generals with their armies entering the city. But all these provisions did not prevent the dictatorships of the successful Generals, Marius, Sulla and Cæsar. And after the death of the republic more than one General was borne to empire on the shoulders of the prætorian guards or the frontier armies—although the Senate and the Assemblies continued to exist. In later times also in countries under parliamentary government, where the army was supposed to be subject to the civil power the army has been able to overthrow effete Parliament or unstable Ministries. Cromwell drove Parliament out of power while

Charles could not arrest five members. Napoleon with a whiff or grapeshot brought the terrible Convention of the French Revolution to shut up. Pronunciamentos in Spain have punctuated the history of constitutional Government in the 19th century. Latin American republics after Independence have found peace and quiet and progress in dictatorships set up or supported by the army. France has just now found salvation in General de Gaulle thanks to a military movement.

Are we then helpless against the army. No, not if we are wise in our generation. First of all the army must be recognized for what it is—a power. As a German political writer, Constantin Frantz, who opposed Bismarck's Prussianism and preached the federation Germany has accepted only after the cathartic experience of defeat in two world wars, the army represents the Might of the State as the Legislature and Judiciary the Right of the State. The army must be recognized as an institution of the State equal in prestige and power at least to the Executive, subordinate only to the National Assembly as the representative of the people. For purposes of constitutional and administrative convenience its subordination to the National Assembly has to be administered by a Defence Minister and Ministry. And the administration must be done in consonance with the dignity and prestige owed to an institution which represents the power of the State. Subject to the ultimate authority of the National Assembly it must not be subjected to the nagging interference of the Defence Ministry. Its autonomy must be respected—at least to the extent to which the autonomy of a Public Corporation is respected. It must have, *a propos* of what is happening now in India, a Minister all to itself devoting all his time and energy and care to the business of the army. Within the limits of the Defence Budget the Defence Chiefs ought to be allowed to administer the Budget towards supplying the needs of the

defence of the country. The Defence Ministry and Department ought to be reduced to being a liaison between the Army and the Cabinet. The cost of two Defence Administrations—the Army, Navy and Air Force Headquarters and the Defence Ministry and Department—could thus be considerably reduced. This financial and administrative autonomy of Defence Headquarters is prevented from misuse and abuse by the ultimate jurisdiction of the Assembly and the Ministry and the auditing of its accounts by the Comptroller and Auditor-General.

A further defence against the unconstitutional activities of the army would be to make the army as national as possible. The army (and by army I have meant all the Defence Forces) must be national in its recruitment and composition at every grade. That recruitment and composition must not allow preponderance of any region (north or south), any community (Sikhs or Rajputs or Hindu). Fairplay and justice must dictate all decisions. All army personnel—officers and jawans—must be educated in public spirit, in State spirit not only in military spirit. Big or small—for small armies with small armaments can be as bellicose as large armies with large armaments and the temptation to war would be greater for small armies cost less—the army must remember that it is theirs not only to wage war but to defend peace. And the army must be encouraged to engage in the general political life of the State. The soldier must be treated and consider himself as a citizen bound by all the obligations of citizenship and enjoying the rights of citizenship. Except for purely military offences, he must be subject to the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts of law. While for the efficiency of the army the soldier and officer have to be kept to army duties and work and not dissipate their energy in civil service outside after these duties are performed they must join in the general life of the

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COMPANY LAW—RECENT TRENDS

BY

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In writing an article on "Company Law—Recent Trends," it is my desire not to burden the reader with technicalities, but to deal with the subject in a language easily followed by laymen.

During the last hundred years, the one outstanding feature in industry and trade whether it is concerned with production or distribution of goods or services, is that business is done more and more not by individuals and partnerships, but by companies incorporated under law. In Britain, companies were originally incorporated by Royal Charter. The East India Company which ushered in British rule in India, was one such Company incorporated by Royal Charter. Later on, Parliament passed Statutes for incorporation of Companies.

The Indian Law naturally followed British Law and various Acts and Amendments have been passed in India since 1850 and recently the Parliament placed on the Statute Book, the Companies Act, 1956 which is mostly based on the report of the Bhaba Committee, on the English Companies Act, 1948 and on the Indian Companies Act, 1913 as amended in 1936 and 1951; the Indian Companies Act, 1913 being based on the English Companies Act, 1908.

The important point to remember is that a company incorporated under law in force in any country is a legal person different from its shareholders. Section 34 (2) of the Companies Act, 1956, corresponding to Section 23 of the Indian Companies Act, 1913 and

Section 13 of the English Companies Act, 1948 provides as follows:

"From the date of incorporation mentioned in the certificate of incorporation, such of the subscribers of the memorandum and other persons as may from time to time be members of the company, shall be a body corporate by the name contained in the memorandum, capable forthwith of exercising all the functions of an incorporated company and having perpetual succession and a common seal, but with such liability on the part of the members to contribute to the assets of the company in the event of its being wound up as is mentioned in this Act."

In all advanced countries, there are Statutes on Company Law. In the United States of America every State has its own Statute on company law. Although the Companies are incorporated in various countries under Statutes in force in those countries it is a common feature of these Statutes that they recognise as a legal person a company incorporated in any other country and the Companies Act in every country deals with foreign companies incorporated outside the country by giving it a legal status. The Companies Act, 1956, deals with foreign companies in Part XI of the Act, comprising Sections 591 to 608. Company Law in all countries have certain common features.

The Statute under which companies are incorporated in any country deals with the incorporation of companies, management of

its business and its liquidation. Of course there will be provisions in the various Companies Acts dealing with peculiar problems which are special to each country. Companies Act, 1956 makes elaborate provisions regarding managing agencies in India. These provisions are absent in Companies Acts in other countries. They were introduced for the first time in 1936. A large number of companies in India were promoted by Managing Agents, who invested the major portion of the capital and who naturally controlled the management of the affairs of the company. Abuses grew up. While the large majority of managing agents did excellent service to the companies under their management, a few tried to exploit their position. The Draftsmen of Companies Act, 1956 has introduced various provisions to control the managing agents forgetting that control by legislation of business has never been found to be a success. Crooks find loopholes in such controls and escape, while honest businessmen find the controls obstructive and oppressive. This has been realised in many advanced countries particularly in the United States. A Bill is now pending before the New York Legislature consisting of only 144 sections for re-enacting the Company Law in the New York State with hardly any control in the incorporation of a company or its management.

Company Law is a branch of law which should be understood and implemented by businessmen who are not trained lawyers and a Statute on company law must have the primary characteristics of simplicity and certainty. That it should have these characteristics is self-evident. Equally, if not more important, is that a Statute on Company Law must have the quality of flexibility. The law is the idea of a people of what is right and what is wrong. Law if living cannot be static. It must grow. The common law in England grew from precedent to precedent on principles laid down by Judges who were in intimate touch with the

people. The late Justice McCarty used to say that Common Law in England is still growing. The law based on precedents had however one drawback. It became static and did not keep pace with the growth of public opinion, but when it did so, courts of equity corrected the rigour of the law. In England, there are courts of law and courts of equity. How the rigour of law was corrected by Equity may be illustrated. Under the English Common Law a mortgage is a conveyance of a property by the mortgagor in favour of the mortgagee and the property will have to be reconveyed to the mortgagor on payment of the debt and the language used in this conveyance was such that the mortgagee was purchaser and the mortgagor was the vendor, with a condition that the property was to be reconveyed if the mortgage amount was paid within the time stipulated for payment. If the mortgage amount was not paid within that time, the mortgagee became the owner of the property. The courts of equity later laid down the maxim "once a mortgage, always a mortgage" and the mortgage could be redeemed at any time although payment was not made on the date stipulated for payment. Statutes in many advanced countries on company law are framed and enacted to satisfy the requirements of flexibility and courts of law interpret the Statute in accordance with the growing opinion of the people. In interpreting the Constitution of the United States, the Supreme Court of that country has laid down that the Constitution of the United States is what the Supreme Court says it is. You cannot find the Constitution of the United States by merely reading through the articles of the Constitution. You have to look at the interpretation placed on the articles of the Constitution by the Supreme Court. This is true also of company law in many advanced countries in the world.

Here in India, however, the framers of the Companies Act, 1956 who may be characterised as pedantic pandits, went into such details

that the Statute has become a most complicated piece of legislation. The Companies Act 1956 contains 658 sections with many sub-sections and 12 schedules. It is the longest Statute on company law in the world.

It lacks the characteristics of simplicity, certainty and flexibility. Not only it lacks these three essential characteristics of a Statute which ought to deal with the growing problems connected with business done by bodies corporate, the controls which it seeks to place in many matters particularly the management of its affairs are not calculated to help the growth of joint stock business in this country, but is calculated to hinder it.

The Congress Government have laid down as its policy the socialistic pattern of society. They want to socialise all properties, business undertakings and services and they are expanding the State sector by stages. Socialisation however introduced by compulsion is inconsistent with a democratic structure of Government and society as a democratic structure is against regimentation of the individual but guarantees individual freedom and right to private property. Pandit Nehru, our popular Prime Minister, is apparently against socialisation in the manner practised by totalitarian Governments and he is of the opinion that there should not be a doctrinaire approach to socialisation nor should it be based on out-moded ideas, but he has not laid down the programme of socialisation in any detail or generally. There is no doubt that he is at present groping in the dark.

I venture to suggest that the best agency of socialisation of properties and business is public companies. In a public company the ownership of property is for all practical purposes vested in the shareholders although a company is a legal person different from its shareholders. The management of its affairs is vested in persons elected by members in general meeting. This would achieve the

object of socialisation and at the same time a democratic pattern of society better than anything else. It follows therefore that the growth of public companies should be encouraged in every manner and the best encouragement is to remove all controls regarding management of its affairs leaving to the courts the jurisdiction to deal with cases of oppression or mismanagement as and when such cases arise. Two new sections introduced in the 1956 Act namely Sections 397 and 398 have been wisely introduced. These sections give unlimited power to the court to pass any order as it thinks fit in cases of oppression or mismanagement. If only the Companies Act provided for the skeleton for incorporation of companies, management of the companies' business and its liquidation and removed all controls and left the cases of oppression and mismanagement to the courts, we would have had an excellent code. While the recent trends in the Companies Acts in other parts of the world is to introduce the elements of simplicity, certainty and flexibility, in this country, the trend is just the opposite. Power politicians are fond of the exercise of power and patronage and to exercise power, they must introduce controls in every sphere of human activity forgetting the principle enunciated by a great writer that "the best Government is the Government least in evidence."

If we have to encourage and foster the growth of companies no taxes, in my opinion should be imposed on companies for many years in a comparatively undeveloped country like India. The company taxation in India today is the highest in the world. There is not only income-tax and super-tax (known as Corporation tax) tax on bonus shares, tax on excess dividends, tax on undistributed profits, capital gains tax and wealth tax; these taxes are increased year after year with the result that all incentives for the formation of companies is destroyed. We must always remember that the revenues of the Government must

depend upon not on regressive taxation, but on the growing economic strength of the nation. The economic structure of society is such that the burden of taxes on the rich is passed on to the poor. If there is no direct imposition on companies, the Government will not ultimately lose its revenue. It will eventually be paid by others. After the passing of the Companies Act, 1956 with its many controls and measures of taxation on companies, the registration of joint stock companies had dropped considerably and the capital issues permitted by the Controller would show that substantial portion of the capital is subscribed by the Government.

I would suggest that public companies be relieved of all controls and taxes so that there may be sufficient incentive for people to invest

money in companies. It would be a good idea in my opinion to make provision in the articles of association of a company that after payment of a fair dividend say 10% fair wages for employees and also a fair remuneration for management, the balance of the nett profits be divided equally between the shareholders and the management, and the employees of the company. In my opinion the one way to increase production in every sector and give purchasing power to the public is to give encouragement and incentive to unfettered capital formation and enterprise by companies, particularly public companies and destroy all impediments in their way. This, it is submitted will achieve the object of a socialistic and at the same time a democratic pattern of society and contribute to the progress and prosperity of our country.

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people. Army and army life must be part not only of the Constitution but of the life of the people.

The Constitution, the army must be taught to accept and respect. With a temporary elected President and changing Ministries, elected by party majorities, the Constitution is the one permanent symbol and figure and rallying point of our political life. It is the Ark of the Covenant in which the rights and liberties of a free people are enshrined. As such it is entitled to our respect and loyalty. The Army—officers and men—must on entering the army be called on to swear allegiance to it. And the civil power must set an example in loyalty to the Constitution. Ministers must not go about tampering with its fundamental ideas in order to suit their changing political and social fancies. If the civil power treats

the Constitution cavalierly they must not be surprised if others treat it likewise.

The final and surest safeguard of democracy against the army is good government. A democracy that fails to give good government within a reasonable period of time does not deserve to survive. It signs its own death warrant if it fails to govern. And the death blow had better be delivered by its own army than by a foreign invader. For then it would have a chance of recovery and restoration. The recent experience of democratic governments deposed by the army in rebellion convey a lesson to all democracies. We cannot console ourselves with the flattering uncton that it cannot happen here. It has happened in countries with longer democratic traditions, more democratic social organizations than ours. If it is not to happen here, things that have happened elsewhere that brought about this happening should not be allowed to happen here.

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THE NEW SOCIETY IN INDIA.

BY

PROF. S. RAJENDRAN, M.A.

In the history of mankind, many have been the bases on which society was organised in the past. Blood-relationship, difference in status as conquerors and the conquered or as free-men and the slaves, landownership and land tenure have all been used at different times as the binding forces in society. In recent years, however, after the introduction of money economy, the prevailing form of society was capitalistic. But uncontrolled capitalism caused so much misery among a large section of people that a strong reaction against it started and gave rise to socialistic and communistic ideals as foundations of society. The fight between these ideals and capitalism is still in progress and each side is trying to prove its own superiority over the other. It is in these circumstances that India is adopting a new ideal and is striving to establish a social organisation based on this new ideal.

Ever since the Avadi Congress (1955) the setting up of a Socialistic Pattern of Society has become our avowed goal. But few attempts have been made to explain what a socialistic pattern is and to show how it differs from the other forms of society that prevail in the various countries of the world. It has been described as a mere sop to a vague sentiment of Socialism. Some would call it 'Nehruism' to distinguish it from Socialism or Communism. Shri Nehru himself would like to call it 'Sarvodaya' if it were not for his unwillingness to exploit that word for political purposes. While speaking on the resolution on the socialistic pattern of society in the Subjects Committee Meeting at Avadi, Shri Nehru thought that the word 'Sarvodaya' was the best and the most expressive term for the kind of society envisaged by the resolution. He did not, however, like

to exploit that word for political purposes. Apart from its economic aspect, since 'Sarvodaya' was a way of life embodying the noble ideals taught by Mahatma Gandhi, one should not, he said, use that word cheaply. But, he stated, it was as clear as daylight that in an under-developed country like India, socialistic pattern can only mean the Sarvodaya pattern of society where there was ample opportunity for the growth and development of the individual as well as the society through widespread decentralisation of political and economic power.

So, in concrete terms, a socialistic pattern of society is one which offers ample opportunity for all, for development and in which economic and political power is as widely distributed as possible. That does not seem to make matters easy for us to understand. It does not tell us in clear and unambiguous terms what a socialistic pattern of society is and how it differs from the Socialistic Society on the one hand and Capitalistic society on the other. In order to understand the peculiar nature of this pattern, we should begin from the very beginning, i.e., from the Avadi Congress Resolution which was responsible for introducing this new concept in our life. The said resolution reads thus: "In order to realize the object of the Congress as laid down in Article I of the Congress Constitution..... planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society, where the principal means of production is progressively speeded up and there is equitable distribution of national wealth." The object of the Congress referred to in the resolution is, "the establishment in India by peaceful and legitimate means, of a co-operative Common-

wealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights." Combining the original object of the Congress with the object of the resolution at Avadi Congress, we find that the aim of the Congress is the establishment of a socialistic Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights.

This, in theory, is the nature of the pattern of society to be established as envisaged by the party in power in India. How they propose to establish such a society in practice might be understood by studying the resolution on the 'Economic Policy,' also passed at Avadi. This resolution calls for "a substantial advance on the economic and social plan with the definite objective of increasing production greatly, raising standards of living and having progressively fuller employment within a period of ten years."

What we gather from all these resolutions and policy statements of the Congress about the socialistic pattern of society, can be put down in the following terms. The primary requisite of such a society would appear to be the establishment of a social and economic order based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights. This equality is only possible when the society is organised without any kind of distinctions of caste, creed, sex or economic status. Secondly, such a society should ensure the right to work and a living wage to all able-bodied citizens. In other words, the socialistic pattern of society would create conditions for full employment. This the Congress proposes to achieve within a period of ten years. In order to create conditions for full employment and to secure a living wage for all the able-bodied citizens, systematic attempts should be made to increase the production of wealth in the country.

Political, economic and social equality, employment and living wages, increased production of wealth and the equitable distribution

of the wealth so produced are not the exclusive characteristics of socialistic pattern of society alone. Nowadays they have become the objectives of all the Welfare States. What distinguishes a socialistic society from a capitalistic society, I think, concerns mainly the ownership of the means of production of the community. In the socialist state all the principal means of production are to be owned by the state while they are to be the private property of individuals in a capitalist society. In the socialistic pattern of society it is the middle course that is to be followed. It would be a 'Mixed Economy' in which the private sector co-exists with the public sector, of course, under a certain amount of overall control and safeguard by the state in accordance with the national plan.

Lastly, in a socialistic pattern of society it is not enough if production of wealth is increased; the wealth so produced should also be equitably distributed so that the existing disparities are reduced to the minimum. For this purpose, the economic system should be so arranged that it does not result in the concentration of wealth in a small section of the community to the detriment of the interests of the whole. We shall later examine how this concentration of wealth is proposed to be avoided in both the industrial and agricultural sectors in the country. In the sharing of the national income attempts are being made to apply the principle of equitable distribution as far as possible. The real difficulty in this, however, is to find out what an equitable distribution is in actual practice. We do not know for instance, what the equitable share of the tenant would be in the produce he raises in the land of another. It is equally difficult to determine what equitable wages would be in the various industries. Neither are we able to find out what would be the equitable salary of a clerk, an officer or a teacher. It looks as though it is only by a trial and error method we can arrive at some satisfactory

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UTOPIANS ALL

BY

POTHAN JOSEPH

Very few people recall that after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, Jayaprakash Narayan actually suggested that both Ramana



Maharshi and Sri Aurobindo Ghosh should emerge from their seclusion and join hands with Vinoba Bhave to take over the administration of the country and deploy measures of love (*Amour omnia vincit*) for realising "the India of Mahatma's dreams." What J.P. now proposes after his tour abroad is not the result of a casual aberration or a novelty heard by the Prime Minister in their recent interviews. In his first press conference of November, Pandit Nehru was caustic about the counsel that Ministers now entrenched in office should quit and engage themselves in direct service for the masses at village level. The gist of Mr. Nehru's answer is that the running of the administration is not a job repugnant to the highest ideals of patriotism and service, and therefore he refuses to subscribe to J.P.'s conception of a highly spiritualised *elite* to master-mind the destiny of the Nation, the administration being left to a task-force of New Ministers from the

ranks. I have no doubt that back-benchers in our Legislatures would welcome replacements on the Treasury Bench where old stagers



harping on their sacrifices during the freedom struggle cherish retention of office as a fair requittal, although when it is transparent that many of them are flat, stale and unprofitable in a dynamic transition. Conversely the notion of the emancipated souls giving up their contemplative career and operating the Government machinery to succeed with a ceaseless series of five year plans, is something they themselves would dread. In an imperfect world there must be sanctions for the enforcement of the law and vedantic servants and *padayatra* yogis are just the people who would prefer to be left alone in their sublime meditations. Whenever I hear that there is no conclusive proof of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose being dead or the assertion that he is somewhere still alive, I could persuade myself that a personality who found sanctuary in the Himalayas in his youth could still be capable of detaching himself from the world and finding happiness in mystic seclusion.

On the other hand J.P.'s contention that democracy has failed in the East appears possible with the latter day crash of the parliamentary system over which one-man rule tends to assert itself under such doctrines as guided democracy and the abrogation of the Constitution. Here there is room for argument because of the flexible definition of democracy and the thesis of the middle way. The project of a hierarchy of mahatamic and supranatural calibre is in reality an example of escapism worse than Dictatorship. The ancient Romans, tired of oratory and pageantry more than once attempted to entrust the task of governing the Empire to the hands of choice spirits. In 60 B.C. Rome bowed to the first Triumvirate, consisting of *Pompey, Julius Caesar and Crassus*. De Gaulle is vested with overall power, since the people, sick of unstable Government, agreed to the Fifth Republic in the form of a Dictatorship. Rome tried it again through the Triumvirate of 43 B.C., the partners in power being Antonius, Octavius, and Lepidus. Again the regime was short lived and it is remarkable that at the *Finis* stage, the empire of Augustus rose on the horizon scrapping the entire scheme of things. In a democracy we have to muddle through the right of making mistakes being the prerogative of sovereignty. The structure of the Governmental machinery may vary and Pandit Nehru mentions that after the achievement of Independence, leadership has been rightly associated with the operation of the administrative apparatus by the best men available.

It was said of Abraham Lincoln that he was by no means a first rate genius but that among second raters he proved first rate. The Prime Minister at his press conference quipped that exactly for the reason that he was not a genius, he felt no inhibitions about heading the Cabinet surrounded by colleagues who need by no means blush if they are classed as mediocrities. Sir Mirza Ismail once observed to me that the business of administration did

not call for superb genius or terrific moral uniqueness. The problem of assessing resources and correlating means to ends according to the capacity of the people at large demand modest qualities, and as long as things are tolerably good, a nation should count itself fortunately placed.

When J.P. mourns the unfitness of Indians for democracy or the unfitness of the democratic system for the people of Asia, there is a primal discord in ideas. An enquirer once asked the Greek sage Solon for the draft of a democratic constitution, his reply consisted of a counter question: "For which Nation? For which country?" Democracy is not pivoted hide-bound in a vacuum and the moods of people change by the impact of events and experiences which are impossible to predict. If someone had advised King Herod to step down and hand over charge to a Triumvirate consisting of John the Baptist, Peter the Fisherman and the author of the Apocalypse, both Pontus Pilate and Vitellus, the delegate of Syria to whom Pilate was responsible, would have stared at each other in the manner of Roman Augurs carved on the gables of patrician mansions.

Jawaharlal Nehru as exponent of the Nehru doctrine may sponsor Disengagement as foreign policy, but in domestic matters he is not going to disengage himself from the pursuit of the Socialistic pattern. He too is prone to take for granted good conduct and frenzied enthusiasm on the part of citizens to hit preconceived targets, but it is remarkable that of late his mind turns to the importance of agricultural self-sufficiency by way of prelude to machinistic productivity as the key to economic solvency. There is a distinct change of accents without any abatement of the zeal to save mankind from fatal mistakes leading to the annihilation of war. Unconventional weapons of today become the conventional weapons

tomorrow. The discipline of Saints and Acharyas at the top takes many things for granted in human nature. Men struggling for three square meals a day and security for the common man are not philanthropic agents, but then J.P. wants all of us to function as Welfare Officers to take the turn round the corner to Utopia. The father-image created

by Mahatma Gandhi is still vivid in many minds under conditions totally different. The Prime Minister recently said "I may lose many things including my temper but never my nerve," which on the whole is a source of encouragement for those who seek progressive economic uplift without Communistic regimentation.

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way of dividing the national income among the members of the community. In the socialist societies the share of the workers is decided somewhat arbitrarily and the salaries for services also are fixed almost in a similar manner. Moreover the desired changes in such a society are effected through revolutionary and violent means. In a socialistic pattern of society, on the other hand, the decision has to be made and the needed transformation effected only through peaceful and democratic methods.

Increased production, therefore, becomes almost the starting point of the process of the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society. We can think of distributing only what is produced. Increased production calls for the development of both industry and agriculture. In the industrial field the building up of heavy industries, should, of course, receive top priority. State will have necessarily to play a vital role in the building up of such industries. Perhaps, it will have to take over the ownership and management of some key industries. At the

same time, if we want to increase production as quickly as possible, the private sector also will have to play an important role. It has now been generally accepted on all sides that for a long time to come the private sector will have plenty of scope in a socialistic pattern of society. In fact, herein lies one of the most important features that distinguishes a socialistic pattern of society from a socialist society because in the latter private sector cannot occupy a place of any importance — all the means of production there are nationalised at one stroke.

India is, thus, engaged in a huge experiment and is trying to introduce a new principle in the organisation of society. She is striving hard to build up a new society. An examination of how far she had succeeded in this attempt within the short period of three years after the Avadi Congress is impossible in a short article as this. That may form the subject-matter of a separate article.

MADRAS—FROM PENTLAND TO PRAKASA

—A Long Shot.

BY

P. C. CHERIAN, M.A.

(In a historical setting, the writer spotlights some of the personalities he met and heard over a span of nearly half a century—Ed.)

In the early decades of this century, Madras was the only University for the whole of South India, and all the colleges in this area were affiliated to this centre. Of these, the leading institutions were, the Maharajah's College, Trivandrum, St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, the Madras Christian College and the Presidency College, Madras. There existed a sort of keen, but healthy rivalry among these colleges. Each was fortunate to have on its staff certain first-rate professors of outstanding ability and it was the ambition of every college student of those days to study under any one of these reputed masters; to name a few, Professor Rangaswami Iyengar, Chandrasekharan and Sloss of Maharajah's College, Professor Subramaniam, Fathers Honore, Carty, Hass and Caius of St. Josephs, Rev. Macartney, Corley, Macphail and Hogg of Christian College and Professors Ranganathan, Earlam Smith, Fyson, Radhakrishnan and Chakravarthy of Presidency. What a galaxy of brilliant scholars, the like of whom we rarely come across nowadays. Father Basenach of Loyola College may be listed among these.

In 1918 as soon as the Intermediate results were out, I applied to the Madras Christian College for admission. A card was duly received asking me to interview the Principal, on a particular date in the last week of June. Coming from the mofussil to the metropolis for the first time I was naturally very much excited. My anticipation and curiosity knew no bounds. A senior student travelling with me was a helpful guide. By the time we

reached Basin Bridge the gloomy gray of the dawn was rapidly disappearing giving place to the bright smiling sunshine. I was having my first glimpse of the historic City of Madras. Passing Basin Bridge the sight of the myriads of railway lines some running parallel, others criss-crossing each other, the seemingly endless number of wagons stationed on the eastern siding, the huge crowds waiting on the arrival and the departure platforms, all these bewildered me. But my friend safely chaperoned me out of the train and out of the station.

Madras then and now

The Central Station magnificently designed with the clock tower occupying the central and the most prominent position was grand in appearance; now with the recent remodelling and the streamlining looks really majestic. Motor cars were not so plenty as they are now, but hackney carriages like pheaton, brougham, victora, etc., were easily available and had a dignity of their own. They have now become obsolete and out of date. The first thing that struck my attention was the crowded trams going up and down, a sight which posterity is not destined to see and enjoy. The ponderous building to the east of the station across the road now housing the Head Office of the Southern Railway was not there. There was only an open maidan sheltering waifs, stray dogs and wandering donkeys. The group of buildings forming the General Hospital has now expanded into a mizmaze. The statue of Dr. Rangachari, just at the entrance was not there. The original in flesh and blood was then

doing daily, scores of surgical operations and going about in his Rolls-Royce at break-neck speed, offering succour and relief to the rich and the poor alike. The roads were tarred, making it impossible for pedestrians to walk barefooted during the hot part of the day because of the melting tar. Even persons with foot-wears found it difficult to go about at that part of the day on account of the sticky nature of the road. With the substitution of concrete for tar for road surfacing this nuisance has once for all been removed. There were no electric trains nor any overbridges and trams between Mount Road and Central but only a detour *via* Chin-tadripet. It was after the construction of the overbridge to the west of the General Hospital, that a tram service was opened *via* the body-guard road.

Madras though a city of long distances, was not connected by Bus Service. In 1928 or so the Tramwaymen suddenly struck work and to save inconvenience to pass-holders the Tramway Company started plying a number of buses in the City, casual passengers also were given accommodation in the buses according to the availability of seats. When the strike was called of these buses were withdrawn. Taking this cue some adventurous businessmen got permits to run buses in the City, in different routes. Finding this a profitable business the people's Government, as soon as it came to power, took it over and nationalised the City Transport Service.

From the station we engaged a jutka and went straight to Caithness Hall. The Christian College was a pioneer in establishing hostels for students. The Fenn Hostel now owned and occupied by the Andhra Provincial Co-operative Bank, was exclusively for Christians. The first Students' Home now housing the Modern Cafe in Thambu Chetty Street, and the second Students' Home in Angappa Naicken Street, to the east of the College

was merely a lodging house with no mess attached to it. The inmates were free to have their meals anywhere, either in one of the hostels or outside. The Caithness Hall in Linghi Chetty Street was the latest and completely cosmopolitan. All these hostels were within a stone's throw from the College.

The senior students gave us a rough idea about the then Principal, Dr. Skinner, the other Professors and also the Principal's Secretary Mr. T. N. Kannuswami, a very interesting character. Even now as in those days, the Principal's Clerk, Secretary, Personal Assistant or by whatever designation they go, assumed or used to assume a role of self-importance at the time of admissions and good old Kannuswami was no exception in this matter. Dark and rather thickset, he used to come from Kelly's corner to the College cycling all the way at a measured pace with a tiffin basket attached to the front wheel and the butt of a cigar pouting from his dark lips. Nearing the College he would bestir himself and assume a pose and dignity all his own. At the Linghi Chetty gate he would solemnly get down, leaving the cycle in the custody of the waiting orderly and amble along to his room, without looking to the right or left in an unconcerned manner. We wanted to have some fun at his expense that day. As soon as he sat down we entered his room and wished him "Good morning" and placed the interview card on his table. He wished us in return; then we asked him "Are you not the Principal, Sir?" He replied "No, Dr. Skinner is the Principal." We asked him again "Are you not Dr. Skinner, Sir?" He said "No, I am his Personal Assistant." There was great authority in pronouncing the last two words. Then I requested him, "Sir, please put in a word to the Principal about us." He said, "My dear boys, you go and see Dr. Skinner. If there is any difficulty, come and tell me. I shall see to it." Then

we thanked him profusely and came out. We giggled and had a hearty laugh over it.

Then we went up to the Principal's office. I was ushered into the august presence of Dr. Skinner, a gentleman with a grave appearance and a deep throaty voice. Appearances have never been more deceptive. I had never seen him laugh but a kinder man you would not have met. He looked me up and down, from head to foot. He did not look up again. He allotted me a room in Caithness Hall and asked me to pay the College fees at the Bursar's Office. The dreaded interview was over. A face once seen he never forgot. He remembered each student's register number, hostel room number, and even the seat occupied by him in the class. While the classes were going on, he used to take his rounds in the College and if he found any seat in any class vacant he could spot out who the absentees was and if he happened to be a hosteller he would walk straight to his room. If he had been malingering he would drag him to the class but if sick he would immediately arrange for medical aid. He had no children of his own but he treated every student as his own. Stern in look, but soft at heart his frown was feared by one and all.

Next morning when I came out of my room, a lanky youngster of fair complexion wearing rolled gold spectacles smiled at me. From his dress typical of the tribe, "Mundu, Shirt and Thundu," I immediately made him out to be a Malayalee. He too must have recognised me as his countryman. I approached him and we introduced ourselves to each other. He was Mr. K. P. S. Menon who had just joined the post-graduate course. After a few days he left, having secured a seat in Oxford. I had heard of his brilliance as a student while he was studying in the C. M. S. College School, Kottayam and I was happy to meet him. In the Christian College also he kept up his brilliant record. In his batch, I was told,

that there were four distinguished students almost on a par with each other, N. R. Pillai, G. K. Chettur and K. Kurian. All Malayalees and in a line in point of merit, perhaps a nose separating the one from the other in the order mentioned. At the time of the University Examination Mr. Menon fell ill and it was even feared that he would not be able to appear for the examination. Somehow he managed to write all the papers but could not do full justice to any, with the result that he just only scrapped through while the three others passed in First Class. In those days a pass in First Class was a rarity and only the very best got it.

Mr. K.P.S. went to Oxford and made up the temporary setback by passing the M.A. in First Class with distinction and coming out First in the I.C.S. Examination with record marks. Mr. N. R. Pillai was all along a competitor with him and chasing him. In the Travancore S.S.L.C. Examination of 1914, Mr. Pillai was first in the State and he too passed the I.C.S. with distinction along with Mr. Menon and these two are at present, the star civilians, in the Administrative machinery of the Indian Republic. Mr. G. K. Chettur too went to Oxford but did not compete for the I.C.S. which he could have easily got if he had a mind to do so. He studied English Literature and passed his M.A. in First Class. On return he joined the Madras Educational Service and was appointed straightaway as Principal of the Government Arts College, Mangalore. Then he married one of the loveliest, probably the loveliest among the educated and accomplished girls in Malabar, Miss Nedungadi, to the disappointment of many young men who were on the run for her hand. This combination was idyllic but was too good to last long. The hand of death snatched away Mr. Chettur in the prime of life, thus putting an end to a most promising and colourful career. Mr. Kurian joined the

Madras Law College and after passing his B.L., joined the London School of Economics. While undergoing this course he successfully competed in an examination held under the auspices of the I.L.O. and joined its Head Office at Geneva. He settled down there and died a few years later.

One evening in the end of July when I returned to the hostel, I saw on the verandah of the first floor, Rev. Pittendrig, one of our Professors short and plump like, full of vigour and wit talking familiarly with a tall gentleman clad in tweed with a grey close clipped moustache and a white thick pith-hat on his head and a gold mounted malacca cane in his hand. Somebody whispered in my ear that the stranger was Lord Pentland, the Governor of Madras. I was astounded to see the Governor of the Province at such close quarters, visiting our hostel as an ordinary man, whereas in the mufussil we had to wait for hours together on the roadside not caring for the hot sun or the pouring rain, to have just a fleeting glance of this august personage, the representative of the mighty Emperor of India.

Born in one of the noblest of Scottish Highland families and brought up in their high traditions, coupled with his parliamentary experience he acquitted himself well. His silent and efficient administration won him the admiration and appreciation of the Viceroy as well as the Secretary of State for India. They knew that Lord Pentland had to steer clear through a very difficult situation, brought about by the outbreak of the first world war. It was rather unfortunate that his regime coincided with this troublesome period when the Indian National Congress under the dynamic lead of Mrs. Beasant had gained tremendous momentum, with the slogan "England's difficulty is India's opportunity." Mrs. Beasant in a whirlwind campaign organised the Home Rule league within the framework of the

Congress and the new movement caught the people's imagination. The daily paper "New India" issued from Madras under her editorship sold like hot cakes. In a sweep she eclipsed all the other national leaders in popularity and she was acclaimed the uncrowned queen of India. The Government smelt danger and Lord Pentland much against his will, had to order the arrest of Mrs. Beasant and her co-workers George Arundale and Wadia. She was also charged with sedition and spreading disaffection among the people against the Government established by law. The war came to an end before Lord Pentland's term expired and he had therefore much to his mental relief the pleasure of ordering the release of Mrs. Beasant and company.

There was great jubilation everywhere over the release of Mrs. Beasant and a public meeting in honour of the released leaders was arranged in the Y.M.I.A. Hall. They came to the meeting in the company of Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer who presided on the occasion. The hall was thickly packed, mostly with students. The audience stood up and welcomed the leaders with prolonged applause as they appeared on the dais.

Even in my High School days I had heard of Mrs. Beasant in connection with the theosophical movement, but more prominently in connection with what is known as "the Krishnamurthy Case." This was the first occasion I had the pleasure of seeing her. A gracious and graceful looking lady, past middle age, clad in white flowing apparel, with short curly and silvery hair, a blooming face of ethereal beauty of her younger days and her inexhaustible energy, vigour and valiant spirit, of average height on the plumpy side, she had a sort of sharp but seraphic look. One of the founders of the Fabian Society, she had closely associated with Bernard Shaw and the Webbs and had also been one of the promoters of the Women's Suffragette Movement. A restless

spiritual soul, the Vedic culture of India lured her to this place where Madame Blavatsky and Bishop Leadbeater had already settled down in Adyar preaching and teaching the Gospel of theosophy. Having founded the Benares Hindu University she came down South and joined Blavatsky and Leadbeater as a Triumvirate in popularising theosophy. Her active participation in policies and her glorification therein were subsequent events.

In the famous Krishnamurthy Case, she conducted her own defence while that genius of a Lawyer Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer led the prosecution. She lost the case here. Undaunted she took it to the Privy Council, and got a verdict in her favour. But the upshot of it was that Mrs. Beasant and Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer came to admire each other's talents, became thick and fast friends.

With the appearance of Gandhiji in the firmament of Indian politics Mrs. Beasant suffered gradual eclipse. The two fundamentally differed. She appealed to the intelligentsia while he appealed to the masses. Though she advocated home-rule, she never wanted India to sever her connection with the Empire, whereas he sponsored complete independence. Further she vehemently protested against his boycott of foreign goods. She also strongly deprecated and disapproved of satyagraha as a means to be adopted in a political struggle. Like an avalanche he swept off all opposition. Mrs. Beasant, a wise woman nosing the trend of coming events, retired to her cosy corner in Adyar, disillusioned and disappointed. One of the greatest orators of all time in the English language it was her whirlwind campaign that revitalised the Congress as a power to be reckoned with and brought it to the forefront as a militant force in the national struggle. Her speeches were models of oration and the final peroration would invariably be a masterpiece of eloquence, a long-winded sentence composed of rhythmic periods of scintillating

phrases culminating in loud applause from the audience. There is only another person whom I have heard who could almost speak with such ease, facility and effectiveness and that is Father Jerome D'Souza who was Rector of the Madras Loyola College for some time. Mrs. Beasant prepared the ground for Gandhiji to tread. Memories are short and I fear that the Republic of India has not recognised in a fitting manner the invaluable services rendered by Mrs. Beasant, for the cause of India in her epic fight for freedom, but the Benares University and the Theosophical Society at Adyar are standing monuments of her stupendous work. Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer's fame had already reached us before we came to Madras but I was seeing him for the first time. A man of average height and girth with a round bright face, a remarkable prominent nose and a pair of big expressive eyes, he wore China silk suits with a closed coat and a white turban on his head, he had an extraordinarily striking personality. He appeared to be restive as a spirited race horse at the starting gate. Later on I came to hear more about him. The only child of his parents he was born not with a silver spoon but a golden spoon in his mouth. His father Mr. Pattabirama Iyer, hailing from a village by name Chetput in North Arcot District was a brilliant student and created more than one record in the University but his illustrious son went one better. Pattabirama Iyer commanded an extensive practice at the Madras Bar. For his residence he acquired a big plot of land in Eldham's road and put up a fine building naming it "The Groove" where his son, now Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer still resides.

Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer had his early education in the Wesley School, Royapettah and the area from the 'Groove' to the school was sparsely populated. On either side of the road there was overgrown vegetation giving cover to undesirable characters. Instances of high-

way robbery and assault were not uncommon on this road. Story goes that he used to go to the school in a brougham escorted by two body guards. Every evening the anxious mother would be looking out for the boy's return and as soon as she sighted the brougham she would praise God for His mercies. The horse as soon as it was unharnessed would run to the portico where the good lady would be waiting for it with a bun or a loaf of bread in her hand in token of gratitude for having brought her boy back home safely. Throughout his educational career he had never been second in any examination. Usually such brilliant students would be bookworms, but Ramaswamy Iyer was an exception. He took a lively interest in extra curricular activities. He had won prizes for flat races and had been good in tennis. He also took part in College Dramas and later joined the Suguna Vilasa Sabha and acted occasionally as an amateur. He could have easily topped the list in any competitive examination but his father fully aware of the great talents of the boy and envisaging the unlimited scope of an independent profession like Law, insisted on his son following in his foot steps. In an extremely favourable set-up he started practice at the Madras Bar. While others laboured for years together to rise up in the profession he shot up to the top in a vertical position. With the "Krishnamurthy Case" he was talked about all over India. For a young Lawyer this sort of blazing success was something unprecedented.

Mrs. Beasant diverted him to politics and with his nomination as General Secretary of the Indian National Congress he shot out as an all-India figure. Government were not slow to realise the dangerous potentialities of this young talented lawyer, if allowed to go on unchecked and therefore like, Tarquin of old, took steps to nip it in the bud. He was offered the Advocate-Generalship of Madras which was too tempting for an ordinary mortal

to decline. He accepted it and from that day he was lost to the Congress, a tragic decision as far as the nation was concerned. From Advocate-Generalship he was elevated as Law Member in the Governor's Executive Council, a post which he held with marked distinction. Lord Willingdon, the then Governor had supreme confidence in his loyalty and ability. He was responsible for introducing most of the Hydro-Electric Schemes in the Madras State, in the teeth of opposition, and now having enjoyed their benefits people have begun to realise what a far-seeing statesman he was and he is. At a time when Europeans looked down upon Indians and European Officers had a sort of contempt for Indian Officers even if they happened to be their superiors, Mr. Ramaswamy Iyer showed them their right places. He never tolerated arrogance nor did he allow any one to defy authority. It was a convention in those days that whenever Members of the Executive Council passed through the Headquarters of a district, all the officers from the Collector downwards should meet them. Once he was passing through Trichinopoly by train and all the officers went to the station, except the European Collector. Immediately he called his steno and dictated a D.O. something as follows: "I believe you are aware of the convention that all officers at Headquarters including the Collector ought to meet an Executive Council Member whenever he passes through the station. I had my tour programme despatched to you sufficiently in advance and you cannot therefore plead ignorance of my visit. I am astonished at the want of decorum exhibited by a senior officer of your rank. Please explain your absence and show cause why such remissness on your part should not be taken to the notice of His Excellency for suitable action. If no reply is received within three days it will be deemed that you have no explanation to offer and further action will be taken against you." Back came the reply with profuse apologies. The Collector

also took care to write to the Chief Secretary to request him to intercede on his behalf if the Member still chose to be in a militant mood. The Chief Secretary had a talk with Ramaswamy Iyer and the matter was dropped. He was in additional charge of the Vice-Chancellor's duties for some time. He was as usual knighted and in due course became the dominant figure in the Council. That speaks volumes for in those days for an Indian to achieve that position was something unique.

When his term of office in the Executive Council expired he resumed his practice, not as an ordinary practitioner but mostly as a consultant in which capacity he had occasion to advise some of the Princes and Rajahs. One such client happened to be the Maharajah of Travancore then a minor, the State being ruled then on his behalf by the senior Rani, his aunt. Thus began an association with Travancore which lasted more than fifteen years studded with historical events, first declaring the State as independent, but finally agreeing to accede the State to the Union. His first entry into Travancore had been about four decades ago in connection with the Malankara Syrian Church Case when he was briefed by the Patriarch's party and opposed by that equally famous lawyer Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer. Though both C. P. Ramaswami Iyer and Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer were top ranking lawyers it was C. P. who was the cynosure of all eyes. He created a sensation in the court by his spruce appearance, his glamorous ways, dramatic poses and his attitude of non-chalance and superior air. His opponent suffered in contrast except in the matter of brains and legal knowledge. It was an epic battle between two giants.

Lord Willingdon after his full term of five years in Madras went home and after some time came again, this time as Viceroy. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer's influence with the Willingdons was well-known. He had also sufficient pull in the Political Department. He took

up the case of the Yuvarajah of Travancore with the Political Department and got him installed on the gadi much earlier than expected. In return as it were, he was appointed Constitutional Adviser to the Rajah in view of his youth and inexperience, although there functioned then as Dewan and Executive Head of the State Sir Mohamed Habibullah a retired Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The latter found his position embarrassing yet continued to hold his office and when he relinquished it, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer was appointed as Dewan abolishing the newly created post of Constitutional Adviser.

"Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely," so goes the saying. As the de facto ruler of the State the dictatorial powers enjoyed by him made him to commit certain errors which eventually marred his future prospects in the country. A few such instances are noted below:—(1) His attempt to suppress the State Congress which was already affiliated to the Indian National Congress. Of course his loyalty to the Ruling family would have prompted him to do so, not that he was less patriotic—but that cut the ground from under his own feet. (2) His reported threat that he would have Gandhiji arrested and placed in solitary confinement in the High Range of Travancore if he ever stepped into the State in connection with the Vaikom Satyagraha. (3) His taking over power as a General and ordering the shooting of Vayalar. (4) His alleged complicity in bringing about the crash of the Travancore and Quilon Bank. (5) His declaration of Independence of the Travancore State when Integration of States was under discussion and the appointment of his Lieutenant Karim Sahib as Ambassador of the State in Pakistan. (6) His sarcastic reference to the beautiful sisters of Pandit Nehru, in a speech at Trivandrum which was not considered to be in good taste.

The Hydro-Electric Scheme introduced by him in the State, the concreting of the main

central road, the nationalisation of Transport and the installation of the Travancore University are all the direct achievements of his stewardship, a proof of his vision and statesmanship. An equal of Motilal Nehru and Tej Bahadur Sapru, he could never be expected to go to the extent of comparing Motilalji with Dasaratha and his illustrious son to Sri Rama. Throughout his regime there existed a sort of tension between the administration and the State Congress, representing the people with the results that the beneficial measures given effect to by him were not assessed or evaluated in their proper perspective.

A versatile genius, a voracious reader, a scholar of the highest quality, a master of many languages, an eminent lawyer and an outstanding statesman it is a pity that the Union Government has not yet taken advantage of his services for the benefit of the country. A membership here or there in a committee headed by men who are in no way superior to him, nor even equal to him, is not a proper recognition of talents of the highest order. The loss is not his but the country's.

To illustrate my point I might say that there is a general feeling in the country that in the United Nations Assembly the Kashmir

issue had not been properly handled by India in the initial stage. Ill-begun is half lost. Mr. Gopalaswamy Iyengar though a very able administrator, was not the man to do such a job. He would have been superb in noting, drafting or in making out a good case on paper but not being trained in the art of advocacy, especially before such august bodies, he suffered by contrast. In fact Sir C. P. would have been the right answer for Mr. Zafrullah Khan. He would have excelled in such a role. In recognition of his scholarship the honorary degree of Doctorate has been conferred on him. An intellectual aristocrat by talents, knowledge and experience, he is head and shoulders above any of the living statesmen in India including Pandit Nehru, and the Great Rajaji. It is a tragedy that an outstanding person of his calibre is denied opportunities to serve the country while mediocrities are given free play. Of course it will be difficult to fit in such a man in a team of mediocrities but he could admirably serve as a coach or adviser. Though old in years he is young in spirit and is good at least for ten years more. Some evil spirit seems to have crossed his path, otherwise he would have been the most dominant figure in Indian politics. *(to be continued)*

GEOGRAPHY AND RELIGION

BY

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On a careful analysis and examination of the manifold legends and beliefs in any religion, it would be found that a large number of these are closely associated with environmental and geographic factors. To cite a few examples, have you wondered why among all the great religions of the world the three religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam alone picture Hell as hot? The answer to it lies in the simple truth that these three religions originated either in the desert or on the border land of the desert. It was a good preacher who brought home to his audience ideas, ideals and analogies with which they were familiar. To the peoples who inhabited these regions there could no punishment more severe than being roasted alive in the heat of the burning desert. Interestingly enough, if we look at the concept of Hell in other religions we find a peculiar but interesting result that all Hells are not hot. The pre-Christian Scandinavians and Greenlanders are supposed to have had descriptions of Hell as a region encased in snow and ice. To a Norseman a hot Hell certainly sounded too good to be a Hell at all, nay, it was almost a Heaven. There is a story centuries old, which states that an ardent Christian Missionary in attempting to proselytize the Norsemen gave them in his sermon a picture of the Christian Hell burning with eternal heat and fire, but when he had finished it one of the more intelligent members of his audience stood up and asked him whether they had to do all these mean and bad things he had suggested to go to that warm nice place of which he was speaking.

The Holy Koran written by Mohammed in the central desert of Arabia depicts Heaven as a region abounding in shade and soothed

by the sweet sound of running water, indeed, and an exact counterpart of the Christian Hell. It is certain that a careful study of world literature would yield a surprising variety of Heavens and Hells, each with a geographic explanation.

To cite another example, again taken from the Holy Bible, is the rather peculiar description of Heaven found in the Book of Revelations as a walled city. If Heaven is a place to which only the righteous can have entrance one fails to see why it should be walled, for those within are not likely to get out and those without will find it impossible to get in, even if there were no walls. But, after a thousand years of war in Palestine during which the country served as a football for Empires and as a high road for Conquerors does it surprise anyone that a walled city offering security and protection becomes the ideal to look forward to. Consequently even Heaven becomes a walled city.

Hinduism and the associated religions of Buddhism and Jainism which originated in India, in the land of agricultural prosperity are those in which there is no definite picture of Hell. Often, the punishment for one's sins in this world is only to be born again, probably in a lower status or in a lower caste, or as an animal, or even as a material object like a tree. On the other hand if one were to lead a virtuous life he would be elevated in his next birth by being born in a family of higher status and in a higher caste. Teachings of these religions thus lead us to believe that there is a perpetual attempt on the part of the human soul to be uplifted and the final goal appears to be Nirvana-

union with Brahman or God, a communion with the Absolute—the Perfect state of Bliss.

It is not only in the picture of Hell and Heaven that religious books abound in depicting geographical phenomenon. It must be remembered that most books of religion are also books of history, the Old Testament in many places is nothing more than the history of the Jewish race, narrating the various vicissitudes through which it had passed from the beginning of time. It records several natural phenomena and amongst them the story of the great flood and Noah's Ark are perhaps the most familiar. Religious embellishment is given to all such legends by attributing them to a super-human power.

In India we find a large number of religious beliefs, some of which could be easily accounted for by Geography. Most rivers in India are looked upon as gifts of God and as a result thereof they have attained a considerable amount of religious sanctity, a fact which is easily explained when one remembers the sub-arid nature of the region and the dominance of the rivers in supplying water artificially to meet the needs of agriculture. Amongst the rivers of India, the Ganga is easily the most sanctified of all, so sanctified that even the worst sinner has only to go and bathe in its holy waters to get his sins washed away and if any one were to die on its banks within seven Khas of Varanasi (Banaras), his soul will be admitted directly into the Heaven of Siva. Have you wondered why amongst the manifold rivers the Ganga alone should have this supreme sanctity? Traditionally the Ganga is supposed to take its origin at Lake Manasarowar, beyond the Himalayas. But a careful study of the topographic map of the region will show that the Ganga is a sub-Himalayan river and not a trans-Himalayan one. In other words the Ganga rises on the southern slopes of the Himalayas on the foot-hills, far from Lake Manasarowar. Our Sanskrit pandits however have

an easy way of getting over this difficulty by suggesting that there is a subterranean link between the source of the Ganga in India and Lake Manasarowar in Tibet. Interestingly enough, it is only the Indus and the Brahmaputra which rise beyond the Himalayas and cut across the great belt of these mountains but neither of them has any sanctity comparable to that of the Ganga; it may be a matter of surprise to some that the Jamuna is actually longer than the Ganga, it carries more waters than the Ganga and its waters are much clearer and free from silt compared to that of the Ganga. But all the same the Jamuna is only a tributary and the Ganga is the main river.

A careful analysis of the topographical and geological maps of the Siwalk Hills (the foot-hills of the Himalayas) shows that great changes have taken place in the drainage system of North India since very late tertiary times, sometimes even resulting in a complete reversal of drainage. Along the foot of the Himalayas is a long thin belt of deposits extending from Assam in the east to the Kumaon hills of the Punjab, steadily widening westwards. Geologists and geomorphologists are in perfect agreement that this could only be ascribed to a river which was flowing north-westwards, for only then could its deposits become wider and deeper towards the north-west. Various names have been suggested to this north-westward flowing river but perhaps the name Indo-Brahm coined by Pascoe, to denote the conjoint flow of the two rivers Indus and Brahmaputra is the most appropriate. It is therefore possible as a result of very recent earth movements in North-western Punjab this drainage system of the Indo-Brahm, that is, the Brahmaputra flowing north-westwards along the present course of the Ganges to meet the Indus and then flowing south-westwards into the Arabian sea, was completely dismembered to create three independent units, (i) the present Indus (ii) the five tributaries in the Punjab and (iii) the

Gangetic system now flowing south-eastwards to the Bay of Bengal.

The elevation of the Potwar into a plateau converted the north-western section of the river into an independent drainage system with the Sutlej as its easternmost tributary. The main river probably was flowing along the continuation of the present course of the Jamuna through the bed of the Soan into the Indus. But as a result of these elevatory movements there was a reversal of drainage and instead of the rivers flowing north-westwards in the Gangetic tract, they change their direction completely and find an exit east into the Bay of Bengal. Do we not see in this a perfect example of a miracle? The Ganga which was flowing north-westwards, almost in the twinkling of an eye, starts flowing south-eastwards, in a completely reverse direction.

Primitive men who inhabited these regions must have found in the behaviour of this river an inexplicable phenomenon and it could only be natural for him to rush to the great learned Pandit and seek an explanation. For, after all from time immemorial, it was the Pandit the Priest, and the Monk who alone knew the secrets of the Universe, whether it be of man or God. And what explanations could the poor Priest offer? However learned he was in his scriptures, he could not understand this natural phenomenon of a vertical uplift in the path of a river resulting in a reversal of drainage. So he turns round and answers the question in the simplest way that it is an act of God, indeed a practice which perhaps is followed even today by the so-called learned and erudite persons. They would have us believe that it is through these miracles that the Lord manifests Himself and is it surprising then that the places through which the Ganga flows across the plain have through the ages become the Holy of the Holies. It emerges out from the Himalayas at Haridwar, literally means Shiva's door, the river flows from the feet of the Almighty.

From time immemorial therefore, the Ganga becomes the most sanctified of all the rivers and its banks have been the goal of pilgrims from all over India.

There is a very interesting tradition—the tradition of the Tiruveni, which suggests that the three rivers, Ganga, Jumuna and Saraswathi join together at Prayag (modern Allahabad) but at the present day we find only two rivers, the Ganga and the Jumuna. The Sanskrit Pandit has a simple explanation; he states that the third river Saraswathi makes a subterranean connection with the Ganga at this spot, indeed an exact replica of the traditional legend of the Indus, Brahmaputra and Ganges at Manasarowar. A careful analysis of the topographic maps would show the existence of a river, even now called Saraswathi flowing in a north-westerly direction which appears to be a continuation of the course of the Jumuna before it changes it at its elbow. The highest elevation attained by the Indo-Gangetic lowland is only nine hundred feet above sea-level, and that is in the vicinity of the Saharanpur, Ambala and Ludhiana. Located at a distance of about a thousand miles from the mouth of the Ganges in the Bay of Bengal, it is this low line of hills with an altitude less than a 1,000 feet which separates the present drainage basin of the Indus from the Ganges. A comparatively trifling change of level will divert the tributary of one river to that of the other, and it is probably as a result of a small uplift during sub-recent times that the Jumuna which originally flowed towards eastern Rajputana in the Punjab became a tributary of the Ganges. And it was probably as a result of this, that the Saraswathi became a river which lost itself in the desert, the greater part of its channel remaining as the dry bed of the Ganga or Hakra. Obviously then, the Hindu legend of Tiruveni is founded on geographic facts.

The Punjab rivers also have shown similar changes of course for which we have historical

evidence. Punjab obviously is a land of five rivers (panch = five and ab = river) actually however we find that there are six rivers at the present day, the Indus and its five great tributaries, the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and the Sutlej. The Rig Veda calls this, the land of five rivers and here again the Sanskrit Pandit tries to explain this apparent incongruity by suggesting that the Rig Vedic Aryan did not include the main river Indus but only the five tributaries and hence it becomes the land of five rivers. This explanation is hardly tenable for it must be remembered that the Rig Vedic Aryan who came from without, gave to the river the name Sindhu—the ocean as name which itself is a measure of the extreme difficulty he had to ford it before entry into the country. Indeed few people realise that the land of India gets its name from the river Indus. India to the Greeks was the land beyond the Indus. How then could he have ignored it in his count of the rivers of the Punjab. If the drainage system which existed in the regions was similar to what it is at the present day he should have called it Cheab (che=six, ab=river) the land of six rivers and not Punjab. However we find that there are definite pieces of geographic and historical evidence to show that the Sutlej till the twelfth century A.D. had a separate exit to the sea through what is now known as the Rann of Cutch, independent of the drainage system of the Indus and obviously then at the time of the Rig Vedic Aryan, the Indus had only four tributaries and the land becomes the land of the Punjab. This explanation, it is believed fits the facts better than the fanciful Sanskrit interpretation of the Vedic texts.

Next to the Ganges among all the rivers of India, the Cauvery in the extreme south is the most sanctified, so sanctified as to be called the Dakshina Ganga. Traditionally again its origin is supposed to be in Manasarowar. Cauvery really is much smaller than the Godavari, the Krishna or the Narbada. On a

glance at a map, one finds that in the Cauvery we have one of the most beautiful waterfalls at Sivasamudram. In an ancient terrain like the Deccan Peninsula one would normally expect the drainage to have attained maturity, so that the rivers will have a smooth gradient from source to mouth. As a matter of fact but for this single irregularity the Cauvery basin exhibits perfect characteristics of maturity, a wide river valley with a very shallow gradient. Geomological evidence suggests that the waterfall at Sivasamudram is a very recent one, probably one which came into existence since the advent of man.

Here is another case of primitive man finding a remarkable miracle performed in front of his eyes, all in a twinkling, a river flowing normally in grade all of a sudden generates rapids and cascades. As before, this becomes an act of God and is it surprising then that he calls the small lake, Sivasamudram—the sea of Lord Siva himself. It is equally probable that the same set of earth movements that generated the waterfalls at Sivasamudram were responsible for the similar waterfalls in the Narbada near Jubbulpore and is it surprising that the Narbada becomes the third sanctified river of India. We can therefore rightly conclude that if we analyse the physical geography of the region, we will find that all rivers which had recent tectonic disturbances in the courses have received some sanctity or other, primitive men looking up to them as visible manifestations of God, and no wonder he started worshipping these rivers, and sanctifying their sources and banks which in course of time became centres of pilgrimage.

To take another set of examples, there is an interesting legend which states that Kerala on the west coast of India was created by a saint, Parasuraman who seized an axe (in another version of the legend a rice winnow) and hurled it with tremendous force from Gokarnam (modern Goa) right over the sea.

By a wonderful miracle it was carried as far as South Cape Comorin and instantaneously the sea retreated from Goa to Cape Comorin to create the low lying level land to the west of the Western Ghats. This legend narrates in a poetic and figurative way the origin of this coastal land, which has been reclaimed from the sea in very recent times since the advent of man. In geological parlance the age of the region are mostly pleistocene—very very recent. Linguistic evidence can also be cited to show that places mentioned as lying on the coast by early travellers like Ibn-Batuka, Ptolemy, Pliny and others are now lying far inland, which proves that the sea has sunk and the land has risen up. There has been an uplift of the sea bottom and an emergence of land, quite a natural phenomenon, which however, due to inexplicability becomes a miraculous event with a super-natural origin.

Yet another piece of interesting legend comes to us from the glorious book of Ramayana which states that Sita, the virtuous wife of Prince Rama was forcibly abducted by the Rakshasa King, Ravana of Ceylon. In the battle that followed, Rama's Monkey General Hanuman easily leapt across from India to Ceylon, but the mortal members of the army of Rama could not perform this super-human jump of 20 miles or more. And to enable them to ford across the Adams Strait on foot blocks of stone were created in the sea by the magic touch of Hanuman's tail on the sea water. This incident, blocks of stone floating on the sea, is perhaps no more than an elevation of the sea bottom and the fervid imagination of successive generations of Aryan bards can easily be credited with such powers of invention to evolve the marvellous details that have been added by way of embellishment.

One more example, the small island of Rameswaram lying in the extreme south of India, in sanctity is second only to Kasi itself. Rameswaram is a very tiny island, eleven miles long, which now lies at a distance of two miles from the mainland. Local tradition claims that the island was completely attached to the terra firma and that the Pamban straits in the various breaches have been created as a result of a recent storm—perhaps as late as 1480 A.D. The abrupt manner in which point Raman on its coast terminates and its geological formation which can be traced across the ridge of rocks to the island, almost confirms this tradition—which is further fortified by the records, in the temple of Rameswaram itself, where it is stated that till the fifteenth century, the island was connected with the mainland. Even to-day the idol of the temple of Rameswaram is carried across in procession to the mainland indicating thereby that the people of the mainland also owed allegiance to the deity in the temple. A natural phenomenon like a terrific cyclone must have therefore resulted in creating the deep fissure and converting what was once a peninsula into an island. Here again, primitive man finds it impossible to account for this except through super-human action and the region becomes a particularly sanctified spot.

These are presumably sufficient examples to illustrate the familiar dictum that where science fails, religion succeeds. Thus it will be seen that when we look into the books of religions we find manifold geographic facts clearly portrayed to us in some form or another, in legends and beliefs. Even Geography has, therefore something to contribute to Man's conception of God and the Eternal.

INDIA'S FOOD PROBLEM

BY

T. K. DORAISWAMY

It may appear odd that India seventy per cent of whose working population is engaged in agricultural pursuits should even though eleven years have passed since she attained Independence be *exercised* so much at present about feeding her hungry millions. It may be felt that a good deal of literature has sprung up over this problem, that enough discussion of all aspects of it has taken place and that therefore there is not much scope for fresh thinking on this subject. This is an erroneous view. If our discussion of the subject had been adequate and the conclusions reached had been sound and if they had been properly implemented the problem by now should have been solved to a considerable extent. As a matter of fact it is no nearer solution which only proves that there is need for fresh re-thinking. The very fact that food prices have been rising in the country in the context of a fall in world commodity prices of the order of about 15% during 1957 and early 1958 gives room for anxiety. The situation has assumed such a serious character that the Government have taken a decision in favour of the State taking over the wholesale trade in foodgrains. All this development indicates the necessity for subjecting the whole problem of food to a scientific reappraisal. To my mind the food problem of India has been the victim of a great deal of confused thinking and *trite* slogans. Instead of realising that the agricultural backwardness of India is, in a rather pronounced manner, one aspect of the general backwardness of the country and that during decades of British rule the countryside was so much neglected that not only the first and second rate persons migrated to the towns but even the third and fourth rate persons

drifted away from the villages, the authorities inspired by the slogan of 'tiller of the soil is the owner' embarked on measures singling out the landowner as the *villain of the piece*, Village community life which had been disrupted by the legal and administrative setup under British rule still treasured the concept and practice of ownership of land as a positive constructive force. In the name of social justice the ingredients of landownership came to be subjected to a steady and continuous assault in the post-independence epoch.

It is however a fact that our agricultural setup is far from wholesome. Production per acre and per person has been very low. The extent of our deficiencies will become clear if we direct our attention to conditions in countries like Great Britain, the United States of America and Japan. With the number of workers engaged in agriculture falling by 13% between 1948 and 1957, with only 4.5% of the workers in civil employment working on the farms Britain which produced one-third of her food requirements during pre-war is at present producing one-half of her food needs even though the population in the meanwhile has increased by three millions. The United States of America has a little more than 11% of her working population engaged in agriculture and between 1st April 1956 and 1st April 1957 more than one million persons quit the land. Yet it is estimated that the largest wheat crop in history is in prospect and they are having record farm crops on the smallest acreage in forty years. The country provides food at a high level not only for her entire population but enjoys huge surpluses which in spite of gifts and sales to other countries

tend to accumulate. In Japan the output per acre is nearly thrice that in India. Here in our country seventy per cent of whole working population is engaged in agriculture we, being unable to provide food for our entire population are driven to import it on a fairly large scale in most of the recent years absorbing big amounts of essential foreign exchange. Thus the situation is very unsatisfactory. Hence it is of the utmost urgency that steps should be taken to overcome the obstacles and improve the situation. What the countryside required was a determined attempt to retrace the steps with which was associated the ruination of the countryside. All interests associated with land should have been brought together and a climate should have been enacted for a concerted attack on the malady of low production. Whatever analysis was conducted by the ruling Congress party into the conditions of agriculture left them convinced that the pre-requisites of a healthy rural economy consisted of the determination of an equitable relationship between the landlord and tenant and the fixing of ceilings on agricultural incomes. It is unfortunate that there was not an adequate appreciation of the fact that while those objectives were important the foremost urgent requisite was a big increase in agricultural production. Even if there was such an appreciation in some quarters, there was not an adequate grasp of the means by which such an end could be secured. In fact the distinction between long and short term measures did not receive due recognition. There should have been concentration on measures like providing better irrigation facilities, better seed, adequate manure, etc., rather than efforts made towards securing allegedly more equitable arrangements in respect of landlord tenant relationships or the fixing of land ceilings. Instead of realising the necessity for creating a climate which would favour concerted action in a spirit of comradeship between the landowner, tenant

and agricultural labourer so that production might register a marked increase the countryside was mystified and thrown into confusion by what could not but be considered in many ways an arbitrary approach to the problem of determining the distribution of the produce between the landowner and the tenant. The very fact that in most of the years large amounts of foodgrains had to be imported involving considerable foreign exchange should have made the authorities take stock of the situation in a realistic spirit and not pursue slogans however attractive they might be on the surface. Another factor cast a blight on our whole approach to the problem of agriculture. Though it is a State subject there was a tendency to subject agricultural arrangements all over the country to the sway of a more or less uniform formula evolved by the Planning Commission sitting at Delhi. Agricultural conditions and tenures vary from district to district, region to region and land to land. Variety and diversity being the characteristics of the land problem an overall All India approach should be pursued with considerable caution.

The First Five-Year Plan gave the highest priority to measures designed to place the agricultural industry on a satisfactory footing. The outlook appeared so favourable that in 1955 our Prime Minister Nehru reviewing the First Five-Year Plan observed that they have attained self-sufficiency in food and that that was possible because the agriculturists used new methods to increase their crop yields. *Optimism* had assured such proportions that the authorities felt that the country could even earn some of the much needed foreign exchange by exports of foodgrains.

The Central Government should have confined itself to encouraging the State Governments to pursue short term measures for increasing food production *without* at the same time complicating the situation by efforts

to bring about rapidly drastic land reforms. That the scope for such short term measures is tremendous will be clear if we realise that while the total farm area in India is twenty-six times that in Japan, India consumes only 11% of nitrogenous fertilisers and 4% of phosphatic fertilisers consumed in Japan. The decrease in agricultural production in 1956 and 1957 brought about some heart searching. Instead of analysing scientifically the causes of the unsatisfactory situation there was a tendency to search for scapegoats. The Central Government blamed the State Governments and *vice versa*. The Government showed a tendency to fix the blame on wholesale traders and hoarders. With a view to meeting this situation bank advances on foodgrains were curtailed. Some urged that the ryots showed a tendency to keep the grain away from the market. Powerful elements in the Planning Commission and most of the political parties took the opportunity to urge that the slow progress of land reform was mainly responsible for the decline in production.

With reference to crop yields through land and labour among the factors of production present on the whole a satisfactory picture over main deficiencies are to be found in capital and organisation. Advanced agriculture and increased output are in the main functions of capital and organisation. For instance, in the United States of America the average value of equipment per farm worker increased to nearly 1,900 dollars in 1955 compared to 200 dollars in 1940. In India the value of equipment per farm worker is miserably low and the Five-Year Plans did not address themselves vigorously to the task of providing the farmer with adequate implements and tools of improved pattern. Far from doing this the authorities in their zeal for implementing ideologies have gone out of their way to introduce though unconsciously an element of discord into the relationship

of landlord and tenant by interfering with the organisation of agricultural production.

Such capital as came to be applied to land was furnished by landowners resident and absentee and the land reforms have had a tendency to diminish the application of capital to land. The tenants being resourceless are not in a position to furnish capital. It is quite true that absentee landlordism is a far from satisfactory kind of land organisation and should in due course be eliminated. It is not as good as self-reliant peasant proprietorship. But in view of the fact that absentee landlords being in possession of much needed capital which they acquired as a result of their proficiency in non-agricultural pursuits constituted an agency for providing much needed funds for the capital starved agriculture. There is no doubt that they fulfilled an urgent social need particularly in view of the lack of resources of our peasantry. Absentee landlordism, however, is not rampant. Even the proportions it has assumed can be explained by the fact that the beneficiaries of *expenditure* by the Government earning their living in towns and cities to which they were drawn from the villages fortunately chose to plough back some of their savings into agriculture. Absence of such flow of funds would have led to further deterioration of the countryside. In these circumstances it will be clear that the absentee landlord has been discharging a function of social value which requires recognition rather than reprobation. Since covering the countryside with credit institutions and educating the peasantry to make fruitful use of credit are likely to take considerable time any hasty abolition of absentee landlordism will create a void which may adversely affect agricultural output. In view of the increased funds spent by the Government in recent years on the provision of irrigation facilities, the construction of wells, the repair of tanks, better seeds, manures, etc., one is led to conclude that the decline in recent years

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THE SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES IN MODERN MALAYALAM LITERATURE

BY

T. K. THOMAS, M.A.

Very little has been done, by way of assessing the part played by our literatures in shaping the political and social consciousness of the vast majority of people during the last few years. Perhaps the time is not yet ripe for such an evaluation. Our very involvement in the social and political revolution which inspired, and has in turn been inspired by our literatures will interfere with any objective appraisal of the situation. But it may be asserted with confidence that when a systematic history of our time is at last written, the significant contribution that has been made by our literatures will engage the historian's attention. This contribution will be found to contain elements of confusion and clarity, but it will be recognised as an essentially creative contribution. It widened our literary horizons and sharpened our social sympathies, though it has not added much to the history of our thought. It was truly creative, but hardly critical. This is its serious limitation. The suddenness of its eruption and the uncritical abandon of its early enthusiasms have considerably obscured our moral judgment and introduced elements of deep confusion into our social and political thinking.

My purpose in this article is merely to record some of the changes that have been felt on the Malayalam literary scene during the last few years, and to indicate the social and political motivations which, I believe, determined the nature of such changes.

Malayalam literature in the thirties of our century was largely in a state of acquiescence. It was a period of conformity when the social thinking that had begun to gain ground, in

however sporadic a manner, did not influence the general sensibility of the men of letters. The period may even be considered retrogressive as the striking example of Kumaran Ashan was not followed up. He was a poet of considerable talent, and his achievements in poetry, a poetry which constituted and impassioned criticism of life, instilled self-respect into a whole community. It made people conscious of the need for social change. Its greatness consists in its retaining the essentially poetic qualities in a general critical context. But the social vision in his case was largely communal; it did not comprehend the whole society. The repercussions of Ashan's achievement were felt not so much in the poetic world of general sensibility as in the isolated world of the aspirations of the Ezhava community.

We have had social criticism in Malayalam literature even before this. Kunchan Nambiyar's poems contained vehement condemnations of the social evils of the day; they were satiric in tone and didactic in intent. The first Malayalam novelist, Chandu Menon, was an uncompromising critic of social evils and the influence of his novels was substantial and far-reaching. But these were isolated instances, and the social insights such criticism contained were neither comprehensive nor radically reformatory.

A comprehensive social consciousness began to inform the whole of literature only after the impact of the political revolution was felt among the rank and file of the people. In one sense all literature does constitute a criticism of life, and the Arnoldian definition

of poetry possesses only the value of a general truism. But there are periods of intense social awareness, periods when there obtains a profound recognition of the forces both of social cohesion and social disruption, and at such times literature tends to acquire a unique revolutionary content. This was what happened in Malayalam literature during the last decade. The new democratic and secular climate made this transformation possible, and once it was well on its way it accelerated the processes of democratization and secularization.

As a matter of fact one of the most significant developments in Malayalam literature in our own time has been its penetration, on several levels, into the various ranks of the Malayalam-speaking community. In the pre-war years the Christian community in Kerala, which had a high percentage of literacy, was singularly indifferent in its attitude to indigenous literature. The people who read Milton and Browning in schools and colleges went into banking and money-making. And because their interest in their own literature was tardy, they rarely attained any real proficiency in English literature. They thought highly of English, but that was more because of social and political reasons than of any profound cultural awareness. It is almost axiomatic that a man who does not take his own culture seriously cannot really come to grips with another culture.

These general remarks apply to the Muslim community as well. Here too we had apathy and barrenness. The legalism of the Muslim and the puritanism of the Christian could not easily accommodate the liberalism of imaginative literature. And the fact that this liberalism obtained largely in the general context of the Hindu scriptures did not help matters. Malayalam literature, like all other literatures, was religious in origin. Both the Dravidian and the Aryan elements in its early literature had a marked religious bias. The poetic

imagination worked on religious raw materials but the poems themselves were not calculated to encourage religious piety. The appeal was secular and aesthetic. This secularism of the appeal on the one hand, and the Hinduism of the poetic context on the other, were both viewed with suspicion by the followers of more exclusive religions. Thus it was that Malayalam literature remained, till very recent times, the monopoly of the majority community whose culture it chiefly reflected.

Even there it had not penetrated into the lower strata of society. The hierarchial and feudal pattern of society, which guaranteed the leisure for literary activities in certain sections of the community, denied similar opportunities to the majority of people. This state of affairs was bound to change, and the change had been evident for a long time. But the change was completed only in our own day.

Thus the two predominant tendencies in Malayalam literature during the last few years were those that worked towards its democratization and its secularization. These tendencies may be better appreciated as two aspects of the same movement, a movement of comprehension and penetration.

It is in the sphere of prose literature that the most obvious effects of this movement are perceived. To begin with, the very development of a competent prose style was the result of the democratization of literature. The appeal of poetry is always limited; it is through prose compositions—the novel, the short story, the essay and, to some extent, the drama—that the general public is influenced. In the beginning of all literatures it is poetry that predominates the scene, partly because its more obvious felicities are an aid to memory, and the continuity of literature was solely dependent on the oral tradition. A poetic style is primarily a personal matter, but a prose style is the product of sophistication, and its

character is determined by the increasing institutionalization of society. It develops late and, as it is much less *eccentric* than the poetic style, its development is promoted by the needs of society. It was only in our century that Malayalam literature developed a clear and adequate prose style; it was very recently that it became the fine medium of expression that it is today. Popular journalism has played an important part in the making of the modern prose style.

With the development of a prose style marked by versatility and effectiveness the short story and the casual essay became the most popular media of literary expression. The short story remained for some years the most prominent and the most distinguished literary form. Its advantages were obvious; it did not call for the kind of sustained characterization and concentration that a novel demanded of its writer. The weeklies and newspapers had built up a public of short-story readers, and a host of writers supplied what the people demanded.

This new generation of writers confronted a situation that was at once full of uncertainties and pregnant with promises. They wrote about themselves and their social environments, and the simplicity of their themes often concealed a profound and explosive self-consciousness. Literature was, however imperceptibly, acquiring a revolutionary content. The political revolution that was shaking the whole of India generated creative energies which were by no means exhausted in the sphere of political struggle. The social thinker and the imaginative writer absorbed these energies, and new dimensions of social and cultural consciousness became apparent in their speeches and writings.

The so-called Progressive Movement in Malayalam was a by-product of the political revolution. These emancipated writers made a boisterous crowd of realists, anti-traditionalists and revolutionaries. The writers who

refused to join the new movement were also, nevertheless, *progressive* in so far as they too were deeply influenced by the revolution and had inherited its creative energies.

The political upheaval encouraged social thinking and promoted the social revolution, but the clarity of purpose and the definition of objectives that obtained in the political sphere were inevitably wanting in the social field. In the place of political realism we had social idealism; in the place of concrete objectives, nebulous aspirations. Literature soon became the handmaid of unrelated idealisms. There were many writers but few thinkers, and the dissociation of intellectual activities from the exercises of the imagination precipitated a situation that was potentially dangerous.

In good literature there is no real dichotomy between realism and romanticism. Our unmitigated realists are our worst idealists. This was the fundamental weakness of the new literature, and it was a weakness big with social consequences. There have been, since the early years, emphatic reaffirmations and impressive recantations, but both the devotees of the revolution and the reactionaries have retained their reforming zeal. This has reduced a great deal of modern Malayalam literature to the level of propaganda. But the majority of writers, as has been suggested above, were only emotionally involved in the social revolution, and not intellectually convinced about its ends and methods. Their emotional commitment guaranteed sincerity, and redeemed their writings from the grossness of sheer propaganda. *It was a literature that moved us, but failed to give us a sense of direction.* That was soon to be supplied by political opportunists. Our writers, in short, made us socially conscious, and our politicians exploited our social consciousness. The pattern is not altogether new, and one does not have to seek far to find parallels in other literatures.

NERVOUS BREAKDOWN

BY

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This is a term which is very commonly used both by lay people and by medical men. Yet, in most cases, this term is wrongly used and more wrongly understood. Usually this term is meant to denote a particular kind of behaviour disorder. When a person is irritable, easily rattled, jumpy, always anxious, etc., he is said to be *nervous*. Perhaps it is the medical profession which has enabled this term to gain currency.

The term is often used to cover one's ignorance with regard to the real nature and etiology of the trouble. The term is used simply because it does not have any precise meaning. Sometimes it is used in such a manner that it points to some physical disease of the nervous system. At other times it is used as if it means what a psychologist will call psychoneurosis.

The symptoms that are meant to be covered by this term are quite definite. The individual concerned is always in a state of tension. He finds it difficult to sit still, gets fidgety, restlessly moves about and his general motor responses reveal inner tension and restlessness. Sometimes the restlessness may get canalised into stereotyped motor habit, such as nail biting, shaking the leg, finger-drumming, tics, etc. Often they get startled very easily. Such people also get annoyed very easily by external sounds or other disturbances. Psychologically, there will always be a basic feeling of anxiety.

Weak nerves?

When we say that the above symptoms are caused by nervous weakness or nervousness it does not mean that the nerves are physically weak. It is not an organic or structural weakness as one can have a weak heart or a

weak muscle. The nervous system is not a muscular organ. Often physicians prescribe nerve tonics, B complex and other vitamins, sedatives, etc. The idea behind such a prescription, viz., that there is some physical weakness in the nerves, is totally wrong. Of course, such prescriptions when we have them from the doctor in whom we have trust, may have very strong suggestive value. The sedatives which are given for cases of restlessness and agitation do not actually cure by *strengthening* the nerves in some manner. These medicines actually lull the nerves into a state of dullness and inactivity. In a few cases an enforced rest and calmness like this may have its value. In a very few cases this so-called nervousness may have physical cause. Disturbances in the glandular secretions, particularly an excessive secretion of the thyroid gland, can produce irritability, tension, excitability and even over-activity. But such cases are very very rare.

Fatigue?

Quite often one comes across another wrong idea which is associated with this term nervous breakdown. There seems to be a popular belief that people get such symptoms because of overwork, particularly too much of study. It is assumed that because of overwork the brain has been fatigued and the nerves have become weak. This again is a wrong idea. It is very very seldom that any such physical fatigue arises because of overwork. In the vast majority of cases the 'breakdown' occurs because of insufficient amount of real work and because of a good amount of meaningless and irrelevant work.

The real breakdown

The real breakdown is not in the physical nervous system. The symptoms that we refer to arise because of a psychological insufficiency of the person. These are actually psychoneurotic symptoms. They arise as a result of unsolved personal conflicts many of which the individual may not be aware. Psychological conflicts can arouse visceral tensions and these visceral tensions and emotional disturbances cause diffused and disturbed motor behaviour. The individual becomes anxious and even develops a fear of himself and his future. His adjustment to his problems, including those of vocation and of family, all become difficult. He loses his hold on life as it were. Hence, there is a disturbance of the organism as a whole. But the layman can perceive only the physiological part of the disturbance. What the so-called nervous breakdown needs is a complete psychological understanding of the etiology and the significance of the symptoms which may vary with each individual.

Nervous breakdown and young people

Quite often even young people are supposed to suffer from this 'nervous breakdown.' Any suggestion by a medical man or an undesirable advertisement, that some drug or tonic must be taken to strengthen the nerves, is easily accepted by such a young person. The suggestion takes root because he is already worried that he had spoiled his physical strength because of various habits. During this period, even otherwise, he is very much worried because of

ng urges from the sex drive. He might already have had wrong ideas about habits like self-abuse and may be believing that he has ruined his health. It is these fears that produce the so-called nervous symptoms. Actually, there has been no physical weakness. Physically the particular young person may be as strong as one could be. But the worry, fear, sense of guilt and resulting conflicts wear out his psychological strength and energy. If anything, he becomes psychologically weak. The weakness comes because of fears which are absolutely unnecessary and uncalled for. The so-called nerve tonics are equally unnecessary and uncalled for.

In some cases these symptoms of the so-called nervous breakdown occur when a person is about to marry or has just married, and also when a person has just taken up a job. When these symptoms are developed in such a context they only indicate that the individual does not have the psychological strength to meet the demands of life in general and of marriage or job in particular. Here again, such an individual needs psychological analysis and help rather than sedatives or tonics. Tension and anxiety may sometimes produce sleeplessness over long periods. The sedatives may give some temporary help. But that does not cure the trouble. The structure of the individual personality should be understood with a view to find out its weak points because of which there is a breakdown.

HYDROLOGY, AN EARTH SCIENCE

BY

N. K. BALASUNDER, B.Sc., M.A., D.I.C.(LOND.)

(The author gives a vivid description of the historical development of the science of Hydrology and stresses its great importance in nascent India—Ed.)

Hydrology is etymologically the science that relates to water. It is however an Earth Science. It is concerned with the occurrence of water in the earth, its physical and chemical reaction with the rest of the earth and the description of the earth with respect to water and the relation of water to life on the Earth. It is not concerned primarily with the substance known as water. Like Geology and other earth sciences, it uses the basic sciences as its tools, but in doing so it has developed a technique and subject-matter that are distinct from those of the basic sciences.

The central concept in the science of Hydrology is the Hydrologic Cycle, a convenient term to denote the circulation of water from the sea, through the atmosphere to the land, and thence with numerous delays back to the sea over land and through subterranean routes. The cycle may be considered to begin with the water of the oceans. Water from the ocean surface evaporates into the atmosphere. This vapour is condensed by various processes and falls to the earth as rain or precipitation. Some of the precipitation falls directly on the sea and some falls on the land surfaces. A portion of that falling on land is retained temporarily in the soil in surface depressions, and on vegetation and other objects until it is returned to the atmosphere by evaporation and transpiration. The remainder moving by devious surface and underground channels to rivers, lakes and eventually to the sea, is likewise subject to evaporation and transpiration throughout its travels.

On a world-wide basis the volumes of moisture involved in each phase of the cycle are

relatively constant; but viewed in terms of a limited area, such as a small river basin, the quantities in any part of the cycle vary through wide limits. These variations are the primary subjects of study in Hydrology and are of paramount importance. For e.g., a temporary unbalance of the cycle in which great volumes of water are concentrated in the streams or rivers results in a flood. Conversely small or negligible amounts of water in the precipitation phase of the cycle lead to drought.

Ancient Arabian wells and elaborate Chinese and Egyptian irrigation systems testify the ability of early Hydrologists, but Hydrology as we know it today is a young and specialised science. Egyptian inscriptions dating from 3000 B.C. mention Nile River floods and definite flood marks as early as 1800 B.C. have been found. There is evidence that rainfall measurements were made in India as early as 4th century B.C. But until recent times the problems of Hydrology were principally a matter of philosophic speculation. Curiously enough, the greatest problem for philosophers was in accounting for the source of water of the springs, streams and rivers and this constituted a puzzling problem that has been the subject of much speculation and controversy. Prior to the latter part of the 17th century it was generally assumed that water found in rivers and water discharged from springs could not have been derived from rain—first because the rainfall was believed to be inadequate to supply the stream flow or to maintain the spring and second, because the earth was believed to be too impervious to permit the penetration of the rain water far below the

surface. With these two erroneous postulates lightly assumed the philosophers devoted their thoughts to devising ingenious hypotheses to account in some other way the spring and stream water. Men like Homer, Plato and Aristotle, formulated elaborate hypotheses to explain how water derived from huge inexhaustible subterranean caverns connected with the seas. Equally elaborate assumptions were necessary to explain how the salt water source produced fresh water streams and springs. Attempts were made to explain the occurrence of streams near mountain tops, by assumptions involving vacuums, wind pressure, curvature of the ocean surface which made it somewhere higher than the mountains and even "the Virtue of the Heavens."

During the middle ages, all philosophers and interpreters of Holy Scripture, from Saint Jerome (340-420 A.D.) taught that water escapes through holes at the bottom of the sea, flows through subterranean channels and thence is elevated into springs. They generally based this assumption on passages in the Bible, such as Ecclesiastes 1 : 7 which when translated reads as follows :

"The streams all flow into the sea,
But the sea they never fill,
Though the streams are flowing still."

From this verse it is evident that these learned men were ignorant at that time of the phenomenon of evaporation which account for the immense water losses from free water surfaces (seas, lakes, streams, etc.) soil surfaces and vegetation.

Until the 15th century A.D., it was considered heresy to question the theory of the early philosophers. That was why when practical men like Leonardo da Vinci and Bernard Palissy, gave a correct interpretation of the Hydrologic cycle including infiltration of rain and return of the water through springs, people were very sceptical. Palissy's discourse on

water and spring was in the form of a fascinating dialogue between "Theory" and "Practice."

"When for a long time" says Practice, "I had closely considered the cause of the source of the natural fountains and the place whence they might proceed, at length I became plainly assured, that they could proceed from or be engendered by nothing but the rains." Theory replies, "After having heard your opinion I am compelled to say you are a great fool. Do you think me so ignorant that I should put more faith in what you say than so large a number of philosophers who tell us that all waters come from the sea and return thither? There are none who do not hold this theory and from all time, we have believed it. It is a great presumption in you to wish to make us believe a doctrine altogether new, as if you were the cleverest philosopher." To which practice replies, "If I were not well assured in my opinion, you would put me to great shame, but I am not alarmed at your abuse or your fine language; for, I am quite certain that I shall win against you and against all those who are of your opinion, though they be Aristotle or the best philosophers that ever lived; for I am quite assured that my opinion is trustworthy." Thus the argument is advanced. Theory defends first the sea water and then the condensation hypothesis while practice with clear and valid arguments shows the absurdities of these hypotheses and then presents simple but convincing evidence that all the water in the springs is derived from rains and explains that the rain water seeps into the earth and percolates till it reaches impervious rocks over which it flows until it meets an outlet and discharges as springs.

It was not until the 17th century that Perre Perrault supplied the necessary quantitative proof by comparing measurements of rainfall and run off for the Seine River in France and showing that the run off volume is only about one-sixth of the rainfall. A few years later

the English astronomer Halley demonstrated by experiments that the moisture evaporated from the ocean was adequate to supply the quantity of water returned to the oceans by the rivers flowing into it.

Under the leadership of Toricelli, Pitot, de Chezy, Herchel, Venturi and others, investigations moved forward in the study of Hydrology. In the first half of the 19th century the development of Hydrology was stimulated by the needs of water supply, river and canal transportations, water storage and flood control. Dams, bridges, levees, canals and reservoirs were soon being designed by Hydraulic engineers with a fair knowledge of fluid mechanics, but with only the crudest sort of rules of thumb to estimate the probable quantities of water to which these structures might be subjected. As the number and size of structures increased and the potential and economic loss from structural or operational failure multiplied, the demand for a more adequate basis for design increased and modern hydrology found its start.

Hydrology is a broad science throwing its tentacles on multifarious fields and basic sciences for many of its data and much of its theory. Hydrologic techniques however, are rather distinct from those generally encountered in other fields. It involves the measurement of the quantities and rates of movement of water at all times and at every stage of its course, rain and snow gauging to determine both the quantities and rates of rainfall and snowfall in all parts of the earth; snow surveying to determine the quantities of water stored as snow on the surface and the rates of its accumulation and disappearance; observations of the advance and retreat of glaciers and surveys of the glaciers to determine the quantities of water that they contain and their rates of gain or loss; the gauging of streams and rivers both small and large, to obtain continuous records of their flow at many points and during

long periods; the gauging of lake and reservoir levels to compute the gains and losses in their storage; the measurements of the rates and quantities of infiltration into the soil and the movement of soil moisture; periodic or continuous measurements of water levels in wells to compute the gains and losses in underground storage; determination of permeability of the water bearing formations and the rates at which they are transmitting water; measurements of the discharge of springs and of total effluent seepage; determination of the loads of dissolved and suspended matter which the waters contain in every position and the rates at which they carry it from one position to another; the quantities of water lost by evaporation and the rates of loss from the lakes, ponds, swamps and streams from the land and water surfaces, from objects on the surface and from the soil and the quantities lost by transpiration from the leaves of growing plants, including native and cultivated trees, shrubs and herbs. Hydrology is concerned with the development of accurate and feasible methods of making these measurements of diverse kinds and with the accumulation and compilation of the great mass of resulting quantitative data. Finally it is concerned with the great task of making rigorous studies of all the base data to determine the principles and laws involved in the occurrence, movement, behaviour and work of the waters in the hydrologic cycle.

The chief practical significance of the hydrologic cycle lies in the fact that it is the process by which water supplies are furnished to the land, plants, animals, and to man for his consumption and many other uses. With advancing civilization the human race has found water to be a most convenient substance for large and ever enlarging list of uses. Indeed its high specific heat and its occurrence in the solid, liquid and gaseous states within convenient temperature intervals and with high latent heat in passing from one state to another

lend themselves so remarkably to the needs of civilised man in his multitudinous domestic and industrial operations, recreational activities and therapeutic application that it seems as if these properties were providentially designed for his benefit.

As water is essential to all life and is the earth's leading vehicle for power, for mechanical and chemical transportation, it is not surprising that many practical applications are made of all phases of the science of Hydrology. Conservation of soil and soil moisture, river, shore and harbour improvements to promote navigation and flood control, reservoir construction, well construction, water supply developments, power projects, irrigation, sewage disposal—all these human activities depend upon the principles and data of Hydrology.

It is rather unfortunate to note that in spite of the fact that we have got unlimited scope in India for the development of Hydrology, we are quite backward compared to other countries in our knowledge and practical applications of this science. One reason for the retardation of progress in this field may be attributed to the fact that there cherished for a long time in India the belief that all unaccountable events or major catastrophies like floods, droughts, earthquakes, fire, etc., were the "acts of God" to take revenge on the mortal sinners. Again, for the origin of the mightiest of our mighty rivers, the Ganges, no explanation except that its source is from Lord Siva's head would have satisfied our God-fearing ancestors!

Another reason may be due to the fact that there is no single co-ordinate organisation in India for the collection, compilation and study of the numerous quantitative data of all phases of Hydrology. Stream gauging, discharge measurements and similar works are done by the engineers of the Public Works Department. Measurements of precipitation, evaporation, etc., are taken by the Meteorological department; and the data connected with infiltration, permea-

bility, porosity, underground water flow, etc., are collected and applied by the Geological Survey of India. As there is no one department in India having an overall supervision and authority for the collective work, advancement in the field of Hydrology is extremely slow.

However it is very encouraging to observe that since Independence India has and is still marching very rapidly in putting all her efforts in the development of Hydrology. It is seen in the irrigation, power and flood control projects for which the Government has invested over 900 crores of rupees which is many times the aggregate investment on all irrigation works built in India during the last century and a half. The complex task of shaping a new India after the nation's own heart, can be the most exciting and the mightiest of adventures. In this great task of nation-building nothing could be more concrete than the projected development of river valleys all over the country. In magnitude, in terms of money, labour and hydrological skill involved, in terms of benefits or the vast stimulus to national growth, the river valley projects constitute the biggest single effort since Independence to meet the material wants of the people, for, from irrigation springs ultimately the sinews of man, from power, the sinews of industry.

Floods are a recurring menace in many river valleys, especially in the north of India. The task of moderating the intensity of their attack over wide areas in a systematic and scientific manner were begun after the devastating floods of 1954. But essential data needed for drawing up permanent, long-range schemes for taming the floods were not readily available. However, certain short-term measures were therefore put into effect for immediate protection. Number of villages and towns in Assam and U.P. have been offered maximum protection against flood inundation for the first time. Collection of data and extensive hydrological

and the "Panditji is right" slogan. Others like Pant and Morarji began to whisper in Hindi to the Pandit and resuscitate the Northerner in him. Anyone who has even been a day in politics knows this truth: when there is even the smallest chink in the influence which a party leader has with the Big Boss, scores of other party leaders will be only too ready to dig their fingers into the breach and widen it beyond repair. This is precisely what happened to C. R. Once his influence with the P. M. showed the faintest sign of waning, others who had been lying in wait like vultures, swooped down and in a concentrated bout of tale-bearing and ear-biting successfully poisoned the Pandit's mind. C. R. left Delhi. The loser was not he but the nation. He is quite happy with his journalism and unfettered by official responsibility, opens out his heart (which in his case means his master mind) on all questions from nuclear weapons to vivisection. But Delhi—shorn of his statesmanship—has relapsed into the hot-bed of intrigue and a citadel of factionalism that it was. Policies are mirrors of the latest fad of the All High;—decisions are taken with little cogitation; the State machinery is speeding forward without either the flywheel that C. R. was or the axle that Vallabhai Patel provided.

Rajaji recently completed his 79th year and the celebrations of the event were signalled by the participation of Home Minister Pant who delivered a sonorous speech on the occasion. Pant employed old phrases like "giant intellect" to describe C. R. and even confessed to the thoroughly pedestrian nature of his description. The tributes that were paid to Rajaji were wordy offerings that are generally made to long departed dear ones—not apposite epithets about one who is 'still happily with us.' People who praise Rajaji today—I mean people like Pant—do so in the firm faith that he is on the cupboard as far as political life is concerned. Tributes therefore tend to be more fulsome than

faithful, more a catalogue of clichés than a sincere avalanche of admiration.

No personality sketch of C. R. can fail to mention the paramount probity of his personal conduct. Power might have cultivated Rajaji's appetite for it; but it did not corrupt him. Not even his deadliest enemy could whisper any disparaging remark about his personal behaviour. Neither corruption in any of its manifold manifestations, nor nepotism of any kind could stalk in his presence. What was even more, he could scent foulplay in any transaction with such unerring instinct that he was a terror to colleagues with reduced resistance and greater greed. As much as dishonesty did inefficiency hurt him. Many a senior civilian with a reputation for good office work has been known to quake in his shoes when summoned by Rajaji. The officer's brilliant drafts—the fruit of many days of hard work—would in a matter of seconds stand condemned and a merciless blue pencil mark across the page would greet him—for C. R. would have discovered an important omission in the draft or an unnecessary and dangerous commitment. The civilian would then crave the chief's leave to re-write the draft (in the language of C. R.) and re-submit it, lest the subordinate officers begin to think poorly of him! This permission C. R. never grudged, for he was not out to bait anybody; he only wanted things to be done correctly.

Rajaji has often proclaimed to the people the need to cultivate religion. He has even gone to the extent of associating himself with parochial purveyors of shoddy spiritual solace. This has baffled many. C. R.'s is so level-headed and logical an intellect that to conceive of it as harbouring even a spark of unreasoning belief in anything, is difficult. The author's reading of this paradox is this. C. R. prescribes God for Man as a doctor prescribes Coramine for a coronary case. The doctor

does not take the drug, for he may not need it. C. R. thinks of religion as an only safeguard against Evil and Temptation. Perhaps it may be so for others, but to him, who has conquered temptation and attained a sublime state of mental balance, such artificial props to right conduct are unnecessary. Whether Coramine has really saved a coronary case will be as much of a mystery as whether religion can really save humanity from evil. But this is a different subject into which it is unnecessary to enter here.

Tamil orator Sivagnanam was one of those who spoke for all true Southerners when he said that Rajaji's next birthday should be celebrated

all over India, under the *fiat* of the Delhi Government—thereby implying a further lease of office for the grand old man of the Congress. It is a fond hope. But in Rajaji's own interest, his well wishers would save him from that. C. R. is now a Patriarch of the nation. His position as such should be recognised by the powers that be in New Delhi. A Patriarch should not lapse into being a Praetor over again. Not that C. R. is likely to commit that error.

Long live Rajaji—for in him lives the last vestige of a bygone generation that fought for the nation's liberty without hope or expectation of profit or reward. May his light shine, that we may grope less in darkness!

survey and investigation are required for framing long term proposals.

Fabulous investments of money in India's Five-Year Plans for great dams, flood control projects, canals, power houses and transmission lines are ample evidence of the importance and advancement of the science of Hydrology, and are indeed symbols of the aspirations of

new India and the blessings that stream forth from them are the enduring gifts of this generation to prosperity. The survival of the world's largest democracy hangs on the rapid and fruitful implementation of these Hydrological schemes and projects proposed in our plans, for a full stomach is the surest insurance against political upheavals and the advent of totalitarian rule.

(Continued from page 40)

of agricultural production may not a little be due to the confusion and uncertainty created by the implementation of land reforms resulting in the discouragement of capital investment in land improvement.

Though it is impossible to cover most of the features of the land problem in a short article one cannot refrain from referring to the charge of the authorities that the recent rise in food prices was due primarily to the fact that traders did not play the game. This seems to be a facile approach to a difficult and complicated problem. It may be remembered that in 1955 grain prices fell so sharply that the Government was led to take measures for keeping up the grain prices. When we find that the traders in 1955 were not able to prevent a fall in grain prices it is difficult to swallow the argument that traders in foodgrains should be able now to inflate grain prices.

The Government of India is embarking on a price support policy. In this connection the observations of 'Fortune' of September 1958 are apposite: "The record of commodity agreements in wheat, coffee, sugar and tin has not been encouraging and Britain is not rich enough or foolish enough to undertake the kind of price propping schemes the United States has lavished on its farmers." The support price policy is said to have cost last year the United States tax-payers three and one quarter billions of dollars or over one thousand five hundred crores of rupees.

The foremost need of the country is price stability accompanied by rapid economic progress. This can be achieved only if food prices are kept more or less stable so that inflationary pressures may not be generated imperilling all economic advance.

PERSONALITY SKETCH "RAJAJI"

BY

KASHYAPA

Various statesmen evoke various emotions in the mind of the public. Some kindle love; others sympathy; yet others hate; a few even create belief, but only one defies all reaction and generates no single known emotion but a strange concert of feelings. He is Rajaji. He cannot be frankly said to be loved by the people as Gandhiji was, or as Nehru is popularly supposed to be. One can never sympathise with him, for that is an emotion involving an element of condescension which one dares not bestow on him. Hatred is too concrete a feeling (if feelings can even be deemed concrete) and is reserved for radicals of the extreme variety, for they evoke what they preach. C. R. is anything but radical. Can he at least be said to be believed by the masses? Hardly so. The majority of his colleagues themselves were afraid of believing him for they genuinely suspected if he himself believed what he said, at times 'Inscrutable' about describes the man. He shares the elusiveness of the Supreme Being.

Today Rajaji languishes in retirement, though certainly not either in obscurity or inactivity, for the simple reason that his place in the Congress Party was secured not out of his close association with Party men; but rather by his proximity to the Mahatma who had unbounded faith in C. R.'s genius for solution of knotty problems. Whom Gandhi liked, none could dislike. After Gandhi came Nehru and the latter's magic hold on the Congress Party takes very much after the Gandhian model. For a few years after Gandhi, Nehru cherished Rajaji and looked up to him for constant guidance and inspiration. This was during the years immediately following the nation's liberation when problems were several and

Nehru's nerves were not equal to the job. Rajaji served that post of the Prime Minister's mentor when he was Governor-General and later as Home Minister, admirably well. But



when things had begun to settle down and Nehru began to dream of a New India, the adjacent presence of an older man, who was also a practical cool-headed statesman proved a tremendous drawback. The flight of the Pandit's fancy was arrested by C. R.'s realism which was also laced with a spot of conservatism. Krishna Menons and Krishnamacharis were slowly pushing up with their steady sycophancy

Book Reviews:

KERALA, THE 'COMMUNIST' STATE

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

Published by MATHEW CHERIAN
The Madras Premier Co.
33 BROADWAY
Madras 1, S. India

(January 1959—Price Rs. 3)

This book deals with the 'Communist' experiment, at parliamentary democracy in Kerala, the first of its kind anywhere in the world. The subject-matter of the book is treated under two heads: a penetrating diagnosis of the past and the present, and a prophetic prognosis of the future. It is an analytical study of the Kerala situation, socio-economic and political which brought into power a Communist Ministry, in the most literate state of the Indian Union. The book unfolds the revealing story of the decline of the Congress and the rise to power of the Communist party and examines the typical pattern of the Communist movement, fashioned after the accepted Creed and Code of the movement. The book is not merely interested in a descriptive account of what happened and is happening in Kerala, but it is much more interested in the analysis of and the answer to, the challenge of our times namely, freedom and democracy in our state and society. Due importance is given to the lesson to be drawn for the future, in the interests of social justice and democracy, not only in Kerala but throughout India, consistent with the demands of the unity of the nation and the dignity of the individual.

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PERSONAL OPINION ON MADRAS CRICKET

BY

BALU ALAGANAN

(A veteran of Madras Cricket, Captained Madras when they won the Ranji Trophy in 1955, member of the Executive Committee of the Madras Cricket Association on many occasions, and at present a member of the State Selection Committee)

The other day while watching an Inter Association Cricket match between Madras and Hyderabad, a friend commented to me sadly, "Our Cricket standard in Madras is steadily deteriorating." Before I had hardly any time to reply, he continued his lament and as if to emphasize and prove his point, he started talking about the batsmen of ten years ago and how they would have dealt with the Hyderabad bowling had they been playing now. Incidentally Madras lost this particular match due to timid batting.

Although I could not agree with my friend, he had definitely posed a problem. There is no doubt that cricket is a little duller than what it was ten years ago. Primarily the rate of scoring has gone down considerably and even in the first Test between India and the West Indies, the former could muster only thirty-seven runs in the pre-lunch session which works out, mind you, at the rate of approximately eighteen runs per hour. One has only to visualise Don Bradman individually scoring three hundred runs in a Test Match in a single day nearly twenty-eight years ago to understand the difference in the rate of scoring. An explanation for this decline in the rate of scoring, lies, in my opinion on two facts, viz., the defensive bowling and changes in the pattern of field setting today. Ten years ago a bowler would not worry too much if a few runs were scored off him provided he could take the wickets with the result that bowlers were prepared to take risks. But today the tendency among bowlers has completely changed in as much as they are not prepared to take the

slightest risk and are more content to see that runs are not scored off them. Wicket taking necessarily takes second place in their reckoning. The pattern of field setting is also adjusted entirely with the view to keep the rate of scoring down in mind. The cumulative effect that these changes have on the batsmen are that they are completely tied down by the defensive bowling and field setting that at sometime or other they lose their patience and make mistakes.

This is exactly what the bowler hopes for and the net result is that it more or less justifies his methods. Naturally batting becomes duller but on no account should this be construed that the standard of batting has declined. I am quite sure that the batsmen of ten years ago would fare similarly today. A sharp decline in the rate of scoring has now become a universal feature and no better illustration can be given than what was accomplished by Queensland in their match against the M.C.C. side in Australia recently. After dismissing their formidable opponents for 151, they spent 330 minutes scoring 105 runs. I am quite sure that it was not due to lack of initiative on the part of the Queensland batsmen but rather the defensive methods adopted by the M.C.C. Skipper to keep the rate of scoring down particularly in view of his own side's poor score.

All in all, I personally think that the standard of cricket in Madras is as good if not better than what it was ten years ago. The game has become 'tight' and is following a tendency similar to Tennis. Many profess that modern power tennis with its lesser rallies is not so

attractive to watch as the tennis played some ten years ago. But could anyone suggest for a moment that the standard of tennis has declined?

However I have noticed a marked decline in one particular aspect of the game in Madras and that is the poor understanding between batsmen while running between wickets. There appears to be a lack of co-ordination and pronounced hesitancy which was not visible ten years ago. Even recently when I was fielding against a good club side on the M.C.C. ground, I was horrified to notice that their first three batsmen were run out before the score had hardly reached 20. All three of them were out to misunderstandings and by their actions had placed the fortunes of their side in jeopardy. Even worse was Madras's performance against Bombay a few years ago in a Ranji Trophy match when no less than four batsmen were run out. Fortunately the Madras Cricket Association have taken cognisance of this failing and have instructed their coaches to impress upon their trainees the values of perfect understanding while running between wickets.

There is no gainsaying the fact that whatever speculation may be prevalent as to our real standard of the game in Madras, it is definitely not for lack of opportunity provided our players today. For this state of affairs an eternal debt of gratitude is due to the Madras Cricket Association. This worthy body has expanded its activities out of all proportion to what it was ten years ago. Today right from the school scene to the Ranji Trophy scene, coaching and practice facilities are being provided. Quite rightly the main emphasis is in the schools where with a substantial grant from the Madras Government, the C. Subramaniam Coaching Scheme has been in force for the last three years. Not only are these facilities afforded to city schools, but the coaches are sent to the district also where many more schoolboys are afforded the opportunity of starting their

cricketing career in the proper manner. To give it a finishing touch the Madras Cricket Association lends its ever helping hand by providing these boys with the much needed competitive spirit and match practice by running a school tournament and also arranging annual fixtures between the city boys and boys from the mofussil. What more could one hope for while viewing the prospects for the future of the game in Madras. The dangers of complacency are completely eliminated for the Madras Cricket Association extends these coaching facilities for college students and for the numerous clubs in the city, with the result that the schoolboys of today could have the benefit of proper training and practice right through their career.

Now arises the important question, "Are these coaching facilities being fully availed of by the schoolboys and others playing the game today?" Well, as far as the schoolboys are concerned, the response was not too bright three years ago, but since last year the picture has changed so very much for the better that today due to the large numbers, a few have necessarily been denied these facilities. The same can be said about the university boys and club players today. The picture becomes more rosy when one considers the growing interest among the commercial firms in Madras to encourage cricketers by giving them employment. Most of these firms are kind enough to give their players all leave facilities to play representative matches.

In conclusion, a word of praise is due to the sustained public interest in the game. Our crowds are among the most knowledgeable ones in India and their vociferous suggestions from the boundary line have very often produced beneficial results to the captains concerned.

If and in spite of all these facilities and background provided our standard of cricket does not improve, I am afraid it can only remain a question having no answer.

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Editorial

THIS MAGAZINE IS MAINLY
DEVOTED TO SOCIAL SCIENCES

We have been made to understand that the socialist goal of our economy is an article of faith. The Nagpur session of the Congress has confirmed the stand taken at the Avadi session in 1955 in the direction of establishing a socialist pattern of society. Hence it follows that the public sector has to expand steadily, but it is advisable that the public sector is confined to certain channels which the private sector is unable to cope with. Perhaps for strategic reasons, Government might create monopolies in certain fields of activity. But any attempt on the part of the State to drain private savings, at the expense of the private sector is detrimental to general economic growth and therefore self-defeating. It is to be remembered that the efficiency and economy in Government managed industries have only set rather doubtful examples. From the point of view of productivity the private sector has a necessary function to fulfil, particularly in the transitional stage of growth, from the agrarian to the industrial economy.

State trading adventure is a piece of nice escapism from the hard reality of India's food problem which confronted the administration since 1939. Much money has been wasted in the name of food control administration. Experience has shown beyond a shadow of doubt that the bureaucrat has failed to discharge his functions properly. In an emergency Government's attempt to provide food for the people and control the trade in foodgrains might be justifiable, but in normal times one is rather sceptical about the usefulness of diverting precious human effort and scarce money to unproductive channels.

At best State trading is only a palliative. The solution consists in creating conditions wherein there will be no more need of State interference. We maintain that honest effort can fill the gap in the food supplies of our country by reorganising the input factors of our agrarian economy on a rational and integrated basis.

In the field of land reform we find the idea of "co-operative farming" taking greater emphasis in recent times.

The Text Book approach to co-operative farming is noble but it is too bold to be practical, knowing as we do the peasant economy of India. Considering the fate of many of the co-operative credit societies that are functioning in the villages, one is not very optimistic about the future of joint co-operative farming. The landless peasants and the landless labourers are anxious to get some land, but they may not be very happy to submerge themselves in the impersonal collectives of the co-operative farms with little scope for personal initiative or enterprise. They would rather prefer a landlord-tenant relationship on a personal basis with fixity of tenure and fair rents.

Co-operative farming has been tried in many other countries without any visible success. The Chinese experience of co-operative farming is a case in point; with the transformation of co-operatives into Communes, the very purpose of 'co-operation' is defeated.

A recent visitor to China speaks of the Communes he had visited as an institution whereby every conceivable aspect of human life, from morning to night and from birth to death, is controlled.

The Congress leaders themselves admit that the Indian agriculturists are generally conservative and they suggest educating them in the advantages of co-operative farming. Is it not a slow process? It is too abrupt under the present Indian conditions to push through the concept of co-operative farming. At any rate, it is no excuse to do so just because they had mentioned their objective of a "co-operative Commonwealth" in the Congress Constitution.

We acknowledge with sincere thanks the numerous letters and congratulatory messages we have received and we particularly thank the newspapers for their reviews of 'Broadway Times' in their columns.

PLANNING FOR PROSPERITY OR FOR SOCIALISM

BY

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

At the Nagpur sessions of the Congress party which is the party in power, the Resolution on Planning reiterated the ideas made familiar to the country ever since the epoch-making session at Avadi in 1955. The ideal set in the Avadi Resolution for all the Plans and Policies of the party in power was the socialistic pattern of society. That ideal was reaffirmed in no uncertain terms at Nagpur on the eve of the formulation of the Third-Year Plan. That Resolution, if we cut our way across the barrage of arguments that introduce and attempt to justify it, looks to "the creation of a democratic and socialist society" as the objective of planning. All the implications of socialism in terms of individual and cooperative efforts are to be explained to the people. In the introductory part of the Resolution we are however reminded that the objective of the I and the II Five-Year Plans has been "to increase the pace of economic development, raising the standard of living of the people." It looks therefore that Planning in India so far as the Government of the party in power has anything to do with it aims at a two-fold objective.

(1) the realization of socialism.

(2) the increase of productivity.

Are these two objectives completely compatible with each other? Or are they only imperfectly compatible with each other? In other words are these ideals pursued in double harness, as the Resolution directs, realizable each only in part, haltingly, far out of the target, put up before the people?

In addition to the lessons of the economic experience of other countries, England,

Germany, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. a survey of the fortunes of Plans and Planning in India has shown that the two objectives of Socialism and Productivity or Prosperity cannot be achieved together fully and completely, that at the best each can be attained only in short measure. Attempts at attaining socialism or the socialistic pattern of society have been made through high rates of taxation of the higher incomes and profits, through death duties, taxes on expenditure, land laws reducing large-scale land-holding to be capped by the policy of ceilings on land-holdings.

How has productivity under this socialistic urge fared? According to an evaluation of the First and Second Five-Year Plans made by Dr. K. N. Raj of the Delhi School of Economics sponsored by the Information Department of the Government of India and published as Special Service for this year's Republic Day, we find that agricultural production has not registered the progress it should have, there have been shortfalls even in the industrial sphere. The lumpsum provision of 50 crores for the development of basic industries and transport "was among the provisions that remained unutilized in the First Plan period." In the latter period "when heavy engineering industries and workshops in the country had to be generally strengthened for undertaking such tasks as the construction of steel plants, fertilizers, because the foreign exchange crisis descended on us due partly to unregulated licensing of machinery and raw material imports for industries with much lower priority, the first things on which the axe fell were precisely these high

priority industries". In the result not even half of the lumpsum provision of Rs. 150 crores in the Second Plan for machine-making industries was available and more foreign exchange for the industrialisation programme in the Third Plan period would be required.

Other indications of the low productivity of the people during this first period of the socialistic pattern of society is that the national income has risen from Rs. 9,110 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 10,800 crores in 1955-56, the *per capita* income being about Rs. 290, the increase during the Plan period being only 3-4% or about $1\frac{1}{4}$ % per year. At the present rate of increase of national income of 2% per annum according to an English economist (W. A. Lewis in *Theory of Economic Growth* 1955) of 33/5% per annum according to the Report of the Second Five-Year Plan it will take more than 100 years to double its income whereas in Europe and the U.S.A. it took only 40-50 years. And even then the *per capita* income of India would be only 1/5 of that in the United Kingdom and 1/10 of that in the U.S.A. The fact remains, says the Report on the Second Five-Year Plan, striking the balance of the achievements of the First Plan period "the living standards in India are among the lowest in the world; the average intake of food in India is below accepted nutritional standards; the consumption of cloth in 1955-56 at about 16 yards *per capita* is still around the pre-war level; housing is very deficient; and only a half of the children in the age-group 6-11 and less than 1/5th of the children in the age group 11-14 attend school; about 1/2 of the population of India has as an average of less than Rs. 13 per month to spend on consumer goods."

If the prospects of economic prosperity in the remaining portion of the Second Plan period and in the Third Plan period are to be brighter than the achievements so far, it looks

as if the choice has to be made at least for the present between Socialism and Prosperity. It may be that Socialism may come in India as it has come in England after a century of economic progress. Or it may be introduced here and now as in Soviet Russia by means of totalitarian direction and control. But following the ways of freedom and democracy Socialism cannot be achieved except after economic prosperity has been achieved and maintained. For if the profits of economic enterprise have to be equally divided the total must be big enough—much bigger than the Rs. 10,800 crores it is now—to allow for worthwhile dividends. The equal division of poverty cannot be the aim of social policy of any Government in India.

It is the path of wisdom then to concentrate on increased production. Better distribution, which is what Socialism is concerned with, must wait on better production. What is wrong with the production policies and programmes of the First and Second Five-Year Plans? They have increased production but not enough to raise appreciably the national income or the standard of living. A national income which at the end of the First Plan period (1951-56) is Rs. 10,800 and at the end of the Second Plan period (1956-61) is expected to be Rs. 13,480 crores, a *per capita* income which at the end of the First Plan period was Rs. 281 and at the end of the Second Plan period is expected to be Rs. 331 cannot be said to be good enough for the economic ambition of Government and does not come near enough the expectation of the people. Even if the national income as the Planning Commission hopes is doubled by 1967-68 and the *per capita* income is doubled by 1973-74 it would be still far behind the most backward of the well-to-do countries of the world. The *per capita* means of India is below that of Spain, Brazil and Ireland.

The low rate of increase in national income and in *per capita* income is due to the low

rate of productivity. Foodgrains production has grown in the First Plan period only by 20% and we have still to import large quantities of foodgrains to the detriment of our foreign exchange position. The output of cement has increased from 2.7 million to 4.3 million tons in 1955-56 but is not able to meet the demand. The output of cloth which allows only 15 yards of cloth per person cannot be increased as the mill industry cannot by Government direction produce more than 5,000 million square yards and the handloom industry is not able to make good the deficiency as it has not the equipment, nor yarn, nor the capital to do so. Nor has heavy industry, in which Government, especially the Prime Minister is so keen, come upto hopes. In finished steel only 1/3 of the expected production has been achieved in the First Plan period (35,000 tons as against 100,000 tons). To finance increased industrial production the necessary capital has not been forthcoming. As against the Rs. 4,800 crores required for financing the developmental programmes of the Second Five-Year Plan, surplus from current sources is expected to be Rs. 800 crores, loans from the public 1,200 crores, foreign resources 800 crores, and deficit financing 1,200 crores. If we are to be saved from the disadvantages amounting to danger of Foreign Loans and Deficit Financing the domestic investment must be three times what it is expected to be.

Why have these short-falls in production and domestic investment occurred? For an answer we would do well to see how other countries have increased their productivity. Experience teaches in economics, as in politics. All the great industrial nations of the world have risen to industrial greatness on the shoulders of a prosperous agriculture. For the development of industry sufficient capital and technically trained labour are the absolute essentials. It was the savings of agriculture that furnished the capital for the development

of industry in England, Germany and U.S.A. The great Industrial Revolution in England towards the end of the 18th century was preceded by an Agricultural Revolution in the 17th century. The defects of the old system of intermingled strips, common cultivation and common pasture were ended by the new system introduced by statute or mutual agreement by which the scattered strips were consolidated, the common pastures partitioned, uncultivated land enclosed, waste reclaimed, and scientific farming introduced. Lord Townsend, Coke of Holkham and Arthur Young were the pioneers and practitioners of the new system. It was the landlords and squires who followed this system that with their savings furnished the capital for the development of industry. Coke of Holkham (created Earl of Leicester in 1837,) by his programme methods was able to increase his rental from £2,200 in 1776 to £20,000 in 1816. In addition to prosperous agriculture the commercial classes who ever since Queen Elizabeth I's time had been increasing in wealth through their overseas trade and colonial exploitation (e.g. the Nabobs who made their money out of India) and who now, by transporting and exporting the increasing agricultural products, made the money that also contributed to the financing of the industrial expansion of England in the 19th century. So was it in the U.S.A. The large-sized holdings ever since the Homestead Act of 1861 which made possible the grant of 160 acres of land to any citizen over 21 without payment if he cultivated it himself for 5 years, the use of machinery, the refrigerator process and the refrigeration car promoted the prosperity of U.S.A. agriculture. It was the savings of the farmers and the merchants who thanks to the railways and shipping organized the carriage of American grain within the continent and across to Europe that formed the capital for the infant industries of the U.S.A. protected by the policy of tariffs. In Germany great agricultural progress was

registered in the 19th century thanks to the subsidizing of beet-sugar, the rotation of crops, extension of cooperative credit through the Raffersan banks, the provision of cheap transport facilities and the protection of agriculture through high tariffs. Before Germany began to export industrial products she had been exporting agricultural products like sugar, alcohol, and wine. Agricultural prosperity was furthered by the improvement of communications, roads, canals, and railways.

Even in Russia in the first plan period, the underlying principle of N.E.P. (New Economic Plan) was that the revival of industry depended on the revival of agriculture. In the period 1923-26 agriculture and industry kept step with each other. The Soviet official line in this period was that increased prosperity in agriculture was the first condition of increased prosperity in industry. In this period economic policy followed capitalist rather than socialist lines, favouring in agriculture the Kulak (the large-scale farmers) in industry favouring the growth of light industries, earning quick profits and rural and artisan industries, postponing heavy industry to a later stage. Rykov's declaration of policy in 1925 envisaged that "by insuring conditions of free accumulation in Kulak households the tempo of accumulation in the whole economy is secured, the national income grows more rapidly, the material support of poor and weak households is increased, the possibilities of absorbing surplus population are broadened and a more favourable atmosphere is created for the growth of co-operatives and the guiding of present savings into the cooperatives Channel." The resolution of the Party Central Committee of April 30th, 1925 carried into effect by legislation aimed at 1, supporting the well-to-do peasant farmer; 2, encouraging him to increase and develop his industrial farm; 3, making him the fulcrum of a national revival.

Those that look to Russia for economic guidance may learn from the policy and pro-

gramme of the Soviet in the First Plan period which corresponds to present phase of planned economy in India.

The experience of these countries which are now distinguished for their industrial production conveys the lesson that India must pay first and foremost attention to agricultural prosperity. The means to this end must be the means adopted in these other countries. First of all the landholdings must be large enough to allow the application of capital, towards improvement of productivity, by way of improved seeds, manures and mixed farming. The minimum acreage to support prosperous farming may vary from crop to crop and acre to acre. But it may safely be put at 5 acres for wet land and 20-25 acres for dry land. The larger the landholding the greater the prospects of improvement. Not ceiling to landholdings but a floor below which the sub-division of land under the operation of the Hindu and Muslim laws of succession and inheritance cannot go down is what Indian agriculture, that is, if it is to be prosperous requires. The policy of ceiling will spread subsistence farming and diminish farming for the market. Why a ceiling should be advocated when under the operation of these laws of inheritance and succession there is automatically and progressively reduction in the size of holdings is what one cannot understand. With the abolition of Zamindaries and the lapse of impartible Estates Act even the danger of excessively large landholdings in a small part of Indian agricultural economy has been eliminated. What we want is laws preventing absentee landlordism as still practised by Mirasidars in the south, penalizing the non-user of cultivable land and providing incentives to production. Also, everything must be done by the State, as it did elsewhere, to provide facilities for marketing. Agriculture and commerce, which first furnished the capital for industrialisation was helped in these other countries by improvement in communications

and transport—by way of railways, canals and roads. Of railways, we have enough for the present. What Indian agriculture wants is a vast increase in village roads, connecting each village with the nearest market or railway station. It is only if the farmer is able to market his produce that he will produce for a market, otherwise he will produce only for himself and his family, content himself with subsistence farming. India is at the bottom of the scale in regard to roads. While France has for 100 sq. miles of territory, 115 miles of road, England 110, Germany 68, U.S.A. 62, India has 29 miles. Under the Plan village roads are to look only to Community Projects for their development. Under their operation we have had 20,000 miles of village roads in 5 years—4,000 miles of roads per year. As India for its area requires 750,000 miles of new roads, at this rate it would take 200 years to get the road mileage that the economic needs of the country requires. Hence top-priority must be given to the building of village roads—at the rate not of 4,000 miles per year but at least 100,000 miles per year.

Beside giving the agricultural producer enough land to work upon towards prosperity in the place of subsistence, something must be done to improve his strength and vitality. Beside being well-fed he must be well-housed. Next to the removal of the obstacles to productive agriculture, and the building of village roads the provision of good housing for the agricultural population must take the third place in the table of priorities. Little has been done for rural housing so far. The rural housing of the farmer consists of a one-roomed mud, thatched hut—a hovel in fact—accommodating 5-6 persons not to speak of the cattle. Even the Report of the Second Five-Year Plan acknowledges that a large proportion of the 54 million houses (God save the mark) in rural areas need to be rebuilt or substantially remodelled. A two-roomed brick-built and tiled

house with kitchen, bathroom and latrine in addition is the minimum in rural housing. What has been done towards this end? So far in national extension and community project areas 20,000 houses have been constructed and about the same number reconditioned. Granted that this construction and reconditioning has been done to the specifications of minimum comfort indicated, 40,000 houses in 5 years—i.e., 8,000 houses a year—would mean that it would require more than 5,000 years for India to get the rural housing agricultural prosperity require. Not 8,000 houses per year but 500,000 houses per year would bring us near the target in a reasonable number of years. And while Governments set about improvement in rural housing they might consider the advisability of getting the farmers to agree to erecting their houses near their lands instead of in the present conglomerate, congested village. Problems of sanitation, drainage, village planning would be automatically solved. Incidentally, mixed farming which allows land, man, and animals to help each other towards prosperity and a great saving in man-hours now lost by the farmer having to make journeys of a mile or so from village to field and back would be effected.

As for the development of industry and provision for full employment, the building of village roads (100,000 miles per year) and rural housing (800,000 per year) would in addition to the industries already in operation, irrigation and hydro-electric works, textiles, cement, mining, forest industries not enough exploited in India would provide all the scope for industrial development and employment that the country needs or is capable of developing with her own resources. And in technical education what the country needs, now more than higher-grade engineering colleges and technological institutes is junior technical schools that will provide the skilled workers and the senior technical schools that will provide the foreman and supervisor that the

essential service of industry needs. The apprentice system on which most of our industries depend for their skilled workers is too slow and fitful to meet the requirements of industrial development. The rate of training junior technical personnel contemplated by the Second Plan—20,000 per year will not do for the training of 1,000,000 such personnel that Indian industry requires. At least 50,000 admissions to junior technical schools must be provided for each year. And for that we must have at least 500 junior technical schools. And as for primary education priority must be given to the promotion of literacy which will allow the artisan (and the farmer) to read and learn the knowledge of the new ideas and new methods that will make him a better artisan or farmer. Literacy must take precedence of basic education, as they together would cost more than the country can afford. In industry as in agriculture we must start from the foundation and rise.

All this kind and rate of development taught by the economic history of the progressive countries of the world involves the subordination of social ideals to economic productivity. India will have to choose between the early attainment of the social ideal of equality and the extended postponement of economic prosperity. Unless the equal distribution of poverty is the aim, the productivity of the people especially of the 75% of the population engaged

in agriculture must be immediately promoted. And starting from this increased productivity equality may be attained as it has been attained elsewhere by judicious taxation of the higher incomes. Equality as well as the welfare services in education and health, social insurance are to be financed out of the fruits of economic productivity. Otherwise the welfare services will be starved as they are now. Unless we resort to totalitarian compulsion we cannot simultaneously reach both economic equality and economic productivity. Unless cooperative farming is made compulsory—voluntary cooperative farming will not succeed in India as cooperative credit has not succeeded—cooperative farming will not solve the problem of agricultural productivity. No doubt we may have some measure of economic productivity on the journey to socialism. But it will be a handicapped, limping, halting productivity. Nor can the amount of productivity that will finance the more necessary of the great industrial schemes that the Plan contemplates be thus assured and all this forced and feverish straining towards socialism is so unnecessary. Attainment of economic prosperity with suitable methods and rates of taxation will as in England and France in due time achieve economic equality. Economic equality achieved by legislation and administration without economic prosperity may prove the socialistic thesis but will not solve either the economic or the social problems of India.

TECHNOLOGY AND THE FUTURE

BY

PROF. N. BALAKRISHNAN, M.A.

Nuclear power, automation and space travel are all signs of a new technological era that seems to promise immense changes in the life of the human race. As regards the bogey of rising population first mooted by Malthus, present indications are most reassuring. In some Western countries with rising living standards, population growth shows a tendency to decline considerably, if not to cease altogether. Doubtless in course of time the production and consumption of goods will reach saturation point, resulting in the static state envisaged by J. S. Mill. When this occurs more and more people will be working for less and less time without suffering any set-back in their incomes or living standards. Already large numbers of people have been released in technologically advanced countries from the dry drudgery of many forms of routine work, these having been taken over by machines and the men themselves left with the more congenial tasks of designing, repairing and controlling the new machines. Technology has also solved to a considerable extent the problems of scarce resources. One need no longer contemplate with despair the depletion of the world's resources in coal and oil. We are already actually creating new metals and extending the uses of the old ones in many new directions. Control of population has come to stay among all progressive sections of people, and it will not be long before the more undeveloped nations take a leaf out of the same book in order to stabilize their own positions in regard to this most urgent and distressing problem.

Given a few decades of peace we may reasonably expect that technology will gradually alter the contours of life throughout the world

and among all nations. Whatever inequalities there may be, or have been hitherto, are accounted for by the existing dilatory and inadequate means of communication from mind to mind, an international language of scientific thought may do much to remove barriers and to equalise opportunities for all concerned. By the mere logic of events the English language is gaining importance that it deserves as an instrument of worldwide communication. All national prejudices apart, a vote has to be cast for the adoption of some one language to serve the purpose indicated, and it would seem that the English language is as good as any other for this purpose. The futility of belligerent action in the modern military context may in course of time stroke down ruffled national tempers and make competition in economic and social spheres a more attractive programme than competition in the manufacture and multiplication of frightful armaments. Everything considered, humanity seems to be poised on the threshold of great and dramatic events.

Another interesting line of speculation leads us to a reconsideration of the viability of some of our present political and social institutions. Few rational minds can deny the passing of the age-old institutions of family, and few can doubt, in spite of some reversionist tendencies in some quarters, that the concept of the community is also breaking down. It was the march of new ideas that forced the British out of India and parts of Asia and Africa, and we believe it is the same agency that is responsible for the drawing together, albeit with so much of shy reluctance, of rival ideologies in east and west. The tide is definitely turning not only against the American

way of life but also against the way of life of the Soviets. If the mixed reception that Vice-President Nixon has been receiving in the course of his Latin American tour and the unpleasant attentions that the U.S.A. Information Centres are receiving from popular demonstrators in Lebanon and elsewhere are pointers of the decline of American prestige, so are the Hungarian uprising a few years ago and the simmering discontents that are coming to surface in the outskirts of the Soviet Empire. Whatever new political alignments are taking place in Asia and Africa have the sting taken out of them by the strengthening of the world's conscience for peace and understanding among peoples.

After all we have to recognise that science too has its own limitations. We are greatly carried away by the number and variety of the gadgets that we are using in our daily lives; washing machines, refrigerators, tape-recorders, etc. We do not sufficiently reflect upon the other gifts that time in its passage has bestowed upon us, music and the arts, philosophy and morality, law and religion. Life in some form has been in existence on this planet already for over two thousand million years, and as Julian Huxley pointed out the other day, it has taken about sixty million years for a single branch of it, the horse family, to develop through all its various stages. By measuring the loss of the radio-activity of fossils we are now able to calculate these periods to a nicety. Man with a history of probably of over two hundred thousand years must have been able to start his agricultural civilisation about ten thousand years ago. It was with the invention of writing and the arts of communication that he earned for himself the title of home-sapiens. For over 9,600 years he was satisfied with simple operations of his intellect organised on the basis of verbal symbols, inventing the arts, establishing new forms of religion, and exercising his faculties in poetic creation and philosophic meditation. Towards

the end of the seventeenth century, for the first time in the history of the race, in the western part of the European continent, he found a new technique, and a new method for dealing with the facts of nature. With the tools and instruments fashioned by himself and with the careful observations that he was able to make, he began to pry into the secrets of nature, and to extract from them those simple and well-known laws that explained many of the phenomena of nature. The applications of the new scientific method have given us those fine fabrics of to-day, the products of our chemical laboratories, with which we clothe ourselves, and some of those new drugs, especially the most exciting among them that are rightly described as miracle drugs, devised by the chemist and the bio-chemist. Macbeth once asked:

"Canst thou minister to a mind diseased;
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow;
Rase out the written troubles of the
brain-?"

The modern answer is, yes. We have a whole cabinet of laboratory products, tranquilizers and happiness pills, to soothe our nerves, to make us forget our sorrows and to whip up our brain activity. Man has already several startling achievements to his credit; he has already a few private moons of his own circling round his head, and tomorrow he may be able to send parcels from one continent to another speeding through the stratosphere and touching their destinations accurately in a matter of minutes. Such a picture is no doubt very impressive, and makes us think of science as a kind of magic far surpassing any imagined by older generations. Today we have electronic machines translating Russian into English at the touch of a button; and before long we may have others that will read books for us and store their contents in their memory to render them back to us in clear speech when we dial for the information as we do in making a telephone call. These

scientific achievements of our day ought not to lead us into the mistake of thinking that these modern wizards who make these things are superhuman creatures with marvellous range of powers and far-seeing vision. No such thing at all, though some of them may be men of considerable genius. Many of them outside their own particular sphere seem to be narrow-minded enough, falling into the same errors and hugging the same delusions as most others. So far as bodily structure and cerebral equipment go, none of us are basically different from our remote ancestors. What is actually taking the human race where we all stand today is our cultural heritage that has been modified, added to and transmitted from age to age. Unfortunately in this common heritage of ours there are as many deplorable features as there are fine victories of the mind and spirit. It goes ill with those nations and peoples who do not possess the necessary flexibility of mind and outlook to make the necessary adaptations in the cultural heritage that has come down to them from a distant past. Equally is this true of even some of the more advanced nations who have failed in many respects to fit into the framework of their inherited general culture the new scientific attitudes and the new scientific methods. For example, there are several branches of knowledge like psychology, philosophy and religion that have not been so far subjected to scientific treatment. And the reason for this is that the factors that go into the making of a man's body, and more particularly of man's mind, are too numerous for the kind of analysis, observation and experiment that science deals in. Nevertheless we can be reasonably certain that in the course of the two thousand million years or so of existence that still stretch before humanity many problems will have been solved, and new attempts will have been successfully made to rebuild human nature on lines that will assure

for all, health and happiness beyond our present wildest dreams.

It is only now that we are beginning to find out that the promise of science is only a limited promise. By itself it cannot enter or negotiate those things of the spirit that contribute to the welfare and happiness of mankind; the regulation of family and social life, the general stand upon certain fundamental common ideals, the faith that looks beyond the immediate present and the fearlessness with which we face the dangers of physical existence. A more comprehensive survey of the entire field of knowledge would show even to a circumscribed understanding how many things of infinite value lie beyond the frontiers of science as we recognize them to be. Perhaps science by itself can never go so far as a man's private religion or the system of beliefs that he has fashioned for himself. Some writers underline the essential identity of science and art, as they both emphasize the principle of unity in variety. Of late it has been well urged that the scientists' duty does not end with mere discovery or invention, but extends further into the realm of practical things. The scientist has the duty of seeing that his work is neither wasted nor abused.

Too much stress is being laid in our day upon technology without taking into account the fact that technology is nourished by pure science and pure science itself is built upon the foundations of sound educational disciplines. We are leaving our politics too much to those people whose cultural equipment is at least two centuries behind the times, and whose abilities to apply scientific data to political, economic and social situations is deplorably inadequate. Lastly it should never be forgotten that there is no finality about science itself and that it is nothing more than a new way of asking questions and of getting more or less satisfactory answers. In recent times we have been asking questions and getting

answers in those spheres that have been allotted to the physical sciences. We have yet to ask further questions concerning the nature of man, his place and mission in life, what gives him the most perfect satisfaction and what are the remediable imperfections that still cling to him. In all this there is only one way; the way of thought, the way of observation and the way of experiment. Science checks its conclusions by results; politicians explain away their failures by fanciful theories. Science tells us that there runs a thread of unity through all creation; our political doctors spend their time and energies harping upon the differences, working for the improvement of parts and neglecting the interests of the whole. For quite a long time, the alphabet of science was a universal alphabet, but now men are frantically striving to attach parochial labels to science.

Notwithstanding all these roseal pictures of what may be expected from the advance of technology, there have been in recent years some sober estimates by competent writers that are by no means as reassuring as one would like them to be. History has put it painfully on record how man increases and multiplies at a more alarming rate than the Christian prophets ever contemplated. Sooner or later the world's supply of food must give out, as there are limits to what can be produced in view of the size of the planet and the mineral resources available on it. Gloomy things have been said about the fearful spending spree that has seized the present generation, which is so recklessly dissipating the precious store of wealth that the planet has laboriously and gradually built up in the course of millions of years. Though it may be true that new metals with a far wider range of uses can be fabricated by the ingenuity of man, yet the raw materials out of which this can be done are found and produced at an increasingly insufficient rate. One forecast envisages the possibility of an early return to agrarian existence

unless it becomes possible for humanity to keep its population pegged down at its present level. Even if birth-control measures are made easier and more popular among the masses, the countries in a lower state of civilization that do not look with favour on such techniques will press on the others and crowd them out of existence. Again birth-control successfully practised might by reducing the beneficial effects of the forces of competition and struggle, result in biological degeneration. Granting that for a better distribution of world resources the human race is able to achieve some sort of world government, the problem of keeping order among the people and enforcing measures for the common weal without resorting to totalitarian practices would still remain.

Then there is the spectre of an all-powerful state becoming a gigantic machine of oppression and holding down the entire population in the interests of the ruling class. It would seem that a highly industrialized society will be the negation of those values of freedom and personal initiative which the human race still cherishes.

A recent book by Sir George Thomson entitled "the Foreseeable Future" is more comforting reading. Sir George is looking at the world as it will be around the year 2050. He estimates that the population of the earth will be twice or even three times of what it is now. With the help of atomic power, and probably also by harnessing the tides and solar energy, man will be able to develop his power resources to an unbelievable degree. He will do his thinking with the help of new electronic machines and travel about at very near three times the velocity of sound. At the same time by skilful manipulation of various kinds of vegetable organisms and specially bred bacteria he will be able to produce food of varied quality in fair abundance. Equally possible is the creation of new types

of animals and plants which will enormously reduce his labour and increase his production of various kinds of things. Perhaps the most startling development may be found in the control of physiological processes, the slowing down of ageing and of the prolongation of life. There is still a great deal of fundamental knowledge to be won, the consequences of which cannot be predicted at the present moment. This picture drawn by Sir George Thomson makes us think that the golden age of mankind still stretches a long way in front of us, and the next few generations at least are quite safe. Unfortunately if we turn our eyes away towards the underdeveloped areas of the world there is much to damp our enthusiasm. Industrialization is coming to these countries at a time when their food problem is entering a critical stage. Far otherwise was it with England and other European countries in the last century. They had enormous tracts of unoccupied land waiting for them in America and in the Pacific to which their surplus population could be shipped. Later they were able to draw their food supplies from these new colonies so that the pressure of industrialization has scarcely affected them too severely. Technology which is the child of science can flourish only when there is abundant capital to be invested. And capital always means what the people can save out of their annual production for reinvestment. In a country like India saving is practically out of the question when the majority of the people are living on the verge of famine and the minority who are in a position to buy up and use huge quantities of what has been produced for reinvestment purposes are deprived of the power to do so by the steadily increasing rate of taxation in the country. If we add to this the inevitable evils resulting from a growing population we have a situation that seems to be almost desperate.

The problems facing the backward areas of the world can be solved satisfactorily only

by a united and concerted effort on the part of all the nations of the world including those of the western half. In recent years some of the Western Powers like America and England have learnt the important lesson that it was to the friendship of peoples rather than to the goodwill of regimes that they must turn if they are to disarm the suspicion and hostility of the greater part of mankind.

It has often been said that the transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy would spell out a more thorough reshuffle of political, economic and social ideas than is generally believed possible. Industrial societies are apt to generate within themselves more self-confidence and more faith in the efficiency of planned activity. To what degree planning should be pushed may be a matter of opinion but the need for it is beyond question. The advance of technology is dissolving feudalistic institutions under our very eyes. When in the England of the later eighteenth century capitalists began to embark on rapid industrialisation, they little suspected that they were realising forces that would ultimately engulf them and destroy the legend of property. Today the Western Nations are making the mistake of thinking that industrialisation or the desire for it can be curtailed and the forces clamouring for a more equitable distribution of the resources of mankind can be tamed into submission. We may be reasonably certain that the technological advances we are witnessing will before long end in our country in the liquidation of caste and class differences. The pressure of events on the political and economic fronts will accelerate the process of disintegration of these old world accretions. Already there is a shift of attention and interest from the creations of the imagination to the possibilities of universal education and increasing economic co-operation will end the remaining differences in the treatment accorded to men and women. The double

standard hitherto applied will become a thing of the past.

Few realise the magnitude of the changes in the offing. The setting up of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission and the efforts now being made in Japan to push on with atomic energy research foreshadow the coming era of intensive industrialization on the Asian continent. Even for agriculture, machinery and fertilizer plants on a gigantic scale have become essential. It is no use pretending that backward nations can be halted at their present stage of development without a serious threat to the peace of the world. As a new drive for a better life defines itself the zeal for integration will replace the old world craving for the preservation by the communities of their own separate identity. Much depends on international co-operation in the tasks that men are setting themselves everywhere to ensure peace for all time and to increase the measure of their own happiness in the world.

The overwhelming need to master the techniques of western industry has put a premium upon the study of the English language in most of the countries of Africa and Asia. And this tendency is bound to receive further emphasis with the march of time. There is also a realisation all the world over that if subversion or direct aggression is effectively prevented, the world would settle down to an unquestioning acceptance of the democratic ideal. Communism is a product of war and of disturbed conditions. It has never succeeded in getting a foothold among those who have been left free to shape their destinies for

themselves. Only in one part of India the so-called communists were able to gain a foothold by promising a new heaven on earth, but the people there seem to be already disillusioned, and a return to sanity seems to be well on the way even in this corner of the country. Communism of this variety working on a parliamentary pattern is no Communism at all. A communist party within a democratic framework is no more dangerous than the communist party of England before the last general elections. The industrialisation of this sub-continent will be an event of major importance in the history of the world, as it will function as a citadel of freedom and democracy.

We might wonder what would happen to the vexed controversy of a national language for the whole country in the years to come when the strength of the nation and its importance in the world increase. The most natural thing will be for the language of the majority of the people to prevail over all other competing claims. A glance at the map would also show that the northern part is richer both in manpower and in resources of all kinds, and as such it is destined to play a major role in the shaping of national destinies. Any attempt to interfere with the solidarity or the unity of the country will prove immediately infructuous. So far, either by accident or design, the line of foreign policy chosen by the state has contributed to the recognition of the country's importance in the comity of nations. The Great Neutral is sought after by both sides, and the Great Democracy is hailed everywhere as the mainstay of freedom in Asia and Africa.

ANAEMIC VERBOSITY

BY

POTHAN JOSEPH

In the linguistic feud following the plan of State Reorganisation and the attempt to universalize Hindi according to the text of the Constitution (Article 343) there has been no relief of tension since the Gauhati Congress. The panacea of flexibility about the date of enforcement without alteration of the embodied formula shows no signs of working on lines of safety. The champions of Hindi are constantly warned by the Prime Minister that fanaticism has self-defeating potentials, but still the provision in the Constitution should remain sacrosanct, unamended. Language Conventions commending the Greatest Common Measure, namely the retention of English for official purposes, have failed to win the heart of determinists who suffer from the fear that any relaxation in the time-schedule would mean a loss of ground under the compulsion of events. The Chief Minister of Orissa in his Convocation Address at Madras harped on the utility of Hindi as an instrument of "emotional integration" but experience reveals red-light signals of disintegration. The thesis of integration safeguarding national unity is a delusion and a snare. Sceptics about the carrying power of Hindi find their position particularly irksome when the subjugationists assume a superior attitude of reverence towards the Constitution since it is implied that the plea for second thoughts stems from deficient patriotism in contrast with the fervour of Hindiwallahs to maintain the Constitution intact from all oncomers. Added to it is the half-truth that the Hindi clause had been adopted by the Constituent Assembly by a majority. "Sneak Win" The truth was disclosed by Dr. Ambhedkar ("Modern Manu" as he then had been

flatteringly called) in his reminiscent studies where he confessed that the Hindi clause had been passed by a snap-vote of one. Partisans dislike being reminded about it, but then a majority is a majority whether it is a difference of one or one million. Nevertheless the suggestion of inferior devotion to the Constitution is embarrassing to people who advocate change just for the sake of stability and progress in a technological age. In a live democracy amendments are made according to the lessons of experience as American history attests. Parliament in Delhi has modified the Indian Constitution as well by due procedure as in States-reorganization, so that any display of extra zeal about the security of the Constitution by the monolithists of Hinditva becomes phony, indeed a trifle, sanctimonious and offensive. The language question is insusceptible to sneak-moves throughout the world by the witness of history. Peter the Great by a Czarist *ukase* enforced the shaving of their beards by his Russian subjects, but that kind of thing was possible among semi-savage *moujiks* for a tyrant at the head of the army: the simple reform after all, was moreover amenable to strongarm tactics, but the learning of a language; however infantile in its content and rudimentary in its literature, entails a high degree of strain on the mind which cannot be countered by academic prescriptions. As a tonic for emotional integration it is not proving effective and the hiccups of the patient are loud and raucous in the small hours.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant during his recent visit to Madras on Zonal business remarked that the people should keep faith with the Constitution by mastering Hindi

(and banishing English as official language) and that for the purpose, Hindi should be "simplified." Listeners to the All India Radio will agree. The thought-load is, even as it is, light for the rickety vehicle now being strengthened by running repairs.

Monitory Words: Dr. Raghu Vira's dictionary will cover 200,000 words "giving Sanskrit roots for English technical and semi-technical terms." Not long ago he told pressmen: "We have still a long way to go to realise our ambition. The English language absorbs 200 words a day. We should be able to absorb at least three hundred to four hundred words a day to make good the loss suffered by our language during the stagnation of British Rule." I distrust statistics in the assessment of languages, but who is going to dispute an expert's version of an abstruse subject? In the evolution of the embryo, it is the settling process of the muscles that animate in the infant's bone-structure, so is it with growth of a language which is not the task of lexicographers but of the genius of gradual authorship. Hindi enthusiasts apparently believe in cluttering heaps of synthetic bones round which the lesions of life and the circulation of blood are expected fortuitously

to adhere. When Carlyle defined the university as a library of books he was thought witty, but Newman was nearer the truth in his *idea of a University*. In India we have had seats of learning before recordings in palm-leaf and parchment, the dictionary itself being a memory—recitation, *Amarakosa*.

The mechanical minting of words to catch up with early starters is a chimerical effort, albeit nobly meant to strengthen emotional integrity now on the anvil of Five-Year Plans awaiting the hammer of linguistic oneness. To concede looseness or connivance in respect of Article 343 is a case of escapism of self-deception. What then about the bridge of national solidification through linguistic unitarianism?

Napoleon in ordering his beloved troops to march towards a specific goal was asked by Marshal Ney about the need of a bridge, when reaching a river 80 miles away. Snapped the Emperor: "Don't talk of bridge when we are so far away from the river."

Hindi cannot be imposed on the strength of legislation. It must universalize itself by the merit of its own dynamism.

Let Hindi cease to be an obsession.

ABHYANKARNAGAR AND AFTER

BY

T. MATHEW, M.A.

When, in 1955, the Congress placed the ideology of Socialism before the people as the object of national endeavour, it refrained from indicating the nature of that ideology or the ways of achieving it. It might have been so because the sponsors themselves were not clear in their minds as to the exact methods to be adopted to construct the society they had in view. Their notions might have been hazy and nebulous. And indications were not wanting that they had not then bestowed sufficient thought on the implications of a socialist society. Hair-splitting distinctions were attempted between a socialist society and one of a socialistic pattern, presumably to allay the misgivings of the conservatives.

There was, however, another reason why their conception of a socialist society was left vague and uncertain. It seemed to have been deliberately done. Had they defined in detail what they visualised by it, they would have limited their scope and field of action. Only those policies or programmes specified as being necessary for the realisation of the desired society could then be implemented. When one hears of other schools of socialist persuasion like Collectivism or Communism or Guild Socialism, one can have a clear picture of the society envisaged and the politics advocated. But a socialist pattern of society eludes intellectual grasp because it discards definition and description. It was presented more as a framework than as a policy, within which all sorts of policies might be experimented with.

The scheme of industrial organisation to conform to the visualised pattern of society was soon made clear. The Industrial Policy of the Government of India, with the 'reserved'

list and the unreserved one was incorporated into the framework. And the organisational scheme of the industrial section of the economy was divided into the now-famous public and private sectors. Thus the first implication of the socialist pattern of society was for the state to become an entrepreneur.

That is not all. The state has to become the merchant and the farmer too in order to complete the socialist mansion. And this is what has been demanded of the state by the Congress Session at Nagpur with its resolutions on state trading and agricultural cooperatives.

It is the resolution on the future agrarian organisational pattern adopted at Nagpur that has a significance reaching far into the future. "The future agrarian pattern" states the resolution, "should be that of cooperative joint farming.....ceilings should be fixed on existing and future holdings..... (and) the surplus land should vest in the Panchayats and should be managed through village cooperatives." 'Cooperative Farming' thus climbs down from its dizzy heights on the ideological pedestal to the plebian plane of realizable objectives.

The ideal of cooperative farming, however, is not very new. In the First Five-Year Plan many suggestions had been made for encouraging and assisting small landowners to organise themselves into cooperative farming societies on a voluntary basis. In 1952, the Indian Cooperative Congress meeting in Bombay passed a resolution to the effect that "active and vigorous steps should be taken by the State and Cooperative Movement to organise cooperative farming societies

wherever their formation is feasible and desirable." The last three words are significant as they recognise the limiting factors of the scheme.

In the wake of these suggestions and resolutions cooperative farms were organised in some districts of the Punjab, Bombay, U.P. and other states. But the account of their working is far from encouraging. During the First Plan period over 80 cooperative farming societies were established in West Bengal; towards the end of the period not more than a dozen were found working. Out of about 25 societies in Orissa, only 11 were functioning. The reason might be that, as the Planning Commission observes,¹ "the main object of those who got together into cooperatives was to escape the incidence of tenancy legislation."

Further, in some of the cooperative farms, the societies did not participate in the agricultural work, but employed hired labour. Again the membership of some others were heterogeneous, consisting of landless labourers, occupancy tenants, tenants-at-will, small peasants, big landlords and others. This hierarchical gradation of membership often impeded the work of the farming societies. It is these features which led Prof. M. L. Dantwala to declare that "these cooperative farming societies were a travesty and a total distortion of cooperation."²

Peoples' China also began the reorganisation of her rural economy through agricultural producers' cooperatives. Hopes were entertained that the Chinese cooperative system of agricultural organisation was there to stay and would be worthy of emulation. To study and report on the organisation and working of these farming societies, India sent a delegation of experts. Very soon, however, China abandoned her cooperative experiment and

organised agricultural production in People's Communes. The step was natural and inevitable. There can, in practice, be no half-way house between individual farming and collective farming. What Belloc had long ago said³ that if we do not restore the institution of property, we cannot help restoring the institution of slavery, seems to be borne out in practice. For, the essence of the Chinese Communes is stated to be "to organise (agricultural occupation) along military lines, to work with militancy and to lead a collective life....."⁴ One of the significant achievements of the Communes is claimed to be that "the Community dining-rooms now buy cooking oil and salt in large containers. The scene of single households queuing for bottles of cooking oil and small packets of salt no longer exists."⁵ Perhaps that might be the ultimate ideal that the envisaged cooperative farming in this country would be leading to. For, there must be many more curiosities in the socialist pattern bag of the Congress.

Commending the cooperative farming resolution to the A.I.C.C. many speakers dwelt on what they termed 'collective incentive,' as distinguished from the individual one. Collective incentive was indispensable for national progress. Economic development had been impeded due to an exclusive reliance on individual incentives. An economic organisation which would at once increase production and ensure equitable distribution could be based only on structures which would tap the hidden springs of collective incentives. And on the agrarian sector there is no better organisation designed to do so than cooperative farming societies. The logic, however, is not appealing. Incentives are necessary for progress in any field of human endeavour, more so in the economic field. And in this materialist age of ours, as distinguished from the bygone

ages of chivalry and romanticism, we require material incentives. Collective incentives are rarely material in nature; altruism, selfless service and other noble dispositions that move people to collective action are not material. Collective incentive so far been effective, has been only the incentive of the 'big stick.' It is too much of optimism to expect that cooperative farming holds the key to the hitherto hidden treasures of collective incentive. In agriculture, the farmer has no greater incentive to work than to be assured of the ownership of the land he tills and the enjoyment of the products of his labour. And it is good to remember in this matter of incentives that "the magic of private ownership, transforms sand into gold."

The Panchayats, constituted and functioning, as at present, seem hardly the proper agents on whom to vest the cooperative farms. It would pave the way to make agriculture an affair of party politics. And as long as parties, though not in all cases organised on the basis of caste distinctions, practically function on that basis, agriculture too would likely to become a matter of caste distinctions. Would it not have been better for this scheme of cooperative agriculture with its far-flung implications to come from the agriculturists themselves, rather than by a resolution from the top which only a few accepted without misgivings or mental reservations?

The path of wisdom lies in hastening slowly. The primary national need is to rescue the mass

¹ Ibid. P. 13.

of the people from the morass of ignorance and illiteracy and of course, poverty. Wealth has to be produced and it is immaterial who produces it as long as its benefits are secured to all. It is wishful thinking that cooperative farming would work wonders in agriculture. Of course, we live and learn, but the price that may have to be paid for ideological experiments may not commensurate with the experience gained. For, after all, we are only going to repeat a page or two from the history of the 'Socialist Republic.' Li Hsien-Nien, Vice-Premier of Peoples' China, writing about the Communes discloses that "on receiving their wages some of the peasants (on the Communes) were moved to tears."⁶ He significantly omits to say what kind of tears. Let us hope that the Indian agrarian experiment would not move our peasants to tears.

The danger involved in the drift in the direction of an actively controlling and ever intervening state is that in the end of that path lies totalitarianism, naked and unredeemed, with the individual amounting to something even less than naught. The need of the hour, therefore, is for a prophet of liberalism, not because it is claimed that liberalism, more than any other political creed, is the exclusive custodian of wisdom and truth, but precisely because, it has never turned away its eyes from the centre figure of social realities—the individual. Unless the individual is given what is his due, the social builders labour in vain. It is very pertinent to ask—wither from Abhyankarnagar?

¹ Review of the First Five-Year Plan, 328.

² Indian Economic Journal, July 1957, P. 33.

³ H. Belloc. *The Servile State*, title page.

⁴ Peking Review, Nov. 11, 1958, P. 14.

⁵ Ibid.

EUROPEAN COMMON MARKETS

BY

PROF. K. VASUDEVAN, M.A.

On the New Year's Day this year, six Western European countries took the first step towards turning themselves into a single market of 164 million people which by 1974 should rival the United States and the Soviet Union as a world economic power. This event though it touches the Western World primarily will have far reaching consequences to Asian countries and especially to India who will in the near future should have to look to more imports of capital goods from countries who can supply it at short notice and will be prepared to take some of her goods. As Giovanni Demaria (visiting Professor of Economics, Bologna Centre, School of Advanced International Studies, The John Hopkins University) observes, "the present Five-Year Plans for India and China are oriented towards the creation of the greatest possible industrial power, which will require heavy imports of capital goods for many years to come. A United Europe could enter this trade without having to impose itself a planned economy along the same lines. The requirements of this trade could easily be met by the large enterprises which would develop in United Europe. It must be remembered that countries with planned economies prefer to deal with great private enterprises to fill their orders rather than with other planned economies" Further this great experiment in economic integration which ultimately will lead to political unity of Europe has also a lesson for India, who though pursuing a healthy neutralism and trying to achieve unity in diversity has so far failed to bring about a solution to many of the common problems with her neighbouring Asian countries. If France and Germany could shed off their

traditional mutual suspicion and can come together to form the European Economic Community, India and Pakistan, two separate political entities could come together to form an Asian Economic Union to begin with in which other Asian countries can find a place whose main objective will be to improve the sub-standard of life of many millions inhabiting this area.

The urge for European unity is the driving force behind the laudable experiment in the European Common Market. Europe did enjoy, during the Middle Ages under the Holy Roman Empire, a certain degree of political unity, but this disappeared within the course of a few centuries as the Reformation period with its consolidation of monarchies and national States, made its appearance. Skipping over some periods in European history, we can note some attempts to bring unity in Europe, but all such attempts proved abortive because they either attempted to forge political unity by conquest or attempted to create an equilibrium among various sovereignties. Right through the centuries in Europe there was cultural unity, but that continent suffered more or less political fragmentation till recently. The need for integration is now felt intensely and representative Europeans feel that it is no longer possible for European States to exist in isolation, as it is no longer possible for Europe as a whole to remain aloof from the rest of the world. There is also a tendency among thoughtful Europeans to reduce today's problems in terms of struggle between East and West, between countries outside the Iron Curtain forming an area homogeneously European with a common humanistic and religious tradition, and those though not entirely Euro-

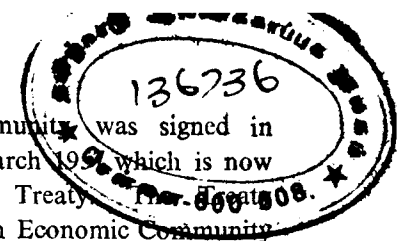
pean with a common ideology of dialectical materialism. The frightening strength of Russia, which Europe has brought upon itself has made Germans even more conscious than their neighbours of the need to stick together for strength. As London Economist observes, 'all over Europe millions of people have found hope since, in the ideal of a broader unity which could put an end to nationalist conflicts and give new strength to their shattered continent.'

The Treaty signed at Rome on the 25th March 1957 to establish a European Economic Community (EEC) and the proposals for a Free Trade area in Europe represents major steps in the movement towards closer co-operation between countries of Europe. The European Economic Community comprises of Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. In 1952 these six countries set up the European Coal and Steel community. Till 1952 their national frontiers had divided up the market for coal, iron ore and steel in an irrational way. Under the European Coal and Steel Community trade restrictions on iron and coal were abolished and from that date a great deal more coal and steel has been traded across frontiers. The six Governments considered the experiment a success. In June 1955 these Governments met at Messina in Sicily, and proposals were discussed for a fundamental advance towards European economic integration to take the form of common market and an atomic energy pool. The Messina Conference charged a small committee meeting in Brussels with the preparation of a report on the form of an economic union and a common market. The report was considered at a further meeting of six Foreign Ministers held in Venice towards the end of May 1956. This led to the meeting of six powers in Brussels in July 1956 to draw up an agreement. After ironing out some last minute differences the final draft of the treaty for the EEC and for the European

Atomic Energy Community was signed in Rome on the 25th March 1957 which is now known as the Rome Treaty. The treaty establishing a European Economic Community is a lengthy document comprising 248 articles and appended to it are a series of annexes and protocols, and the provision for the common market forms an important section of the treaty.

The treaty establishing the European Common Market is one of the most complex agreements ever written and it is said that in ratifying it the member nations of Western Europe have set off a train of social, economic and political consequences.

Under the treaty the common market will be established progressively over a transitional period of 12 years divided into three stages of four years each. Before passing on to the second stage the council set up under the treaty will decide whether the objectives set down for the attainment during the first stage has been achieved. The second and the third stages cannot be prolonged or shortened save by unanimous decision of the council. In any case the period of transition may not be longer than a total of 15 years. At the end of the period of transition all the rules and regulations for the common market must come into effect. At the end of the period there will be free movement of trade without tariffs and quotas and a common tariff and commercial policy toward outside states. There will be a common agricultural policy including a common managed market for agricultural products. There will be free movement of persons, services and capital. Workers could move freely by the end of the transitional period. There will be a common transport policy covering railroads and inland waterways. There are also a set of principles such as assurances of fair business competition within the six-nation community, a call for gradual harmonizing of the nations' welfare and labour



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laws and a proposal to conduct national economic affairs so as to prevent balance of payment crises. There is also a proposal to establish a European Social Fund and a European Investment Bank. There is an agreement to associate the community with overseas territories of member states so as to increase trade and investment, chiefly in Africa.

Mr. Robert Marjolin, who was Economic Adviser to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has predicted the speeding up of the economic development of Europe. First of all he expects that increased competition among firms of different countries will lead to better use of resources by increased specialisation. Second, the threat of competition will encourage concentration and modernization of existing facilities. Third, co-ordination of investment programme will eliminate wasteful duplication. Fourth, new products and new techniques will be developed thereby stimulating employment and trade. Fifth, transfers of capital within the community will be facilitated.

While the Common Market is a great step in the European Economic integration, every-

thing in its working will not be smooth sailing. It is not expected that a real economic unit can be built by removing obstacles to trade. There is real danger in that some countries will be hurt. The Common Market mainly gets rid of obstacles and makes possible a common approach to solutions, but the solutions will be hard and the success of the Common Market will have to be paid for and may be at a high price. But the experience of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg in Benelux is quoted as supporting the faith in the success of the Common Market.

All in all the Common Market should exercise a salutary influence on the development of international trade and on the expansion of production in the rest of the world. It is also expected that the Common Market will offer great opportunities for American private investments in Europe and Africa. A prosperous integrated Europe is certainly welcome from the Indian point of view as affording a second big source from which this country can import capital goods to quicken the pace of industrial progress.

A VISITOR TO THE BRITISH ISLES

BY

MATHEW CHERIAN

For decades England has been our training ground. It is generally the ambition of a student to go and study in England, in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge or London although the present tendency is more to go still west, to the United States.

I partly agree with the opinion that our attraction to go to England was mainly based on the influence of the Britishers on us as rulers. Very often a western degree was a passport for a coveted job. But that is not the only reason, there are many more. If you happen to stay in this island for a time, say three or four years, you will come to know and experience some of its charms. This probably explains why some prefer to stay on. In this article I shall attempt to give you some of the observations I have made during my stay in England.

I was very much impressed by their ideas of queuing, their willingness for adjustments, their respect for the law and their love of fair-play and last but not least the language the average man uses either in appreciation or depreciation of anything, for that matter.

In the first few days, the ambitious Indian who landed in England will be struck by the strangeness of the English manners. In most cases they do not talk to you unless introduced by a person already known. But you will find them polite in their reserved and curt way. A stranger in London is always shown the street, the building or the Tube Station he or she is looking for. The British policeman, the Bobby, is always at your disposal; with his "A to Z of London," he will direct you to your destination.

During the first few days of your landing, you will see some of the famous English Queues. The idea of queuing is a British idea. The full acceptance of 'first come, first served,' the observance and acceptance of the necessary drawbacks of community life and particularly the realisation of these thoughts in practical life are of British origin. These Britishers love queuing, sometimes just for the fun of it. They queue up for daily newspapers, bread and eggs; they queue up for cinema and football tickets and to pay taxes. We often see people down here running into each other in the streets and this starts a violent quarrel, calling each other names, usually of a zoological nature; such a thing is unimaginable in England. Should such a 'collision' occur, the people concerned will say, 'sorry' and go their way.

Rude expressions are hardly used and foreigners often do not realise they have been told off and roughly treated. Rudeness is expressed in undertones. This is true as far as some of their newspapers are concerned. Should *The Times* remark, "we are astonished" or "it is rather amazing" it counts as an outspoken expression of disapproval. The English language used down there has many more shades of disapproval and praise than any other language in the world. This does not mean the English are different from others. They feel the same emotions, passions, the same envy, joy and happiness as others, only their external reaction to them is different.

The visitor to England is bound to notice that life there is a glorified village life. This applies even to London. It is not a planned city like Paris, it grew up like a mushroom

into the present state. Houses were built close to each other and the result was a number of villages. These villages grew till they touched each other's frontiers and one such result is London. London is a city without any planned streets. You can get lost in the heart of the city and can wander about from morning till evening looking for the street you want to get to. On such occasions only you will realise the importance of the 'guide' of the City of London.

As a rule the British hate too much planned order in their cities. That is true to an extent in their thinking too. They have a knack for adjustments, rigid theories and clear cut divisions are always a hindrance to the Britisher. It is true of their institutions too. They are always willing to give up a little of a rigid theory in order to make it work. Have a glance at the British Constitution and its classic attribute of "non-existence." The men who administer it always find ways and means of adjustments between noble principles and ugly realities; it has been working magnificently for centuries.

There is a trait in the character of these Islanders which no foreigner will fail to notice. It is their great respect for the law and their

love of fair-play. They are a wonderfully ordered set of individuals; the British love of fair-play is much stronger than party, group or self-interest. Ventilation of grievances are always allowed even through the medium of the radio and television; who has not heard about the famous 'orators' of Hyde Park Corner where every subject under the sun is thoroughly discussed. It is indeed an excellent training ground for a Parliamentarian. Questions are put to the Speaker whenever the listener feels like it; freedom of speech and criticism are as important to these Britishers as their daily food. Very often we come across the Wilkes' and the Hampdens among these Islanders. But any restrictions like say "No entry" signs or "Pedestrians only" are automatically observed and no policeman comes into the picture at all. In many cases wide powers are given to judges. These powers are never abused. They very often override their own strong personal prejudices and opinions in order to be fair to the criminals.

In this article the term 'British' is used to include the Scotch, Welsh, Irish and the Cornish; the difference between these nations is noticeable for anyone who lives among them but for an outsider it is much smaller than they themselves like to admit.

MADRAS—FROM PENTLAND TO PRAKASA

—A Long Shot.

BY

P. C. CHERIAN, M.A.

(This is the second instalment in a series of four articles wherein the author spotlights in a historical setting a number of personalities he met and heard over a span of nearly five decades—Ed.)

In 1918, soon after the college reopened Dr. Skinner announced his intention to retire after a selfless service of about thirty-five years. It was a labour of love. Though to part with him was sad, every one felt that he needed his well earned rest. He set his face against a public farewell, but agreed to have a quiet function in the College Hall. His favourite student Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddy, the Inspector-General of Education in Mysore claimed the right to speak on the occasion.

The name Ramalinga Reddy was not new to many of us though his face was. Of average height rather fair in complexion, with curly hair combed down and parted in the middle and possessing a booming voice, he appeared that day in tip-top style dressed in dark blue marina. He began his moving speech by calling Dr. Skinner "My Master" and that "Master-disciple" or "guru-sishya" feeling was the dominant key note of his address. As a farewell address it was superb in diction, style, substance and delivery and by the time it was over it was doubted whether there were any in the Hall whose eyes were not wet.

Stories of Ramalinga Reddy's student days had become a legend. Hailing from an upper middle class family in Chittoor District his all round brilliance was something exceptional. A leader among students loved argument and would be discussing various things far into the night, while the more studious would be immersed in their books. Some nights we would leave the hostel, whereto nobody knew and on many an occasion he was dragged from

his rendezvous by Dr. Skinner who used to go in search of him not finding him in the hostel which he used to visit after dinner. A strict disciplinarian he never punished him but warned him for breach of hostel rules, knowing what a gem of a boy he was. In the B.A. Examination he took a triple first class (English, Telugu and History) and for his post-graduate studies he took philosophy and secured a first class first in that too. Such brilliance could not go unnoticed. He was offered a scholarship for higher studies in Cambridge. Dr. Skinner was going that year on furlough and took Reddy with him. He took care of him as a father looks after his son and admitted him in Cambridge University. In the free atmosphere of the University his talents blossomed forth and his merit could not be kept hidden. He was elected the President of the Cambridge Union, the first Indian, may be the first Coloured man to be elected to this office, a rare honour in those days when Imperialism was at its height and colour prejudice was at its worst. It was his remarkable ability as a good eloquent and witty speaker that earned him this distinction. He used to take part in the discussions of the Fabian Society and attend also the meetings of the Women's Suffragette movement which was then taking shape. In spite of all these extramural activities he passed his M.A. in First Class with distinction. On his return to India he was straightaway appointed the Inspector-General of Education in Mysore State. In this capacity he was an ex officio

member of the Syndicate of the Madras University.

A lover of students and a hero with them, he sponsored their cause and introduced the compartmental system of passes in the Intermediate Examinations. According to this a student could pass part by part in successive examinations whereas formerly he had to pass all the three parts in one sitting. This change proved to be a great boon to many a student.

As an England returned Indian he was also Tutor and Companion to the Yuvarajah, the father of the present Governor of the Mysore State and chaperoned him more than once in continental tours. But his service in Mysore came to an abrupt end, he had to leave the State all of a sudden.

Thus as a free-lancer he devoted all his time, talents and influence to found the "Andhra University", with the aid of the many Rajahs and Zamindars of the Andhra area, the Maharajah of Parlakimedi being the Chief donor and Supporter. He could really be called the architect of the Andhra University. He laid more emphasis on research than on teaching and thereby proved that he was much ahead of many other educationists in India.

Politics was in his blood, while in England he used to attend the Parliament in the lobby whenever possible and watch the discussions and observed closely the practice and procedure followed in the mother of Parliaments. With the introduction of the Montford Reforms he stood for election to the Council on the congress ticket and was returned. Diarchy was being worked for the first time. The justice party being in a majority was asked to take over the transferred half of the Government, the Congress party remaining as the main opposition. C. R. Reddy was the obvious choice as leader of the opposition. After watching the working of diarchy for some time

the Congress moved the famous No-confidence resolution against the Government more particularly against the Justice Party. C. R. Reddy in a historic speech which in language, eloquence and rhetoric could easily be put on a par with the greatest parliamentary speeches of Burke and Sheridan, Pitt and Fox or Disraeli and Gladstone, condemned the various acts of omission and commission of the Justice Party, accused them of jobbery, favouritism and nepotism, and appealed to the house to turn out the party in power. It was on this occasion that Reddy who had a particular flair for coining pregnant phrases at appropriate moments stated "attachment meant appointment and detachment meant disappointment." Mr. Satyamurthi in an equally brilliant speech supported the resolution. All the same the motion failed but the reserved half had to pull its full weight to save its counterpart, the transferred half from ignominy.

Some time back in a speech at the Lakshmi-puram Young Men's Association Mr. R. V. Krishna Iyer who had been the Secretary of the Legislative Council for a very long time and who is considered to be the authority on these matters, is reported to have said that it was Mr. Satyamurthi who moved the No-confidence resolution. He may be right. I am writing from casual memory but my strong recollection is that it was moved by Mr. C. R. Reddy. He was the leader of the party and that lends support to my statement.

Again Reddy turned back to his first love "the Andhra University" and as its Vice-Chancellor went about a lot seeking support for its expansion and improvement. Then for a change he turned to local politics and was elected President of the Chittoor District Board for a term. With the introduction of the Government of India Act of 1935, he expected that he would be the automatic choice for the Congress leadership and that he would be the nominee for the University seat

which was his birthright. But he was not nominated to any seat. Of course he was not of the jail-going type. He had a growing suspicion that he was being shoved out and this omission confirmed it. This left him no choice but to leave the Congress which he had supported through thick and thin even at the risk of incurring the displeasure of his own kith and kin. A disappointed and disillusioned man he began to attack the Congress, not its ideology but its organisation. A few years before his death he delivered the Srinivasa Sastri lectures under the auspices of the Madras University, when the All-India Congress meeting just then held where the president was taken in a procession, seated in a chariot drawn by fifty or sixty pairs of bullocks, he referred to as a grand cattle show, typically characteristic of his wit, humour, sarcasm and ridicule, all rolled into one.

It is a matter for speculation what the fate of the South would have been had Dr. C. R. Reddy been given leadership of the Congress when it came to power in 1937. But this is almost certain that there would not have been such constant changes in the Ministry and that the Andhras would not have clamoured for a separate state. A lover of Tamil and a scholar in Telugu his translation of the Kamba Ramayana is considered to be a classical work in Telugu. It is a pity that he had not been given free scope to display his diverse talents.

Dr. Skinner was succeeded as Principal by Rev. Macphail a nephew of Dr. Miller. He had a gift to make dreary subjects interesting by narrating humorous stories and witty anecdotes. Lord Pentland relinquished his office and was succeeded by Lord Willingdon an imperialist of the curzonian type but not a high brow. The Willingdons were very popular in Bombay and their war work was a tremendous success. At the annual meeting of the Christian College in 1920, I am not quite sure, Lord Willingdon presided and Lady Willingdon gave

away the prizes. Besides these two, there were seated on the dais, the Principal and Dr. Mahomed Usman, the President of the Old Boys' Association. Dr. Usman who had some extra fat dangling all around managed to squeeze himself into an ordinary chair. He attempted to rise up to welcome the Governor but the chair stuck to his hind parts to the merriment of all and Lord Willingdon himself pushed it down, when the audience burst out in loud laughter in which he too merrily joined. The Principal read the annual report and then began to call the prize winners one by one. In the College I had noticed a fair thin anæmic looking boy with an unkempt face, slovenly dressed with the shirt dangling outside and a coat over it in the typical Andhra fashion, coming to the College always in the company of a smart looking youngster. When the prize winners were called, I was surprised to see this anæmic boy in his usual slovenly way coming up the dais and receiving almost all the medals and prizes including even the Peter Cater Prize for proficiency in the Bible though he happened to be a Hindu. When a set of heavy books was offered to him Lord Willingdon in a jovial mood stretched out his hand as if to help him carry this weight. This boy happens to be none other than Mr. P. V. Rajamannar who at present presides over the Madras High Court as the Chief Justice with distinction. He had a brilliant educational career taking a double first class in B.A., and first class both in F.L. and B.L. He started as a junior under his father who was having a lucrative practice and his rise in the profession was rather phenomenal. The father was appointed Advocate-General and soon afterwards elevated to the Bench. The son too followed in his father's footsteps first as Advocate-General and then to the Bench. I think both the father and son were in the Bench together for a short time, thereby creating history. Never had there been an instance of a father and son sitting together in the Bench, forgetting their position

as father and son and calling each other "brothers." What a happy father he has been and he continues to be so. Fortunately he is still with us enjoying the sight of his son stepping up from glory to glory.

He could have easily passed any competitive test but I wonder whether he would have passed the riding test. It was lucky for him that he was not attracted by the glamour of the Civil Service for had he done so he would have now been a Secretary to the Government, being frowned upon and ordered about by half-baked politicians. He is not so thin now as before (he has filled out) nor is he slovenly (he looks spruce, in uptodate clothes) or unkempt (having removed his downy moustache he appears always clean-shaven.) Surprisingly enough he has turned out to be a leader in fashionable society, a trait-quit dormant in his boyhood. A patron of fine arts, he has himself written some Telugu plays. A scholar in Telugu and Sanskrit, his tastes are Catholic and his outlook cosmopolitan; a lover of music and drama he does not miss a good performance. Being the flower of such a synthetic culture he is certainly bound to go for further honours.

Being the member of a family practising the Unani system of medicine, Mahomed Usman is also called a doctor though he never practised it. As a boy he was more than chubby and his friends teased him a lot but he never lost patience with them. This trait stood him in good stead in later life. After passing his F.A. he joined the Madras Medical College, but finding the first hurdle insurmountable he turned back and joined the Christian College for the B.A. Course. After taking his degree he never tried for any petty jobs but interested himself in Civics and Politics. He was a Councillor in the Corporation for years together and became its President for a term. In politics he was a staunch supporter of the Justice Party. Lord Willingdon then chose him as a Member of his Executive Council in which capacity he had even a chance to act as Governor for a short time. After a short break he was nominated as Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, which was followed by his appointment as Member in the Governor-General's Executive Council. He has been polite to the public and kind and sympathetic towards his subordinates. His administration may not have been brilliant but it has always been just and fair. Of him it could truly be said "here is a Mussalman in whom there is no guile."

The space where the Burmah Shell, United India and the Annamalai Hall and other buildings now stand was in those days an open maidan and open-air meetings were sometimes held there. I was passing that way one evening I saw a big gathering. Curiosity led me to go nearby and find out what it was all about. Then I saw a rather youngish man dressed in Western style but with a white turban on his head addressing the crowd in chaste fluent English. He was speaking on the ideals of the Justice Party, its organisation, its aim, and its future programme. The speech lasted for about one hour and when it was over there was loud applause. A week or two later there was a meeting in the Y.M.C.A. auditorium and when I went in I saw the same gentleman speaking on the "Maternal morbidity and mortality rate in Madras City." In clear lucid style he was explaining an abstruse subject in a most interesting manner. The man seemed to be in his elements and for the matter of that he appeared to be more fluent that day never pausing a second for a word. I asked my neighbour who this wonderful gentleman was and he told me that he was Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar. Then I told him that I heard him speak the other day on the Esplanade Ground about the "Aims and objects of the Justice Party." Then my friend laughed and enlightened me that the two were different, the other was Mr. Ramaswamy Mudaliar but the two were

twins. I was amazed not only at their likeness but at their command of the English language. Later I came to know more about them.

Mr. Ramaswamy Mudaliar the elder of the two by a few minutes was at the time a struggling lawyer, but devoting more of his time to politics of the South Indian variety. An ardent supporter of the non-brahmin movement just then taking the shape of a political party he contested the elections on that ticket, after the Montford Reforms and was returned to the Council. He was appointed Chief Parliamentary Secretary in the first Justice Ministry and soon made a name for himself; he was the chief spokesman of the party and did yeoman service in connection with the passing of the Hindu Religious Endowment Bill. He showed himself what a gallant fighter he was in opposing single-handed the formidable combination of C. R. Reddy and Sathyamurthi, when they moved the no-confidence against the Party. Though they were supposed to be his betters, undaunted, he stood up to them, wore them down and ultimately managed to win on points. By this extraordinary feat his stock went up and it never stumbled afterwards. Entering the Corporation as an ordinary Councillor he ended up as its President. He was included in various foreign delegations and round-table conferences. The British Government conferred on him the title of Dewan Bahadur in appreciation of his meritorious services. He was appointed as Dewan in Mysore. Finally he was asked to join the Viceroy's Executive Council as Commerce Member. This gave him ample scope to display his talents as an able administrator and a shrewd debator. As usual he was knighted. With the declaration of Independence the Congress Government was wise enough to retain his services not in the Cabinet but for liaison work in the United Nations Organisation for which he is eminently fitted. He is now the Chairman of a Bank, a Steamship Company, and some

other industrial concerns. Along with that he was also the Vice-Chancellor of the Travancore University. During the centenary celebration, the Madras University honoured him by conferring on him a Doctorate. One of the great sons of modern India he had as much to do with the building up of the nation as any one of the big guns of the Congress.

Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar too, though fettered by being in Government service, had a remarkably successful career. As a specialist in Gynaecology, he was long connected with the Maternity Hospital, first as Assistant Superintendent and then as Superintendent. He was appointed as the Principal of the Madras Medical College, the first time a Member of the Provincial Service to have that honour. Off and on he acted as Personal Assistant to the Surgeon-General for short periods. He adorned whatever he touched. Soon after retirement from service he was nominated as Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, as if the post were reserved for him, he still holds that post continuously for the sixth term setting up probably a record for all time. He had been connected with the University for more than forty years serving in various bodies in varied capacities and he knows the rules and procedure by heart from A to Z, thereby becoming an authority on the subject. He has proved himself to be so very efficient and indispensable that any successor, however clever he may be, would surely suffer by contrast.

In the twenties Dr. Lakshmanaswami was a member of the University Council. An interesting incident occurred in one of the meetings. Final year medical students had to appear for surgery, medicine and midwifery and according to the rules then in force they had to pass all the three subjects in one sitting. If they failed in any one subject they had to appear again for all the subjects. This was causing them great hardship and some of them

operation from all sections of labour and if there is sufficient mass enthusiasm, initiative and discipline, the success of the plan is assured. But if the workers in the country hesitate to contribute their due share, planning will be a failure.

In countries where labour is not highly organized the industrialists often seem to forget that workers have an effective role to play both in the matter of enhanced production and equitable distribution; it is also forgotten that workers are an integral part of the industry with integral responsibilities. They are even now considered as mere wage-earners and the employers have still the right to "hire and fire" whenever they like. If the national plan for developing industries is to be a success, workers who are employed in the industrial sector must be given such conditions as will place them in a position to devote to their work all the intelligence, enthusiasm, physical energy and skill which both in quantity and quality will be the highest. Under the present industrial system in India, only those who invest capital in the industry control it fully. So long as the employer acts in isolation and prefers to impose technical progress, he will not inspire in the workers the confidence required for fruitful co-operation with his efforts, however justified they may be. The great fear that lurks the minds of the workers is that to the extent they improve their efficiency and their production, they stand the risk of unemployment and of wages going down. To free them from this risk and to eliminate their fear, it will not be enough to provide Social Insurance and machinery to fix their wages, without changing the system as regards the conditions under which the labourers work.

It is an oft-quoted dictum in political science that good government is no substitute for self-government. Although politically speaking the workers under a democratic system

have the same rights as all other citizens, in the industries in which they are working, they feel often that they are mere cogs in the proletarian wheel and that everything is imposed from above, because in general, they are not given any hand in the taking of decisions which nevertheless vitally affect them. Therefore, in the industrial system in addition to imparting good conditions of work, they will also require the higher satisfaction that by doing their work efficiently, they are rendering service to the community as free and independent men. In order to give the satisfaction of a higher motive, the workers will require to be given a hand in the conduct of the industrial system.

Therefore, unless there is a thorough re-orientation in the attitude of the employers, in the matter of labour co-operation in the conduct of the industrial system, planning is not likely to succeed. Co-operation in industry, in common with other concepts, must change with the change in the pattern of the society. Up to this time, we have been working in India under a capitalist system. But now we have changed the whole structure, which should lead us to the establishment of a welfare state, or a co-operative commonwealth slowly evolving into a socialist state. The Second Five-Year Plan considers the attainment of a welfare state not merely as a long-term objective, but as a goal that has to be reached as early as possible. It is this fact that explains the growing volume of emphasis upon various types of redistributional measures both in regard to income and ownership of wealth. The higher extent of expenditure upon social services as well as upon transport and communication can also be partly explained on the basis of the above. It appears that the general approach of the Second Plan is that it is possible to obtain a high rate of capital formation, simultaneously with a high rate of approximation to the welfare state. If we have to achieve these objectives, there must be

full co-operation between labour and management. Private enterprises should slowly lessen the idea of profit-seeking and become more and more the guardians and custodians of the nation's production.

A socialist society places grave responsibility on the creative forces of the state. In the industrial sector, the burden must largely rest on the workers and technicians. In the capitalist industries, the workers have to bargain from time to time with their employers for better conditions of service and wages. But in a socialist system, if the patriotic urge does not adequately replace the profit-motive on the part of the employers, it will be for the workers to give a lead in the matter of production.

To cite an example, in Soviet Russia, the responsibility of the workers is of a very severe nature and a particular section of the workers known as "STAKNOVITE" goads the Directors of the Board of Management on to an ever-increasing tempo of production and thus the Directors are always afraid of this section and would utilise their individual initiative and enterprise in securing production as otherwise, they may be liable to punishment. The very basis of Socialist State necessitates the maximisation of production by every possible means and there can be no limit to the workers' contribution so long as that contribution is made possible without undue interference with their health and dignity and consistent with adequate wages and just, conditions of service. In the United Kingdom workers and managements believe in Joint Standing machinery at all levels for arriving at voluntary agreements in the matter of the settlement of trade disputes, and on the question of production by joint consultation from time to time, the object being to give employees wider interest in and greater responsibility for the conditions in which their work is carried out. A number of industries managed

by private industrialists have special schemes such as profit-sharing and association with the management through co-partnership for the efficient running of the unit. In some industries the representatives of employees have a voice in the control of the industrial system.

In the Scandinavian countries, workers-managements relations are advisory in character; but they have established the right to be consulted on many vital subjects relating to the running of the industry. Thus, for example, in Sweden, the production committees are authorised to examine the Balance Sheet, Profit and Loss Account, Directors and Auditors Report and have their say in all these matters.

In Germany, in the year 1951, laws were passed especially in the Iron and Steel and the Coal Industries for the participation of workers' representatives on an equal footing in the management, or "co-determination" as it is called, is being recognised and representatives of labour have a place in the Board of Directors.

In Yugoslavia, under Marshal Tito, according to the law established, factories, mines, communications, transport, etc., are managed by workers' collectives through workers' councils and Management Boards. These Boards run the business and are responsible to the workers' councils and the competent state organ. During the tenure of the Management Board which is for a year's duration, members remain in their regular jobs in the factories and receive no extra pay for the work done. The system of management by workers is still in the process of development. The Yugoslavian Trade Unions, on their part have been engaging themselves in training the workers in the art of business management which is very essential for the success of the system. The new changes have produced beneficial results such as appreciable reduction in the working population in individual

therefore represented their grievance to him, who took up their case in right earnest, to the Syndicate or Senate, I am not quite sure. He sponsored a resolution as an amendment to this rule, that they need not have to appear again for the subjects in which they had already passed. Curiously enough the late Dr. Natesa Mudaliar who was supposed to be the worst victim of this rule, opposed the amendment. The late Mr. Satyamurthi who had a peculiar knack of pouncing upon such occasions where some laughter could be raised, rose up in his seat and addressed the chair thus "Sir, I am astonished, I am astounded at my friend Dr. Natesa Mudaliar opposing this amendment which is brought in as a measure of relief to hundreds of students. My friend is said to hold the record for failure in the final year. Of course he scraped through in the end. I am led to presume that he is either jealous of his successors being let off so lightly or he believes that successive failures make the foundation stronger as has been proved in his case. Though it took him several years to pass the final examination he has turned out to be a successful and popular practitioner especially among the inferior classes. Time is precious for most of us and we cannot expect young men to have such patience and leisurely attitude as displayed by my friend Dr. Natesan. "Sir, I strongly support the resolution." There was laughter everywhere. Dr. Natesa Mudaliar's face became red; his moustache shivered. He rolled up his sleeves showed his fist and said in Tamil, (of course not in the hearing of the Chairman) "Edai, Pappan: You come out I would show you what Natesan is." The resolution was passed. By the time the meeting was over Dr. Natesan cooled down and came out chumming with Satyamurthi both, chuckling hand in hand and laughing like young school children.

The Justice Party had its office in a building on Mount Road just behind the Christ Church

and to the east of the Cosmopolitan Club. The social club under its auspices was the meeting place for all non-brahmins interested in the Justice movement. The club provided indoor games like cards, chess, etc. In the thirties I used to visit this club some evenings in the company of some non-brahmin friends and I still remember the three brothers coming to the place. Mr. Doraiswamy Mudaliar the eldest, then a Presidency Magistrate entering first with a proud smile on his face leading the other two and the latter following the elder a step behind showing due deference to his age but all the three talking freely and joking together just like close friends. Each one had a good word to every one he met, if an Andhra, in Telugu, if a Tamilian in Tamil and if a Malayalee in English. Soon after retirement Mr. Doraiswami Mudaliar died but the twins with a cruchen spirit are still going strong. The record of service of this pair is not only brilliant but also unique. In the words of the late Dr. Alagappa Chettiar these two Mudaliar brothers have earned not only international reputation but also have caused International confusion by their likeness to each other. With age slight points of differences in appearance are visible. Added to that the younger one has shaved of his moustache allowing the elder the privilege of continuing it. Now that the lawyer too has become a doctor some such distinguishing mark is necessary.

Usually brilliant parents have mediocre progenies but the Mudaliar brothers have proved themselves an exception in this respect too. The lawyer-politician's son Dr. A. Krishnaswamy, M.P., has been an Orator even as a student. He carried away all the inter-Collegiate elocution prizes. Having passed Economics Hons. with class from the Madras University he proceeded to London and took his Doctorate in Economics and also qualified himself for the Bar. On return, he enrolled himself as an Advocate in the Madras High

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PROFIT-SHARING AND THE PLANNED ECONOMY OF INDIA

BY

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

It is generally accepted today that without an increase in production, there can be no lasting economic progress. Therefore, in many countries of the world, increased production has been the major target in recent years. During the war, it was a decisive factor. Even after the cessation of hostilities, it continues to play an important role in the development of war-devastated countries and in their economic recovery. Increased production provides the key to the rapid industrialisation of the undeveloped and underdeveloped countries of the world. Besides these, political developments in recent years have given rise, in several countries, to an economic system of "armed peace" which of necessity is based not only of the restriction of civilian consumption, but also on an appreciable increase in production.

Apart from the fact that it is an outstanding economic necessity, increased production is now recognised as a primary social one, if not by all workers, at least by a growing number of their leaders. Strong support is now gaining for the view that improvement in social welfare is to be obtained not only by measures aimed at ensuring a more equitable distribution of the national income, but above all, by increasing production and efficiency. This is true of all countries irrespective of the type of economic and social system in vogue. A significant example is to be found in the preamble to the time and motion study agreement concluded in 1948 between the Swedish National Employers' and Workers' Organisation which runs as follows:

"A continual development of efficiency in industry and production is a general and essential condition for raising the standard of living of labour and the nation. Such rationalisation must be carried out continually in each enterprise in order to enable it to keep pace with technical developments. The common interest of the entire staff of every enterprise is to assist in making it truly competitive. Like all other members of the community, the employees will benefit by a rationalisation which leads to increased production and thereby basically contributes to a general improvement of the standard of living."

But it is also increasingly appreciated today that production can be stepped up only with the help of all participants, especially the wage-earners who constitute the vast majority. For an undertaking to be able to produce more goods, it is necessary in the first place that all its members should be convinced of the need to do so; they must then be asked to consider themselves how the undertaking can be made to produce more. The workers need to be assured that they will get substantial benefits from the increased production and to be given the opportunity of putting forward their own view as to the methods of securing the increase.

India has already launched her Second Five-Year Plan. One of the major objectives of the plan as laid down by the Planning Commission is to bring about a sizable increase in the national income by stepping up production both in the industrial and agricultural sectors. Since the plan has a pronounced bias towards industrialisation the role of labour becomes very important. If there is co-

undertakings coupled with an increase in the overall production, saving in raw materials, fuels, etc.

Thus the system of association of workers with management and control through co-partnership schemes and otherwise is gaining influence in many countries with Planned Economy. But in India, the idea of workers' participation in management control was not appreciated both by labour and management alike. The latter thinks that it is too strong and independent to allow any labour infiltration into their ranks and similarly organised labour on their part feel that they too are strong enough and do not like any position leading to a compromise. They are still working at cross purposes and at best, there is only "cease-fire" friendship, between them. Since Independence, both legislation and public opinion have sought to better the workers' lot and have succeeded to some extent in doing so. But these have not appreciably affected the outlook of the employer. He has no doubt yielded to the new measure; but there has been, by and large, not very much of a change of heart. But of late, employers have begun to recognise the need of associating labour with management. It is the duty of employers as the guardians of the nation's productive resources to set a new ideal for the future of the country.

The time is ripe for a bold experiment in the matter of conceding to labour an increasing share and voice in the conduct of the industry. The expenditure, Rs. 7,100 crores during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan of which a sizable portion is earmarked for the industrialisation of the country requires much organisation and cooperation between the two indispensable partners of the industrial

system, namely employers and workers. It is to be remembered that the workers are the integral partners in the industrial undertaking and without their good work, discipline and integrity, the industry will not be able to produce effective results. However efficient the machine touch in an industry may be, if the human element refuses to cooperate, the industry will fail to prosper under the present world conditions. Therefore it is necessary that labour should be given a new status in the industry through co-partnership schemes. The mere financial incentive produced by giving to the workers a share of the profits in the shape of annual bonus, as is being practised in the various industries in the country is not enough, though it is something in the right direction. This something will be all the greater if profit-sharing is combined with a share in the ownership and management of business. Especially in a property-based democracy like ours, participation in control and management without ownership is a paradox. Therefore, in all industries where employers realise their full responsibility and workers have responsible organisations which would speak in a reasonable way, workers and employers should sit together and evolve participation on the principle of co-partnership. Such a step should merit serious consideration and is worthy of being given an honest trial in a country like India which is trying to strike a middle road between western capitalism and eastern socialism. Profit-sharing with distribution of stock to the workers will pave the way towards the realisation of industrial democracy and the building up of a pattern of socialism so that they may be in greater consonance with ancient Indian Social Traditions based on harmonious personal relationship between labour and management.

"CONVERTIBILITY" MADE EASY

BY

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I confess to a sneaking sympathy for the Economics Professor who invariably began his course of lectures with: "Gentlemen! Economics as I understand it is not very well understood"; and, may it not be, that, for some readers of *Broadway Times*, Convertibility, as they understand it, is not very well understood either? And yet I maintain that the mechanisms of monetary policy, if freed from jargon, are well within the reach of ordinary intelligent people.

After the last war the Bank of England (known as Grandma in the City) thought it advisable for monetary reasons to divide the human race into residents inside and residents outside the Sterling Area. This area in 1953 consisted of the United Kingdom, India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, Southern Rhodesia, Ireland, Iceland, British Colonies and Iraq. All these countries possessed two features in common—the major portion of their export and import trade was with Great Britain, and their central monetary authorities kept the bulk of their foreign monies in the form of Sterling in London. They also linked their currencies with Sterling and thus formed a wide area of comparative exchange stability; which means that their respective currencies were kept stable in terms of each other.

Now, what were the main currency regulations for residents in the Sterling area previous to the Treasury Announcement of December 29, 1958? If they wanted to acquire foreign currency (Dollars, Swiss Francs, German Marks, or any non-sterling area money) for trade or travel they had to apply to the exchange control to get it, and if they earned dollars or

Swiss Francs, etc., they had to surrender them in exchange for pounds. Hence for sterling area residents the £ was inconvertible since convertibility means the freedom to turn pounds into 'any' currency you please—in or outside the sterling area. But of course there were, and are, so-called unofficial or black markets within the area where you can exchange pounds for gold or dollars etc., though you have to pay a higher price in pounds for them than if the £ were freely convertible.

Grandma, believing with Marcus Aurelius that "that which comes after ever conforms to that which went before," pronounced on the 29th December 1958 against any change whatever in its monetary policy towards residents of Britain and the overseas countries of the Sterling Area; their pounds remain as inconvertible as they were before—the Proud Free Pound is not for them.

Coming to Residents "OUTSIDE" the sterling area, they had been subdivided before December 29th into two main varieties or accounts: (1) American residents—also known as the dollar area or American account sterling or American and Canadian accounts—and these enjoyed the right to transfer the sterling they had earned anywhere throughout the world and could exchange it in the London Market or elsewhere for any currency or for gold. Here again the recent currency move made no change. (2) Residents outside the sterling AND dollar area—Continental Europe, China, Japan, Russia, South America, etc. These out-and-outsiders—also known as TRANSFERABLE ACCOUNT STERLING—had no such right; but they could convert their sterling in the uncontrolled foreign exchange

markets of Zurich or New York where the rate was of course less favourable.

Now, the British Treasury pronouncement of December 29th was meant to confer on residents outside the sterling AND dollar area the very same right of free convertibility which American residents enjoyed; hence these two varieties were merged into one and are NOW known as "external account sterling." Thus the amalgamation of (1) and (2) is all that this latest pronouncement amounts to.

One of the reasons why the Treasury took this step towards free convertibility was the fact that transferable account sterling had, for a considerable time already, been quoted in the markets ABROAD at rates very close to the Bank of England—rate, i.e., \$ 2.80 and this offered an excellent opportunity of dropping the distinction between one variety and another. But credit for the timing of the British move goes to DeGaulle; of all the birds that sing it was the French chanticleer who, encouraged by Dr. Ehrhard, started the convertible music and Grandma had to make a tremendous last minute rush not to miss her part in the European symphony. As from December 29th, 1958 all the OEEC countries, excepting Greece, Turkey and Iceland, have decided on free convertibility of "current" external accounts; hence the new writ does not apply to movements of capital (money), funds of manoeuvre, hot money that is shunted from centre to centre to take advantage of higher interest rates or for speculative purposes; 'current' means money earned by genuine trade transactions—international buying and selling of goods and services.

Another reason is that the unification of the rates for the main varieties of commercial sterling is expected to have important beneficial effects in as much as it will materially strengthen the status of the pound as an international currency and help world trade—and therefore Britain's own trade. As the transferable

account £, was very widely used as a basis for trade and other current account activities there was also a widespread unwillingness to keep it in stock because people had no assurance that its value would never be allowed to fall well below the official parity. Again, the free convertibility of the transferable account £ has permitted the exchange business, handled hitherto in the Zurich and New York markets, to be now arranged in London, and, when such business comes to a centre, other forms of financial activities tend to follow in its wake, and contacts of this kind play an important part in shaping the evolution of business patterns. Further, since the vast bulk of transactions in sterling will henceforth be handled in London, the U.K. authorities are much more able to keep a watchful eye on the day-to-day movement in rates of exchange and so prevent harmful speculation in the Pound.

In discussing the Power of London to maintain convertibility and remembering the fiasco that ensued in 1947 because of it, it is not enough to think of it in terms of a year or of the current position. What of the longer-term outlook? This brings us to the fundamental difficulty facing the convertible £: it is not enough for the U.K., and the sterling area to have a sufficient RESERVE vis-a-vis the dollar area to permit free exchange between sterling and dollars. Sterling must now bear the brunt of any demand made on it by other currencies which are dollar hungry. The gold and dollar reserves that can be brought into play for meeting pressure on the £ are now considerably larger than they have been at any time since the war. Thus the latest official figures put the gold and dollar stock at £1,099 Million or £3,076 Million and these could, if necessary, be supplemented to a considerable extent by new IMF credits should the Pound become exposed to temporary stresses; moreover, during 1959, dollars are not likely to be scarce owing to French selling; now that the franc

commands confidence, many French holders of dollar balances—and they are considerable—will repatriate them and this is bound to result in pressure on the dollar and therefore in favour of the Pound.

But Mr. Gaitskell remains unconvinced. He thinks that as a result of convertibility the £ has become more vulnerable and that increased pressure will be exerted in favour of disinflationary measures all over Europe. Let me be quite plain about what he means, even at the risk of being tedious. If the price level outside the sterling area falls off, foreign goods become cheaper all the world over, at the same time as outside residents, through their loss of income, become able to offer less for sterling area goods. In these circumstances the sterling area must reduce its

prices and this it can do only by enforcing tighter monetary policies, in the hope that monetary restriction will bring down COSTS. Costs, however, are made up to a large extent of wages; therefore no policy of deflation can succeed in bringing down costs to the required extent unless it includes cuts in wages. If the workers offer strong and successful resistance, costs will not be brought down, but employment will, because the deflated monetary structure will not make it profitable for employers to maintain production at the previous level.

This line of argument is sure to appeal to the Labour vote, but, because of non-stop wage increases and higher prices, it will probably not induce floating voters and the middle classes to float Gaitskell into Downing Street.

(Continued from page 34)

Court, but did not practise seriously. Having been born and brought up in an atmosphere of politics he revelled in political talks and discussions which eventually resulted in his taking over the editorship of the *Liberator* the organ of the Justice Party. Unfortunately this was a time when the party was losing its popularity and consequently the paper its support. All his attempts to revive it failed and it had a slow lingering death. Meanwhile he contested as an independent for a seat in the Central Assembly and succeeded, defeating his opponent, a Congress candidate. He created a good impression in the Legislature by his studied criticism of Government measures. He is returned to the Assembly a second time. An authority on Economics and Constitutional Law his words are given due weight. That amongst the junior members

he is a marked man though belonging to the opposition is proved by his recent deputation, as a delegate to the United Nations Assembly. A man of his erudition and talents cannot be kept behind. Certainly he must have a great future before him.

The doctor's son Dr. Venugopal has inherited all the traits and talents of the father. Though young he has already caught up with the father in the matter of professional skill and attainments. And it only remains to be seen whether the youngster will excel the elder.

Thus these two Mudaliar brothers have been blessed on all sides and we ought to be proud that they happen to exist in our State, in our midst and in our generation.

(to be continued)

THE SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES IN MEDIAEVAL HINDI LITERATURE

BY

A. C. KAMAKSHI RAO, M.A.

In India very little attempt has been made so far to evaluate the influence of great poets on society, and history loses its charm and purpose without such an evaluation. It is of course true that the vast literatures of the several languages of our country are not only diverse and complex, but are also full of poetic flights of imagination, that it becomes a formidable task for any historian to arrive at a correct judgment. Nevertheless, this task is worth accomplishing, if we should wish to present a correct picture of the history of our people.

Kabir and Tulsi are undoubtedly the most remarkable men that the middle ages of India had produced. The writings of these two great philosopher-poets, have influenced the lives of the people of Upper India, so deeply, that it is no exaggeration to say that North India, as it is today, is largely the making of these two great poets. Kabir lived between 1398 and 1429 A.D. while Tulsi lived between 1527 and 1623 A.D.

With the fall of the Empire of Harsha, the North broke up into small Rajput principalities, and the rulers of these small kingdoms, were in a state of constant struggle with one another, and there was neither a central power strong enough to hold them together, nor were these rulers able to dissolve their differences and join hands to face foreign invasion. Upon this scene of petty Rajput feuds, the avalanche of the Muslim conquest burst. The beginning of the 13th century saw the completion of Muslim conquest of Northern India, and this had a tremendous effect upon every aspect of life of Indian people and particularly the

religious belief of Hindus received a terrible blow.

The religious condition of India on the eve of the Muslim conquest was far from satisfactory. Though Buddhism has disappeared completely from the country as a result of Sankara's crusades, yet Sankara's doctrine of "Maya" was perhaps too difficult for the common man to comprehend. Bengal became the seat of a strange movement springing up from the cult based on the conception of Sakti, and the followers of this cult called the "Vamacharins" threatened to overthrow the moral fabric of the society. Again there was the Sahajiya cult which preached the path of emancipation from birth and death, through the love and worship of young and beautiful women. Hinduism was fast deteriorating, having confined itself more to the external formalism, leaving to the winds, the content. In fact, not one of the several cults which were then being preached and practised laid proper emphasis on the triple path of Karma, Bhakti and Jnana, which was the core of religion; and which alone could lead men to the perfection of God. Added to this was the perpetual antipathy between Hindus and Muslims, on religious matters, the latter always asserting that their religion to be the best, and trying to enforce it at the point of sword. Thus there was at that time a dire need of a religious teacher, who could expound the true nature of religion and guide the common man on the right path which would lead him to perfection.

And Kabir fulfilled this role remarkably. He was an illustrious and immortal philosopher-

poet who brought a message of hope and joy for the suffering humanity, and strove strenuously for its spiritual, moral and social uplift. His liberal outlook, his religious toleration, his lofty character, his love for truth and his disdain for all those things which shrouded truth, made him dear to the high and low alike.

Kabir refused to acknowledge caste distinctions, and held that religion without Bhakti was no religion at all, that asceticism, fasting and alms-giving had no value unless they are accompanied by devotional worship. He preached the religion of love which would unite all castes and creeds, and rejected all those features of Hinduism and Islam which stood in the path of devotion. He declared in unmistakable terms that Hindus and Muslims were the children of the same Father, and they are one and the same. Says he "Hindus call Him 'Ram' and Muslims 'Rahim', but yet both fight and kill each other and none knows the truth." He was the first person who attempted to reconcile Hinduism with Islam, and tried to find a middle path based on devotion, on which both the religions could tread. He commended the worship of the Supreme-Impersonal (Nirguna Brahma) and condemned the worship of idols and the theory of incarnation.

As a poet Kabir is second to none. His language is simple, his poetic compositions are unlaboured and his skill in compressing a world of sense within the short compass of a couplet—called Doha—is unrivalled. He expressed his ideas, clearly and boldly, and never did he hesitate to express truth, however unpalatable it may be.

But Kabir was not a systematic philosopher. He was a Mystic poet, and his philosophy was based more upon his personal vision of God than anything else. Only those very few who had a lively realisation of the presence of God, could comprehend his philosophy. For

Kabir, God and His presence were a reality and his spirit drew inspiration from That Vision, but all could not ascend to these heights. So with the passage of time, his cult became nothing more than an ethical code of life, and the realisation of "the Supreme-Impersonal" which was the bed-rock of Kabir's cult either receded to the background or people pretended to have had that realisation. As a result, a strange situation arose, which Tulsi aptly describes in his "Ramayana."

Forgotten were all sacred books; true religion

Was crushed by that Age and its vices;

All kinds of heretical ways were established

By proud men's imagined devices;

* * * *

One who strange unkempt clothing and marks would put on,

And all things clean and unclean would eat

Was a Sadhu, a Yogi, a most holy man.

When poverty comes, or they mourn, a dead wife,

Shave their heads and take up 'holy' mendicant life,

Men forsake their devotion to God, which the scriptures

Enjoin and—in error perverse—

Turn from unity, temperance and wisdom, for all kinds

Of self-made ways; that is their curse.

The situation demanded the immediate presence of a devout saint who could stop this deterioration in the religious and social life of people, protest against the virtual atheism, instil in the mind of the common man, faith in the Supreme, and divert him on to the neglected path of duty. And Tulsi fulfilled this role marvellously.

Tulsi was not only a Master-poet, but a great Saint, a moral philosopher and a pro-

phetic-genius. His 'Ramacharita Manasa' (or Ramayana) and 'Vinaya Patrika' are the two outstanding books which wielded enormous influence on the Hindu mind. Tulsi's devotion to Rama was unshakable; yet he did not allow himself to be lost in devotion, unmindful of the ignorant and distressed society around him. He shaped his vision of the Supreme into a concrete reality for the common folk around him. He wrote the eternal story of Rama not only for his delight, but it was a vehicle through which he could convey his message to distressed humanity. Rama was religion-incarnate for him. He was at the same time, the Supreme-Impersonal (Nirguna Brahma), the Supreme conceived in personal form of Lord (Saguna Vishnu) and the ideal, dignified, and lofty minded perfect man (Maryada Purushothama) who were respectively the be-all and the end-all of the triple path of Jnana, Bhakti and Karma. He strove hard to bring home to the common man the effective nature of the path of devotion, which the scriptures enjoin, coupled with wisdom, and renunciation, as a means of attaining salvation, while doing one's own duty as a house-holder (Grihastha).

Very few devotee-poets equalled Tulsi in emphasizing the duty of an individual to one's own self, family, society, country and God. Rama was his ideal of a son, brother, friend, master and king, and Sita, the incarnation of

female virtues, was his grand ideal of a woman, daughter and wife.

The striking quality of Tulsi's works is his generous and catholic approach to every aspect of life. Though an ardent-devotee of Lord Vishnu, he acknowledged the greatness of Lord Shiva and thereby he set at rest the controversy which was raging between the Vishnavites and Saivites. He adored not only Rama, but also Krishna and several other gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. While striving hard to attain the ineffable perfection, he never allowed the temporal aspect of life to escape his view altogether. He set before the society, the path of compromise (Samanvaya), a mid-course between the two divergent points and led the people out of the delusion that had ensnared them.

As a poet Tulsi is unparalleled but it is not the object of this article to dwell upon his poetical excellence. But one aspect cannot be left unsaid. All the characters of Ramayana are so ideally depicted, that we draw lessons of supreme value for the conduct and regulation of ourselves. They give us a strong, steady and trustworthy guidance in the trials of life which face us.

Kabir and Tulsi, have each in his own way, tried to shape and mould the life of society in which they lived, so that it can tread the path of a life full of virtue, devotion and insight.

FREEDOM OF £ STERLING

BY

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New Freedom

British Treasury announced on December 27, 1958 that as from December 29 (Monday) all pound sterling held or acquired by non-residents of the Sterling Area* would be freely transferable throughout the world. Consequently sterling earned by residents outside the Area and sterling balances held by them in bank deposits or Treasury bills are now freely convertible in London into gold or dollars or any other currency at the official rate of exchange for the first time since 1939. There will be no change in the margins for the pound against the dollar which will continue to be \$ 2.78 to \$ 2.82. The old transferable sterling accounts, the American and Canadian accounts (already convertible) are now merged into a single "external account" which can be used for transfers anywhere throughout the world or purchase in the London Market or elsewhere, of any currency and of gold. What is done now is an extension of freedom in the use of sterling or the grant of formal convertibility to external sterling only, as full convertibility is still not feasible and therefore denied.

The subject-matter under discussion is sterling convertibility. But what is done is just a release of a portion of Sterling i.e., external sterling into a new lease of free-

dom. Hence the title of the paper "Freedom of Sterling" for three reasons: (1) The term "convertibility" is rather narrow as a concept, technical in content and mechanical in operation. (2) A currency of one country cannot be converted into the currency of another country. A pound sterling cannot be converted into dollars any more than a frog can be converted into a fish. But pound sterling may be exchanged for dollars at a fixed or fluctuating rate. (3) Further what Britain did in December 1958 was not granting convertibility to pound sterling in the full sense of the term, i.e., to say, the freedom for any holder of sterling to use it to make any payment for any purpose, anywhere. If there is full convertibility, Sterling Area ceases to function. The term "convertibility" is narrow in conception, ambiguous in expression and not true to reality today. The term "convertibility" is used in this paper with all these reservations.

The new freedom gained for sterling is partial and partisan and therefore incomplete. It helps only non-resident, Sterling. Further, the present exchange control will be retained and restrictions with regard to transfer of capital outside the sterling area will not be altered. To the ordinary man in the street,

* *Sterling Area.* After Britain and other countries abandoned the gold standard in 1931, a number of countries found convenient and advantageous to maintain stable exchange rates with pound sterling and to transact a large part of their foreign exchange business in London. In order to do this, they kept a part of their monetary reserves in sterling, either on deposit with the Bank of England and other London banks or invested in Treasury Bills and other British Government Securities.

In the Sterling Area are the Commonwealth countries (except Canada), and several others—Burma, Iceland, Irish Republic, Iraq, Jordan, Libya and certain States in the Persian Gulf area. They are now known as "Scheduled territories". It covers nearly 600 million people—about a quarter of the world's population—of which the commonwealth part is about 535 million.

The Sterling Area is an international payment system. It has no formal constitution or written rules; only general agreements. These are flexible, a characteristic feature of all British institutions.

it doesn't mean much; an Englishman cannot spend more dollars in U.S.A. or import dollar goods. To the foreigners too it does not make much difference. For some years foreign holders of sterling have been able to convert their sterling into dollars in Zurich and other foreign markets at slightly discounted "transferable rate". Ever since February 1955, the British Government has stood ready to intervene with its dollars, in order to prevent the discount on transferable sterling from becoming alarmingly large. Britain was thus supporting the free-market in sterling for the last three years.

However the freedom gained for external sterling is real and of consequence. The concerted move of ten West European Powers and Britain helped to dethrone the dollar from its eminence but not yet or will be able to unseat dollar from authority or influence in the sphere of international finance in the foreseeable future.

The Story of Convertibility

In the days of the gold standard convertibility meant that monetary authorities were willing to exchange their country's currency into gold at a fixed rate. Ever since 1931 the pound had been inconvertible in this sense that there was nobody from whom the owner of a bank balance in London had the right to demand gold at a fixed price. But they could get dollars at a fixed rate, and thus convertible. But since 1939 there was no free market in sterling. To conserve dollars which became a "hard currency" (extremely scarce) the members of the sterling area instituted in 1939, under the leadership of U.K., a system of exchange control. The sterling area was an answer to the challenge of dollar supremacy during the war and after. One can observe the following principles in the working of the Sterling Area, which indirectly helped to minimise the use of dollars and to conserve scarce foreign currency: (1) There is complete free-

dom of payments in respect of current transactions and with every few exceptions comparable freedom for capital payments. (2) Member countries maintain, at any one time, a stable exchange parity for their own currencies in terms of sterling. (3) Most of the Sterling Areas, foreign exchange transactions go through London. Overseas members hold most of their external reserves in the form of sterling balances in London. In effect, when they receive sterling or other currencies from the non-sterling world, they transfer them to U.K. and add to their balances. When they pay sterling and other currencies, they withdraw them from U.K. and run down the balances. The U.K. thus acts as the banker to the whole Area; carrying sterling liabilities and holding resources of gold and foreign currencies. (4) Countries in the area use sterling in settlement of their trade and other transactions with other member countries and for the bulk of their transactions outside the Area. By a mutual agreement, the sterling area countries formed a Central Dollar Pool, into which all receipts of dollars were paid by the recipients, sterling being issued in exchange. When any of the sterling area countries required dollars they drew on the pool but each country limited its drawings of dollars to the amount required for necessities. Every attempt was made to strengthen the internal and external value of pound.

It was agreed at Brettonwoods in 1944 by 44 nations who gathered there to thrash out a post-war monetary system that after a transition period, the world needs a regime of stable and convertible currencies, free of exchange restrictions and discriminations. Since the war, the attempt to establish sterling as an international currency has been done chiefly through the system of transferable accounts. Transferable account system was instituted in 1947 as a preparatory step towards the establishment of the full convertibility of sterling in accordance with the terms of

the Anglo-American Financial Agreement. Countries in the Transferable Account area comprise all those outside the sterling and dollar areas and with which sterling area has neither great surplus nor deficit. The T.A. System gives in effect convertibility to certain holders of sterling for certain types of transactions and for transactions with other transferable account countries and with certain others. The main exceptions to the T.A. System are that capital transactions and all transactions with the dollar area were excluded.

The nearest approach to convertibility was attempted in the ill-fated experiment of 1947 with the backing of the American loan. The technique adopted on that occasion was the extension of the transferable accounts system to embrace all important trading nations including the dollar area. Sterling cannot be used for capital transactions outside the Sterling Area. It lasted for six weeks and it failed with a heavy drain on gold and dollar reserves of the Sterling area.

But the facilities of the Central Banks and the back door approach through the commodity markets or what is known as "Commodity shunting" continued to facilitate the convertibility of sterling into dollars. Central Banks of overseas countries have the legal right to use their Sterling balances for any type of payments, a right which they do not share with the residents of the respective countries. In the case of India and Pakistan special agreements regulate the drawings on the accumulated Sterling balances which at the end of the war amounted to more than £1,000 millions. Though the method of "Commodity shunting" say, a French importer may import raw material like rubber with the use of Sterling and re-exporting for dollars. The scope of convertibility on these lines are rather very restricted.

The basic policy was laid down at the Commonwealth Economic Conference in London 1952. The view was put forth that a move

towards a wider measure of transferability for all non-resident Sterling earned on current account was desirable. Since 1952 it was the intention of British Treasury to amalgamate different types of non-resident Sterling. Broadly speaking there are two types of non-resident Sterling accruing as a result of commercial transactions namely American account and transferable account. In March 1954 a big step was taken. Transferable account status was extended to virtually all countries outside the Sterling and Dollar areas, thus appreciably reducing the remaining trade discrimination forced on Sterling area countries by currency controls. Further by allowing those transferable account countries to use their Sterling, to settle both current and capital transactions between themselves, Government considerably widened Sterling's role as an international currency. By 1954 there were only two types of accounts left—official and transferable. The strain on Sterling resulting from the British boom of 1954-56 checked further progress on these lines.

However in 1955, Government decided to intervene in the market in support of Sterling. Government authorised the Exchange Equalisation Account to support transferable sterling so that Sterling might be converted into dollars at a discount of not more than 1½ per cent. In 1957 Britain was facing a foreign exchange crisis. In mid 1957 Britain's liabilities totalled £4,150 millions (U.K. Sterling liabilities) the reserves being only £1,350 millions. The low ratio of assets to liabilities caused much anxiety in financial circles. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was obliged to raise the bank rate from 5 to 7 per cent in September 1957, highest ever reached since 1920. In recent years U.K. has made increasing use of monetary measures to maintain the internal value of the pound intimately affecting external value too. Sir Stafford Cripps said in his Budget Speech, 1950, "If internal inflationary forces were to get the upper hand in our economy, our

balance of payments position, both overall and in dollars, would deteriorate disastrously and the reaction of the rest of the world to any such inflation would become a most potent factor in weakening the position of Sterling." His appreciation of the problem continued to dominate policy-making ever since.

At the Montreal Conference (Finance Minister, September 1958) it was once again emphasised that convertibility should be the objective of Sterling Policy. The communique issued after the Conference also said, "A strong pound sterling is vital to the stability and economic progress, not only of the Sterling Area and its individual members but also of the World Trading Community." The New Delhi Conference of I.M.F. seems to reaffirm its faith in convertibility of currencies as the most desirable goal. Britain took the forward step towards convertibility of external Sterling at the end of December 1958, with prior and proper consultation with all parties concerned unlike what happened at the time of Devaluation of pound in September 1949. Though it may not mean much in practice, the chief effect of convertibility of non-resident Sterling will be, to encourage its greater use and to increase its value as an internal currency for settlement and reserve purposes. Sterling cannot restore its lost laurels of the 19th century or displace successfully the dollar of the post-war era. For, "the greater part of the history of International finance in the last 40 years, could be written in terms of a history of the relative decline of Sterling accompanied by often brilliant defensive action on its part and by uncertain and frequently ineffectual attempts to establish some other Sovereignty in the territory it has been forced to abandon" (A.C.L. Day) Even the Sterling area is a defensive mechanism and the status of Sterling does not and should not merely depend on policy makers but on producers' decisions.

Time favourable

The British Treasury was convinced that the time was ripe for the action taken. The

reserve position stood better than at any time since the war. Britain's gold and dollar reserves are firm and strong over \$ 3 billion and the I.M.F. has agreed to renew a stand-by credit of \$ 739,000,000 in case of need. Further the step towards convertibility is merely a *de jure* recognition of a really emerging equilibrium position. Before Britain merged the rates, the Transferable pound stood at about \$ 2.79½ and the American Account about \$ 2.80½ and the external Sterling stands at almost \$ 2.81—that is a combination of both these rates and accounts. Sterling remained steady at or over official parity.

Trade balance too was favourable. Britain enjoyed current account surplus with U.S. for the past four years (1955-59). In the first half of 1958, the balance of current payments yielded a record surplus of \$ 334 million.

Reinforcement of second line of reserve which many countries depend, is represented by the resources of I.M.F. The New Delhi meeting of the I.M.F. resolved to raise the member quotas by 50%, thus raising the level of reserves and drawing rights. An expansion of international reserves would certainly be an added argument in favour of a forward move by sterling towards convertibility. Size and quality or the degree of liquidity of reserves are more conducive to trade expansion rather than the mere quantity of reserves.

The level of industrial production too compares favourably with U.S.

Table 1

Industrial Production (manufacturing) (1953 = 100)

	1954	1955	1956	1957	(1st half) 1958
U.K. ...	107	113	112	114	115
U.S. ...	93	104	107	107	97
West Ger- many ...	112	128	138	146	148
Japan ...	111	122	151	178	176

Index of industrial production shows a better trend for Britain compared to U.S. but not much compared with West Germany or Japan. Further U.S.A. a net exporter of farm products whereas Britain is a net importer. The comparison too is misleading as it is related only to the position which U.S. held in 1953 which was high enough. One wonders whether the rate of industrial productivity warrant a serious trust in pound sterling for long. The problem is better understood in the light of the genesis of inconvertibility of pound itself.

The problem of convertibility

The problem of convertibility is not yet solved as it is difficult to solve under the present conditions. The genesis of the problem of convertibility of Sterling arises from the inherent and acquired superiority and hegemony of U.S.A. in the international finance. Britain emerged from the Second World War poorer and with a growing deficit on current account.

Current Account

	External Deficit —Pound Britain	External Surplus Dollar + U.S.A.
	— (millions)	+ (millions)
1939 ...	£ 250	\$ 732
1940 ...	£ 804	\$ 1603
1941 ...	£ 816	\$ 2474
1942 ...	£ 663	\$ 6564
1943 ...	£ 680	\$ 11322
1944 ...	£ 659	\$ 12395
1945 ...	£ 875	\$ 8194

The experience of U.S.A. was exactly the opposite of Britain. U.S.A. was suppliers of goods and services of all kinds of food, raw materials, transport, and finished goods. Much more was sent out than sent in. She emerged from the War wealthy and powerful and she retained that position in the post-war world with ease and strength.

The position becomes more clear from the following comparison. Before the war every inhabitant of U.K. could be said to have on an average a claim of nearly £ 80 on the rest of the world. But at the end of the war, the position had been reversed and every Britain owed the rest of the world £ 20. By 1951 the average *per capita* external debt rose to £ 55. The external value of the pound also declined during the period culminating in the devaluation of 1949 in terms of dollars to the extent of 30%. The value of the pound began to fall at the very start of the war. It was worth only \$ 4.05 as compared with \$ 4.68 in July 1939 and \$ 4.88 before the Munich Conference of 1938. Non-Commonwealth countries gave up the practice of linking their currencies to sterling and sought to cut down their sterling balances in London. There was a general flight of capital from Europe to America, from pound to dollar. The dollar began to rule and reign. The demand for dollar exceeds its effective supply, termed as the "dollar gap" or shortage. It refers to a persistent tendency on the part of the people of the world outside North America to spend more in that region than the sum what they are earning in that region and what the residents of that region are inclined to lend to them or invest in their borders, impelled by ordinary economic motives. Here lies the problem of inconvertibility of sterling and its weakness.

The problem of convertibility arises from the fact of growing disequilibrium between the U.S. economy and the rest of the world. U.S. superiority is partly due to production, in size and efficiency. There are long term and short term factors. As a relatively underpopulated country, U.S.A. is blessed with natural resources and has been able to develop herself as a more or less self-sufficient economic unit. Consequently the role of foreign trade in the U.S. economy is not of much importance. The total external trade of U.S. (averaging imports

and exports together) has a value equivalent to only 4 per cent of the national income, whereas the corresponding figure for Britain is 18 per cent. The dependence of U.S. on international trade is likely to remain much smaller than that of any European country so that the inefficiency resulting from tariff protection will be less, and the problem of structural adjustments created by changes in the pattern of international trade will be much smaller.

The inherent superiority has been strengthened by the reality of economic growth. About $\frac{2}{3}$ of the total investment capacity outside the Soviet orbit has been concentrated in the U.S.A. Forgetting for the moment, the huge farm surpluses, a single index of the manufacturing capacity of U.S.A. demonstrates conclusively, the supremacy of dollar.

Manufacturing Capacity (World = 100)

Period	U.S.	U.K.	Germany	France	Russia
1906-10	35.5	14.7	15.9	6.4	5.0
1913	35.8	14.0	15.7	6.4	5.5
1926-29	42.2	9.4	11.6	6.6	4.3
1936-38	32.2	9.2	10.7	4.5	18.5

This is an imposing evidence of economic superiority enjoyed by U.S. before the Second World War, which continued to strengthen itself during and after the war.

Productivity per man and per man hour was raising rapidly, 44 per cent and 37 per cent respectively between 1937-52.

Average compound rate of annual increase (%) productivity in U.K. and U.S.A. industry.

	U.S. Output per man per cent	U.K. Per hour	U.S. Output per man per annum	U.K. Per hour
1907-37	1.8	1.4	2.9	1.7
1937-48	2.1	0.7	1.7	1.3
1948-52	3.6	2.2	3.1	1.7

Source.—L. Rostas.

NOTE.—Production indices include, mining, manufacturing gas, water and electricity for U.K. but only mining and manufacturing for U.S.A.

Natural advantages, research and technical innovations, all contributed to the higher rate of output per man and man hour in the case of U.S.

Sir Dennis Robertson in his inimitable and rather romantic style, illustrates as follows: the comparative position and disadvantage of the rest of the world *vis-a-vis* the U.S. which is worthy of quoting in full. "The simple fellow who to the advantage of both has been earning a living by cooking the dinner for a busy and prosperous scientist wakes up one day to find that his master has invented a completely automatic cooker and that if he wants to remain a member of the household, he must turn shoe-black. He acquires a kit and learned the technique, only to find that his master has invented a dust-repelling shoe, but would, nevertheless, graciously be willing, for him to remain on and empty the trash-bins. Would he not better to remove himself from the orbit of the great man and cultivate his own back garden? And if he can find some other simple fellows in the same case with whom to gang up and practise the division of labour on a less bewildering basis, so much the better for him." Such, it is urged has become the position of the rest of the free world *vis-a-vis* the U.S. Superior productive technique and efficient in the productive processes combined with abundance of natural resources explain the supremacy of U.S. and the dollar and it is on sure and permanent foundations.

By the end of the Second World War U.S. emerged with a trade surplus and a dollar gap for the rest of the world to bill. The post-war financial world is seriously threatened by the excess demand for U.S. goods without a corresponding capacity to pay for them

in U.S. dollars. Hence the dollar shortage in the world currency market. The world witnessed therefore the co-existence of one "hard" currency-dollar, amidst a number of "soft" currencies. Of course nobody wants a currency as an end in itself. The value or demand for currency arises from the fact that dollar possesses the purchasing power to buy U.S. goods and services which the world badly needs. The continued dominance of the dollar was reinforced by the U.S. policy of (1) high tariffs (2) undervaluation of dollar, (3) inadequate investment of U.S. capital abroad and (4) impeding of imports and thrusting of exports on world market. However the long term factors are real and decisive and the dollar problem is not a transitory and unfortunate episode in the history of currency and international finance. Dollar problem is a long term one. But it may be solved by U.S. itself, as Keynes has prophesied that a high cost living U.S.A. will resolve the dollar problem. But the fiat of a British Treasury cannot do the trick.

Evaluation

British Treasury has undertaken this step backed by German and American interests apart from British big business. The dream of "Tory freedom" and prestige certainly strengthened the Government in its policy. There is a volume of opinion seriously opposed to convertibility. The opposition is led by the Labour Party in England and others. They fear that it is an unnecessary international commitment for Britain to undertake at the expense of freedom in domestic policy. Government's ability to pursue expansionist policies will henceforth be much more conditioned by the dictates of international finance. To risk the economy of Britain and to sacrifice the well-being of the people at the altar of national prestige or doubtful gain to a few in the city, are things which the Labour Party cannot easily consume and the desire to revive

past glories of a first class power, does not inspire confidence among the labour ranks today.

Further the new freedom of the pound, meant the end of European Payments Union. Under the new regime payments between European countries will be settled cent per cent in gold or dollars in contrast with E.P.U. procedure, whereby 25% of each country's balance to be settled, ranked automatically for credit, received or given. The Labour Party maintains that E.P.U. has been a remarkable success and a powerful source of credit for the steady expansion of European trade. But it has to be remembered that West Germany was reluctant to pour credit into E.P.U. arrangements—wanted formal convertibility and the replacing of E.P.U. by the European monetary agreement negotiated in 1955. Germany is the big creditor and France is the big debtor country of E.P.U.

The T.U.C. Council (representing 10 million strong—Trade Union Congress) argues that the trade surplus is just a passing phase and hence not dependable. Improvement in the exchange position in 1957-58 was due to the chief factor—the fall in basic commodity prices which followed the end of the Suez Canal "incident." Due to favourable terms of trade, Britain gained to the extent of ten per cent. For a given volume of exports, they can now get 10 per cent more of imports. This implies a saving of £400 million a year on Britain's current import bill and consequently balance of payments. The current external surplus is explained in terms of favourable terms of trade rather than in increased productivity or trade expansions. Between 1950 and 1956 the volume of world trade rose by not less than 45 per cent. British exports rose by 12 per cent. As far as efficiency in production is concerned, during the same period, unit labour costs advanced 38 per cent in U.K. against 21 per cent in U.S.A. and 8 per cent

in West Germany. Even the reserves are not adequate. The reserve-import ratio is also not comfortable or competitive enough. The reserves represent well over 80 per cent of West Germany's annual imports compared to a reserve-import ratio 30 per cent for other West European countries and 22 per cent for U.K. These facts show that reserve position is neither high nor stable. T.U.C. is of the view that the time chosen is not apt.

The economic position in many Commonwealth sterling area countries, are far from strong and the rest of the sterling area has been running a very substantial trading deficit. Secondly, the increase in gold and dollar reserves has come largely from a temporary improvement in terms of trade and from borrowing; even so they are only little higher than at the end of 1951. Thirdly, once the confidence in sterling weakens—even due to temporary reasons—the Government lacking exchange controls to defend the reserves, will be forced to restrict economic activity and the result will be unemployment. Labour in Great Britain enjoying full employment for the past one decade or more, is very sensitive to even the existing 3% unemployed.

It is true that the new freedom of the pound is an asset to the fourth dimensions in economics and politics namely confidence in the pound and prestige for the nation. But sudden swings of confidence generating and emanating from abroad, will strain the nerves of British economy to breaking point, beyond repair at any rate for some time, thus impairing both confidence of the pound and prestige of the nation in the process. Stability of the pound attracts short term capital but it flies on the first gust of an unfavourable wind. It is "hot" and hot money never sticks. Can British economy stand any such eventuality? A disputed question but the answer is not certain.

But the eternal dilemma of maintaining the internal value of the money with external stability has to be resolved. Money is what money does. A purchasing power of goods and services. Money which keeps its value, without marked or rapid fluctuations, is one of the foundations of a sound economy and a peaceful orderly society. External value of the pound should be an extension or projection of the internal value of currency. External value is only one side of the coin, the other side being internal value. Often there is a conflict of interests. Domestic policy should be the foundation of international stability in finance. It is doubtful whether Britain has achieved it at present. During the last one decade, the average rise in prices was 4.3 per cent per annum. The cost of living compares unfavourably with other countries.

		Cost of living (1953 = 100)			
		1954	1955	1956	1957
U.K.	...	102	106	112	115
U.S.	...	100	100	102	105
West Ger-					
many	...	100	102	105	106
Japan	...	106	104	105	108

Stability in the Domestic value of money should be the corner stone of a policy of convertibility.

Secondly, there must be full employment—of labour as well as other factors of economy. So long as there is excess capacity in British industry, increased consumption alone will secure the full employment of productive resources which will in turn affect the balance of payment portion.

Thirdly, convertibility implies international equilibrium.

It implies (a) reasonable rate of economic growth in non-dollar areas (b) fair terms of

trade (c) non-discrimination of exports to U.S.A. (d) full employment in all areas. In a world of unequal economic growth and strength, trade restrictions and planned economies, international equilibrium is a landmark, but just abnormal. It does not exist and never can exist in the near future. Hence even partial convertibility is a big strain and nobody is sure of its success.

The new freedom of sterling benefits the city business. The use of sterling as a world currency benefits the city business interests as it attracts business and deposits to London besides all dealings in foreign exchange. The Treasury, presented in another context, an official estimate of £125 million as total overseas earnings per annum for all city activities. The total is divided between—Insurance £40 million, Merchanting £30 million, Banking £25 million and Brokerage £30 million. Nobody can correctly estimate as to how much of this amount may be augmented by emergence of a convertible sterling. But there is no doubt that the contribution will be substantial.

It must be admitted that it widens the scope and direction of international trade.

The grant of convertibility to foreign holders of sterling strengthens the stability of the pound and a desirable Christmas contribution

to European solidarity. But whether the currency approach (buying dollar with sterling) or the commodity approach (buying dollar goods and service with sterling) should be given priority, is a matter of dispute. But the time is ripe for action only when both approaches are feasible. Easing or abolishing restrictions on dollar imports or tourist travel in dollar areas, may be taken up so as to strengthen the competitive calibre of British economy and to revitalise rather indolent British capital and labour, having lost the buoyant enthusiasm of 19th century impelled to action, by a sure and manifest destiny.

Perhaps the new step, is a Conservative present to the electorate so as to ensure its victory in the coming elections. "Free Sterling" is always an asset to the sterling area but the pound is yet "unfree" as far as the sterling area is concerned, in its relations with the non-sterling world. But the partial freedom might be a strain on the reserves of the Sterling Area, particularly when an unfavourable wind (like a recession) is blowing from U.S.A. on sudden squalls of distrust. It is also good to remember that the eminence of Dollar is not due to domination but due to the dominance of real factors of sustained growth of the economy. A Fiat or decree, is an imperfect instrument to change the situation.

KAMARAJ

BY

KASHYAPA

To Kamaraj goes the unique credit of keeping an orderly house in the Congress colony and he is particularly dear to the Pandit for this achievement. Like the quiet child in a large and unruly family he is petted for his negative qualities, rather than praised for his positive ones. The feat of keeping inner party squabbles, petty jealousies and thwarted ambitions below boiling point is not an easy one, and has proved more than a match for the talents of Sampurnanands and Sanjeeva Reddies, not to mention Govinda Menons and Krishna Sinhas. Kamaraj is a party man *par excellence* and has been able to keep Madras Congress politics singularly free from critical moments; he is as firm in his saddle as the rock of Gibraltar and this naturally gratifies the High Command.

Kamaraj has no pretensions to knowledge of the recognised type. He is not bookish, not learned, not inclined to or capable of dialectical gymnastics, not profuse with political theories, not encumbered by a university education. He does not suffer from any inferiority complex on this score, and perhaps even has a secret contempt for learning—for has he not vanquished in politics many men of learning and wisdom? He knows that party politics under Indian conditions is not a game of skill, but guerilla warfare. Learning and education are not useful weapons but impediments hampering quick movement and obstructing manoeuvres towards positions of vantage. The masses are not equipped to appreciate a debate on the niceties of theory, so that an ability to expound theory to them is irrelevant for progress; it is perhaps even suspect! What

is needed is horse sense, and this he has in ample measure. Till values change, till the people are political entities, not just fodder for the ballot box, no more than Kamaraj's mind is needed to keep things going—and he knows it.



Kamaraj is notoriously poor as a public speaker. He speaks little—a rare virtue among politicians—and that too in a clipped vernacular, highly colloquial in style. For one who had his political baptism at the hands of India's foremost orator in the freedom struggle Satyamurthi, Kamaraj's lack of the faculty of public speaking, is strange. But Satyamurthi valued Kamaraj as a party worker of rare merit; he was not counted upon to sway the masses.

It has become almost a truism to say that a silent man is a strong man, though the contrary is generally not implied. Kamaraj is a strong man. None doubts this. But wherein lies his strength?

Walpole is credited with the wise observation that every man has his price—a dictum that enabled that first British Prime Minister to usher in an era of democratic government where political scruples ceased to be ethical concepts and became commercial commodities. Walpole's truest successor is Kamaraj. Kamaraj knows that every man, particularly every Congressman and every other politician with individual ambitions to cherish, has his price—a price that can, in true Oriental style, be beaten down by bargaining and agreed to be paid in kind or on credit! Many a rebellious spirit has entered Kamaraj's sanctum with the glint of battle in his eyes, determined to "speak out his mind to the Chief and demand redress" only to emerge as a humble lamb, content to mingle amidst the multitude of camp followers. Kamaraj has a great knack of finding out the weak points of every one, be he friend or foe (not that the distinction matters to him) so that when the time comes, the Ace of Trumps is always up his sleeves. Human psychology is, no easy science and it is surprising how Kamaraj with all his lack of higher education is master of the art of knowing "the other man's mind" and preparing to meet it.

No political leader can ever be cent per cent trusting. Kamaraj is singularly distrustful. Few share his innermost thoughts, though like the clever politician that he is, he manages to create an impression in the minds of every one who meets him that he alone is his confidential adviser. He banks on the psychology of humans and is certain that his interlocutors will not compare notes!

As Chief Minister, Kamaraj has never shown any great desire unlike his illustrious predecessor, to gather all power into his hands. He

does not handle a number of portfolios, and even in the few matters that come to him, he does not probe the file to discover new truths that escaped the attention of his Secretariat, or take pains to differ from the office note. He leaves all that to the others whom he chooses carefully. But with an uncanny sixth sense, he easily scents a dubious proposal and watches it carefully through his colleagues' hands without damage being done. Wags remark that his sixth sense is provided by a fifth column which he nurtures in every camp!

Personally, it has been said by his many admirers that he is selfless and has sacrificed a great deal. This would be correct only in the sense that he is not particular to mint money in office by use or abuse of powers. Kamaraj is certainly not an aspirant after fortune and has not elected politics to provide it. But about "sacrifice" I do not know. One is said to sacrifice something if he could have been or was something else of importance or value, which he gave up for a cause. Pandit Nehru would have been anything from a fashionable Barrister in Allahabad to a matinee idol on the silver screen; Rajaji was already a highly successful criminal lawyer when he responded to Gandhiji's call and if he had continued at the Bar, he would probably have been the leader of the Madras Bar today, successfully blocking the way for younger men! T. T. Krishnamachari would have been the Soap King of India and made a tidy pile himself had he not put his foot into the political mire. Krishna Menon with his gifted tongue and keen intellect would have made a mark either in the legal profession or as a Lecturer. And so on, we could easily name a hundred others who can be said to have "given up" something for politics. But it is friendly challenge to anyone who feels like picking it up: What could Kamaraj have been, had he not entered politics; what was he before he entered it? No answer need be hazarded. Kamaraj certainly cannot therefore be said

to have sacrificed anything except his youth. He has an intellectual equipment, and an educational background which would have made him a colossal failure in any other sphere of activity. His shrewdness would have been of no avail even in a grocer's shop, for that it is a type of shrewdness that is made for politics and politics alone. If Kamaraj, is today Chief Minister of a State, and an important Congressman, that is all he could ever have become. This is mentioned not in derogation, but in appreciation. Many have become politicians; some have had politics thrust upon them, but only one man I know is a born politician—and that is Kamaraj.

As an interpreter of the latest line of the party, Kamaraj is supreme. Congress policies are now fashioned with one aim. How to remain in power. Any opposition, if it shows signs of becoming sufficiently popular and concrete, has to be done away with, and the path cleared for the Congress Juggernaut to roll along. This annihilation of opposition is done in the most ingenious of ways, namely, by removing the plank of the opposition from under its very feet! That is what the Hindu high priests did in bygone times whenever there arose any philosophy that could compete with it; they coolly absorbed the tenets and principles of the rival upstart, so that the new

entrant died for lack of nourishment. Today the Congress has practically annihilated Left Wing opposition by absorbing leftist theories and weaving them into the Congress ideology. Local nationalism is the only force against the Congress today and even this it may effectively suffocate some day by accepting a principle of "greater decentralisation." Kamaraj has done to Madras Congress politics a tremendous lot, by absorbing into it, elements that were till very lately opposed to Congress ideologies. Any force that could be said to offer to the Congress a serious challenge is effectively purchased by the adroit manoeuvres of the wary party Chief, who will drop a Congress principle to suit the immediate needs of the party, as easily as a captain will drop a ballast to save the ship.

If Kamaraj plays his cards well, he may extend his influence beyond the borders of Tamil Nad and emerge an All India figure. Then, I will not write a personality sketch of him. For it would be impertinence to write of the Gods, and God indeed he would be, if his destinies lead him to Delhi.

Kamaraj's present position is itself a great wonder. Anything higher, and we must doubt his humaneness and recognise him to be some sort of Divine Dispensation—an *avatar* perhaps to preserve the Congress!

THE FIRST FOREIGN TOUR OF AN INDIAN BASKET-BALL TEAM

BY

S. DURAISAMY

(An experienced basket-baller, captained both the Madras University and the State; a member of the All-India Y.M.C.A. Team which toured the Far East in November 1958.)

For the first time in the history of Indian Basket-ball, an All-India Team made a trip abroad in November towards the end of 1958. This was sponsored by the Calcutta Y.M.C.A. on an invitation of Mr. Ken Tornton, the General Secretary of the Hong Kong Y.M.C.A. The team of fourteen was selected after careful scrutiny at the All-India Inter Y.M.C.A. Basket-ball Tournament of 1957, the first of its kind. Thus the team which toured the Far East was designated the All-India Y.M.C.A. Basket-ball Team. The process of selecting the players took nearly an year and our congratulations are due to the Calcutta Y.M.C.A. in their pioneering effort to send a team oversea.

It is not encouraging to have a glance at the work of the Basket-ball Federation of India in this sphere. Year after year this All-India body takes the pain of selecting an "all star team" only to be disbanded at the eleventh hour.

As a member of this All-India Y.M.C.A. Basket-ball Team, I can confidentially say that our trip was worthwhile. The players gained valuable experience in their matches played at Rangoon, Singapore, Bangkok, Hong Kong and other places. Our opponents were more often than not far superior to us in their ball control, stamina, technique of the game and especially in team work. We did win some matches but lost several.

We sailed for Hong Kong from Calcutta on November 19th 1958 in 'B.I. Sangola.' On our way to Hong Kong we halted at several

places like Rangoon and Singapore to play exhibition matches on their invitation.

We played our first match outside India at Rangoon against an All-Burmese Team which we beat 48-39. The following day we played against a Chinese team in which we won with a difference of one point, the score being 45-44. Although Rangoon teams had good long shooters and defences, they did not prove in anyway superior to us.

We broke our journey again at Singapore, where we played two matches and lost both of them. The Singapore players were in every way superior to us. They were very good in fundamentals. Their small size did not in anyway handicap their game.

We reached our destination (Hong Kong) on the 29th November 1958, where we were accorded a hearty welcome by the Hong Kong Y.M.C.A. There we played five matches won two and lost three. Their standard was high indeed. They took our breath away when we saw the stalwarts entering the court. They were not at all the short people we hoped they would be.

Out of the nine matches played abroad, we played seven matches against teams consisting of only Chinese players. One was purely Burmese and the other consisted of Indians and Chinese. The Burmese standard is not high enough to deserve any special mention. They are also improving their standard like us. Coming to the Chinese, they are far, far superior to our Indian players in all

departments of the game. Their fast breaks ; jump shots, excellent ball control, good understanding and incredible stamina make them one of the best basket-ball teams in Asia. Although they are not as tall as American players, they compensate for this by the quickness of their understanding and perfect ball control. Many of the techniques they adopt are very difficult to be understood by us. They have progressed remarkably, whereas our standard is at *status quo*. The main reason for this is due to the fact that we do not take part in International contests, where we come across better players of the game. It is high time that the Basket-ball Federation of India realised this and made the necessary arrangements to send a contingent abroad, at least once a year so that our Indian basket ballers may bring themselves up to the level of foreign countries. The techniques that foreign teams adopt, we have not even heard of. Our trip to Hong Kong served as an eye opener indeed.

Many of the basket-ball teams in India lack cooperation and team-spirit. Unless and until we improve our team work and play as a team we cannot improve our standard ; Nobody in the team should play for his own individual glory. Many of the basket-ball teams in India blindly follow the American 'set' pattern of the game in the main. Although they may succeed at the initial stages, these 'set' plays will prove useless in the long run, if we don't adopt these 'set' plays to our ability. Many of the leading coaches like U Ba Than of Burma, Hor Chim Or of Singapore are of the same opinion. According to them we should take from American 'set' plays what is good for us and not blindly follow them.

Basket-ball requires diligent practice and careful attention. In order to make this game popular in India, many active steps are being taken. The Rajkumari Amrit Kaur Basket-ball coaching scheme is a step in the right

direction. The recent Madras and Patiala Training camps for players and coaches have helped in the improvement of the game to a considerable extent. We have recently introduced the inter-state basket-ball tournaments for boys, women and men. Our standard cannot be improved in a short while. Correct methods of playing the game and ball control should be taught to the boys even at the high school level, so that, by the time they become adults their game would have reached a certain standard. As the saying goes 'Practice makes perfect,' only through hard and intelligent training, will our standard improve.

My request is that all the players who made the trip to Hong Kong with me, should take to instructing and teaching the new techniques adopted in foreign countries to the younger generation of basket-ballers.

We have had occasions of late, to deplore the disastrous results arising from favouritism in hockey and still more recently in cricket. There are signs that the plague has begun to infect basket-ball also. A pronounced tendency which we find in Indian sports today is the elimination of sportsmen from their particular games in case they speak out the glaring faults of the management. I strongly suggest the stamping out of this tendency from our sports altogether.

I shall conclude by saying that Indian basket-ball could be improved considerably by the encouragement of the game through coaching schemes and training camps. We should not blindly follow the American pattern, as is the general practice today. We should adopt the methods followed in other countries to our ability and limitations. Most important of all, our basket-ball standard could be improved by our participation in International matches as is amply proved by our recent experience abroad. I hope the Basket-ball Federation of India will take early steps in this direction so that Indian basket-

ballers may compete successfully with their counterparts in other countries.

In popularising the game, steps should be taken to introduce indoor basket-ball courts in different parts of the country. In the countries we have visited, indoor courts are very popular. The importance of indoor basket-ball in India cannot be overestimated in the context of the vagaries of our monsoons. This ven-

ture will, I am sure, give a stimulus to basket-ballers to practise all the year round. We have an array of promising youngsters in the game. I shall conclude by saying that the future of Indian basket-ball depends on their training under efficient coaches and giving facilities by providing a number of indoor courts, as well as by arranging state, national and international contests.

Book Reviews :

KERALA, 'THE COMMUNIST' STATE

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

Published by MATHEW CHERIAN
The Madras Premier Co.,
33 BROADWAY
Madras 1. S. India.

(January 1959—Price Rs. 3)

The book deals with the Communist Rule in Kerala ; it examines the fact and prospects of the experiment at Parliamentary Democracy by the Communist Party of Kerala. In separate chapters, it deals with "A decade of Congress Rule and its failure ; The growth of the Communist Movement and the facts behind it ; Law and Order situation in the State, Land Reform and Educational Reform." The book gives a brief summary of the Marxian theory as a guide to the proper understanding and appreciation of the Communist ideology. The chapter on theory is an excellent introduction to a Communist as well as a non-Communist, in the mode of orthodox thinking on the subject.

The author gives in his illuminating and enlightening second part, the product of his constructive thinking in defence of freedom and democracy and how they can be preserved in Kerala as well as in the rest of India. The chapters deal with "The Challenge of Democracy", "The need for change" and the establishment of a "Functional Society" as the best form of insurance against slavery and dictatorship of the Right or the Left. The book consists of 12 chapters spread over about 300 pages. Easily this is the book of the day, helpful both to the statesmen and the citizen alike.

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KERALA, THE 'COMMUNIST' STATE

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

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(MONTHLY)

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by S. C. JOSEPH, M.A., M.Litt., B.Litt.(Oxon.)

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Editorial

THIS MAGAZINE IS MAINLY
DEVOTED TO SOCIAL SCIENCES

On February 28th Mr. Morarji Desai presented the central budget in the Lok Sabha, with an estimated deficit of Rs. 81.67 crores. Unlike some of the State budgets, the Centre has adopted deficit financing as a necessary and inevitable adjunct of national accounting.

In the context of central budgeting, balance of payments have been playing vital roles for a considerably long period. The difficulty of balancing the imports with exports (including both visible and invisible items) has been predominant in Indian National Finances in recent times. Despite substantial foreign assistance and drawals from the International Monetary Fund, we are finding it extremely difficult to make both ends meet. The problem is aggravated due to larger imports chiefly of plant, machinery, industrial raw materials for development together with the imports of foodgrains and defence equipment. This chronic deficit in our balance of payment is largely due to the decline in export earnings.

Several measures are adopted to restrict expenditure abroad to the bare minimum and to promote exports. It is imperative under existing conditions to encourage our exports to the maximum. The method of balancing by restriction of imports is likely to meet with retaliatory measures from the trading countries. Hence it is in the interest of sound international trading that the Governments both at the Centre and in the States should give utmost fillip to the exporter. In this sphere the State should sponsor trade delegations to foreign countries which are would-be markets and maximum propaganda must be given for our products. The export drive according to the Minister for Commerce and Industry is vital to the country's progressive future. He called on exporters to 'play the game' and assured them of all reasonable incentives. The Minister pleaded that every effort should be made to increase exports in the coming year by ten per cent, that figure being the basic one for new concerns entering the export market and for established ones as the minimum increase which should be aimed at. But in order to improve the sales of our products abroad cost must be kept at a competitive level. Only by offering quality

BROADWAY TIMES

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goods at competitive prices will it be possible for India to make headway in international markets. Extensive study on a permanent basis of foreign markets is also essential. We should have showrooms of Indian goods in foreign countries. It is true that in the export drive the exporter has to play the game well but it is equally true that he can do so only on the support of the State as an adviser and as "the lender of last resort."

Although encouragement of exports and increased food production at home to avoid large food imports, are the major necessities in international trading, there is one venue through which India can earn considerable amount of foreign exchange. Countries like Italy, Switzerland and France earn fabulous sums of foreign money in their tourist business. Tourism is a well developed business in these countries. The State takes an important role in the encouragement of tourist traffic. The traveller is looked after by a State agency in Hungary the IBUSZ, similar to the 'Cedok' in Czechoslovakia, the 'Carpati' in Rumania and the 'Intourist' in Russia. Although an exclusive State agency may not be desirable the State can play a great part in these 'invitations' on a national scale. We suggest the starting of a separate department for tourists working under the External Ministry with the active participation of our embassies in foreign countries. The subject has been given only casual attention in the past; we have abundant scope in this field. Unfortunately the steps taken to attract the foreign visitor are insufficient and sporadic. We should produce documentaries of our festivals, seaside resorts, gardens, palaces, monuments, temples and the like to be shown in foreign countries. The Governments both at the Centre and in the States should encourage private agencies to provide ample facilities of accommodation to the foreign visitor. We should construct more dak bungalows for the convenience of the tourist. It is worthwhile to spend a considerable sum initially so that we can reap appreciable results in the not distant future. We maintain that India is capable of attracting a very high percentage of foreign tourists, perhaps the highest if proper measures are taken. Let us hope that the authorities concerned will take early steps in bridging this gulf thereby closing partly at least our chronic balance of payment position.

HEALTHY RIVALRY?

BY

POTHAN JOSEPH

The talk of healthy rivalry often strikes me a hollow borrowal of jargon from sporting fixtures whose outcome cannot determine the destiny of nations. When Krushchev says that in ten years Russia would outstrip the United States in Agriculture and Industry, is he animated by healthy rivalry? On the issue of nuclear bombs and space-conquest he is confident of being already ahead; as for the I.C.B.M., his stock-pile is adequate and efficient for the complete annihilation of American towns within an hour of the commencement of hostilities. The same goes for the trend in Chinese Seven Year Plannings. Mikoyan admitted during his U.S. visit that in the enjoyment of the good things of life, the Americans were in superb advantage, thanks to the swelling production of consumer goods, whereas Russia, handicapped with a late start and the backlog of defence-provision in a position of encirclement by foreign bases, would have to increase the tempo of her economic output if every family should have its own motor car, television set and washing machine.

The Russian Revolution had occurred barely forty years ago and the inter-war period had given her neither Marshall Aid nor security in respect of her neighbours: civil convulsions apart, she had at the height of Stalin's leadership against the Hitlerite scourge as many as twelve fronts to fight in dire peril. When Mr. K. forecasts increase in harvests and the doubling of farm-produce like butter, meat and maize, even Dulles should put on a benignant smile since abundance at home might serve "to contain Communism." Such rivalry may be conceded as healthy rivalry, though the ages of the animals entered for that kind of turf-event appear vastly uneven to discerning judges of pace.

America had her start as an independent nation a couple of centuries ago whereas Russia could get rid of Tsarist reaction hardly within the memory of a generation which in point of time makes her look like a yearling in the race. Still, during his seven-hour speech before the 21st Communist Party Congress, Nikita Krushchev envisaged the prospects of rising agrarian affluence and equitable distribution: indeed, he deviated from the text to interject a quip, "Comrades, sharpen your appetite!" (cheers). No wretched claptrap like tightening the belt or practising austerity for the gloating pleasures of unborn generations, a proposition which I hold to be a positive disincentive in any production-drive. After all, we come this way but once in our life. Whatever good we can do now, we should do it now, and whatever fun we can gain don't let us miss it either in the pipe-dreams of putative enjoyment by posterity who might, after all the devastation of increasing atomic fall-out and probably a regular nuclear try-out, might be so transformed and deformed as to be incapable of relishing all the gigantic amenities of Planning which we instal now at the cost of our own privation.

After a vigorous shake of the head and a smart tap of the brow to re-awaken memory, I see the classic passage runs: "I shall pass through this world but once. Any good that I can do or any kindness that I can shew to any human being, let me do it now. Let me not defer it or neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again." It is a rousing passage, but it is also a half-truth, for I would like to add an amendment to the effect that since I pass this way but once, I should also have my modicum of fun—there being no compensatory

benefits in the stark void of the hereafter where we could practise healthy rivalry.

I don't like to be a sybarite, but I should be asked not to starve in self-denial on problematical gambles in the human offspring when the test-tube age of family-planning is reported to be looming on the horizon. In sport and pastime, healthy rivalry is comparatively easy to contemplate, though selectors of teams in India and Pakistan seem sick of the personality-cult magnified to colossal dimensions in the case of great men from Hannibal to Stalin. How can we, on the other hand, speak of the outturn of nuclear war-heads as healthy rivalry in any sense when both sides have accumulated sufficient stock-pile to blow up the world into smithereens single-handed? Was it healthy rivalry between Hannibal's country and Rome?

The language of healthy rivalry cherished in the Anglo-Saxon political system stems from previous unity in the fight against monarchy which it is not easy for the non-Western nations to absorb. Hence all these shy slogans about guided democracy and the call for a single-fold party-consolidation as in the days of a common front. Was it healthy rivalry when the four sons of Shah Jehan went into a contest for the survival of the fittest or rather the bloodiest?

The analogy of our fight against the British bureaucracy as an argument to form a single party Government in India after Independence is precarious. The machinery of the foreign Government was there, the Steel-frame of Lloyd George's conception consisting of an elite Establishment. Gandhiji's strategy was to isolate that system and bring its functioning to a standstill. While it was an organisation that we had then fought, our present national programme is to overcome not a visible organisation, but a series of evils like poverty, casteism, inter-provincial jealousy, mono-linguism, the rise of reaction, etc., etc. To say that we are waging battle against such phenomena is certainly not the same thing as recalling for imitation our fight against the British bureaucracy which non-co-operation threw out of gear.

These false comparisons are the bane of our current politics, and under the sway of former delusions, many of our leaders resent the very notion of a multi-party system or, indeed, the presence of any dissidents in the practice of democracy. Pandit Nehru says he cannot conceive of party-discord, let alone could he imagine the emergence of a conservative party crying alarm over the Nagpur decisions now tabled for gradual legislative enforcement. The one-party system need not be a negation of democracy, but it is not the design upon which the transfer of power had been effected in 1947.

Attlee in his biography "AS IT HAPPENED" says that after the victory of the Labour Party, the appearance of Churchill and himself at Potsdam like a pair of colleagues astonished Molotov:

"Molotov kept saying: 'But you said the election would be a close thing and now you have a big majority.' I said: 'Yes, we could not tell what would be the result.' But he kept repeating the same phrase. He could not understand why we did not know the result. I am sure he thought that Churchill would have 'fixed' the election and that the change-over by democratic process was a great shock to him."

In the Communistic perspective of the State being a single party, friendly relations between Churchill and Attlee appeared fantastic. They have their system of single list of approved candidates, but that is not the pattern set out for India, although the trend of totalitarian oneness is now becoming ominously visible as a *sine qua non* of good administration. If ever healthy rivalry should inform and characterise the working of democracy in India, the idea of exclusivist control of the votes and resources of the people by a single party should be positively discouraged. Otherwise, such a thing as healthy rivalry familiar in the Anglo-Saxon working of responsible government would vanish from our country at the risk of anarchic developments.

COLLECTIVE CONTROL AND PERSONAL LIBERTY

BY

REV. A. A. PYLEE, M.A.

There is a tendency at present even among the democratic countries to extend gradually the sphere of the State over the life of the individual. This tendency is justifiable to a certain extent when the state is attempting to promote the 'good life' and welfare of the citizens in general. At the same time this opens the vexatious problem of reconciling personal liberty with collective control. Political thinkers past and present have pondered over this subject but very seldom they agree on the sphere of the state. Recently Prime Minister Nehru speaking at a meeting in Delhi confessed that he does not adequately know how to reconcile the two. All sober political thinkers generally agree that collective control should not destroy individual liberty. At the same time under the structure of modern society nobody advocates the old individualistic theory to be maintained in politics. Still the value of the Laissez-Faire theory has to be preserved in the modern society for the proper growth and development of the individual. Otherwise the pendulum is likely to swing to one extreme, which will result in totalitarianism.

The merit of democracy is that it provides a healthy political climate for the growth of human person. It has to secure the social and physical conditions necessary for the free display of human mind and spirit. All civilized States are trying to realise the 'Good Life.' But in their eagerness to achieve this purpose they forget this important aspect of personal liberty. All collective efforts are made for the individuals. If he is ignored in the thick and thin of planning and industrialisation,

it is a negation of the central purpose. Where there is a bridling of and control of mind the finest flowering of human personality is not possible. What we find today in many countries is this potential danger. Together with the expansion of service there is the gradual extension of a kind of regimentation and control of liberty.

We have to be thankful that the leaders of our country have an awareness of the need of a balance between personal liberty and collective control. But how far this balance has been achieved is open to question. There is one radical school of thought in our country who advocates more state control and according to them the present leadership is lacking adequate vigour and idealism. Contrary to this, the other school thinks that the sphere of the State has gone too far and a word of warning to the policy makers is absolutely essential.

No doubt the State exists for the good life. There is a large measure of agreement with Aristotle even among the modern politicians with regard to the purpose of the state. Newman points out that the state exists for the exercise of qualities which make men good husbands, fathers, head of households, good soldiers and citizens, good men of science and philosophers. Here also we notice that the ultimate purpose of the state is not different from the realisation of good life. Without adequate material advantage it is not possible to liberate the noble gifts of intellect and character. Laski also agrees on this point when he says that the state should enable the mass

of men to realise social good on the largest possible scale.

Let us go back further back in history and find out the development of this thought from age to age.

The City States in Greece thought that the state was all in all. To them the citizen was nothing except a member of the state. His whole existence depended on and was subject to the state. The city was his church and school. All activities, culture, science and education was within the state. Practically there was no difference between state and society. It was their honest belief that they could develop the life of the citizens to the maximum through this method. But it was a tragic experiment. Greece made remarkable contribution in the field of art and culture. But the excessive regimentation gradually led to the decay of the city states. Where the individual feels suffocation, real collective progress is not possible. The state should promote the material conditions necessary for the growth of the cultural and social life of the people. But if the state holds a monopoly of everything under its lock and key it is detrimental to the progress of the country.

What was the contribution of the Romans with regard to this subject? The Romans were a great nation with a strong system of administration based on sound principles of law. They were also profoundly influenced by Greek political philosophy. But they restricted their actions. The individual was subject to the state, but much of it was left to the religious nature of man. The social customs and family were given their rightful place in society. Even then the relationship that existed between the state and the individual was far from satisfactory.

In the middle ages the Church became a very powerful organisation. It was really a powerful rival to the state. The citizens of this age owed a double allegiance. It could

be said with a great amount of certainty, that because of this strong religious community, man liberated himself from the strong grip of the state. But medieval history shows that the individual once again fell under the strong clutches of the Church and consequently there was regimentation of thought and control of freedom. But the totalitarian powers were questioned by voluntary associations in this period.

The renaissance and reformation tried to liberate the individual from all intellectual fetters. The leaders of these movements claimed that they were able to shatter the shackles of intellectual slavery. Paradoxically the liberated individuals submitted themselves to the princes of this age. Once again we notice the almightiness of the state over the individual.

Passing on to the modern period we find many theories with regard to this subject, the individualists and the socialists being the most important. Extreme form of individualism is quite outmoded under the present complex structure of the society. Some form of collective control is essential for the building up of a welfare society. When there is collective control, the freedom and value of the individual is likely to be overlooked.

More recently we find a tendency towards military dictatorship in middle eastern and eastern countries. This is indeed a dangerous turn of events. The precious values preserved by democracy could be destroyed at a single stroke under military dictatorship. Mussolini has written "All is in the State and nothing that is human or spiritual exists, far less has value apart from the state." Commenting on this Allen says 'Wild and whirling words my Lord, for what can they mean when translated into reality.' The great Leviathan is once again trying to raise its ugly head and devour everything. It will surely sap the vitality

of the individual. This danger is not only in the military dictatorship, or Facism. Prof. Sidney Hook while speaking at Madras rightly pointed out that total socialisation has certain totalitarian potential in it. "If there is only one big employer, if the state owned everything and he disagreed with the employer then he would be ground to dust." This danger may appear on the garb of 'peoples democracy' as well. We have to safeguard against this potential danger in India in our hasty march towards the co-operative Commonwealth and socialistic pattern of society.

It is very true that no man is completely free as long as there is another man. Apart from this, man has his chains of heredity, environment and association with other human beings. At the same time he has to protect himself from the total chaining of his liberty by the state.

How can this be achieved? That is the practical side of the problem. From what has been said above it is clear that it is impossible to define with precision the sphere of personal liberty and collective control. The demarcation of these spheres has varied from the age of the City States to the present day. In the midst of this change there has been attempts to

preserve the values of life and the sanctity of the individual. There is a tendency not only in military states but also in others to encroach on the liberty of the individual by way of collective control. It is the duty of every citizen to preserve the freedom of thought and expression through trial and hardship.

I would like to emphasise in this connection the value of voluntary associations for the preservation of individual liberty. A civilized state ought to promote the growth of voluntary organisations in the state. In the field of culture, religion and science such organisations are necessary. It does not at all mean that they should in anyway be a rival to the state. The individual finds the finest expression of his personality through voluntary associations. To undermine the existence of voluntary association will be detrimental to the larger interests of the country.

The opposition in the Parliament also can bridle the thoughtless jumps of the administration into Collective Control, endangering individual liberty. Democracy strives to maintain and believe in promoting good life and this is possible only when a balance of personal liberty and collective control is maintained.

"AFTER NEHRU, WHO?"

BY

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

The oft repeated question "after Nehru who" is not merely of academic or speculative interest. It is not the gloomy forebodings of a pessimist nor the auto suggestions of the ambitious. The question poises real problem of future politics and poses the complex nature of finally deciding the political leadership of the country, after Mr. Nehru retires or leaves the scene of active politics for good. It expresses a grave concern and anxiety on the part of many a well intentioned and patriotic citizen of the country about the virtue and stability of political leadership in India. Indirectly it shows that in spite of many pitfalls of the administration there is an overall faith in the political sagacity and integrity of Nehru's leadership. Secondly everybody knows that the comparative stability that India enjoyed since Independence was largely due to the so-called personal leadership of Nehru in the Government as well as among the masses.

Many therefore honestly feel that they are unable to discover a true successor to Nehru from among his colleagues or any other sub-leaders of the Congress Party. Hence they consider that the question of choosing the successor to Nehru is of vital national significance and of far reaching consequence on the unity of the nation and the welfare of the people.

It is true a young and energetic politician will come forward and report by saying that nobody is indispensable in this world. They have got on the back of their mind illustrious examples of history wherein second rate men proved equally successful if not more than their great predecessors, in the seats of power. Harry Truman concluded the Second World

War successfully and perhaps more efficiently than his great predecessor F. D. Roosevelt. Further it must be remembered a superman is a misfit as a Cabinet colleague in a parliamentary system of democracy. Any average man can function as a Minister or even as a Chief Minister especially in a modern state with its well trained permanent Civil Service. This can be easily proved with reference to many of the Cabinets functioning in our country to-day wherein the qualification of a person has substantially increased after he became Minister rather than before it. Again, we are aware of the facts, the sudden transformation of a weak and illiterate widow into a woman of responsibility, courage and foresight once the husband ceases to be available to protect her. Such a galvanizing effect is the inherent and self-preserving response of the human mind, to face a needy situation or when confronted by specific problem. Hence time can resolve its own problems in a unique way and the adjustment is natural and the outcome is generally perfect.

There is logic and even rhyme in this type of reasoning. But what is forgotten is the historical factor. That is to say, a particular historic situation produces particular types of human personalities, but complete identity of historical situations are not always blessed by nature. Mr. Nehru is not only the Prime Minister of India, he is a unique product of a particular stage in India's history. He represented the symbol of India's fight for Independence against foreign-rule. He canalised the nationalist aspirations of Mother India. He identified himself with the sub-conscious urges of every man and woman in this country in

their aspirations for self-respect and nationhood. He participated in the agony and the sorrow of the prostrate motherland striving for emancipation and his are the large hands that have helped to shape the destiny of our country. In all these respects he enjoyed a unique privilege and exercised a singular power which could be surpassed by nobody else in the years to come simply because the scope for such sacrifice is limited. Having been associated with the nationalist movement before attaining power he spoke with a single voice and he acted with a single purpose and he received undivided loyalty from all concerned. These factors enabled him to rule the whole of India as the uncrowned King for the past one decade or more and commonsense alone will tell you that such a chance is not freely endowed to any man who comes forward to shoulder political responsibility nevertheless whatever might be his calibre or capacity. There is an element of luck and you can call it the bright

star of Mr. Nehru. His is a unique privilege, his power has been at once "despotic" and democratic. His eclipse or disappearance from politics is a big gap that cannot be filled because nobody in the future will have that opportunity to show the spirit of sacrifice and patriotism in a similar historical situation.

But one need not be desperate on this point. If Mr. Nehru was and is able to successfully take charge of the rich legacy left by Gandhiji for establishing his own position and the Congress Party another Statesman must also have the resourcefulness to take advantage of the rich heritage left by both Gandhiji and Nehruji. With a broad outlook, humane temperament, vision in politics and honesty in personal conduct, a great country like India will discover suitable and worthy successors when the situation demands and time enjoins. But it is doubtful, under normal circumstances, a successor to Nehru will wield the same authority or influence.

POPULATION GROWTH AND FOOD SUPPLY IN INDIA

BY

DR. S. CHANDRASEKHAR, PH.D.

(Director, Indian Institute for Population Studies, Madras)

The basic economic problem in India is one of finding an adequate balance between the total available resources and the irreducible, minimum needs of the population. There are several aspects to this population-resource question but only the most important aspect, that of population growth and food supply, will be examined here. These are really two separate, although closely related problems.

Let us look at the population problem. To begin with, what exactly do we mean by the population problem? Fortunately, we do not discuss any more, as we used to about twenty-five years ago, whether we have a population problem or not, and whether our country is overpopulated or not. These are no longer academic questions. All thoughtful people now concede that we have population problem in the sense that there is an adverse ratio between our numbers and their basic needs on the one hand, and the available and exploitable resources on the other.

The Standard of Living

That our present standard of living in terms of *per capita* consumption of goods and services is low needs no elaborate statistical demonstration because we can see the abject poverty all around us. The concept of a level or a standard of living has many and sometimes conflicting definitions. The lack of precision has been brought out in the definition, "A standard of living is a level of comfort which someone likes to have or hopes to have or thinks he ought to have." Fortunately, we

need not be so vague as this, for we know today what the basic requirements in terms of food, clothing, housing, educational and medical facilities are, for doing a day's productive work and leading happy and contented lives. There are here two schools of thought. One believes in what may be called the ideology of poverty or euphemistically "simple living and high thinking." It is the people of this school who are always talking of going back to the village or something or other, or tightening one's belt or missing a meal, etc. Frankly, I am not in sympathy with this school, for it is ridiculous to have poverty as a national ideal, and secondly the average man cannot tighten his belt any further for there are no more holes left on the belt. The second school of thought believes in what I may call the ideology of abundance. Abundant living does not mean waste or gluttony, vulgarity or ostentation but a nation dedicated to the ideal of an ever increasing higher standard of living so that everyone of us may enjoy a better share of the increasing goods and services. And fortunately almost all groups in our political life are dedicated to this task of raising our present low standard of living.

A few facts will suffice to illustrate our present level of living. While we have to go a long way before our national statistics on different questions can become unimpeachable, we have to be satisfied with such figures as we have without any elaborate refinement. Our *per capita* calorie intake is a meagre 1,590 and at least two-thirds of our 390 million people are under-nourished. We can see our posi-

tion in the world when we realise that 22 per cent of the world enjoys an intake of over 2,700 calories *per capita*, 12 per cent of the world enjoys an intake between 2,200-2,700 calories, and the remaining 66 per cent of the world population gets on under 2,300 calories. And we in India get even less than 1,600 and our nutrition is among the poorest in the world, quantitatively and qualitatively. Our *per capita* consumption of textiles is about 16.6 yards and for certain countries such as the United States, it is over 400. Even after making allowance for climatic differences, we are a semi-clad nation. Our housing is no better. Even if we ignore housing for the rural population—nearly eighty per cent—which is beyond attack in the near future, a third of urban housing must be condemned as unfit for human habitation on the basis of any acceptable definition of optimum housing. As for educational facilities, we know that our high schools and colleges of all kinds are not enough to cope with the demand from students qualified to seek entrance into these institutions. Our low rate of literacy of about 15 per cent is utterly incompatible with our aspirations to run a successful democracy. And our 38 universities are not really adequate for the higher educational needs of our 390 millions but there is also no point in multiplying universities without any adequate standards. There is no need to multiply such basic figures as these, to show how low our present standard of living is.

Fortunately all our leaders and all political parties and groups are agreed on the need to raise the present living standards. Raising the standard of living in an under-developed country means in the simplest language that we should produce more goods and services so that the *per capita* consumption of these is perceptibly raised.

The Death-rate

The second factor is our death-rate. Our

death-rate (in relation to our economic development) is among the highest in the world. The average adjusted death-rate during the decade 1941-50 was 27 per 1,000 per annum. But taking regional variations and year to year fluctuations into consideration, the death-rate today is somewhere between 26 and 30.

The crude overall death-rate is not an adequate index of our population trends. Their components such as infant mortality rate (and its sub-groupings as peri-natal, neonatal and post-neonatal mortality), childhood mortality and maternal mortality give a better indication of the way our population will grow (or decline) in the next twenty or thirty years.

Our infant mortality rate today is around 115 per 1,000 live births. This is, of course, a high and uncivilized figure compared to countries like Sweden, Norway, Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, and the United States of America where recent figures range between 16 and 30 per 1,000 live births. Though our rate is high, it is declining. The rate has been exactly halved from 232 for British India in 1901 to 116 for the Union Registration area in 1951. And the present serious efforts of the Ministry of Health as part of the Second Five-Year Plan in this direction should mean a further significant decline in our infant mortality rate in the next ten or fifteen years.

Our maternal mortality figures have never been very satisfactory. It is generally taken that out of every 1,000 expectant mothers, about 20 die in child-birth. We have some evidence of a sampling nature based on certain hospital series that this figure is fortunately coming down.

When all the schemes of the Ministry of Health envisaged in the Second Five-Year Plan are implemented, I have no doubt that our overall death-rate will register a welcome and

Out of this 98 million (98,400,000) acres of uncultivated land, the Ministry of Agriculture estimated that about 25 million acres are theoretically cultivable and can be technically brought under cultivation. (As for the remaining millions of acres, they are in the Rajputana and Thar deserts, in the Assamese and Oriyan river-and-jungle-eroded sand and slush).

Bringing 25 million acres under cultivation would involve a tremendous financial outlay. The land has to be reclaimed and colonised. This scheme may be worthwhile as a *long range investment* provided sufficient funds are available. The only advantage here is that we shall not be expending any foreign exchange unless we intend bringing this new land under mechanised farming. But there are two initial disadvantages. One is that all this land is marginal, and for several years to come, their yield will be uneconomic and it may be cheaper to import food than cultivate this land for current consumption. And the second difficulty may be in the realm of public health and services for the new inhabitants and this also ultimately means more money.

Thus, while this avenue deserves serious and immediate consideration, it would be unwise to look for increased food production from this source for current deficits and those deficits in the immediate future.

2. Can we make the cultivated land yield more? All those who have studied this question concede that Indian yields per acre are relatively low but they are capable of higher yields. The measures necessary to attain this end are in every college text-book. We need better supply of water, larger use of manures and fertilisers, improved seeds, soil conservation, pest control, etc. The measures apply to the land and they have been adopted in different areas but without much success and apparently nothing new can be added to the list from the point of view of agrarian techniques.

These measures apply, of course, to the soil and the crops. But what about the man behind the plough? Here is the weakest link in the chain and nothing very remarkable seems to have been done to raise the peasant from his traditional and miserable hole of despondency. What is most important is the need for a radical change in his outlook by which he looks upon agriculture not as a pathetic losing way of life but as a successful economic proposition.

The ryot's rehabilitation implies a basic margin of surplus after consumption and sale, the availability of credit, his health and well-being, a sense of ownership of the land and its yield without any predatory middlemen—in a word, the creation of a stake for the peasant in the land and its yield. In other words, this means a new and rare enthusiasm to do his best and contribute his utmost to his individual and family welfare and the country's prosperity. In short, this implies a silent, social revolution in the countryside. This infectious and economic revolution is yet to come about. So long as there is no sense of direct participation in this great adventure of raising India's productivity and consequent prosperity on the part of every farmer and citizen, the directives emanating from a distant capital through soulless officialdom is simply so much dead matter.

As the report of the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee points out, "No plan can have any chance of success unless millions of small farmers (and there are about forty million farmers scattered over an area of one and a quarter million square miles) in the country accept its objectives, share in its making, regard it as their own, and are prepared to make the sacrifices necessary for implementing it."¹

¹ Report of the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee (New Delhi, 1952) pp. 49-50.

Our Cattle Population

One more point. And this is about an irrational aspect of our otherwise admirable way of life. I am referring to our cattle problem. Our economy is burdened with 204 millions of cattle, as though the burden of feeding and taking care of 390 million people is not enough. In almost all other countries, the cattle are an essential part of their total food resources and so the investment on the cattle by way of pasture land and fodder bears sufficient dividend by way of mutton, beef, pork, etc. But our case is unique, for these cattle have to be maintained somehow (the fact they exist even miserably shows that some food is being consumed by them) at the expense of food required by man.

The total cattle population of the world has been recently estimated at about 855 millions of which India has about 25 per cent. The figures for certain other countries are as follows : U.S.A. 97, China 74, U.S.S.R. 65, France 17, U.K. 11 and Japan 3. Thus India is supporting a disproportionate number of cattle and, our bovine population pressure matches the human population pressure, against the limited agricultural resources. And the oddest part of it is that all the countries listed with the exception of China and Japan consume more milk and milk products *per capita* than India with her plethora of useless cattle.

As more land is brought under commercial and food crops, less land is left for pasture. Secondly, with the ever increasing buses and other motor transport, the bullock cart is gradually becoming and should become a thing of the past. Thirdly, with the installation of electric pumps for irrigational purposes, the bullock power in drawing water may soon become an unwanted service. Cattle are reared in all countries for milk and meat and in our country for milk and muscle. We are getting relatively little milk and the muscle power is slowly going out of use. Therefore,

in a double and even a treble sense, our large cattle population is a useless burden. Therefore, a drastic reduction in the number of our cattle should be one of the major objectives of our population policy.

The Hindu notion of the sanctity of the cow and other animals is no doubt admirable in theory but appalling in practice. One look at the pathetic state of the cattle roaming our streets is enough to prove this. Also, contrary to popular notion, less than 15 per cent of our population are real vegetarians. The rest consume some kind of meat or other.

Therefore, there are only two ways out of the problem. We should either become meat eaters or destroy the unwanted cattle! The latter solution may shock only the Pharisees among us. They can save their sympathy for the useless cattle and divert it to the human beings—the hungry and destitute beggars! Political leaders and those who depend on votes for their positions cannot always speak the truth on this touchy question whatever their inner convictions. And, therefore, someone must mention the unpleasant if only to start a discussion and ventilate unpopular views.

We need today, more than ever, a scientific and rational outlook in approaching our economic and social problems, in the place of traditional and sentimental views.

The ultimate solution of the overall problem of population and food in our country lies in—

- (1) Bringing every cultivable piece of land that can be cultivated under the plough, no matter what the initial investment costs ;
- (2) making two or three ears of corn grow where one or none grew before and thus increase the yield per acre ;
- (3) make our women bear two healthy children that will survive in the place of five or six famished ones ; and, last
- (4) destroying or at any rate stopping the breeding of useless cattle.

perceptible fall. Cultures and peoples all over the world—and we are no exception—are dedicated to the ideal of alleviating human suffering, prolonging life and postponing death as far as possible. What with better sanitation and environmental hygiene, more and better preventive, diagnostic and curative services, and modern wonder drugs we can bring down our death-rate among all groups of our population. This is a noble task and our Government from our Union Health Minister Shri Karmarkar down to the rural vaccinator, are doing their best despite numerous difficulties.

I need hardly point out the other side of this welcome phenomenon of the declining death-rate. More old people will be kept alive who do not of course add to the population. But when a young woman of 20 is saved from a premature death (and she should be saved no matter what the cost of the consequences), we have not saved one life but a potential six or seven lives for she will get married and have a family of about six children. The consequences of our lowered mortality rate in the context of our age structure and sex composition on the future growth of our population are obvious.

The Birth-rate

What about our birth-rate? Our birth-rate again is among the highest in the world. Its around 40 per thousand a year. The regional variations in the birth-rate within India range between 36 and 44. Our birth-rate is more or less constant, if we ignore the minor fluctuations. We have no evidence that our birth-rate is definitely declining. The present birth and death-rates yield a net annual addition of a little over 5 millions. That is, it is probable that our population may increase by 1.5 to 2.5 per cent per annum or at the minimum by 50 to 60 millions in 1961. The following table summarises the growth of India's population during the last half a century, 1901-1951 :

TABLE 1.
Growth of India's population—1901-1951*

Census Year	Population in million	Increase or decrease over the previous decade	Percentage increase or decrease
1901	... 235.50	...	- 0.2
1911	... 249.05	13.55	5.8
1921	... 248.18	- 0.87	- 0.4
1931	... 275.52	27.34	11.0
1941	... 314.88	39.36	14.0
1951	... 356.83	41.95	13.5

The reason for the growth of our population is simple. Generally all of us sooner or later get married and have babies. Not even ten per cent of the total married couples plan or limit their families.

Now, the population problem is this : How can we raise our standard of living and cut down our death-rate, when we are unable to support the existing population at a very low level of living, if at the same time our population continues to increase by five, six or more millions every year?

The Food Problem

The food problem is how to increase the supply of food to the increasing population and at the same time increase the nutritional level of our population. In 1947, the Government of India estimated the food deficit for the whole country in the neighbourhood of four million tons of grains "on the basis of one ounce for producers and three-quarters of an

* Excluding Jammu & Kashmir, the population of which was estimated in 1951 at 4.41 million

ounce for the rest of the population." The recent *Report of the Food Grains Enquiry Committee* estimated that the deficit in food-grains which may have to be imported in 1958 to be nearly 3 million tons. The Committee has also calculated that the demand for food-grains would rise by some 16 per cent in view of the increase in the population and also the likely demand for better foodgrains like rice and wheat (in the place of coarser foodgrains) by working class groups which have moved into higher wage earning sections of the population. Thus the long range food problem over the past eleven years has really been one of overall deficit but the administration had looked at this problem on an annual, in fact, seasonal basis. And, therefore, they have been lulled into satisfaction and complacency during a good monsoon year and thrown into sorrowful confusion during bad years. Had they looked at the food problem over a long range point of view, they would have realised that it is never safe to be confident about the future, especially as our food production is still a gamble in the rains. We have been swinging from deficit to self-sufficiency or surplus and from surplus to deficit again. The way out is to presume that we shall have a deficit and build up, no matter what the difficulty, and however slowly, sufficient buffer stock of some 5 to 5 million tons against one or more lean years, the incidence of which, of course, is unpredictable. But buffer stocks mean surplus over current consumption. The question is how is the country to do this especially when we start the year with a deficit and we are unable to feed the existing population at low levels of consumption.

There are only two ways out. And both ways have been talked about *ad nauseam* and there is nothing new to be said beyond changing the emphasis and pleading for an integrated outlook. They are :

- (1) Bringing new lands under cultivation ;
- (2) Making the cultivated land yield more.

1. Can we bring new land under cultivation? Is there new cultivable land available for cultivation? The Government (that is, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Planning Commission, and the Reports of various official committees) have published periodically the changing pattern of land utilization in India.

Unfortunately, as with most aspects of our economy, we do not have reliable statistics about the pattern of land utilization in the country as a whole. If our vital statistics are bad, our agricultural statistics are worse. Nearly a third of the country has not been properly cadastrally surveyed. There are land cultivated, land lying fallow, land under forest, and land not available for cultivation. And last is the intriguing category "Land cultivable but uncultivated" on which much faith has been reposed as a source of additional food grains.

The following table gives the pattern of land utilization in India in 1950 :

TABLE 2
Pattern of land utilization in India, 1950.

Category	Area in thousand acres	Percentage of classified area
Classified Area	... 614,610	
Unclassified Area	... 196,199	
Gross Area	... 810,372	
Net Area Sown	... 266,372	43.3
Current Fallows	... 18,171	3.0
Under Forests	... 93,143	15.2
Not available for cultivation	... 96,024	15.6
Other uncultivated land excluding current fallows	... 98,400	16.0

ANTHROPOLOGY THROUGH THE AGES

BY

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(This is the first instalment in a series of two articles wherein the author traces the origin of the Science of Anthropology and evaluates its great role on an international plane. Ed.)

Introduction

Jawaharlal Nehru, not long ago, remarked that "the people of India, unfortunately, have not thus far developed enough interest in the important subject of anthropology. But there appear to be signs of awakening in them"

True, till very recently, anthropology, which deals with the whole science of man, was very little known, and much less talked about. The indifference was evident not in India alone, but also in other parts of the world. In England, which may be regarded as the birth-place of modern anthropology, anthropologists, until a few decades ago, had to face not a little apathy on the part of the public, and also lack of active support from the Government.

At the beginning of this century, American and British anthropologists urged that Governments should take anthropological knowledge into consideration. While in the U.S.A., the occasion was the war with Spain, which resulted in her (America) acquiring "colonies," in Britain, anthropologists first attempted to get a hearing in the South African War after the annexation of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Mair narrates how British anthropologists begged Joseph Chamberlain to set up a Commission to study the customs and institutions of the Bantu population before any legislation about them was passed, how the British Prime Minister reacted, and how soon after the close of the South African War when a Commission was appointed to lay down principles of native policy, it did not, unfortunately, include any anthropologists.

In his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1929, J. L. Myers gave an account of the struggles of anthropologists to secure a practical recognition of the claims of anthropological studies at the hands of the British Government and the British Universities. It was due to the joint efforts of the British Association for the Advancement of Science and the Royal Anthropological Institute that matters improved to some extent in Great Britain and the colonies. Today, in the United Kingdom, and the United States, many universities provide instruction in one or more principal departments of anthropology, and it is included among the subjects of study for candidates for appointment in the public services.

For long, the anthropologist's views were regarded with suspicion as he was supposed to consider the past as the ideal, to see outmoded customs and manners in a romantic light, and stand in the way of progress. This criticism sometimes emanated from the educated groups, and sometimes from the anthropologist's own compatriots. Fortunately, most thinking people the world over now recognise the value of anthropology.

Modern anthropologists are interested in the study of society, both primitive and advanced, and today you find them everywhere—in Indian jungles and villages, in the backward areas of China, Africa, and South America, and even in the factories of North America studying personnel problems. Thanks to them, we have a clearer idea now of the nature and

evolution of the human species, and its cultural patterns.

Anthropology came into vogue in India not in response to felt academic needs, but to serve the administration. That was why from about the last decade of the 19th century, there used to be spurts of ethnographic activity during the decennial Census season. It was only about 40 years ago that academic recognition was first given to anthropology at Calcutta University by its Vice-Chancellor, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, who appointed L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, a great scholar, who was ahead of many other Indians in realising the value of anthropological studies, as Lecturer in Anthropology, though, still earlier, Madras University had recognised anthropology as a subject for the M.A. Degree Examination.

If anthropology has made little progress in India, compared to the West, the blame must go to the halting and inadequate policy followed by the administration prior to Independence. Also, widespread, prejudice, arising, perhaps, from a feeling that anthropological approach in studying primitive people consisted in treating them as "museum specimens," and not as human beings, inadequate financial support, and lack of professional opportunities were further reasons for the step-motherly treatment which the science of man received till the forties of this century. Anthropology which used to form an optional subject for the I.C.S. examination held in India, was omitted in the 1930s from the list of subjects for that examination. In 1938, out of about 20 recognised universities, it was only the Calcutta University that taught anthropology as an independent subject for Degree examinations, and also as a part of the History courses for the B.A. and M.A. Degrees. During the last 20 years more universities have come into existence, and anthropology has made its appearance fitfully in some of them. Though it is doubtful whether there was any clear policy

behind this, it is a happy sign that more and more students are being attracted to the study of anthropology. Since Independence, the subject has also been included as one of the optional papers for candidates taking the I.A.S. examination. The Government has now recognised the need to have trained men for jobs connected with the educational, economic, social, moral, and religious uplift of tribal and other backward people.

Scope of Anthropology

According to attitudes prevalent in India, anthropology has somehow come to mean the study of apes and primitives, and sociology the study of more advanced communities. There is quite a lot of misconception as to the scope of these young disciplines. It is not unusual to hear educated persons ask questions like—What do anthropologists study or what are the kinds of problems investigated by them? How far has anthropology helped mankind, and how far is it likely to help in the future? What are the aims and methods of modern anthropology, and how did it develop from both the pre-19th century philosophical speculations and the early empirical work of explorers, missionaries, and colonial servants? And, above all, why should we study anthropology? To these and other allied questions, I think we could make a number of answers.

Aristotle is credited by some with being the author and father of anthropology. Hypocritus, Vesalius, Spigel, Tyson, Herodotus, Polybius, Caesar, Strabo and Tacitus were some of the early pioneers, and they have given "excellent" descriptions of foreign peoples. Ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and the Chinese included in their studies the life of foreign peoples. Anthropology, therefore, is no new science. But, as a science, its birth followed the promulgation of the evolution theory by Darwin and Wallace in 1859. It is perhaps the youngest of the social sciences

known to the world. All the social sciences, where we concentrate on the various aspects of human behaviour, and even those physical sciences which deal with man and his progress and development, are mere offshoots of anthropology. In other words, while the other social sciences are concerned with a portion of mankind, anthropology is concerned with man and human civilisation as a whole. It envisages man in his totality—rather it covers “the whole history of man as fired and pervaded by the doctrine of evolution.”

Anthropology is the study of human beings, and, to begin with, it dealt with the history of people without history. It concerned itself with the non-historical or preliterate peoples who had not evolved writing. These included peoples who lived before man had anywhere invented writing, and also those who live or lived a preliterate life contemporaneous with the few higher civilisations which use or used writing. It now includes the study of linguistics, etc., and can be said to embrace the “physiological and psychological science of man.” In other words, anthropology deals now not only with all aspects of mankind—the human body, the human family, and all aspects of culture, like technology, art, and religion from the most primitive to the most specialised—but also with the history of human society. The object of anthropology is “to lay open to our view, man as he really is, to unfold to us the secrets of his acts, his passions, and his wants in the past, and, possibly, in the future.” Primitive societies first attracted the notice of philosophers in the 18th century, chiefly because they furnished examples of man living in a state of nature before the institution of civil government. Only in the 19th century the study of primitive societies engaged the attention of anthropologists because it was believed they provided “important clues in the search for the origins of institutions.” Later anthropologists, who also evinced interest, held that the primitives displayed institutions

in their simplest forms, and that their study aided the study of more complex societies. Also, they felt that it was easier to make observations among people with cultures unlike our own.

Before going into further details about the scope of the science of man, mention has to be made of the four divisions into which anthropology has been divided. These are Physical Anthropology, Ethnology, Prehistory (Archaeology), and Cultural and Social Anthropology. In recent years, comparative technology, and sometimes general linguistics and human geography, are regarded also as branches of anthropology. Comparative technology is regarded as an adjunct of Ethnology and Prehistory.

Physical Anthropology is a branch of human biology (some even prefer the name Human Biology to Physical Anthropology), and comprises such interests as heredity, nutrition, sex differences, the comparative anatomy and physiology of races, and the theory of human evolution. In fact, in France and Germany anthropology denotes the physical aspects of man, which are more accurately described as Physical Anthropology. As used in Britain, it has a two-fold purpose—one, it views man as a creature in a kingdom of his own, and seeks the differentiating characteristics of his species, and two, it views man as distributed in races.

The task of Ethnology is to classify peoples on the basis of their racial and cultural characteristics, and then to explain their distribution at the present time, or in past times, by the movement and mixture of peoples, and the diffusion of cultures. Ethnology is not history which tells us about events which did happen. Ethnology can tell us little about the past social life or primitive people—and hence its speculations, as distinct from its classifications, have limited significance to social anthropology. An ethnologist and a social anthropologist,

therefore, may make use of the same data for different purposes. Though ethnology and social anthropology were regarded as a single discipline by the 19th century anthropologists, today, however, they are regarded as distinct. Social anthropology has now separated itself from Ethnology, and has also defined its subject-matter as “social relations” rather than culture.

The history of archaeology discloses sites which have been continuously occupied by many cultures in succession. Prehistoric archaeology is best regarded as a branch of ethnology. It attempts to reconstruct the history of peoples and cultures from human and cultural remains found by excavation in geological deposits. It relies on circumstantial evidence, and like Ethnology, can tell social anthropologists little about ideas and institutions in which they would be interested. Braunscholtz briefly sums up that “anthropometry, palaeontology, the prehistoric part of archaeology, and, in general, the nature and works of man form, as it were, the core of anthropology. Russian anthropologists have shown how a prehistoric society may be studied “as a functioning and developing organism,” and so have effectively linked archaeology with social anthropology.

Social anthropology* studies, either in contemporaneous or in historical societies for which there is adequate information, social behaviours generally in institutionalised forms such as family, kinship terms, religious cults political organisation and the like, and the relations between such institutions. Among the older anthropological writers, Morgan, Spencer and Durkheim conceived the aim of social anthropology to be the “classification and

* In the Continent, Social anthropology is even referred to either as Ethnology or Sociology. The expression “Social Anthropology” has recently only come into use. It was first used in 1908 by Sir James Frazer while lecturing at Liverpool University. The subject is taught under the names of Anthropology and Ethnology in universities.

functional analysis of social structures.” This point of view has persisted among Durkheim’s followers in France. Tylor, on the other hand, and others who leant towards Ethnology, conceived its aim to be the classification and analysis of cultures, and this has been the dominant viewpoint in American anthropology for a long time.

Social anthropology is the study of man from a number of aspects. It covers the study of all human cultures and societies—not merely of primitive societies as in the past—and also of their development, achievements, and inter-relations. Their oeologies, economics, legal and political institutions, family and kinship organisations, religions, technology, arts, come under the field of researches. And it is the task of the social anthropologist to discover the functions of the social institutions of people in the social systems to which they belong. Many anthropologists through their studies have shown the intimate bearing of the study of social anthropology on the administration and welfare of primitive peoples.

In recent years, however, there has been a desire to connect social anthropology with psychology, or with the social sciences—such as general sociology, economics, and comparative politics. Some regard social anthropology as a natural science, and others (Evans-Pritchard included) classifying it under humanities.

While social anthropology, to a large extent, has developed independently in England, it is better represented in United States universities than in the United Kingdom. In India, it is now firmly enough established as a branch of learning in universities.

Another fact to be remembered is that while anthropologists make direct studies of social life, historians make indirect studies of social life from documentary and other sources. Though there are differences of technique, emphasis, and perspective, the method of both

historiography and social anthropology is essentially descriptive integration, and anthropology, more explicitly and deliberately than history, aims at comparison and generalisation. Anthropology differs from history in that its inquiries are not confined to periods for which written records are available, and to people who have developed the art of writing. As pointed out earlier, anthropological inquiries extend over the whole of humanity regardless of time and space. Historical inquiry reaches out hesitatingly beyond the domain of written records. Archaeological and later survivals that persist in modern culture are utilised to extend the space of time, and to fill in details for which written records are not available. In these inquiries, the fields of anthropology and history are in close contact.

Cultural anthropology examines the range of questions involved in the relations of culture and environment. It comprises all that human endeavour creates—religion, art, etc. It also compares the different types of cultures.

Sociology and Anthropology

Sociology is "the study of the nature and comparative history of human society." It studies particular problems in civilised societies, and is largely statistical. It is also mixed with social philosophy, and suggests how divorce, crime, insanity, labour unrest, etc., work.

Sociology and anthropology, as stated previously, are young disciplines just about 100 years old. The Frenchman, Comte, acclaimed as the father of modern sociology, had as his object "the discovery of the basic laws of the social movements and constructive action, so that humanity might order its progress along desirable lines with a full knowledge of the various factors governing social behaviour, instead of being driven hither and thither by irrational forces." In 1843, J. S. Mill introduced Comte's Sociology into England, and

he added to the "intellectual history" of Comte, the idea of "social evolution" which provided a sort of connecting thread to history which it did not have so far. Speculative theorising continued for some more time. The American Sociologist Keller had some important contribution to make, though some of his writings do seem oddly "naive" when they are read today. Spencer was the first to use information regarding primitive tribes in his sociological thinking, and with Hobhouse, who studied the relations of primitive society to secularised modern society, began the modern phase of sociology.

With its philosophical associations, sociology commands a higher status today in the eyes of the lay public. It is not unusual for an anthropologist to find more resistance to his investigation among the so-called civilised groups than a sociologist. Sociology, however, did not have such initial advantages as anthropology, but it found a congenial climate, particularly in Bombay, and those universities which proliferated from Bombay University or came under its influence directly. The Tata School of Social Work gave a great fillip to sociological teaching with a practical welfare bias. The schools of social work, started in Madras, Delhi, and Hyderabad, and other places, on the model of the Tata institution, would seem to suggest that applied anthropology, and sociology are having far greater attraction than the academic or "pure" variety.

Sociology and anthropology have now become field subjects, the research workers having to collect their own data. This change in method has not only enriched our knowledge of man, but led on to the development of applied sociology and anthropology.

There is lack of agreement about the aims and methods of anthropology among anthropologists themselves. On many matters there is substantial agreement, but they hold diver-

gent views on a few others. Their inquiries are matter-of-fact, and there is no seeking after the strange or colourful. Their field is vast, almost limitless, for there exist in the world many thousands of different cultures and societies. Many studies have been conducted not only of the Polynesian and Melanesian peoples of the Pacific, the aboriginals of Australia, the Lapps and Eskimo peoples of the Polar regions, the Mongolian peoples of Siberia, the Negro peoples of Africa, the Indian peoples of the American continent, and the more backward peoples of India, Indonesia, Burma, and Malaya, but also of the more advanced peoples of Near and Further Asia, North Africa, and parts of Europe.

With anthropologists, in recent years, taking up the study of village communities, in addition to tribes, the distinction of anthropology as

"primitive sociology" is no longer true in India. Ghurye holds the view that the social situation in India, with its social groups living at very different levels of evolution, does not lend itself to hard-and-fast distinction between sociology and social anthropology, and that these branches inter-penetrate. Redfield's new approach has provided a new bridge between the simple and complex communities.

English social anthropology is tending to be more and more sociological, and according to Levi Strauss, the European sociologist views his own society from his position of privilege, and interprets other societies in terms of his. The anthropologist looks at other societies more objectively. He tries to see the total social fact and pattern. He deals with more "authentic" societies.

(to be continued)

RELIGION AND THE STATE

BY

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

We are told that in the U.S.S.R. Census held in 1937, the people of the Soviet Union were asked to declare whether they were believers or non-believers. The majority expressed their allegiance to religious beliefs. The Census returns of 1937 were therefore scrapped and two years later in 1939 another Census was held on the basis of a new questionnaire from which any mention of religion was carefully deleted.

Notwithstanding the care taken by the U.S.S.R. rulers to exclude figures as to religion, it is known that the Lutheran Church claims 13 lakhs active members. The Baptists number five and half lakhs of baptized members and claim besides about 30 lakhs sympathisers. The strength of the big Orthodox Church can be gathered indirectly but quite reliably from the sale of votive candles! It is estimated to be between twenty and thirty millions of practising members. An official organ of the Communist Central Committee complained recently that party members and even party functionaries participate in religious life.

All this must be an eye-opener to some of our Indian admirers of materialist philosophy.

Perhaps the one most determining cause of the international distrust of the Communists is their open atheism. Their word does not command full value. Hence the difficulty in arriving at any agreements with them. The Communist leaders have done great disservice to themselves by their needless denial of God.

That religion is the private affair of each citizen and that it is of no concern to the State, is the doctrine of the secular State. But it is not true in that sense. It is true in the sense that every citizen should be free to choose his religious beliefs and that this liberty should not be curtailed by the laws of the State. But it is not true that it is of no concern to the State. Religion furnishes the motive and the sanction for conduct—more than any laws or regulations of the State—and the conduct of the citizen is a matter of greatest concern to the State.

The international power and influence of the Soviet Union would have been much greater than what it is now, had not the Communist party tied itself to atheism. It was wrong of them to assume that material progress had been hindered by belief in the governance of the world by a higher power. They did not foresee how much they lost in international credit by this proclaimed faith in No faith; Peace by negotiation would have been much nearer had the Soviet official faith not been declared to be atheism.

So far as India is concerned, her roots are in religion and in the broadest tolerance. To the extent that this has been disturbed, there has been deterioration in morals and consequent injury to public interests. To the extent that we hope to restore religion to its time-honoured place in India, we may look forward to that purity of conduct and self-denying concern for the nation which will usher in true prosperity and happiness.

MADRAS—FROM PENTLAND TO PRAKASA

—A Long Shot

BY

P. C. CHERIAN, M.A.

(This is the third instalment in the series wherein the writer spotlights well known personalities whom he had met and heard over a period of nearly fifty years—Ed.)

In my High School days, the teachers, all old students of the Christian College used to tell us about the marvellous achievements of John Mathai as a student and his brilliant performance as an orator. After I joined College he returned from Oxford taking a doctorate, his thesis being "Village Life in India" which is subsequently prescribed as a Text for I.C.S. probationers during their training in England. A meeting was got up in the Y.M.C.A. auditorium to welcome him back. Mr. Paul Appaswamy, another distinguished student of the Christian College who was then the City Civil Court Judge, presided. We had mustered strong in anticipation to see this wonderful man and hear his wonderful speech. The President in his introductory speech said that Dr. John Mathai was like the elemental forces whose movements could not be seen nor predicted. After a brilliant career as a student in the Christian College he served as a tutor in the College for a short period. (Of course it was a convention in those days for every student who passed with distinction to serve the College as tutor for some time, as preparation for better things in the future). Then he joined the Law College where too he distinguished himself by passing all the examinations in First Class. Then he started practice in the Madras High Court. All of a sudden he gave up practice and proceeded to Oxford. Now he has come back with a doctorate. It is not known what his plans for the future are. Anyway we are proud of him and we welcome him back to Madras with open arms." All of

us sat up eagerly expected to hear the display of this much talked of orator with an Oxford touch added to it. But Dr. John Mathai elegantly stood up and replied, "Friends, I am thankful to the Chairman for his kind remarks about me. I thank the organisers of this meeting for doing me this honour and I think everyone of you here for honouring me by your presence." And he sat down and we were utterly disappointed. We expected thunder but there was not even the semblance of a rumbling. Later someone explained that Oxford which set the fashion in English Literature preferred neat little speeches in simple English to the bombast and pedantic rhetoric of the past.

Dr. Mathai was first appointed as Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies, but within a short time he was taken into the Indian Educational Service and posted as Professor of Economics in the Presidency College, wherefrom his services were loaned to the University to fill in the Economics chair. Already he had established himself as a leading authority on economic questions and the Government of India took the earliest opportunity to nominate him as a member of the Tariff Board. Eventually he became its President. The Tariff Board was virtually a creation of the Finance Member whose dictates it was expected to follow but instances of clash between the two were not uncommon or unheard of. The Finance Member at the time was Sir Edward Grigg, an autocrat of autocrats who held Indians in supreme contempt as incapable of having

independent views of their own on major questions. Patriotic to the core Dr. John Mathai stepped in Victorian idealism would not betray the interest of the country at any cost and the two therefore clashed first on the Rupee ratio and then on the Steel report. For having dared to cross swords with him, Sir Crigg determined to teach him a lesson and therefore resorted to a subterfuge by abolishing the Tariff Board as a sort of reprisal against Mr. Mathai and thereby throw him out of the ring. But not willing to lose his services he was offered the post of Director of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics. And as a paper arrangement he was reverted to Madras as Principal of the Palghat College. On retirement Dr. Mathai joined the Tata's as a Director from where he was asked by Pandit Nehru to join the first Union Cabinet as Communication Member. Later he was switched on to finance which to he gave up after sometime.

The appointment of a Congress man in the Cabinet was deeply resented by the majority of the Congress members who insisted on jail experience as a *sine qua non* for such appointment as if the administration of the country meant jail reforms duly, but Nehruji who had the interest of the country uppermost in his mind wanted the very best man in his Cabinet, irrespective of their party affiliation. In course of time Dr. Mathai found his position embarrassing and sensed an atmosphere of hostility all around. Unflinching in his opinion he was not prepared to compromise on principles and as a wise man realising that discretion is the better part of valour, he came out of the Cabinet without making a fuss. Later he took up the Vice-Chancellorship of the Bombay University which too he gave up after a time and retired to his hamlet Mathaipuram in Trichur. The Communist Government of Kerala who are more shrewd than others think of them, pressed him to accept the Vice-Chancellorship of the Kerala University on his own terms, an achievement they ought to

Gandhiji visited Madras in 1919 and addressed an open-air gathering on the beach opposite the Senate House. This end of the Marina was favoured for evening gatherings because of the band stand but with its abolition the popularity shifted to the south. An improvised platform, three or four chairs and two or three petromax lights were all the equipments necessary for any gathering. After Gandhi, a thin man of average height in simple dress, dhoti and shirt (Jibba had not come into fashion then), an angavasthrum folded and kept on the shoulder and with scanty tuft behind the baldhead, got up and began to speak. Actually he was not speaking but talking to the audience,

just as a schoolmaster talks to his pupils. But the talk was interesting, interspersed with humorous stories and witty anecdotes. I did not know who this interesting character was. He made a fine job of it and his Ministry was hailed everywhere as the best in India. He made only one mistake and that was in nominating his friend—it was a case of friendship getting the better of his discretion—Dr. T. S. S. Rajan to the Council and including him in the Ministry and worst of all giving him the portfolio of medicine and public health. With his inherent prejudice against services and better qualified persons he made a mess of the department. Rajaji learned a bitter lesson and in his next Ministry he was therefore very careful not to entrust the medical portfolio to a medical man though there were highly qualified Doctors of both sexes in the Council and the Assembly.

On India attaining freedom his services were required at the Centre. In the Central Cabinet he displayed his talents by handling more than one portfolio with ease and confidence. For people accustomed to seeing Governors and Viceroys all white men dressed in tip top fashion going about in Posh conveyances accompanied by streamlined A.D.Cs. and escorted by Mounted Troops in gorgeous colours both in the front and the rear it was a strange sight to see Rajaji in those roles dressed in his usual dhoti, jibba and angavasthrum occupying a room or two in a huge mansion. It was a job for his A.D.C.'s to see that he didn't lose his way in these labyrinthine edifices. The first and the last Indian to occupy the Viceroy's throne he relinquished this office as soon as the Presidential election was announced and came away to the south first to have some rest and then to complete his works on Kamayana and Mahabaratha which he had commenced writing. The State Council at the Centre was missing his experienced lead and Nehruji again requisitioned his services this time as a Minister without portfolio to be an overall adviser. But lesser minds jealous of his influence tried to elbow him out. Sensing this murky atmos-

Rajagopalachari was a popular Lawyer and Chairman of the Salem Municipality. In response to Gandhiji's call he gave up his lucrative practice and followed him without looking back. The two fell in love with each other at first sight, and the rest is recent history to be written in letters of gold. Their friendship had become almost a legend, the saint and the sage being counsellors to and captives of each other, a friendship that could be immortalised by an imaginative poet; the one spiritual and the other intellectual. It was doubtful as to who was the stronger personality. In jail or outside to decide crucial points Gandhiji turned to Rajaji for consultation and advice as he considered him to be the best counsel next to his inner voice and momentous questions had been settled between the two in this manner. This close association with Gandhiji pushed him to the forefront as an All India figure. As a member of the Congress Working Committee his opinions were always sought after and respected. He was mainly responsible for the popularisation of Khadi in the south. As an offshoot of the parents' love for each other Gandhiji's younger son fell in love with C. R.'s daughter and eventually married her thus making the friendship still stronger. C. R. was also in a way responsible for tumbling Netaji Bose from his second term of Presidency, by the parable of the leaky boat.

In pursuance of the Government of India Act of 1935, general elections had to be held and Rajaji was nominated to the Graduates

where he retired to Courtallam for rest and devotion.

Again he was disturbed from his quiet retreat, this time by the Provincial Legislative Party. In the second general election the Congress Party in Tamilnad lost ground considerably and the Communist Party had gained a lot. In the absence of proper leadership the Congress hesitated to take up responsibility in view of the strong opposition from Communists. Finding no other means of salvation the leaders of the Congress decided to go on a pilgrimage to Courtallam and beg him to come out and lead them in the Legislature. He agreed on one condition that he should be allowed to have his own ways and should not be interfered with. They gave him a carte-blanche. The Governor thereupon nominated him to the Council and he took up the leadership. Then he announced his Ministry. The first thing he did was to give them a lecture as to how they should conduct themselves, i.e. no one to give public statements, no one to give interviews to the Press and no one to pass final orders on any question without his approval. This toning up was necessary. The previous ministry had fallen into the mire. It had to be pulled out, cleaned, brushed and put in chains. Having set the house in order he took up cudgels against the communists and thrashed them into good behaviour. Order was restored, the administrative machinery began to run without friction. There was no fear of dissension within or of attack from without. When that stage was reached they no longer wanted his services, just as Churchill was turned out after winning the war. Sensing this change he peacefully walked out.

One of the greatest intellectuals of this century he had all the highest honours except the Congress Presidentship. It is a mystery how he missed it while persons far inferior to him in any respect have been elected to this office. A cynic there is an aura of disappointment about him. A cold logician he takes coffee not hot but boiling. A strict disciplinarian his sense of justice, was so acute that it has no room for mercy typical of all saints and sages. But he is not unmindful of pelf; his income either through pension or through royalties is carefully husbanded and wisely distributed among his children. A great man he is conscious of his greatness and takes delight in exposing the foibles of lesser minds. A learned man he is anxious to teach others and as he grows older he seems to get a feeling that others know very little. Possessing an analytical mind his enthusiasm for argument sometimes leads him into awkward predicaments, his opposition to the B.C.C. Campaign was one such instance; by training or by experience he was not competent to pronounce a definite judgment on such purely professional matters; yet his sycophants egged him on to get him into this muddle; a wise counsellor, a shrewd statesman, a first rate scholar, a master of Vedic literature, a lucid writer in English and Tamil he has and had very few superiors in his generation. As a builder of Modern India he is one of the top rankers and his opinions on global affairs are gaining international recognition.

Another notable figure in Madras politics was Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, once the doyen of the Madras Bar. He was the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Madras Session of the Indian National Congress and it was a happy coincidence that years later his daughter was elected to function in the same capacity at the Avadi Sessions. He spent a fortune in organising the Swaraj Party in the South and was mainly responsible for the rout of the Justice Party at the elections. While he was the Congress President he differed from Gandhi not in aim but in methods to carry on the freedom struggle. Instead of creating a rift in Congress and thereby weakening the party he nobly withdrew from active politics

and retired to his den like a wounded lion. Really a lion he was. He never mixed with lower creatures nor did he threaten or annoy them. It is a pity that jackals are now howling where lions roared. An outstanding lawyer of All India fame he was an authority on Hindu Law. There was none to excel him or even to equal him on the Civil Side. His addresses to the Bench explaining intricate points of law appeared to be like a professor's lecture to the students, such was his mastery of the subject and his confidence in dealing with it. While others referred to case laws and to interpretation given in law books he argued involving a law out of it to the discomfiture of his opponents and to the amazement of the Bench. Such was his marvellous advocacy. A superior intellect he would not tolerate any one who boasted to be his equal but like a benevolent monarch he was gracious to every one who looked up to him for help or advice. The originality displayed by him on occasions had the hallmark of genius.

A very interesting character of the times was Mr. Krishna Rao Bonsel, Secretary to the Board of Government Examinations. A Maharashtrian by birth he had domiciled in Madras. On ceremonial occasions, every public meeting was such an event for him, he used to dress himself in the typical Maharashtrian fashion, in trousers or pyjamas with a dark long coat reaching below the knees going up to the ankles. Angavasthrum folded and ironed dangle round the neck down to the full length of the coat, a Maharashtrian cap and coloured shoes with turned up toes, he would be one of the earliest arrivals at any meeting and after taking a general survey of the audience he would have a significant look at the press reporters as if asking them to note his name among the prominent persons present on the occasion and they (reporters) in their turn would pay him their elaborate namaskarams and swarm round him. Each one vying with the other to please him as if beseeching him as

As stated before, the Congress under the lead of Mrs. Beasant, a studied political worker, received fresh impetus and the Home Rule League started by her became a live issue. It so happened that most of the leaders of the Congress were Brahmins and there was already a feeling in the country that in the matter of appointments in Government Service they had a monopoly. The non-brahmins in general probably prompted by the instinct of self-preservation revolted against this menace and organised the South Indian Liberal Federation as a countermove with the Justice Party as its political wing and the Liberator as its organ of publicity, the motto being equal opportunity for all. The brain behind the whole move was Dr. T. M. Nair, an eminent surgeon whose pen and tongue were as facile as his knife. He worked in close collaboration with and under the patronage of Mr. P. Theagaraya Chetty. Both were members of the Corporation, intimate friends and ardent civil workers.

Mr. Theagaraja Chetty was the senior member of a rich and aristocratic family in Washermanpet. A selfless worker he was lavish to a fault in the matter of spending for the amelioration of the poor with the result that at the time of his death it was found that the family fortune had taken a downward curve. He was the President of the Corporation and in recognition of his meritorious services the Government knighted him and the Corporation erected a life-size statue in front of the building. Always dressed in spotless white, dhoti, a long white closed coat, white-turban with a grey white moustache, Sir P. Theagaraya Chetty was given the appellation of "the white-robed saint of Washermanpet."

Lord Pentland left by efflux of time and was succeeded by Lord Willingdon to whose lot fell the chance of ushering in the Montford Reforms. At the general elections the Justice Party came out with an overwhelming majority. Diarchy was being introduced for the first time. Lord Willingdon called upon Mr. Theagaraya Chetty as the leader of the Justice Party to form the Ministry for the transferred half but he stood aside and while remaining as leader asked Mr. Subbarayalu Reddiar of Cuddalore

to take up responsibility for the transferred half, a glorious self-denial, the parallel of which was witnessed only in 1947, when on India gaining Independence, Gandhiji sponsored Pandit Nehru to take up the reins of Government himself remaining in the background. Unfortunately Subbarayalu Reddiar could not continue for long as the hand of death snatched him away within a few days and the Rajah of Panagal succeeded him as Chief Minister. In a black long closed coat and gold bordered cap he was a dignified figure both in appearance and behaviour. A man of few words he managed the party without internal dissension and carried on the administration with tact and diplomacy. He had as Chief Parliamentary Secretary Mr. A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar who was the chief spokesman of the party, both in and outside the Council. Between the two they introduced a lot of reforms the chief of which were : (1) Passing the Hindu Religious Endowment Act, (2) starting the School of Indian Medicine, (3) inaugurating the District Health Scheme and (4) opening the Rural Medical Centres where each practitioner was paid a monthly subsidy of Rs. 100.

(To be continued.)

BANKS AND CONSUMER LENDING

BY

PROF. K. VASUDEVAN, M.A.

In recent months a few banks in India have come forward to finance purchases by its constituents on the instalment plan. They have put out nice folders explaining how in the context of economic development of the country, it is but legitimate, to give a concrete picture in terms of higher standard of living which means, that the 'new class' which is emerging with a little higher income would like to go in for things like radios, sewing machines, furniture, scooters, and motor cars which make all the difference between decent living and mere existence. These banks have invited the public to take the opportunity of getting things on instalment plan which will be financed by them initially. They have been asked to buy now and pay later which a writer in the London Economist points out has become a 'simple dictum of commonsense' in the United States. This new development in Indian banking has to be welcomed because it injects a type of incentive in the people, especially in the middle income group, which is good from the point of view economic development of the country. But this development has been viewed with some misgiving by the officials of the State Bank of India, whose views have been put forth by Mr. Bhattacharya who said that he did not consider that bank financing of hire purchase advisable, and added that such financing was likely to be inflationary and make some of the scarce goods more scarce. But this view will not find favour with many who will examine the hire purchase system in India from all points of view, and one can venture to say that such an examination will reveal, that the scheme which has been launched by some banks in India will promote saving and provided the hire purchase system is

canalised in to purchasing things which are locally manufactured, like sewing machines and fans, the scheme will not engineer inflations or accentuate scarcity of goods.

An examination of bank financing of consumer lending in other countries will provide us with valuable lessons. It has been stated that buying on credit and repaying through the discipline of regular instalments has in all advanced countries accelerated rapidly in recent years. This has been due to the very high level of production of goods and to the emergence of a new class of people in search of higher standard of living. In the Western countries the working population has begun to enjoy higher incomes and this phenomenon has led to increased demand for certain class of goods which were termed once semi-luxury goods.

In America the volume of instalment credit has increased eight times compared to the level in 1939. The first bank to open a personal loan department was the First National City Bank of New York then the largest commercial bank in U.S. In granting personal loans the American banks generally are satisfied with personal security. Loans are not generally confined to a bank's customers ; in some states the bank is not allowed to make a deposit a condition of the loan. Interest charges on the loans vary from about 4% to 8% or more. One feature of the interest rates are these rates on personal loans do not fluctuate with the prime loan rate. Apart from participation in consumer credit, the commercial banks are also a major source of capital for the other lending institutions. An estimate has put this indirect commitment of banking funds, to consumer credit, at rather less than one-half

followed by the master and the sight of his wife in the arms of her lover, that Anglo-Indian youth whom his dog encountered on the road, was so furiously maddening that he took out his revolver, shot the youth first and then the screaming wife. Then he cut their throats,

severed their heads and buried them in a corner of the compound. Finally he kissed his hound shot it, and then shot himself.

This tragedy is enacted every night in that place and no tenant therefore sticks to it for more than a day or two.

THE CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA

(Its Origin and Evolution through the Ages)

BY

T. N. V. NAMBOORI M.A.

The Caste System prevalent in India from time immemorial is a much misunderstood and occasionally misrepresented social phenomenon. No doubt, in the modern world it has outlived its utility and purpose and it has become a chronic disease of the society retarding its progress and often acting as a stumbling block in its onward march. But when once we understand the circumstances in which this social system comprising innumerable castes, sub-castes and groups took shape and the purposes and functions it was intended to serve, I think, we will be able to view this outdated system with some understanding and sympathy. In this article I propose to give a brief review of the circumstances and situations in which the caste system of India was found to have become an inseparable part of the Indian social organisation.

The Indian Society from pre-historic times has been continuously changing and it has been reacting and adjusting itself to changing circumstances as they arose. Of course, we have no clear picture of these changes of the earliest forms of the Indian society. The dim and vague outline we get is from the survivals of primitive culture found in contemporary backward classes and tribes.

It was by the close of the neolithic age that the Indian Society began to show a certain tendency to form more or less definite and stable divisions based on regional, ethnic, tribal and professional groups. But these processes of evolution were not uniform due to the vast distance between the different regions of the country and the meagre means of communica-

tion. The tendency for specialisation according to the different regions in which the people lived during the period was mainly instrumental in fostering the social system based on groups and sub-groups, which in course of time gave rise to elaborate restrictions regarding marriage and inter-dining and ultimately to the rigid, inflexible caste system. Some historians are of the opinion that the facts of history do not conform to the view expressed by some scholars that the caste system was an institution brought into existence by the Brahmins and superimposed by the Aryan on the non-Aryan communities whom they had conquered and subjugated. A thorough study of the history of the society of that time and the social changes taking place before our very eyes will show that the instinct to separate into different groups was more developed among the non-Aryans than among the Aryans.

The Vedic period brought about some very important and revolutionary changes in the social organisation. The thinkers and reformers of that age might have felt the urgent need to set right the chaotic conditions prevailing at that time and to simplify and systematise the plethora of groups and sub-groups of the neolithic age. And the result was a social transition from groupings based on birth, race and region to "varna" or conscious and discriminate selection of one's profession in life. These changes were ideological and conscious. It is interesting and instructive to read the explanation of the origin of the four social groups, viz., the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas and the Sudras, given in the Rigveda. According to this Veda, the

their direct involvement. Owing to the growing importance of consumer credit the Federal Reserve Board undertook a research study in 1957 and it revealed that this kind of credit has been influenced very largely by the public demand for them though the influence of quantity of credit available in the banking system and the rate of interest should be considered as other factors with limited influence on the demand for consumer credit. Post-war inflation subjected this credit to official surveillance and controls on instalment buying were clamped down. These controls took the form of prescribing minimum down-payments and maximum maturities, and were introduced on three occasions in the last war, for a brief spell in 1948-49 and during the Korean crisis. It is stated that the 'American public's voracious appetite for credit has largely defied restraint.'

Contrary to the common rule that in many things Canada cannot defy the influence of her big and opulent neighbour, financing of consumers' purchases in Canada plays only a small part in the direct lending of the Canadian banks. Two of the banks, the Canadian Bank of Commerce and the Bank of Nova Scotia have made special arrangements to give their customers instalment finance for specific expenditures. All banks make personal loans without regard to purpose, but the dominant field for consumer credit is in the automobile trade. There is one appointment in Canada which is unique and exerts a lot of influence on the business that banks may do. It is that of Inspector-General of Banks, who can exercise certain powers in his own right and others on behalf of the Minister of Finance. It has been said that he has two powers which have proved extremely effective. He has been empowered to instruct a bank's own auditors to make any investigation he considers advisable, and the auditors are bound to do this. Secondly, he can require any bank to provide with information about a particular transaction,

which he can pass on to the Governor of the Bank of Canada, or to the Minister of Finance. This official can watch also the situation with regard to consumer lending.

West Germany is very much in the picture nowadays, because she has hit the world's headline as the country which has not only recovered remarkably well from the effects of war but also as a citadel of free market economy. From the point of consumer lending or instalment credit, West Germany has been dubbed an 'underdeveloped territory.' One factor has stood against quick development of instalment purchasing, which pertains to the notion among the large number of the population, that the purchase of goods on borrowed money is not respectable. But the conditions in the post-war world diluted to a certain extent this psychological resistance, and at present the savings banks have become increasingly interested in handling hire-purchase credits; but the big deposit banks have made only a reluctant start in this line of business. In West Germany financing hire-purchase sales are bound by the regulations as laid down by the credit law. Interest rates are controlled. Recently a number of hire-purchase banks in West Germany have been considering the offer of 'personal loans' of the kind that is popular in America.

From the brief account of the movement towards consumer credit in America, Canada and West Germany, it is clear that this form of business has taken roots and is purely reflective of growing awareness on the part of the 'new class' that they must partake the fruits of the mass production. In Britain the instalment purchase has become very popular and a magazine article informs us that 'the middle class soaked by income-tax and inheritance duties, have no cash to buy yesterday's luxuries that are today's necessities.' These people have adopted the rule, 'spend-as-you-get-it' in the place of the old rule 'wait-till-you've-saved-for-it.' One writer be-

moans that today Britain's population is domestically in debt to the tune of £ 503 millions, which averages out at £ 33 for every family. Perhaps this is the price which that country has to pay for keeping life from becoming dull.

The movement in India is in its infancy, and provided it is directed in the proper channel it will not only help some indigenous industries but will also inculcate the saving habit among the middle class which is good in a growing economy.

Cosmic Man symbolised the entire Universe. The Brahmins originated from the mouth of the Cosmic Man, the mouth being the seat of speech; the Brahmin was created to be the teacher and instructor of mankind. The Kshatriya originated from His arms and the arms being the seat of valour and strength, his duty was to protect the world. The Vaisya was created from His thighs and therefore he was to sustain and support the world. The feet of the Cosmic Man gave birth to the Sudra. The feet form the basis of the body and hence the Sudra was to supply the physical labour for the society.

It is clear from this hymn in the Rigveda that the society was conceived as a well-knit organism, the different groups in the society functioning as the different limbs of the organism. That is to say the society was divided into four social classes on the principle of division of labour. The grouping was purely functional. As it had no connection whatsoever with region, race or birth, it was common to find at that time persons belonging to different "varnas" in the same family. No restrictions regarding inter-marriage or common dining existed.

Thus it is clear that such an organic conception of society was an ideal one which was intended to inspire and foster the unity of humanity, at the same time catering to the needs and well-being of the society as a whole. But quite contrary to the intentions and ideas of the original thinkers and reformers, in course of time, forces such as feelings based on heredity, race and sectional and regional interests conspired against this system of social organisation with the result that the utilitarian practice of "varna" degenerated into what is now known as caste, and birth began to determine the avocation and profession of the individual. As time passed, the rigidity of this compartmental system became more and more severe. During the Aryan expansion from the

North to South India, the non-Aryan races which were conquered and subjugated, were assimilated into the social organisation of the Aryans. But being of a different race, they were admitted only into the lowest rank, viz. the Sudras.

But it must be admitted that in spite of all the rigidity of the social organisation, there was a certain flexibility and laxity in such things as changing of profession, inter-dining and inter-marriage, which helped it to progress harmoniously. Yet, by the end of the Vedic period, there were many complications and maladjustments in the society which set many social reformers thinking about the basis of the social organisation itself. There were many attempts to re-state and re-interpret the social structure. Sri Krishna Himself said in the Gita that the world consisted of the four "varnas", but according to Him "varna" was based upon the psychological and biological apparatus of man and not on race or birth. The effect of this re-thinking and re-interpretation lasted for many centuries. But again forces of conservatism and prejudice raised their ugly heads making the society more rigid and retrogressive and this state of affairs ended up in very strong reactions like that of materialism and nihilism. These new forces challenged the philosophical and religious basis on which the social organisation was founded and tried to build society on a purely material basis. But they did not take root in the country as they failed to succeed in presenting a new, comprehensive social philosophy in place of the old one. Buddhism and Jainism also tried to reform society and they succeeded to a very large extent in eradicating the evils of caste based on birth and heredity. But, during all this time, the inherent forces of Brahminism were not dead. They tried to restore the old order, of course casting off some of its more pernicious traits, but they failed in their attempts.

This state of affairs continued for a very long time until we come to the mediaeval and the modern times. They were periods of foreign invasions, first by the Muslims and later by the Europeans. The invasions by the Muslims from outside and the advent of Islam created quite a new situation in India. The invaders followed a ruthless policy of Proselytism. Of course, Islam could not break the Indian social organisation because of its strong basis of cultural and psychological pattern and the tenacity and vitality to resist and to survive. But the impact of Islam had a very unhealthy effect. There were more and more ramifications and stultification of the ever-increasing compartments of the society, as the Hindus in their anxiety to preserve their own system tried to be as far aloof as possible from contacts with the Muslims.

The arrival of the Europeans by the 17th century created more far reaching social problems and changes. The Europeans and Indian converts to Christianity formed new social groups, like the Muslim communities in India, separated from the Hindu communities. The Hindus kept more and more aloof from contacts with other communities in order that they might preserve their old system. And the British rulers in fact encouraged this tendency by giving legal status to all social customs and practices, thus making the society all the more rigid and inflexible.

But at the same time, it must be said that the impact of Western civilization was a new and an unprecedented force in changing the pattern and character of Indian society. Its effects were varied and all-pervading. India came into contact with the new scientific discoveries, social sciences, equalitarian ideals and modern democracy. As these new forces were not of the nature of political invasions and holy wars, they very easily transgressed the boundaries of races and religions. The initial conflicts were not so much as between the East and the West, but they were between the old and the new ideas and ideals about the whole conception of life, its mechanism and structure. The new ideas were obviously against the perpetuation of differences based on race, caste or community, with the result the caste system in India is at present in the process of gradual liquidation. The new ideas about equality and fraternity inspired a whole set of devoted and sincere social reformers and thinkers who fought against the caste system and all its injustices with the zeal of crusaders and this had a tremendous effect. It is almost certain that before long, these new forces will have brought about a complete revolution in the whole structure of Indian society. With the spread of modern education the last vestiges of the caste system will have disappeared even from the remotest and most conservative village in India.

BHARATI, THE PATRIOT AND HUMANIST

BY

A. G. VENKATACHARY

Outside of Tamil Nad Subrahmania Bharati is known only to a few scholars and patriots. No concerted action has yet been taken to get his great works translated into the major Indian languages. A few pieces have been rendered into English and published in magazines. "Bharati in English Verse" by Prema published at about this time last year has sought to introduce the poet to the wider world. It contains translations of some of his best pieces. Bharati had himself written a few poems in English and they were posthumously published in book form. They revealed signs of rich promise. His life came to a close in 1921 when he was hardly 39. If he had lived longer he might perhaps have himself rendered even as Tagore did, some of his masterpieces into English and earned while alive his undoubted right to lasting fame. But that was not to be.

Within the short span vouchsafed for him Bharati had succeeded beyond measure in rousing the people of the Tamil country into an intense awareness of the needs of renaissance India. His poetic endeavour was truly versatile. The prestige of Tamil was then at a low ebb; the rich language and its great literature were languishing in the dark confines of scholastic pedantry and exercised little influence on the people and their thoughts. Bharati delved deep into the classics in Tamil, Sanskrit and English. The Vedas, the Upanishads and the Itihasas influenced him profoundly. Firmly rooted in the past, he launched forth into the world songs vibrant and vigorous and with a depth and range attained by no other poet of recent times except perhaps Tagore.

Bharati set in motion modernisation of the

Tamil mind. He instilled self-confidence in the minds of the Tamils. Some of his finest songs were in praise of Tamil, the Tamils and Tamil Nad. But he always took care to emphasise that his great mother-tongue and the fine people of Tamil Nad were important integral features of Mother India's beauty and majesty. He enriched the lyrical heritage of Tamil and democratised in poetry by invoking it out of the common people's language. The Tamil Pandits of his time (like a fair number even now) were steeped in partiality for their own language and preached a kind of antipathy to whatever came from another language. Excessive emphasis on purism had always stood in the way of any language developing rapidly and acquiring a modern million. Bharati was a conformist in so far as the fundamentals of the Tamil language were concerned but was pragmatist enough to make the fullest use of words and thoughts which widely familiar in his day, unmindful of their supposed origins. He sang in many meters and many modes on the social and political themes of the day and wove the basic philosophy of Hinduism with consummate skill into the lustrous fabric of his themes. The "Songs of Freedom" (1908) created not only a new taste for poetry but a new and powerful thirst for freedom as well. They have inspired the people of Tamil Nad to great endeavour in the freedom struggle. Bharati has considerable prose works to his credit. He was in fact the father of modern Tamil prose. He has written powerful short stories, brilliant essays and novelettes with great ideational qualities. He has succeeded admirably in making Tamil prose a medium of vigorous thought as well as artistic expression. Though dead for nearly forty years he is still

the major force inspiring and stimulating modern writers.

Bharati is more widely known as a bard of freedom but his title to lasting fame rests largely on other types of songs like the devotional and the allegorical. The prayer songs, the songs of knowledge, songs on Krishna, Kyuil's song and Panchali Sapatham (Draupadi's Vow) reveal his genius as a creative artist. The "freshness, spontaneity and suggestive power" of his lyrics are unrivalled. He attains superb form in factual narration, poetic description and dramatic presentation in these major works of his.

The one supreme quality of Bharati was his ability to see and sense things, both tangible and intangible and sing of them not only as distinct entities but as parts and functions, the arms and actions of the great cosmic order that comprehends the universe as a whole. It is this ability of his to link up the finite with the infinite, the transient with the permanent and the part with the whole in immortal song that has assured for him high place in the long line of Hindu mystics. Bharati was essentially a synthesist. He painted the smaller loyalties in shades that merged naturally and unconsciously into the larger ones and spread out in concentric circles as to comprehend not only humanity but all other creatures as well.

Bharati was a patriot of the noblest order. For an unfree people national freedom was undoubtedly the greatest revolutionary objective. But he was, however, not a blind patriot. He sang of the fables of his people, their weaknesses and strength, their aspirations and endeavour and sought to put them on the straight path with the sweeping power of his song. The patriotic poems and essays turned the entire south freedom-minded much ahead of the rest of the country, barring perhaps Bengal. Bharati was not a mere onlooker but a total participant in freedom's battle. He had to

suffer a ten-year exile and lifelong poverty but his spirit remained in high cheer till the very last.

Bharati has to contend against two different battles for men's minds waged with great pertinacity. The British rulers and their Indian friends were busy trying to prevent at all cost the national will to be free from taking shape and form and developing a striking point. The physical and cultural unity of India assured by History and Geography and consecrated by the great Sankaracharya came to be sedulously played down and in consequence the sense of nationhood was slow to emerge. He had to wean the people away from these sirens of separatism. The external differences trotted out in support of the theory that India was never a nation but a conglomerate of diverse peoples got from him a fitting reply. He sang: "My cat has a new litter. One kitten is black, a second brown, a third white and the fourth has another coat. But on that score do they become different? Even so we people of India are children of the same mother." Different languages did not mean different peoples. "Our mother has eighteen tongues, but there beats a single heart," sang he. In a fine piece eclectic in conception and grandeur, he revels in a mental picture of pleasure-cruising in the river Indus in brilliant moonlight, with the fair Damsels of Kerala as companions, all singing joyously in melodious Telugu.

Bharati saw his motherland (as described by a critic) in diverse attitudes and situations; he saw her fettered, struggling valiantly to free herself, hoping and despairing alternately; he saw her as a veritable Kamadhenu, unfailing giver of unending beauty; he glimpsed too the resurgent Bharat of the not distant future, active, puissant, prosperous, gay and wise. The fever of freedom raged in Bharati like a fever of the blood and he transmitted it to everybody.....The nectar of freedom was what Bharati wanted most.

With Gandhiji firmly in command Bharati had no doubt whatsoever about the final issue of the freedom struggle. He saw freedom arise in his mind's eye and danced in joy and composed songs to celebrate the dawn of Independence when it came. At least mentally he had shed the tears of bondage. With freedom thus assured, he gave a rapid look around to what was happening in Russia. Lenin had worked a miracle and the first workers' state had just been born. What lessons it had for India when it became free agitated him deeply. It was a very fluid situation that he had to assess both at home and in Russia. Lenin and Gandhiji had influenced him instantly though the world had not yet understood either of them aright. The Western Powers were trying to destroy them both for similar, though not identical reasons but without success. Even as the Soviet State was born, Bharati welcomed it as the harbinger of social justice on a global scale. But he had no use for the sheer opportunism indulged in by Lenin and his cohorts even for the realisation of so grand and noble an objective as a truly free Communist World. He saw in Gandhiji's insistence on the moral way, on truth and love and consequently on the correlation of ends and means the only hope of bringing about revolution with consent and of assuming every people freedom and prosperity and the world as a whole a long reign of fruitful peace.

The Church as a major factor and partisan in the shaping of European polity had been brought within the orbit of class conflict and had thus become a confirmed enemy of the Bolshevik State launched by Lenin. In India there was no established Church holding sway at any time. A formidable array of religions with their distinctive methodology and practices were flourishing vigorously. The States were sovereign and numerous. But unity in that diversity has been maintained through the ages largely by the supreme sway of Dharma everywhere. It involved the voluntary and enthusiastic

submission of a whole people to the eternal values of life as depicted in the Vedas, defined in the Itihasas, explained in the Upanishads and incorporated in the later teachings of the great saints and Acharyas. They had vastly changed by Bharati's time. Bharati had drunk deep of the ancient lore. As a student at Benares he had his mental horizon vastly expanded. The patriotic movements helped him to sort out and correlate his thoughts. Ten years of spiritual experience shared with V. V. S. Ayyar and Sri Aurobindo gave him an integrated picture of India that was the India that he lived in and the inspired vision of India that was to be.

Bharati, says a competent critic, projects India as a whole before our consciousness, a unified vision of India in her physical beauty and majesty and with all her intellectual and spiritual qualities and powers. For a country like ours so prone to cultivate narrow loyalties this projection of India's personality is perhaps Bharati's greatest contribution to the cause of our national unity.

He wanted the cultural, spiritual and emotional integration of all the people of India to be firmly based on the acceptance of the Divine Will supplemented by honest human endeavour for the welfare of all. He pleaded for national consolidation and for the breakdown of sectarian barriers and little loyalties. He was against caste as it existed and fought for women being accorded the place of dignity and respect that rightfully belonged to them. He was for rapid industrialisation of the country. The India of his dreams would be a prosperous state rooted in God and social justice but with the fullest assurance of individual liberty. He has praised God in many pieces. But the Mother-concept of God has had a peculiar but nevertheless traditional appeal to him. He sang :

For a body that leaps to obey the touch of the mind,
For a mind free of desires blind,

For a life that into the ever-new forever burns,
And a heart that yearns
To sing your praise e'en if fire the body maim,
For these I pray,
Speak mother, grant them what stands in the way !

Bharati was a great believer in the one-world concept propounded by Bhartruhari. The liberal mind, sang the royal bard, will conceive of the world as one family and order its affairs as such. It was for the emergence of this universal spirit in a global scale that Bharati turned his fancies even from the start of his poetical career. He represented in himself the universal spirit philosophically surveying the world as a whole. In line the great Rishis he belonged as it were to the whole universe and as a natural corollary felt that the whole universe belonged to him

in a way that he was responsible for its peace and well-being. It is in this spirit that he has interpreted every world event of his time. Gandhiji was nothing if not the personification of nearly all the qualities which make man approximate to his Creator. That is why Bharati believed that "the Mahatma was born in earth to save the world from the mass-murder of war and set it firmly in the sacred path of love, peace and progress." Despite Gandhiji the Second World War with its terrible killings came about. But how Prophetic Bharati was is being painfully felt every day as the world seems to slide inexorably towards another holocaust. It cannot reject Gandhiji and survive. The first to propound this truth was Bharati. This he did in 1920 even before Gandhiji became the undisputed father of the nation. Bharati as a humanist is no inferior to the Mahatma.

Ministries, the new Public Corporations must see to the housing of all their labour, industrial, if not also clerical. If all these business and presumably productive departments of Government could provide housing for their labour, they would not only fulfil one of the duties of the modern employer of labour, they would set free the houses now occupied by their offices all over the country for non-official occupation and use. It is a housing scandal that now, 10 years after the war, private houses are still occupied by Government offices. And, if Government set this good example in housing its labour, it could insist on the private industrial employer improving the housing of its labour. And that eyesore of our industrial cities, the Chawl and the Basti would become a nightmare of the past. Again, the rapid extension and improvement of industrial housing is urged on the ground of improving industrial productivity. The industrial worker living in a one-roomed, crowded, insanitary, unhygienic tenement room cannot compete with the industrial worker of the west in productivity.

And there is the example of other countries and other Governments to fire Governments in India into a generous Housing programme. The Conservative Government in England, in its post-war period of power announced, through Mr. Churchill that they set before themselves "as a premier responsibility the provision of houses for all who needed them" and under the drive of the present Prime Minister Mr. Harold Macmillan, when he was Housing Minister, improved the housing of England at the rate of 300,000 new houses per year. Housing is costing the British tax-payer per year £65.91 millions and the British rate-payer £197.97 millions. Germany, which had lost 2½ million houses during the war, has built since 1949 over 3½ million houses finding satisfactory accommodation for about 11 million people, spending £4,700 million on the erection of new buildings, and for the

years 1957—1962 provision is made for the erection of 1,800,000 dwellings of the same kind. In Russia the Housing programmes began straightaway from 1918—1928, when its State Factories and local Soviets built 23.7 million square miles of housing, during the First Five-year Plan period rose to 32.6 million square miles, in Second Plan period to 37.2 square miles, in Third Plan period to 41.3 million square miles, in the Fourth Plan period to 72.4 million square miles, in the Fifth Plan period (1951—55) to 112.9 million square miles of housing. Between 1951—1955, 2,300,000 houses were built for farmers and rural workers. The programme for 1956—1960 has been set at 215 million square miles of total-floor space. This impressive record ought to rouse the Government whose leaders show so much admiration for Russian achievements. At least Russia's record in housing ought to inspire our Government under the leadership of the Prime Minister to go and do likewise for housing in India. Russia's Housing programmes is put through with a view to improving the productivity of the producers. Not a high ideal perhaps, but good as far as it goes.

In India also, as productivity is an urgent and immediate need in view of the position of food and foreign exchange, a large and liberal housing programme is an urgent and immediate necessity. It must be given top-priority immediately. It will not do, in keeping with the official ideal of being all things to all men and trying to achieve all objectives together within one's lifetime, to lump all plans and programmes, together. A definite table of priorities must be set up. Housing must come up at the very top and the financial provision must run into 100 crores a year at the lowest. Industrial housing must be imposed on industrial employers as a matter of legal obligation. Rural housing must be undertaken by the Central and State Governments and not left to the poor resources of Community Projects. How much longer can India do without a

comprehensive and effective Housing Act, imposing housing obligations on Central and State Governments, local authorities and industry. England has had Housing Acts for nearly 100 years. And as concentration is the secret of success in civil as in military action—the programmes of Rs. 100 crores per year and the rate of 500,000 houses per year for rural housing must be concentrated on the most productive parts of the country's economy—fertile agricultural areas instead of being spread evenly over the 500,000 villages of India at the rate of 1 house per village per year. The Housing Programmes of India must be conducted as an all-out campaign for victory—victory for the producers and for productivity.

Such a Housing Programme will do other things beside improving the productivity of agriculture and industry. It will improve the health of the people—especially if the villagers whose houses are being built under this programme could be induced, as a condition for this service, to have their new houses planted in or near their fields. Not only would the great wastage of man-hours involved in the agricultural worker walking every day a mile or so to and from his field be eliminated but the problem of village sanitation and drainage would be partly solved. And for agriculture the benefit of mixed farming—man,

animal, and land—influencing and benefiting each other—would be secured. Already this movement has begun as we can see for ourselves in the districts of Salem and Coimbatore where the red-tiled houses of farmers on their own fields give a pleasant relief to the landscape. For industrial workers also Governments may consider the advisability of building cottages on the outskirts of industrial cities as has been done, in Germany after the war as I saw them in 1957, or as in Russia for coal-mine workers. And this large Housing Programme would help to solve the problem of unemployment, giving work to at least 3-4 million bricklayers, masons, carpenters and unskilled workers. And the raw material for this programme need not wait for cement and steel—which is often adduced as excuse for the present halting housing programmes. For, rural housing at any rate, sand, clay, chunam, and wood are at hand. This large Housing Programme will find immediate employment for large numbers of skilled and unskilled workers. Lord Keynes recommended to President Roosevelt during the depression of the 1930's a large housing programme as a means of lifting the U.S.A. from that depression. Other reliefs than the immediate one of better housing will flow. Indeed a new life will date among agricultural and industrial workers, from the inauguration of this programme of Housing.

HOUSING THE PRODUCERS

BY

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

Speaking at the concluding sessions of the U.N. Seminar on Housing held at New Delhi in February 1954 Sardar Swaran Singh the Minister for Housing in the Government of India said "Housing now is quite clearly among the major measures of social welfare that the State has to undertake; this is a consequence of the revolution that has occurred in recent years in the theory of State action." What have Governments in India who have adopted this theory of State action done for Housing in India? That Housing is in a deplorable condition the Planning Commission, Government spokesmen, and he who runs even in railway trains have seen and acknowledged. In regard to housing in villages where 75% of the producers of wealth of India live, the Planning Commission in their Report on the Second Five-Year Plan have estimated that "a large proportion of the 54,000,000 houses in rural areas need to be built or substantially improved." What has been done to build or improve these 54 million houses in rural India? According to the same report, during the First Plan period 1950—1955, under the national extension and community project programmes to which evidently rural housing has been committed 29,000 houses were reconstructed and about the same number reconditioned—that is, 48,000 houses in all in 5 years. That is to say the rate of building and reconstruction in rural areas has been 96,000 houses per year. At this rate it would take about 5000 years to build or rebuild the 54 million houses that rural India requires. How is it with urban housing? Again, according to the Report of the Planning Commission already referred to, during the First Five-Year Plan period (1950—1955) public authorities

provided during the period 742,000 houses or tenements. If these are added to the houses and tenements built in the private sector (about 600,000) we have a total of 1.3 million houses. According to the programme of the Second Five-Year Plan we may have 1.9 million housing units in the urban areas. The urban producers' population consisting of persons living on production other than agriculture like industry, commerce transport is about 90 millions. According to the Planning Commission's Report, for an urban population of 62 million there were in 1957 about 10 million houses. The shortage of houses in that year was roughly reckoned at about 2.5 million. The population of towns increased by 10.6 millions between 1931 and 1941 and by 18.1 million between 1941 and 1951. During these decades the number of occupied houses in the urban areas increased respectively by 1.8 and 1.7 million. That is to say while the population has increased by 19.5% the housing has increased by 10%. Between 1957—1961 the total urban population is expected to increase by about 35% so that in the absence of effective measures the shortage may be twice as much in 1961 as in 1957.

If that is the state of housing in regard to quantitative estimates what is it according to quality? The average number of persons in a house is estimated to be 6.7 while 4 is the average in civilized countries. The usual housing in a village consists of a one-roomed hut, mud-built and thatch-roofed, where 6-7 persons live, often at night in company with the cattle. As for industrial housing the chawls of Bombay and Cawnpore acquaint us with a whole family in a tenement room with

kitchen bathroom all in one—without the complementary amenity of living out-of-doors most of the time, as open to the village. And as for the housing of the worker in the non-industrial towns, the rooms telescope into each other with little or no means of light or ventilation, so that the family sleep outside in the pavement or the street except when it rains. The houses of workers in these towns look more like a store-room for movable property rather than a home where civilized family life can be lived.

What is the Government doing to remedy this state of affairs? The housing programme of the Second Plan consists of —

Subsidized industrial housing—128,000 houses or tenements.

Low income group housing—68,000 houses or tenements.

Rehousing of slum dwellers including sweepers—110,000 houses or tenements.

Middle-income group housing—5,000 houses or tenements.

Plantation labour housing—11,000 houses or tenements.

Programmes undertaken by other Central Ministries (like Railways), by State Governments, Local Authorities and those pertaining to coal-mines labour are expected to provide 753,000 in addition to construction in the private sector which has been reckoned at 800,000. Thus the total programmes for the Second Plan period (1955—1960) looks forward to the construction of about 1.9 million units as compared to about 1.3 million during the First Plan period. But meanwhile the urban population would have increased to 90 million. So that the urban housing position would be in 1960 as we were before. And we have seen already, the prospects of rural housing are left to the poor resources of National Extension and Community Projects.

The financial provision for housing also seems to be lopsided. While subsidized industrial

housing has a provision of 45 crores, low income group housing 40 crores, rural housing gets only 10 crores. While an urban population of 80 millions gets 85 crores, the rural population of 300 crores gets only 10 crores. The bulk of the producers of wealth in India are the 300 crores which are provided with only 10 crores to improve their housing.

It is on the ground of productivity that I am founding my plea for an open-handed programme of housing. The agricultural farmer and worker will produce much more than he does now if he possesses the health and strength which a two-roomed, brick-built, tile-roofed house (with country tiles rather than Mangalore tiles which without a second or cooler ceiling would make the rooms hot), properly lighted and ventilated, with bath-room and latrine separate, and shed for the cattle outside the house. If 54 million houses are to be constructed or reconstructed, not 9,600 houses per year as is the present rate but 500,000 houses per year would have to be built or re-built. And not 10 crores for 5 years as now but 100 crores per year must be provided for rural housing. And even so it will take 100 years to solve the rural housing problem. The period could be considerably shortened if the Government by its agrarian policy could maintain and increase the number of prosperous farmers (each owning at the lowest 5 acres of wet land or 20—25 acres of dry land) and give up its policy of ceiling on land holdings which will only increase the number of subsistence farmers living from hand to mouth and forming an agricultural proletariat. Anyway this duty of providing for decent rural housing is cast upon the State in India as it has become the universal landlord.

Similarly, in regard to industrial housing the State becoming more and more an employer of industrial labour with its programmes of nationalization must assume the responsibilities of housing its labour so that it may increase its productivity. The Railway, the Transport, the Communication, Public Works

GOVIND VALLABH PANT

BY

KASHYAPA

To that oft put and rarely answered question : "Who will be India's next Prime Minister?" a few here and there attempt tentative replies *sotto voce* and amidst these whispered remarks, one hears the name of Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant more distinctly than others. Votaries of Morarjibhai are of course there, but even they can only point to Father Time to feed their hopes, for after all Morarji is a mere sixty to the Pandit's seventy ! Jawaharlal Nehru, if he could choose his successor, as he was chosen by the Mahatma, would probably prefer Pant to any other lieutenant of his. Not merely on grounds of seniority or age, but as well on grounds of capacity or worth. Govind Vallabh Pant is one of the "Old Guard" and though he did not count for much in the matter of making high level decisions during the days of the struggle, he was one of the most trusted of executives counted upon by the Mahatma to muster support for a decision already reached by the leaders. And in the present Cabinet at Delhi—after the exit of Rajaji, and the death of the Sardar and the Maulana—there is none who was in the "Inner Circle" of Gandhiji. Choices for Nehru's successor cannot therefore be made on grounds of political importance in the pre-Independence days, for it is just a question of selecting either Tweedledum or Tweedledee or settling the point of precedence between a louse and a flea. Eclipse is first and the rest nowhere. The P.M. towers over his comrades like Mount Meru over the other mountains. Whence comes the question of "selecting" a successor? Should however such a selection be necessary, then Pant has more bets on him than anyone else.

Pant does not impress as a leader ; he has not the glow of any one of the Trinity of the



Congress—Nehru, C. R. and Patel. He is not a great conversationalist, or a powerful orator. In one gathering to which he had come and I had been invited, there was a strange silence in the assembly while he was there. He spoke practically nothing beyond the customary enquiries as per drawing room etiquette—

nothing sensible or witty—fortunately nothing actually silly. The invitees were not tempted to speak with him or emboldened to converse amongst themselves. He did not dominate the show as Nehru would have done with ease and naturalness. He did not command that attention with C. R. or Patel would have ; none waited with bated breath to pick up what fell from his lips. It was then that I realised what it was to be a second rater. Pant is undoubtedly second rate, and cannot ever fall in the same class as Nehru or Patel or C.R. or even Azad. But Pant is the *first second rater*—and when there is no First Class, does not the top second class candidate stand Presidency First? In the same manner, Pant is India's second most important figure politically not because he is in the same class as the first, but due to there being none else to stand between him and the First !

Govind Vallabh Pant has his *forte* in legislative work, and he is undoubtedly the ablest Parliamentarian in the ruling party. This capacity is the fruit of experience for Pant has the maximum experience as a legislator among his colleagues. He has led the U.P. Congress Legislature Party as well as the Swarajists in the old Council, since the early thirties. He was the first Congress Premier of his province in 1937, and again in 1946 he assumed charge of the same office till he was summoned to New Delhi in 1954. In U.P. Congress politics he has always held a coveted and unrivalled position. His greatness lay in having contained his ambitions within his State and so securely consolidated his position there, that he had to be invited to become an All India personality. Others who grew to All India stature at once, have experienced great difficulty in later years when they were faced with domestic opposition and crisis. When Kher became Bombay's Premier in 1937, there was much controversy and supporters of Narriman felt he had been passed

over on communal considerations. When C.R. became the first Madras Premier, it was not before making a clever arrangement to keep Satyamurthi out of the way for he was a formidable contender for the office, despite C.R.'s politically higher grade in the party. But Pant and to a lesser extent Bidhan Roy of Bengal, had built a fortress around themselves in their respective States, so that for them at any rate there will never be a plight of political widowhood. They did not, as the Tamil adage say, forsake the husband for the monarch's grace.

To Govind Vallabh Pant also goes the unique, if doubtful or doubted, honour of having moved the official resolution of the Congress Party on 14th June 1947—the vital nation creating resolution to accept division of India as a prelude to freedom. That historic meeting of the Working Committee has been described by Maulana Azad in his book as the "strangest which he had the misfortune to attend." I feel that it was not without purpose that Pant was chosen to move the resolution. Had a lesser man—a back bencher—moved it, it would have been laughed out and even the interference of the Mahatma himself would have had little effect. Had a bigger man—like the Sardar—moved it, it would have been taken to be a factional proposal. Pant was just right for the job. He was big enough, not to be treated lightly. It was also taken for granted that he would not move the official resolution without much consultation with Gandhiji. At the same time, he was not known to have a "group" built around him, for his words to be automatically discounted by those of a different clique. He was the ideal person for the job of moving the resolution which was momentous and amounted to a clean *volte face* in the party line so far as partition was concerned. It has been recorded by those present at that meeting that Pantji made a most *persuasive* speech, which is quite understandable. Pant was followed by the fiery Sardar who made an

eloquent speech. But nothing could alter the reaction of the Committee which had been fed for many years on the One nation idea, and which had been taught that partition was suicide. Gandhiji himself intervened and explained that there was "no other alternative" and that "political realism" demanded the acceptance of the Mountbatten plan. Ultimately when votes were taken twenty-nine members said Aye, while as many as fifteen remained adamant and negatived the resolution—which was passed by a mere majority.

Pant has always been the Congress Party's choice to negotiate when "persuasiveness" was needed, just as C. R. was the automatic choice to argue a subtle position. When in 1946, Jinnah wanted to have an informal meeting with the Congress regarding the composition of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the Congress President nominated Pandit Pant as the representative of the Congress. In his autobiography, Azad says in this connection that Pant was chosen as "he would be the right person to negotiate with Mr. Jinnah." Those who have known or have read of Mr. Jinnah's tantrums in bargaining would understand what a great compliment it is to be known as the "right" person to negotiate with so difficult a customer.

Our respect for Pandit Pant increases ten-fold when we read about his physical suffering in the National Cause. During the Simon Commission visit in 1928, the Congress organised a nation-wide boycott. In Lucknow, processions were taken on the streets, led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Pant. In the latter's autobiography, there are many moving passages

describing the merciless police lathi charge carried out by European sergeants. Pant who was a six footer, says Nehru, "offered a much bigger target" with the result that he was hopelessly battered by the brandished batons of bureaucracy. An important nerve centre was affected, and to this day, Pandit Pant carries the scars of the satyagraha on his person. He is troubled by a painful and troublesome malady, which for long prevented him from discharging his normal functions and duties. Even today his head and hands shake with a persistent palsy. I could not help shedding a tear when I saw him struggling to eat his food, as it was practically impossible to synchronise the simultaneous trembling of the hand and the face, to enable a spoonful of food to reach his open mouth. I could see a ray of silent suffering cross his otherwise expressionless eyes. Some of my neighbours at the dinner were amused at his discomfiture. The sadists!

After having fought for India's freedom (or not having fought at all) many Congressmen today wallow in luxury and comfort, while mouthing socialistic slogans all the while. But there is Pandit Pant who is not even able to eat a square meal by reason of his physical infirmities which were the straight consequence of imperialist *zulum* in India. That the Congress still commands respect as an organisation among the people, is surely due to Pandit Pant and a few like him, who make amends for the erring multitude in their camp, by their personal purity and probity, by their immense suffering both then and now.

THE SPECTATOR IN MODERN SPORT

BY

S. D. CHOPDE

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Let me at the outset emphasise the fact that biologically and historically physical activities, including games and sports, have always played a vital and significant part of man's experiences. And since education is the sum total of one's experiences, sport is education. Like other educational activities, sport organised and conducted on progressive lines can bring about desirable modifications in individual participants. Apart from the obvious gains in health and a wonderful feeling of wholesome well-being, sport inculcates in players the qualities of self-discipline and self-confidence so essential for happiness.

The phenomenal growth in the popularity of modern sport can be attributed to the increase in leisure time and standards of living which have brought sports within the means of average man. Added to this is the keen and unprecedented interest evinced by different countries, both big and small, in the promotion of sport not only for the wellbeing of their people, but also for national glory and prestige.

The growth in spectatorship at various age levels and in both the sexes has reached a new high due to the streamlined organization of sports competitions. The World Olympic Games, the Asian Games, the Empire and Commonwealth Games, the European Championships, the invitation competitions, the world championships in each of the games and sports, besides the national, state, district, town and club championships within each country are ample illustrations to show how sport and sportsmen are glamorised in our times. Indeed, spectators and sportsmen seem to live from one competition to another. The

old slogan "Join the navy and see the world" can now be more effectively modified to read: "Become a sportsman and see the world." and see it in grand style with royalty, statesmen, leaders and millions of peoples as your votaries.

As a result of this tremendous interest in sport, it is no wonder if the modern sport is big business, a spectacular pageant. The central figure in this drama is, of course, the sportsman with the spectators in literally the supporting roles. How big is this sports business? I am sorry I do not have the figures for our country, but in the United Kingdom it is estimated that the State receives through sports directly and indirectly an annual income of £33 million or roughly Rs. 150 million.

Since the spectator has played such a vital role in the promotion of sport, it would be interesting to analyse why he spends so much of his precious cash, time and energy in this pastime. While active participation in games and sports is definitely better from the individual's standpoint than watching others play, it must be remembered that competing and spectating are complementary to one another; the one inspires and assists the other. No sport can flourish if this connection between the two were not present.

The primary reason why the spectator goes to watch a sport is because he gets satisfaction and entertainment. He enjoys watching the artistry and superb physical perfection of players in action. If he is a knowledgeable spectator he studies the techniques of his sports heroes and tries to emulate them the next time he gets a chance to play himself. Many a youngster and adult has been able to

improve his standard in games through his being a regular spectator student. But the large majority probably receive vicarious pleasure in just observing the masters at play. Nevertheless, the spectator who identifies himself completely with the sportsman and becomes emotionally involved to a point of frenzy and hysteria as he shares in the sportsman's joys and despairs at every stage of the game is able to satisfy some of his deeper psychological needs. Experiences which move him to the core of his being when he sees, say, a delectable late cut in cricket, a beautiful ball that beats the batsman all ends up, a superb back hand passing shot in tennis, the baffling dribbling artistry of a hockey or a football player describing circles round his opponents, are akin to other experiences people get when watching art forms like dance, paintings, sculptures or listening to music or reading a creative piece of writing. Sport as one medium of self-expression is a part and parcel of the cultural heritage of people of all climes, colour and creed. A nation expresses itself no less in sport than the arts.

People who love to take part in or watch sports like boxing, wrestling, football, shooting, and so forth get the opportunity to discharge their deeply rooted aggressive drives. But more important purpose is served when sports affords an opportunity to the spectator to throw off the restraints of every day life. People, even dignified and important ones, are seen shouting hilariously and generally behaving in a way they would not dream of doing in their daily life. Such regression to childhood period is condoned and even applauded in the general atmosphere of sports competition. Watching sports also provides an escape from the pressure of every day living at least of bigger cities.

If the spectator is a dominant factor in modern sport, especially in its commercialised aspect, it is necessary to cater to his needs.

Modern sport therefore, has taken every opportunity to make the sports arenas, outdoor and indoor stadia, swimming pools and other sports areas as attractive and comfortable as possible for the spectators.

We, in India, will have to go a long way in this direction in constructing more commodious and comfortable sports arenas as in some of the sports loving countries of the world. Better and improved sports facilities are prerequisites for excellence in sports performance and for the promotion of sports.

What about the organization of the sport itself? Clearly efforts must be directed towards the elimination of internal politics of office mongering, favouritism and corrupt financial and other practices. Sport in its pristine purity as far as amateurism is concerned does not exist in any country today. State support for the sport is a necessity everywhere, if a nation wishes to reach world class. However, if self-management by sports federations is to be maintained, and it will have to be done in the interest of the sport, we will have to have better organization in each sport and an efficient co-ordinating body at the national level. The All India Council of Sports and in a limited way the Indian Olympic Association could do this job properly with enlightened leadership and adequate financial support from the Government.

Another vital matter that will contribute towards the promotion of sport is to restore sports morality at each level, beginning from the sportsman, to the spectator. The ethical code of every sport is high, but there is a decline in its practice by sportsman and spectators. Here, perhaps the spectator, and I mean the discriminating, enlightened and articulate spectator, can play a more dominating role of checking and rooting out the evil.

I refer to the ugly incidents that seem to be frequently cropping up in national and inter-

national sports when the attitudes and behaviour of sportsmen towards the officials, the opponents or spectators are not in accordance with the accepted tenets of sportsmanship. The same is true with regard to the spectators. It is interesting to note that the behaviour patterns of spectators varies from sport to sport. Whereas, fairly high standard of spectating is maintained by crowds at a cricket or a tennis match, the same cannot be said in games like football and boxing, where spectators have been known to invade the arenas to assault the officials or the players of the other team than the one they are loyally supporting. It is true that there is a need for the education

of the general public more than ever. I have a suspicion that the unruly crowds who take the law into their own hands and invade sports grounds just because something has happened which is not to their liking consists of spectators who have never played the game themselves and therefore do not understand its intricacies. To educate such people it would be necessary to give them opportunity to play. In other words, we want more players amongst spectators. I believe that modern sports will thrive and be a source of enrichment of peoples' lives as long as it is firmly rooted in and becomes part of peoples educational and cultural heritage.

Book Reviews

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL WORK IN INDIA

BY

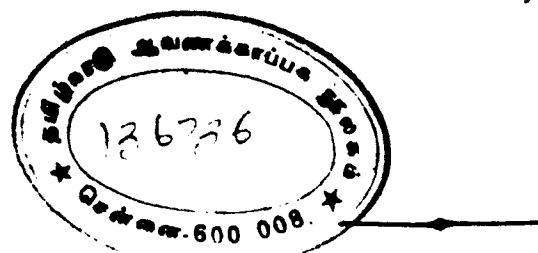
K. K. JACOB, M.A.

The author who is the Assistant Director of the Post Graduate Diploma Course in Social Service, Loyola College, Madras, had endeavoured to give in broad outlines the need for social work in India as a panacea for all the ills that confront modern Indian society. Tracing the evolution of social work in India Part I mainly deals with methods of social work which is of practical value to the student of social work, while in Part II under fields of social work, the author touches upon "Rural Welfare in India", "Community Projects", "Juvenile Delinquency", "Correctional Administration" and "Social Education in India."

The author has been able to procure a good foreword by Dr. Kenneth W. Kindlesperger of the Synacuse University School of Social Work, U.S.A.

Priced at Rs. 2.50, the format is very unassuming though the printing could have been better. This book is written in simple style and will be of interest to the lay person as well as to the student.

Mr. Jacob's little book should go a long way in the development of social work literature as social work is one of the crying needs of the day.



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