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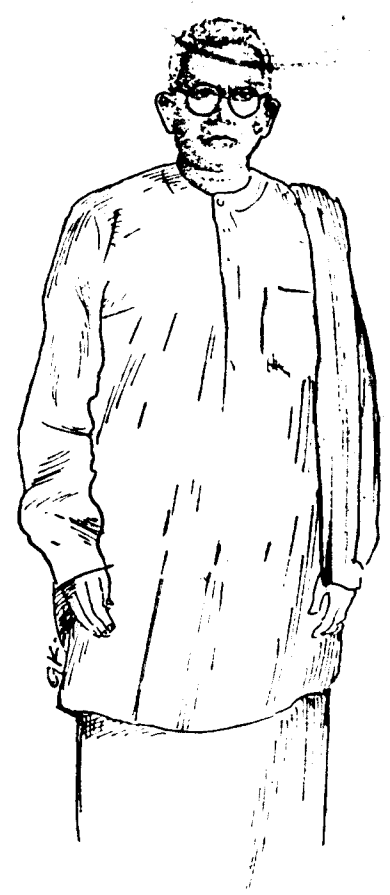
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BROADWAY TIMES

(MONTHLY)



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BROADWAY TIMES

Edited & Published by MATHEW CHERIAN

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'Broadway Times' is mainly devoted to economics, politics, banking, law, history, geography, and closely connected problems of current interest. We also include some general articles in every issue.

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Editorial

THIS MAGAZINE IS MAINLY
DEVOTED TO SOCIAL SCIENCES

The middle of September witnessed the introduction of a Television service in India, starting operation first from the capital. This has been an exciting but ever receding prospect for some time now. Though in an experimental stage we can claim to be among a handful of Asian nations having Television services.

India is the fourth Asian country to use this powerful means of mass communication. Considering the Television services of Thailand and China, Japan is comparatively far advanced in their Television technique. The United States and Great Britain have respectively 583 stations catering to 51 million sets and 29 stations keeping engaged over 10 million sets. The U. S. S. R. and Canada have 77 and 55 transmitting stations respectively. A recent newcomer is the Republic of Ireland with an experimental Television service.

The Delhi area in its pioneering effort is being commissioned 20 sets initially. This is only a feeble beginning in the context of colossal development elsewhere. Television is a comparative newcomer in the arena of mass entertainment. Sound radio has nearly a quarter of a century lead over its visual competitor. Yet the potentialities of entertainment and instruction are so great that it was possible for Television to attract a greater number of investors.

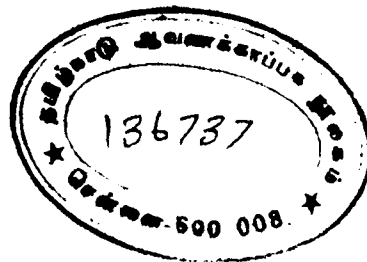
India's delayed start need not hinder the development of a large network of T. V. stations in due course, though the service will have to be confined in the immediate future to the four cities of Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras where there are concentration of people with means to afford expensive T. V. receivers. The authorities concerned would do well to proceed at an early date with the granting of at least one transmitting station each in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras enabling the new medium to prosper by facilitating adequate imports of T. V. sets.

Those who are of the opinion that Television is a gadget of the well-to-do are under a misapprehension. They are likely to give a low priority for Television in the planning of a backward nation like India. It is worthwhile to note the tremendous role that it is playing

In the field of education. Dr. Keskar has repeatedly expressed the decisive superiority of Television over radio because of its audio-visual appeal. It has been used widely in the United Kingdom in the sphere of classroom teaching. Medical education in the United States has been greatly benefited by projecting surgical operations to a larger body of students than would be generally possible.

Inaugurating our Television service, President Prasad expressed the hope that Television will go a long way in broadening popular outlook and bringing people into line with scientific thinking. Electronic applications of the T. V. principle in defence installations and in industrial management are great and it is time that we had a group of technicians to man our developing T. V. service.

In a country like ours with several languages, we are likely to be faced with the problem of selection of programmes for an all India audience. We will have to have several adjustments, before we arrive at a generally accepted scheme of programmes. The nine years of Eurovision service made possible by microwave relay stations have helped a great deal in unifying west European peoples. An all India Television network will greatly help in strengthening the cultural unity of our country.



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MEN AND MATTERS

BY

C. H. V. PATHY

September has been a star-studded month for the year of grace 1959. Mighty events are on the gale which will change the course of history. First and foremost from the global point of view has been Soviet Russia's monumental achievement in scoring a direct rocket hit on the moon. This would have been banner headline story even in normal times. But coming as it did on the eve of Comrade Khrushchev's projected visit to the United States, it had an added significance. In glaring contrast to this phenomenal feat was the abortive attempt by the United States to emulate Russia's achievement.

The payload made the 240,000-mile, 37-hour transit to the moon just 90 seconds behind schedule. An excited Russia and a wonder-stricken world heard the great news over Radio Moscow. Breaking into a programme of popular music, an announcer read the Tass Bulletin : "A second successful launching of the cosmic rocket took place in the Soviet Union today, the last stage of the rocket, having exceeded the second cosmic speed of 11,200 metres per second in flying towards the moon. The last stage of the rocket represents a guided rocket weighing 3,342 pounds without fuel."

Friends, foes and admirers alike of Russia went into raptures over the great event. And even before the ink in the world newspapers carrying this news got dry, the Russian Prime Minister was over the sea and far away, winging his way to meet the President of the United States.

Khrushchev is not the buffoon that he is represented to be in some quarters. The story is narrated of a diplomatic cocktail party at Moscow where a number of foreign guests were present. A Russian suddenly began to

run through the corridors of the Kremlin, shouting : "Khrushchev is a fool ; Khrushchev is a fool." He got 23 years in prison for insulting the party secretary.

The historic meet between the two most powerful men in the world has taken place. In spite of the attempt by United States press to play down the encounter, it is replete with drama.

As the Dictator of Russia, Nikita directs an economic colossus that is plunging forward to catch up with the United States, and commands a military machine whose mechanised might can destroy this planet. Facing him in his domestic parish is Eisenhower, the son of a mechanic in a Kansas creamery who at 68 rules over the most prosperous country in the world.

For a peasant who grew up in the desolation of a mud hut—Khrushchev—the leap to Waldorf Astoria is an unbelievable feat. The Russian dignitary received a reception which an emperor might envy. He addressed the United Nations Assembly where he burst a bombshell by calling for universal disarmament. There is a typical Gandhi touch about this call, for the piling up of armaments would lead only to a clash which would wreck the world. If the Prime Minister of Russia and the President of the United States are able to bring about a measurable thaw in the cold war by 1960, the peace issue would become overriding in the Presidential election campaign.

Chou En Lai's claws

While the decks are being cleared for an era of peace in the west, from distant Peking comes news of the aggressive designs of China. Chou En Lai is stricken with the old malady of Hitler—lebensraum. The Red Army is

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nibbling on the Himalayan frontier of India. The Reds are evincing a particular interest in the 800-mile long "McMahon Line" which defines the north-eastern corner of India. This line roughly follows the crest of the Himalayas. It was drawn on two maps by Britain's Sir Arthur Henry McMahon at a border-fixing conference in 1914. The Chinese Prime Minister had personally assured Pandit Nehru that on no fewer than three times that he would recognise the McMahon Line because of long usage. But he has apparently changed his mind after the Tibetan revolt and Dalai Lama's trek to India. In a marathon White Paper our Government has revealed how China's demands have no basis. Instead of crying halt to aggression, China has asked her troops to attack and seize the bamboo village of Longju, four miles inside India's North-East Frontier Agency.

Our troops have been alerted. The Prime Minister has made a challenging declaration in Parliament that we would protect the good earth that belongs to us. Our Army Chief, General Thimmayya is in the troubled frontier, backed by our fine soldiers who would fling back any aggressor who covets our territory.

China is playing with fire. She cannot afford "a pocket war" on the Himalayas. For the spark that will emanate will result in world war number three into which many nations of Asia and Europe will have to take sides. It is hoped that Khrushchev who will soon visit Peking would instil some common sense into the cranium of Chou En Lai.

Affair Thimmayya

The otherwise drab proceedings of the monsoon session of Parliament, floodlit with sharp exchanges over the Kerala crisis was rocked with the rumbles of a stormy interlude in which the central figures were our Defence Minister lean, lanky, curlyhaired Krishna Menon and the Army Chief, burly Thimmayya. One fine morning, a leading English Daily in Delhi carried a scoop to the effect that owing to fundamental differences with the Army Minister, the Army

Chief Thimmayya had resigned. It was further stated that the Navy and the Air Force Chiefs would follow suit.

Opposition M.Ps. thought this was the ideal battle ground that they were looking forward to. A vote against Krishna Menon would be a vote against Nehru. Mention was made about this incident at the time Nehru was away at Palam air port to meet the Pakistan President General Ayub Khan. The presiding authority counselled the M.Ps. to have patience, for the Prime Minister himself would make a statement on the interlude.

Nehru caught the opposition bulls by the horns, announced that Thimmayya had withdrawn his resignation and tributed Krishna Menon on his able handling of defence. The miniature storm in the tea cup blew off and Krishna Menon packed his kit and flew to New York to lead the Indian delegation to the United Nations.

Havoc of rains

Nature, red in tooth and claw, staged an exhibition of death dance in Surat where river Tapti overflowed, submerging the railway track, uprooted thousands of houses, tore telephone and telegraph lines and left a trail of death and destruction, the like of which was never known in that unhappy part of the country for many years. About 45 people are reported to have lost their lives in Surat town and another 15 in the rural area. As I write these lines, Surat is limping back to normal after a 75-hour struggle against raging waters. 15,000 persons are rendered homeless. Damage to road, buildings, public utilities and crop is likely to be over 30 lakhs.

Bombay was not alone in facing the brunt of nature's fury. In Andhra, Godavari gave many anxious moments to lakhs of people as floods reached danger level. The river bund burst at a particular point inundating thousand of acres of crops. Some of the villages too were swept away but thanks to the vigilance of the authorities, no lives were lost.

Same was the story in Orissa where a strong wind, pillaging up the waters of Chilka Lake led to three breaches in the embankment around the lake. The Mahanadi and its tributaries overflowed and many places west of Cuttack were flooded.

Bengal too had its rainy spell and Calcutta's millions found their work dislocated. Midnapore is reported to be in danger.

More calamities might be in store because the end of the current monsoon season in North India is not in sight. Another brief spell of rains might occur in the danger areas. One of the marked features of the floods is the fact that places which suffered most did not experience any significant rainfall. The unwanted rains will affect our planning and vast funds would have to be diverted for relief of the flood victims.

Racing towards century

The average age of an Indian is one score and three and there are very few who pass the half century mark. Dr. M. Visveswarayya, engineer statesman of Mysore entered his hundredth year on September 15. It is an occasion for nation wide rejoicing. His whole life has been lived intensely. So active is he even now that leisure does not find a place in his pattern of existence.

Starting life as an engineer in Bombay, he came back to his own State more than half a century back and fathered many projects which made Mysore, the Belgium of India. Among his outstanding feats were the creation of Krishnarajasagara project and Bhadravati Iron and Steel works. He rose to the position of Dewan of the State. He served on several committees constituted by the Government of India and some of the State Governments. His advice was sought from many parts of the world.

Above and beyond being an engineer with a vision, the Grand Old Man of Mysore is the father of planning in India. His book, "Planned Economy of India," published in

1934 provided material for the planners of a later day.

Eight Indian universities have conferred Doctorate degrees on him. It is a matter of congratulation that the Films Division of the Union Ministry of Information and Broadcasting should have decided to film his life. There can be no doubt that the Doctor who is still energetic will race towards century.

Indian Women sport "Wings"

The one-time home loving, secluded Indian woman has overnight become air conscious. About a month back one adventurous woman hit the headlines. She is none other than Dr. Miss Gita Chandra who received her wings as India's first woman paratrooper. Again, the Delhi Flying Club gave an "A" licence to one Miss Kapila Puri, a law student of the Delhi University. These two events are portents. Miss Chandra's first jump was newsreel. She ascended the plane without the slightest sign of nervousness and touched earth with joy gleaming over her face.

Miss Puri received instructions under the 50-hour flying training scheme, sponsored by the Central Government in 1957-58. She took to flying because it was a rare achievement for a woman "Flying is easier than driving a car," she told a newsmen at the capital. She added: "There is no mad traffic, no frowning policeman and no confusing traffic lights up there."

Maybe some day when the first Indian contingent journeys to the moon we will not be lacking in sporting response for the trip from our daring sisters. We will have our Amelia Earharts and Jean Battsens.

Comes Television

With Russian rockets pockmarking the moon above us, we in this country still live in what Jawaharlal once called "the cowdung age." But we are trying to catch up with progressive countries in some fields of activity. The experimental television service, inaugurated the other

day at the capital is a portent, which has caused a ripple of excitement. Over a thousand people trooped to the posh Vigyan Bhavan where the All-India Radio inaugurated the new service. They gazed in wonder at the screens that spattered the hall and started blindly back at the viewers with eyes marked in Hindi, "Durdarshan" (distant vision). Television cameras were ahoist, facing the dais, garden or ordinary cine cameras whirled. Press photographers bumbled in front like bees, adjusting lenses or cocking shutters. Then the President

of the Indian Republic walked in. Doors were closed and ushers lined the walls. The first television personalities came to life on a score of oblong screens Dr. Keskar proudly announced: "This is indeed a landmark in the development of mass communications in our country." The screen caught him, waving occasionally. Eight items were packed in the inaugural programme, one of the highlights being an interview with Kaka Kalelkar. Some day, thousands of homes in Hindustan will have the luxury of television sets.

TWO WORLD CENTRES OF LEARNING

BY

DOLLY JOSEPH

At certain moments in one's life one cannot help thinking and at other times one cannot but help speaking about what one sees. Sometimes occasions do arise when one feels, thinks and is anxious to express everything with poetic eloquence. My experience when I visited the two great universities of Oxford and Cambridge was of a similar nature. I was thrilled I could even sense the appetite of the intellect chastened by the rich heritage of wisdom and learning left behind by sages and scholars.

Oxford and Cambridge have something unique to offer in the field of University education, scholarship and culture. Even Nationalist India today sends her best sons for training at these two world centres of learning. Their mighty tradition is hallowed by age and broadened by the free and equal contact of all the best citizens of the world. Every country sends its young representatives to receive inspiration and guidance from these two ancient Universities. This is peculiar and in a way gives an international complexion to the University life here. In short one witnesses a miniature world functioning at an intellectual level which gives a unique shape and outlook to the students. In fact they do derive an international outlook.

These universities are famous for their exclusive technique of training young minds. The most important is the tutorial system whereby each student is entrusted to the personal care and instruction of a tutor of the University. The term 'Tutor' is misleading in this case. It does not connote any inferiority whereas his status is far superior to that of a lecturer. As far as the particular student is concerned, his tutor has a final say in all matters pertaining to his training. No student

is obliged to attend any University lecture nor is any attendance taken before or after the lecture. Members of the staff do deliver lectures, each on his specialised branch of research which may or may not have any significance from the examination point of view. To attend the lectures the students are obliged to wear their gowns. The actual coaching is done by the tutors concerned, in the immediate and intimate contact between the teacher and the taught. The strength of a college may surprise an Indian for it is not more than 150 or 200. It gives a clue to the successful functioning of the tutorial system. Of course merit alone is the sure passport to the portals of a college and the weak and inefficient are carefully weeded out without tears.

The residential system of undergraduate training is another unique and important factor in the development of the young mind. An undergraduate is obliged to stay in the college hostel which will recall to memory Newman's saying that University education is incomplete without hostel life. It is true that the outlook is broadened and the knowledge is strengthened. The young student is thus well-trained to move and live in society through very active social life. The social life of the student is the most enchanting feature of the life at these universities. Men and women move freely and entertain each other in their respective residences. It has definite advantages with abuses here and there which is but human. The students actually live through the University life in the colleges and most of them are able to choose their own partners for life.

Oxford is situated on the bank of river Cherwell, a tributary of Thames, Cambridge on the bank of river Cam. Oxford and Cam-

bridge take full advantage of the facilities provided by the slow moving rivers like many other cities of the west—Stratford-upon-Avon, the birthplace of Shakespeare, Paris on river Seine, Bonn on river Rhine and Rome on Tiber. The rivers add charm and beauty to the respective cities. The locks in the River Thames to keep the level of water in order to facilitate easy sailing was quite a new phenomenon to me. Boating is a daily pastime for students during the summer term and I think lecture halls are nearly empty at this time. The students live on the river thus spending most of the day on the river eating, drinking and merry-making. River Thames in the early spring with swans floating and students punting and paddling was an exciting spectacle to me. Vast meadows on the banks filled with gaping onlookers and covered with flowers—dying daffodils and dancing tulips make one feel younger in spirit.

Next to cricket comes the boat-race under sport and pastime. Students start practising from the beginning of the year. Boat race is the culminating and most interesting annual event of the University life in Oxford and Cambridge. It may be added that the boat-race between these two Universities is a world event. Living under the shadow of Oxford it cast a spell on me. And being indirectly attached to the University I was really sad that, for the past few years Cambridge had carried away the Trophy. But Oxford did win this year, thus bringing relief to the Oxonians.

Certainly, I should say rivers and canals or rather waterways play an important part in western life and culture. It is evident from the fact that most of the important cities flourish on river banks while many of them acquire their names from the rivers on the banks of which they are situated. Some of the

explanations given by friends abroad were interesting. At my query whether Cam river had any part in the formation of the name Cambridge the explanation given was really curious. A set of ancient colleges which stand in a row on the bank of the river have their grounds on the other side which are connected by bridges across. So 'Cam' plus 'bridge' made Cambridge. I do not know how far it is true—whether fact or hearsay. Anyway there are colleges on the bank of river Cam with bridges across connecting the grounds on the opposite side. So also many of the other cities too have something or the other by way of explanation.

One thing which interested me most at Oxford is the Oxford Union where students from all the colleges affiliated to the University can be members. Each one is free to take part in the debates and discussions expressing their free opinions and ideas. President and office-bearers are elected for the term. The subjects chosen for discussion are interesting indeed to an outsider who can enter the union hall as a guest of any member of the union. There is freedom to discuss any subject of their choice, a freedom strictly adhered to and the University does not bother. Indeed Oxford Union is a cradle of the parliamentary system of Great Britain : and many members of the House of Commons today were former active members of the Oxford Union.

Life is quick moving amidst these interesting features. And one feels the want of time. City merging with country enhances the grace and glory which definitely soothes and invigorates the young and old alike—a thrilling experience magnificent in itself ! One gets convinced of the saying that to become a good writer, the aspirant must bathe himself in the sunshine of Oxford or Cambridge for at least three or four years.

INDIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH

BY

A. RANGANATHAN

"It was said" observed Sir Winston Churchill in December 1946, in a celebrated Debate in the House of Commons that "in the days of the great administration of Lord Chatham, that one had to get up very early in the morning in order not to miss some of the gains and accessions of territory which were then characteristic of our fortune—the no less memorable administration of the Rt. Hon. gentleman opposite (Clement Attlee) is distinguished on the opposite set of experiences. The British Empire seems to be running off almost as fast as the American loan. The steady and remorseless process of divesting ourselves of what has been gained by so many generations of toil, administration and sacrifice continues." The historic observation of Sir Winston was in reply to Earl Attlee's statement that His Majesty's Government did not desire "to retain within the Commonwealth and Empire any unwilling peoples." Herein lies glorious triumph of the British liberal tradition over the imperial tradition and of freedom over authority which climaxed a process of decades, resulting in the transformation of the British Empire into the Commonwealth of Nations.

Burke's declared goal was to "maintain the spirit of freedom in its full vigour." Laski wrote that "his horizon reached from London out to India and America ; and he cared as deeply for the Indian ryot's wrongs as for the iniquities of English policy to Ireland." And viewed historically, it is as well to remember that the liberal tradition initiated by Burke is not a continuous one, since he was not a member of any particular school of thought. And in spite of the diverse trends in the political philosophies of different leaders of thought—intellectuals like G.B.S. and Ramsay Macdonald and political leaders of the stature of Attlee—all of whom were influenced by Burke in

varying degrees, not to speak of the impact of Burke's political ideas in shaping the modern Indian mind, it is possible to trace them to the fundamental unity of the liberal tradition, beginning with Burke's philosophy of liberalism. "The Empire was acquired," said Seeley whose head was reeling with his visions of 'The Expansion of England,' "in a fit of absence of mind ;" the Commonwealth, however, is a product of intangibles forged by the ties of freedom which are as 'light as air' but as "strong as links of iron," in Burke's picturesque phraseology.

The Suez crisis of 1956 led many Indian politicians (especially the Communists) to clamour for severing out link with the Commonwealth. It is unfortunate that there is a lack of understanding on the part of some of our politicians, about the nature of the Commonwealth. Membership of the Commonwealth does not confer the right on any member to threaten to withdraw in case another followed a policy opposed to one's own. As our Prime Minister put it felicitously, it is "better to be a bridge between countries than to break bridges." While the Commonwealth aims at encouraging frequent consultations between members, it certainly does not and cannot aim at a procrustean uniformity in approaches to foreign policy.

There are some politicians who have questioned the wisdom of staying in the Commonwealth when India's relations with fellow members like South Africa are strained. Unfortunate as these problems are (which have to be tackled at the U.N. level) they cannot be allowed to wreck the concept of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth, is as Mr. Nehru once said an "odd collection of nations which somehow has found some kind of invisible

link by seeing that practically there is no link and by giving complete independence and freedom to every part of it." But the visible impact of Britain on India can be seen in the spheres of law, education and administration. Even today, Indian lawyers, civil servants, medical practitioners, scientists, journalists, administrators, economists, professors and many others in different walks of life greatly value their contacts with Britain. The Indian intellectual has been exposed to the liberal currents of British thought and has been familiar with the ideas of Edmund Burke, Spencer, Adam Smith and Mill. Most of our leaders have been steeped in the writings of the Webbs, Pigou, Keynes, Beveridge Russell and in the works of the intellectuals of the Labour Party like Laski, Cole and Strachey.

The Commonwealth is not only an essay in international co-operation in the economic, political and cultural spheres, but is also a continuation of a process of political evolution for the past several decades. To cite an example, there have been many British public figures who have made vigorous pleas to assist India in her five year plans: they include labour peers like Attlee, liberal publicists like Barbara Ward and conservative leaders like Harold Macmillan. The Colombo Plan is an initial step in this direction. Just as the celebrated attacks in the House of Commons on Robert Clive and Warren Hastings by Burke and Sheridan constituted the political background of British Liberalism in regard to the Indian situation (a tradition of liberalism blazed on the Indian horizon by Cobden, Lord Hastings and Sir Henry Lawrence), the historic verdict of Adam Smith on the indifference of the East India Company to the welfare of its subjects and the contention of John Bright that "you may govern India, if you like, for the good of England, but the good of England must come through the channel of the good of India," contributed to the British liberal tradition in the economic sphere.

The Commonwealth has no charter and no rules or regulations. This is of a piece with

Great Britain's unwritten Constitution! Just as in Britain, the Constitution has evolved from such acts as Magna Carta, the Act of Habeas Corpus and the Bill of Rights, so too the Commonwealth began with Lord Durham's Report of 1839 on the discontent in Canada. And with the membership of Asian countries, the old Commonwealth has changed its character as well as its complexion to constitute the new Commonwealth of Nations. This is because India became a member of the Commonwealth, while maintaining her Republican status.

The inherent elasticity of the British Empire, resulting in the transformation of the Empire into the Commonwealth, has falsified the Marxist interpretation of imperialism. Karl Haushofer, the noted geopolitician had predicted that between the "Imperial conference of 1930 and the next, the great unknown stage director seems to us to be ringing his bell for the revolutionary change of scene," which inspired the liberal forces of our Asian Revolution of the mid-twentieth century, has resulted in more than 500 million people be freed to constitute sovereign states of their own, participating as new members of an expanding Commonwealth of Nations—India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana and Malaya (Independent Burma did not join the Commonwealth) with possibilities of Nigeria and the federation of West Indies also joining.

The Commonwealth stands for a scheme of political values based on international co-operation and full freedom for each particular nation to express itself. Its ideals are freedom in a spiritual sense and a democratic way of life. This should be only too obvious to us, when we find that the scheme of Communist federation is based on the Russian control of Eastern and Central Europe or the latest example of Communist China's liquidation of Tibet as a geographical and political entity. Even if we are to search for historical parallels, it is clear that it is only the British concept of the Commonwealth of Nations that has

sprung from the tradition of association, by which countries once opposed to the metropolitan authority got linked up with the Commonwealth, on their attainment of nationhood, to work out the problem of partnership based on a voluntary nexus.

The Commonwealth promises a glorious vision, embracing in its near-global sweep, different countries and cultures, people of various colours and civilisations, without any rules or regulations or even a constitution to bind them, yet ultimate based on a certain deeper unity harmonised by imponderable spiritual values originating from the mandate of freedom. If the British Empire was acquired

absentmindedly, the Commonwealth can be said to be one of the great "accidental experiments" in historical politics. In the ultimate analysis, the method of solution to the problem of partnership between Britain and the Commonwealth of Nations is derived from the tradition of an empirical approach to political questions, which is Burke's splendid contribution to the mainstream of political philosophy. The Indian link with the Commonwealth is as much as a tribute to the statesmanship of Pandit Nehru as it is a tribute to the 'genius' (Burke's Prophetic tribute) of the British Constitution which could solve any "constitutional difficulty" in any age (including our own atomic age).

"PREJUDICE"

BY

S. KANNAN, M.A.

Perhaps the most widespread form of conflict is found in Prejudice that is on the increase all over the world. The ordinary man finds it extremely difficult to lead to happy and contented life and he wastes his most precious time and energy in uneventful activities. No nation is free from this epidemic of prejudice, even though each country faces a problem of its own. In India too we have this world phenomenon as a result of lack of right relationship pertaining to ideas, persons, communities and properties. There is a growing conflict between Democracy and Authoritarianism. Hence at this juncture the undemocratic practices at home pose several obstacles in our relationship with other countries. An even more important factor that needs our attention is the consequence of prejudice and discrimination that is likely to affect the welfare of our nation. Prejudice considerably affects our national unity sectional, communal or racial problems. We are left with neither the strength nor the time to seek solutions for our important social and economic problems. It is indeed most depressing to note that we pay for our prejudices in terms of human happiness. The solution of such a human problem therefore demands an early and detailed understanding of the life process of man before we are victimised more and more.

Need for an understanding of the problem

Some of our contemporaries believe that our difficulties arise from the fact that the development of Social Sciences like Social Psychology has not kept pace with the development of the physical sciences. They opine that the physical sciences have advanced to such an extent that they have created forces which, even though can be used in peaceful creative purposes, are

potentially capable of incalculable harm to humanity. The psychologists on the other hand have failed to teach man how to control these forces or how to smoothen human relations so as to avoid the use of such destructive forces. That is the reason why we have had two wars within a short interval of time and also we are now facing a variety of group tensions when civilisation is at its peak.

There is another school of thought, perhaps a more accurate one. Experts in this category have taken for granted that the Social Scientists do possess some facts that will help in the transformation and improvement of human relations. But they hold that such facts should be more widely known, more fully accepted and more constantly applied in actual life. So far as they are concerned the notion of superiority and inferiority are exploded myths. Prejudices is irrational and it causes innumerable hardships to the human society.

Yet our knowledge about the facts concerning this important problem is limited especially with regard to the practical techniques which can be brought into operation in specific situations. The methods that we should adopt to make the facts possessed by social scientists enter the lives of people at large, so as to bring about a change in their attitudes and behaviours are also to be studied. The research with regard to these facts has to be an endless task until the answers are available. We cannot afford to neglect this problem of human relations on any ground—either moral or practical. We should strive to solve this problem if we are to be satisfied without democracy at home and if we are to face the rest of the world without apologies for our failure to practise what we preach. The contributions of psychology and

other Social Sciences have begun to have a practical impact as Professor Otto Klineberg opines. The results so far achieved can aid us all to think more clearly, and to act more effectively in this direction.

We should analyse and study the problem of prejudice in terms of causes and reaction. Man even the most independent, is never fully self-sufficient. In contrast to other animals his dependence upon others is permanent. From birth to grave he is dependent on his fellow human beings and his basic needs can find satisfaction only in groups. Naturally there is continuous interaction taking place between the individuals, even though the interaction is sometimes 'Associative' and at other times it proves to be 'Dissociative.' So much so human beings are constantly making and breaking communities. Eventually there occurs a process of assimilation of separate and divided units. The assimilated groups clash with each other, giving scope for further divisions. It is evident that anything that separates, segregates or divides will create prejudice or has been the result of prejudice. If the humanity is to escape conflict, prejudice and division, it needs to encourage and support processes of integration and cohesion to the highest possible voltage, so that further division becomes impossible.

Awareness of the Problem

It is heartening to note that there is a growing awareness of the serious nature of the problem and the urgency of studying and controlling this menace in India. We are conscious of the fact that this problem if left unchecked is sure to corrode the very vital existence of our society. The Government of India is also taking an interest by providing for a serious and systematic study of this problem. Almost all the Universities are requested to organise systematic studies of the problem and some of the Universities are already ahead with their scheme of research work on group tensions. The UNESCO has also contributed much in organising study groups and projects

throughout the world. They are deputing experts to launch such projects. Under the scheme we were glad to receive Dr. Gardner Murphy in 1950, under whose guidance pilot studies on social tensions were inaugurated in India. It is also very encouraging to note that the Government of India have appointed special committees and set apart funds to help research in this direction. We have had the greatest crusader against group prejudices in Mahatma Gandhi. 'His martyrdom in fighting against communal prejudices, his heroic and systematic struggles against caste and sex prejudices and his fundamental crusade against intolerance, narrowmindedness and snobbery which permeate every facet of society have to be deeply appreciated and understood to evolve proper remedies to combat group prejudices.' These principles have also found their expression in our constitution in its section on fundamental rights and they strike at the roots of group prejudices. But the constitution at best can only provide a climate which will determine the social norms of the society. To practise the adopted principles is another thing that should be fully implemented by an impartial, efficient, strong and incorruptible administration.

The meaning of prejudices

The word *Prejudice* owes its origin to Pre-judgment. A specific person or idea is judged on the basis of preconceived notions without taking into consideration to verify our beliefs or examining the merits of our judgment. If one is prejudiced against Italian cooking, he may refuse to taste any new Italian dish offered to him. He knows it will not taste good and so he shall not like it. If he is served an Italian dish under the pretence that it is French, he may greatly enjoy it, particularly if he is prejudiced in favour of French cooking. The same dish might not have tasted good at all had he known its true origin.

Prejudice is a perversion of rational judgment by self-interest or group interest. Often it is not an individual but group induced ideas,

attitudes and habits. Hence there is prejudice both in individual and group relations.

Here are some definitions of prejudice. Prejudice is "judgment over determined by feeling, any unreasonable feeling of antagonism toward any person or idea, judgment made in advance of perceived facts which influence the actual perception of and subsequent reactions to those perceived facts, a defence mechanism enabling the individual to handle inner conflicts engendered by failure to make a complete adjustment to society, attitudes and beliefs that serve to place objects of those attitudes and beliefs at an advantageous or disadvantageous position." As Prof. Adinarayana says we come to know from these definitions that (1) it is unreasonable, (2) it is surcharged with emotions and (3) its holding is of some benefit to the person who possess it.

Prejudice is usually accompanied by strong emotional likes and dislikes. It involves a system of more or less outspoken stereotyped beliefs. If one is prejudiced against Jews, he feels antagonists against them and so subscribes to the view that they are aggressive and ill-mannered.

As Professor Allport says "People who can't face up to their faults often try to find scape goats. It is much easier to shut our eyes to the fact that we may be narrowminded or sexually frustrated, or prejudiced or even just selfish. And we find it even easier to believe the worst about others using a convenient mental process known as projection. We project on to others the things we don't like in ourselves. This process is also known as the pot calling the kettle black." We know on a deeper level, the injustices we commit against the objects of our projection.

We also know that our aggression is unjustified. Because of the dim unconscious knowledge of our injustices further guilt feelings are generated in us with the result we commit further aggression against the object of our projection. John Dewey has well observed that 'the deepest urge in human nature is to be

important.' So he indulges in defensive behaviour to bolster out self-esteem there by making himself less able to solve his real problems. Hence the need for further defensive reaction.

Just as aptitudes prejudices motivate us to act in a friendly or hostile way towards the object of our prejudice depending upon the nature and intensity of feelings. But prejudice may not always lead to action. The intensity of prejudice has been classified by the U.N.O. in its commission on human rights under six categories.

(1) Prejudice merely as a personal opinion and it is not given outward expression either by word or by positive conduct of hostility or contempt toward members of a particular group. It is purely a negative attitude of avoiding contact with the members of the group as much as possible without expressing such attitude. (2) The internal opinion of the prejudiced person is expressed outwardly in some relations with the member of the disliked group such as showing definitely cold attitude toward them. Mild expression of antipathy, dislike or devaluations in social relations in which no legal problem is involved and in which no discriminatory act occurs. (3) Prejudice in this category leads to some form of social discrimination but there is no denial of legal rights. One may intentionally and manifestly avoid any social contact with members of the disliked group. (4) In this type Prejudice leads to discriminatory acts, denying rights to individuals belonging to a group discriminated against. (5) Prejudice leading to not only discriminatory behaviour but goes further and gives rise to propaganda for a further discrimination. This propaganda may be confined to private circles or even it may develop public manifestations such as speeches, or written incitements to acts of discrimination. (6) In the final grade prejudice leads to acts of violence against the members of the group, committed either by an individual or by a group of individuals or committed or tolerated by public authorities.

Why should people have prejudice at all?

Is it because of ethnocentrism that one prefers one's own group? No, not always is this the reason. A person does not always get along well with those who have the same socio-cultural background. Sometimes lack of conformity between persons breed prejudice. There is another reason attributed to prejudice and discrimination and that is the socio-economic problem. But lack of proper and decent conditions of life cannot always be the cause of prejudice. We know that prejudice is present in individual life as well as group relations, even where economic and social factors could not possibly matter. It is also very interesting to know that even children who are not burdened with Socio-Economic problems also show prejudice. Children are found to be free from any prejudice until they are three or four years of age. Then they begin to imbibe prejudice from their parents. Intolerance is transmitted to them through parents, the school, and the community at large.

Sometimes it is also a fact that prejudice has been the result of 'Fear'—or we may say by in-group—out-group feelings. Jealousy, unfamiliarity, ignorance also breed prejudice. If one is shy and timid he may become prejudiced against the stranger who is the life of the party even though the stranger has a similar Socio-Cultural background. If the white man has doubts (probably) unconscious about his own sexual capacities, he imagines the negro to be remarkably endowed, and he condemns him for the very trait which he himself desires. Hence the negro is being accused of being 'dangerously oversexed.' As we have seen the causes for prejudice are many and from the causes of prejudice it is evident that prejudice is after all irrational.

Cures for Prejudice

There is no cut and dry method to cure prejudice, since war begins in the minds of men! So the success is bound to be very slow and 'quick cures are for quacks only.'

There is no single, all powerful, short cut recipe that can be suggested for overcoming prejudice. It is extremely difficult to defeat or demolish these influences, but, we have to win them over to our side.

To solve this problem Prof. Adinarayana suggests four different approaches namely the psychological approach, religious or ethical approach, legal approach and the organizational approach.

The psychological approach recognises prejudice wherever it occurs and studies and believes in spreading the scientific and true findings to the people at large. We know that the psychologists have spent a good deal of time in examining the so-called intellectually inferior races by means of intelligence tests. Their findings have proved that it is fallacious to hold one race as superior and the other as inferior. Given equal opportunities they are sure to prove themselves equal to the so-called superior race. The UNESCO is contributing much to dispel these prejudices.

International sports meet or inter-regional group in sports also helps in reducing prejudices. Of course this cannot be relied upon as a remedy but it is an agent in bringing about the desired object. Under the Religious or Ethical approach we attempt to change the man's heart instead of his environment. In all religions, in the teachings of all great teachers of mankind, in all human systems of philosophy and in the rationalism of modern sciences, it is prejudice that is considered unworthy and false. Tolerance is upheld to be noble and true.

Under the Legal approach to fight prejudice a law is enacted. But law is effective only on the consequences or results of prejudice. So by merely passing a law we cannot eradicate prejudice. It has to be given a wide publicity so that everybody is in the know of it.

There are several organizations fighting prejudice emphasising maxims of universal brotherhood. Organizations like the

Y.M.C.A., the International Fellowship Organization, the fellowship of reconciliation and many other are there to fight prejudice. Above all we should consider prejudice as a symptom and not as a disease. We should try to remove frustration first and the standard of living should be raised. It is also very essential to develop an international outlook. Encouraging international and inter India travel will help us much in solving several regional prejudices.

The most important thing is that we should try to teach the prejudiced person the errors

of his ways. But then he is unlikely to associate with people who held different opinion altogether. So much so we are necessitated to start the teaching early in life, with the young child whose prejudices have not had time to develop. A determined and informed leadership can also do much to combat intolerance and strengthen democracy. Success depend on the goodwill and a thorough understanding based on a knowledge of science of Human Relations of the causes of prejudice and the ways and means useful in reducing tension.

the physical conditions of the sun, its gaseous constitution, the stormy and hectic state of the enveloping vapours, the flares and the prominences, the sun spots and the magnetic fields associated with them. A photograph of the sun with the sun spots, another with the prominences and a series of 4 or 5 to show the rotation of the globe on its own axis will serve the purpose admirably well. The photographs projected with an epidiascope are sure to make a better appeal to the student.

Demonstration by means of an experiment is an essential feature of the scientific method to convey ideas effectively. The concept of magnetic lines of force is quite new to an young lad. But, he or she could be helped to grasp it easily by actually producing the lines of force with a magnet, a sheet of glass and iron filings, tapping the sheet and showing their distribution around the magnet, leading to the idea of 'Magnetic Poles.' Or, a magnetised pin mounted on a small piece of cork to enable it to float on water can be used with a strong magnet held at the top of a trough of water and the actual movement of the north pole along a line of force could easily be demonstrated. This can be followed up by the idea that the space around a magnet is distorted and this distortion is carried by the magnet wherever it goes. It is something akin to the turbulence produced in quiet waters of a lake by a speeding boat ; it follows the boat only leaving the rest of the water in tranquillity. This could further be extended to the 'Curvature of

Space.' A huge celestial body like the sun or a star distorts space around it and carries the distortion with it in its perennial journey through space. Due to this distortion, even a ray of light suffers bending as it passes near a star ; the very path is curved like the surface of the earth.

The use of the Audio Visual Aids has the further advantage of stimulating the normal student to fruitful activity. A teacher of geography or social sciences can impress better by making the students construct models. A relief map made to scale, enables the student to obtain a correct idea of the relative heights of mountains and their distribution.

Slides and film strips are important adjuncts of the A.V. Aids. They can be prepared from ordinary glass plates and used films. If we are able to excite the creative activity which is latent in the student, we have won half the battle. The very excitement enables him to work with a full heart and achieve a greater proportion of success than under ordinary conditions. Instead of complaining about the bad material supplied to us, we could as well clean it first of its lethargy and indifference and then give it a chance to respond to our approach. We should remember that the students are not lacking in enthusiasm or intelligence ; they fail to put in the necessary industry. With a little cajoling it should be possible for us to create in them a spirit of enquiry which ultimately leads them to put in the desired effort.

MASS REGENERATION

Through "Gramasamkalpa" co-operative units in Kerala State

P. M. MANI

The Ernakulam District Development Council at their meeting on 28th August 1959, confirmed the sub-committee's resolution passed on 20th August 1959, and have sent it up to the Kerala Government Development Commissioner, Triyandrum, for information and action. The resolution reads :

Co-operation : To help mass contact, to bring benefits of the Second Plan, especially of N.E.S. Blocks, to each of the backward community, to help supply of fertilisers, agricultural implements, to establish fair price shops, to run nursery schools, small co-operative societies may be encouraged for 25 to 50 contiguous families."

The above resolution is hereby tried to be clarified by a note by the mover as follows on Mass regeneration—through Gramasamkalpa co-operative units."

1. In the present planning setup, Community Project N.E.S. Blocks are being established for the whole of India, Kerala getting its share, and in the new Blocks, simultaneous Social Welfare Board schemes are "coordinated." By 31st March, 1963 the whole of Kerala will be covered by about 105 N.E.S. Blocks of which about 70 exist now. All towns also are now proposed to be included under the N.E.S. so that no family would escape a Municipality or Panchayat and go without an N.E.S. Block setup serving it. Each N.E.S. Block has now ten Gramasevaks or trained sub-county agents for one Panchayat or half of it, since for each N.E.S. Block, there will be 5 to 6 Panchayats and occasionally a town out of our 30 towns. There will be also a (woman) Gramasevika of the Social Welfare Board

coordinated. Each Gramasevak may cover 1,000 to 1,500 families and each Gramasevika about 500 families. The Government N.E.S. Block as now planned has a Block Development Officer who is to be the (Revenue) Tahsildar in some cases ; and at will be so by 1963 in all the 105 Blocks for the whole State. There are also to be Agricultural, Veterinary, Social Education, Co-operation and other officers.

2. Now, when co-operatives were started in Germany, there were maximum 50 members usually, and when the number came to 60, it was divided into 2 societies. It is said that when the Communist cells were first formed, it had five members and when the number exceeded six, it was split into two cells.

3. It may be taken that for face to face daily contact, 1,000 families may be too big a unit. To get a Co-operative Society registered by the Government, there should be 25 signatories minimum. The Gramasevak's or Gramasevika's area can be divided into units of 30 to 50 contiguous families, leaving out none of the houses now numbered by the Municipality or the Panchayat,—which numbers can be got from each such office,—so as to abut either side of a road or field or a canal ; in Kerala, without the village groups concentrated, we can have what Vinoba Bhave has suggested, i.e., "Gramasamkalpa" or assumed village for about 50 families.

4. During 1942-45, in the Cochin area, under the Cochin Co-operative Societies Act, a fair price shop was formed by a special society registered here. The members of such an area, mostly poor women, used to deposit in the Society daily one to four annas and members were to take also shares of rupee one

each. A fair price shop which never gave credit but only cash sales, had the necessary rice, sugar, salt and other necessities in a central store rented on Rs. 3 per mensem and a paid secretary on Rs. 15 p.m. working daily three hours twice. This worked satisfactorily till the man went back on the termination of war to his own village.

5. Also, there are now creches attached to some of our small cashew or other factories and nursery schools here and there, with a trained nursery teacher (S.S.L.C. passed) on Rs. 65 per mensem, drawing a Government grant. There are in most areas of fifty families educated women unemployed, who may not have passed S.S.L.C. If Government grant is not sought a woman non-S.S.L.C. with taste or talent to look after children can be secured for less than Rs. 50 p.m. for part-time work. An effective teacher should not have above 30 little children to look after.

6. There are also in present conditions tea-shops for an area of about 100 houses ; and toddy shops have begun to be discouraged in the recent agitations in several areas. Some of the tea-shops keep newspapers, magazines and, sometimes, radio sets. There are also fair price shops all over.

7. It is becoming fairly common that the father and the mother try to go out for work, in some cases part-time. They would naturally welcome any scheme for the little children, who are now by law, not admitted into formal schools before they complete 6 or at least 5½ years of age.

8. If a Gramasamkalpa Development or Service Co-operative Society is registered for every area of about 50 contiguous families as now approved by the Ernakulam District Development Council (formed for each District by the Government for the Second Five Year Plan), such a co-operative society could handle a fair price and/or tea shop and handle agricultural and other provisions or produce.

9. A veranda or a room may be got free from one of the houses or on a rent of Rs. 3

to 5 p.m. to run a nursery school. The co-operative society can handle all the development needs of the area with a central place for common activities as above, including the nursery school. Incidentally, one or two each of the educated unemployed in lakhs, can secure full or part-time employment. Also, much needed occasional credit or provisions to help the sick or those wanting to buy school books, with small loans, can be secured through the Co-operative Society, since the habits and character of all people can be fairly known to each other. In such a "Gramasamkalpa" area of a face to face community, refunds can be more intelligently or conveniently effected, as all needs or incomes or resources are fairly, automatically known.

10. The secretaries of each such society can be the advisory body to the Gramasevak already bound to be in each Panchayat or Municipal ward. The secretaries of Panchayats or wards can also function at the N.E.S. Block level.

11. For any elections to Panchayats or Municipalities—assemblies, etc., the secretaries of these societies may possibly unanimously nominate a candidate to be elected unanimously too, as Gandhiji in his last days appears to have indicated. If there are competitions between political parties, the secretaries of the co-operative societies, if they cover the whole constituency area, can send a list of 3 candidates to each and every political party for them to choose, if they care. This may be a better way of people's will being indicated than the party setup in the capital to choose of their own, which often cause heart-burning to the voters who give pre-eminent thought to local needs and prefer their accredited representatives.

12. In the conditions of Europe and elsewhere, the war gave opportunities for team work and leadership. We need some decentralised machinery to effect such team work and to build up local economy and to spread scientific knowledge also, to solve unemployment and to raise all round the standard of living.

13. For coir co-operative societies, for rupee one paid by a member, Government advanced Rs. 9 for share capital. So also for labour contract societies, recently formed by the Communist Government, grants for capital were given equal to the amount collected by the members. If these small Development or Service Co-operative Societies come into popular functioning, Government grant and credit can be commanded, being liable to Co-operative Department check. Loans or helps from individuals, churches or other bodies can also be had. Such a Society can finance the equipment for the nursery school, for which also Government Grant provisions exist. There is a Social Education Officer and a lady officer or Mukhiasevika for every N.E.S. Block under the Block Development Officer (cum Tahsildar) in each Block which serves a population of 1 to 1½ lakhs of people.

14. In the rivalry between so-called Capitalism and Communism, the above may be in keeping with Gandhian idealism. Other constructive suggestions are welcome.

15. During the Second and the third Five Year Plans, we can hope to build up thus mass contact from the bottom and universally get the Plan benefits to and from each family, with none unreached.

16. Eventually the ultimate ideal setup can be like the "Bruderhof" Communities (or brotherly homes) established absolutely successfully for over 20 years for 750 to 30 people each, in eleven centres in Europe and Americas, in self-sufficient groups sharing all

worldly goods in common. But earlier, co-operative service farming and later joint-farming can be aimed at.

17. For giving such leadership based on highest character, the Shanti Sena of Gandhians under Vinoba Bhave, or members of the Wider Quaker Fellowship can be expected to give the lead. In Kerala, there are about 25 members enrolled during 1959 in the latter. These include Hindus and all. Men and women of personal religious conviction are enrolled in this Fellowship individually. It is seen that such leadership is available here and there in the nine districts of Kerala. Eventually, we may get one each in the 105 Blocks. It may take to 1961 to have one or two Gramasamkalpa Development or Service Co-operative Societies in each of the 105 Blocks or the majority of them. Each Block may have to be covered by 1966 with 400 to 500 such Co-operative Societies.

18. The task is colossal to raise the annual per capita income of Kerala from about Rs. 220 to Rs. 600 or Rs. 1,200. Ours in Kerala is about Rs. 50 below the all-India average. The population of 15,000 sq. miles of Kerala has risen from 136 lakhs or 13.6 millions in 1951 to 17.9 millions in 1959 as estimated. We are deficit for about 50% in rice production. Intensive agriculture and larger production of goods can be effected by these co-operatives and an all-out drive to create national enthusiasm for a good life of plenty and mutual goodwill, can be the plank of publicity in the State. Gramasamkalpa units can enlist each and every family and serve it.

THE CHARM OF SARAT CHANDRA

BY

ARABINDA BHATTACHARYA

The post-war Bengalee literature has undergone many a drastic change. Many a writer has made his name in the fields of poetry, prose and drama. Hundreds of novels have been published, and among them many have run to two or more reprints, thereby suggesting their popularity with the readers.

Yet the works of Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya remain the most favourite with the readers of Bengalee literature. There is not one among the reading public in Bengal who has not read a Sarat novel; and, reading, has not liked it.

The reason for the popularity of the novels of Sarat Chandra is perhaps that never once in the reading of any of them do we feel the presence of the author. His characters are real, so real that we are often led to think that we are witnessing the happenings with our own eyes, and that the people mentioned in the stories are men and women that we often come across in our daily life. The social problems discussed in the novels are not drawn from the writer's own imagination; they are just the problems that exist in the society of today. Thus the village society depicted in "Palli Samaj" is just the faithful representation of the society that exists in many villages in Bengal; we get a true picture, a realistic one at that, of the ways and manners of the village folk. The reason why Bipradas and his step-mother would have nothing to do with Bandana is that the society they belong to will not permit them to mix freely with modern-minded people; they would rather like to stick to their own ways of life.

Sarat Chandra's characters are real. They are so much like any of us that their behaviour seems the least uncommon to us. Indranath is fearless; he is not prepared to allow fear to dominate his mind; and the accounts of Sreekantha's many daring adventures with him fill us with wonder and admiration. Yet we are never led to think that the type of people represented by Indranath do not exist. We sympathise with Sreekantha in his sorrow, and

we are always inclined to tell him, when he commits a mistake, 'Now, that is not the way you should behave!'

A weakness that many writers of the present day have is that they have always to express their own views about things, and speak through the characters that they create. Thus sometimes it so happens that the reader comes across references made about high philosophy, by an ignorant old servant or by an innocent village girl. A reader does not find any interest in such things; for he never wants, nor does he expect, to hear long speeches on irrelevant things from the mouths of people who are the least qualified to make such speeches; and so, the impression that he gets of the book is that it is rather uninteresting. He often leaves the book unfinished.

With Sarat Chandra, however, it is quite different. His style is so attractive and the plots are so carried out that a reader is forced to follow the story from the beginning to the end; while reading the story a reader feels himself to be one of the characters in it; he laughs and he cries according as Sarat Chandra expects him to do.

That is the charm of Sarat Chandra's novels. He does not wait for the reader to catch up with the movement of the story; he drags him cruelly along. He writes on without a sympathetic eye on the reader, for he is so sure the reader cannot but be with him.

Sarat's stories have been criticised to be out of tune with the modern requirements of the present-day reader. I wonder if this is really true. We still have the social problems, spoken of in many of his novels, existing in our society. Many of us can identify ourselves with some characters made immortal in Sarat's novels. What more do the realistic readers of the modern day need? Romance? There is plenty of it in 'Bipradas,' in 'Pather Dabi,' in 'Charitraheen.'

Sarat's stories were not written only for the age in which he lived; they were written for all ages. They are immortal. They can never die.

TIME-TABLE DELUSIONS

BY POTHAN JOSEPH

A week before the celebration of Independence, Education Ministers from all the States thronged at New Delhi under the chairmanship of Dr. K. L. Shrimali, Minister of Education, to consider not only the methods of coordination in the Third Five-Year Plan but also to remind themselves of the binding clause in the Indian Constitution that in ten years free primary education in India should be universalised. It was another instance of the experience that the fixing of dates for the accomplishment of good purposes could prove an empty farce when the evolutionary forces of human advance are ignored by enthusiasts. On the other hand, a downright decision could be proclaimed with the force of law as in Article 17 of the Constitution which says: "Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden." There is no spectacular date-line in that resolve and we need not pause to complain that untouchability still prevails. We could at any rate look at South Africa in the face and say that while they maintained apartheid as law, India in her collective conscience has at least condemned such iniquities as illegal. The reference is relevant since there are apologists of white domination who indulge in occasional taunts at India over the existence of the depressed classes. The difference is that we only own up the injustice of it and we are at least legally and morally committed to an uphill task to put an end to the barbarism.

In the Indian Constitution there is a set of directives without the force of law because the founding fathers could not take downright decisions on certain issues apparently virtuous on the surface, but still requiring the sanctions of experience regarding feasibility. The directive about Prohibition comes in this category

and it is open to the people always to alter their course without breach of the law. An article saying "Drinking is abolished" was not inserted, and in the absence of a date, it differs from the positive bidding that after fifteen years Hindi in Devanagiri script shall be the official language of India. A definite date had been sanguinely stipulated, to neutralize obstruction from on-the-spot faddists, but the millions, by and large, have failed to catch up with the fifteen-year intention. If it is unenforceable, the provision becomes a dead letter and jurists hold that an amendment to delete is always better than spurious retention. The problem becoming grave with the approach of the time-limit, the Gauhati Congress took to a characteristic expedient. It was argued that there should be no rigidity about it, and that the transaction should be on a phased basis thus enthroning the adjective "flexible." For zig-zag procedure and general escapism, there is no word to compare with "flexible" in Congress literature, and when it came to the claim of English to be made the fifteenth language in the Eighth Schedule, the Lok Sabha was told that there need be no "rigid" attitude about English since it would last as additional language for official business, regardless of the almanac. The Hindi phalanx wanted to vote down the proposal in the Lok Sabha, and black-list English language for good, but the Lok Sabha on the advice of the Prime Minister agreed to the withdrawal of Mr. Frank Anthony's resolution. The controversy again demonstrates the futility of imposing dates in advance, and making a mess of the forces of natural progression, giving the law of the inevitability gradualness a chance. On the other hand, in specific enunciation of human rights, dates could be inserted as in the Emancipation of Slaves or the repeal of

the 18th or the 21st Amendments in the American Constitution.

When Lord Birkenhead became Secretary of State he, as an intellectual, fretted over the proviso in the Montford Act which said that every ten years a Royal Commission from Westminster would go into the progress of India towards Dominion Status and recommend proper instalments of reforms suited to India. There was no end to the decennial screenings. Meanwhile, the struggle for Home Rule was in full blast and the Simon Commission as the first Inquisition loomed on the horizon under the doom of failure. Embarrassed by the puerility of date-lines, Lord Birkenhead tried to assuage Indian agitation by saying that "the British Government is no slave of dates." At that time, the early outline of the Round Table method had been projected by the late Desabhandu Das in his famous Faridpur offer. The proposition looked like clicking towards a stage of negotiation on a fairly equal footing without the nuisance of parliamentary investigation about India's fitness from time to time. The long and short of the lesson was that in dealing with national movements no imperial power could usefully throw the balt of reforms in time-table manner. Mrs. Besant was taken up with the idea of cutting out the time-table device. A few weeks before his death at Darjeeling Mrs. Besant conferred with C. R. Das the mechanics of agitation towards Dominion Status when Desabhandu asked: "But what are the

conditions, Mrs. Besant? They faded out from the stage leaving it to the Mahatma to forge sanctions. The point is that the plan of scheduling progress by date-lines utterly broke down. Other Colonial Powers quitting Asia after the war observed the futility of calendar-markings in handing over power to the leaders of national movements in full swing, ready to take the consequences. The Dutch never thought of prescribing any vague date for Indonesian freedom.

To regulate speed and to plant milestones in the spread of ideas especially when the media of communications are on the increase in the era of time-continuum-space in a vain effort. There are sources of impediment also in the circulation of ideas, and the precision with which professional Planners of our economy equate growing population with accelerated production provokes scepticism. A tryst with Destiny does not necessarily mean a Date with Dama Fortune. Nursery rhymes contain a lot of wisdom and it would not be a bad idea if some of our greying and balding idealists were scheduled to appear on platforms before the agenda to recite the simple verse of Long-fellow:

Trust no Future, howe'er pleasant

Let the dead Past bury its dead!

Act, act in the living Present

Heart within and God o'erhead!

BEYOND THE WHITE PAPER

BY

M. K. RAMAMURTY

The reference to the White Paper is not to any past pronouncement by the India Office but to the record of letters from July 1954 to August 1959 exchanged between the Chinese and Indian Governments over recent years. As diplomatic correspondence the record may seem *je june* and the newspapers may have brought out all the points made by the Prime Minister and the Chinese Foreign Office. However, a fuller analysis may provoke some doubts about the direction that affairs are taking and it is for the public to draw conclusions from China's known desire for rectification of the frontier with India.

The White Paper is rather bald: the letters are not rude, as imagined by some though the translation from the Chinese language may convey, the impression that celestial courtesy belongs to the past. However, the public will be dismayed by the lack of an introduction and it seems surprising that there is no Historical Adviser to the Indian Foreign Office at present to deal with the events and arrangements of the past as mentioned in the letters exchanged. Some M.Ps. too may be in the dark about the antecedents to the drawing of the boundary in 1914 as between India and China or the new questions regarding the Sino-Burman frontier as drawn in 1937 by the Commission headed by the Swedesh Col. Isclin to mark off the Northern Shan States from south-west China or to the operations during the war across the Himalayan Hump.

One thing is plain. China is irritated by the asylum given to the Dalai Lama by the Indian authorities and Socialist demonstrations in Bombay have been cited as an argument for taking a stand on Bara Hoti and other disputed areas. The U.P. Government in

a sense is a party to the dispute concerning Indian Immigrant traders in Tibet. And concessions made by India in the Treaty of 1954 have not made China relent. It is evident that normal approved diplomatic practice justifies Peking laying down rules for the conduct of the Indian Consul-General in Lhasa and the change in status from a Resident to a Consul-General, appointed only with Peking's approval has a bearing on the issue, discussed with emotion rather than insight so far.

Complaints about Chinese plans flying over Spite are of less consequence than the Chinese intrusion into Ladakh in July 1956. The arrest of Indian troops, the experience of the patrol party lost in the mountains desert are only minor incidents in the Cold War to which the White Paper bears witness.

The Indian Government's thesis is that Bara Hoti in Garhwal cannot be ceded and Ladakh is part of the Kashmir State under the Treaty of 1842. Everything rests on the Chinese Government accepting Republican India as the full and finite successor to the British Raj. The status of Tibet was defined in 1914 before the McMahon Line was drawn, and if McMahon went off soon to Egypt to foment the Arab revolt against Turkey, the Indian authorities did nothing for years to define the frontier.

The late Capt. F. Kingdon Ward went from Assam into Tibet to collect rare plants along the Brahmaputra valley but his adventure hardly mentions the McMahon Line running now from Bhutan to Burma. The Chinese Government as the power in control of Tibet at present has advanced claims in reference to Ladakh as well as the North-East Frontier agency. The Foreign Minister has not dis-

guised this opinion that old treaties made by the British do not matter. It may be recalled that Britain intervened in Lhasa because a Russian Buddhist monk was suspected of intrigue whereas earlier Lord Dufferin was content to leave the Lamas in Lhasa to the Counsel of Chinese envoys. Sir Alfred Lyall's life of Lord Dufferin indicated that the real problem then was the Russo-Afghan frontier (owing to the Panjdeh incident) but the British were content to leave the disputed valley to the Russians as the Amir Abdur Rahman promised to keep the Russians out of Herat.

However, historical parallels are of little consequence today as the Chinese apply the rule of Rebels *Sil Stantibus* and treat all points as open issues. It may well be urged that Garhwal taken from Nepal is ethnically not Indian and Ladakh too was not part of the Indian empire. Declarations relating to India's ties with Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal can have real force, only if China endorses them and the mapping of the NEFA is possible only if China is ready to revise the maps extant.

There is no reason to regard this problem as in any way similar to the Negon boundary dispute between Britain and the U.S.A. There the American pioneers were passing onwards to the Pacific and the Canadian frontier had

to be adjusted. In India the NEFA has been created on the assumption that an impenetrable belt must protect upper Assam with its oilfields. But China seems to have different views and may well argue that a treaty forced on the Manchu empire in collapse means nothing to her. The revolution has altered the boundaries and restored Dainen to China passion. The strength of China may be doubted, but if frontier revision is made the whole or immediate object of Chinese policy nothing short of armed resistance can impede the advance in view of China's present control of Tibet with the connivance or approval of the Panchen Lama.

Few seem to have gone into detail into India's relations with the Himalayan States over 200 years and M.Ps. have forgotten that if the Pakhtoonistan demand plagues the Pakistanis in the north-west and the Durand Line too is questioned in Kabul India now faces a bigger problem in the north-east. This may seem a facile or incorrect reading but Dr. Lohia's hint that India must yield to China has the singular merit of realism for he sees that Sir Henry McMahon's Line has gone the way of all Lines. Only the Plimsoll Line endures India must take her neighbour as she finds her an Imperialist modelled on the Mongol Khans.

PROBING THE MIND—STEALING BY CHILDREN

Dr. G. D. BOAZ,

Prof. of Psychology, University of Madras (This is the fourth instalment in this series—Ed.)

Quite a number of parents are often confronted with the problem of stealing habits developed by their children. Such behaviour on the part of some children is found both in well-to-do homes and in poorer ones. Even when the parents are able to provide all the requirements, some children develop this undesirable habit. Thus, the parents become all the more worried. Usually, parents look at this problem from their own point of view. Some are worried since they cannot explain their child's behaviour particularly because, in their opinion, the child gets almost everything. Some are worried because it is beyond their understanding why their child should take to such dishonest behaviour when they themselves are so good. Some others are worried about the moral loss involved. Many are worried that it brings shame and discredit to their position in society. They are also worried that the child will go to the dogs as it grows up. A knowledge of modern psychology enables a few parents to direct their attention properly, to spot out the real troubles of the child.

What the parents do in such cases will also vary depending on the circumstances. Mostly, such children are advised, rebuked and then punished seriously. To the surprise of the parents, the stealing habit becomes worse as the punishment increases. Finally the parents may become absolutely disgusted. They become disturbed more and more and develop anxiety. In all these cases, the parents feel absolutely helpless. This is due to the fact that all their attention is directed in wrong directions. The problem is not understood properly and hence, not handled properly either.

Stealing by children may result from various conditions. Occasional pilfering or taking something may not indicate anything serious. Such cases are better left alone unnoticed. Habitual stealing alone should be taken note of. In some cases stealing may indicate a lack of proper development of the moral sense and social responsibility. In certain homes the parents themselves may be responsible for such a state of affairs. They may not be setting a good moral example to their children. But these are not the real serious cases from a psychological point of view. Many children take to stealing as an expression of their psychological difficulties. Thus, the act is a symptom of an inner disorder or disease. It is in these cases that all usual forms of treatment and punishment fail. The child expresses some problem that it has or some complaint that it wants to make against the parents. The habit of stealing is naturally a particular, though undesirable, form of language that the child adopts to express its inner difficulties. In such cases, a sympathetic understanding of the child is the primary requisite. The whole problem should be studied from the point of view of the child and then the necessary steps should be taken with a view to heal the wounds that have been caused in the tender mental structure.

A boy about twelve years old was brought to me by his parents with this particular complaint of stealing, it was discovered under rather humiliating circumstances. The boy had taken a good sum of money from a guest who was staying in the house for a couple of days. Since the guest was absolutely sure that the boy must have taken the amount, he politely hinted to the father. The boy had

to accept the fact. Then the parents remembered a number of occasions when they missed varying amounts of money. The parents at once contacted the school to find out his behaviour there. It was found that for some time he had been playing truant and was not regular in attending the classes. A number of connected disturbing facts came to light. He had picked up bad company, was frequenting restaurants and cinema houses even during school hours and he had been stealing money regularly from his house.

In this case, the parents were very good people, well educated and well placed in life. From all points of view they kept a happy home. The boy was their only child and he was treated with nothing but affection. Hence, they could not understand why the boy should take to such a habit.

The boy was very bright and was definitely above the average in intelligence. The story gathered from the boy gave a completely different picture. He was the only child and the mother particularly wanted a daughter also. There was a small girl in the house slightly younger than this boy, brought up in the house. Though this girl was brought up more or less like a servant the mother took an affection for her, and finally decided to adopt her as their daughter. This was done without taking the boy into their confidence.

Stamp-collecting was pursued as a serious hobby by this boy. He was proud of his collection and the parents also encouraged him by giving money to buy good albums and rare stamps. After the girl was adopted as a daughter, the parents, rightly of course, treated her with equal affection. They were particular that the girl should not feel inferior in any way. To make her assured that she was a member of the family, the parents perhaps went a little out of the way to show affection and consideration to her. The boy could not understand this. Another change also occurred. Now that there was a daughter the parents wanted to be careful about spending

money. They began to deny some of the luxuries demanded by the boy. In particular, they refused to give money to buy a new album which the boy very much wanted. Gradually, and without any deliberate calculation, the girl began to compete with the boy in many things. Perhaps the parents even encouraged this unawares. She also took to stamp collection as a hobby. Without realising what they had said 'no' to the boy, the parents bought for the girl, a stamp album which boy had desired very strongly. That was the last straw on the camel's back. Frustration, jealousy, and hostility swelled up in the young mind of the boy. It became a very serious problem to him. A barrier was gradually built up in his mind between himself and the family. It was some time after that that he first took some money from his house. This money was actually spent in buying some stamps. Soon, the usual consequences followed. Once the barrier had been built up he took to the company of other indisciplined boys of his school. Visiting cinema houses and restaurants became more frequent. He needed money for these things. He took to regular stealing. When the whole situation was explained to the boy and to the parents, the boy completely reformed himself.

Another case also illustrates somewhat similar conditions under which a boy can take to such a bad habit. A boy of about 14, studying in the High School was brought with the same complaint as given above. He too was quite a bright boy. The income of his father was just sufficient to run a large family. The uncle of the boy was a very highly placed officer in Delhi. For convenience of education, his son was put up with this family. The two cousins were almost of the same age, went to the same school together. But our boy was getting disturbed because of various factors. His cousin received plenty of money from his father. His dress was always superior to that of our boy. He could frequently have ice-creams and other delicacies at restaurants. His possessions like fountain pen, geometry

box, etc., were very much superior to that of our boy. A strong jealousy developed in his mind. To add to this in casual conversation the grandmother one day made a statement sympathising with this boy that he could not have pocket-money enough to spend like his cousin. Ironically enough the boy had the adventure of his first theft of a few annas from that grandmother herself. Gradually the habit developed and he began to take big amounts of money from the house. The other usual bad habits like truancy also developed.

The psychological disorder known as Kleptomania which is a particular form of stealing is different from the childish habit we have been discussing in this article. Kleptomania usually sets in during the period of adolescence and may continue for long years. Kleptomania will yield only to consistent psychological treatment.

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

BY

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(This article will be concluded in our November issue—Ed.)

The International Court of Justice (I.C.J.) is one of the 'principal' organs of U.N. and is the 'primary judicial' organ of U.N. The Informal Inter-Allied Committee of Jurists which met in London in 1944 considered, in the light of the experience of The Permanent Court of International Justice's (P.C.I.J.) relationship with the League of Nations, the question whether, in the existing political circumstances, the integration of a judicial organ like the Court* to a political organ like U.N. was desirable. It came to the conclusion that the fortunes of the P.C.I.J. swayed with the fortunes of the League and that any closer association of the Court to the political organ would be prejudicial to the effective functioning of the Court. However at the San Francisco United Nations Conference on International Organisation (1945) it was decided that since the function of the Court is to serve as part of the machinery available for international diplomacy to settle certain disputes the Court must be closely geared to the political Community which it is designed to serve. The task is made easier by the fact that the judicial community of I.C.J. is identical with the political community of U.N.*

The Court represents an advanced stage in the institutionalisation of arbitral procedure. With its definite standards and techniques and a well developed procedural law it is effectively equipped to settle disputes between states. It is readily available to states wishing to resort

to international adjudication for the settlement of disputes. Such states need not go through the tedious process of framing the special compromis or suffer the difficulties usually encountered in constituting the panel or arbiters.

The Court consists of fifteen Judges who sit at The Hague. The international character of the Court is maintained by the provision in the Statute which directs the electors to bear in mind not only the individual qualifications of the candidates but also that in the body as a whole the representation of the main forms of civilisation and of the principal legal systems of the world should be assured. Further there is a prohibition against any two members of the Court being of the same nationality. In the election of judges by political organs of U.N. political considerations play a large part and this aspect has been criticised as affecting the independence of the Court. Apart from the physical distance between The Hague and the First Avenue, and the Court's own philosophy of law, there are various provisions in the Charter and the Statute guaranteeing the independence of the Court. Of the six principal organs of U.N., the Court alone need not submit annual reports to the Secretary-General of U.N. The Court also has the right to propose its own amendments to the Statute. The 'momentary relationship' during the elections and a certain amount of administrative and budgetary control by U.N. should not be confused with lack of independence.

*The term 'the Court' refers to both the present International Court of Justice and its predecessor, the Permanent Court of International Justice. Apart from the jurisprudential continuity which is unmistakable, the Statute of the present Court is a palimpsest of the Statute of the old court. The question of continuing the old court was fully discussed at San Francisco and in order to obviate certain technical and political difficulties it was decided to create a new court.

*Members of UN are ipso facto members of the I.C.J.

A Court of this type in order to function successfully must inspire the confidence of the States not only in its independence but also in the impartiality of its members. The Secretary of State of U.S.A. in 1907 observed that "there can be no doubt the principal objection to arbitration rests not upon the unwillingness of nations to submit their controversies to impartial arbitration, but upon an apprehension that the arbitration to which they submit may not be impartial." The impartiality of the members of an international tribunal is always somewhat suspect because national and traditional loyalties are felt to be the strongest of emotions. Although there have been numerous exceptions* judges, particularly *ad hoc* national judges have invariably supported the contentions of their national governments. However no member of the Court has ever been accused of being swayed by considerations of personal gain. The reputation of the Court has been enhanced by the professional and personal standing of Judges most of whom, prior to their elevation to international bench had distinguished themselves as scholars, jurists, judges and legal advisers. No dissatisfaction with the Permanent Court of International Justice was voiced at any time either at Washington or at San Francisco. Nor was any adverse comment expressed of its record in dealing with the cases. However eminent writers have criticised the Court for taking into consideration political factors in its advisory opinion on the Austro-German Customs Union. (Anschluss.) The Court was also criticised for not giving in detail the judicial reasoning behind its decision in the Corfu Channel Case and for not laying down definite legal rules relating to Asylum in the Haye de la Tore Case.

The success or failure of any institution should be measured by the application of the 'functional test.' What exactly are the functions of the Court and how far has the Court been successful in performing these functions? These are the two questions that deserve study. In the first instance it is important to realise that in the existing political circumstances the Court has only a limited, but important, function to perform and that the

Court merely makes peace possible but does not guarantee it. It is the primary responsibility of the Security Council of U.N. to ensure peace. The misguided enthusiasts of the 'Arbitration Movement' in the Nineteenth Century and the various projects for compulsory arbitration like the General Act or the Pacific Settlements of International Disputes, (Geneva 1928 and revised in 1949) failed to realise that an advanced judicial structure cannot be imposed on the international society based on principles of national sovereignty and juridical equality. The Central American Court of Justice which existed from 1908 to 1918 with the widest possible compulsory jurisdiction ever enjoyed by any international tribunal did not succeed because of the lack of essential sociological conditions necessary for the successful functioning of the Court. This significant experiment in international adjudication has taught us the important lesson that a community Court cannot be imposed on a society structure and that the level of judicial organisation must match the level of political integration at any given time. It is interesting to note that for a long time several important matters were excluded from the jurisdiction of the United States Supreme Court. The teething troubles currently experienced by the Court of highly integrated economic communities of Western Europe. (The European Coal and Steel Community, The European Economic Community and the Euratom) reveal some of the problems faced by an international tribunal. In spite of all this, some idealists have gone to the extent of suggesting that the Court should have compulsory jurisdiction over all disputes and that in case of non-compliance the Security Council of U.N. should secure compliance by the employment of force. Such projects and plans are not merely impractical but are highly dangerous and do not show any understanding of the exigencies of the modern bipolar power politics. Under these circumstances the functions assigned to the International Court are: (1) settlement of disputes that are submitted to it; (2) its useful role in the matter of advisory jurisdiction; and (3) the Court as a law developing agency.

*The Italian Judge Dionisio Anzilotti in the S. S. Wimbledon case, the British Judge Arnold McNair in the Corfu Channel Case and The Russian, Polish and the Yugoslavian Judges in the Corfu Channel Case did not support fully the stand taken by their respective governments.

THE MADRAS POLICE CENTENARY

BY

F. V. ARUL, I. P.,

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

The Centenary of any institution or organisation is certainly an occasion as much for self-examination as it is for self-congratulation. The Madras Police reached their hundredth milestone on the 6th September, 1959. It does not, of course, mean that there was no Police organisation in Madras State earlier than 1859. Several experiments in watch and ward were attempted in Madras State in earlier years but it was only in 1859 that a regular professional police force was constituted by virtue of Act XXIV of 1859. Incidentally, the Madras Police has the honour of being the first regularly constituted police force in India. The Indian Police Act of 1861 was practically patterned on the Madras model.

This historic occasion of the Centenary was celebrated by the Madras State Police in a fitting manner both in Madras City and in the Districts. The citizenry were not slow to appreciate the good work turned out by the Madras Police during the last hundred years and they came forward to offer their felicitations and to present mementos in token thereof. The first to do so was the South Indian Film Artistes Association, which presented a souvenir in the shape of a giant-sized shield at a function organised in the 'Children's Theatre,' Madras on August 30th, 1959. This function was attended by all the leading film stars and producers. The Shield was accepted on behalf of the State Police by Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam, Home Minister. The association also presented 3 ninety year old retired police constables with Rs. 500 and a Kashmir shawl each. Srimathi Anjali Devi, the President of the Association was also kind enough to present a hundred lamps (Kuthuvilakkus) to the Police force and in doing so,

she stated that the citizens of Madras State have been singularly fortunate in having a very competent police force.

The same evening, the Chief Justice of Madras, Sri P. V. Rajamannar, released a book entitled "The History of the Madras Police" compiled by officers of the Police Department and also inaugurated a film, entitled "Your Friend" produced by Sri P. Paramaguru, Deputy Commissioner of Police, Traffic, Madras City in collaboration with the executives of the A.V.M. Studios, Madras in which a galaxy of film stars appear. "The History of Madras Police" covers not only the development of the Madras Police during the last 100 years but it takes a magnificent sweep backwards to survey the systems of police obtaining in this country from Vedic times onwards. Even though it treats of such a vast period this is no superficial historical narrative, but it is a history founded on comprehensive and strenuous original research making it readable for persons of widely diversified tastes and varied degrees of intelligence. As for the film "Your Friend," its main purpose is to improve Police-Public relations. It has attempted to show the citizens the way in which the Department functions in the matter of preventing and detecting crime. Has somebody picked your pocket? According to the film there is a policeman ready at hand to help you to recover your money. Is there a damsel in distress who needs to be protected and taken care of? She does not have to look far for help. Has there been an abduction or wrongful confinement, a theft of jewels from a little child or of a cycle or even a burglary? The film shows that the machinery of Law and Order is geared for instant action. By adopt-

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ing the simple device of introducing a newly arrived villager in Madras City to the emergency police consequent to the loss of his purse, the happy result of taking a common man from one investigation to another thereby making him appreciate the services rendered by the police to the public has been achieved. Incidentally, this 30 m.m. documentary which is now being shown in the various theatres in Madras City and in districts has proved to be a box-office hit.

On the morning of the 31st August, 1959, a very solemn ceremony took place at the office of the Inspector-General of Police, Madras, when a 15 foot granite memorial column surmounted by a stupa was unveiled by Sri W. R. S. Sathianathan, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to Government of Madras. It was fitting and proper that while the Madras Police rejoiced in having overcome the challenge of a hundred years they should commemorate those officers and men who had laid down their lives at the call of duty during that period. Wreaths were laid at the foot of the memorial by the Home Minister, Senior Officers of the Police Department, by Consular Corps and by a little boy, the son of a constable who had been killed on duty. In unveiling the memorial, the Chief Secretary stated that he had no doubt that those who had lost their lives on duty will serve as a lasting example of courage and devotion to duty to our police force.

On the evening of the 31st August a very colourful and impressive pageant consisting of 14 trailers drawn by tractors depicting very graphically the various stages of development of the Madras Police during the last hundred years was conducted through 7½ miles of busy thoroughfare in Madras City ending with a review on the Marina by Sri S. K. Chettur, I.C.S., Home Secretary to Government. The pageant was welcomed at a number of places on the route by the public who had put up decorated arches and banners. The pageant made a tremendous impact on the public and thousands of citizens gathered at all vantage

points to cheer the police. What caught the imagination of the public was the last trailer which carried a Rocket with two constables in space suits ready to start on a flight to Mars to investigate a murder case in the year 2059. The public were also impressed by the brilliant illuminations of the Police Headquarters and of all police stations in the City.

On the 1st and 2nd of September 1959, the State Police Sports were conducted at the Police Stadium at Egmore, Madras. At these Sports gold medals were presented to the winners of the essay competition in English and Tamil on the "Ideal Police Man" to which all College students were eligible. Silver medals were also awarded to police constables who gave the best suggestions for improving police work.

On the 3rd and 4th September 1959, a brilliant Tattoo was conducted by 600 men of the Madras State Police at the Corporation Stadium, Madras. The first performance was inaugurated by Sri V. K. Krishna Menon, the Union Defence Minister. There were 19 items on the Tattoo programme, a special feature being the importation of Carnatic vocal and instrumental music into several of the items. The show was so popular that thousands of people had to be turned away for want of accommodation. By public demand the Tattoo was extended for two more days, the Stadium being packed to capacity on both days. It has now been decided to film the Tattoo so that it can be showed to larger audiences.

On the 5th September, 1959, a splendid ceremonial parade was conducted at the Police Stadium at Egmore, Madras, at which the Governor of Madras Sri Bishnuram Medhi took the salute. At this parade, a widow of a police constable, Sri S. Balakrishna Shetty, the Inspector-General of Police, and Sri O. L. Burrell, Deputy Inspector-General of Police were awarded the President's Police and Fire Service Medals. Other officers and men were awarded Police medals for distinguished services. The Governor paid a tribute to the fine record of selfless and efficient service

rendered by the Madras Police during the last hundred years.

The week long Centenary Celebrations were brought to a close on the 7th September, 1959 at a public meeting which was addressed by the Chief Minister Sri K. Kamaraj, the Home Minister Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam, and the Finance Minister Sri C. Subramaniam. This was followed by a drama in Tamil with the central theme of greater co-operation between the police and the public. There was a brilliant cast of Cine stars and the performance was witnessed by a crowd of over 30,000 people.

During the week a series of broadcasts were arranged by the All India Radio, Madras,

with a view to improve public relations. It is also worthy of note that a number of public spirited men came forward and donated permanent endowments of Rs. 15,000 to 16,000 in order to finance scholarships of at least Rs. 50 per mensem for the children of Police men who wish to prosecute higher studies. It must be said that these Centenary celebrations have generated a tremendous amount of goodwill on the part of the public towards the police in Madras State. A heavy responsibility now rests on the latter to consolidate the very favourable position which they now achieved in the matter of police-public relations.

M. BHAKTHAVATSALAM

BY

KASHYAPA



It was originally believed that popularity and success in politics were in direct proportion. It is no longer a current axiom—at any rate, as far as Madras is concerned. The whole credit for demolishing so basic a political proposition goes to and vests exclusively in M. Bhakthavatsalam, the State Home Minister (in charge of Food as well). Within the space

of a decade in office as Congress Minister, he has shown beyond all reasonable doubt that one can be as unpopular as (forgive me) Hell, and yet most successful, most secure, most powerful. Bhakthavatsalam will be the first to admit that the people do not exactly mouth his name with awe or admiration, much less love or regard. No Minister is ever liked and much less a Home-cum-Food Minister. But many Ministers who lost the support of the people, lost their Ministerships as well. Not so, Bhakthavatsalam. Electoral losses have not barred his path. Million tongued calumny has not bruised his personality. Persistent attacks from the Opposition have not shaken him. Departmental blunders have not affected him. Like Krishna Menon in New Delhi, Bhakthavatsalam in Madras represents the triumph of political influence over commonplace logic. I respect him, for he is a Pioneer.

Among the Congress Ministers in the South, Bhakthavatsalam has a rich record of sacrifice and service in the national struggle. A pleader by profession, he unlike C. Subramaniam, left law early and elected to be a full time politician. He knew where his talents lay. Even in 1937 when Rajaji formed the first “popular” Ministry, Bhakthavatsalam had claims to a Ministership and C.R.’s passing over of his claims was a fruitful source of grievance. But Bhakthavatsalam was given

a Parliamentary Secretaryship and so derived considerable legislative experience. He is perhaps the ablest Parliamentarian in the Congress group today. He is not pyrotechnical in his methods, but has a knack of creating an illusion that he has said something absolutely unanswerable. Which shows he is certainly an able legislator. Since 1947 he has been an automatic choice in every Ministry. Some even thought he had to choose who his Chief Minister should be. This incidentally proves another fact. He will never be Chief Minister himself. A mere Ministership, he knows, is much more lasting than the job of a party leader. And Bhakthavatsalam always votes for security.

At a time when I thought there must be an easily discoverable reason for everything, I attempted to fathom the secret of Bhakthavatsalam’s success. I confess my failure. There are others in his party who, measure for measure, are far more able, far more popular, far more deserving than he; but they are nowhere to be found. It is just that he is a *politician simpliciter*, and no claims of any kind can outweigh that biggest of qualifications—the capacity for political manoeuvre. In politics the art of making oneself indispensable is the most difficult, but the most effective key to success. Bhakthavatsalam’s position of paramountcy in local politics is therefore based on no ostensible claim or reason. One cannot ask the reason why Tensing stood on Everest. It is just that he got there, which was something you or I couldn’t do. Bhakthavatsalam is on top of Madras politics because he got there, and nobody else could. There are some things for which you do not ask why or how, but just admire the achievement.

When I said that there were others ~~able~~ than Bhakthavatsalam, I meant ability in general—intellectual equipment in its totality—so to speak. But *qua* Minister he has shown his worth, and made it difficult to name an equal. In the disposal of files, in the consideration of petitions, in the outlining of policies, Minister Bhakthavatsalam is a class by himself. The Secretariat could not have hoped for better. He does not interfere very much with office routine, but at the same time, keeps himself well informed about what is happening around him. He has never been caught napping. He might have had his nap but would have washed his face bright with cold water when you see him.

It is rare for a Minister to escape accusations. Every disappointed individual is a potential accuser of Ministers. And we have a plethora of disgruntled souls about. Naturally Bhakthavatsalam has in his time come in for his share of “Charges.” Some Ministers have been accused of Corruption, some others of Nepotism, yet others of Incompetence, a few of Communalism, some even of Abuse of power. No charges have of course ever been proved against anybody. Bhakthavatsalam has been accused of all the above, which shows more people were angry with him than with the other Ministers. That the charges were baseless has to be naturally inferred, as they have not been even sought to be proved. But mere charges, even unproved, have been enough to end the Ministerial tenures of many; in Bhakthavatsalam’s case, he appears to grow on villification. He is therefore undoubtedly innocent. Speaking for myself, I would say there is no harm even if a Minister used his official power to help a friend or two, or give

a job to a nephew or two. What is really pernicious in a Minister is *abuse* of power for doing harm to those whom he dislikes. Our Ministers who are innocent of even using office to help, should be equally beware of the other thing—using power to damage. Helping the undeserving is a pardonable wrong; but harming the undeserving is both a Sin and a Crime. Bhakthavatsalam knows this and is very careful. His example must be remembered by generations of Ministers to come.

Bhakthavatsalam is no orator. He talks in a homely style, and talks at length. He says nothing sparkling. But he speaks with authority and experience—naturally. That is because Bhakthavatsalam's generation of Congressmen had no need to cultivate the gift of the gab. The oratory had already been done by men like

Bepin Chandra Pal or Tilak or Satyamurthi. The "national sentiment" had been kindled by those patriots. All that was needed was, in a manner of speaking, cannon fodder. The call of Gandhiji to the young and able men and women to rally round the banner was irresistible. Bhakthavatsalam entered the movement at such a time. He had to act and be of service and be ready to sacrifice his all. He had no need to convince the people. They had been convinced already. No wonder that he did not become a speaker. But what an actor he is! (Actor: means a Doer—a man of action).

A friend suddenly asked me what does M. in M. Bhakthavatsalam stand for. I replied MINISTER. For he indeed will long be remembered as *Minister Bhakthavatsalam*.

"IF ENGLISHMEN CALL THAT PLAYING WHAT WOULD THEY CALL FIGHTING?"

(Contributed)

The title of this article was the characteristic remark of a French spectator present at an English football match a couple of hundred years ago. It is said that football is one of the oldest games in Britain, being played for over seven centuries. From the earliest times little boys and girls all the world over have played with balls; we read about the ancient Greeks and Romans playing a game in which a number of players had to carry a ball over a line defended by another set of players—but they did not kick the ball, they carried or threw it to each other.

The Romans seem to have introduced this game in Britain, using a lightball, a bladder filled with air protected by a thin leathery skin. For many years the game continued to be played in the Roman style, only the hands being used. Later some players began to use their feet probably when their arms grew tired or may be they found that they could send the ball further by kicking than by throwing it. Thus they seemed to have started using their feet as well as their hands and a new game had been introduced which came to be called "football." During this period there is no record as to the knowledge of this game in any other country except Britain.

In the beginning the football game had no particular rules, they kicked in one direction or the other. A hole in the ground, a tree or even a stream—hundreds of yards apart formed the goals. The teams consisted of several players and often the game lasted until the participants got exhausted. To celebrate well known events or on festival days football matches were organised.

These games were very rough without any code of rules or procedure. Is it surprising a Frenchman who witnessed one of these matches remarked "If Englishmen call that playing, what would they call fighting?"

Football became popular as years passed. Matches were played all over England and

Scotland. We read about the neglect of the ancient art of archery in preference to football. No wonder some English Kings are reported to have tried to ban the football games. However they could not ban this game altogether and it lingered on to evolve into a popular game of the present day.

About a century ago, football game began to be developed with rules and regulations. Associations and clubs were formed. Football became a game of skill. The player began to play for his team instead for himself.

At the present time football is not a monopoly of Britain. It is played all the world over by boys at schools, colleges and later on in public matches. We have now competitions on National and even International levels. Some of the European countries have fine football teams to their credit. The "mother country" is being challenged at every international meet.

The coveted European cup is nowadays seldom won by the British footballers. Germany, Hungary and Brazil are some of the top favourites for world championship. The football game has grown into one of the most popular games. Great ball players like Stanley Mathews of Britain, Pushkas of Hungary, and Yaguchi of Brazil are some of the idols of football fans all the world over.

Among the European countries Britain has the finest system of football clubs. Their professional teams are of a very high standard. Many of these teams are household names. Well known footballers are held in great esteem.

Thus the crude tough ball player of Roman Britain has as his counterpart the modern skilful and "intelligent" footballer.

In Britain especially the football season draws huge crowds culminating in the Cup Final at the Wembley Stadium where the guest of honour very often belongs to the Royal Household.

Book Review

ENGLISH OR LINGUISTIC CHAOS

BY

A. RANGANATHAN

For the time being the position of English is put on a sounder footing mainly through the efforts of our Prime Minister. We have had several theses explaining the absolute necessity of retaining English as one of our major languages. In this small book the author gives a well reasoned judgment of this controversial issue. He has traced the history of English in India, the part it played in our National Movement, its importance in scientific developments and also its utmost importance as an international language.

This book is published by the Libertarian Social Institute, Bombay and is a useful addition to your library.

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Editorial

THE MADRAS CITY TRANSPORT

The chief form of transport in our cities is the bus. The State Governments have the monopoly of this form of conveyance. The Madras Government have already expressed satisfaction with regard to the working of their State Transport Department during the year 1958-'59. They seem to congratulate themselves on the all round improvements which are being carried out. They report an increase in the number of buses put into operation, an increase in the number of bus routes and also an increased revenue consequent to the greater number of passengers during the year. It is doubtful whether the citizens of Madras who have made roughly 140 million or so trips on these State-run buses share the same amount of satisfaction with the State Transport Department.

Most of these trips were made by the passengers because they had no other alternate means of transport within their means. The ordeal of waiting at bus stops for long hours, more often without shade or shelter from scorching heat and rain as well as the struggle to board the bus seem to go on, unnoticed by the authorities concerned. We have the sympathy of the Minister in charge in this regard. The increase in the number of complaints is obviously no indication of satisfaction by the travelling public.

The most important drawback of the Madras City Transport is the inadequacy of the fleet. Considering the greater number in passenger traffic each year, the yearly addition of say 40 buses to the service is not enough. Further in this increase of 40 buses this year, nearly half the number were added only to replace condemned buses. The breakdowns in the service add greatly to the inconvenience of the passengers.

The unsatisfactory working of the Madras State Transport could be greatly improved by an imaginative programme. First the number of buses added each year must be in fair proportion to the requirement; this will reduce the "long wait" at bus stops. Secondly, the queue system must be instituted and properly enforced. This will put an end to the "hazardous fight" to embark. In the third place, the State Department should take steps to construct some form of shelter at

important bus stops as far as possible. Failing this, it would be a service to the travelling public if the bus stops are erected where there is already some shade. We would strongly recommend the authorities to include a course in simple manners prior to recruitment of bus conductors. It is not rarely that we hear bus conductors using derogatory language to passengers probably when there is not the required change to buy the ticket. On appointment the bus conductors should be made to understand that their motto is 'Service' and not 'ordering about'. The interval between the arrival of buses is unnecessarily lengthened by the fact that two or more buses come along at the same time. This could be easily rectified by adhering strictly to time schedules. The authorities should restrict or if possible avoid standing passengers in buses as in Kerala so that the conductors can issue tickets without unnecessary delay due to overcrowding. The traffic inspectors should see that overcrowding is avoided in buses not only to reduce the inconvenience of passengers but also to reduce possible risks of breakdowns due to over-loading. Checking and overhauling of buses at regular intervals will also minimise accidents and breakdowns. Let us hope that the bus travelling public of the City will enjoy happier motoring in the years to come with the fulfilment of some of the glaring needs of our State Transport.

Broadway Times is completing an year of publication this December. We gratefully acknowledge the encouragement we have received from the general public in our first year. In view of this fact we are able to offer you the magazine at a much reduced rate—nP. 50, from January, 1960. The yearly subscription will be brought down to Rs. 5. The standard of the magazine will be maintained. Our January number will be a bumper issue, with an attractive cover and will be designated as our annual. As usual Broadway Times will be published on the fifth of every month.

PACTS WITHOUT MAPS

BY

POTHAN JOSEPH

In the manner of Mrs. Micawber protesting "I never, never shall forsake Mr. Micawber," the Prime Minister in the China debate vehemently asserted that India would never, never falter over its faith in Panch Shila as the foundation of peace on earth and goodwill among men. It is no transient Christmas slogan with him preceding New Year resolutions which begin with a sagging tendency. The issue is whether it is in working order after the formulation of the pact of co-existence by its joint authors or whether it amounts to another enunciation of the obvious glamourised as the Nehru Doctrine. The stand taken by Oscar Wilde that his play was a magnificent success but that the audience had proved a miserable failure cannot be adopted in the testing out of principles in human relationship during jittery times. The Ten Commandments, Gita Rahasya, the creed of Islam in a single couplet about the oneness of God, the essence of the Sermon on the Mount, the eight-fold path to perfection, the preamble of the U.N.O. Charter and the mystique of Panch Shila are all fundamentally impeccable, indeed they are in essence redundant in their scope of brotherhood and mutual aid, but the question is how far it is operative.

There is not a man alive who has vilified the four-fold statement of Panch Shila as a pernicious heresy; no, all agree on its merits so much so that its universalism negatives the notion of a Panch Shila Camp in the regulation of world-affairs on the lines of distinction between the Capitalist Camp and the Socialist Camp, the Free World and the Communist World. The Declaration of Philadelphia proceeds on certain self-evident truths, like Euclid taking us on his voyage of discovery upon the premise of certain Axioms not to be disputed mid sea. Panch Shila belongs to that order of human acceptance, and cannot be poised

in the manner of the Seven Cardinal Virtues against Seven Deadly Sins. It has not, however, widened the frontiers of wisdom or ethics, and hence it is apt to get shopsoiled despite label-markings intended to indicate that it is exclusive *elite* wear, quite the cat's whiskers corresponding to Jason's Golden Fleece in the ancient pursuit of classic prizes by heroes.

The whole world belongs to the Peace Camp; all armies are meant for defence only, never for aggression; but beware, force will be met with force though in the event of cold feet, the warning would be confined to the tepid jargon of opposing and resisting with no derring-do of Alexandrian wrath to settle the matter on the spot. And Panch Shila does not eschew physical force in the struggle for survival since it is not an escapist code for Pacifists and Quakers pledged to offer the other cheek.

Nevertheless, for the more simple-minded party amongst its originators, it retains the charm of another epochal revelation from the East so that any scepticism about its test-value becomes as abominable as the sin against the Holy Ghost. India will never, never desert Panch Shila nor leave it like a bundle at strange door-steps by parents in despair.

Such being the psychological background of what is also treasured as the embodiment of the Bandung spirit and the symbol of Asian solidarity, it is flat, stale and unprofitable to describe rebuffs in terms of the worm-core inside the *Panch Sheela* apple. For one thing, it infuriates the Prime Minister when he gives out his views as the opinion of India, effervescing at times crest-high above the Yeast of Asian ferment. Many fear that Pandit Nehru was credulous and Chou En Lai cunning when they drafted the formula (the Dalai Lama was then present in India), but it is not tactful to speak disrespectfully about the equator,

let alone talk scandal as argued by a character in Sheridan's play. To argue in taunting vein about Panch Shila having crumbled down or to allude to the story of Moses at the Fair could be, as Prime Minister Nehru described his Chinese counterpart's latter-day silence, extremely "irritating"; but it is time to realise that the very first clause of the New Covenant is of a self-disintegrating character, and the rest repetitive.

Plank No. 1 in the Indo-China Agreement signed at Delhi on June 27 spoke of "mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity" followed by the pledge of mutual non-aggression. The difficulty sticks out a mile that between two countries in neighbourhood with indefinite boundaries, mutual claims could not be dovetailed by a sententious quotation. Between Sweden and India, the dictum would work with infallible accuracy, knave-proof, fool-proof, since there is no physical contiguity suggestive of the existence of a No-Man's Land.

Pandit Nehru is often moved by the reflection that in the history of Sino-Indian relations, there has never been a war. I think it was not due to any psychic blend. If the Himalayas were not there Genghis Khan and Kubla Khan with their Mongol hordes would have swept over the whole of India regardless of doctrines of compassion—the kind of conduct, which leaders of the P.S.P. Party today loudly deplore, unlike Communists who profess only a vague suspicion that some misunderstanding has given rise to capitalist-rumours of savage butchery around Lhasa.

Pandit Jawaharlal confessed in Parliament that Chou En Lai had sworn to the inviolability of the MacMahon Line and that in the Tibetan context, China has committed aggression. Peking's delayed counterblast is that Chinese troops have never set their foot on foreign soil. Ladakh and NEFA incursions? A reference to Chinese maps would show that the territory belongs to overall China which Chou En Lai had in the recesses of his mind whilst signing the Panch Shila document. The suggestion is that all the time we had been in wrongful

occupation and we should withdraw like the Tenth Legion of Rome quitting Britain after an overstay of 200 years—leaving for the future British army the prototype of the Absent-minded beggar found in Kipling's rhymes.

In a letter to the London *Times* Sir Henry Twynham who had been for six years Governor of Assam and the frontier region says (Sir Olaf Caroe dissenting), that he had sedulously tried to trace the MacMahon Line; there was no such boundary according to this bureaucrat-explorer who adds that even in a notional track, the corridor would run at places as wide as 300 miles. It is not a casual affair as suggested by Mr. Nehru, waging a deprecatory hand, of "one mile there or two miles here," to be rubbed off the slate in order to accommodate the sanctity of Item No. 1 in Panch Shila which faith "unless a man believe the same shall perish everlastingly." (in the language of Athanasian creed).

Whether they sold us a pup or not, there is one lesson not only in the prosecution of foreign policy or the demarcation of domestic boundary. In the application of the Pataskar formula to settle border-disputes, we come across the staggering fact (a plea at such "a late stage of the proceedings," as appellate Counsel would say) that the States Reorganisation Commission presided over by Sir Fazlul Ali (may he rest in peace) had outlined their proposals with no maps or charts placed before them. The *lacuna* has been discovered in the recent study of village-wise allotment of territory between Madras and Andhra Pradesh. No maps? That's the ghastly fact. Only census-reports, apparently indicative of the linguistic distribution of inhabitants most of whom had never heard of the interest taken in their future by Chaps without Maps. Even Macaulay's schoolboy knows that while geography is concerned with maps, history is made by chaps. The Map is the king-pin of peaceful co-existence, an oversight in the negotiations of 1954 which need not, however, be flaunted now as a return of the Author's Copyright in respect of Panch Shila.

The Chinese are now charged with aggression, but they proclaim innocence, and counter-charge us with annexationism, quite a *memorandum* in the Kerala sense of fatal strictures. For any pact under Item No. 1 we must have an appendix of maps and charts deposited with the U.N.O. even if it implies a plausible reduction of national sovereignty. The map, the map is the thing to catch the conscience of Pe-King! India need never never disown Panch Shila, provided every time documentation is insisted upon, in place of gaseous assurances

of a verbal character abridged in the denial "Me no say." It accords with the doctrine of Trial and Error we prescribe for ourselves as we apply the Nagpur Resolution in order to augment food-production up to the tune of 110 million tons per year. The Prime Minister compares it to a long journey, but Mr. S. K. Patil would be in order if he asks at the Chandigarh meeting of the A.I.C.C. to deal with State-trading in food: "Is this journey really necessary?"

WHAT IS IN A NAME?

BY

PROF. V. TITUS VARGHESE, M.A.

A study of names, whether of persons, places or any other phenomena is a highly interesting subject. There is a general impression that names have no significance or meaning, that they have come by accident in most cases and that it is not worth while to enquire into their origin or meaning. Such a view is due to the fact that people do not care to find out the facts connected with the origin of names. To those who try to do so it is a task well worth the trouble. A friend of mine has secured a Research degree from the university by preparing a scholarly thesis on the names in Shakespear's plays. In this article I shall point out some interesting facts about names.

Almost every name, whether it is of a country or town, mountain or river, sea or lake, cape or island, planet or star has got a history and meaning behind it. But in the majority of cases the meaning of the name is lost in obscurity or is shrouded in myths and legends. We shall take first the case of place names. In most cases the name of a place has got some connection with its early history. For example there are several places which are called after their founders, real or mythical. The continent of Europe is called after a lady in Greek legends known as Europa. Bharata Varsha (India) is called by the name of the puranic hero Bharatha. Alexander the Great founded several cities during his military campaigns which were all called after him Alexandria, but most of these have either ceased to exist or changed their names. One of his successors Antiochus, the ruler of Syria, founded the historic city of Antioch. To quote only one instance of Indian towns Rajamundry is called after its founder Raja Mahendra, an eastern Chalukya King of the 10th century A.D. Coming to modern place names, Rhodesia one of the biggest countries on

the continent of Africa is called after Cecil Rhodes who was mainly responsible for opening that colonial state. Similarly Bolivia in South America is called after Simon Boliver, its founder.

Then there are names of places which are connected with the man who discovered them. Many islands of the ocean come under this category. But in this respect there is to be noted at times a curious irony or injustice. For instance, America is not called after Columbus who discovered it but by the name of Amerigo Vespucci, a sea captain who came to the New World some years after Columbus. Captain Cook discovered Australia but his name is not given to that island continent but to a much smaller island in the Pacific. Mount Everest is called after a European engineer who surveyed it and calculated its height from a distance. Certainly Tensing and Hilary can dispute the claim of this engineer.

Next we come to places which are named in honour of some well known person like a reigning monarch or national leader. In this respect perhaps the honoured name of the good Queen Victoria can beat all others. Many are the places and institutions in the world called after Victoria, ranging from vast countries to cities and from cities to museums, railway stations, colleges, etc. Many of the early American colonies were similarly named, for example, Virginia after the Virgin Queen Elizabeth, Carolina in honour of King Charles 2nd, New York after James, Duke of York, later James 2nd, Georgia to honour King George, Pittsburgh in memory of William Pitt and so on. In cities and towns both in India and elsewhere streets, roads, parks, bridges, etc., are called after some prominent citizens belonging to that place or elsewhere. As far as

India is concerned the revered names of Gandhi and Nehru lead in this respect.

Not only historical personages but also legendary heroes, gods and goddesses have shared the honour of giving their names to places and institutions. The city of Athens, for instance, got its name from goddess Athena, while the eternal city of Rome is believed to have derived its name from Romulus, its founder and first king. Sometimes countries take their name from the people who invaded and occupied them at some stage of their history. The name of France is derived from the Franks while England is called after the Angles, Angleland becoming England, Saxony in Germany is called after the Saxons, Jutland after the Jutes, Denmark after the Danes and so on. In some cases the name is changed so much that it is difficult to recognise the origin. For example take the case of Afghanistan. This name is derived from Seistan which is a shortened form of Sakasthan, the land of the Sakas an invading nation from central Asia who occupied the land at one time. Sometimes a place name may have chronological significance. This is generally indicated by a prefix like 'old' or 'new.' For instance 'Naples' comes from the Greek 'Neopolis' which means 'new city,' it being of later origin than many other Italian cities originally founded by Greek colonists. The Latin prefix 'Neo' by the way is very popular in our country also to name hotels, cinema houses, etc.

Leaving places let us pass on to persons. In this case the task of discovering the idea behind the name is more difficult. Practically all Hindu personal names are derived from those of gods and goddesses and each has got its meaning. Jewish, Christian and Muslim names have got much in common and most of them have a religious origin. Almost every Biblical name has got a meaning implied in it. A few instances may be given here :

Abraham—Father of multitude.

Isaac—Laughter.

David—Beloved.

John—Gracious

Jacob—Deceiver

Adam—Red earth.

So also many English names have got regular meaning. Charles—Manly ; Richard—Ruler-Lairdy; Henry—House ruler. The personal names of Europeans in most cases may appear to us as a meaningless combination of some letters, but it is not always so. Some names indicate the occupation of the persons who bear them or of their progenitors. For example names like Smith, Miller, Porter, Painter, Barber, Fowler, Driver, Captain, etc. There are some names which might have originally been nicknames given to people but were borne by their descendants too, such as Long, White, Brown, Strong, Hardy, Bright, Stone, Wood, Clay, etc. In this respect there is considerable scope for fun and frolic. A girl who is not really gracious by appearance may be called Grace. Women called by such names as Diamond, Pearl, Lily, Violet, Rose need not necessarily be handsome. This reminds me of a clever practice adopted by ancient Greeks in giving names. They used to give a good name to a bad thing with a purpose. During the early days of their maritime and colonial activities the Greeks came in contact with a very stormy sea in the east with which they were not familiar before. Hoping to avoid danger and ship-wreck they called it Euxine which means 'hospitable.' Their aim was to praise and flatter the sea and thereby win its favour. This sea has since then been called the Black Sea because people thought its water was blacker than usual. We have got also Red Sea, White Sea and Yellow Sea similarly named.

While dealing with personal nomenclature there is one peculiar feature which one has noted in our country during the days of British Raj. Some enterprising men used to alter or adjust their Indian names in such a way as to give them an anglicised look and sound. Thus Ramaswamy was converted into Ramsay, Sundaresan into Sanderson, Parameswaran into P. Warren, Neelakantan into Niel Kant, Haripal into H. Paul and Devanugraham into D. A. Graham. Such a metamorphosis had

evidently its own advantage. There was even a Raja in North India who had donned the name of King George V along with his own Hindu name. Then coming to business firms many were the concerns which took up the names of British Viceroys and Governors. Some of those satraps who were thus honoured were obliging enough to patronise their admirers. But this was not to go on for ever. During the days of our national movement and struggle for independence there was to be a noted tendency in the opposite direction. Many people, especially Christians who had donned European names began to dispense with them from patriotic consideration and they began to adopt purely Hindu names, probably what was borne by their forebearers. As there is a slight chance of offending some people I quote here only one instance of the above tendency to alter—Cornelius into Kumarappa. A prominent Christian who had thus changed his European name happened to start a business concern and then he gave it his old name and not the altered Indian name. A commercial concern or industrial firm having a European name may command greater dignity and public confidence than one having a purely Indian name.

In the case of some Anglicised place names it is difficult to find out the original idea. For instance Trivandrum has nothing to do with drum; it is the city of the sacred serpent, Tiru + Ananthan + Puram. No one will easily recognise in Cape "Comorin" Kanya Kumari, the virgin maiden. Seringapatam, Bezwada, Quilon, Alleppey, etc., are other examples. The funny instance of Hamilton Bridge becoming Barbers Bridge is well known to Madras public but many of the Madrasites may not be aware of the fact that Chintadripet was originally St. Andrew's Petta, a part of the old town called by the name of Patron Saint of Scotland just as the fort was called after the Patron Saint of England St. George.

This brings me finally to the question whether it is necessary and desirable to change old names and adopt new ones. As one deeply interested in History and Antiquities I would answer 'no.' In some cases like that of Vijayawada it is justifiable; otherwise it is better to retain the existing ones. Apart from the inconvenience and confusion it causes to the public it seriously affects the historical background. It is a human tendency to like a custom or phenomenon with which one is familiar. So people often continue for long to use the old name in spite of the change effected. For instance most people in Madras still speak of China Bazaar rather than Netaji Subash Chandra Bose Road. The historical connection is equally valuable and deserves to be retained in memory. Connought Circus in Delhi and Gandhi-Irwin road in Madras are connected with events of historical importance. Very few people are aware of the origin of the name of Bombay. When Portuguese sailors came to the site of Bombay for the first time they found a quiet and calm arm of the sea running into the land and called it Bom + Bay which in their language means good bay. Little did they dream at that time that this would develop into a magnificent city and excellent seaport. To change that nice Portuguese name into a purely Indian name would be absurd. So also Calcutta is a more decent name than Kali-ghat. In this connection the tendency of some Corporation Councillors to substitute the old popular name of streets and parks in Madras with their own names is not commendable. After all very few among the residents of Madras know anything about the various worthies, Indian and European, whose names are given to the existing streets, roads, parks, bridges, etc., of the city. The same will be the fate after some generations of the new names which are given now. So let us realize that there is much in a name and that we should not easily tamper with it.

THE PUBLIC SECTOR'S PERFORMANCE

BY

M. K. RAMAMURTY

Every year the Budget memorandum of the Union Government details the progress of investment by the Union Government in the companies designated private but owned by the Indian taxpayer. The annual reports of the Union Ministries contain particulars of capital and revenue in respect of State-owned companies like the Hindustan Shipyard located at Visakhapatnam, while it is fairly clear that the continuous and projected outlay will, make the public sector increasingly important. The fact that South Africa has a State-owned STEEL SCOR works at Veereniging and runs the railways and harbours may be cited in favour of India's concentration on big schemes by convinced Socialists.

The last Budget memorandum indicated that money has gone into the Nepa mills as well as the fertiliser plant. The machine tool factory at Bangalore is now a standby of the engineering industry but it is the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel that sets the pace. As much as Rs. 120 lakhs has been earmarked for the Centre's investment in the Singareni Collieries while the Government has set aside large sums for investment in Oil in which the Burmah Oil Company now has the majority interest.

In spite of the indifferent results the Government investment in civil aviation nationalised already, will increase and shipping will get Rs. 355 lakhs for the development programme in the current year. There is in addition the Government's stake in the hotel industry set up to attract tourists to New Delhi.

No analysis of financial results is possible at present but a statement issued by the Cabinet Secretariat about the commercial and industrial ventures launched by the Union Government so far makes it clear that outside banking and insurance, and the development agencies

like the Small Industries Corporation, the Indian Government now has under its wing more enterprises than the Socialist Governments of Europe.

The dividends paid by the Sindri Fertiliser factory (5 per cent in 1957-58) on the paid-up capital of Rs. 17 crores are perhaps more noteworthy than the appropriation of Rs. 70 lakhs to the General Reserve out of the profits earned. The Sindri Factory has embarked on expansion by borrowing from the Government of India at 3½ per cent. The pattern of working proves that the "no profit-no dividend" rule is fully established in many cases and if the financing of the Third Plan from State enterprises is to be undertaken as suggested, the working of the many existing State enterprises must improve greatly by better profits realised from larger output, better sales and reduced costs of production. Instead of subsidies as in the case of shipbuilding or antibiotics the State as sole owner or operator must get more out of coal and cables; of course the newer State Trading Corporation endowed with a capital of Rs. 1 crore only is able to get its whack out of the existing cement sale monopoly and to create many reserves. So commerce is more paying than industry with its risks and the Government may try to expand with the field of foreign trade for some reason or other in spite of cogent pleas against monopoly.

The performance of the public sector as made known in the memorandum furnished by the Cabinet Secretariat is modelled on the separate budget presented in Madras in respect of commercial undertakings belonging to the State Government. Incidentally the Nahan Foundry in Himachal Pradesh costing Rs. 40 lakhs has borrowed Rs. 7.5 lakhs and made only token profits in three years.

The Hindustan Cable Factory at Ruprara-inpur in Bengal has a paid-up Capital of Rs. 1.25 crores; it has borrowed Rs. 39 lakhs at 4½ per cent and secured in 1957-58 a profit of Rs. 10.10 lakhs. It has provided regularly for depreciation and made a start with building up reserves. It intends to raise more capital by borrowing this year compared with the cable-making concerns in the private sector; Hindustan Cables Ltd., paying a dividend of only 2 per cent seems very small beer. The well known private cable companies pay 12½ per cent, 15 per cent, and 20 per cent and their shares are at a high premium, whereas the Hindustan Cables' incomplete and unsatisfactory record may put the shares at a discount, if they are offered for sale to the public. In the coal-mining business the National Coal Development Corporation, expected to surpass the private sector by 1961 has a capital of Rs. 882.76 lakhs and has raised Rs. 4 crores in loans. The gross profit does not yet permit payment of any dividend, and only depreciation has been provided for, since it started work in September 1956. The National Construction Corporation set up with Rs. 29 lakhs can claim to have done better by starting off with a dividend of 2½ per cent for 1957-58 besides appropriating considerable sums for depreciation.

Not all the State undertakings come at present under the Union Ministry of Commerce and Industry. The construction and coal-mining concerns are separate. And only the Public Accounts Committee at some time will learn how they have fared since 1957-58 for the brief, bold memorandum does not concern itself with the results of working in 1958-59. The information presented in respect of shipping suggests that ordinary commercial practice is being followed in creating reserves for ship repairs and survey.

The two shipping companies set up under State auspices are by no means larger than the two major companies whose shares have a large following in the market. But neither the Eastern nor Western Shipping Corporation

has paid a dividend so far and this may be due to the incorporation of the company in 1956. In regard to shipbuilding the interest of Scindia Steam is limited to Rs. 104.25 lakhs and about Rs. 4 crores were invested by the Government. There has been no return on capital and the cost of construction of ships remains high while one new ship launched last year was declared unfit for service and provoked doubts and queries.

In the air the Indian Airlines Corporation, set up through a merger of all private companies, has cost the Government over Rs. 11.55 crores and has reported losses because the growth of traffic in India does not offset the rise in costs. If Air India International makes profits to offset the loss the gain has gone in compensation to the company taken over, on the score that in aviation, the State must have its chosen instruments.

In regard to air craft the Mysore Government's interest is now greatly surpassed by that of the Central Government which lets the Defence Ministry run Hindustan Aircraft, without any pretence of profit-making. The promise made for renewals of equipment is perhaps commendable even while the accounts of this ten-crore enterprise show only a modest surplus of income over the years. The affairs of Bharat Electronics at Bangalore cannot be described as encouraging and the absence of any return on capital suggests that the Indian Telephone Industries has fared better, since the latter has paid small sums out as dividend and built up modest reserves from earnings.

The curiosity of M.Ps. about the new institutions created for hospitality in the Capital appear justified. The Ministry of Works has put in Rs. 84.15 lakhs capital for the Ashoka Hotel, provided a loan of Rs. 1.45 crores at five per cent per annum and has recorded substantial losses in its working. If provision for depreciation has been made the surplus has left little money for the repayment of loan which carries interest only from October 1960.

The Centre has set up plants in Kerala to process the monazite sands and the very modest profits have forced the Alwaye Factory to rely on the Government as its banker. The aggregate loans made to Government concerns cannot be ascertained, but it is evident that official privileged bodies are able to get cheap credit, even if big money is dear for others and more interest due is allowed to run up.

The experience of the companies belonging to Government need not be compared with that of the very successful steel or cement companies managed by full time salaried directors. What is clear is that the Centre has put its eggs in many baskets and ignored most of the usual rules of investment being the sole judge of both prospects and performance. It is not possible to say if Indian experience is unique because there was the Groundnuts Scheme in East Africa to show how the best-laid plans of Government can go awry.

The Swedish success with companies or the Japanese monopolies' performance may be adduced to prove that the State can do well with its own capital laid out to the public advantage but the statement shows that the

expansion of Sindri Factory helps it to show a profit there is hardly even a *succes d'estime* in respect of the undertakings of the Government which may be getting more than a guaranteed dividend out of the railways, but has, to judge from available experience, made only an unflattering beginning in respect of industry.

What has happened in respect of machine tool manufacture was the subject of a solemn warning by a foreign expert about three years ago. But Government is not deterred by good advice. It has persevered in investment and if the private companies were floated as public companies, their shares would rank for the title of cat and dog stocks—the title is bestowed in the U.S.A. for stocks in the unlucky concerns that are quoted at a substantial discount at all dismal times because of their dismal record. We don't know if Ashoka Hotel's experience is peculiar because there are hotel companies like the Great Eastern Hotel that manage to make a profit and pay dividends regularly. But they lack Government support or official direction and have not attracted notice so far about sectional regulations, the salary of the chef or the ratio of staff to guests.

AN OBSESSION TO KILL

BY

MATHEW CHERIAN

Of late political assassinations are of frequent occurrence in the arena of Asian politics. Mahatma Ghandi in India, Liaquat Ali Khan in Pakistan, Aung San in Burma and lately Bandaranaike in Ceylon, were victims of this ruthless political device. The recent attempts on the life of Premier Kassem of Iraq is a case in point. Rarely does political assassination achieve the objective of the assassin. On the contrary the ideas and beliefs of these "martyrs" are welcomed, adhered to and perpetuated with a greater fervour than during their lifetimes. Here in India we feel the impact of Gandhian ideas and principles on a greater scale especially after the fateful year of 1948.

This treacherous device of elimination is being practised in world politics from earliest times. Julius Cæsar was murdered by Brutus, Cassius and their accomplices, presumably to foster Roman Republicism. Political murder is rarely committed for personal gain. The assassin imagines an unreal state of affairs; he determines to correct this vulnerable state of affairs by killing. Often he finds that what he determined to destroy grows up with greater vigour. The Jewish priests who schemed to crucify Jesus have not succeeded in destroying the "Nazarene Creed"—similarly the bullet which killed Abraham Lincoln failed to stem the tide of negro emancipation. The urge to kill becomes an obsession and without

a proper assessment of likely consequences, the assassin attempts the fatal "blow."

If we look up the history of the world we can come across countless political assassinations. Very often these assassinations are committed to end despotism. Instances in point are the murders of Phillip of Macedon and Czar Nicholas of Russia.

Tyrants and absolute rulers have always been afraid of assassination. In our own country we read about some of our ancient rulers who were advised not to sleep in the same place for two consecutive nights to avoid possible threats of murder. Machiavelli, the author of "The Prince," advocates even murder as a rational device of state-craft to get rid of rivals. In the recent political set up of South American States, political murders are not uncommon.

In modern democracies with their party governments and collective responsibility the importance of one person cannot be over-exaggerated. Hence the getting rid of a person of importance cannot serve the purpose of the assassin. An individual or group becomes frustrated on some issue, often of a private nature, gets obsessed with the idea and wrongly imagines themselves to be the champions of a public cause. From such a state of affairs springs the desire to kill. His act kindles the very ideas and ideals which he hoped to obliterate.

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

BY

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(This is the second and concluding instalment in this series—Ed.)

The Court's Role in Contentious Cases

The primary function of the Court is to settle such disputes that are submitted to it. One of the fundamental principles of International Law is that the Jurisdiction of the Court is based on the consent of the States concerned. The Court has firmly laid down in more than one case that the 'principle of the independence of State is a fundamental principle of International Law' (Eastern Carelia case) and that 'restrictions upon the independence cannot be presumed.' (S. S. Wimbledon). In a society based on principles of State sovereignty and juridical equality and functioning mostly, on the basis of law of reciprocity and law of co-ordination the Court could derive jurisdiction only on the consent of the States concerned. As Rosenne puts it "It is the co-ordinated will of the States that directs a settlement to be produced by an organ, independent of them applying techniques designated as judicial. The essential difference between diplomatic (Political) and judicial settlement is in the extent to which the co-ordinated sovereignties agree to forego their right to insist upon a direct settlement of a dispute."

During the Hague Conferences (1899 and 1907) and later during the Peace Conferences (1919 and 1945) many small states, notably Scandinavian, agitated for the acceptance of Compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. The Big Powers opposed any such proposal that would result in the substantial surrender of their sovereignty. A compromisory solution was found in Art. 38, para. (2)—the so called Optional Clause by which States agree 'ipso

facto' compulsory the jurisdiction of the Court relating to certain classes of disputes.

The wording of this clause is unfortunately misleading. By signing the Optional Clause the States merely obligate themselves to submit certain class of disputes which they deem suitable for international adjudication to the exclusion of several disputes which are sheltered under wide auto-interpretative escape clauses. These reservations are merely the modern version of the 'vital interests and honour' clause traditionally found in the arbitration treaties since the eighteenth century. The American reservation to the Optional Clause as well as the Indian, British and the French reservations, to name only a few states, preclude from the jurisdiction of the Court disputes that involve considerations of national security or disputes that are within the purview of the domestic jurisdiction, as determined by the States themselves. One of the cardinal principles of International Law, reiterated in several cases since Alabama, is that an International Tribunal has the right to determine its own jurisdiction. The reservations to the Optional Clause violate this fundamental principle.

When do the States submit their disputes to the Court? States submit disputes after exhausting other peaceful methods of solution and after carefully weighing the advantages and disadvantages of submitting the dispute. The Court has provided a convenient means of getting rid of sticky, but relatively unimportant dispute of long standing. The Court has been confined to spheres which from the view

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point of high International politics are either peripheral or irrelevant. As the Belgian delegate to U.N. once remarked. "The Court was counselled not always for enlightenment but frequently to gain time or to side step political difficulties." Though few cases like North Atlantic Coast Fisheries Case which involved considerable national interests and the Corfu Channel Case which might have led to serious repercussions have been settled by the Court none of the cases threatened to become a *casus belli*.

States may submit certain disputes in order to appease public opinion at home. Border disputes and disputes relating to territory are highly susceptible of exciting nationalist sentiments. Territories, if merely handed over to another State, whatever be the legal rights of the claimants, might cause unrest and weaken the internal stability of the State. Hence arbitration is resorted to resolve such disputes without the apparent sacrifice of national pride. In other words it is used as a diplomatic face-saving device. Even 'Alabama' which was considered as a great success for arbitration, and in spirit was such, was regarded by Hudson as even greater victory for diplomacy, for the success of the Alabama Arbitration largely depended on the prior diplomatic agreement regarding the rules to be applied in resolving the dispute. In this particular case the dices were heavily loaded in favour of America and the result was known even before the case began. The tribunal, it was said, was no more than a tribunal fixing the quantum of damages.

The submission of a dispute also depends on the power relationship of the States concerned. If relations are stable and likely to be stable between two States, they may submit disputes arising between them to the Court so that the equilibrium between them may not be upset. On the other hand, if a State thinks that its power position is likely to

improve it may not submit the dispute. In such a case its bargaining position in a direct diplomatic settlement would be better than as a party in a case before the Court.

The submission of disputes also depends on the conditions of stability existing at any given time. During the early years of P.C.I.J. when the spirit of peace continued to prevail and soon after Locarno (1924) which laid down conditions of stability in Europe the success of the Court was marked by the increase in its activity. A period of relative instability following the Korean crisis in 1951 was marked by decreasing activity.

States do not submit their disputes to the Court for several reasons. Some consider International Law rudimentary, inexact and not fully developed. The late Mr. Dulles observed in 1946 "International Law has not developed the scope and definiteness necessary to permit international disputes generally to be resolved by judicial rather than political tests. It may be that their conception of law and justice is different from that which is prevalent or it may be that they have a weak case."

However the main reason is that most disputes are political and can be resolved through political solutions only. The Court as an essentially legal institution is incapable of resolving such disputes. The discussion over justiciable (legal) and non-justiciable (political) disputes has become largely academic. All disputes are political in the sense that they involve some or other interests of the States concerned. When States wish to submit their disputes they depoliticize it and single out the legal aspects for jural determination. The characteristic feature of the judicial practice is the depoliticised treatment given to the problem. The very act of submission is a political act. "The decision on and the terms of initial reference to the Court, and the formulation of precise submission around which judgment

is built is sufficient to demonstrate the political contexture of International adjudication" (Rosenne).

But the crux of the matter is that most disputes involve not conflict of rights but conflict of interests. A political dispute implies that one of the parties lays a claim with the motivation that its *interests* demand the realisation of the claim independently whether it has a *right* to it or not. Such a standpoint indicates a desire for a change in the existing legal situation. As McNair observes "Most disputes arise not because of any conflict of opinion as to legal rights and duties but because one of them can no longer tolerate the *status quo* and considers that circumstances have arisen in which their legal rights and relations should be changed." A judicial determination of disputes composed primarily of political facts may not contribute to a solution of the underlying problem. It is much more realistic to allow political considerations full sway. Two cases clearly demonstrate the point. In the Austro-German Customs Union Case (1931) the Court declared that the Anschluss was contrary to the peace treaty. In 1938 Hitler annexed Austria. Again, in 1931 the Court in 'Right of Polish Railway over Lithuania' held that Lithuania had no legal duty to re-open the Railway lines. In 1938 Lithuania virtually yielded to an ultimatum from Poland. Though it is desirable to uphold the principle *pacta sunt servanda* as a fundamental rule and discredit the application of *clausula rebus sic stantibus* as a rule of International law it is necessary to realise the importance of treaty revision for the Pacific Settlement of disputes. Unfortunately the treaty revision provisions of the Covenant and the Charter have never been put to use.

The importance of the Court, and the reluctance of the big powers to submit to its jurisdiction more fully may be appreciated by the fact that the Court shares with the Security

Council the power of making binding decisions on the States. While the Veto safeguards big power interests in the Security Council, a simple majority decision of five judges out of a quorum of nine can make a binding decision on the States.

In a system of power politics, the Court's role is a very limited one. In 1849 the British Secretary of State declared that "arbitration is a very dangerous course for this country to take. Its political and commercial circumstances, its maritime interests excited envious and jealous feelings in different quarters and no country would find it more difficult really disinterested and impartial observer." The statement can be attributed today to any power in the same supreme power position. Smaller powers like India have taken a similar stand. Regarding the Kashmir dispute and the recent border disputes Mr. Nehru has stated in categorical terms that such great national issues cannot be submitted to International adjudication.

Another factor limiting the role of the Court is the division of the world into two power blocks. Historically arbitration between members of a particular league (e.g., Aegean League) under the hegemony of a big power (Athens) was more frequent while arbitration between members belonging to different leagues was rare. The bipolarity of International politics has led to the non-participation of Soviet block in the Court's activities. According to the Marxist theory, law is based on the will of the ruling class and is designed to serve them. Justice Krylov once observed that "the interests and policies of the Soviet and the Capitalist States are viewed as being so basically opposed that impartial adjudication of disputes of any importance between them is virtually impossible. The majority rule, and the fact that the Soviet block had at no time more than three judges out of fifteen rules out Soviet States, submitting disputes to the Court.

During the Geneva Conference (1922), Mr. Litinor observed that "there were two worlds and only an angel from one third could arbitrate between them."

Yet another factor limiting the role of the Court is the division of the world into 'developed' and 'under-developed' countries. Historically International law was confined exclusively to the Western World. As International law developed by the West is designed to serve the interests of the developed countries, the under-developed countries, most of whom were till recently colonies of the developed countries, feel reluctant to submit disputes to the Court. The urge for economic development which may necessitate nationalisation of foreign investments clashes with the traditional International law of expropriation. Most of the treaties subsisting between these countries are in favour of the developed countries. Both Great Britain and Guatemala are willing to submit their disputes over British Honduras for International adjudication. But the difficulty arises when Great Britain insists that the dispute should be resolved by the application of treaty law which is in its favour, while Guatemala contends that the dispute should be resolved according to *ex aequo et bono* in which case she stands a better chance of success.

Its role in advisory procedure

The General Assembly and the Security Council of U.N., and certain other international organs after receiving authorisation from the General Assembly can submit legal issues for the opinion of the Court.

While in the contentious procedure the Court resolves concrete issues submitted by States (and only by States) in the advisory procedure the Court gives its opinion on technically abstract legal questions submitted to it by the international institutions. These advisory opinions are not legally binding.

However the organs have usually followed the opinions given to them.

Though technically the Court could give its opinion only on abstract legal issues, in practice concrete legal issues relating to existing disputes are camouflaged in terms of abstract issues in order to silence legitimate protests of violation of Article 2 of Part 7 of the Charter (domestic jurisdiction). The General Assembly of U.N. has used the method for obtaining legal opinion on the International Status of South West Africa. Though this method has been rightly criticised as an attempt to increase the jurisdiction of the Court through the back door, the method could be advantageously used to make the Court function as a 'Constitutional Court.' Questions relating to the legal status of international institutions, the competence of the various organs and their inter-relationships could be submitted to the Court.

Through its advising opinion the Court has made a definite contribution to the development of International law. It is worth quoting in some detail two of its advisory opinions. In its opinion on Nationality Decrees in Tunisia and Morocco (1922) the Court held that "the question whether a certain matter is or is not solely within the jurisdiction of a State is essentially a relative question; it depends upon the development of international relations." In its opinion on Reparation for injuries suffered by U.N. officials (1951) the Court held that "the subjects of law in any legal system are not necessarily identical in their nature or in the extent of their rights, and their nature depends upon the needs of the community. Throughout its history the development of International law has been influenced by the requirements of International life, and the progressive increase on the collective activities of States has already given rise to instances of action upon the international plane by certain entities which are not States."

The Court as a Law-Developing Agency

Under Article 13 of the Charter the General Assembly has the responsibility for developing and codifying International law. This is as it should be, for law creation is essentially a political function. The Court can develop law only through interpretation. The United Nations Conference on International Organisation expressed the hope that "through its jurisprudence the Court will furthermore perform an essential function in giving the interpretation of the rules of International law."

More important than particular attitude on individual cases is the Court's general approach to International law. "Here the Court has introduced an element of healthy dynamism well matching the new trends of International Organisation and the requirements of International Society." "It displays no signs of moribund conservatism or excessive formalism said to be characteristic of the lawyer. Far from it, many of its pronouncements are marked by vigour and zeal to bring the principles of law and of its application into harmony with present day activities." (Rosenne.)

The Court's Contribution to World Peace

Due to the arbitral vacuum created by the Peace Treaties of 1946 and due to the present day diplomatic temperament which prefers conciliation to adjudication, the business of the Court is continually on the decline. In present day politics International law is not accorded a particularly prominent place. As Rosenne observes "the intellectual atmosphere in which the application today of International law is called has changed, and with it the character of the Court, as the organ for applying International law is changing too."

The Court as such has no direct responsibility to maintain peace and even less for prevention of aggression. As we know, the Security Council of U.N. has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. The Court can only function in reaction to the initiative of States and has no greater capacity to operate than States are prepared to accept.

What then are the Court's achievements? Hudson says that "the Court's bolstering of the structure of peace was accomplished through advisory opinions, through the confidence it inspired and through the encouragement it gave to the extension of the Law of Pacific Settlement rather than through its disposition in particular disputes. According to Dr. Van Kleffens "the point is not whether International law can prevent a war but whether International law can make a contribution to preventing war and whether a well-founded appeal to International law can strengthen the case of whoever appeals to it."

One of the reasons Dante gave for the establishment of Sovereign monarchy (Emperor) was that a dispute between two princes could be adjudicated only by a Sovereign (since the two princes are jurisdictionally equal). Sovereign equality is still the cardinal principle of International law and as long as it continues to be so, it is unlikely that the Court can play a more dominant role in international affairs. Dr. Schwarzenburger finds that "the obligatory judicial settlement of disputes would seem to be the essential basis for any super-structure of power that may be erected for maintenance of peace."

(Concluded)

MYTHS AND LEGENDS: A STUDY

(Contributed)

What is Mythology?

Mythology is a subject which is closely connected with the study of History. The term is used in two senses. In the popular sense it refers to the various myths and legends possessed by people or are prevalent in a country. In the technical sense it indicates the science which attempts at a rational interpretation of those stories most of which are supernatural and incredible. A critical study of myths with the object of giving a rational explanation to them was started in the Western world as early as the third century B.C. by Greek scholars of the Roman period.

Their origin and universal character

Almost every nation in the world, civilized or uncivilized, has got its own mythology. It is difficult to say how and when they arose; but we may safely assume that myths and legends took shape as early as man began to think. It is generally agreed by critics that myths were invented by man to explain some of the existing customs and phenomena which he saw around him. Myths are therefore the product of early man's credulity and curiosity. In very early times myths existed in an unwritten form transmitted from generation to generation orally. This process was not altogether safe as in such transmission the stories were liable to be subject to considerable change.

Myths recorded

Among certain nations of the world myths still exist only orally, but the great bulk of mythological lore has been reduced to writing at some stage or other in human history. They now exist in some literary forms such as epics, plays, ballads, songs, etc. It is difficult to say who were the first writers to record mythology in a permanent form. The ancient Greeks attributed that honour to two of their great poets, Homer and Hesiod. Among the

Romans it was Virgil and Ovid who accomplished this task mainly. In India Valmiki, Vyasa and several sages and poets share this honour. Greece and India possess the largest collection of recorded myths. The famous Sanskrit epics Ramayana and Mahabharata, the eighteen puranas, poems like Kalidasa's Raghuvamsha not to mention the puranas in Tamil and other Indian languages are voluminous enough to beat the recorded mythology of any other country in the world. As far as Greek legends are concerned, most of them are embodied in Homer's Iliad and Odyssey and Hesiod's 'Theogony.' The legends of ancient Rome are to be seen in Virgil's 'Aeneid' and several other traditional works. The mythology of the Teutonic peoples is contained in the grand sagas and Eddas of the Scandinavian peoples. Though the land of Egypt can boast of a civilization more ancient than that of any other country in the world as far as recorded history goes, Egyptian mythology is poorly recorded and what is available there in writing is in the forms of hymns and pictures. Even the copious legends of savage primitive people like the Bushmen, Madris, Zulus, Eskimos, Red Indians, etc., have been written down by missionaries and travellers who visited their lands and collected the stories just as Col. Tod in India collected the legends of the Rajaputs in his famous 'Annals of Rajasthan.' Religious literature like the Sanskrit Vedas, Brahmanas and Upanishads, the Zend Avesta of the Zoroastrians and the Hebrew Bible of the Jews contain many legendary stories, but their primary aim is spiritual and not historical.

Subject-matter of the myths and their broad resemblance

There is a wide variety of topics covered by the recorded myths of different nations. Most of them are about gods and heroes. The Deities are numerous and they are known by different names in different countries, but

they are all immortal unlike the mortal human beings. Legends connected with their abode, activities, virtues and vices are innumerable in all lands. These gods seem to have a special liking for high mountains on earth though they are heavenly beings. Mount Kailasa in India and Mount Olympus in Greece are the two most prominent peaks in this respect. The gods of India are, according to a popular belief, 33 crores in number. No other country can boast of so numerous a pantheon. Some of these gods however are of a special importance, such as Zeus and Apollo in Greek myths, Jupiter in Roman legends, Indra and Varuna in India, Odin and Thor in Norse sagas, Osiris and Isis in Egypt, and so on.

There is great resemblance between the gods and goddesses of Greek mythology and their Indian counterparts. In their general set up, virtues and vices, attitude towards the mortals, serious as well as frivolous activities, they are so much alike. They marry and procreate children, feast and drink, fight and destroy. Some of the gods like Zeus and Indra seem to be scandalously amorous. The love stories connected with them are often vulgar but they have provided materials for poets and artists. There is a Cupid with his flower arrow in both Greek and Hindu myths, while the Venus of Greek mythology is more passionate and charming than Urvashi, Menaka and Rambha of the puranas. Also other vices like jealousy, spite and vindictiveness seem to characterize some of these mythical Deities.

Next to the gods come the heroes, a set of semi-divine beings, courageous and war-like who are quite prominent in Greek as well as Indian legends. Many of these heroes though mortal had a divine ancestry. The resemblance between the heroes of the Greek and Indian legends is even more remarkable than that which exists between the gods. The heroes of the Iliad and Odyssey like Achilles and Odysseus, Hector and Paris are very much like the Indian heroes of the epics, Arjuna, Karna and Duryodhana, Rama and Ravana. The mighty feats of Bhima are similar to those of Hercules.

The stories connected with the Trojan war are very similar to the stories of the great battles of Kurukshetra between the Kauravas and Pandavas. There are heroines too, brave and beautiful and as far as they are concerned the heroines of Indian epics like Sita and Savitri, Damayanti and Draupadi excel the Greek heroines in their superb virtues.

The question is often asked, which is more attractive to young minds, the Indian myths or the Greek ones? Opinions may differ on this point, but the legends of Greece are in my view more to the liking of young folk. Greek legends like those connected with Jason and Argonauts, the Trojan heroes, Hercules, Perseus and Theseus are so full of romantic adventures that they read like fairy tales. A common feature of Greek legends which greatly heightens their interest is the rescue of charming damsels in distress by valiant heroes. If we want to see a parallel to that we must go to the stories of King Arthur's Knights of the Round Table. But Arthur's knights are human beings and their deeds are not super-human.

Leaving the myths connected with gods and heroes we come to a set of legends relating to certain important events in the history of the universe. Foremost among these are the various myths connected with the creation, or prominent event in the evolution of cosmic order. The Bible begins with the story of God creating Heaven and Earth and everything contained therein, the last item being man himself. But the myths of the Greeks and several other nations begin with the creation of the gods themselves. Several of these creation myths are crude, unnatural and at times even indecent. But here also there is considerable similarity which cannot be overlooked. Many of the myths agree with the Biblical version of man's creation, namely, that he was made by the Almighty God out of the clay of the earth in his own form. There is agreement also regarding another feature, the creation of woman. She is said to have been created later out of man's body and given

to him so that she may be a source of help and happiness to him. On this point there are a few different versions too. According to the mythology of one primitive tribe in the East Indies woman was created out of the willow-twig, probably an explanation for the tenderness and pliability of the fair sex. The Greek version about woman's creation is however the most striking. It says that the father god Zeus was jealous of the happiness of man and so wanted to bring misery to him. So he fashioned a woman in the image of a goddess, but "smaller, more delicate, more finely made." He gave this figure life and called her Pandora. The gods and goddesses endowed the first woman with beauty of face and figure, jewels and flowers and led her to the earth to be given as a bride to man. They also filled a chest with all sorts of things evil, such as disease, sorrow and despair and gave it to her with the warning that the box should never be opened. For a time everything went off well but as time proceeded she was not able to overcome her curiosity to see what was inside the chest. So one day she opened the lid and at once all the evil things enclosed inside came out and made mankind's lot on earth sad and miserable thereafter. Fortunately one small thing which was placed at the very bottom had not escaped and that is Hope. That is why in spite of all sorrows and suffering, dejection and failure man can still hope for the better. This Greek legend is very similar to the Biblical story of Eve eating the forbidden fruit in the garden of Eden and thereby bringing sin, sorrow and death to humanity. Evidently in the very beginning man was living in a state of perfect bliss, the golden age. This happy state of things was changed by his own misdeeds. The above view is also held by the great thinker Rousseau, but strongly opposed by another thinker Jack Hobbes.

Some other type of legends

Another legend which occurs universally though with slight variations is about a great flood, the deluge, which took place at one

stage of world's history and destroyed almost everything. So also there are interesting legends about the discovery of fire, the invention of arts and crafts, of tools and weapons, and several other such events in the progress of man on earth. But more striking and fearful than any of these legends is the one which refers to a terrible war between the gods and their enemies. We get it in different forms, such as the fight between the gods and the Titans in Greek mythology, between the Devas and Asuras in Hindu puranas, and that between God and Satan in Christian mythology as depicted in Milton's 'Paradise Lost.'

Astronomical phenomena too engaged man's attention from very early times and we find numerous myths regarding heavenly bodies such as the Sun, Moon, Stars, etc., and about phenomena like the eclipse. One common feature of these myths is the belief that many of the stars are ancient heroes or heroines who were converted to that state after death as a reward of the virtues they possessed. Refer for instance to the legends about the pole star (Dhruva) the pleiads, castor and pollux, Asoins, etc. The Eskimo believed that the stars were their departed ancestors promoted to the sky. The sun and moon have got a host of legends connected with them in most of which the sun is given a male and the moon a female personality. The eclipse has given rise to similar legends among many early peoples most of which resemble the Hindu version of the huge snake Rahu attempting to swallow the planet.

Importance in National life

Mythology occupies a prominent place in the art of literature of any nation. Without it many of our great and beautiful works of the great masters in poetry, painting and sculpture would not have come into existence. Practically all the great epic poems in the world are based on mythological themes which were cleverly handled by poets like Valmiki, Vyasa, Homer, Vergil, Dante and Milton. The inimitable statues and frieze works of Greek

artists like Phidias and Ictvius are based on myths, the goddesses Venus and Athena alone providing more inspiration than any one else. Even the artists of the Renaissance period in Europe chose many of their themes from classical mythology.

Apart from their importance in the field of arts and letters myths have got a significant place in the national life of any people. They are a source of pride and inspiration, a bond of union and harmony to any nation. Homer was the Bible of the ancient Greeks wherever they lived and the traditions connected with their valiant heroes and their noble deeds served to bind them as a nation. The same can be said about India where it is still a living force.

Myths and History

Lastly comes the question of their value to students of History. Many attempts have been made by eminent scholars and critics to extract facts from fiction by a process of sifting. It is now generally agreed that myths and legends are not devoid of value to the historian. Many of the legends should be taken as highly imaginative and pictorial representation of certain historical facts. For

example the story connected with the voyage of the Argo in search of the golden fleece is regarded by some critics as representing the early attempts of the Greeks to navigate the Euxine (Black Sea), so also the story of the Trojan War marks an important epoch in the colonisation of Asia Minor by the Greeks. In India the story of the Ramayana is considered by some scholars as referring to the early conflict between the Aryans of the north and the Dravidians of the south. The Aryani-sation process must have been bitterly opposed by one section of the people then as now. Some of the puranas are of great historical value and for certain epochs in ancient Indian history we are mainly dependant on them. But to accept them wholesale is risky. The research work carried out by our universities especially by the Indian history departments in Madras and some other places should be gratefully acknowledged in this connection. More work remains to be done in this direction.

Whatever the critical historian may say myths and legends will and should remain in their full and artistic form for ever. Then only will they serve as a source of joy and entertainment, courage and consolation to successive generations of mankind.

PROBING THE MIND—SLEEP DISTURBANCES

BY

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(This is the fifth instalment in this Series—Ed.)*

Various psychological disorders affect our sleep and some though not affecting sleep as such, express themselves during sleep. Some of the common disturbances of this kind are—insomnia, frightening dreams and nightmares and somnambulism. Chronic insomnia is often due to psychological disturbances. When these conflicts are removed, there will be no need for sleeping pills or sedatives. Dreams and nightmares come under a separate category by themselves. In this article, we will consider somnambulism, as usual, with some illustrations.

Somnambulism is referred to by the layman as sleep-walking. This is so because in some cases of somnambulism, the major symptom is getting up from one's bed during the night, walking about and going through some routine activity. Chronically, somnambulism belongs to the group of psychoneurotic disorders called 'hysteria'. Hysteria may occur in various forms. There may be hysterical fits almost resembling those of epilepsy, there can be periodical loss of consciousness, particularly when the individual is faced with some difficulty. Due to hysteria, one may even lose the use of various organs of the body, though structurally and physiologically they may be alright. In severe forms, hysteria produces split-personality conditions also. All these are brought under one category mainly because the common psychological mechanism behind all these is the dissociation of one part of personality into a separate autonomous unit. Hence, all these are also called 'dissociative disorders.'

Somnambulism is one such dissociation disorder. For some reason or other, a certain part of the personality of the individual gets separated from the main stream of conscious-

ness, forms an autonomous unit by itself and has its own life and expression, particularly during sleep when the main stream of consciousness is comparatively inactive due to sleep. The dissociated unit and its organisation is not sufficiently strong to assert itself during waking hours when consciousness is fully functioning as a controlling agent. When this control is fairly inactive during sleep, the somnambulistic patient lives through one aspect of his life indicating the dissociated unit. In the case of somnambulism, age and sex are not in anyway deciding factors. Many women and children can be found among somnambulistic patients. The typical symptom will be for the patient to get up in the middle of his sleep, walk about the house, or even go outside, do certain routine activities and return to bed again. The nature of these routine activities sometimes disturb the relatives of the patient very seriously. The patient may walk on narrow parapet walls, on high terraces or apparently exposes himself to such serious dangers. The layman is right in believing that such people should not be disturbed or called when they are in that somnambulistic trance. People must believe that during somnambulistic trance no danger will occur. The patient though not conscious in the ordinary sense of the term will be fully alive to such dangers. Though what they do may appear to be dangerous feats, they are really not so. When the conscious fear is absent, one can as easily walk on a parapet wall just as he could walk on solid ground, keeping to a narrow lane of eight inches. Ordinarily we may not be able to do such a thing and most probably, we may fall down because we are aware of the height and other difficult conditions of the situation. This awareness produces

intense fear which in turn affects our muscular co-ordination. The somnambulistic patient is not aware of all such factors. He 'knows' what he is doing and he also 'knows' that it is not impossible to walk on that wall. Since there is no fear, there is no danger also. Hence, it is the right thing not to disturb such people during their adventurous and nocturnal escapade. Somnambulistic patients will not be aware of their behaviour during the next waking day. Some would have forgotten the episode completely and some have some vague ideas about it. The extent of forgetfulness will depend upon the degree of dissociation.

In many cases, somnambulism indicates that the individual has a deep feeling of not being effective in the roles that he ordinarily plays. There may be a very deep feeling of being exploited and subjected along with a sense of inability to assert himself. Thus, a severe hen-pecked husband may become a victim of somnambulism by which he at least enjoys, though irrationally, a brief period of being master of himself. Similarly, children may develop somnambulism if they suffer from such a feeling of helplessness against parental or other authority. We will now consider two case histories :

The first case is that of a small boy about 11 years old (at the time he was brought to me). For two or three years this boy had been suffering from somnambulism. Almost daily he used to get up from his bed sometime during the middle of the night, walk about in his house, and sometimes go out into the street also and then come back. On a few occasions, even though it was slightly raining, he went out into the street. Sometimes he would ease himself but did nothing else in particular. The parents were naturally worried about and became anxious. Medical aid did not give any relief. For all practical purposes, the boy was brought up with great affection. He was very bright in school and hence the parents were quite happy about him. But they were always goading him to do better. The boy was brought up in a continuous tension

on this score. He developed a feeling that he did not and could not please his parents. Invariably, on his return from his somnambulistic trance, he will go and sleep with his mother and not return to his own bed. Since this was a regular occurrence, naturally this would have some significance. The case history obtained from him of the parents revealed the following facts : This boy was their only child for nearly 8 years. One could understand with what affection he was brought up. The routine of the whole house was almost tuned up with this boy at the centre. After that a girl was born. Though the parents never reduced any affection for this boy, the boy perceived the sister as a rival. The parents never took the boy into their confidence and helped him to accept his sister. He developed a very strong sibling jealousy. For a long number of years till about the age of 6 years or so, the boy was sleeping by the side of his mother. We could now understand his returning to the mother's bed after the somnambulistic trance. In his unconscious mind, he developed a conviction that he was rejected and hence, he was trying to win back that close contact with the mother. These feelings were strengthened by the tensions that were developing on a more revised level with regard to their insistence on his doing better at school. When these things were explained to the boy and he was helped to adopt a proper attitude towards his sister and to take some interest in her daily routine, he regained his sense of self-importance and the somnambulistic symptoms disappeared completely.

The second case was that of a college boy. He had frequent nightmares and occasional somnambulistic disorder. He would get up and mostly walk within the house and rearrange the furniture in some of the rooms in the house. This case was not so simple as that of the boy mentioned above. The main trouble was because of the father's habits and behaviour. A fairly well-to-do man, he was very rude and autocratic in his relationship with his wife and children. He had a number of questionable practices also. The wife would always

demonstrate against this, but will be beaten badly by him. Thus, there was a very bad tension at home. As this boy grew up and came to the High School classes, he realised the state of affairs and one day took courage to side his mother and accuse the father. But he was badly beaten. That was the end of his conscious demonstration against his father's behaviour. At about this time, he was also having his own personal difficulties and conflicts because of his developing sex-urge. It was after some time that the boy developed this somnambulistic trouble. Re-arranging the furniture during the trance gave some clue. It was found that on several occasions, the mother

disagreed with the father with regard to the arrangement of furniture and also some religious pictures of which she was very fond. Here we see, the boy expressing himself in a dissociated manner against his father. It was a simple case of self-assertion which could not be done in any normal manner. The first occasion when he tried to express it in a normal manner resulted in a serious shock, being beaten severely. After a prolonged period of therapeutic work with the father and helping the boy to see things clearly, particularly the developments in his unconscious mind, he got over his symptoms.

OUR BANKS AND INDUSTRY

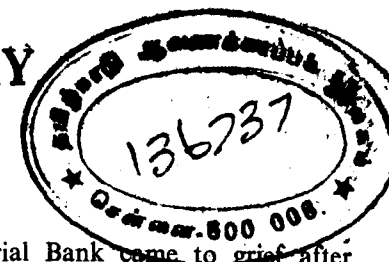
BY

V. R. NATARAJAN

Provision of finance by banks for long-term requirements of industrial enterprises has been a subject of much acrimonious comment in India. The Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee examined this issue in detail in 1930-31. As the Marwari Chamber of Commerce pointed out to the Central Banking Enquiry Committee "the sum total of the assistance given by the joint-stock banks is an almost negligible quantity." Mr. Manu Subedar, in the Minority Report, criticized in scathing terms the treatment accorded to industry by the banks. He says: "The banks have done a disservice to themselves and to industry through an exaggerated adherence to the principle of short-term investment." The position has not improved in recent years. The Fiscal Commission has come to the conclusion that the existing credit facilities offered by the commercial banks are hardly adequate to their growing needs. Recently, the Shroff Committee studied the memoranda submitted by various associations of industry, commerce and banks. For having an accurate and exhaustive perusal of the problem, we may split up the discussion in two parts: (a) Financing of industry by industrial banks and (b) provision of long-term finance to industry by commercial banks, i.e., mixed banking. The industrial banks have to play an important role in financing small and medium-sized industries. The disappearance of industrial banks after a hectic career of 3 or 4 years should not induce us to conclude that Indian conditions were unfavourable for the growth of such institutions. In copying the German model, our banks failed to follow the right technique of their operation. Factors responsible for their successful running were generally ignored. The Tata Industrial Bank, after floating a number of industrial concerns which ultimately failed, had to be absorbed with the Central Bank of India. The

Calcutta Industrial Bank came to grief after two years of its establishment. With the setting up of Industrial Finance Corporation and various State Financial Corporations for the provision of long-term finance to large scale industries and medium or small scale industries respectively, the issue of industrial banks, or industrial mortgage institutions has now become obsolete and of historical importance only.

Mixed banking implies the blending of deposit banking with investment banking. The essence of this system, is the provision by commercial banks of short-term, medium-term, and long-term capital to industries. Recently, the Shroff Committee has given considerable thought to the possibility of banks supplying long-term capital to industries. The Committee concluded that commercial banking practice has proved sufficiently helpful in providing finance to industries within the limits of the resources available to-day to banks in India. The I.M.F. Mission which visited India in 1953 observed that the difficulties regarding adequate credit for industries were due to traditional and conservative attitude of the Indian banking system. Short-term loans for day-to-day operations were available but credit had not been forthcoming in adequate measure for replacement and acquisition of machinery. As a consequence, the bulk of the available bank credit went to financing the holding of goods and very little went to financing the expansion of production. The Planning Commission also has called upon the banking system to prepare for a programme of judicious credit creation somewhat in anticipation of the increase in production and the availability of genuine savings and for a change in the traditional outlook. Various suggestions have been advanced for the participation of



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banks in long-term financing of industry. They are : (1) investment in shares and debentures ; (2) advancing long-term loans; (3) underwriting securities ; (4) investment in Corporations ; and (5) advance against corporate securities.

The lending capacity of a bank is limited both by law and by financial considerations. There is naturally anxiety that the policy of selective credit control should be made a greater success. The Forward Markets Commission had no doubt taken vigorous measures and the imposition of margins has kept speculative activity somewhat in check. The banking system is assured of a continuing increase in deposits in the coming years; it has definitely reached the stage where it is necessary to promote new units which specialise in providing medium-term credit, expert finance or other useful form of credit.

The banks have their own difficulties. They have to maintain a condition of maximum liquidity to meet the demands of their depositors. They also lack the necessary knowledge and equipment to determine the trustworthiness of an industrial concern. The industrialists themselves are unwilling to disclose fully and unreservedly their true state of affairs. But when all is said, the fact remains that the banks have shown lack of sympathy and an attitude of unconcern to the development of our industries. Our banks must give up this touch-me-not attitude with regard to industries. During the last two years the bank's resources have been so much stretched that it is evident that the banks would have to face a still more difficult position in the years to come. The investment in the private sector envisaged during the Second Five-Year Plan is nearly twice as large as in the first plan. Hence the magnitude of working capital requirements to be met from the banking system would be substantially larger. This presumption is strongly supported by the fact that even, during the first year of the second plan scheduled banks' credit rose by Rs. 139 crores. A rather sharp rise in total deposits of scheduled

banks to Rs. 1,662.26 crores in the week ended March 23rd, 1959, from Rs. 1,648.43 crores has been recorded. Acceptance of planning as an integral feature of the country's economy has introduced powerful new elements to which Indian banks have to adjust themselves. The provision of finance for expanding commerce and industry has placed heavy strains on their resources which have not been able to keep pace with the ever-increasing demands. The new responsibilities of the State Bank of India are bound to divert part of its resources from services which its predecessor was rendering to business. Moreover, with the nationalisation of life insurance in 1956 another source of finance was largely blocked for the private sector. The cumulative effect of these developments has been for the commercial banks to have to shoulder increasingly heavier responsibilities. The need of proper co-ordination between the commercial banks, and between them on the one side and on the other banking and financial institutions like the co-operative banks, the State Bank of India, on the other, can hardly be over-emphasised. Provision of working capital will continue to remain the proper function of scheduled banks in their noble *vis a vis* the private sector of industry. This is for the simple reason that the demands which have been made by the plan programmes on the private sector are too exacting. The course of deposit expansion and growth of advances by scheduled banks during the last three years conclusively establishes that in spite of a larger flow of deposits, the pressure of credit requirements cannot be eased. The ratio of advances to deposits is increasing at a rate which only adds to the current stringency. Positive action, therefore, needs to be taken to augment banks' resources.

The State Bank of India has organised, on an experimental basis, a pilot scheme for granting loans to small industries in conjunction with several other financial institutions including, among others, the commercial banks, co-operative credit societies and the State Financial Corporations. The total credit limits

sanctioned to small-scale industries increased from about Rs. 80 lakhs in 1957 to about Rs. 2.37 crores in 1958.

The special institutions which have been established during the last 10 years for providing long-term and intermediate finance to industries, mainly in the private sector, are (1) the Industrial Finance Corporation of India, (2) the State Financial Corporations, (3) the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India, (4) the National Industrial Development Corporation, (5) the National Small Industries Corporation and (6) the Refinance Corporation. These institutions would have done even better but for the unfavourable investment climate which has developed as a result of Government's economic policy. On the other hand, their excessive dependence on Government for resources and for subvention for the payment of the minimum guaranteed dividends constitutes their greatest weakness. It is worth considering if it would be possible to increase the volume of the financial assistance rendered by them by adopting a more flexible lending policy.

The big commercial banks should develop a sympathetic attitude towards industries and should maintain close and continuous association with them so that they may be able to give timely and adequate aid to them, consistent of course with their own safety. At the present stage of Indian banking, conditions

may not be favourable for any wholesale adoption of mixed banking. But at the same time relationship of banks to industry should be reassessed with a view to accelerating industrial development. The importance of a system of deposit insurance on the lines of that obtaining in the U.S.A. cannot be over-emphasised in India. It will strengthen the confidence of the public in the banking system. A study of the contribution of bank credit to capital formation in the corporate sector of industry shows that during the two years ended June 1955 and June 1956 the proportion of the gross fixed assets and inventories of the industrial corporate enterprises financed by bank credit amounted to 35% and 30% respectively. To help the small investor who cannot make a discriminating choice between the different securities offered to him we should have investment trusts. They should hold or deal in shares so that they can provide the small investor with an opportunity of buying "blended packets" of a number of securities. Thus investment will be diversified and the risk spread. If the banks concerned take active steps to remove the deficiencies and shortcomings pointed out to them in the course of inspections and generally adopt measures to strengthen their financial position, the system as a whole will be stabilised in course of time on a sound and secure basis and be able to contribute its mite in the economic development of the country.

PROGRESS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN INDIA

BY

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(This is the first instalment in a series of two articles by the author.—Ed.)

While India was well known to classical writers like Magasthenes, Arrian, Ktesias, Strabo and later on, to Arabian travellers and geographers, of her peoples only those of the north were more intimately known. It was Herodotus who spoke of the "dark-coloured" and "curly-haired" warriors of South India. The knowledge about India in the 18th century comes from travellers like Acosta, Hamilton, Taverniers, Orme, and Grose. While Le Gentil and Bernier rendered a good account of North India, Meiners was the first to speak of two varieties of men in India: the Aryans (Indids), and the Dravidians (Melanids). He also mentioned a third variety of the primitive people of the interior, of whom more detailed notes were furnished by Buchanan, Forbes, Harkness and others.

Long before anthropology was even heard of, J. Abbe Dubois had published his *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* in 1816. J. F. Metz wrote, in 1864, a book titled *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*. E. T. Dalton, in 1871, published *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, and Hilslop, about the same time, wrote a book on the Gonds. Sporadic interest in the study of man characterised the second half of the 19th century. Truly, anthropological investigation advanced very slowly.

Main impetus

The name of Bengal will ever be remembered by the scientific world because it was from there that the chief impetus came for anthropological studies in India. Apart from the initiative taken by the Calcutta University, 1920-21, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded

by Sir William Jones in the latter part of the 18th century, began to publish a journal much earlier, and did a lot to collect data about all sorts of problems directly or indirectly connected with social and cultural anthropology.

Among those who interested themselves in anthropological investigation in the early days of the science were the Sarasins who inquired into the controversial question of the Veddahs of Ceylon. They recognised that, as the nearest relatives of the Veddahs, a few tribes leading an independent existence in the wild mountainous regions, and the slave castes had to be considered. They appeared to be the remnants of an old population which in earlier times extended throughout the whole of India. Eickstedt would classify them under the name of Veddahic tribes.

During the latter part of the 19th century, the work of Harkness on the Todas was followed by the publications of Mateer for Travancore, Marshall, Brecks, and others. Fryer and Shortt published short accounts of the Malsers and the Irulas, and some measurements. The first scientific anthropological research was done by Jagor among the Kanikkars, the Kurumbers, the Veddahs, and others. In 1888, Fred Fawcett's work on the Savaras of Ganjam appeared. He later published memoirs on the Nambudiris, the Nayars, and the Kurumbers. Ibbetson, who organised the Census operations in Punjab, in 1891, attempted to study social and religious usages, but it was not a complete success. His idea was later taken up, and huge ethnographic appendices, which were added to Census publications till 1941, provided

useful information about the manners and customs of people.

Emile Schmidt made a survey of the tribes of South India and Ceylon in 1889-90. He first discovered "that the linguistic groups in India do not coincide at all with uniform racial groups," and he tackled the problem from a purely romantic point of view. Lapicque made a study of the Vellalas, the Parayas, and the Cherumars. He arrived at a conception of a primitive race close to the Negritos, but characterised by dolichocephaly, a view which he modified later on. Schmidt saw that the racial groups in South India were in clear relation to the natural geographical units.

Tribal Survey

Sir Herbert Risley, who organised the Census of 1891, was the first to collect and publish, in a voluminous form, his observations on the tribes and castes of Bengal which then included parts of Assam and Orissa. His attempt at systematisation, or methodical approach, was a great step forward in Indian anthropology. But one fundamental mistake he committed, like most other anthropologists of his day, was the attempt to identify languages with physical differences and culture. He and others realised that there were basic structural differences between the Aryan and Prakrit languages on the one hand, and the Dravidian languages on the other. Though true to some extent, it is misleading, and in no way justified identification of Dravidian languages with a particular people (racially). According to J. H. Hutton, an anthropologist of outstanding ability and wide learning, "it is necessary to clear the deck by throwing overboard some of his (Risley's) deductions. Risley published four volumes in a series titled *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*."

Scientific interest began with the efforts of the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland to persuade the Government of India to organise an ethnographical survey of the tribes and castes. The response was lukewarm. The tribal survey was started during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, but lasted

only for a few years under the supervision of Risley who was the first Census Commissioner in 1901. Nevertheless, the authorities got a rough outline of the ethnographical picture of India. Though useful for official purposes the accounts judged by modern standards were superficial, "scrappy and full of errors." Of quite exceptional interest, however, was the linguistic survey conducted by Sir George Grierson, but, unfortunately, no sustained work was done in this field after him. Grierson also wrote a book titled *Peasant Life in Bihar*.

The years 1895-1950 witnessed the publication of a number of volumes on the castes and tribes. In 1896, Sir William Crooke published the *Tribes and Castes of the United Provinces*, in four volumes, and later, *The Natives of Northern India* (1907). W. H. R. Rivers published his account of the Todas in 1906. 1909-12 brought two further additions in Edgar Thurston and T. Rangachari's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, seven volumes in all, and the *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, in two volumes, by L. K. Ananthakrishna Ayyar, the world-famous pioneer South Indian anthropologist. Though Thurston's volumes contained mostly second-hand information, the modern tendency to belittle the value of his work is unfortunate. Thurston and Rangachari did go out of Madras to take measurements of people, and wrote about the Todas before Rivers did. *Ethnographic Notes on South India* (1907) and *Omens and Superstitions of South India* (1912) were two other monographs published by Thurston. In his racial classification he followed the Sarasins and Schmidt.

Ananthakrishna Ayyar was thorough and methodical in his work, and collected his data during years of strenuous touring. His publications embodied the results of a detailed study of a small area, and, considering the difficulties to be faced in those days, his work was a pioneering achievement. The sober research carried out by him and his contemporaries, opened a way to an understanding of social institutions. Although there

was no special reason, scholars concentrated their attention only on studying the life of primitive peoples, and it is this that has perhaps given to anthropology a certain amount of practical value in India. H. A. Rose followed in 1911 with his publications on the *Tribe and Castes of Punjab and the North-west Frontier Provinces*. Sir Denys Bray's *Ethnographic Survey of Baluchistan* appeared in two volumes in 1913; it was a very valuable work for a limited area. R. V. Russell and Hiralal published three years later, during World War I, four volumes titled *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*. This marked a distinct step forward in anthropological research, although modern monographs on single tribes in this area reveal Russell's mistakes.

R. E. Enthoven published, in three volumes, *The Castes and Tribes of Bombay* in 1922, and Ananthakrishna Ayyar *Anthropology of the Syrian Christians* in 1925. The Mysore Government engaged Ananthakrishna Ayyar to complete the ethnographic survey begun in that State by H. V. Nanjundayya, and, during 1928-36 he published four volumes titled *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, with an additional volume later containing the valuable English version of Eickstedt's introduction on the racial classification of India. In 1929, E. Ramachandra Sastri published a volume titled *History of the Criminal Tribes in Madras Presidency*.

Sir W. V. Grigson, who was killed in an air crash in 1948, and was one of the pioneers of social anthropology in India, published in 1938 a volume on the *Maria Gonds of Bastar*, which was republished just a few years back with a supplement by Verrier Elwin. Whereas some of his contemporaries were content to take tribesmen's body measurements and describe their externals, Grigson was one of the first to see that a culture must be understood as a cohering entity. His descriptive chapters are very fascinating, and Elwin thinks, that Grigson is, above all, distinguished by his style, "he writes anthropology in the classic

manner." In 1944, Grigson wrote a book on *The Aboriginal Problem in the Central Provinces and Berar*.

Almost last in the castes and tribes series came three volumes on *The Travancore Tribes and Castes* (1937-42) by L. A. Krishna Ayyar who made his debut in anthropology in 1931 by his account on *The Primitive Tribes of Travancore* in the Census Report, and faced the severest handicaps in conducting his studies. The scientific world owes a debt of gratitude to C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, the then Dewan of Travancore, for the publication of the three volumes under the auspices of the Government. L. A. Krishna Ayyar later published *The Coorg Tribes and Castes* (1948) for which preliminary work had been started by Ananthakrishna Ayyar before his death in 1937, and *Marriage Institutions of India* (1952).

Work in Assam

Almost parallel with this development was the compilation of monographs in the Assam area which developed a new phase in anthropology. In fact, there was more sustained interest in Assam, and better monographs than in other areas was compiled and published by the State Government. Each book was devoted to a single tribe or caste. Col. Gordon wrote his classic book on the *Khasis* (1912), and Major Playfair, Harrow, Col. Hodson, Col. J. Shakespear, and Sir Charles Lyall on various other tribes. The publications of Hutton on *The Angami Nagas* and *The Sema Nagas* came in 1921. He also published a book on *Caste in India* (1945). Later, J. P. Mills, who was Honorary Director of Ethnography in Assam, described the cultures of several tribes in a number of monographs which included *Lhota Nagas* (1922) and *Rengma Nagas* (1937). W. C. Smith, Mills and S. C. Majumdar each wrote a volume on *The Ao Nagas*. This is an important intermediary chapter in the development of Indian anthropology, and paved the way for more detailed studies later on.

Sarat Chandra Roy, a self-made anthropologist like Ananthakrishna Ayyar, had great

compassion for the tribal people. When he started his career as a lawyer in Ranchi in 1886, he took a humanitarian interest in the Mundas of Chota Nagpur. He studied their language, and also other tribal languages, and took great pains in gathering facts and figures. He published a number of monographs, chiefly *The Mundas and their country* (1912), *The Oraons of Chota Nagpur* (1916), *The Bihors* (1925), *The Bhuiyas of Orissa* (1935), and *The Kharias* in two volumes (1938).

Like Ananthakrishna Ayyar in South India, Roy gave the first impetus to anthropological research in Bihar, and tried to study each group in its entirety. This was an important step forward in the direction of detailed monographs, though the present-day trend is to concentrate on aspects of tribal life. Another important step Roy took was in starting, in 1921, the first anthropological journal *Man in India*, in imitation of the British journal *Man*.

In 1931, Hutton was asked to direct Census operations. An ethnographic volume devoted to each region was published, but, unfortunately, from the anthropologist's view it was a swan song, for in 1941 the plan was given up. The years following 1935 also witnessed the publication of a number of single monographs devoted to tribes. A. Aiyappan, a student of Malinowski, published in 1937 a volume on *The Social and Physical Anthropology of the Nayadis of Malabar*, in which he tried to apply some of the teachings of the functionalistic school. His chapters are vivid and informative, and his conclusions are stated with clarity and precision. He also published a monograph on *Iravas and Culture Change* in 1942, and it bears throughout the stamp of thoroughness characteristic of all his best studies. Another monograph, titled *A Tribe in Transition*, was published in by D. N. Majumdar who applied the concept of Gestalt which was introduced into anthropology by Ruth Benedict in the United States. Cultural anthropology in India owes much of its recent advance to the services of Majumdar, who, besides writing a number of books, conducted researches of a fundamental

nature. Of his books, mention should be made of *The Affairs of a Tribe*, and *Races and Cultures of India*. He also started a quarterly journal, *The Eastern Anthropologists* and led, in 1955-56 a few expeditions to the Rupkand (Garhwal) lake where hundreds of human skeletons and bones fossilised under the snowy debris were discovered.

Elwin Dominates

Again, one more step forward was taken in observation by Elwin, one of the great missionaries of the subject, who wrote classic monographs on the tribes of Madhya Pradesh, and certainly added more life and more details. A good ethnographer, the period after 1940 has been dominated by him. In his veins runs the blood of an adventurer; he identified himself so completely with the tribal people that he felt a sense of camaraderie, and pleaded for a fair deal for them in all his writings. He wrote anthropological best-sellers, founded the Bhumijan Seva Mandal, married a Gond, and mastered a few tribal languages. *Phulmat of the Hills* (1937) is a novel based on aboriginal life, about a Gond girl who became a leper. His monographs included *The Baiga* (1934), *The Agaria* (1942), *Muria Murder and Suicide* (1943), *Tribal Art in Middle India*, *The Folk Tales of Mahakoshal* (1944), *Folksongs Chattisgarh*, *The Muria and the Ghotul* (1947), *Bondo Highlander* (1951), and, very recently, *Tribal Myths of Orissa*, *Myths of the North-East Frontier of India*, *Religion of an Indian Tribe*, and *A Philosophy for the N.E.F.A.* (1959). *The Baiga* was the first book on an Indian tribe to discuss sex freely, and naturally; *Religion of an Indian Tribe* is a well-documented monograph on the religion of the Saoras of Orissa, and will remain as an anthropological classic throwing a flood of light on the processes of religious thought at its elemental level. But the merit of this romantic "scholar-gipsy"—that is how Shamrao Hivale, Elwin's biographer and colleague describes him—is his capacity to describe several matters concerning tribal institutions, tribal arts, etc., simply and engagingly, giving plenty of facts and figures, but not

allowing them to swamp his narrative. There may not be agreement with some of his interpretations of primitive mind in his more speculative books, but minute observation and wide learning are the hallmarks of everything that he has published during the last 30 years. In 1946, Shamrao Hivale published *The Pardhans of the Upper Narbada Valley*, and later, in collaboration with Elwin, *Songs of the Forest and Folksongs of Maikal Hills*.

Another monograph which brings us back to 1922 was *The Andaman Islanders* by the mighty A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, though the actual fieldwork was done by him earlier during 1906-08. E. H. Man also published, in 1932, almost half a century after his field researches, a monograph on the *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*. He also worked in the Nicobar, and a book containing valuable information on the islanders was posthumously edited by his sister.

(To be concluded)

THE DEFENCE MINISTER AND THE DEFENCE SERVICES

BY

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

The recent crisis in the Defence Ministry of the Government of India which culminated in the resignation of General Thimayya and its withdrawal on the intervention of the Prime Minister has focussed parliamentary and public attention on the state of the relations as they are between the Defence Minister and the Chief of the Defence Services and on the more important question of what they ought to be. The cavalier disposal of the matter in Parliament by the Prime Minister may have temporarily closed discussion in the last session of Parliament of this matter. But the matter cannot be left there. Especially as the cause for the clash between the Defence Minister and the Army Chief was shrugged off by the Prime Minister as a clash of temperaments. Whose temperament? It cannot be that of the General, for anybody who knows General Thimayya knows he is one of the most balanced, self-controlled, steady officer in the Indian Army. He could not have lasted the British regime and risen to supreme command of the Army in succession to two men from the south if he had been temperamental to the lowest degree. The temperament which led to the clash must be found in the other party in the clash. Temperamentalism is hardly the qualification for any Minister in any system of popular and parliamentary Government—least of all in a Defence Minister. The Prime Minister is able to carry it off with his temper and temperament. This is forgiven him because of his services to the nation and other great qualities of his character especially his essential humility which makes him apologize *urbi et orbi* for any outburst. But lesser men than he will not be allowed to indulge in temper or temperament.

If it were a mere matter of temperament one could find a solution in mutual "damns"

and apologies. But that there is something more fundamental was revealed in the public press and hinted at by the Prime Minister himself when he referred to differences of opinion between the Defence Minister and the Army Chief on the matter of recent promotions in the Army. He spoke of the provision of Selection Boards in the Army which safeguarded the right of officers to just treatment and the efficiency of the Army. This raises the whole question of promotion procedure in the Army in particular and the important question of the effect that and other procedures have on the all-important matter of discipline in the Army.

The Army cannot be treated as the Civil Services, in regard to its organization or in regard to the ordering of its life. Its recruitment cannot be mainly by written examinations but by an Interview Board composed of military men. The Tests applied by such a Board would aim at discovering the qualities, mostly required of a soldier—physical fitness, toughness, stamina, courage, capacity for discipline and leadership. The soldier would be recruited by the single recruiting officer camping at well-known recruiting grounds. The officer-cadet would be chosen by a Board of Military Officers helped by a civilian psychologist or psychiatrist. The Group Interview lasting for 3 or 4 days to a week during which the candidates are under observation, living together in social life, and the individual and social qualities required of an officer through all kinds of intellectual, physical, and social tests are examined. Although the reports of the several observers are discussed and taken into account at the final meeting the Army presiding officer has the final word.

So is it in regard to promotion procedure. Promotion Boards are used to eliminate

individual bias or crochets and to allow collective wisdom to bear on this important question of promotion. But the opinion of the officer commanding the battalion, or regiment, or brigade or, in the case of the senior officers, of the head of the Army must be decisive. Especially in India, where communal bias is so widespread, where the north v. south feeling operates, where minorities must suffer, the recommendations of Promotion Boards are not always founded on considerations of merit or of service efficiency, the Head of the Army must have the final voice. After all he is held responsible for the efficiency of the Army. And he must have absolute confidence in the men he has about him in the administration of the Army in peace and the conduct of the army and army operations in war. General Arnold, Chief of the Air Corps of the U.S.A., said in House Hearings in 1945, "If I am held responsible for the operation of the Air Force I have to be also held responsible for the character and type of people I employ in the Air Force and if anybody forces me to accept people that lower our standard, that immediately lowers the character of my operation and may prove disastrous when they come against the enemy."

Such a preponderant voice in the selection and promotion procedures in the Army given to the Army Chief is in no way and to no extent a derogation from the cardinal principle of constitutional government that the civil power is supreme over the military, nor against the fundamental principle of parliamentary government that the Minister in charge of the Army or of the Defence Minister when all the Defence Services are the charge of one Minister must be supreme in all matters of Army or Defence Administration. On matters of policy the Defence Minister on behalf of the Ministry or Cabinet lays down the law and the Defence Chiefs have to carry it out. Even in matters of administration the administrative control of personnel and material, the English rule is for the Minister as representative of the Government to have the final say. Promotions and postings of senior officers are in the last analysis

matters for the Minister. But the final say as interpreted by English good sense and in fact required by the facts of the situation does not mean the usual say or the day-to-day say. The Defence Minister like most Ministers in most parliamentary Governments is an amateur. In India he is an amateur of amateurs—not even having had the experience of training in the U.I.C. or N.C.C. or the Home Guards—much less actual experience of war. Good sense should demand that in most matters of personnel administration the Minister should accept the recommendations of the Defence Chief, taking care only to prevent any serious cases of injustice—such intervention taking place only after a free and frank discussion with the Defence Chief in question.

This predominant role of the Defence Chiefs in matters of military administration in general and of personnel administration in particular is required in the interests of discipline in the Defence Services. "An army" said Marshall Foch "is a delicate being kept alive by discipline; discipline is the strength of armies, they say; it is much more; it is the very first condition of their existence; discipline, owing to hierarchic organisation and to the transmission and execution of orders resulting therefrom, permits a Commander to direct any action." And discipline in the army as elsewhere is the result of personal relations between officers and soldiers. That personal relationship starts when a man is recruited to the army by a recruiting sergeant, continues during the period of training by the drill-sergeant, followed by the period of work with the Platoon Commander, the Battalion Commander. At the head of this disciplinary organization is the Army Chief. If the discipline that the soldier or officer has learnt at the successive levels of command is to be confirmed and maintained soldier and officer must know that their place in the army, promotion or punishment, depends ultimately on the decision of the Army Chief. The Imperial Rescript issued to the Army and Navy of Japan for January 4, 1882 embodying the code of conduct for Japanese officers and soldiers adjures "Unattracted by the

opinions expressed by the public, and regardless of politics, you should devote yourselves to your allegiance as your principal duty, conceiving fidelity weightier than mountains, and death lighter than a feather."

The Civil power must be supreme said both the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister in disposing of the Thimayya resignation episode. But we should like to know—in fairness to a gallant and patriotic officer and in fairness to the public which must know all the facts of a situation held to be intolerable enough by one of the parties involved and which led to his resignation. Was it on a matter of policy, of strategy, or of military movement or action or a matter of administration that General Thimayya offered his resignation as a way of the only honourable escape out of an impossible situation? We must know the details of this episode. So that we may know what are the administrative relations between the Minister and Ministry of Defence and the Defence Chiefs so that we may know whether they are sound and healthy as taught us by the experience of other countries which has had these relations under study and experience for a much longer time than India has had. For the relations between the Civil force and the Military are bound up with the very safety and integrity of the State.

Nor can the Prime Minister be congratulated on his indirect criticism of General Thimayya's resignation when he said in Parliament "he could not congratulate General Thimayya on his letter of resignation"—especially as General Thimayya is precluded by service rules from offering an explanation while still in the Army. His resignation was apparently the only way left to an honourable servant of the Government of India when he found that he could not do his duty by the army and the country in collaboration—however subordinate it has to be with such a Minister as he had. Generals have resigned before in England and elsewhere when they found they

could not get on with their civil chiefs. The resignation of General Sir William Robertson was the latest though not the first in English military history. The Indian public owes to this resignation of General Thimayya an opportunity to have sane and sound principles laid down on the administration of Defence at a time when an enemy is knocking at the gates of India.

Much less is the Prime Minister to be congratulated on his role in this sensational drama. How did he allow matters to come to such a head in the Defence Department? These differences between the Defence Minister and the Army Chief could not have come to the notice of the Prime Minister for the first time when they came to the point of the news of the Army Chief's resignation. A Prime Minister is supposed to be in overall charge and in effective touch with all Departments—especially with such a key Department as Defence at this time. If he has not kept himself in touch with the administration of the Defence Department, it shows he has not had the time having to be in charge of another heavy Department that of External Affairs and being the political chief of a party whose place and strength is being challenged. If want of time is the cause of the Prime Minister not being in effective cognizance of the happenings in important Ministries it is time for Parliament and public opinion to advise him to divest himself of the burden of departmental Administration. No modern Prime Minister nowadays burdens himself with the administration of a Department. Even a Prime Minister with the capacity for work of Winston Churchill did not, except in the supreme crisis of war tie himself down to the work of any Department. A modern Prime Minister must keep himself free for supervision and supreme control and command and in passing India and the Defence Services want a wholtime Defence Minister not one who divides his time between the Defence of India and the United Nations.

MEN AND MATTERS

BY

C. H. V. PATHY

NEHRU, 70

Millions of hearths and homes in Hindustan will resound with joy during the Ides of November, because our beloved Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru will be seventy on November 14.

Gerore Orwell wrote of Mahatma Gandhi that he was a politician with a clean smell about him. The same remark may be made about Nehru, his political heir. Whatever might be the carping comments from Swatantra party parvenus about our Prime Minister, Jawaharlal is the only one who measures to the full height of a statesman and is not dragged down by the weight of class, sectional, party or national commitments. He takes a mountain top view of problems. He is the builder of nation still in its infancy.

He is not a realist in the sense that others of his eminence are in the west. The romantic and idealist strains are strong in him. He hesitates before screwing up his courage to the sticking point. However, his insistence that the means being as good as the ends enables him to carry out economic planning within the frame of democracy.

Age has not in any manner withered his intellectual faculty. So why talk of retiring him now? All the world over, Premiership is the reward of old age. Gladstone and Disraeli, Lloyd George and Churchill in Great Britain, Boothe, Smuts and Malan in South Africa, Mackenzie King in Canada, De Gasperi in Italy and Eisenhower in the United States are all past their prime, but the nation trusted them. Like that, we too must trust Nehru and back him to the hilt till the adventure of building up the new India is completed.

Dr. C.P., 80

Almost synchronising with the birthday of the Prime Minister is that of our elder states-

man, Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. Born with a silver spoon in his mouth, "C.P." has been the darling of luck. He swept the board of academic distinction in Madras University and chose law as his vocation. He scaled the summit within a few years and had the distinction of being engaged on one side or the other in almost all the leading cases in the High Court. His brilliant advocacy on the original side is still quoted as classics.

C.P. did not devote all his time in the pursuit of his profession. A scholar by temperament, he polished off books after books and has one of the finest libraries in the city. So avid is his interest for information that on the day that Mussolini invaded Abyssinia, he sent his Secretary, Mr. S. Chidambaram to corner all the available books on Abyssinia from the city book stalls. Whenever he travels, his compartment is lined up with a shining array of the latest books.

He had a crack at journalism too and was writing leading articles of Dr. Annie Besant's "New India" when that illustrious Irish lady was interned. In his sad days, C.P.'s political leanings were towards the Congress. He was for a while General Secretary of the Congress and quoted Milton's Arcopagatica in defence of liberty of the Press at the Lucknow Congress.

His social graces are unmatched. Coffee is on tap at his residence whether in Madras or in Ooty. Among his large circle of friends are princes and peasants, scholars and saints, lawyers and journalists.

He has a capacity for springing surprises. After one of the most bitterly contested elections for the Madras Legislative Council in the twenties, he got returned, but resigned his seat in the legislature to accept the job of Advocate-General. Again, he flung to the four winds his job in the Central Government as Member for Information and Broadcasting

within a fortnight of accepting it because of differences with the Viceroy.

The best years of his life were given in the build-up of the once feudalistic Travancore State which he transformed beyond recognition. He beautified the capital and set a rapid pace for industrialisation. A sad incident cut short his career as Dewan, but even today, the State bears the imprint of his administrative talents.

Above and beyond everything else, he has been the father of planning so far as Madras is concerned and was responsible for the Pykara Project, the Mettur Dam and the Vizag Harbour.

Today, happy in retirement in Ooty, he spends the major part of his working days in the company of books and is imparting the final touches to his arresting Memoirs.

Ike, 69

One year and a month younger than Nehru, President Eisenhower was 69 the other day.

He yields power greater than anyone else in the world. His life is one of paradoxes. He is a famous General who never commanded troops in the field. He has been elected as President of the United States because he is not a professional politician. A man of war, he wants to be remembered in history as a great peace-maker.

He has none of Montgomery's strategic talent and drive, nor has he any of General Paton's qualities as a fighting soldier. He was no good as a desk general. He has no head for details in administration in which his American Chief of Staff, Bedell Smith and Britain's Alexander are superiors. But as a top level trouble-shooter, pacifying different politicians and preventing them from head-on clashes, Ike is unmatched. During the fateful Normandy campaign, it was Eisenhower's job to keep Montgomery and his opposite number, Bradley from getting at each other's throats.

He has been the biggest crusader for a United States of Europe. Of late, his hostility towards Russia has mellowed down, and during

his forthcoming visit to Moscow, he will pave the way for peace. For, he knows perfectly well that the alternative before us in this nuclear age is either peace or annihilation.

New Chief Justice

On October 1, the capital city witnessed the assumption in office of Mr. B. P. Sinha as the Chief Justice of India. To him will fall the distinction of being in harness for the longest number of years ever enjoyed by any Chief Justice of the country so far.

He swept the board of academic distinction in Bihar, obtaining a first class in history. He was also at the top in the law examination. He got himself enrolled in Patna as an advocate in 1922 and made his mark in the profession by dint of intelligence allied to hard work. He was appointed a lecturer in the Patna Law College in 1926. He always discouraged his clients in investing their money in cases with little or no chance of success. In spite of his nationalist views he was appointed as a Judge of the Patna High Court in 1942. In 1951 he joined the Nagpur High Court as Chief Justice. From here he goes to the highest job in the judiciary of the country.

Mr. Sinha believes in plain living and high thinking. Wherever he be he makes it a point to visit Patna and his home town Arrah twice a year. He covers long distances on foot. He has been associated with several social, educational and cultural organizations. Such a man will be a welcome accession to both the official and non-official life of Delhi.

Banda Lead Story

Communal rioting, floods and political unrest—this has been the history of Ceylon in recent months which celebrated in February last, its eleventh anniversary of Independence. However, the political picture from that island paradise from May last has been that things were in a state of emergency, necessitated by communal riots. The man who defeated all opposition parties in the 1956 elections was Mr. Bandaranaike, who managed to keep on

to his political throne till an assassin's bullet rounded off his brilliant career.

While calmly smoking his pipe on the verandah of his bungalow in Colombo's most luxurious residential district, making preparations for a visit to Washington to discuss his country's problems, the frail, little Prime Minister was riddled with bullets. Banda as he is affectionately called was chatting with visitors seeking advice or favours, when two saffron-robed Buddhist monks appeared, Banda bowed low before them. One of them pulled out from his garment a .45 automatic revolver and fired point blank. The 60-year-old Prime Minister staggered from the verandah, a bullet lodged in his liver. The automatic slammed two more times, two more bullets ploughed into his body.

He was rushed to the hospital where an emergency operation was performed. The doctors said that he might survive. But 22 hours later, he passed away. A state of emergency was declared in the island.

Banda got a funeral which an emperor might have envied. His bullet-ridden body was driven through sorrow-stricken streets of Colombo and was laid to rest in the family vault.

The Governor chose as his successor to office, former Education Minister W. Dahanyake. Unlike the dead Prime Minister, the present pilot at the helm is a grass type of politician with a flair for the unpredictable. But like Banda he is a fervent nationalist and neutralist.

Political assassinations have been many in history. Some of them such as the assassination of the Archduke of Austria have changed the course of history. Of late Asia had many losses. U. Aung San was shot and killed with many of his colleagues while holding a Cabinet Meeting at Rangoon, Liaquat Ali Khan of Pakistan was shot and killed while addressing a public meeting at Rawalpindi. Verily, uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.

As early as May last, the small but aggressive group of Marxists who had substantially

influenced Ceylon's political course in the last three years and more had lost their place in the island's government. Pressure from moderate Socialists in Bandaranaike's Freedom Party had forced the resignation from the Government of the veteran Marxist, Gunawardena and the four members of his Revolutionary Socialist Party.

This virtually ended the Coalition between the Freedom Party and Gunawardena's smaller but more radical group.

The alliance was forged in early 1956 when Bandaranaike sought allies to fight the Right Wing United National Party, which had held power in Ceylon since the country became independent in 1948.

Gunawardena and his followers within the Government have been pushing it to take more and more measures of radical economic reform. This was being increasingly resisted by leaders of the Freedom Party, who preferred a lower road to Socialism. Differences between Gunawardena's Marxists and the moderate Socialists in the Coalition more than once erupted into open and public clashes, which had to be patched up by the Prime Minister.

A big conflict arose in May last when Gunawardena proposed a giant co-operative development bank with extensive powers—even to enter the field of commercial banking. The moderates alleged that he would use his authority over the bank to buttress his own political position in the country.

The Prime Minister, Bandaranaike, tried to resolve the conflict by taking over the proposed bank himself. But the moderates went on to demand the expulsion of Gunawardena from the Cabinet. Under their pressure, the Prime Minister announced a reallocation of Ministerial portfolios. He took away from Gunawardena the key department of food supply, marketing and co-operatives, leaving him with agriculture, and adding a new department, fisheries. A few other changes were also made, and Banda sought to mollify Gunawardena by not assigning the departments taken away from him to any of the moderate

Ministers who had opposed him but by taking them himself. But nothing could conceal the fact that this was a demotion of the Marxist Minister.

Gunawardena protested and asked for a revocation of the Prime Minister's order. When "Banda" refused, Gunawardena sent in his resignation, along with William de Silva, the Minister of Industries, and the backbench M.Ps. who were members of his party.

These developments touched off others within Banda's own Freedom Party. Seven of its Parliamentary Members, including three junior Ministers, who were among its more radical elements resigned from the Government Party, and announced their intention of sitting in Parliament as an independent group in opposition.

The loss of these twelve reduced Government strength in the House of Representatives to 39 in a chamber of 101. But three Independents announced their support to the Government, while six nominated M.Ps. continued their loyalty to the Treasury benches. That brought the Government's count to 48, still a minority of the full House. "Banda" however expressed confidence that he would be able to continue as Prime Minister for the remaining period of the present Parliament.

Attack on el-Kassem

The gunman is still at large. Hardly was the ink dry in the headlines of newspapers carrying the murder story from Ceylon, we were regaled with news from Iraq where an attempt was made to shoot and kill its 45-years-old military dictator, Premier Abdul Karim el-Kassem. As his car was racing through the streets of Baghdad, three men whipped sub-machine guns and sprayed the vehicle with bullets. Kassem's driver was killed instantly, his A.D.C. wounded and he himself slumped over. One bullet had ripped into his shoulder, another broke his upper arm and a third grazed his hand. He was taken to hospital where another attempt was made on his life. This too misfired.

The Iraqi army has rounded up 4,000 suspects but the hands that wielded the deadly weapons are still not traced. One report blamed Iraqi exiles in Jordan who had hoped to place King Hussein on the throne of his cousin, the murdered King Faisal. Another version blamed the attack on religious fanatics. There were even fantastic stories that Kassem had faked the whole thing himself to strengthen his personal position. Whatever that be, today Iraq is in turmoil.

In 15 months as absolute ruler, Kassem has swung from left to right, from east to west, from Nasserite to Communist. He replaced 170 British and American technicians with 500 Russians, who now run Iraq's oil refineries, hospitals and experimental farms. Moscow has promised him an atomic reactor by 1963.

Whatever happens next, we cannot expect peace or security in this rich and restless land.

Tory Hat Trick

Britain has done. It has put back the Tories in power for the third time. In the general elections, Harold Macmillan has won an absolute majority of hundred seats in the House of Commons. He has votes enough in his pocket to steam roller any opposition for the next five years. This victory is almost unprecedented. With a position unshakable till 1964, the 65-year-old Prime Minister can take his place in the international bargaining tables and make his voice heard. He will try to be not only on good terms with Soviet Russia but also intensify Anglo-American friendship. At home he will carry through his programme of reconstruction.

When news of Conservative triumphs flowed into Tory headquarters, it brought lusty cheers. Thousands of youngsters surged into Trafalgar Square, dancing to the strains of a kilted piper, paddling and splashing in the fountains. At Labour's G.H.Q., by contrast, Socialist faces were glum and gloomy.

The Labour stock has slumped Sir Oswald Mosley who sported Communist colours lost his deposit, failing to secure even an eighth

of the votes polled. Old war horse Winston Churchill, running for the 20th time has been returned from Woodford. Bevan and Hugh Gaitskell are there, but they will be powerless to halt the progress of the Tory charriot.

With crowds outside London streets, chanting, "We want Mac," the Prime Minister stepped before TV cameras and quietly told the nation : "It has gone off well. We are one country, we are one people. We live together and work together."

Architect of Peace and War hero passes away

After the recent demise of Mr. Dulles, United States had sustained another great loss in the passing of General Marshall. He died at 78.

To few people is given to achieve victories as renowned in peace as in war. To the superficial chronicler of his obituary, his 43-year-old military career would appear to overshadow his achievements in three years of diplomacy. In the evening of his life he brought to fruition or sponsored measures which saved Europe from Economic collapse. His well known "Marshall Plan" revitalised the dry bones in the valley of defeat. The award of the Nobel Prize to him in 1952 was a fitting recognition of his sterling services in the realm of peace.

He was the fittest choice as chief of the military staff when Hitler's tanks swept into Poland. He was responsible for the mobilization of the armed forces of the United States. He also geared up the industrial production.

In 1948, he underwent a serious operation which forced him to retire to his farm, but he was called upon by President Truman to undertake a delicate mission to China to bring about co-operation between the Chinese Government and the Communists with a view to end the civil war. He failed in his mission.

He served a term as Secretary of State prior to his departure to China. Again, in 1950 he was called upon to take up the post of Defence Secretary.

When the United States entered the first world war, he left for France as a captain at the special request of General Pershing. He planned the remarkable movements which ultimately paved the way for allied victory.

Truman once paid a tribute to him as the greatest living American. It was not an exaggerated estimate.

Food Quest

Though politics bedevils every moment of our waking life, food continues to be the major headaches of our country and unless ways and means are found to feed millions of hungry mouths, there will be trouble. History shows that all the major revolutions of the world are brought about by an insurrection of hunger. One extra mouth every three and a half seconds. Nearly one-third of the population of Kerala every year. Dwindling land yield, increasing deforestation. These are the stark facts that hit us in the face, and no amount of pep talks by dynamic S. K. Patil or soft-spoken Bhaktavatsalam is going to solve the problem. The Food Ministry at Delhi has been the graveyard of many reputations, and where Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Jairamdas Doulatram, K. M. Munshi and A. P. Jain failed, it will be a miracle if Patil succeeds. The only Minister who brought a touch of realism was the late R. A. Kidwai.

A recent Food Foundation Study Team foresaw famine conditions in the next ten years. And what then are we going to do? India's rate of population increase is not so formidable. It is only 1.3 per cent. U.S., Canada and Australia have a much higher rate. But the United States can support six times her present population. Canada and Australia have vast expanses of unlimited land. So one way out of the trouble for us is to step up migration to thinly populated areas. But the present laws permit only a hundred of us per year in each country. So get the laws revised. But the question is whether other countries would receive our famished people with open arms. The second and more

rational method is to intensify production and advocate the need for planned parenthood. In this regard we won praise from Dr. Julian Huxley who in one of his recent books stated that "India is the first modern country enunciating a national policy in limiting population and reducing its rate of increase."

S. K. Patil, the go-getter is programming to go abroad to get aid from Europe and the States. There is also talk of the States starting a Food Bank. It remains to be seen how far these things will succeed.

Revival of Contract Bridge in India

Bridge players in over seven states are packing their kits to be at Bombay during the third week of November to compete in the All India Bridge Championships organized under the Indian Bridge Association. The six-member team from Madras is led by Mr. Hanumantha Rao, a veteran Bridge player of South India, who has even devised his own system of play. This year's team has a high standard and they should do well at Bombay.

Peter Townsend engaged

When I ran Group Captain Peter Townsend to earth in his posh hotel at Banaras a few months back and asked him the rather delicate question whether it was all over between him and Princess Margaret, he visibly blushed and preferred to keep quiet. Now comes an agency message from Belgium that one of the heroes of the battle of Britain whose romance rocked two continents is engaged to be married to Miss Marie Luce Jamangne, a 20-year-old photographer who was one of the members of his party of ten which toured the world to make a documentary. She is the daughter of a Belgian cigarette manufacturer.

Quiet, soft spoken Townsend who is allergic to publicity has written a fine autobiographic piece to a London daily, in the course of which he says, "People imagine that I revel in

publicity, but in fact, there is nothing that I can do about it." He adds, "when I retired from the R.A.F. in 1956, I felt squeezed out and suffocated in the little world I lived in. I also felt crushed beneath the weight of public opinion. I wanted to forget myself in day-to-day contact with a world which did not know me by travelling. There were masses of people who did not care two hoots to what I was. That was an exhilarating experience. Now I have things more in focus. Serious things interest me and I liked writing the book 'Earth My Friend,' which I have just completed."

Townsend has no idea of settling down in England. He says that he prefers to be in France. He adds pathetically : "I must earn my own living."

Small Car

In an interim report, the Jha Committee which went into the question of manufacturing small cars which will suit Indian middle class pockets has, it is believed, recommended the manufacture of a small car to meet the needs of the low income groups in the country. The cost structure of the various models submitted for consideration is being considered and the result will be incorporated in the Committee's final report before the end of the year.

Four criteria have been laid down for judging the suitability of the models of cars offered in the Baby class. These are the initial price, the running cost, the cost of maintenance and the expected life of the vehicle. The selection will be made on a consideration of all these factors. It is fairly certain that the new model will have to be manufactured by a new plant or through the expansion of the capacity in any of the existing units. It looks as though the final decision will be in favour of Tatas collaborating with a German firm which produces the well known D.K.W. cars and motor cycles.

November 1959

BROADWAY TIMES

WINSTON CHURCHILL

BY

KASHYAPA

'Have we exhausted all indigenous personalities so soon that we have to go abroad in search of a theme for these monthly pen portraits' is probably the thought that is crossing the minds of the meticulous readers of *Broadway Times*. And the point would, as the johnnies from the Bar would have it be well taken. There are many more Central and State Cabinet Ministers to take their turn in these columns, not to mention about the scores of other politicians and public figures. And still, here we are trying to add to the already crowded literature about Winston Churchill. This will only show what a personality he must be to transcend the natural inclinations to 'cover' locals first before coming to rank outsiders. The tremendous international stature of Churchill also plays a part in our decision to include him among personalities—not just of another country, whom we will not bother about—of the world, and as long as we concede that India is a part of this planet, such global Colossuses must not and cannot be allowed to swim out of our ken.

* * *

Churchill prided himself of not being a friend of India. Unlike Atlee and his Labour party colleagues who felt the justice of India's claims to Freedom, Churchill had openly expressed his disinclination to be a party to the 'liquidation of the Empire'—He was not a man to be afraid of words and would not have winced with remorse to be hailed as an Imperialist. He was an Imperialist, and once you don't give a hang for the feelings of the Empire, and Imperialist is ultimately the most sophisticated patriot (of his own country). Churchill was English first and English last. He would not like to be known as anything



else but an Englishman. And no double distilled Englishman would have willingly

or happily surrendered an Empire for the nonce. Churchill did not think that Indian freedom was inevitable or that it could not be helped. There are many statesmen in India who, unwilling even to grant that Freedom in 1947 was a gift of the tired Britisher, still maintain that it was impossible for Whitehall to continue to rule the Indian Empire after the War and that Freedom was therefore a sort of forced landing. I for one feel that this is quite wrong. War-scarred and weather-beaten that England was in 1945, there was nothing to prevent her from holding on to India. I imagine that if the Tories had been returned to power in 1945, India would still be part of the Empire. Churchill would have succeeded in keeping India so, and after 1950 whatever might have been the national movement's strength, the position was different and even a Labour Government would have stopped at Dominion Status. The luck of India and not the good-luck of the Labour Party led to the rout of the Tories in 1945. The winner of the war, the master-mind that directed the Allied effort, the Bull Dog that guarded the emerald isle, was quietly cashiered at the polls even before the last of the Victory Celebrations had died down. A strange people, the English. If I were more mythologically minded, I would hazard the theory that it was God (whom Gandhi appealed to so often) that entered into the minds of the English electors, even as He did on to tongue of Ravana, and led to the momentary mental aberration that put the Labourites in saddle. I have never been convinced by any rational explanation for the defeat of Churchill's party in 1945.

* * *

The more faces a diamond has, the brighter it looks. What is true of stones is equally true of men. A man with many faces (please, I do not use the expression in a derogatory sense) is a brilliant man. One who has more aspects and facets to his character is a greater man. A single track mind, or a one purpose soul, achieves, if it does at all, a qualified and limited greatness. Suppose X is a great Chemist and his only ambition in life is to

achieve something in Chemistry, and he kept pottering about with tubes and things in his lab. all day and ended up by synthesising hexa-methyl-iso-phenolphthyl-butane, he may throw his hat up in the air and say Eureka, or whatever it is that the Greek in the bath said upon a similar occasion. But X is not going to excite the world. A few knowledgeable chaps in other labs. may possibly have drunk to his health, but the man in the street would have passed on, without a murmur. If X got a Nobel Prize, a few service commission candidates may have had to swot his name for the viva, but that was all. But if X, apart from his grey cells being loaded with the abracadabra of Chemistry, was also a good speaker, or a pleasant conversationalist, his reception in the world would have been different. Sir C. V. Raman is today sought after by the public, not because they understand the Raman Effect, but because he is such a brilliant man to talk to, to listen to. Churchill had many sides to his character. Of course he was a great statesman. But he was more. As an author, as an orator, as a conversationalist, as a painter, as a humorist, as an administrator—in any one of these capacities he might have hit the headlines. But he was all. The old adage about being a Jack of all trades and master of none is a more fallacious piece of epigram to cram down the throats of youngsters than anything else. It is palpably and demonstrably false. There are more single minded good for nothings on earth (some of them have even been rightly put in padded cells) than worthless Jacks of all trades. More often it is a genius that touches many things, and touches them to good effect. Have we not seen such like great persons in history, and are we not seeing such people today? Churchill is the most gloriously versatile politician alive. He is not a Jack, but an admirable Crichton.

* * *

Churchill was noted for his jibes at his opponents. Some of them deserve to be recorded. Pointing to Atlee a friend told

Continued on page 44

Book Review

GLIMPSES OF YESTERDAY

BY

POTHAN JOSEPH

This book is a collection of over 25 articles of lasting interest by India's leading journalist Pothan Joseph. As M. Chalapathi Rau aptly states in the preface "Pothan Joseph has been a writer of distinction for more years than most of us can remember and in these days of solvenly diction it is good to preserve even piecemeal examples of the art of writing practised unpretentiously but with an exacting literary conscience." He continues to say of Joseph "as one whose record of editorships

will remain unequalled in this country and it is doubtful if it has been equalled in any other."

The autobiographic sketch which leads this collection is a candid recollection of one who is true to himself. Mr. Joseph remains the best known and most revered of our journalists for the personality which peeps through everything he writes.

This book is priced at Re. 1 np. 50 and is published by The Madras Premier Co., 33, Broadway, Madras-1.

Continued from page 43

Winston "Atlee is such a modest man." Answered Churchill (among whose many virtues, modesty is not one) "He has much to be modest about." A perfect squelch, if ever there was one. Emanuel Shinwell, Winston's deadly opponent, records another remarkable story. After a reference to Ramsay McDonald's skill in falling without hurting himself he (Churchill) recalled a visit to a circus as a child which contained an exhibition of freaks. The exhibit he most desired to see was the boneless wonder. Churchill's parents, it appears, objected to his seeing such a revolting sight and the child was barred. Churchill said in the House "I have had to wait for fifty years to see the Bone Less Wonder sitting on the Treasury Bench." Sir Ramsay (were he not as alleged a boneless wonder), must have broken his back on hearing that.

* * *

Churchill cannot be identified with the Conservative Party, and however fascinating a figure he was, and however commanding a personality, the Tory party does not owe its paramouncy today to him. That is again British democracy in action. He never let

himself become the heart and soul of the party. He was only its Brain, when it needed him. The party can carry on without him as it is carrying on today. He was not its life. He was its guide. And therein lies his greatness as leader. A leader who makes himself the soul of a party is really its killer, for with his exit, he kills it. But a leader who merely directs can afford to retire or leave without endangering his party. Today Macmillan carries on, and is doing very well. But he is in no sense Churchill's heir. Churchill has no political heirs. It is no good for democracy to have political heirs and name them at the last moment, as if politics were a sort of *zamin* with some sort of line of succession. Leaders should be evolved and thrown up by circumstances, and not discovered from a testament. The greatest dis-service of the Mahatma was to have named 'Jawaharlal as his heir.' If Nehru came to the same position without that dictum he would have been even more respected. In this essay on Churchill, I think it relevant to say that Nehru (who is undoubtedly for India what Winston was to Britain) should not name or announce his political heir. That would be folly.

OUR DECEMBER ISSUE

- MEN AND MATTERS — C. H. V. PATHY
- PERSONALITY SKETCH — KASHYAPA
- ARTICLES by — POTHAN JOSEPH
and
M. RUTHNASWAMY

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Editorial

THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE RUPEE

The Finance Minister's reference to the fall in the value of the rupee reveals an unstable situation in our economy. There has been a declining tendency in the internal purchasing power of currencies since 1945 in several countries like France, Japan and the United Kingdom. Compared to the experiences of these countries our Finance Minister reminds us, that the fall in the value of the Rupee has not been as pronounced as that of the franc, the yen or the pound. It is estimated that the British pound in 1914 fetched five times the goods and services in comparison to the pound of to-day. When there is such a fall in the value of currencies we refer to such situations as inflationary conditions. Inflation has several meanings; in its current usage the word describes a situation when the volume of purchasing power is persistently running ahead of output of goods and services so that there is a continuous tendency for prices both of commodities and factors of production to rise because Supply fails to keep pace with Demand. In common parlance, inflation is often taken to mean high prices, but high prices do not necessarily indicate the existence of inflation, for equilibrium of Supply and Demand can be established at any level of prices and once equilibrium has been reached, inflation disappears.

There is a fundamental difference between the economies of the west and our own. The former have passed through a period of inflation and successfully dealt with various problems. Consequently the process of recovery is nearly complete and export surpluses have emerged in sizable proportions. On the other hand in this country new inflationary pressures are now being generated due to continuing large scale expenditure. It is necessary to check the abnormal rises in prices so that the aims of our plans are not defeated. The higher money incomes of particular sections of the population will have no meaning if there is no net real increase in their spendable income. There was an irregular rise in prices and it was felt that with a rise in production and with suitable incentives inflationary pressures could be checked. The question of easing import restrictions had to be dispensed with because of the foreign exchange crises. The financing to purchase capital goods through credits and loans to step up indigenous production to augment supply may fructify by 1960-61. But it will be incorrect to presume that a natural adjustment in the price and supply situation would come

about and that large scale expenditure could continue without injuring the internal economy. The recent trends in consumption of commodities like sugar, paper, foodgrains etc., suggest that the current increase in purchasing power would bring about a continuous increase in their production. This demand is such that prices have risen to very high levels and the indices of wholesale prices do not reflect fully the increase at the retail end.

Chiefly the rise in prices is due to the increase in the demand for essential goods outrunning the increase in supply. It is likely that this demand in the sphere of essential goods will spread in other categories also. An increase in commodity taxation to curb consumption may not be advisable as the *per capita* intake is deplorably low and the denial of opportunities to bring about a rise in the general standard of living might be resented by the masses.

Official policies have also complicated the issue. Prices have been inflated due to heavy indirect taxes by the Central and State Governments. The tax element in prices is appreciable and on that account fiscal policy is responsible for the fall in the value of the rupee. This has led to cost inflation with the result that the Government have not really gained. The advantages accruing through heavier taxes on commodities are being lost because of the higher expenses on administration and on non-plan schemes.

The question of devaluation of the Rupee may not be feasible as this will inflate the cost of imports with the result the plan expenditure will have to be drastically curtailed. The devaluation of 1949 is a heavy drain on our capacity to import dollar goods. The cost inflation should be checked and taxes have to be devised to avoid inflationary consequences. After all the enormous expenditure on irrigation projects and industrial units it will be a pity if the general public do not get the benefit of goods produced at lower costs. Industrial and agricultural production should be given fillip through suitable incentives. Unless the fiscal policy is directed to check inflationary tendencies in our economy the fall in the value of the rupee will assume alarming proportions. Such a state will make it difficult to adopt remedial measures at a later stage and we will be forced to resort to orthodox remedies.

BETHLEHEM TO GOLGOTHA

BY

J. VIJAYATUNGA

[*Bethlehem to Golgotha* narrates the story of Christ. Sri Vijayatunga in his inimitable style tells the story of the journey to Golgotha with all the pathos that is inevitably associated with it. The author considers the following article "as a simple and reverent tribute to one who died in pain for love of mankind"—Ed.]

The Son of Mary

I Eschou, Joseph and Mary named him, and it was thus till his late teens that he was called by them. But the people of Nazareth knew him as the "Son of Mary."

When as a young man going from synagogue to synagogue in Galilee he came and preached in the synagogue at Nazareth the elders rubbed their eyes and recognised in the pale angular face with its incipient beard and the bright eyes of an inspired rabbi the young boy who had played with their sons and who had later helped Joseph the tekton at many jobs, such as building fences to keep out animals and to keep in the flocks, building wine-presses, and working in stone, wood and clay.

They recognised him easily enough: "Is not this the tekton (the carpenter-builder)? Is not this son of Mary?"

Joseph had died in Capernaum, but Mary was still there, less nimble of foot and more careworn and work-weary.

She had given up travelling unless it was to go to pay the poll-tax. The journeys to Jerusalem for the Feasts were beyond her strength now.

Her Son had little earnings to bring home, for he worked less and read in the synagogues and discussed with rabbis more.

When he did do any work for a widow he would refuse his wages.

But Mary was not displeased with him, for she had known since that visit to Jerusalem when he was twelve that he would grow up differently from the sons of her neighbours.

She was not altogether in want.

The Capernaum folk were friendly and hardly a day passed without some neighbour or other bringing her some fish, freshly caught or salted.

Even then she had not pitied herself so much as she had pitied others less fortunate and less endowed with worldly goods.

The money-lender performed a social service in a way, but he was never tired of telling fish-wives and the winegrowers' and labourers' wives that his was not a charitable institution.

And the pitiable belongings they brought for pawning were hardly worth half a drachma.

Yet Capernaum, busier and bigger than Nazareth, and made up a population of fifteen thousand or so which was constantly being added to by the influx of travellers and traders, was on the whole a friendly place.

Drought might blight the vineyards and the orchards but there was always fish in the Sea of Galilee.

Except when there was a storm the fishermen were always out with their fishing boats and their wives busy at the fish-curing yards from whence there spread over the whole town a strong smell of brine and fish.

This memory never left the Son of Mary and he was always sure of driving home a point with his fellow-Galileans if he mentioned salt.

But up to the age of twelve during which time Joseph, Mary and her son had lived in Nazareth he had behaved very much like any other lad.

He had, of course, been always too serious for his years.

Mary had noticed it. But he had learned to plane wood, to use the trowel, to place stones on top of one another for a watch-tower, to dig a pit for a winepress as well as any lad in Nazareth.

And all this while he was studying the Scriptures and the Law in the school attached to the synagogue.

The Sadducees were strong on the Law and weak in the observances of the spirit of the Law. The Pharisees, on the other hand, always looked for precedent and tradition.

What had such and such an authority said about it? Should a woman look in the mirror on the Sabbath? Suppose she saw a grey hair and pulled it out and broke the Sabbath!

From Friday evening till the end of the Sabbath no water must be heated in the house lest the steam cleanse the walls, for that would mean working on the Sabbath.

And there was the sin of taking more than "a Sabbath day's journey," which meant a distance of 2,000 cubits.

But, said the rabbis: if you look at a distant tree and say aloud, "I make my Sabbath home under the shade of that tree," your 2,000 cubits would be counted only after you reached that tree!

This last was a favourite pastime of the Son of Mary and his companions. They would mark a distinct olive and walk there and rest and eat figs and olives and listen to him on matters that they would not have normally discussed otherwise.

The rabbis had decreed that you must not heal on the Sabbath. One day the slave boy came with a bandaged hand.

What had happened, asked the Son of Mary?

Oh, I was cutting firewood for the master's cook and the axe glanced off the wood and cut my hand, he answered.

But have you not put any ointment on it, asked the Son of Mary?

Of course not, he replied. Neither the cook nor my father would dare to heal a wound on a Sabbath day!

The Son of Mary crossed the cobbled street and entered his house and dripped ointment on to a rag and went and tied up the slave boy's injured hand.

Besides his studies and helping Joseph at various odd jobs and playing at rabbi with a few select companions of his age he used to do little repairs free for widows, for whom he had great sympathy.

And when the children of such widows used to look longingly at the boys sported by the children of the rich Sadducees after their visits to Jerusalem where they had bought them, the Son of Mary would make little toys out of left-over bits of wood for them.

Sometimes he would mould clay dolls and animals for them.

He turned his hand to good account so that when he began to preach in the synagogues he could proudly say: "Raise the stone, and there thou shalt find me; cleave the wood, and there am I."

It was a busy enough, fruitful enough life for the Son of Mary in those early days in Nazareth.

He saw the poor ground down by taxes levied by the synagogues as well as by their Roman rulers.

He saw the Sadducees waxing rich on the profits from the Temple at Jerusalem where they earned their dividends as much from the animal sacrifices as from the rich gift-offerings from pilgrim Jews of the Dispersion who came from many lands to worship and sacrifice at the Temple.

He saw the Pharisees exercising their petty tyrannies upon the populace who lived for ever in fear of expulsion and social ostracism which it was in the power of the rabbis to inflict.

How greedily they extracted their "tithe of mint, anise and cummin!"

But most he despised the Pharisees for their ostentatious piety, for their phylacteries—those leather cases with scrolls of texts of the Law which they wore strapped across the forehead and left arm—for their exhibitionism, when they stopped in a busy thoroughfare to recite their prayers.

As a child he had taken in all those impressions and pondered over them. But it was later in Capernaum that he formulated his thoughts.

Then, when he was twelve, came that visit with his parents and with others of Nazareth to Jerusalem in the south for the Feast of the Passover.

Arrived there, he had been drawn to the discussions among the rabbis in the Temple while his parents and other Nazarenes went strolling through the big city and were stared at for their Galilean speech and appearance.

There were such crowds that on their return journey they had walked for a whole day without missing him.

"When they found that he was not with the other returning Nazarenes they turned back and looked for him for three whole days in the busy streets of Jerusalem before they found him listening to the hair-splitting rabbis."

When Mary rebuked him gently: "My child, why hast thou done so to us. Behold, thy father and I seek thee sorrowing," his answer was:

"How is it that ye sought me? Knew ye not that I must needs be in my Father's house?"

Joseph was too tired and peeved to take any serious note of those words: but Mary pondered them over and kept them in her heart and was to remember them many times afterwards when the Galileans had accepted him as "the prophet," Jesus.

But after their return to Nazareth she watched over him tenderly and observed every word and action of his.

She used to like to watch him play at being a rabbi with his companions. Sometimes he

would even heal by his touch one of them who might complain of a headache or similar ailment.

Sometimes he would make believe that he was turning stones into bread.

"But at the end of their play and talk he would kneel down and make his companions kneel likewise while he said a prayer which they repeated."

He was born a poor Galilean and lived all his life amidst the poor fishermen, winegrowers, labourers, builders and carpenters of Galilee.

Eleven of his twelve disciples, when he left his mother's house and took to preaching, were simple Galileans who knew life's problems only in terms of toil and the fruits of toil.

TO THEM BREAD WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION AND THE SON OF MARY TAUGHT THEM HOW TO GET THEIR BREAD JUSTLY AND BY THE GRACE OF GOD.

When The World Rejoiced

Certainly, at the birth of the Infant Jesus there was rejoicing, a rejoicing in the humble manger where he was born, and among those who, informed by prophecies and supernatural signs, travelled to hail the Christ.

There is no record to show that any yearly celebrations were held during his childhood. And there is a gap about everything concerning Him and His parents' stay in Egypt.

The child grew to manhood. He helped in His father's workshop and we can well believe that He was both proficient and diligent in fashioning wood which his father joined and made into useful articles.

There is then that brief and glorious period of His gathering disciples, making converts, performing miracles, healing the sick, consorting with publicans and sinners, driving the money-changers out the Temple, rebuking the Pharisees—all of it to end with the Crown of Thorns.

It was as the Man of Sorrows, the sorrows of Humanity, that He bade goodbye to the World.

Christmas is a later institution. Strangely enough, His followers who worship Him as the Man of Sorrows for three hundred and sixty-four days, forget in a trice, as it were, the Crown of Thorns, Golgotha, Mount Calvary, and the Cross to which He was nailed, and on the three hundred and sixty-fifth day remember Him as the pink-cheeked babe in swaddling clothes as He lay in his improvised cradle of straw in the manger in Jerusalem.

There was to be a counting of heads and all the subjects of Rome had been asked to assemble in Jerusalem. Every inn and lodging house was filled to capacity on that day, and Joseph and Mary were forced to share a manger with horses and cattle.

And there Mary's Child was born. This is the event that the world celebrates, year after year on Christmas Day.

On this day we think of the Infant Jesus, and thinking thus we think of joyousness, of hope, peace and goodwill.

The Infant Jesus in the arms of His mother has been the favourite subject of all European painters. The number of Madonna and Child paintings and frescoes exceeds the number of paintings depicting other phases of Jesus' career.

"It is natural that this should have been so. All the world associates hope and promise with birth, and His birth, as later history proved, brought into the ken of Mankind a newer vision."

One does not forget the horrible deeds that have been committed by bigots in His name—the Inquisitions, the burning of, "heretics" and the wheel and the rack. But the Man of Sorrows cannot be held responsible for the bigotry and persecution practised by those who misused His name.

And when we think of the Child Jesus, we associate none of this with Him. Even the manger as we see it is not foul but sweet-smelling and clean.

Similarly on this day we think of a sweet-smelling and clean world, a world of lusty,

pink-cheeked babies and happy, delighted mothers.

Is it wrong to forget the reality for just one day of the year and to dream of what the World might be? I do not think so. Man is not necessarily sinful, carnal and wedded to wickedness—but Hope is so difficult and Fulfilment so distant.

"Yet we must admit that the hope of Peace and Brotherhood among mankind has become more tangible and more urgent simply because a Child was born twenty centuries back."

We rejoice He was born and in that rejoicing is an acknowledgment of the fact that Birth is to be rejoiced over and not mourned for.

But to be consistent we must make the realities associated with birth today a forgotten chapter of mankind's history. Waifs and war orphans, destitute children who have not known what it was to nestle against a mother's breast—this picture and that of the Madonna and Child do not blend.

Not only do we do nothing to wipe off that grim blot, but we live in a perpetual state of selfish fear—fear of children who might be born, fear of bringing them up, fear of their limiting our pleasures if we let them be born and live.

It is a curious world, which twenty centuries after Jesus was born is afraid to emphasise Birth but pays its tribute to Death and all that tends to Death and destruction!

And yet on Christmas Day we rejoice that He was born. This at least is significant. Even if, on the days that follow Christmas, the picture of the Prince of Peace becomes dimmer, let us be thankful that for one day in the year mankind does not choose to sit down to supper without having filled the emptiness of at least one hungry belly.

But Christmas could mean much more; and should, Hope, Faith and Charity? And Charity is greater than either Hope or Faith.

Not the charity that we associate with charitable Societies, donations to the Salvation Army,

Foundling Homes and Hospitals, or feeding of the poor, but a Charity that has nothing to do with Wealth or munificence, with need or poverty, but solely with a state of mind.

Charity is not patronage; Charity is humility. If one is wealthy, one must be humble to think that so much responsibility has devolved upon one. If one is well and strong, one must be humble in the face of so much good fortune.

If one is clever and brilliant, one must be pained at the sight of so much ignorance and backwardness of intellect in the world.

If one has been graced by elevation to a spiritual height one must consider oneself lesser than the lowest and least of God's creatures. This is what Charity should mean.

We live in times when words like these savour of the pulpit and sound hollow and insincere in the ears of most people.

But somehow on this day they must mean something more. These words must be transformed into light, light to light our hearts. Our hearts thus lighted we must see the Birth of a Child as something significant and holy.

The birth of every child must be interpreted in terms of the birth of the Holy Child. Every birth must be holy. There can then be no unwanted babies, no unplanned-for babies. Birth must be sacred; and therefore life.

What is unholy and sacrilegious is the destruction of life about to be born and of the living. Only Death has a right to end Life, not Man; These are the thoughts that naturally come to one's mind as one thinks of the birth of the Holy Babe.

But these thoughts are not purely the result of Wisdom. Rather they are the dictates of the Heart. Which means that wisdom and knowledge alone are not enough.

Of mankind today it may well be said that we know all the answers. That is exactly the trouble. With less knowledge and more charity of heart mankind would have fared better even if we had not accomplished as much as we have.

The idea that a certain kind of wisdom that is not exactly wisdom is vouchsafed to children is not foreign to India. In the Hindu pantheon no God is more popular than Krishna; no God has had more songs in his praise; and no God has stirred the heart of Indian womanhood as Sri Krishna.

To us Sri Krishna is essentially a child. Innumerable are the legends of Sri Krishna the Infant, the stories of his pranks and caprices as child and boy.

Even as a counsellor, and utterer of the Divine Word at the battle of Kurukshetra, Sri Krishna was the personification of Youth, not of Age.

And fate made him die young, the Divine Child who had saved others unable to save himself from an arrow! In his death, which we shall not describe as tragic, and in the attempts against his life as infant and child, there is a moral. Wisdom and Expediency are afraid of Truth and Forthrightness.

But it is through children and the wisdom and wholesome purity of children that mankind can be saved for a Heaven which we don't know, and the still closer Heaven that this Earth can be.

Miraculous was also the birth of Siddhartha, who became Gautama Buddha. As soon as He came from His mother's womb he took seven steps and where each foot fell there was a full-blown lotus!

He spoke at an early age; and while still at a tender age he was brought in his nurse's arms to be shown to a venerable bearded sage.

The sage knelt down at the sight of the Holy Child, and the sage's head being at a level with the feet of Siddhartha as he was held in his nurse's arms he placed his feet on the venerable head of the sage.

The sage was not insulted, but wept, so the legends say, at his good fortune in having lived to see the Deliverer of Mankind. By this action, Siddhartha had only established the right of children to lead the Aged and Wise.

"Krishna, Siddartha and Jesus, whom the world remembers fondly in their child aspects, have each of them been deliverers of mankind, delivering us of ignorance and cruelty and selfishness.

By their light we have seen a purer world, a cleaner world, and a happier world. That the World is not pure enough, clean enough, and happy enough is because we do not enthrone the Holy Babe—be it Krishna, Siddartha or Jesus—and every Babe in our hearts every day of the Year.

It is much, however, that on at least one day of the year, we can think these thoughts and feel child-like and have a reverence for Birth, and for all things and creatures born.

It is much that the worst of us can say on this day with a true ring in our hearts ; Peace on Earth and Goodwill to all men !

Woman, Behold Thy Son !

She heard His words to John, "Behold thy mother", and she felt John's gentle touch on her arm. She wept.

She looked up again when He cried out, *Eloi, Eloi, Lama Sabachthani*—My God, My God, Why hast Thou forsaken me? She saw His head droop.

He had yielded up the Spirit. Beyond words was her pain. In pain does woman bring forth her children, but multiplied beyond reckoning are the sorrows that follow the growing up of those she bears. If only some miracle would kindle again the life within Him: Gladly would she spread her sackcloth there and not move until He was resurrected if only she could be sure. Even as Rizpah mourned for her sons, Armoni and Mephiboseth, and the five sons of Saul's daughter, Michael (all of whom David crucified) when she took her sackcloth and spread it upon the rock of Gibeah, and remained there from the beginning of the barley harvest until the season of rains, a full six months, and suffered neither the birds of the air to rest on them by day, nor the beasts of the field by night. It was also the time of the Passover which brought upon Rizpah her great sorrow.

She could not look at Him and not want to take His wounded body down from the Cross and wash His wounds. But the Roman soldiers were there, and who was she but a poor woman of Nazareth even though the Priests and Judges had feared Him.

She did not want to turn her back on Golgotha while Jesus hung upon the Cross between those other two. She pitied them even though one of them had with his last breath reviled Him.

She would wait there longer ; and yet she could not without rending the air with her grief, even as Martha's sister, and Salome, the mother of John, and Mary, the wife of Clopas, were wailing with cries of *Ah-lalla, Ah-lalla* at that very moment.

John took her gently by the arm ; and led by him she moved away with faltering steps, her sister Salome following. Martha's sister, Mary of Magdala, who now lived with her at Bethany, and Mary, the wife of Clophas, Joseph's brother, stayed behind. Simon, he of Cyrene, the visitor to Jerusalem, who had earned a blessed part in the events of the day by carrying the beams of the Cross when Jesus fell down exhausted, and several others who had seen and sorrowed over the crucifying the sorrowful group for a distance.

Mary's head was bowed low, her veil drawn closely over her face. She walked like one in a trance, and the crowds sensing some sanctity about the sorrowful woman—even those who were not aware of her Sorrow—made way for her, the word unspoken on their lips as she passed by.

Near the Gates the crowds were swelling, and though they were on the fringe making their way for the Jericho road which would take them to Bethany, John found it hard to lead the way quickly enough.

There were pilgrims and visitors from many lands, dressed in many a strange costume and speaking strange tongues. There were many from Galilee, known by their full-throated voices even before they were seen.

There were richly dressed merchants and their wives from Sidon and Tyre as well as humble fishermen come to sell their fish in Jerusalem. There were sun-burnt people from Hebron, and from further south, from Egypt and Arabia. There were bland, worldlywise citizens of Jericho, who had come to Jerusalem, moving with the fashion because the Ethnarch of Juda had moved his court to Jerusalem for the Feast. There were Romans and Greeks and Ethiopians, and others from beyond Damascus, and those from India.

Every lodging house and inn was full. Those who were eager to be within the City Gates had put their bundles down in courtyards and stables and temple porches. Thousands were encamped on the slopes of the hills around.

Caiaphas, the High Priest, who had gone up to the roof terrace of the Temple ready for the evening prayer ranged his eyes across the vale of Kedron, over the Mount of Olives, whose slopes were a sea of tents of pilgrims and visitors, and then westwards over the Western Hills, on which rose terrace after terrace of flat-roofed houses. The canal which Pilate, the Roman Governor, had cut to bring water from Bethlehem to Jerusalem lay like a gleaming snake across the Western Hills. Closer, on the high hill to the north was the Upper City, and sloping away beyond the Lower City.

Caiaphas saw the great city of Jerusalem from east to west, from north to south, and his heart knew not its bounds for very pride. A hundred thousand souls, Caiaphas said to himself, were there at this moment, and but for a few hundred Romans, Gentiles, and heathens, they were all Israel's children.

If I forget thee, O Jerusalem . . .

Worthily said, thought Caiaphas, and agreed with the Prophet. But who could forget Jerusalem ! He could imagine of none. Then suddenly he remembered. Unless there were more like that boastful impostor, the Rabbi Jesus, who hung on the Cross over on their the hill of Golgotha.

Recalling the presumptuous boasts of the false Christ, whom he had sent to the Cross, Caiaphas faced the setting sun with a wrathful face and vengeful heart and asked for the Lord God's punishment upon the blasphemer's soul certain in his mind that Jerusalem and the laws of Rome and indeed been too merciful to Jesus.

As his eyes fell upon the city a mellow mood became his. He saw Jerusalem as the Prophets had seen it—the City of Peace, holy, clothed in beautiful garments, and comely like a bride.

He saw its historic Gates—the Damascus Gate, the Ephraim Gate, the South Gate, the Fountain Gate—and he thought of the caravans and crowds entering the city at that very moment. From Damascus, through Galilee of the beautiful valleys and rich wheat fields and vineclad Samaria, from Beer-sheba past the sacred tomb of Abraham, past Etam of Solomon's glory, past David's Bethlehem, and from lands further south—they had come. From lands east of the Jordan-Persia and Ind, by way of Jericho, the Pleasure City, the City of Palms, the capital of the National Ruler. And Caiaphas said to himself : the Lord God of Isreal is merciful and kind and just to the seed of Abraham.

Caiaphas did not see the misery and the poverty and the squalor of the slums ; nor the narrow lanes where garbage and filth stank. He did not see the furtive seeking and getting of the things that ministered to the flesh that went on in those dark alleys. His eyes were shut to the dunghills that shamed the golden trappings of the Temple.

Caiaphas only saw the greatness of Jerusalem, the greatness of Israel, and the splendour of the tribute the children of Israel were paying to the memory of that deliverance in Egypt.

True, they paid tribute to Caesar in Rome, and the King of Israel was yet to come ; but Israel had cause to be exceedingly proud and exceedingly thankful to the Lord God.

Caiaphas was learned in the prophecies, and knew the five books of Moses, and before

he became High Priest had read them in the synagogues on the Sabbath days. And, as a young man betrothed to the daughter of Annas, then High Priest, he had pondered deeply over the wisdom of Solomon :

He that loveth silver shall not be satisfied with silver

But the abundance of the rich will not suffer him to sleep

Caiphas did not enjoy his sleep so well these days, and the night before he had had none. But he had ceased long ago to recall Solomon's wisdom when he lay awake at nights.

All around from the many bazaars—the Cheesemakers' Bazaar, the the Fish Bazaar, the Tailors' Bazaar, the Sandal-makers' Bazaar the Corn Bazaar, the Wool Bazaar, from the crowds of buyers and sellers, their faces curiously aglow in the twilight there issued an endless shouting which to one listening from a distance sounded like the heart-throb of the Earth itself.

But to John, who had now guided Mary, and his mother, Salome, past the thickest of the crowd, it recalled an occasion when He whom he loved so well had quoted that unconventional old Rabbi, the great Hillel : The more flesh, the more worms.

At that moment, heard only by those who were very near, the voice of Caiphas rose from the turret of the Temple :

Hear, O Israel, Yahweh Our God, Yehwah is one !

And from hundreds of synagogues which were strewn over Jerusalem the same cry went forth :

Hear, O Israel, Yahweh our God, Yahweh is one !

Then the sun which earlier in the afternoon had been overcast hid by dark clouds, so dark that for some minutes people lighted torches to see their way, and which had since been glowing fiercely, went down. And night came over Jerusalem, a night mellowed by the Full Moon of Nisan. And the hilly road to

Bethany two miles away was softened and lighted by the moon. Along it came late travellers who had come from Jericho, from the north Galilee and Samaria—and they came like those at the end of a journey speaking a word or two at a time among themselves, they came like those too fatigued to take another step but going forward drawn by the lights of Jerusalem. They knew not what had befallen Jerusalem, between dawn and darkness that day. And they took no notice of the two veiled women who passed them going in the opposite direction towards Bethany.

4. Golgotha to Bethany

At the third hour they crucified Him, along with two thieves. He had refused the myrrh-mixed wine offered Him, while the other two drank it scorning Him for being different. And, as they hung on the cross they reviled Him. The Roman soldiers fixed the legend on his Cross : "The King of the Jews", and they began to share out his garments which they had taken away from Him.

Mary, His mother, red-eyed and weary—she had neither eaten nor drunk for twelve hours—wept silently into her bosom, her head bent, her dusty veil drawn closely over her face. A little apart Martha's sister, the Magdalene, and her own sister Salome, the mother of John, and Mary, the wife of Clophas were wailing loudly rending the air with cries of *Ah-lalla ! Ah-lalla !* John stood near Mary.

Suddenly in a feeble voice he called, "Woman, Behold Thy Son" and she looked up quickly only to avert her eyes and for a few minutes she sobbed loudly.

He called out once more addressing his voice to John : "Behold, Thy mother !" John stepped closer to her and placed his hand gently on her arm.

Then a dark cloud, the likeness of which they had never before seen in Palestine, hid the sun, and the land was in darkness. It was only the sixth hour and people withdrew into their homes in fear, and the milling crowds in the Temple scattered, and the bellowing from the

bullocks and the bleating from the rams and goats and the cooing from the myriad doves—all awaiting sacrificial slaughter—increased a hundredfold, for animals sense evil from afar ; and those who kept stalls in the markets and those who had to go on errands lit torches. Thus the pall of darkness remained over Jerusalem until the ninth hour.

At the ninth hour He called out : *Eloi, Eloi, lama sa-bachtgani !* (My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?).

Someone dipped a sponge in vinegar, and sticking it up at the end of a reed pressed it against his mouth. He moved his head away, and with an agonised cry yielded the Spirit.

Mary Magdalene, Salome, and Mary, the wife of Clophas now burst into louder wailing, but Mary was like one numbed and kept her eyes lowered. John looked up at Jesus and then looked at the horizon overcast by the westering sun, glowing reddish and angry.

John controlled his grief. The events that he had witnessed that day had not been entirely unexpected. The Master Himself had known that His hour would come and that hands would be laid on Him. John's grief, therefore, was sustained by his great faith. During the three hours of darkness following the Crucifixion John had seen a Light. Even as he was trying to comfort Mary he had been absorbed in his reflections over the Master's teachings and His uncompleted mission which His disciples must now complete.

The sun went down without lingering to tint the valleys and the olive-clad hills and all over Jerusalem a myriad lights came to life. The Temple and the synagogues and the bazaars and inns began buzzing with the tumult and excitement of the Paschal week, while hundreds of late pilgrims were still pouring into the city through its many gates. And the Full Moon of Nisan rose in a cloudless sky touching the Man of Sorrows as He hung on the Cross at Golgotha.

John touched her on the arm, and at his sign she followed him, her steps faltering and

unwilling, while Salome walked behind her. Mary Magdalene, who lived with her sister Martha at Bethany, and Mary, the wife of Clophas, Joseph's brother, remained at the foot of the Cross.

From Golgotha to Bethany was a distance of two miles, but Mary who had in her lifetime known many journeys, over waterless deserts, across the wilderness, when they existed on wild honey and locusts, had known no road longer or harder to walk.

Her thoughts were poignant indeed, and sometimes, they chased each other overtaking a strain of thought that held her. She thought of all the things that had happened to her and to Jesus. She recalled the apprehension that clutched at her the moment she heard the decision of Jesus to go to Jerusalem for the pass-over. "Behold, we go up to Jerusalem," he had told them. He had not asked her to join but she had nevertheless followed Him, fearing, hoping, and praying. She never liked Jerusalem with its noisy bazaars and its ostentatious wealth and the wives and daughters of the rich priests and merchants flaunting their wealth. And there were the Roman soldiers whom she feared only a little less than she feared the priests. Pontius Pilate was the Roman Governor, and he had set up Caesar's standard in the Castle of Antonia defying the protests of the Jews who had never bowed down to an image. But she feared Pilate less. If only Jesus would not create a disturbance in the temple during the sacrifices and the feast ! There was still a chance that He and His disciples and she herself could go back to Galilee, and its simple unlettered folk who eked out an existence by fishing.

Contrary to her forebodings Jesus had been unusually mild in His conduct on this visit, except for that gesture when He entered Jerusalem riding on an ass. There was, for example, that Scribe who came to Him with questions, probably sent by His enemies to provoke Him to an angry answer. But how mildly He had answered the man's question as to what the First Commandment was : "The first of all

the Commandments is, Hear, O Israel ; the Lord our God is one Lord ; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the First Commandment. And the second is like, namely, this, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other Commandment greater than these."

And how well controlled He had been when questioned by Pilate. "Art thou the King of the Jews?" Pilate had asked Him, and His answer was "Thou sayest it."

She was not a clever woman and she had not read the Prophecies, but since He gathered round His disciples she had overheard their talk many a time, and had learnt much and come to marvel at His wisdom. And now this terrible tragedy to happen ! Could it be the fulfilment of that prophecy of Isaiah? Was Jesus really the Man of Sorrows that Isaiah had prophesied about?

Had not Isaiah said :

"He is despised and rejected of men : a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief : and we hid as it were our faces from him : he was despised, and we esteemed him not.

Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows : yet we did esteem stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted.

But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities : the chastisement of our peace was upon him ; and with his stripes we are healed.....

He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth : he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth.

He was taken from prison and from judgment : and who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off out of the land of the living : for the

transgression of my people was he stricken.

And he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death ; because he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth.

Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him....."

No : she could not understand the iniquity of His trial and crucifixion. She recalled His Last Supper the previous evening. He had hardly eaten anything. He did not touch the Paschal lamb, and broke the bread and ate only a piece. He sipped just one sip of wine, though Martha had placed meat and wine in abundance before Him. He broke the bread only that he might give it to His disciples. He sipped the wine only that He might pass the goblet round.

And how loving He had always been towards children ! "And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name receiveth me. But who so shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea."

And then she remembered what the Roman centurion had said : "Truly this man was the Son of God."

Having led her more than half way on the road to Bethany, John left her in the care of Salome and returned to Golgotha where he met Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea. Joseph had obtained Pilate's permission for the burial of His body and they had taken it down from the Cross and wound it in linen with myrrh and aloes. They placed His body in the newly hewn tomb belonging to Joseph of Arimathea and having rolled a rock against its mouth they went away because the Sabbath had already begun.

The day after the Sabbath Mary Magdalene came to the tomb and was surprised to see that the rock had been rolled away and that His body was not in the tomb. She hastened to tell the news to the others and John and Peter also came and saw that what Magdalene

had said was true. They went away to tell others while Mary waited by the tomb and as she kept vigil He appeared to her and was gone the next instant.

That same evening while the disciples were at Martha's house He appeared to them and gave them many other signs of His Resurrection. That same day two other disciples were at Emmaus, about five miles from Jerusalem and He appeared to them and partook of their bread "and blessed it, and broke, and gave to them." When His presence was gone they said to each other : "Did not our heart burn within us, while He talked with us by the way, and while He opened to us the scriptures."

They went back to Bethany and told the eleven disciples of their experience. The eleven were themselves talking about the visions they had seen and were saying : "The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon." There were many other signs of His Resurrection.

"But these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through His name."

Mary's doubts were laid at rest and she and Martha and Magdalene, and James and John and Peter, they dedicated their lives thenceforth to His memory.



MEN AND MATTERS

BY

C. H. V. PATHY

The spotlight of international tension has swung to Asia and we are beginning to hear the beat of war drums over the Himalayan hump where the Communist troops from China are fast digging themselves in. Their wanton aggression into the soil which belongs to us has raised the question whether force will be needed to eject them. Judging by past experiences, it looks as though statements from Delhi will leave them cold and indifferent. They nibbled on the frontiers of Burma a few years back and are out on a programme of expansionism. It is foolish to lull ourselves into the belief that the asperities of Communism are weakening. Whether directed by Moscow or Peking, the Reds had their eyes on the capture of the Red Fort at Delhi and the planting of the hammer and sickle flag.

The initial strategy of Communists in India in the late twenties and thirties was to penetrate the Congress organisation covertly with the ultimate aim of seizing its control when Mahatma Gandhi and the established leaders should disappear. This in a way corresponded to the strategy in China of penetrating the Kuomintang. The outstanding incident was the attempt to co-operate between E. M. S. Nambudiripad, later Chief Minister of Kerala and Jaya Prakash Narayan, leader of the Socialist Party. The phase ended in recrimination when Jaya Prakash denounced the Communists for trying to gain control of Congress committees by infiltrating in unacknowledged members of the Communist party. But Congress was never in much danger from these plots.

During the inter-war years, the Communist party collided with the Congress. After the war, it worked for revolution, not in association with the Congress, but against it. Gandhiji and Nehru were denounced as agents of capitalism and imperialism.

The first major Communist action was at Vayalar in the present Kerala State. This was the home of many Ezhavas, many of whom had served in the war in the Labour Corps. Communist propaganda in the army had infected many of them to drastic action on their demobilization. In 1946, they seized an island and defied the local authorities. To put down the rising, the Travancore Government had to use the army.

The next major action was in Telengana. This had been chosen because it was on the borders of Hyderabad State and Madras, and a border region favours insurrection since the police are under different authorities in different sides of the border. In Telengana, the Reds played on the bitterness of the Andhra people whose demand for a separate State had not been conceded at that time.

After the failure in Telengana, the Indian Communists continued to suffer adversely until the middle fifties. An attempt to organise a "Little Yemen" in Assam was given up. In the fifties, the Reds in our country shifted their interest to Parliamentary methods, and did so well in the general elections of 1957 in Kerala that they were able to form the Government. After two years of power, the Nambudiripad Ministry became so unpopular that it had to be jockeyed out.

The dismissal of the Kerala Ministry and the according asylum to Dalai Lama in India have apparently infuriated Peking which has now started a drive which threatens India's Independence.

The Prime Minister knows about the gravity of the situation and troops have been rushed to defend our threatened frontier. The entire nation has rallied behind Nehru, and if it comes to a show down, we will fight, even if

need be with our lathis. It will be a long and bitter struggle but the ultimate outcome will be a victory for democratic powers.

Eisenhower's visit

It is against this background that one has to envisage the significance of President Eisenhower's visit to our country in the first week of December. He comes at a time when we are literally at the cross roads of our destiny. Our Prime Minister has stated in the most unmistakable language that whatever happens we will not abandon our policy of non-alignment. Ike who scored a personal triumph during his tour of Great Britain, France and Germany will repeat his feat in New Delhi where he stays for four days.

The President of the United States is today one of the greatest architects of peace. He talked with refreshing sincerity, candour and friendliness to Harold Macmillan, President de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer. The principal outcome of his peace Odyssey in Europe was an enhancement of his prestige. If the United States throws her full weight of moral support on the side of India, the Communists will think twice before any foolish military adventure. In the build up of a universal anti-Red front, both our Prime Minister and President Eisenhower must throw their weight.

India is the last bastion of democracy in a troubled Asia, and if she too were to go under the heel of Communism, millions will become hewers of wood and drawers of water to crafty leaders who have strode to the front rank by devious methods. India will not fight alone; she will have friends and allies including the formerly hostile Pakistan.

As I type these lines, the President's Press Secretary, M. James O. Hagerty is already in Delhi, finalising plans for the reception and stay of the President. He is accompanied by twenty officials with long experience in security arrangements.

Ace columnist

Now in India is Walter Lippman, one of the ace columnists and commentators of the

United States. He is often called the man with the searchlight mind. His close study of international affairs and keen analytical powers to interpret world events have earned for him a reputation as one of the most distinguished critics of the political and social scene. His newspaper column, "Today and Tomorrow" which is syndicated in over 200 newspapers and read religiously by eight million readers has brought his influence in American public life and recognition as the dean of political commentators of the world. His way of presentation is polished and scholarly and his expression penetratingly clear.

Past sixty, Walter retains the same alert interest in life which was an outstanding characteristic of his youthful days when he completed a four-year course at Harvard and then worked as assistant to the philosopher, George Santayana. During the first world war, Lippman served as an assistant to the U.S. Secretary of War and later as a captain of military intelligence in France.

In 1921, he joined the staff of "New York World." Within two years, he was in charge of its editorial page and later became its editor. His writings during those years are described as "the brightest lighthouse in U.S. journalism."

In 1931, Lippman joined the staff of "New York Herald Tribune." His articles gradually developed into the well-known newspaper column which has influenced American public life for over 30 years. He generally brings his own careful study and analysis on U.S. Governmental policy and action and never hesitates to criticise if occasion so demands. His column is a typical example of the freedom of expression which has long remained a cherished tradition of the American Press.

Sanjeeva Reddi to Delhi

Barring a last minute surprise development, Mr. N. Sanjeeva Reddi, the present Chief Minister of Andhra State will be the next Congress President for a two-year term. Inevitably he will have to resign his present job and make Delhi his headquarters. The

Congress Crown has ceased to have the significance it had before the attainment of freedom by our country, but even then it has a value of its own because much will depend on the way the chief of the organisation handles delicate problems in the States. Srimathi Indira Gandhi has stepped down on the ground that her health is none too good. During her tenure she acted without fear and showed a sense of realism.

Sanjeeva Reddi who stems from a peasant stock in Royalaseema has a rich record of sacrifice and service. He was for a while Minister in the composite Madras State. For a few years he was at the helm of Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee. He also played a notable part in the events leading to the creation of Andhra State. He functioned as Deputy Chief Minister under Mr. T. Prakasam and became Chief Minister after the 1957 general elections. He is a man of the masses who is accustomed to the rough and tumble of a hard life. He will inject new blood into the Congress organization and will face the challenge of the Swatantra Party with courage and determination.

He gave up his studies a few years ago in response to the call of Gandhiji and embraced the cross. He has a quick and alert brain and an essentially democratic outlook. His exit from Andhra public life is certainly a loss to that State, but there is satisfaction that he is giving to the nation what he was formerly giving to his community-men.

Stormy meeting

The shadow of aggressive China has fallen across our political landscape with the result that the winter session of Lok Sabha is meeting in an atmosphere taut with tension. An oath of secrecy was clamped down on each of the 300 and odd members who recently attended one of the stormiest meetings of the Congress Parliamentary Party. The meeting lasted two hours and a half and was addressed by seven members including the Prime Minister. The meeting was mainly devoted to a discussion of the consequences of the border dispute,

particularly on internal cohesion and national unity. The proceedings were marked by uproarious scenes and interruptions. The Prime Minister is reported to have told the meeting that there was no need to feel panicky. The Defence Minister, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon was a target of attack from more than one member. His main supporter was Mr. Feroze Gandhi. It is very doubtful whether the Prime Minister would jettison him from his Cabinet team.

Reach for the Moon

At the present moment when vast sums of money are being expended and the service of many eminent scientists and technicians pressed into action in analysing what lies in the moon, the ordinary man or woman may well ask whether it is all necessary. It seems to be generally well agreed that whatever may be the case with the planets, it is in the least degree unlikely that there are sentient beings on the moon or that it is fit for human habitation.

It is a matter of complete indifference for us whether the Stars and Stripes or the Hammer and Sickle is hoisted there. But one would have thought that, before troubling about other celestial bodies and spending billions of roubles or dollars, we might try to make things better in the world we live in. The resources human and material, expended on these adventures in space would, if properly applied, lift the standard of life for millions of under privileged human beings. It is generally recognised that if we could get a stable world, peace and general disarmament, the resources set free would be able to rid the world of mass poverty.

Winter arrives

On the heel of a brilliant spurt of rainfall, winter has come to Madras. There is a nip in the air and many have begun to unpack sweaters lying unused in their cupboards. Cultural programmes have been stepped up. Apart from our top ranking dancers and musicians regaling week end audiences, we have had in our midst dancers from America and

German Democratic Republic. Folk dances of any country are always popular, for they are the expression of the common people. Both the American and German team scored great hits at Annamalai Hall where seats had to be booked many days in advance. The costumes were colourful and the music superb.

The other big attraction is the racing at Guindy. Punters have their usual ups and downs. Judging by the crowd which is seen on almost all the racing days, it looks as though its abolition at some distant date will be received with sorrow by those who have made and lost fortunes.

A Congress Catch

The Congress Party deserves to be congratulated on the acquisition to its ranks of Mr. P. V. G. Raju, M.P., who till recently was a shining light of the Socialist Party.

Raju is the Raja of Vizianagaram, who from an early age, showed a tendency for renunciation. He inherited a vast estate, one of the richest zamindaris in the country but parcelled out large chunks of land to peasants.

He started his political life under the inspiration of "Andhra Kesari" Prakasam and was a shining light of the Praja Socialist Party in the Madras Legislature. He got elected from Vizianagaram after the separation of Andhra and sat in opposition benches. His wife Srimathi Kusam Gajapatty Raju was also an elected member of the Andhra Assembly. In the 1957 general elections, he contested for Lok Sabha and got returned. Owing to ideological differences, he branched off from Dr. Lohia, who was once his political Guru and led a small group in Parliament.

One of the most well read men in India, he made useful contributions to debates in the Lok Sabha. It is a matter of gratification that he has at last chosen to join the Congress ranks. The Prime Minister will have in this young man, a pillar of strength and it is hoped that his brilliant talents would before long be harnessed in the diplomatic service.

Raju plays golf and tennis, is a brilliant conversationalist and polishes off a book per day. He is in his early forties.

Bifurcation of Bombay

Linguism has come home to stay. After the carve-up of Kerala, we will soon see the bifurcation of Bombay State. The new States of Gujarat and Maharashtra will come into being on April 1 next year.

It will be recalled that three years back, there was a bitter battle on this issue, but the Central Government took a firm stand and refused to accede to the demands of Gujaratis and Maharastrians for separate States. But discontent has been simmering and the authorities have come to realise that unless this issue is settled, there will be no harmonious life in Bombay City.

The nine-member committee set up by the Congress President under the Chairmanship of Pandit Pant, to report on the future of Bombay, is expected to finalise its findings on December 10. By then, the committee will be in possession of the report of the Finance Committee set up by the Bombay Government, to assess the assets and liabilities of the State.

The nine-man committee's report will be discussed by the Union Cabinet immediately after which a draft bill to bifurcate the Bombay State will be presented. Its passage is almost certain. What the future city will be is not known but Maharastrians who constitute the majority of the population would lay claim to it. Ahmedabad may be the capital of the Gujarat State to be. While Maharashtra would have a surplus budget from the commencement, Gujarat will have to wade through deficit budgets for many years. Gujaratis who will lack a good port will develop Kandla.

Who will be the pilots at the helm in either State is also not known. In all probability Mr. Chavan will head the Maharashtra State while Dr. Jivaraj Mehta or Dhebar will be the first Chief Minister of Gujarat.

Dr. John Matthai

India in general and the Christian community in particular has sustained a grievous loss in

the passing of Dr. John Matthai. Stemming from a well-known Christian family in Kottayam, he started life as a lawyer in Madras but got disillusioned quite early and switched on to teaching. He paired with Professor Candeth in the Presidency College where he taught economics. Thereafter came quick changes in his career. He became Chairman of the Tariff Board where his work was praised as outstanding.

He caught the eye of the Bombay Industrialist J. R. D. Tata and worked as Director in Tatas for several years. A brief innings as Finance Minister in the Central Cabinet, came to an end when he differed with the Prime Minister on the question of planning. He went back to the Tatas. He also functioned in the evening of his life as Vice-Chancellor of Bombay and Kerala Universities. He has contributed extensively to the Press.

Dr. Matthai led a very methodical life. He had a passion for punctuality and one could set one's watch to the timing of his walk round the Oval in Bombay. His room in "Bombay House" had one of Shankar's cartoons about him. He had a profound sense of humour and narrated in one of his broadcasts, how in the first case he conducted as lawyer, he got a bunch of bananas as fees.

He was lucky in his wife who is a great social worker. She was a great asset to her talented husband.

Summit Meeting

Whether it be in New York, Geneva or even Moscow, a Summit Meeting to resolve the world tangle is definitely in the offing before long. And this is not the first time that a meeting of world statesmen takes place.

Three years back, in the first week of August, Geneva witnessed a meeting of the Big Four. They included Eisenhower, Bulganin, Faure and Eden. Along with them came a fleet of secretaries, diplomats, security agents, correspondents and photographers. The venue of the meeting was the conference chamber of the now defunct League of Nations. Here sat

the Big Four, each on one side of a vast table, flanked and supported in depth by advisers in full conference array. Advisers to the Western Powers—United States and Great Britain—represented the vast apparatus of North Atlantic diplomacy.

The conference was historic because for the first time since the Russian Revolution, top Soviet leaders were forced to operate in the open, where the world could watch them. For six days, from three to four hours per day, and at many social functions, the Russian entourage was given the most searching scrutiny by American, French and British leaders.

Geneva was a triumph for Eisenhower because of his surprise proposal that Soviet Russia and the United States exchange complete blue prints of their respective military establishments and open both countries to unlimited aerial inspection.

The Russians were stunned. Bulganin suggested that the proposal should be turned over to the Big Four Ministers. By week-end, the conference became one between Eisenhower and the Russians.

This time too, Eisenhower will hold the trump card. He was on a peace Odyssey in Europe a few weeks back and will have finished touring Asiatic countries by the time these lines appear in print.

In the context of Chinese aggression into Indian territory, Pandit Nehru must be summoned for the summit meeting. He is one of the great architects of peace in the world today, and if the powerful President of the United States collaborates with him in making the world safe for democracy, we will have achieved a minor miracle. De Gaulle of France and Macmillan of Great Britain who will surely be included will throw their full weight in pulling the chestnuts out of the fire in Asia.

Most probably, the summit meeting will take place early next year. But if the situation on the Indian border deteriorates, there is just the possibility that Delhi may become the venue of the big meet.

DOLLAR ON SELF-DEFENCE

BY

POTHAN JOSEPH

America contains a milling crowd of millionaires, not a few benevolently disposed out of sheer surfeit or through refined social sense; but America is in debt. Since the phenomenon mainly affects the internal economy of the land and since there is vast living space still to be peopled, they are in no panic, although during the last quarter the Treasury noticing the drain on U.S. gold reserves has started wondering if America too would not run into difficulties on foreign exchange account or the maintenance of a premium dollar, if the economy is not re-gearred for stalling rudimentary currency troubles apparent in under-developed nations financed by Uncle Sam.

With a population well below 200 million, there is no occasion for the United States to be in a scare about living space. They could control the arrival of immigrants, although the poetical verse of Emma Lazarus on the Statue of Liberty beckons welcome to all. They have their devices of population-control by restricted entry in lieu of our efforts in India of birth-control as the means of holding down population through an embargo on potential progeny in the mechanics of procreation, thus shutting out fresh emigrants into our midst from the womb of nature.

No country hails us as welcome settlers: Ceylon, Burma, Malaya and the Settlements. Africans now awakened would all be glad if the last Indian sailed from their shore. The late Bandaranayake once said that he would see the happiest man in the world if he could die the last Indian leave Ceylon. We are a home-keeping race by instinct and when abroad we are apt to be clannish with no urge to mingle and melt into permanent domicile. The nostalgia is there, incurable. America and Australia practise control at the very portals, whereas the White settlers of Africa, already in, are alarmed at the consciousness that they are

vastly out-numbered in an age of "One Man One Vote."

The American out of his abundance has a plus account in foreign trade which can be straightened only by Americans spending it in the form of counterpart currency abroad whether the medium of clearance is expenditure on foreign bases or missionary outposts. And since they could afford to spend liberally even in their philanthropic services to comparative starvelings in underdeveloped countries, they excite a certain modicum of jealousy and let us add, incredulity.

Hunger rouses the masses by the siren-call of Communism they believe, and they hold that if underfed inhabitants are uplifted into plump welfare and feel happy in the higher standards of living, the millions in incipient revolt would settle down in lotus-peace. Can anyone be sure? No adequate estimate has been taken of the potentials of revolt arising from the well-fed condition of *Homo Sapiens* who does not shed his characteristics of original sin. One need not believe in the doctrine of original sin when one could think of originality in the practice of sinning.

The American Treasury officials are slightly perturbed at their own balance of payments position, and they ask if it is unfair that American contributions to the Development Loan Fund recently floated should be in the form of U.S. goods. The grant-in-aid dependencies (India is high up in the list) feel that the cost of American manufactures being stiff compared with West German and Japanese products, the condition is restrictive of "Sovereignty." Some economists have even cried "Strings! Strings!"

A relevant consideration is that America is the only lender accepting rupees in clearance of development-credits to India without requiring that they be repaid in exports or made conver-

tible. As Mr. Houston recently underlined, the proceeds of dollar investment are to be ploughed back into India's economy to augment productivity over the long-term plan to which India has subscribed as ardent beneficiary. American private capital is increasing in India, and on November 10 our envoy in Washington signed a pact to stimulate further investments by the concession that the U.S. Government could accord full credit to American firms in India in respect of tax-exemptions at the hands of our Board of Revenue. The D.L.F. has signed agreements with the Government of India up to a bestowal of 196 million dollars still lying unspent and in no case would the counsel "Buy American" affect that block of allotment.

At the GATT Conference in Tokyo, India's representative Minister Kanungo argued that prosperous countries giving aid to backward regions should welcome goods supplied by their *clientele*. Consumers go by quality and price when they ultimately buy their requirements in the market with no thoughts of diplomatic fraternization at high level. Adjustments cannot be forced as long as individual discretion to pick and choose exists. The fear of deficit-reactions has crept into the consciousness of American benevolence and enlightened self-interest.

The memories of the Great Depression are not dead in America, an economic cataclysm

that overwhelmed the common man who had been serene in the enjoyment of social security. People were amazed at the drop of the dollar; as also the value of insurance policies and annuities slumped. In India today the rise of prices implies the dilution of the rupee and heavy taxation is hidden in the price of the things we buy.

In American newspapers and magazines, we find the magic word printed "Buy Defence Bonds." It is a perennial appeal. Not War Bonds, because no nation wants war, and it is no peculiar Indian *mantram* to say that war is tragic folly since war settles nothing. Peace cannot be said to settle everything either, since at worst it produces cold war susceptible to prolonged abatement of open trouble by optimistic talks. No, the fighting establishment is meant only for defence against wanton aggression when even non-justifiable causes are being negotiated.

The American citizen responds to the call "Buy Defence Bonds," and the Federal Treasury is bound to keep the value of the Dollar intact as a pledge of good faith. If there is any sagging tendency, it affects the pulse-beat of millions of small investors in America and the treasury automatically gets alerted. This economic motivation should be understood also by grant-in-aid countries which claim capital and market at the same time, before giving credit to the good turn done.

EDUCATION FOR PRODUCTIVITY

BY

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

Productivity is the order of the day in India as in all progressive countries. According to the Planning Commission the II Five Year Plan "must provide for a large increase in production, investment and employment." The Prime Minister year in and year out, all these years of freedom and independence, has been preaching the gospel of productivity. Produce or perish is his threatening exhortation. It is necessary not only to increase national wealth, and individual standards of living but to maintain a sound balance of payments so that India having become politically independent may not be sold into economic servitude. Toward increased productivity the system of education can make a considerable contribution. The Planning Commission says, "the system of education has a determining influence on the rate at which economic progress is achieved, economic development makes growing demands on human resources and in a democratic set-up calls for values and attitudes in the building of which the quality of education is an important element." For education has to do with the making of the character, the knowledge, and the skills that will enable the people to produce wealth and produce it abundantly. Leibniz the great German Philosopher and statesman of the 17th century went so far as to say that "education could transform the mentality and character of a people in less than a century." Now, does Indian education make for the economic growth and prosperity of the people, and if it does not—obviously it does not—for if it did we would not have to listen to the never-ending complaint from native and foreign observers of Indian economy that Indian producers of wealth are not as productive as they ought to be—how can it be improved?

But first we must enquire what is it that makes people economically active and progressive. What are the "values and attitudes,"

to use the Planning Commission's words, that induce economic progressiveness in people. The history of progressive societies and peoples shows, in the first place, that Reason and Realism must inform their individual and social lives. Their life must be built on and adjusted to facts—facts of nature, of history, of contemporary experience. Freedom, initiative enterprise must be the notes of the life of the individual. Old ideas and customs which might have served the economy of other days and other circumstances must give way to new ideas and institutions and practices called for by the new circumstances of the present day. Montesquieu attributed the greatness of the Romans to the fact that whenever they came across new ideas or practices in their course of empire they adopted them if they found them useful.

It follows that the education that will serve the purpose of economic progress must prepare those that undergo it for a life of free activity, of enterprise and initiative. It must aim first of all at the making of suitable character. It must aim at the making of men and women, self-controlled, self-disciplined and self-reliant. The development of faculties and powers must fill a larger place than instruction. And the instruction must be largely in the facts of nature, of life, of the history of progressive peoples. Observation, the practice of finding out things for oneself, the training of the eye towards this end must be largely used. As the end is to train producers and makers of wealth the training of the hand is indicated—for it is the hand of the worker, the ploughman, the artisan, the mechanic that produces the wealth of a country. As the great French statesman and maker of France, Richelieu, said, "In every well regulated State the teachers of the mechanical arts must be larger in number than the teachers of the liberal arts."

It is all so materialistic, I can hear my readers say. I am not proposing the exclusion of culture from my scheme of education. There will be room for cultural subjects in the several grades of education. Only the bias will be in favour of the useful and the practical arts. By all means let us have education for life, but life includes livelihood. The Spens Committee on Secondary Education in their Report of 1939, one of the landmarks in the history of English education say "We accept fully the position that school studies should fit boys and girls for the practical affairs of life and that if they do not do so they are badly planned or badly conducted." Productive education does provide for cultural education. All the great Technical Institutions of Europe and the U.S.A. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology down to the juniormost technical school provides for instruction in Languages, Literature History. "No educational heresy" say the Spens Committee "is so serious as the belief that culture and practical utility are mutually exclusive."

Let us now see how these principles of educational construction are realized in Indian education in its several grades. Taking primary education, we must remind ourselves that the primary aim of primary education is literacy. That has been so everywhere. And recent experience has brought in another argument for the promotion of literacy. Russia which wants to catch up the rest of the progressive world in productivity has placed the liquidation of illiteracy among its first objective. As a result of this policy within 20 years (1917-1935) 88% of the Russian population was made literate, 66% being women. The motive was an economic motive *i.e.*, to make the workers (industrial and agricultural) able to read and apply the incessant, almost daily, directions, suggestions, advice, information issuing from the Government on matters industrial and agricultural.

What is the record of India in primary education and towards the liquidation of illiteracy. In the 10 years of freedom and

independence literacy has risen from 25 to 35% in the most advanced state and from 5 to 10% in the most backward states. The rate of increase in the number of children in the age group 6-14 years (the years of primary education) is from 32% in 1950 to 40% in 1953 and 49% in 1959. At this rate it will be 50 years before we reach complete literacy—we shall have reached it in 2000 A.D.—that is if we are allowed to live so long.

As for the content of primary education it tends to be as full as the makers of courses of study (not all of them teachers) can make it: One language to start with and two languages to end with, history, geography (social studies to use the strange new learned device) and nature study. And now Basic Education has come to bedevil this course. One craft is to be chosen and the whole course of studies is to turn round it. If spinning is chosen the history of spinning, the geography of spinning, the study of the cotton, the spinning wheel that is used, will have to be gone through by the child of 6-14 years. Apart from the fact that the history and geography of spinning is soon told for it is only hand-spinning that is used, all this may be unrelated to the life of the pupil. And basic education requires a specially trained, higher-grade personnel, special equipment, and therefore more money. That is why the progress of basic education is so slow. After 10 years of continuous propaganda only 11% of primary school children are in basic schools. If all the 90 odd crores, ear-marked for primary education in the second Plan Budget were spent on the promotion of literacy the liquidation of illiteracy may be much nearer than it is today. Basic education is an experiment, literacy is a proved experience. The great thing in primary education as in all education is to build up the mind of the child so that it could learn things itself. Not the pumping of information into the infant's mind. That seems to be the object of all our curriculum and syllabuses. The makers of these courses seem to say as in the doggerel,

Ram it in, ram it in
Children's heads are hollow
Ram it in, ram it in
Still there's more to follow.

All that literacy could require in the primary school is the teaching of the old fashioned three R's. The lessons in class should spring out of the environment of the pupil—the trees, the soil, the birds, the insects, the animals that he sees all around him. One comprehensive reader for each year could contain all the stories, the history, the geography, the nature studies that the boy or girl at this stage needs. The one fruitful idea of basic education *i.e.*, training of the hand in some craft could be given through gardening in rural schools, or carpentry in urban schools with a small shed and a few tools.

As for the making of character it is the one thing necessary in all education. And in the primary schools the teachers must be equipped for this task. Not set moral lessons but every lesson, geography, history, science, the Reader, could furnish opportunities to the teacher to inculcate the practice of respect for truth and for the laws of nature and society, self-control, self-reliance, self-help, punctuality, regard for others. More than his lessons his life must be the maker of his pupil's character. A well regulated home life with an educated wife who also could take part in the teaching lived in a home built for him by the Government and which might serve as a model house and home for all the village is the best teacher of good living to the school and neighbourhood. This kind of teacher and teacher's life will cost money. But a Government which looks to education to produce productive and progressive workers cannot stint the money required. The return to such productive expenditure will be as precious as it will be substantial.

Turning to secondary education we find it falling between two schools—general education and technical training. A number of technical courses have been introduced into the secondary school courses. On account of the cost of technical courses, the Secretariat course is the

most popular. And the technical courses which few schools can afford will not give the technical training that employers in factories and workshops will require from applicants for skilled work. All that these technical courses in secondary schools will give is some degree of manual training. That training of the hand which is as necessary for general education as for technical education apart from drawing classes which must be introduced in primary and secondary schools can be given in a school workshop with carpentry and metal-work benches and tools in which every pupil may be required to spend a couple of hours a week.

It is real complete technical education that must be provided for all those that are not qualified for university education. Junior technical schools to which all but the latter class of boys could be directed after the close of the primary stage for the training of skilled workers and senior technical schools for the training of foremen and supervisors after the completion of the secondary school stage are what the industrial needs of the country require—at the rate of 1 junior school for each taluk or railway junction and 1 senior school for each district. The provision for technical training provided in the second plan is all topsy-turvy. While 7500 admissions are provided to College courses only 5400 are provided to junior technical courses and 11,300 to senior technical schools. It ought to be relatively the other way about—say 100,000 to junior technical schools, 10,000 to senior technical schools and 5000 to Colleges. And there are no agricultural schools whereas there should be one for each taluk with a model farm attached.

More urgent than boy's education is girl's education. For as the educational maxim has it, when a boy is educated an individual is educated, when a girl is educated a whole family is educated. The social and even economic backwardness of India is due largely to the backwardness of girls' education. According to the 1957 census the literacy among women was 7.9 as compared to 24.9 for men. The

1961 census may reveal the same relative position.

As for University education the arts colleges producing unemployed and unemployable B.A.'s predominate and increase year by year. Hostel life which may correct some of the defects of university education is inefficient or poorly organized. Huge military-barrack like buildings are built with no provision for common social life and intercourse whereas real hostel life which ought to approach family life is possible only in small hostels of not more than 100 single rooms with wardens and teachers living near by and *in loco parentis*.

Social education which can make up for the vast illiteracy of the people is thoroughly neglected. Social education with the audio-visual technique and media of the Radio, the Cinema, the Wall-Newspapers could impart all kinds of information useful to the farmer and the industrial worker. Social reform correcting some of the customs which are obstacles to economic progress like that of compulsory equal partition of land-holdings leading to the multiplication of uneconomic holdings, early marriages, low housing standards must be effected—as it is in Russia through a well-organized and well-conducted system of propaganda. Only 5 crores for the second plan period are spent on this class of education apart from the money spent on Community Projects and National Extension service, whereas this class of education alone requires 5 crores a year.

Such anomalies are revealed in the budget provision for the several grades of education.

While Secondary Education in the first plan got 22 crores, in the second plan 51 crores, University Education in the first plan got 18 crores and in the second plan 57 crores, Technical Education in the first plan got 25 crores, in the second plan 48 crores. Productive education would require a thorough reshuffling of the financial values given to these classes of education.

As in the other parts of planning, priorities must be established in educational planning—first things first and not all together. Primary education must come first in importance and receive the largest budgetary allotment, then must come Girls' education, then Technical Education, last of all University Education. "Only a people," said President Motta of Switzerland, "a model country in economic progress, that has attained the prosperity of economic welfare, will and can enjoy university education."

For not merely prosperity but for very survival, productive forms of education must come first. Especially in a democracy, for if the people of a democracy do not become progressively prosperous they will yield to the first tempter that comes along who promises prosperity without democracy. De Tocqueville, whose classic on democracy must be in every democrat's hands warns "It is evident that in democratic countries the interest of individuals as well as the security of the Commonwealth demands that the education of the greater number should be scientific, commercial and industrial rather than literary."

SMILE A WHILE

"You shouldn't have told my wife what time I came home last night," said the man to the maid.

"I didn't tell her, Sir. When she asked me what time you got home I just said I was too busy getting the breakfast ready to notice the clock."

Harry, who made it a practice to visit the club bar on his way home from the office, was late as usual for dinner. But this time his wife decided to go and fetch him. Finally, finding him in the bar, she climbed up on a stool and told the bar-tender: "I will have the same as his." The bar-tender returned with a swig of whisky. She gulped it, and her face turned purple. "How can you " she gasped out, incredulously, "drink this awful stuff?"

"See Sweetheart" replied her husband, "and all these years you thought I was having a good time."

"And do you admit," asked the judge, "that in addition to the money, you stole jewellery and sarees?"

"Yes, your honour," replied the prisoner piously. "I was taught that money alone does not bring happiness."

A doctor received an urgent call from a popular and prolific screen writer whose little son had swallowed a fountain pen. "I'll be right over," promised the doctor.

"But what are you doing in the meantime?"

"Using a pencil," replied the screen writer.

The wife was trying to get her husband to purchase a new car, but he didn't seem to like the idea.

"What," he roared. "Me buy a new car? Do you think they grow on trees?"

"Of course not, silly," replied the wife calmly. "Everyone knows they come from plants."

While passing a lonely corner on a dark night, a pedestrian was stopped by a voice coming out of the shadows. "Would the gentleman be so kind as to help a poor hungry fellow who is out of a job" it asked and then added, "Besides this revolver, I haven't a thing in the world."

A conceited Colonel was complaining about his subordinate officers. "I'm obliged to do everything myself," he grumbled. "I'm my own Captain, my own Lieutenant, even my own Sergeant Major."

"Trumpeter too," murmured a junior subaltern.

He: "My dear, I really don't believe you can ever train that dog to obey you."

She: "Nonsense, darling, remember how obstinate you were when we were first married."

Earnest but prosy street corner orator: "I want land reform, I want housing reform I want educational reform, I want....."

Voice: Chloroform.

"Have you ever appeared as a witness in a suit before?" asked the attorney.

"Why of course," replied the sweet young thing.

"Will you please tell the jury what suit it was?"

"It was a blue suit," she replied quickly, "with white collar and cuffs, buttons all the way down the front."

"Why does a bridegroom have to take his bride's hand in Church?" asked Jones of his newly married friend.

"Oh, it's just a formality—like two boxers shaking hands before the fight."

* * *

A young clerk was summoned to his employer's office.

"Of all my clerks, Freeman" began the boss, "I notice you seem to be the most interested in your work. No hours seem too long

for you and you never let the slightest detail escape you."

"Yes, Sir," said Freeman, with glowing and expectant satisfaction.

"Yes," continued the boss "and so I am forced to fire you. It is such young men as you who learn here and then go out and start a rival business."

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KASHYAPA's Sketch of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE WE HAVE

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S. NARAYANASWAMY

TITUS VARGHESE

and

Dr. G. D. BOAZ

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PROGRESS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN INDIA

BY

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(This is the second and final instalment in a series of two articles by the author.—Ed.)

Study of Matriliney

A detailed scientific study of the Chenchus, which U. R. Ehrenfels, author of *Mother-Right in India* (1941), began in 1939 was carried out by C. von Furer-Haimendorf who also published books on *The Reddis of the Bison Hills*, (1945), *Tribal Hyderabad*, and *The Naked Nagas* (1946). S. C. Dube made his entry in the anthropological world with a monograph on *The Kamar* in 1952. Ehrenfels, who has devoted his entire life and energy to the discipline of his subject, published in the same year a splendid volume on *The Kadar*. Found in Cochin, the Kadars attracted the attention of early foreign anthropologists, Preuss, Keane, Lapicque, and Sergi, as they formed the most primitive of South Indian tribes, showing more traces of Negrito ancestry. Far back in 1904, Ananthakrishna Ayyar, as Superintendent of Ethnography of Cochin, published a monograph on the *Kadar*, and it later formed part of his *Cochin Tribes and Castes*. Ehrenfels took up the study of the Kadars after a lapse of 40 years, and interestingly describes in his publication, their manners and customs, revealing throughout an affection for these people. Like Elwin, he has insight, sympathy, and a deep fund of humanity. In recent years, he has made a special study of the matrilineal system of society, and "claims to have succeeded in discovering chains of this system in territories in Asia and Africa." A. C. Mayer's *Land and Society in Malabar* is an excellent study of the social and agricultural systems of Malabar which are based on strict rules of caste, and are astonishingly complex.

It was about the time *The Kadar* came, that M. N. Srinivas, who early in life produced a

brilliant little book on *Marriage and Family in Mysore*, published his *Religion and Society among the Coorgs in South India*. One of the books of the highest standard published in this country, it is safe to say that it will stand out pre-eminent among those published after 1950 for its scholarship. A student of Radcliffe Brown, he has applied here some of the modern sociological concepts to the institutions of one of the peoples of Southern India. There is very little agreement among anthropologists in regard to concepts, and so it has come about that he has been criticised severely by some of his contemporaries even in respect of use of terms like Sanskritisation as a substitute for acculturation. In his thinking and approach there is the unmistakable influence of Radcliffe-Brown, and he has held aloft the functional approach to the study of institutions of individual societies as the chief task of comparative sociology.

In 1956, T. B. Naik published a monograph on *The Bhils*, who are the third largest Scheduled Tribe of India, and number over two million, and P. C. Biswas, a monograph on *Santals of the Santal Parganas*. Both are useful and dependable additions to the anthropological literature on our tribal population. In 1909, C. H. Bompas published his account of *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*. A reasonably detached and objective picture of what happens when a tribesman makes the great transition from a tribal to a historic religion is given by W. J. Culshaw, who studied the problem in respect of the Santals, in his book *Tribal Heritage: A Study of the Santals*. The changes in Santal life during the past two decades have also been recorded by Nabendu Datta-Majumdar, until

recently Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India in a monograph titled *the Santal—A Study in culture change*.

G. S. Ghurye is another scholar who has enriched Indian anthropology and Sociology by his outstanding contributions. In 1932, he published *Caste and Race in India* in which he gave a comprehensive view of the institution of caste, its origin, functions, development etc. He revised it in 1950, and changed the title into *Caste and Class in India*. It portrayed the subtle development that was taking place in the caste system consequent on the many changes in the political, economic, and social milieu of the country. His recent book on *Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture* is an important one, for in it he has studied the family problems of classical Greece and Rome and related them to those of the Indo-Aryan culture. Generations of Indian anthropologists and sociologists have reason to feel indebted to him, for his output has been enormous, but no less surprising has been its variety.

Path-breaking work

It was Ashley Montagu who once remarked that in the field of anthropology some of the most original and "path-breaking work" has been done by women. Among India's women anthropologists, who have done work of distinction and originality, the one name that shines is that of Mrs. Iravati Karve. Her contributions are many, and varied. In her publication *Kinship Organisation in India*, she surveys the kinship organisation by zones—northern, central, eastern, southern and eastern and uses the older Hindu mythology to illustrate modern customs. With financial aid from the Emslie Horniman Fund, she also conducted anthropometric work in Maharashtra, and the results, published in book form in 1952, are very useful, and mark a stage in the progress of our knowledge of man in Maharashtra.

Apart from K. M. Kapadia's valuable monograph on *Marriage and Family in India*, and S. S. Sarkar's *The Aboriginal Races of India*, one other book, published in 1958, which is a notable addition to anthropology, is P. G.

Shah's *The Dublas of Gujarat*. Shah's work surveys the whole process of cultural change in modern tribal India, and an unusual feature is the fact that a team of experts collaborated with the author to conduct field surveys of health and nutrition, anthropometric measurements, and psychological and serological tests. A number of books hovering on the borders of anthropology have also been published in India.

There are many other persons, Indian and foreign, who have contributed to the enrichment of anthropological literature, but among them mention may be made of C. Hayavadana Rao, S. V. Karandikar, N. A. Toothi, Nirmal Kumar Bose, K. P. Chattopadhyaya, Tarak Chandra Das, S. S. Sarkar, P. N. Sen Gupta, S. C. Mitra, M. D. Raghavan, P. C. Roy Choudhury, D. N. Kale, Indera Paul Singh and L. P. Vidyarthi among Indians, and G. Richter, Major Gunthrope, P.O. Bodding, Mrs. Rafy, M. B. Emeneau, Prince Peter of Greece, Robert Heine-Geldern, Eickstedt, E. B. Buchi, Lideo Cipriani, Jacobsen, David G. Mandelbaum, Father M. Hermanns and Father Koppers among foreigners.

Physical anthropology

Of course, Indian anthropologists will make much use of 1931 Census, which, besides containing detailed ethnographic reports, also contains a survey of physical anthropology by B. S. Guha. As anthropologist attached to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, he had plenty of facilities to study the physical characteristics of the prehistoric inhabitants in collaboration with R. B. Seymour Sewell. Guha is a veteran physical anthropologist, and distinguished himself by his reports on human remains excavated at Nal (1929); Mohenjo-Daro (1931 and 1937); and *Racial Affinities of the Peoples of India* in the census of India, Vol. I, Part III (1935). Blood-grouping studies were also conducted among primitive tribes by a number of anthropologists.

In the field of prehistoric archaeology, too, some brilliant work was done by Hellmuth de Terra, Sir John Marshall, Sir Mortimer

Wheeler, R. D. Banerji, N. G. Majumdar, S. C. Roy, Meadows Taylor, A. H. Longhirst, Ananthakrishna Ayyar, Aiyappan, Krishna Ayyar, K. K. Sen Gupta, M. H. Krishna, V. D. Krishnaswami, Dharani Sen, H. D. San-kalia, B. Subba Rao and by some others.

Risley's work remains and forms the key-stone of anthropological research in India. The Census Report of 1901 laid the foundations on which has been based all work on the racial composition of India. Among the methods the measurements of physical characters occupy a prominent place. Many additions have since been made to the measurements by Thurston, Holland, Eickstedt, Guha, Cipriani, Krishna Ayyar, Macfarlane, and a host of others, and the result of such work during the last six decades necessitates a restatement of the whole position.

Only against the background of world trends, can the trends in social and cultural anthropology in India during the last 60 years be viewed. Evolutionary theory plus colonial imperialism resulted in a "condescending attitude" to "primitives" among the older anthropologists, besides "elaboration of a value scale with western machine civilisation at the helm." The first probing into applied anthropology in India was done by Roy far back in the twenties of this century. While structural and functionalistic approach characterised the work of Aiyappan and Srinivas, Ehrenfels applied the culture-historic theory to the Indian field in his *Mother—Right in India*. The studies carried out by Indian anthropologists in collaboration with Americans since 1950 reveal American influence in culture pattern, culture and personality, and especially small community studies.

Research trends

The early pioneers, though they lacked the thoroughness and insight of modern research workers, made real to us, in their own way, the life of the primitive tribes they studied. They helped to rouse the public interest in the tribes through technical as well as popular writings, and contributed to a better under-

standing of some of the problems confronting the tribal population. With anthropology coming of age in the last two decades, and adoption of new research techniques, we should not decry them, or under-estimate their worth, because it is they who have built up the science of anthropology brick by brick, so to say. They carried their learning lightly, investigated various anthropological problems, and gave remarkably candid accounts in their monographs, and also in the papers which they contributed to scientific journals and periodicals in India and abroad. True, some inaccurate work was also done, but, by and large, the performance is praiseworthy.

Several anthropologists and sociologists—Indian as well as foreign—are now engaged in a study of Indian society in the process of modification resulting from the impact of the British rule, contacts with the west, and the advent of modern industrialism. Particularly interesting and valuable have been the village studies carried on in different parts of India since 1950. Dube's study of communities in Shamiarpur village, 25 miles distant from Hyderabad, led to the collection of some very useful material which was published under the title *Indian Village*. It gives a vivid and intimate picture of the social, economic, and ritual structure of the village. *India's Changing Villages*, another laudable publication of Dube, contains a "microscopic study" of a community development project in Uttar Pradesh, and reveals the reasons for the lack of enthusiasm among people in adopting new agricultural techniques. D. N. Majumdar's *Caste and Communications in a Village* and F. G. Bailey's *Caste and the Economic Frontier* are two other important and useful recent publications throwing considerable light on the role caste still plays in India.

Attempts have also been made recently to study social tensions. Perin H. Cabinetmaker and Usha Mehta, both of Bombay University, studied the tensions between the governed and the Government, arising from various measures taken by the authorities to control the price of cloth, rents of houses, supply of milk, etc.

They interviewed a lot of people affected by the measures to understand their frustrations—and satisfactions, if any—and further studied their “gesture language” the expressions on their faces and their entire overt behaviour.

In recent years, a few women anthropologists have also contributed original papers based on field work in the modern tradition. A most interesting paper by Uma Bose, on the application of psychological tests on the Bhils, throws light on the possibilities of testing the mental abilities of various groups and peoples in rural and urban areas; she has also shown noteworthy differences, dependent partly on environmental circumstances, between the Bhils, the Padams, and the Mushabars—men and women.

India provides rich materials for further anthropological and sociological studies. Even today little is known of many tribes, save their names. For instance, of some 50 tribes listed in Russell's *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, only 10 or 12 have been touched by anthropological research. The Asiatic Society, the Anthropological Society of Bombay, the Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society, Lucknow, the Bharatiya Adimajati Sangh, and very recently the Social Sciences Association, Madras, and the Council of Social and Cultural Research, Patna, have done a great deal to encourage anthropological research, and to popularise the basic social sciences. The Government of India has also set up a Central Advisory Board for anthropology,

and Tribal Research Institutes have been started by a number of State Governments.

The present phase in Indian anthropology is the best. Very good work has been done after Independence, though there has been very little theorising. It was due to Guha's persistent efforts that the Department of Anthropology under the Union Ministry of Education came into existence in 1946. Since its creation, it has organised a number of ethnographic, psycho-cultural, linguistic, somatological, genetic, and demographic surveys. For sometime past, a feeling had been growing among anthropologists and sociologists that they should meet occasionally to discuss common problems, and to exchange ideas on research projects. The All India Conference of Anthropologists and Sociologists organised by the Social Sciences Association,* in Madras, in 1955, under the joint auspices of the Madras and Baroda Universities, marked a significant step in this direction. The Indian Sociological Conference, which is being organised annually since 1955, also provides a forum for research workers and scholars to meet and exchange notes.

It is Redfield's view that in this new era in the history of anthropology, India is bound to play an important part, “for it is only here that we can best learn something about the inter-relations of primitive, peasant, and urbanised life.”

(Concluded.)

* The proceedings of the conference has been published by the Social Sciences Association in Book-form under the title “*Society in India*.”

PROBING THE MIND—YOUR DREAMS

BY

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(This is the sixth and final instalment in this series—Ed.)

Dreams are common and universal experiences of mankind. All of us dream during our sleep, but many of the dreams may be forgotten when we wake up, so that we might even claim that we do not dream at all. As an experience, dreams have fascinated men from time immemorial. Some characteristics of the dream such as its mysterious nature, its vivid reality at times, strange combination of space and time factors, appearances of strange people, including those who are dead, etc., made a primitive man believe that in dreams divine beings or dead ancestors came and contacted with the individual. The vivid reality of certain dreams made a Chinese Philosopher remark “I dreamt last night that I was a butterfly. Now I am not sure that I am a butterfly dreaming that it is a man. Some people believe that in dreams our souls leave our bodies and take a journey into the spirit world. Hence, it was also believed that dreams foretold events to come. Many people have definite charts or tables by which a dream is interpreted. These charts differ according to different cultural patterns. Not only primitive people but even the layman of today has such ideas about dreams.

We now know that most of our dreams are determined by our past experiences which form part of the preconscious and the unconscious regions of the mind. Freud has successfully shown how the dream is an expression of the unconscious processes of the mind. In fact, one of the best ways of understanding one's unconscious is to analyse his dreams.

All dreams, however, do not originate from the unconscious. Some of them are merely

the working out of the ideas and experiences in the fringe of our conscious mind. For example, A was carrying on a vehement argument with his friend B to convince him of a certain point. When he was just in the middle of it, almost about to make this point, C dropped in and broke up their conversation. It is quite possible that after a few days or even that night, A may continue the original argument, directly or indirectly, in a dream. The original experience was not completed but was interrupted in the middle. Such experiences tend to come out and complete themselves in dreams. A number of our dreams about friends, relatives, lovers, etc., are mostly of this type.

There are also dreams which are produced because of physiological disturbances. A child whose throat gets dry during sleep, may dream of drinking buckets of water. Such dreams awakened by the physiological disturbances. On the basis of this fact, some people have suggested a theory of dreams that they take place merely to safeguard our sleep. This theory may be true of dreams of this particular type.

But many other dreams may perhaps be best explained as the products of unconsciousness. Hence, they can be understood only by the techniques developed in abnormal psychology for understanding the nature and the working of the unconscious part of our mind. All such dreams have a ‘manifest content’ and a ‘latent content.’ Manifest content is the dream story as it appeared. But Freud has shown that this surface appearance or the manifest content is not the real truth about the

dream. The dream has a deeper and hidden meaning which he calls the latent content. The interpretation of a dream must be directed towards finding out this latent content. For doing so, we must know the various ways by which the latent content is transformed into the manifest content. This is called the mechanism of dream formation. Four important phenomena are at work in this process. They are called 'condensation', 'displacement', 'symbolization,' and 'secondary elaboration.'

We will explain these terms with the help of an example. A particular person when he was a small boy at school was one day treated badly by his teacher. He was ridiculed and beaten in class. The boy felt very bad about this incidence. At that moment strong feelings of anger, helplessness and shame came to his mind. He was very angry with the teacher and would have very much liked to give a good kick back, but he was helpless because he was smaller in size and also because the teacher had power and authority. He was deeply ashamed because he was made very small in the eyes of his classmates. Being unable to do anything, the whole incident was repressed into the unconscious. After some years this person dreams of a rat, fighting successfully with a cat and actually managing to kill it. The dream sounds absurd and silly, because a rat cannot kill a cat. But we know that many of our dreams are equally absurd and far-fetched like this.

In the above example, the story of the rat fighting a cat successfully is the manifest content. The latent content, however, is the desire of that person as a small boy to take vengeance on his teacher who was big and powerful. Thus the rat in the dream was actually himself and the cat represented the teacher. Here, the manifest content is brief and devoid of many details that might have an actual reference to the original classroom situation. For various reasons, dreams are minimised to the maximum possible.

It has been found that often in a dream, emphasis given to certain details may be misleading or displaced. A particular person may play an important role in the manifest content and hence all attention may be directed towards him. But on analysis it may be found that the significance of the latent content actually centred around another figure who was playing a minor role in the manifest content. This principle is called displacement.

In any dream, the latent content undergoes a process of transformation by which they take different and often peculiar forms and guises in the manifest content. This process of transformation or disguise is called symbolisation. In the example mentioned above, a rat appeared as a symbol for the boy. In this particular case, the symbol is suggested on the analogy of size and helplessness. Similarly, the teacher with his strength and power appeared as a cat. The formation of symbols is a very interesting study in the psychology of the unconscious.

When the above three process operate, viz., condensation, displacement and symbolisation, the results may be something disconnected, absolutely meaningless and without any form. But somehow our mind with its intelligent habits demands a reasonably connected and complete theme. Hence the last process, namely, secondary elaboration by which a story is made up with a dramatic effect. By this fourth process, dreams become interesting stories at the manifest level.

All these processes of distortion and transformation take place so that, the repressed contents of the unconscious are not allowed to come to the conscious mind, in their real form. They were repressed because they were unpalatable to the conscious mind. Hence they cannot be tolerated if they appear as they are. In fact, it has been suggested that in any particular case, if a latent content is not sufficiently disguised to mislead the repressing

force, the dream may be put an end to, the individual waking up. According to Freud, our dreams refer to unfulfilled and repressed wishes of the past and form substitute satisfactions for those unfulfilled desires. He goes one step further and says that these wishes which are satisfied in the dreams refer to the 'Libido' or the sex urge. On the basis of their clinical experience, Freudians have drawn up a long list of objects and ideas which appear in dreams as symbols of the sex urge and its expression.

The accepted scientific explanation of our dreams is this contradictory to the popular opinion which considers them as indicative of the future happenings. But as we have explained above, dreams are mostly indicative of our past experiences, particularly those relating to our experiences of emotional conflicts. However, the rapidly increasing acceptance of parapsychology and its findings open the door of scientific psychology once again to the possibility of dreams referring to the future.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

BY

KASHYAPA

That President Dwight D. Eisenhower is shortly to visit this country makes him an almost automatic choice for the sketch this month. Like Churchill, and Khrushchev, Eisenhower has simultaneously built up a personality that is respected in his own country as much as in any other country of the world. This cannot be attributed only to his occupying office of the Head of the State of one of the Big Powers. Churchill for example, has a world personality today when he is no longer a Prime Minister of his own country. Eisenhower would be as important even if he were not the President of the United States. There is all the difference between a *person* who holds a high office and derives dignity from that position and a *personality* that embellishes any office he chooses to take.

In spite of being a fairly careful student of politics, I must confess I am unable to clearly state the difference between the two major parties of the United States. Of course, if faced with a question paper on the subject, I might trot out the usual answers. But I cannot say I sincerely appreciate any real distinction between the two. In this sense, I believe the United States is as much of a one party State as the Soviet Union. Just as a right wing party would not be tolerated for a second, behind the Iron Curtain, a left wing party has about the same bleak future in the United States. The difference between the Republicans and the Democrats not being based on any fundamental divergence to the right or left, they tend to be distinct but not very different, and certainly whatever might be the subtle points of distinction between the two parties, those distinctions have not made any great impression on the people living in other countries. To us therefore Eisenhower's personality



is not linked up with his being a Democrat or Republican. To us he is essentially an American and it would be a deserving tribute to him as well to his nation to say that Eisenhower is an *American Par-excellence*.

The people of the United States come from a variety of racial stock ranging from Anglo-Saxon to the Mongolian. But just as threads of various colours lose their individuality once they are woven into a colourful fabric, all the historic differences in origin have not stood in the way of the American people today possessing a character that is distinctly American and has nothing to do with the characteristics of the races that went to make it up. This process of 'Americanising the people of America,' if I may coin that expression, continues from day to day and he is a great leader of the United States who manages in his time to accelerate this process of consolidation. It is on this test that Washington and Lincoln and Roosevelt have all been great American leaders. The same test when applied to Eisenhower makes him take his place along with those other great Americans. One natural advantage which Eisenhower has had undoubtedly is that the menace of Soviet communism as a world power has loomed very large in the eyes of the American people to make them respond readily to any call for national unity. Eisenhower's period of American leadership has synchronised with this historic situation so that he has been able to emphasise the distinctness of the American way of life and muster all forces to preserve it eternally for the Americans.

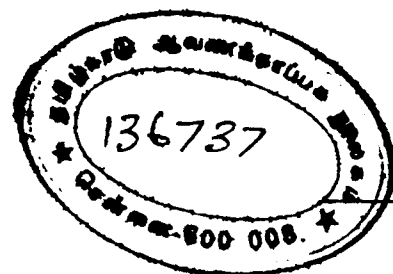
Eisenhower as is well known, drifted to politics from the army. Even during the First World War Eisenhower commanded tank troops in training at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, where he now maintains his farm home. After the conclusion of the first great war, he served in the Panama Canal Zone and at various other military establishments throughout the United States. But his work as a soldier was first observed when he graduated at the top of a class of 350 officers from the Army's Command and General Staff School in 1926. In 1935, he

went to the Philippines as assistant to General Douglas MacArthur and he there helped to organise the Philippine Air Force and also learnt himself to pilot an aeroplane. By the time, America entered the Second World War in December 1941, Eisenhower was Chief of Staff of the U.S. Third Army. Within a few weeks after the attack of Pearl Harbour, he came back to Washington and occupied a strategic military post under the late General Marshall. During the war, Eisenhower served as Commanding General both in the European theatre as well as in North Africa, and ultimately became Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces with the responsibility of planning for the allied invasion of Europe. When the war concluded, he was Chief of Staff, a post which he retained until February, 1948. Then came the period of a comparative quiet in his life when he served as President of the Columbia University. From the atmosphere of the battlefield to that of the University library was certainly a great change. But Eisenhower did very well in his job at the University and dedicated himself more and more to peace.

When he got elected in 1952 as a Republican Party's candidate for the presidential election (by a record vote), very few were in doubt in the United States that they had picked a winner. It is only a man of war that can be really capable of a man of peace. Eisenhower's military background has not made him a trigger-happy-sabre-rattler, but given him necessary strength of mind to seek solution to International politics by methods of peace. Good people all over the world are hoping that a lasting peace would be established as a result of the efforts of Eisenhower, and their wishes should strengthen the case for peace.

The U.S. President is the cartoonist's delight—what with his bald head and beaming smile. He is made to look like the Cheshire Cat—and that is the spirit the world needs more of today. The *grin*! If more people grinned, there would be better times ahead. There was not much peace when world leaders were

afraid to bare their teeth. Stalin sedulously cultivated a moustache to hide his lips—and Truman's ulcers have achieved a notoriety (whether deserved or not). But today both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. possess cheerful looking grinning leaders. (Why does a bald man look cheerful?) If there is to be Lasting Peace between the Great Powers, the only two who might achieve it are Khrushchev and Eisenhower—or must we say Nikki and Ike. Any way, as the election hoardings declared: "I like Ike."



JL

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