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CAMPAIGN FOR A WORLD CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A very common illusion of the human mind is to believe that the third or fourth step is easier than the first. And we attempt — of course in vain — to achieve the former because we find that the latter was found to be difficult and believing that we could overcome the difficulty by first tackling what must come much later.

There are many good men in America who want the immediate banning of all poisonous nuclear explosions and who want the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons in warfare. The campaign against nuclear tests in all countries is closely associated with a campaign for world government. Many persons favour the common source of human energy behind both the movements. But I venture to suggest that the desire to achieve a world government as a prior step and a means to bring the nuclear poisoning that threatens mankind to an end is based on an illusion.

A world government means the subtraction of national sovereignty in a very large measure and the great powers are all alarmist organisations who will not trust one another and who will not a fortiori hand over sovereignty or the best part of it to those whom they do not trust.

World government does not mean that you rule others. It rather means others rule you. And if America — as does Russia

— manufactures missiles and hydrogen bombs for intercontinental and submarine use, it is because those countries are governed by politicians and technicians who do not believe in co-existence and mutual trust, but are convinced and have been doing their best to educate their people to believe that the best defence of national existence is to make it clear that they have terrible weapons of retaliation. And this is naturally associated with a policy of armament manufacture to achieve that retaliatory strength and purpose.

Of course all this could be put an end to if we had world government. But we cannot have it by conquest. We must have it by agreement, which is impossible when the nations and their political guides look upon one another as enemies and seek to work continuously on that basis.

If the campaign for world government is only a general educative formula and it is not believed to be an attainable immediate goal, one can have no objection to it. One is apt, however, to believe that Religion and the principles of human brotherhood preached by all religious teachers and saints are better means of education in that direction than any literature issued as part of a secular campaign for a world constitution.

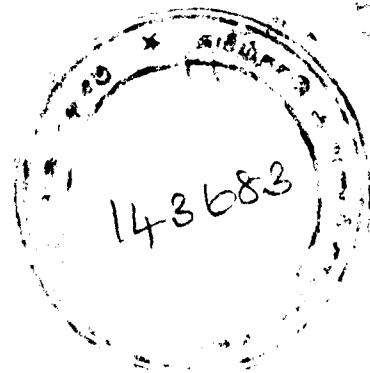
The fact is that good men find-

ing the immediate task of converting their own people and their own governments to accept the policy of co-existence and its risks seek an escape in a campaign for something that is impracticable. The good men who want a world government must first prove themselves on their own people and the political leaders that now follow the wrong policy of international intimidation as a means of achieving peace. Premature attempts to solve a bigger problem and failure therein will not help but cause frustration, and the campaign to stop the nuclear poisoning that is going on and aiming at a general relinquishment of nuclear weapons will suffer a set-back by reason of that frustration.

The campaign for world government will if favourably received, begin by strengthening one of the blocks or at least will be so interpreted and this will intensify the cold war instead of creating conditions for mutual trust.

I have ventured to make these comments on a campaign started by very good men. I may be wrong, but what I have said is worth considering.

We are not opposed to the progress and prosperity of the proletariat. But is it necessary in order to help our proletariat that our peasantry should be degraded? — Professor N. G. RANGA



SETTLERS ALL

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Many felicitous remarks were uttered during Prime Minister Nkrumah's visit to India; and the present spokesman of Africa reflected what is now called "African Personality"—a phrase coined by our Prime Minister who had on a former occasion spoken in defence of "Algeria's Personality." When mixed populations get involved in "melting pots," the process of fusion takes centuries to perfect itself. The sequel to the solution known as "partition" of any country has more headaches than the sequel; and from our lesson, the very notion of partition for Cyprus (India has hardly many experts on that remote issue) will not win approval, since the small island, once under the Ottoman Empire, has been advised to pull on with Greeks as the majority and the Turks as the minority, both being content with the designation "Cypriots." Many Pakistanis call us Bharatis denying for the Indian nation its age-long title to be known by our traditional appellation.

When reference is made to the "African Personality," very few of us visualise the length of the road ahead, before the cry of "Africa for Africans" can even be dimly pre-figured. When sixty years ago Cecil Rhodes floated the slogan that from the Cape to Cairo all civilised men would be free and equal, he had in his mind the prospect of the Black Continent being exploited by the White Man.

Japan startled the world by beating Russia and sinking the Czar's Navy, an event which created a sensation. But on the whole it was taken for granted that Asia and Africa represented the lawful prize of Imperialists. Of the other Hemisphere, the generation now passing out had only a faint interest. The feeble hope existed that with European education and the adoption of Western ways, students from Asia and Africa could gain the qualification of being called civilised, but concurrently the grab for land reservations in large segments of Africa excited

youth from the Dark Continent where Christian missionary zeal was also gaining ground against competitive proselytisation on the part of Muslim divines from the Middle East to establish outposts. The formula "African Personality" could be moulded only by intimate association and painful experience.

I remember a theory once promoted that on all big turns of history "mongrelisation" served as a milestone for conciliation and consolidation among the various races of the world—despite all efforts at exclusivism and the cult of race purity. Taking a few expressions like the pattern of mongrelisation (which means the crossing of dogs): like half-caste, Wops, Anglo-Burmans, the Dutch stock, Chandalas, etc., etc., they are all considered as opprobrious epithets, whereas their innocent entry into this globe is the outcome of racial association in a mixed world. Emerson in his essay on "Race" (in his time) points out how 20 million people from Africa had arrived in the United States sold as slaves and how the problem of assimilation should take time to set right itself. Indeed, at least in judicial theory, segregation will not be tolerated by the people of America, who are different from the South African Whites, who will slowly feel the chill of the African Personality and the tide of unification pioneered by Nkrumah at Accra.

It is significant that in the State of Texas (nearly as big as France) a Texan of Mexican descent is trying to get himself elected for the first time as Governor of the State. Gonzales of San Antonio is determined to see that he of mixed blood is entitled to a place in the Sun. That there should be such daring types in regions where Lynch Law is still remembered proves courage. "Mongrelisation" might be a handicap in him in oratory against pure bred Americans who imagine themselves above the taint of reproach. The anthropological process must carry on as world populations strive for peace on this earth, not to mention outer space as settlers.

RELIGION, OUR ONLY REAL POLICEMAN

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The nineteenth century placed Rationalism on the throne, ousting all traditional beliefs regarding a supreme almighty Intelligence. Wherever modern knowledge penetrated, age-old culture and religion retired yielding peaceful possession to the Invader. Rationalism made breaches in the weakest parts of the old fortress. This happened in India, as in other parts of the world, and Religion was pensioned off.

Now after a hundred years of the Age of Reason, we have found it demonstrated that knowledge without spiritual restraint is a disastrous possession. We see a tragedy in operation which is more terribly impressive in its reality than the sacred legend about Eve and the tree of knowledge in the little garden of Eden. Indeed we see the meaning of that great story better now after the atomic age that was inaugurated at Hiroshima and Nagasaki on the 6th and 9th of August 1945. We can see now the meaning of the doctrine of temptation of knowledge, which in course of time, unless a miracle saves us, will end in the annihilation of civilization.

The Council of the Federation of American Scientists has recently issued its finding that the stockpiles of nuclear bombs in the possession of the nuclear Powers are now sufficient to wipe out the entire human race and that there is no likelihood of any defence being discovered against massive atomic attack.

The very process of experimentation in the making and improving of these nuclear weapons has led to a poisoning of the whole world along with its future children, even if no war broke out and we were saved from atomic battles. The hereditary material of the human race is being poisoned and damaged by the fall-out of these experimental explosions. The poisonous character of some of the elements thrown out in

these tests—isotopes of carbon—will continue, we are told by scientists of eminence, for thousands of years after each fall-out, producing mutations in the hereditary cells which will cause congenital deformities.

All this is known but alas Rationalism can only reason; it cannot restrain. Indeed knowledge itches to go into action and cannot be made to sleep. What restrained men was Religion and that has been so seriously undermined that selfishness and irresponsibility persist even though now grave doubts have come upon us about the superior claims of Rationalism. It is easy to destroy but roots uprooted do not take root again.

This then is our present condition. We have churned fire out of the atom, poison out of knowledge. The cold bricks of which this world had been built are found to be inflammable and we do not know how to stop the mounting danger of knowledge.

Apart from these nuclear weapons, in every country in the world material values have wholly displaced moral and spiritual values. And this is a dreadful thing. The world is engulfed in a flood of greed and egotism. Wherever we go even in the countryside, men who were once invariably good, God-fearing and kind and not too selfish, if it came to a test, have now value only for money. They have discarded spiritual values. We must halt this corruption and restore the higher values in life.

A society cannot hold together, not to speak of its achieving any progress, if it rejects God, forgets spiritual values and moves only in a labyrinth of egotistic advantages, which is more or less the picture of our condition now. The more of knowledge one has and the higher up one is in the social scale, the more artfully greedy and selfish one is. I am not making the mistake of concluding judgment on general be-

haviour by criteria derived from the exceptional. Indeed today the exceptional among the educated classes is the good man.

The uneducated classes and the peasantry were and perhaps even now are better than the "betters", but how long can last? Can we stop the os referred to by the Great Teacher in the third chapter of the Gita:

Yadayad Aacharati Sreshtah
Tattad Evaitaro Janah
Sa Yat Pramaanam Kurute
Lokastadanuvartata.

We must restore the correct pramaanams, the spiritual values. Every day lost makes the task harder. It is a case of *must* if we wish to live, as the people of Britain felt when their London was bombed by Hitler.

Religion must be restored and the young should be brought up so as to accept values other than material. Religion must be cleared of all rigidity which does not suit the condition produced by two centuries of devastating mutual attacks over and above the impact of Reason on all religions. Religion should be made gentle and easy like what a mother is to her children. We should put our souls in her charge and accept her authority in the field that belongs to her as we accept the authority of recorded experiments and text-books in the field of the physical sciences.

We must not lose the only real policeman that can protect our higher selves against ourselves. Faith, traditional reverence and the implicit preference of what is good and right to what seems pleasant and advantageous must be made the pride and mental make-up of our youth. There is no nation in the world with a better inheritance by way of scripture, mythology and rituals. Do not be confused by some of them being old-fashioned furniture. Old-time utensils can be used for present-day purposes or put aside in shelves, if wholly unusable, for they have a great psychological value even in silent glass shelves.

Moral teachings are of use only when associated with divinely inspired and holy personalities

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These results are in accord with the hypothesis that the two types of cells are different types of neurons. The latter behavior, as was observed by Sherrin and Tandler,

All the nations are religious or concerned for the world for some truth and larger pattern. Within our time, then, the truths of religion would be made intelligible and more practical. And the prophet would preach and teachers teach in unity.

This was what Bernard Shaw said, iconoclast among iconoclasts, deities and icons are indispensable for expressing as much as we can, figures of the ineffable.

We cannot discard Harischandra or Ishana or Rama or Krishna or Rama or Hanuman or Bharata or Narayana or Venkateswara or Balidhama or Krishna or Bhama or even Durgachandana or Ragama or any one else from among the glorious galaxy that Hindus have imagined.

No religion appeals to the heart so well as the religion one has been brought up in, with all its recent memories and legends and traditional history. It is therefore necessary that we should all be brought up, each in his own religion.

The younger section of the population will all be reared if not now, in the future. There has to be brought up in a new way, so as to make the young generation not wholly material-minded but give to spiritual values an over-riding importance. It is possible to devise and through trial and error establish a working scheme of primary and high school education wherein religious ideals and disciplines form a substantial part. Gandhiji's central theme was that equal respect for all religions can become part of our way of life, notwithstanding one's whole-hearted adherence to one's own faith. It must be possible for a government that reveres Gandhiji to evolve a scheme of education in which religious conflicts are avoided and yet we do not fall into the error of *avowing* *creeds* by a formless artificial synthesis, that has no holy tradition or myth or ancient ritual to support it.

Godless, as spread and encouraged among the people leads, not to self-reliance and industry as a former thought, but to greed and dishonest exploitation all round. It is piety and the restraints developed therefrom that breed self-reliance and industry and co-operation. All plans can succeed if men are generally good, and no plan can succeed if men are generally dishonest. The stable foundation for honesty and co-operation and diligence is Religion, which we have banished from our ideas of upbringing the young. Our hope lies only in the young and we must take this to heart.

Some of you may find a name for me. You may say this man is a revivalist. I am a revivalist in the sense that a city corporation is a revivalist when trying to fill the holes and repair the roads and put them in good condition instead of trying to invent new types of vehicles to suit the bad road. — *From Rajaji's speech when he presided over the centenary celebration of the Central College, Bangalore, on December 20.*

CAPITAL COMMENTS

WILL T. T. K. REPLACE V. T. K. ?

By JUNIUS

New Delhi : The world has slid into another year—and to us in India, almost noiselessly. For, 1958, however fidgety and freakish from the domestic angle, caused no major upheavals. Perhaps we could not have escaped one if our Prime Minister did really insist on withdrawing himself from the political scene and the seat of power. But it was our luck that he realised our helplessness and yielded to friendly persuasion; and it was so considerate of him to have been content with a holiday in the northern valleys. And the year 1958 also, like the preceding ones, revealed that, with him at the helm of affairs, there was no fear of India suffering from any serious set-back, any more than there was much chance of making any rapid advances either. This country has doubtless acquired a certain stability, for which they can take credit who are entitled to it, but in its peculiar political climate such stability as they boast of and others take pride in, is in the fast degenerating into mere stolidity. Our affairs, though supposed to be in extremely safe hands, are essentially lacking in a sense of momentum and wholly devoid of animation. And unless the people of India, however well they are looked after, are convinced and impressed that the Prime Minister is firm where he should be, that the Governments at the Centre and in the States mean business, and that the Congress which runs most of the show will not merely survive by luck but thrive on merit, it would be rash to assume that India is made safe for Democracy. Will the doubts that arose out of the difficulties we experienced in 1958 be removed in the year that has now dawned? If they will not be, the chances are that in 1959 the wave of disillusionment will land us nearer doom.

On his return to the Capital
from his sojourns in the South,

the Union Minister for Home Affairs, the redoubtable Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant, happened to be rather badly heckled in Rajya Sabha. It was all because of (what seemed to be) an out-of-the-way tribute he paid to his friend and former colleague, now holidaying in Kodaikanal, following his exit from the Central scheme of things. There was nothing improper in Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari having been publicly praised for his gifts and services by Pandit Pant when he was invited to unveil a portrait. But it seemed, in the peculiar circumstances in which Mr. Krishnamachari is biding his time, that Pantji, in his portraiture of the man, laid the colours too thick. There was at least one observation of his into which more than what was meant, could indeed be read, namely that Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, as Finance Minister, had done naught, either directly or indirectly, to deserve the fate that overpowered him and that yet, out of regard for the highest standards or healthiest conventions, he surrendered what he could have clung to. Coming as this did from a Cabinet member of Pantji's standing and status, and at a time when the Vivian Bose inquiry was yet to see the light of day, Pantji's 'chit' to his dear old colleague attracted both wide attention and in some quarters, adverse comment. Whether the remark was casual or deliberate, it stirred up controversy, and not even so cool-headed and resolute a man as our Home Minister could easily get away with it in the country's present temper and mood.

Since Pandit Pant paid the tribute to Mr. Krishnamachari, hugged him to his bosom at the airport while leaving Madras and also made kind enquiries of his arrival in Delhi, the Capital has been rocked by the question: "Is T.T.K. coming back?" It is

now, rightly or wrongly but freely, assumed that he emerged out of the Vivian Bose inquiry into the L.I.C. affair unscathed, and earned the right to return to Delhi—and to office. Nothing has encouraged this assumption more than the Prime Minister's known reluctance to part with him and equally known eagerness to have him back by his side, at the slightest 'provocation'. And who knows this better than Pandit Pant? For all the welcome which awaits him under certain hospitable roofs, it is extremely unlikely that Mr. Krishnamachari will re-enter the Cabinet, much less as the Minister for Finance. It is the Planning Commission that will readily open its portals to him. Will he be its Chairman? Perhaps not, for whatever he may occasionally feel about it all, the Prime Minister is not likely to give up anything which has been in his charge. It is as Deputy Chairman that the ex-Finance Minister will probably appear on the scene, for its present incumbent, Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari, has been repeatedly requesting the Prime Minister to find a successor to him as he has stayed for too long despite his age and limited energy. A veteran administrator and statesman, Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari who brought dignity and distinction to his office and won golden laurels, would only be too glad to make room for the Prime Minister's nominee, whoever he may be, and more readily for his namesake. So it may be that T.T.K. will replace V.T.K. — and enter the field for 'second innings'. As for the Planning Commission, it will be a case of one Krishnamachari being succeeded by another — or of a statesman being succeeded by a politician, and a humanist by an egoist.

Morning breaks—
 bustle in home,
 the kitchen fire is lit,
 children are dressed
 for school,
 the letter box
 for the office
 is prepared,
 bustle ends,
 now the housewife
 can relax over her cup
 of refreshing tea!



I am Tea

I am the friend of the family



THE AUTONOMY OF THE UNIVERSITIES

By G. RAMANATHAN

Principal, Teachers' Training College, Trichur

The Benares University fiasco has served to highlight one of the obstacles to educational planning in India: the imbalance between the autonomy of the universities and their functions. It is time either to restrict the autonomy or to redefine the functions. Autonomy is incompatible with administrative responsibility for the first degree courses.

The universities are the repositories of the highest learning and culture. They are also the intellectual outposts at the frontiers of knowledge. To push those frontiers wider and wider is the chief purpose of a university and autonomy is needed to perform the functions pertaining to that purpose. Such autonomy is not a concession to be wrested from any external authority; it is an inevitable concomitant of the functions of the university, as no external authority is competent to give any guidance in respect of those functions.

But if the university functions also as an agency for education it cannot escape control by the supreme political authority. For, education, including all stages and all branches of public instruction, is the responsibility of the ruling political authority.

Quite recently the Prime Minister while addressing a conference of planning forums is reported to have said that "the output of real thinking and research in the Indian universities was not high". The chairman of the University Grants Commission said at Allahabad that "universities in India were failing to a large extent in some of the primary functions of a university, namely, the extension of the frontiers of knowledge". The universities in India have been functioning more as educational agencies than as seats of advanced learning and research. They have more or less direct control over the top rungs of the educational ladder, which

may be called collegiate education. Such control, exercised at the top, steps down and indirectly affects the lower stages of education too, the secondary and the primary. But the responsibility for these lower stages as well as the direct control over them, rests entirely on the shoulders of the political authority, the Government, and is exercised through the Department of Education. This partition of the area of control is the root cause of the malady.

It may appear paradoxical to speak of the three stages of education as a continuum, because the cry of the day is to emancipate secondary education from the domination of collegiate requirements and to reorganise it as a complete stage by itself. But all attempts to separate them have failed and are bound to fail. The Matriculation was at one time considered the consummation of general education. But general education is now conceived to be complete only with the possession of a degree. Universities are gradually becoming alive to this and are re-writing their curricula with provision for a compulsory core of general education. The truth is that in India the three stages do really form a continuous scheme of general education. They should therefore be under unified control.

In the days of British rule the political authority did not care to resolve the conflict, but allowed the divergent tendencies to operate without reference to each other. Fundamental changes were introduced in the primary and in the secondary education. The universities, protected by their mantle of autonomy, ignored them and refused to make suitable adjustments in collegiate education. Sometimes they got alarmed and pulled in the opposite direction. The gap thus opened between the high school and the

college became wider and wider in course of time and has now become a riddle.

With the advent of independence the problem of divided control has become acute. On the one hand, standards have been deteriorating at all levels at an alarming pace. One should have thought that the universities with their tradition of expert knowledge on all topics, would step forward with definite proposals to arrest the deterioration. But actually they have only one remedy to suggest — restrict the numbers that go to the college. That remedy, if applied, would be national suicide.

On the other hand, the Government are committed to vast educational reforms calculated to bring about universal literacy in a short time. They are free to formulate their schemes for primary and secondary education. But no scheme will succeed unless it embraces collegiate education also. In respect of collegiate education, the Government have to reckon with the veto of the autonomous university. Thus the autonomy of the university is in conflict with the responsibilities of the Government. It has already become a live issue in some States and sooner or later it is bound to appear in other States too.

The autonomy of the universities is surrounded by the halo of scriptural authority and is protected by the sanctions behind a hoary tradition. It has become a creed and it threatens to decay into a superstition. If it thus becomes a mantle to insulate the university from the popular will, the university will cease to function as an instrument of progress.

The malady can be cured only in one or two ways. The university should be divested of its direct responsibility and control over the intermediate and the First Degree courses and should then be recognised as an autonomous body. These collegiate courses belong to general education and should therefore be under the control of the Government. Collegiate edu-

cation and pre-collegiate education should be dovetailed into each other and placed under a single authority. An integrated plan of general education in three stages, primary, secondary and collegiate, could then be formulated by the Government. There will then be no gap at any stage; and the university will be truly an autonomous body in respect of its true functions. The alternative will be to reconstitute the university as an autonomous corporation responsible for the entire range of public instruction from the primary stage upwards. But it is doubtful whether this is a practical proposition.

Until the unhappy burden of partial control over general edu-

cation is removed from the university, autonomy will be a discordant attribute and educational planning will not register any progress. Any scheme based on the existing sort of autonomy of the university and devised to bridge the gap in the secondary education will get into a jam as it begins to operate. The diversified higher secondary school has already met with that fate. It will take a little more time for the pre-university and pre-professional courses to follow suit. The three-year degree course, unless liberated from the pre-university octopus, will soon confront the same difficulties.

India is at the cross roads in the matter of education.

SELF-EMPLOYMENT: AN IGNORED SECTOR

By H. C. HEDA, M.P.

We have divided our entire economy into two sectors, private and public. Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda, Minister for Planning, is endeavouring hard to bring a third sector into the arena. He is all out for the Co-operative sector.

There is another sector, far more important and still entirely ignored and very much misunderstood — the self-employment sector. It is ignored in the sense that nobody seems to bother about its existence. We take it for granted and leave it to its fate.

Private Sector is credited with exploitation. To it is attributed the widening of the gap between the rich and the poor. Votaries of the public sector cannot say that exploitation is eliminated from it. We find exploitation to some extent in the co-operative sector too. In the self-employment sector alone, exploitation can be totally absent.

The self-employment sector would mean all those vocations where people employ themselves, all those economic activities which can be carried on without the help of another person being employed.

All agriculturists who work

with their own hands belong to this sector. As our economy is mainly agricultural they are today the mainstay of this sector. Village artisans though fast disappearing also belong to the self-employment sector. We are fast shifting to the industrial economy, and in the industrial arena, the emergence of the self-employment sector on a large scale was not possible because we followed the wrong pattern, the English pattern. Had we followed the Japanese pattern, there would have been a large number of self-employed persons.

I had occasion lately to visit a cycle manufacturing plant in the Punjab. I noticed that in the last three years, it has reached a production target that would compare favourably with the biggest plant in the country. I began to wonder how could this small plant manufacture cycles in equal number with another plant whose dimensions were at least twenty times larger. The proprietors pleaded with me to be patient till the evening. In the evening batches of skilled workers came in from the surrounding villages with their baskets. Each of them had manufactured a particular

part. Hundreds of such parts were collected, scrutinised, counted, weighed and recorded. The artisans were given their steel quotas. Thus 90 percent of the parts were manufactured by persons earning wages in what may be called the self-employment sector.

The self-employment sector achieves economy in production. It avoids friction. It has no labour-management problem, no over-concentration of population, no housing or sanitary problems.

It would be wrong for our Planners not to distinguish this sector from the private sector. Both the private and the public sectors are prone to monopolistic tendencies and they tend to promote more and still more concentration of economic power in fewer and still fewer hands. The self-employment sector is a hub of independent, self-reliant persons, equal in status, who are their own masters. Yet they serve the common need.

The self-employment sector cannot organise itself. The Government should therefore come forward to guide and protect it.

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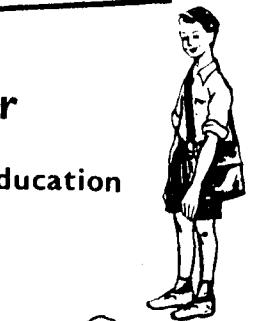
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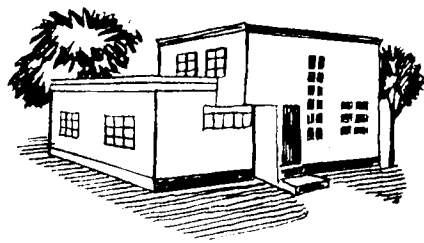


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A ROMANCE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The beauty of woman is heady wine. It has altered the course of history, not to mention its effect on many individual lives. The face of Helen "launched a thousand ships and burnt the topless towers of Ilium". The beauty of Therezia Tallien, raging like a purifying fire, transfigured a monster and destroyed a tyrant during the Reign of Terror in France.

Therezia Tallien was endowed with great beauty. She was of noble birth, Spanish in extraction. The blood of Conquistadors coursed through her veins. Married at 16 to a certain Marquis de Fontenay, she found herself, when 20, left alone in the streets of Bordeaux because the chicken-hearted Marquis had fled for his life. Their only sin was their blue blood. She was taken and imprisoned.

She wrote and sent a letter of appeal, in despair, to Jean Lambert Tallein, the director of the Terror in the city. His features were finely chiselled; but beside him Caligula and Nero were mere neophytes of crime. He had the guillotine set up before his window so that he could watch its working without wasting a minute.

Wicked as he was, he honoured her letter. Her cell was thrown open the next morning and he himself stepped in. Dazzled by her beauty, he stood rooted to the ground. He screamed an order and she was set free. Tallien could refuse her nothing now. She threw herself heart and soul into the cause of the people and began doing the work of a ministering angel without fear. The Revolution's sword grew remiss, at her instance.

The spies took the intelligence to Robespierre who wrote, himself, a warrant for her arrest. Her lovely, jet-black hair was cut off. She was stripped, wrapped in sackcloth and thrown into the prison of Petite-Force, a virtual dungeon, covered with stinking slush and swarms of noxious insects. For three weeks, she rotted there.

Her plight was so heart-rending that the other prisoners sent up an appeal praying for mercy for her.

Tallien too was busy. He bribed a warder who carried messages between them. The day of doom was drawing. The next morning she was to die. This fearful tidings drove him to prompt action.

He rushed to the Convention like one possessed. Robespierre was there in all his glory, well powdered and with curled hair, wearing a floridly decorated coat of violet silk, a daintily embroidered vest and shoes with silver buckles — a dandy if ever there was one. How could he know that the whole Convention had become a powder barrel waiting only for a spark? The spark was now provided by Tallien who jumped to the tribune, and, in his sonorous voice, cried, "I move that Robespierre be sent to the block! If you, others, are pusillanimous, I will myself perform that pleasing task." And he whipped out a knife from his breast, dramatically.

It was a call to which the Convention forthwith responded. In the tumult, Robespierre strove to speak but only fumbled and faltered. "It is the blood of Danton that chokes his throat," thundered the Convention and a storm of execrations burst. Robespierre was arrested and condemned to die the next day, with twenty of his crew.

The triumph of Tallien was as complete as it was sudden. Therezia married him and lived happily ever after, resuming the role of a ministering angel. Her doings became the talk of the nation.

S. T. KASIRAJAN

Liberal Democracy

Liberal democracy is a channel through which all kinds of groups can move toward constructive goals. Society must deal with this new, unpredictable element, which contains the restless drive

of many individuals. The force which moves them forward along this noble channel is the spirit of brotherhood and universal friendliness. In a society which is liberal in its democratic outlook, we can see its workings everywhere around us. Minority groups of all kinds have the right to speak and be heard. People of opposite opinions allow each other the right to differ. Arguments between individuals and between groups are solved through discussions and compromises. This is what liberal democracy can mean for all of us — a way in which man can approach inner serenity and outward brotherhood, and thus promote democratic equality and friendliness.

In his *Republic* the Roman orator Cicero stated: "There will be one law, eternal and unchangeable, binding at all times upon all people and there will be, as it were, one common master, namely God, who is the author of this law, its interpreter and sponsor." Cicero declared that "no state except one in which the people have supreme power provides a habitation for liberty". Carlyle states that "there could be only one immediate source of political authority and this was the community itself". Thomas Aquinas declared that "all political authority is derived from popular suffrage, and all laws must be made by the people or their representatives". A passionate zeal for liberal democracy drove the Scots against England, with their leader Robert Bruce crying: "As long as one hundred of us remain alive we will never consent to be a subject people. For it is not glory, honour, but it is liberty alone that we contend for." In Spain Cervantes wrote: "Liberty is one of the choicest gifts that heaven hath bestowed upon man. Without it life is unsupportable". John Milton wrote: "Give me liberty to know, to utter and argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties". The common bond in a liberal democratic community is not one of race, colour or even time or place. It is a bond of freedom and justice."

G. JAYACHANDRAN



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CINEMA

DISCRIMINATION IN FAVOUR OF FOREIGN FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay : Answering a question in the Rajya Sabha, Dr. B. V. Keskar rejected the suggestion of imposing any censorship on the films shot by foreigners in India. Dr. Keskar said that there was no ban whatsoever on any foreigner with a valid visa shooting any film. There was hence no check on any film or material which they took away with them.

While the foreigner thus enjoys almost unrestricted freedom to shoot films in India, the Indian producer finds that he is faced with so many restrictions that he has no freedom at all. Shakti Samanta who is now making a picture called 'Insan Jaag Utha' wanted to shoot some scenes at the Bhakra-Nangal dam. But he could not secure the necessary permission. Not only the Government of the Punjab, but almost all the State Governments including that of Bombay declined to give him permission to shoot any scenes near the newly constructed dams. The only exception was the State Government of Andhra; the Government of Andhra gave him permission to shoot at Krishnarjun Sagar.

These days most of the producers are rushing to Hyderabad because Andhra is the only State where the producers are getting facilities to shoot outdoor scenes of significance. Otherwise, the other Governments refuse permission on the ground that shooting at the site of a dam is strictly prohibited and this ban prevents the film producer from giving the widest pictorial publicity to the Five Year Plans. Indeed, while foreigners are allowed to go to the interior and even strategic areas and produce films which present a distorted picture of India as is evident in the latest Swedish film shown at Cannes Festival last year, the Indian producers are denied the opportunity to make pictures which will en-

those people about the building up of new India.

Commenting on this attitude of the Government, K. A. Abbas has pointed out how it is necessary to impose restrictions on foreigners for security reasons as well as for proper depiction of our country. The newly formed Directors' Guild is reported to have approached the Government with a practical suggestion that no foreign unit should be allowed to shoot a film in India unless it agrees to engage Indian technicians including an Indian director as an associate. In England, no foreign unit can shoot a picture without engaging a British cameraman according to the Trade Union laws prevalent there.

Government should revise their policy completely by affording more facilities to Indian producers and imposing more restrictions on foreign producers. Incidentally, with the restriction on remittance of money earned by foreign films in India, it appears that American and British units would come to India in greater number to shoot films here. Already, two units are expected to arrive within the next three or four months to shoot pictures with an Indian background.

Kishore Kumar's first production in Hindi 'Chalti Ka Naam Gaadi' is the last picture to be released in Bombay in 1958. Kishore has already made a very successful film in Bengalee and his first Hindi picture which provides light and breezy entertainment also appears to be destined to be a success.

'Chalti Ka Naam Gaadi' is an inconsequential but entertaining farce right from the credit titles — which are cleverly done in cartoon style — to the last fade-out. Set to a brisk tempo, it recounts a tale of three brothers who run a garage. They have a

rule prohibiting any contact or truck with women. The cause for it is that the eldest brother was once jilted in love and came to the conclusion that women spell nothing but disaster. And the youngest brother is the first to break the rule when he goes to the rescue of a damsel in distress on a stormy night, repairs her car and loses his heart. Her failure to pay the charges gives him a convenient excuse to meet her again. And their hectic romance goes ahead in spite of the boxing duel with the elder brother and the gangsters who trap them, though ultimately they are rescued by the boxing brother who also gets his girl in the end.

The first half is really delightful. It is only when the gangsters arrive on the scene that the picture becomes a conventional crime thriller and in the routine climax loses most of its refreshing candour. Kishore as the youngest brother gives another lively performance and regales the audience with his antics. Anwar shows a good flair for comedy and Ashok as the eldest brother gives another restrained and beautiful performance.



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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

LEGISLATORS' PERQUISITES

Madhubala seems to be perfectly at home in this comedy. K. N. Singh and Sajjan do their villainy in traditional style. Lyrics by Majrooh are set to popular tunes by Burman; otherwise the musical score is not particularly distinguished. Satyen Bose who had suffered a serious set-back in 'Sitaronse Aagey' and 'Savera' retrieves his position and handles the comedy with the deftness of a veteran showman and makes the most of Suhrud Kar's thin story. The production values are average.

Surprisingly enough it was not the film artistes nor the Character Actors' Association but the Producers' Association that gave a reception in honour of I. S. Johar for his triumph as an artiste for his performance in the Hollywood film 'Harry Black and the Tiger'. The function was arranged by the Indian Motion Picture Producers' Association and was presided over by Shri S. K. Patil, the Union Minister for Transport and Communications.

Shri Patil said that the foreign press had described Johar's role in the film with a string of the finest adjectives. He said that the recognition earned by Johar showed that histrionic talent in this country would shine forth if given an opportunity in the international motion picture world. Johar's performance had opened out the way for Indian talent to qualify for Oscars in the international festivals.

Though Johar is perhaps the first Indian actor to win Kudos for his portrayal in an American picture, many Indian stars have won praise from the foreign press for their performances in Indian pictures shown in international festivals.

Johar who began his career as a dramatist and proved himself to be a successful screen writer took to acting and direction as well and has achieved success in all the three spheres. But in India, he is still better known as a successful writer and director than an actor. Perhaps with his international reputation he may prove popular in India as an actor

Sir,—Mr. Naushir Bharucha, M.P., is reported to have observed at a meeting in Bombay the other day that most of the members of Parliament were not serious about their work. He referred to the fact that the quorum bell had to be rung several times during the session. Members of Parliament operate under the fundamental law as laid down by the Constitution, and the Rules and Regulations as determined by Parliament itself. Therefore, unless vigilant citizens review the role and activities of M.Ps. from time to time, members may not live upto their task. As a common man, may I request the courtesy of your columns and the views of other citizens on the following matters?

The recent trend is for Parliament members to accumulate benefits and perquisites. I have gathered that M.Ps. get (i) a basic pay of Rs. 400 per month; (ii) a daily allowance of Rs. 21 when they attend a session or any other Parliamentary committee meeting;

as well. Meanwhile he is making his own picture called 'Bewaqoof' and directing 'Mr. India' for G. P. Sippy, the Vice President of IMPPA and the chief organiser of the function held in Johar's honour.

Apart from Shri Patil, Shri J. C. Jain, Mehboob, and Sippy made speeches eulogising Johar's achievement. Johar in reply said that he was moved by the affection shown to him by the Indian film industry. Incidentally, the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru saw 'Harry Black and the Tiger' at a special screening in Rashtrapati Bhawan. Johar was present on the occasion and later met the Prime Minister.

On 24th December Pradeep Kumar launched his new social picture starring Vyjayantimala and himself at Central Studios. Pramod Chakrabarty is directing it while O. P. Nayyar is giving music.

(iii) free first class travel over more than 30,000 miles of railway track in the country; (iv) subsidised housing in New Delhi; (v) subsidised furnishings; (vi) 1,800 free phone calls a year; and (vii) concessional rate of Rs. 10 per hour as against Rs. 25 for others at the flying clubs. Efforts are being made to add to the perquisites. For instance, there is a demand by some M.Ps. for free air travel. There is another demand for pension for M.Ps. with more than 10 years' service! Is not a review of perquisites needed?

There are constant complaints that members of Parliament are interfering in day-to-day administration. Democracy does not mean just the functioning of a Parliament. It means the rule of law. If law-makers themselves interfere in administration, what will become of the rule of law? Should not members of Parliament enact some legislation making it a penal offence to interfere with day-to-day administration?

While I place these matters relating to the working of our democracy before your readers, let me also affirm my faith in this form of government. But mere faith without critical appraisal is the surest way for the ultimate loss of such a form of government.

ARISTIDES

YELLOW JOURNALS

Sir,—There has been a sudden increase in the number of yellow journals published in the city. The editors of such yellow journals besmirch the reputation of young men and women under the ostensible plea that they are championing the cause of Indian womanhood and sedulously guarding the chastity of women. Recently the name of a respectable student of a city college was linked with that of a lady student studying in the same college in an yellow journal. After having come to know that there was not even an iota of proof for his scathing remark, the editor published in a subsequent

issue of his paper an open apology in an insignificant corner. Young men and women coming from respectable families are in constant fear that they may be exposed to public ridicule out of sheer envy of these hoodlums. These journals cater to the low taste of the masses and pander to the baser senses of man. I request the Government to put an end to the publication of such yellow journals. Madras. A. R. LAKSHMANAN

CEILING ON LAND HOLDINGS

Sir,—The ceiling on land holdings on which the Planning Commission and the Central Government are so insistent, is agitating the minds of all landholders including myself, a small landholder of the Tanjore district. All the mirasidars of that district are spending anxious days and sleepless nights. While formerly it was a privilege to own even a few acres in that delta, it is now a burden. Many owners are beginning to sell, but few are able to get a reasonable price. Not a few are entering into benami transactions, settling lands on their near relations and wives' relations. All this will surely lead to endless litigation. In course of time all well-to-do persons will have lost their lands which will fall into the hands of resourceless, incompetent and inefficient tenants. Cultivation will suffer. Production will steeply decline. At one stroke the economy will be destroyed. We look up to you to concentrate on this problem until the Government abandon the scheme. If they must have a ceiling, let them impose ceilings on future acquisitions and not on the present holdings of land. Madras

K. S. RANGANADHA AYYAR

SURREPTITIOUS IMPOSITION

Sir,—The Parliamentary Committee's report on official language is yet to be placed before Parliament, but certain steps have already been taken by the Government to dislodge English. In fact, these steps were taken even before the Committee came into

being. I do not know what is contempt of Parliament if not this.

Unable to refute the nationwide opposition to Hindi, Mr. Nehru has assured us that the Government would not impose Hindi by force. Was the meaning of this promise simply that it will be clamped on us surreptitiously? The Government, having failed to convince the people of the need to change the *status quo* in regard to the Union official language, seem to have turned to the policy of deliberately nursing a lull in the disturbed public mind and then suddenly presenting it with a *fait accompli*. The Government's policy on this issue, which is inherently bad, has not even the saving grace of being straightforward.

There is no conceivable reason for trying to mount Hindi to a place to which it is utterly ineligible except the ill-concealed ambition of the Hindi fanatics to rule the roost in India. If there is any justification for removing English, let the agitationists tell us what it is without equivocation.

Calcutta.

R. MANI

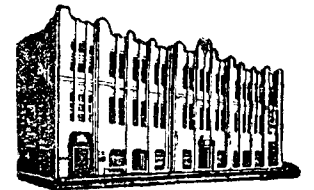
L. I. C. and the Bonus Demand

(Continued from Page 2)

does not want labour unrest. To avoid it they are willing to pay any ransom demanded. In order to pacify a class—conscious and organised working class they go to the extent of ignoring all their obligations to the less militant class, namely the rural workers. It is a situation pregnant with dangerous possibilities and may eventually lead to the breaking down of the democratic order in our country.

The trade unions can help by being more conscious of their duties and obligations rather than of their rights. By postponing their demands even if legitimate for a period till the prosperity of the country is more firmly assured; By looking at things from a long term point of view. Only then will our future be bright as we all wish it to be.

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SWARAJYA

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15 Naye Paise

THE BANGALORE MEET

What is wrong with Government at present is that the principle of conservation has been wholly forgotten and free play is given to exhibitionism. The general complaint is that megalomania and an inordinate desire to impress foreigners who are ignorant of the realities that govern life in our country has been misleading the party in power. The greatest dread of our politicians is to be guilty of inconsistency, to be detected to differ from their own ill-conceived slogans. To conserve what is good and what we have must be the first principle to be observed in building up national progress. It is the scaffold which we must firmly stand to repair and add constructions.

There has been a great conference at Bangalore in which the faults of Government in respect of agricultural policy have been severely criticised. There was at the end of it a suggestion that an agricultural political party should be formed to protect agriculture against the ill-conceived measures of Government. If it is felt that the abandonment of the principle of conservation and a psychological surrender to barren exhibitionism and adding more faults to those already committed in order to avoid the natural consequences of the latter have disastrously affected the principal industry in the land, viz. agriculture; they have also been the cause of error in other fields as well wherein Government have

entered with their unlimited powers of coercion and resort to intolerable taxation. What is required to meet the situation is a true conservative party which stands for preserving what is good and what we have while working for the welfare of the nation as a whole, irrespective of and relieved from imprisoning slogans. It is such a party that can check, correct, restrain and if necessary offer to replace the present slogan-ridden Government that rides on its historic advantage of having won independence by civil disobedience. There is no doubt that it has significantly failed to produce general happiness which is the goal of all government.

All those who stand for and will be guided by the principle of conserving what should be conserved must unite to produce such a party, without nullifying their efforts by over-emphasis on points of difference. A historic party in office cannot be met with effective strength at all if petty differences divide the opposition into numerous small groups each with a separate obsession. Backed by the sound principle of conservation it will be found that more can be done to remove inequalities and to raise the level of national prosperity than what has been in fact achieved by the party in power during these ten years of office and abundant opportunity.

THE WHEELS OF JUGGERNAT

The Prime Minister has said: "Private Enterprise may come in the way, and does come in the way, of the functioning of the democratic apparatus". He does not say how the one follows from the other. Meanwhile, we have seen that the latest election manifesto of the Labour Party in Great Britain. It rejects the public sector. In the words of *The Economist*, the tendency is to denationalise. Britain was the democratic pioneer in the field of nationalised industries. The Labour party's manifesto is the result of bitter experience and represents the abandonment of

one of the most cherished doctrines of early Fabianism. But then, the British, who sent away a king and a war-time Prime Minister with surgical grace, are an eminently practical people, and have no use for the logic of doctrines or the persistency of a useless thought.

The confusion in Mr. Nehru's mind arises from a failure to distinguish between democracy and the Welfare State. What he means is that in a Welfare State, there should be no opportunity to make large profits otherwise than by a public body which expends its earnings for the benefit of the

community. This is unexceptionable theory, if applied to the *laissez faire* capitalism of the nineteenth century. It has no meaning in the context of the steep taxation of all income and the controls of the Companies Act of the present time.

Modern companies are owned by a large number of shareholders. The executive is filled with paid technicians and administrators. The only moral objection is to an individual called the managing agent, who is not an indispensable part of the structure, and who is not to be found in many of the new flotations. Together with modern rates of taxation, in what conceivable sense is a private industry of the present time different from the public sector? In actual practice, State trading, as in cement, did nothing to change the channels of trade or even the agents who were functioning under the companies. The same is the case with the L.I.C. All of them were taken over and they became overnight the agents of the State Corporation. So also, the Government are already faced with the problem of State trading in foodgrains and their first plan is to take over the wholesalers as agents. All that happens in the process is a change of masters. Even that change is not significant because, soon, the Government will have to recruit men for the higher economic cadres and those with business experience will fit in.

On the other hand, it should be remembered that the public corporation of the present day is not the business unit with a social motive (as opposed to the profit motive) that it was even a few years ago. It is, on the other hand, the creature of the huge Government monopolies practised during the war, and has emerged as a monolithic giant, paying lip service to the theory of the public corporation which is not a limb of the Government and is therefore geared to independent and quick action, but which is in reality, as we saw in the LIC, no more than a limb of the Government, and in turn, of the party in power.

There is a political angle to

this. One is accustomed to criticise the public sector by pointing out the waste of resources and staff, and the increased cost of administration and the reluctance of the staff to take decisions or to push the business. These are, no doubt, inherent evils, but the most serious danger of them all is political. The State-controlled public corporation places in the hands of the ruling party an engine of economic pressure which is so powerful that it can shape the political views of any group. The investment policy of the LIC is an example. One need not go as far as to point out the bargaining for party funds in return for investment in chosen companies that has been recently exposed. It is sufficient to show that the LIC can today make or mar any industry by entering the market as a buyer or seller.

Thus, far from the public sector favouring the democratic way, it is a direct contradiction in terms of the freedoms which are indispensable to the democratic way of life. Article 19 of the Constitution is already dead. It may be good for the people from a Socialistic point of view, in the sense that the concerns are the people's. But that is not a bread and butter satisfaction, but one of vague theory.

Between ceilings on land and the encroachment of the public sector, both production and the income-surplus on which taxation and Government budgeting are based will have to face a new crisis. Government expenditure, on the contrary, will mount up. How is the gap to be bridged? Here, again, the Government monopoly in the public sector will become the means of steep commodity taxes. We are seeing this in the fixation of cement prices. It will be a sad day when the policy is introduced in grain prices. The six-point programme of the Congress for the Third Plan proceeds to enunciate the use of the public sector as an engine of taxation. Any increase in the price of grain otherwise than for the cost of the business, and which does not directly accrue to the grower, is the surest way to economic suicide. But one may pro-

phesy that Government will be driven, after exhausting the direct tax resources, which have now reached a saturation level, to these indirect commodity levies. The havoc on the budget may well be imagined.

The whole theory of the Welfare State is based on the curtailment of individual freedom. Combined with adult franchise and the absence of a great democratic tradition, politics has become no more than the art of staying in power. Else, how are we to explain the strange paradox of the Communist government of Kerala wooing Mr. Birla to start a private enterprise and the democratic government of Mr. Nehru wanting to abolish the private sector because, in some unexplained way, it interferes with the democratic way of life? Distributive justice without increasing the volume of production can only lead to political sadism. It is a short satisfaction and will recoil on the very beneficiaries when the sources dry up.

Sir Mirza Ismail

SWARAJYA has lost a dear and valued friend in the passing away of Sir Mirza Ismail. He showered on me personally a lavish affection of which I could never trace the cause or origin. I met him only thrice but we kept a continual correspondence with each other. In canvassing subscribers and other kinds of support for SWARAJYA he was indefatigable. He formed a high opinion of its social value and public purpose and never tired in his effort to extend its influence and usefulness. Repeatedly he would send carefully culled extracts from the writings of the authors he loved for such use as could be made of them. He combined ability with charm and firmness with a gracious demeanour. His sense of beauty and proportion was superb. Marked out by experience and endowments as among the fittest for town and country planning, it is a tragic sign of our times that one like him should have found no place in the nation's circle of post-freedom planners.

KHASA



Sotto Voce

Cold war against the people

Addressing the Congress of International Jurists Mr. Nehru delivered himself of the dictum that in times of such quick change as we live in the judge who seeks to protect the individual's rights "may be left a little behind by the changes that have come over society". He might not therefore "quite represent that mood which happens to be the mood of society and which perhaps represents reality more than the statute law which the judge administers". And from this Mr. Nehru jumped to the paradox that "it may be that the Executive represents it (the current mood of society) much more for the moment". Then the democrat in him got uppermost and he added, engagingly and inconclusively, "It may be of course that the Executive acts wrongly and oppressively and should be pulled up".

But who is to pull it up if the judge, thanks to the continual hectoring of those in authority, develops an inferiority complex? The Advocate-General Mr. Setalvad had pointed out before Mr. Nehru spoke, "The views and policies of the Party in power had not unoften a tendency to affect the judiciary... Such situations were more noticeable in infant democracies where the ruling parties were overwhelmingly strong, opposition parties had not gathered strength and public opinion did not make itself felt." That description hits off the present situation in India to a T and the Prime Minister was obviously stung to the quick. Otherwise, he might not have so unthinkingly called on lawyers and judges constantly to "adapt themselves to the mood of society". For that way lies total negation of justice and repudiation of the rule of law.

The mood of any society is no more to be trusted than the mood of a man of moods. History is littered with the wreck of transient fashions in politics. If the British judiciary had not stood up firmly in defence of the people's rights when "society" (which meant the courtiers of Charles I) proclaimed the Divine Right of Kings the Stuarts might have anticipated the totalitarian terrors of the twentieth century. And we have seen that the Divine Right of the Big Brother who claims exclusive authority to speak for "society" can be even more devastating.

When Mr. Nehru spoke of the "reality" which is represented by the current "mood of society" he was unconsciously echoing the slogan of "socialist realism" which is fashionable in East Europe. Likewise in thinking that a 'static law' and 'a dynamic society' do not go together he spoke as a whole-hogging adherent of the economic interpretation of history. But the leaders of the free democracies are not prepared to accept that interpretation unquestioningly. For, however spectacular the changes that science and technology have brought about in men's lives, they have made little or no impression on the basic individuality or the fundamental urges of any people. And, even more important, they are powerless to touch the realities of the ethical life.

It is with these realities and those urges that the rule of law is concerned. The only "rule of life" it must recognise is the moral rule grounded in human nature. As the Chief Justice of India pointed out, "The rule of law pres-

cribes alike a code of conduct for the individual as for the State." War, neither of the cold, nor of the hot variety, negates its validity. Mr. Nehru evidently misreads the meaning of the old Roman maxim about "law being silent when a war is on". It merely emphasises that though law may be overridden for the time being it does not compromise its integrity.

The hold of the rule of law on a free society is demonstrated by the fact that the moment emergency conditions pass the people insist that that rule must be restored. And the Executive gracefully submits. Even during the worst of the blitz British courts insisted on scrutinising rigorously regulations that affected individual liberties. In England today administrative law, or "the New Despotism" as a former Chief Justice characterised it, leads an apologetic, self-deprecating existence. The current unpopularity of the Socialists in that country is largely due to their having made too free use of it. But here in India administrative high-handedness clothed with legality flourishes.

The dispensing power incorporated in every one of the badly drafted, ill-considered laws that rain down thick and fast on the unlucky citizen makes a farce of his freedom. And it stultifies the judiciary. Neither free elections nor political democracy as they have been practised in India were calculated to discover the true urges that operate in society. They have merely enabled a minority infected with alien ideas and passing crazes to impose its own notions of the good life on a dumb people with all the circumstance of constitutionalism. In saying that law and cold war are incompatible Mr. Nehru was unconsciously passing judgment on his own Party's record. It has been carrying on a prolonged war of nerves against the people to wean them away from much that they have prized and that has constituted the secret of their greatness.

VIGNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS ::

It is eleven weeks since the usual feature *Sidelights* appeared on this page. I was incapacitated from writing it by a paralytic stroke. I was admitted in the General Hospital where, after a day or two in precarious condition, the kind and talented doctors helped me towards recovery and rehabilitation.

The doctor's profession has its glamour and glory. But its abiding companionship with pain puts upon it a terrible strain. A great surgeon once told me: "We live most of the time in blood and puss." Sick people, immersed in their own particular torments and anxieties, tend to become highly self-centred, and they are not easy to get on with. One patient suffices to convulse a whole household. The burden of looking after hundreds of such patients, all collected in one place—which is what is done in a hospital—calls for unlimited patience, fortitude and humanity, apart from technical skill and knowledge of psychology. Society can never repay the debt it owes to its doctors.

Still less can it repay its nurses. Years ago I had a child that died of encephalitis after three weeks of continual unconsciousness. Anderson was the name of the nurse who attended on it in the children's ward of the General Hospital. I do not think she slept a wink during all that period. No mother could have been more tender. Ever since then, the figure of Anderson with her unbounded maternal love and compassion, comes before me whenever I come across a nursing sister. The profession of nursing is filled with hard toil, sweat and drudgery. Many of its members might have got into it, not by choice but out of necessity. The condition of the younger ones, when they enter on duty of a night, is often one of sheer terror, so intense is the suffering concentrated in a single ward, which they have to confront and relieve. But it is a vocation that subdues all natures to its

needs. And thus we find the frail and gentle sisters, performing tasks that might make the hardiest quail, drawing, out of the very strains of their functions, the qualities necessary to overcome them, such as zeal and endurance. They learn to pass through their nightmare schedules with the satisfaction of achievement, the exhilaration of a mission fulfilled. How little they get out of the nation's economy for the wonderful work of renovating the sick and the maimed which they carry on, day in and day out, with tireless perseverance!

The editorial work of SWARAJYA in the past eleven weeks was carried on by Sri Rajaji, with valuable assistance, whenever required, from Sri S. Y. Krishnaswamy. My good friend of many years, V. Kalidas, acted as co-ordinator between office staff and printing press and contributors. Rajaji remarked, on my return from hospital, "But for Kalidas, your journal would have gone to pieces in your absence." I am not very certain what my presence will contribute to it hereafter. I have emerged from this illness not only crippled of limb, but weak in eyesight. Would it be fair to readers of SWARAJYA that the journal should have an editor so disabled? Should I carry on, as best as I can for as long as possible, even with impaired and reduced working capacity, hoping for improvement, or should I pass on control to other willing helpers, or should I close the journal altogether, with

a valedictory farewell to all who have enabled it to live so far? To these questions I have no ready answer at the moment, but very soon a decision will have to be taken, giving due consideration to readers' views, should they choose to offer any.

In the spate of birthday plaudits and felicitations that greeted Rajaji from all over the country last month, the historic significance of the man and his life seems somehow to have been missed. If Mahatma Gandhi had been with us today, he would have resisted with his life the present Government's indulgence in rapacious taxation and arbitrary appropriation of citizens' property-rights under cover of the Welfare State. He would have initiated a no-tax campaign to counter the mounting corruption and wastefulness. Rajaji, of all national leaders nearest to Gandhiji in understanding and outlook, has gone as far towards persistent adherence to the spirit of Gandhian teaching as it is possible for any individual non-conformist to do in the stampede of right by crowd-pressure in our adult-suffraged, ballot-box-dominated democracy. The greedily organised demands of large multitudes have in our time swiftly ousted intrinsic conceptions of justice and right and wrong for long rooted in religious tradition. Rajaji's greatest service is the effort he is making to put religion on the map once again and fear of God in men's minds to curb the otherwise uncontrollable depravities of legalised sanction for every kind of vote-supported atrocity. He is like Gandhi in standing alone necessary for what is right even if the whole world be ranged on the opposite side. The validity of numbers as a governing force in the body politic has been challenged, and is being gradually undermined, mainly on account of the prodigious energy with which Rajaji has done the duties of a one-man Opposition in the demoralised conditions of the present one-party regime. Greater service than this to the nation no man can render.

SAKA



WHAT PREVENTS?

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The unqualified assertion of the right of mankind to the purity of the atmosphere with which the planet is endowed and to the integrity of the hereditary human cells must precede the organization of any machinery for detection and prevention of evasion. The wrong-doers have no right to be left alone in their career of crime infringing this right of mankind until the machinery to prevent evasion is perfected to their satisfaction; any more than ordinary criminals are entitled to carry on their trade until courts and police are perfected.

What prevents an anti-tests group of nations is the U.N. raising the issue whether the U.N. is not bound by its Charter unconditionally to ban the poisoning of the earth's atmosphere by any individual power in its own supposed or even real interests? It would not be interference in the internal affairs of a State, for this poisoning of the air and the human cells for generations to come is not just a matter of national defence but an infringement of other peoples' rights. What prevents even a minority in the U.N. from claiming this overriding fundamental right to call for a cessation of wrong-doing, although the offending power or powers may secure a majority of votes in favour of continued poisoning?

What prevents is Brute Force. It is naked rebellion against international law. This must be brought to the open by a combined attack on the part of those nations that can unite on this issue of the protection of the purity of the planet's atmosphere and the integrity of the hereditary seed of the human race.

The crew of the Golden Rule have returned from their visit to Geneva, greatly satisfied with the reception accorded to them. The representatives of the three governments that met at Geneva seem to believe, each one of them, in its own innocence and welcomed the protest of the Golden Rule as a criticism of the "other fellow".

If America has a divine mission in the world to liquidate Communism and if the Government of the U.S. is executing that mandate, the men and women of America have a still diviner mission to perform in respect of their own Government. And that is to battle against their own Government against the use or nuclear weapons and to stop the poisoning that is going on by the test explosions. They have to take steps for making their own Government give up their illusion that mutual intimidation is the only way to international life.

The latest witness that has come to testify about the poison is Dr. I. Gardner, Professor of Pediatrics in the College of Medicine of New York State University. According to him C.14, one of the isotopes of nuclear fall-out, has a life of 8000 years during which the chain action of poisoning hereditary cells will go on. Whether it be 8000 years or a few years more or less makes no difference in this crime.

The American Civil Resisters

and others who disapprove of the nuclear activities of their Government have their work cut out for them in America. The Government of Eisenhower cannot treat a great demonstration of mothers in New York or Washington with indifference. The women of America should make up their mind to tell their Government that they do not want this slow and sure genetic poisoning and that the American Government should find other ways of protecting the independence of America and the freedom of the individual. If America stops her nuclear programme, Russia must automatically follow. About this there can be no moral doubt, whatever the brink-of-war statesmen and those who have made the ramifications of atomic defence the economic content of their life may say to the contrary. The world, Communist and non-Communist, united against Hitler, for he proved himself to be a danger to civilization. The nuclear menace is a greater, far greater menace than Hitler and the world must unite against it. What prevents but the illusions that Brute Power creates and which it is the duty of enlightened nations to dispel with vigour.





THE SLUGGISH SUN

(Fable by RAJAJI translated by
MRS. A. V. RAMAN)

"Well, I have had enough of all this," sighed the house fly.

A rooster that happened to be nearby in search of crumbs, pecking at the ground, lifted its head up and enquired: "Dear fly, what are you moaning about?"

"Ha," answered the fly, "you would not ask me that. If only you knew what it is to draw a cart laden with heavy bags all the way from the Harbour to Mylapore!"

"What bags, and what cart? I can't follow what you are talking about," said the cock.

"How can I expect you to understand?" replied the fly. "You live on spilt rice and earthworms. Today I travelled on the back of a man and along with him drew the cart all the way here. What is the good of seeking your sympathy at my plight?"

"Wherefrom did you get such strength? The cart must have been very heavy," queried the bird.

"Strength and enthusiasm depend more on the mind than on the body," wisely observed the fly. "There were several sweetmeat stalls on the way; many shops in which there hung over-ripe plantains too. Great was my temptation to stop and eat them. But when I realised that the men would not be able to draw the cart without my assistance, I did not yield."

"What mercy indeed!" appreciated the rooster. "I wish I could be as good as you are. But I can't, for I can never resist a temptation. The taste of these worms is too much for me!"

"These are not days for the good!" said the fly. "These humans kill us with some poison. What have we done? They continually wage war against us in their anger."

"They are afraid of germs carrying disease. These deadly germs cling to your feet and enter the human body and blood stream through you," explained the cock.

plained the cock.

"How can we flies help that? Can we have a good bath before we settle ourselves on these cowards or their food? We would die if we bathed," said the fly.

"Quite true," agreed the cock sorrowfully.

The fly continued, "They have even started to cover the dustbins now. But fortunately some good housewives open the bins and forget to close the lids after dumping the garbage. At least these matrons have some mercy on us."

The cock felt sleepy. "Well, I must go to sleep now. Otherwise I will not be up early enough to wake the sluggish sun. That lazy sun will go on sleeping unless I crow and wake him up! He will not rise in time," said the cock.

Just then the full moon was slowly rising in the east. She overheard the conversation between the fly and the cock and she smiled gently. "No cock need crow for me", she thought. "I can rise promptly by myself". Thus she prided to herself.

Little did she guess that she was to be eclipsed that very night.

MRS. M. LAKSHMI AMMAL

TWO OLD STUDENTS REMINISCE

The news of the demise of Mrs. M. Lakshmi Ammal on 6th December 1958 would have filled the hearts of many an old student of hers with sorrow. She was Professor and Head of the Department of English in Queen Mary's College for a long time. Her classes were immensely interesting and enjoyable. One remarkable feature of her lectures was brevity coupled with wit. She used only simple language but it was full of lucid expression and humour. She was a voracious reader and was found always with a book in the library. There was hardly any new book on English literature which did not bear the mark of her having read it through: so much so, it was common talk among students that Mrs. Lakshmi Ammal had read every book in the library of the college.

Mrs. Lakshmi Ammal was the best example to her students for inculcating in them the reading habit and a real love for books. She was a model to her students in many other ways. Her simplicity of manners and her unassuming nature were admirable. She was kind to her students and welcomed for the purpose of teaching any student who was

weak in English.

She combined in herself the qualities of a successful teacher with those of a psychologist. She was a keen observer of her students' capacities, tastes and aptitudes. She was full of courtesy and polish and never offended anyone. She had the gift of making her points in the most emphatic and persuasive manner.

Besides being a successful teacher, a philosopher and a guide to her students, Mrs. Lakshmi Ammal was a friend of the poor. The social service centre in the precincts of the college is a standing monument to her zeal in the service of the poor and the needy. Much emphasis is laid on social service in every educational institution today, but it was in the late thirties that,

due to the energy and efforts of Mrs. Lakshmi Ammal, that in a college such as Q.M.C. an association known as the Village Workers' Association was formed. On the day of its inauguration Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, the then Principal of the Madras Medical College and Superintendent of the General Hospital, remarked: "This is the only college that had set the example to other colleges in undertaking the responsibility of uplifting the down-trodden section of society and the credit in no small measure goes to Mrs. Lakshmi Ammal."

Her wisdom and tact, her gifts of organization and brilliant improvisation were never more strongly revealed than when she took keen interest in building up the Village Workers' Association which was subsequently renamed the Social Service League. Mrs. Lakshmi Ammal was responsible for affiliating this Village Workers' Association to the College Union. She used to form a committee of students of the college to render medical aid and other kinds of timely help to the slum dwellers in the neighbourhood of the college.

Mrs. Lakshmi Ammal had a high sense of duty. She was always in the forefront in every activity of the college. Her devoted service to the college had endeared her to both the staff and students. In the history of Q.M.C. the name of Mrs. Lakshmi Ammal will occupy a place in the front rank of its builders.

Her ability and capacity were recognized when she was appointed Principal of the Lady Willingdon Training College. She held this post for three or four years and gained immense popularity among the staff and students. Subsequently she was appointed Principal of Q.M.C. in April 1950. Having weathered many a tempest in the course of her journey through life she never flinched from duty's call even if it were at the risk of her health. Unfortunately she had a heart attack in July 1958 while still on duty. She was therefore forced to

COMING SHORTLY



Sotto Voce

A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL
COMMENTARY

By

VIGHNESWARA

(N. Raghunathan)

Under the pen-name Vighneswara, Mr. N. Raghunatha Iyer (Chief Asst. Editor, *The Hindu*, Retd.) has for the past thirteen years been contributing a widely popular weekly causerie headed "Sotto Voce" first to *Swatantra* and then to *Swarajya*. At the insistent request of readers it is proposed to collect these articles in a series of self-contained volumes because of their permanent interest. The first, entitled "*The Coming of Freedom*," contains the articles written from February 1946 to February 1949, with an introduction in which the record of the Governments of India since Independence is critically examined from the stand-point of the social, cultural and political values that are part of our living Indian tradition. Brief topical and literary notes are appended at the end, as well as a glossary and a useful subject Index.

Of the author whom she met while she was in India, Vera Brittain, the British novelist, wrote in her book "In Search of Sunrise" that she had found in him one of the most brilliant minds in the country. In the Survey of "Contemporary Indian Literature" published by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, "Sotto Voce" is spoken of as among the best of its kind.

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QUEER FURORE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

A handsome tribute was paid by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant to Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari during his visit to Madras. Nearly about the same time, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was complimenting Tamil Nad as the best administered State in the country with the photo-finish of Bombay in the race, Chavan up.

It was at the Avadi Congress that the term "Socialistic Pattern of Society" had been launched. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad sponsored the theme in high-flown Urdu and Kamaraj Nadar supported the resolution by a brief "I second it," a remark as austere as his doctrine of *Paar-kalaam*, which has won honours in India. Really it corresponds to Melbourne's dictum "Leave it alone." Why rouse sleeping dogs? Even if dogs bark, the caravan passes on, an Oriental proverb which had created a lot of acrimonious debate when Sir Samuel Hoare (now Viscount Templeton) was Secretary of State for India. Those were sensitive days of round-tabling, and all who were caught on the wrong foot had to explain how misunderstandings arose. Leopold

go on long leave preparatory to retirement.

After her retirement also, due to her zeal for service of the community, she took up the work of the Seva Sadan and remained its Honorary Secretary till her death. She put her heart and soul into the work of the Seva Sadan. Two months before she died, she addressed the students and staff of Ethiraj College exhorting them to render help and encouragement to the Seva Sadan. Her speech was then listened to with attention and interest. No one dreamed that she would be so soon snatched away from us by the cruel hand of death.

MRS. AMTHAL HALEEM HASHIM,
Professor of History,
Ethiraj College.
FATHIMA AKHTAR
(Mrs. Basheer Ahmed)

Amery, as the next Secretary of State, was in political dogma as strait and particular as John Foster Dulles of our times. He persevered in the proclamation: "The August Offer Stands". Like Dulles quoting Portugal's Constitution, and saying that Goa is a province in India of that Iberian outpost in Europe: no relevance to realism.

We had in the history of the last fifty years many offers in the fateful month of August, beginning with Montagu's August Declaration and ending with the Quit India Challenge in the course of another August, nearly three decades later. The verdict every time was "Too late, too stale." Controversy reigned supreme with allegations (and "alligators") at conflict. The charges and counter-charges were interesting even under the shade and shelter of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Sir Reginald Maxwell had his interpretations: Sir Harry Haig his scrupulous diary-records; Sir Henry Emerson his date-entries; Sir Richard Tottenham his tenders for sandalwood at the time of Gandhiji's epic fast verging on the Hereafter.

Whenever newspaper-quarrels arose, it was contended that the whole thing should be construed as a whole without separation of sentences and there was bother for the "newspaper industry." Lawyers in urging appeals argue that the documents in question should be judged as "a whole" without fragmentation or garbling or subterfuges born of guile on the part of the opposite side. Even the question of conscience creeps in.

What conscience dictates to be just

And warns me not to do
This may I pursue
So that Heaven may judge.

The main charge levelled by Private Enterprise against T. T. K. is that he put too much pressure on our foreign exchange position and embarrassed Indian economy.

Imagine on the other hand that the United States had indented for a heavy supply of pepper and camphor for a long duration in the worry of the Korean War. The stuff would last and there could be no attacks about excessive imports coupled with a squeeze on foreign exchange. It must be remembered that in the issue of import-licences, T. T. K. did not include perishables like vegetables and fish liable to decay: what got stocked in the country consisted of chemicals, drugs and baby-foods acquired at cheaper prices now getting scarce in our markets owing to consumer-demand on a high scale. We all know that today there is not sufficient reserve in the market of drugs and chemicals which do not decay with storage. In fact, the general feeling in the market is that if he had stocked a larger supply of imports against disease, we should have been better off. Ask doctors or druggists.

The myth about T. T. K. overstocking the market during the second Five Year Plan has been overdone by the Private Sector and certain careerists who are now condemned by the Prime Minister, indirectly.

The Minister of Home Affairs, in his appreciation of the former Finance Minister, did not exceed his privilege at Madras. He has in precise words defended his position in relation to a past-colleague who quitted Cabinet as soon as he was assailed on remote grounds of constitutional integrity as a politician. The complexities of the Patel-cum-Vaidyanathan sector of responsibility have nothing to do with his stand as Cabinet Minister of high purpose and originality.

There has been back-biting to hurt the man who has played his part as a gentleman, and if Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant spoke fair about a South Indian statesman, it is difficult to see why he should be denounced by anybody, at least from South India. To quote Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari, our difficulties about foreign exchange are nothing when compared with our distress in respect of internal resources in the Second Five Year Plan.

LINCOLN AND GANDHI

By K. SANTHANAM

There are some obvious similarities in the lives of Lincoln and Gandhi. In the case of both, their private lives continuously faded and disappeared in their public activities. Both had a passion for righteousness, they were equally prepared to risk everything including their lives for the cause they held dear. Lincoln's advocacy for the emancipation of Negro slaves was similar to Mahatma Gandhi's fight against untouchability. Lastly, their final end was the same, viz: through the hand of the assassin.

Their dissimilarities were no less striking. Lincoln was essentially a politician and a statesman. Gandhi was a saint and a social reformer. Lincoln fought at the head of a free people. Gandhi was the leader of a subject-country. Lincoln fought with the power of the sword. Gandhi relied on the power of the spirit, and met violence with non-violence.

To Mahatma Gandhi the spiritual life of the individual was the sole end of all human activity. Politics, economics, and all other social activities should be such as to facilitate the growth of the spiritual life of the people concerned. Every individual and every community is the scene of bitter and ceaseless struggle. In the case of the individual, it is a struggle to conquer and control the lust of the body, desires of the mind and the evil passions of anger and hatred. Strict discipline and ceaseless vigilance are indispensable. Unflinching devotion to truth, strengthened by firm belief in God and utter humility are the means to victory in the inner struggle. In the case of the community, violence and coercion are the greatest evils. Their root causes are greed and intolerance. It is not possible to overcome violence by counter-violence. The result will only be an intensification of the spirit of violence, among the victors as well as the vanquished. Religious intolerance and economic greed are the most frequent causes of domination and exploitation. So Gandhiji

declared that non-violence should be the guiding principle of all human action and it should be supported by whole-hearted toleration and extreme simplicity of life.

All his combined teachings have been symbolised in the word 'Satyagraha'. This has been used particularly in connection with his movements of non-violent resistance in South Africa and India. It may be questioned whether Satyagraha is an adequate weapon against all forms of tyranny, oppression or dictatorship. One may ask the counter-question whether war or armed revolt has ever proved adequate or conclusive in the struggle against such evils. The lesson of the two world wars is that the logic of force leads to increasing and more destructive force. It's a terrible vicious circle which has to be broken by some radically different method. Satyagraha is the alternative offered by Gandhi.

It is reasonable to hold that until the average spiritual level of mankind has risen to a much higher plane than at present, there can be no adequate method by which we can be certain of overcoming the conflicts inherent in the racial, national, and religious divisions of mankind. So the main issue is to evolve methods of action which, while fighting the present evils, will also bring about a spiritual growth which will ultimately eliminate these conflicts. By demonstrating that a whole people like that of India can achieve political liberation through non-violent methods, Gandhiji had done a service to human progress which is incalculable.

Satyagraha is not merely a non-violent method of political action. It can be effectively used to fight social evils and resolve domestic disputes. It is the sovereign shield for individual freedom. Its implications in the context of a democratic State have yet to be explored. There are limits beyond which even the most perfect democracy may not invade the freedom and dignity of the individual.

Satyagraha may also be a proper method for the vindication of the rights and liberties of minorities which are not respected by democratic majorities.

Gandhiji's influence over the Indian people was not confined to the political sphere. His fight against untouchability has brought about a transformation of Hindu society which could not have been imagined forty years ago. Though he started with the belief in an ideal caste system, he came to dislike caste as it existed in practice and discarded all its restrictions. His passionate plea for the Charkha and village industries has left an impress on Indian economics though it is difficult to say how long they would last. He has practically achieved the emancipation of Indian womanhood. His advocacy of a national language has resulted in the constitutional provisions for making Hindi the official language of India from 1965.

From the year 1920 to the date of his death on 30th January 1948, Mahatma Gandhi had filled the minds, captured the imagination and aroused the emotion of the Indian people as perhaps no other leader in history. During his lifetime, he discouraged foreign propaganda for his ideas and ideals on the ground that, if there were any truth in them people from foreign countries would come in search for them. They did so in ample measure, and without any effort on his part his name and fame has spread all over the world. It is to be hoped that his life and teachings will continue to spread till they become the common possession of all humanity.

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TRAVELLERS' TALES FROM PAKISTAN

By N. S. MUTHANA

Pakistanis are beginning to feel less enthusiastic about the clean sweep of the military broom. The shopping spree is over and the stores are empty. The consumer is in for a thin time and that has begun to worry him as much as it has the military rulers of that country.

Martial Law brought the prices down—sometimes even to very uneconomic levels—but the military mind has not been able to push up production. The newly introduced rationing system may slow down the run on the shops but it certainly cannot replenish the bare shop windows.

Import of consumer goods is absolutely out of the question, for the balance of payments are too heavily weighed against Pakistan. And it is not likely to improve in the near future. Even the smugglers have given up their trade and that has gone only to raise another fresh problem for the military rulers, in that they cannot run a country for long with nothing in her shop windows.

Pakistan's foreign exchange earnings from exports began drying up even before the imposition of martial law. Export earnings began falling at an alarming rate since 1955. According to a recent report (made a little before martial law was introduced) of the State Bank of Pakistan, export earnings during the years 55-56 stood at Rs. 189.87 crores; in 56-57 it slid down to the order of Rs. 170.1 crores, and in 57-58 it slumped to Rs. 152.8 crores. All during those years Pakistan's imports showed a steady and steep rise.

While in India much the same things have happened there is the consolation of having used up much of the foreign exchange reserves in buying capital goods unlike Pakistan which has very little to show in terms of tangible national assets acquired from her export earnings.

Pakistan's major exports are

jute and cotton. In the international market jute prices have been falling and Pakistan is left with large stocks which she does not know what to do with. India can perhaps buy some of it, but relations between these two countries being what they are there is no hope of Pakistan wanting to do business with this country. The cold war with India on the economic front has gone far enough to drive Pakistan to buy her coal from as far away as Poland rather than from us.

While the fall in her jute trade has not been terribly rapid the downswing in her textile trade is definitely alarming. Until recently Pakistan earned almost about Rs. 10 crores from her textile exports. Last year, however, her earnings from this product was of the order of less than Rs. 1 crore.

Since martial law came into being the prices of textile goods came tumbling down and the domestic consumption registered a smart spurt. This sudden increase, it is said, might even warrant the working of an extra shift in the mills, but the chances of Pakistani textiles getting overseas markets are almost nil.

Japan and China have already established themselves in places where Pakistani textiles were in demand at one time.

There is no immediate prospect of further industrialisation to increase the economic activities in the country. Even the plan to erect a steel mill with a production capacity of only 60,000 tons a year has been abandoned by the new Finance Minister whose views on economics are on the conservative side. Consequently, in the new scheme of things there is no plan for opening new avenues of employment.

The new regime's excursion into industry has not gone further than giving a wage boost to industrial workers in Karachi, and of course, controlling the prices of all commodities.

With the sudden and almost violent imposition of rigid controls on an economy which operated in an unbridled manner, the investing class has become over-cautious about venturing into new enterprises.

It is also said that many of the moneybags in Pakistan do not hold Pakistani passports. Quite a number of them hold foreign passports and have been salting away their fortunes abroad in European and American banks.

The military administration has, however, been able to force some of them to disclose their concealed earnings. Up to now, according to an agency report, some thousands of people have revealed a cumulative concealed income to the tune of about Rs. 100 crores. It is said that the exchequer will stand to gain about Rs. 30 to 40 crores from this concealed wealth. But the rich have been less frank about their hidden incomes and foreign exchange holdings secreted away abroad.

Temporarily the Pakistani Navy has produced a small goldmine. It recovered contraband gold worth Rs. 3 crores from the smugglers. But this, like the taxes accruing from concealed incomes, is not a recurring source of revenue.

It must, however, be conceded that the military take-over has resulted in the improvement of the position of the Pakistani rupee in the international free market. Formerly it used to be quoted at Rs. 6.83 to a dollar but now it is Rs. 5.55 to a dollar—a 25 percent improvement. (Officially, however, it is Rs. 4.76 to a dollar. But official prices rarely operate in the free market.)

Even on the food front there has been no startling improvement except that the distribution is a little more even. But Pakistan's military genius and efficiency have not produced an immediate programme to step up the production of food to meet the annual million ton deficit.

It must also be said that following the raids on hoarders of food grains and the introduction of fair price shops through which food is distributed, a certain modicum of surface tranquility

CAPITAL COMMENTS

DHEBAR'S FIFTH YEAR PRESIDENTSHIP

By JUNIUS

has been achieved. But it is not a permanent thing. In fact, it has already begun to wear off.

What makes things appear peaceful in Pakistan is the fact that there has been not even a single sign of resistance from any quarter. All those who might have offered resistance are in prison. The new regime does not recognise any other point of view except its own. This total lack of resistance and criticism of military rule has presently caused a certain amount of complacency among the military bosses.

But side by side there is evidence of sharp discontent in the middle senior ranks—Majors and Colonels—of the Army who expected a national revolution to follow the military coup. The coup, it is said, was originally thought out at the level of young colonels, and General Ayub Khan, by virtue of his seniority, was the logical frontman.

Gen. Ayub's idea of the coup, however, was not strictly revolutionary. In fact, it was the other way about. While the younger officers expected the military to provide the leadership for a national revolution which would otherwise have come about in course of time (though not immediately), Gen. Ayub's coup appears to have forestalled the intended revolution and brought about a pure and simple military dictatorship with the blessings of the Muslim League.

There is no possibility of the dictatorship cracking up in a hurry. Although the new Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Gen. Musa, is a Mirza man, top commands at operational levels are with anti-Mirza men like Generals Azam Khan and Sheikh.

So far, the Generals have put up a united front, but it is freely whispered that Gen. Azam Khan's ambitions are not quite limited to the military sphere alone. But for Gen. Azam Khan to act, if travellers' tales are any indication, it will not be before the occurrence of a clear-cut polarisation of different forces. And certainly not before the hangover from the tranquiliser tablet of martial law begins to crack the morale of the nation.

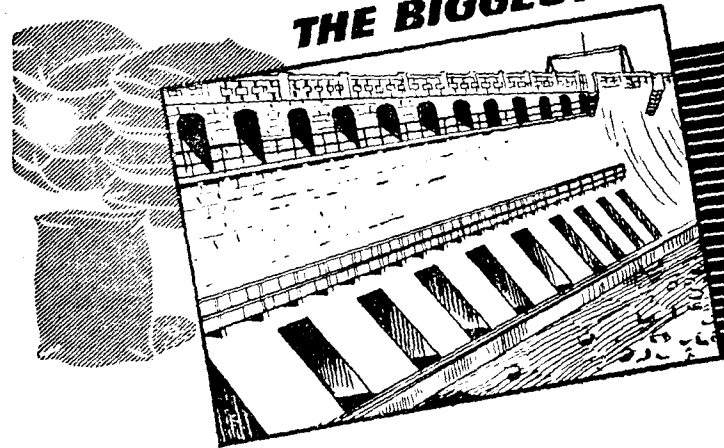
New Delhi: As the hub of the Indian universe the capital has passed on its primacy this week, whether as a matter of courtesy or expediency, to Nagpur where the Congress is now holding its annual session for the third time. In the annals of the Congress, Nagpur emerged as a landmark thirty-nine years ago when it changed its creed and embarked on one of the most tempestuous voyages in the cause of Freedom, with Gandhi the Prophet as the pilot of the nation. It is one of the paradoxes of our history that though the Happy Isles were reached at last in 1947, however unhappily, the fear of the gulfs washing us all down is still there—Heaven knows why. Or is it that we also know it? Even President Dhebar who, in Panditji's vein, essayed to make "a survey of the passing currents of history" and put himself to the strain of philosophising about "tidal waves" and "the noisy, restless, tempestuous human world we live in", should know it, if he will but re-read one of his own sentences on the Berlin issue, in the context of Congress politics. So the sentence runs: "The philosophies that did not prevent a common disaster, are dividing them after its termination". The philosophies of Gandhism and Indian Nationalism which did not prevent a common effort on the part of Congressmen in the midst of a common disaster to their movement and the cause of freedom, are, alas! dividing them after its termination. It can only mean that there is something woefully wrong with the present Congress philosophy or something lamentably lacking in the 'prophets and priests' of the day.

Mr. Dhebar could not take the Congress far by merely bemoaning that the "Congress organisa-

tion is not an ideal state." It may be out of restraint that he has deliberately made an understatement. He should have made his party men realise that there is something rotten in their State, as in Hamlet's Denmark, and taken steps or formulated measures to check the rot. Is it because of his realisation that nothing effective can be done that he has decided to pass over the reins of the organisation to a new guide? If the retirement is just in conformity with "the policy that President and Secretaries should hold office for a single term", he should have, in that case, done a greater service by asking his Ministerial colleagues in the Congress to follow the same policy and his own belated example. They too would perhaps like to have four terms and then only talk of policies and principles! In presiding over the Congress for the fifth time, Dhebar-bhai has beaten Dadabhai's old record, in the august company of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. For the Congress gadi at Nagpur, his two predecessors were such giants as Anandacharlu in 1891 and Vijayaraghavachari in 1920. But these are days when stalwarts are out of place in the Congress scheme of things. It is not expected of Congress Presidents now to give any lead or initiate a new policy or even make a bold pronouncement. They are but expected to toe the line with those who draw it somewhere for them and keep the organization going somehow, no matter how. Mr. Dhebar has done his best—and earned his rest. The search for the 'new guide' does not call for much research, since it seems that any Congress leader—they are all honourable men—can be trusted to be loyal to Panditji and render dedicated service to the Nation.

But Panditji's confidence and

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the passion for selfless service, good as they are, for keeping one on the right track, hardly suffice to make for great leadership. There must be at the top a commanding personality who can think for himself and act on his own. So long as the Congress has a President who can be dictated to by the Prime Minister and has for the Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committee men who are the pale shadows of the Chief Ministers of the respective States, Congress leadership at the organisational level can never be convincing, much less compelling. The High Command should not be packed with those who delight in donning the Ministerial mantle and distributing patronage but have at least a respectable number of men who are not overawed by those in office and power. The rank and file must be capable of standing any purge. And, above all, Congress spokesmen, outside the charmed official circles, should learn to interpret popular sentiment to Ministerial colleagues rather than to explain (which means explaining away) to the people Ministerial lapses and official shortcomings. Not till then can the Congress organization regain the confidence of the masses and re-earn their goodwill in the requisite measure.

The Congress cannot—no political party can—help reckoning with electoral whims in a democratic set-up, for the man in the street, the proverbial common man, has a way of looking at things and sizing up men. "Last year was a year of crisis for democracy", said Mr. Dhebar in his presidential address. It is time that he and his colleagues realised that the crisis for democracy is not a matter of a year or two. It is a continuous crisis in this age and it calls for eternal vigilance, as much as freedom. It is this very concern for democracy—a concern which the people of India share with Congressmen—that makes the former watch the latter. The stakes of the Congress are indeed high. If it wants democracy to take roots in India and flourish, it should

THE CURZON DRAMA IN RETROSPECT

By S. T. KASIRAJAN

January 11, 1959 is the birth centenary of one of the greatest pro-consuls, George Nathaniel Curzon, sent by Britain to rule her Eastern empire. His impress on the sands of Indian history was as distinguished as it was stupendous. It provides an object-lesson for those who cry for swift progress.

Lord Curzon arrived in India in December 1898, admirably equipped with knowledge for the discharge of his Viceregal responsibilities. His conception of duty was magnificent and he plunged into his work with gusto. A man of superabundant energy and an apostle of efficiency, he left no stone unturned to clean the Augean stables of the Indian administration. His favourite method was (it is in vogue at present too) to appoint a committee to go into the problems and concert measures to tackle them on the lines suggested by it. His first love was, of course, the peasant and he devised ways and means to better his lot. It was a red-letter day in the agricultural history of India when Lord Curzon became instrumental in passing the Co-operative Credit Societies' Act in 1904 and laid the foundation stone in 1905 for the famous Agricultural Institute at Pusa.

It is largely thanks to his tireless efforts that we have been able to preserve some of our antique monuments. "As a pilgrim at the shrine of beauty I have visited them", he declared, when commending the Ancient Monu-

ensure its own survival by emerging unscathed out of its present trials. Mr. Dhebar wound up his address at Nagpur with a panegyric to the leadership of "one of the greatest personalities of the contemporary world". But, as we all know, Mr. Nehru can make history when his men cease to be content with making hay alone, and also, when he, on his part, acts more and philosophises less.

ments Preservation Bill to the favourable consideration of the Legislative Council, "but as a priest in the temple of duty have I charged myself with their reverent custody and their studious repair." "All Indians are grateful to the wise statesmanship of the great Viceroy," writes Prof. Amarnatha Jha, "who did so much to preserve our ancient monuments and raise our educational standards."

His sense of justice was such that he would not tolerate the ill-treatment of, or injustice done to, Indians by Europeans even as Ripon tried to mete out even-handed justice through the Ilbert Bill but failed.

Yet Curzon's fast action generated intense reaction. His passion for efficiency prompted him to undertake the partition of the unwieldy province of Bengal and to pass the Universities' Act against which strong opposition was organised. This surprised him. Nationalist feeling ran high but it left him cold. His belief was that the Congress was tottering to its fall. One of his great ambitions while in India was, as he himself announced, "to assist the Congress to a peaceful demise". Poor Curzon, how could he know that the very same Congress whose obsequies he wanted to honour would succeed the British as the rulers of India.

He was, indeed, a bit of a megalomaniac, labouring under the gross delusion that the rule of the Empire "was a pre-ordained dispensation, intended to be a source of strength and discipline to ourselves and of moral and material blessings to others." "His work in India," says Lord Zetland, "was constantly recalling to his mind scenes from the patriarchal days of the Old Testament, when kings and prophets were chosen by divine intervention to guide and succour the people."

Of course, his life was one of unremitting industry. He worked like a fanatic and sacrificed him-

self at the altar of duty, striding like a Colossus in India for seven years, working with volcanic energy for the welfare of the multitudes that had been committed, as he thought, to his care. His intention, an unprejudiced critic can say, was good and honest, especially when he partitioned Bengal, though the nationalists vehemently opposed it. But he miserably failed to learn that conciliatory statesmanship is always more fruitful than doctrinaire earnestness.

His regime was filled with an unending series of reforms pursued with determination. Those who were concerned were kept absorbed in the breathless action of doing and those who had opportunity to watch were bewildered by the rising crescendo of activity and by "the rapidity with which they were invited to pass from the contemplation of one reform to a consideration of the next".

Lord Curzon indefatigably strove to hasten progress but he succeeded only in throwing India into a crucible of unrest. He craved for quick results by forcing the wheel of time, which, in turn, took its revenge. Had he

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adopted as his motto the dictum of Emperor Augustus, *Festina Lente*, the blessings of his reign would have been richer and more profuse.

And how one wishes that his regime is taken as a warning by those men of impatient haste, now in power in our land, who, like him, indulge in all sorts of "giganticism". Their motive may be laudable. But we do not evaluate statesmanship on dubious good intentions but on solid achievements. Even political manna should not be rammed down the throats of people. And especially when it is of doubtful value, cautious wisdom has to be exercised. Ordinary people are afraid of new ways and acclimatise themselves to changes only slowly. To turn a blind eye to this will land one in the quagmire of disaster, as was unmistakably borne out by the rule of two of the greatest Viceroys of India — Dalhousie and Curzon. Our leaders should bestir themselves betimes to benefit by these examples of misdirected energy.

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CINEMA

FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNED BY INDIAN FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: The figures of foreign exchange earned by Indian films have been just published and make very interesting reading. They reveal that from U.S.A. the Indian films have earned Rs. 6,000 in 1955, Rs. 5,000 in 1956 and nothing in 1957, as against Rs. 2,59,000 in 1954, Rs. 61,000 in 1955, Rs. 5,65,000 in 1956 and Rs. 50,000 in 1957 from U.S.S.R. If the figures of the foreign exchange earned by U.S. and U.S.S.R. films during the same period in India were published, they would reveal the fact that while U.S. films earn lakhs of rupees every year in India, U.S.S.R. films do not earn even a few thousands. It is for this reason that the earnings of Indian films in U.S.S.R. have fallen in 1957. For, the Soviet Union wants that the Soviet films should be shown in India on a reciprocal basis.

Among other nations, the popularity of Indian films appears to be growing in Indonesia, Malaya, Iran and Turkey. The figures for Egypt do not tally with the earlier reports about the success of 'Aan' and other pictures and their box-office receipts published in certain trade papers. Similarly, the West German figures are rather baffling if the reports of sale of several pictures for West Germany published in local papers are taken into account. Indeed, the Export Promotion Council must try to restore the loss in earnings of Indian films in Egypt, Pakistan, West Germany, Turkey, U.S.S.R. and Ceylon. But before the earnings can be raised it is necessary to make a thorough study of the conditions of every country where Indian pictures are in demand. It is also essential that our import policy should be linked with export so that we can get the full advantage of trade with those countries which are interested in importing Indian films. Apart

from U.S.A. and U.K., which impose no restriction on import or export of films, most of the nations have control on import of foreign films. In India, too, we have control on import of films—both raw film and exposed film. This control is necessitated by the shortage of foreign exchange. Hence it is most essential that the control should be regulated so as to give the full benefit to the Indian film industry.

Incidentally, it would have been interesting if the figures of earnings of particular films like 'Awaraz' and 'Aan' were published. It is doubtful whether the films which have earned awards in international festivals have brought any appreciable earnings of foreign exchange so far. Perhaps, 'Pather Panchali' and 'Boot Polish' now released in New York may augment revenue to some extent. But as Mehboob has pointed out the release in an art theatre in New York alone would not bring any appreciable revenue. In Middle East and South-East Asia and in Communist countries, there appears to be greater demand for Indian films and it would be better to foster these markets in an organized manner. It is necessary to have figures of foreign exchange earnings at least of some important pictures so that our producers may know what kind of pictures they must make to earn foreign exchange for our films.

One by one all our leading male stars are turning into producers. Raj Kapoor, Dev Anand, Ashok Kumar and Pradeep Kumar are already making pictures. Kishore and Dilip have also joined their ranks.

Kishore's talent will blossom now in his first colour venture 'Neela Aasman' in which Madhubala is playing the female lead. The picture will be shot on loca-

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

HINDI TELEGRAMS

Sir, — The Government are introducing telegraph facilities in Hindi at various centres at a great expense but there is absolutely no revenue worth the name, compared with the expense incurred therefor. Men are trained for four months in Hindi Morse and they receive Rs. 20 extra besides their pay and allowances during training. This extra sum during training is given only to attract men for training. In the Madras C.T.O., for instance, where there are about 20 Hindi telegraphists, only about 4 or 5 Hindi telegrams are handled per day.

The Government have done a grave injustice to the non-Hindi-speaking people in having prescribed certain concessions for Hindi telegrams. Propositions which are written as separate words in common use, are not charged in Hindi telegrams. This is indirect compulsion. The Government have themselves de-

tion in Cochin. Vrajendra Gaur is writing the dialogue.

Kishore the actor and Kishore the singer are already on the top ladder of success. Kishore the producer has also made good. And one hopes that Kishore the writer and Kishore the music director would also prove equally successful.

Raj Kapoor was almost drowned in the lake at Mahabaleshwar where he had gone last week for the shooting of Varma's 'Mai Nasheme Hun'. He had however a miraculous escape.

The Film Federation of India selected 'Madhumati' as the Indian entry to contest for the 'Oscar' for foreign films. A specially prepared international version of 'Madhumati' is being sent to Hollywood next week.

Sohrab Modi launched 'Do Goondá' on Wednesday at Minerva Studios. Directed by V. M. Vyas from a story by Pt. Sundarshan, the picture stars Ameeta, Ajit, Pran, Dhuma, and Raaj Kumar.

clared in their guide for Hindi telegrams that Hindi telegrams will be cheaper than English telegrams.

The Constitution of India lays down that only Roman numerals be used for all transactions, but the Government have used Devanagiri numerals in their guide. These guide books are like propaganda pamphlets in favour of Hindi telegrams and Hindi. It looks as if the P. & T. Department is for the Hindi-speaking public only. The Government should realise that the P. & T. Department is for the entire public and should stop their Hindi fanaticism.

Madras H. RAMACHANDRAN

PRINCELY SCHOLARSHIPS

Sir,—It is an excellent idea on the part of the Government of India to have decided on the award of a hundred scholarships annually to students of fine art. But the amount of the scholarship is too high. It is said that the scholarship is of the value of Rs. 250 per mensem. This amount represents the salary of a probationary gazetted officer. Such princely scholarships would be a wastage of public funds. They need not exceed Rs. 100, which ought to be sufficient for any scholar to prosecute his studies without any sense of want. To pay more would only make him lead an easy-going life, which is certainly not conducive to hard or industrious study. By reducing the amount of scholarship as aforesaid, we can offer 150 more scholarships!

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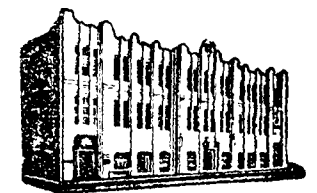
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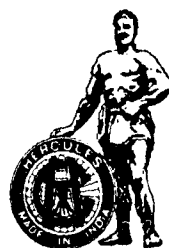
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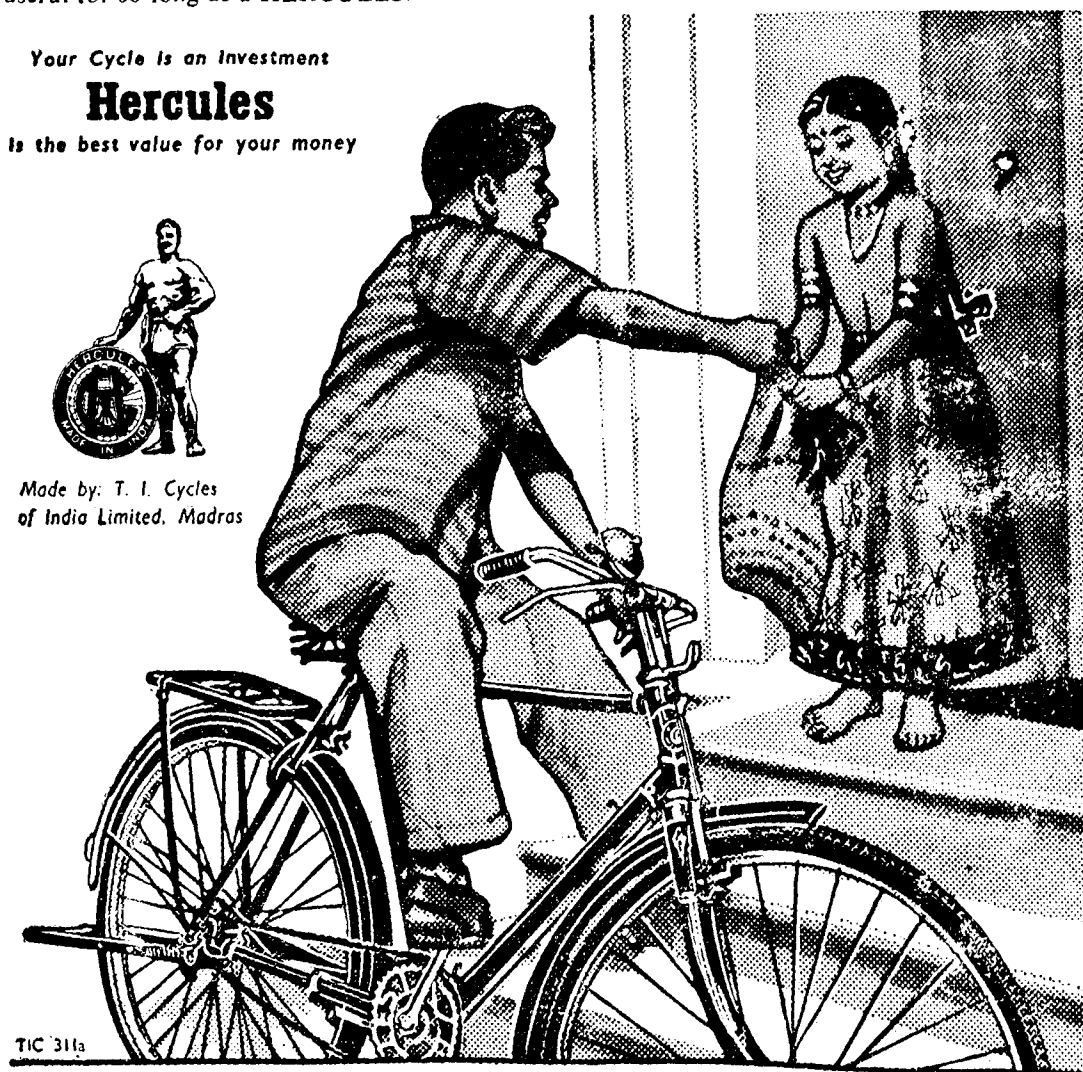
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DANGEROUS OBSESSIONS

In the modern world existence is not possible without property. Human nature clings to property, and acquisition of property or the desire to acquire it goes on till the very moment of death. If the right to ownership of legally acquired property is disturbed, one of the strongest instincts of our nature would be thwarted, the springs of life itself and life's activity would get dry, and society would go to pieces.

Yet adult franchise has imposed on the present rulers of India the political necessity of satisfying the hunger for property of vast masses who own nothing and have no property. The Congress has now committed itself to the deliberate policy of feeding the supposed land-hunger of the landless. Land however is the one form of property that cannot be held with profit unless an enormous amount of the owner's time, attention, intelligence, resources, labour and leadership is devoted to it. Income from land cannot be called unearned income. This is not the case with certain other types of property. For example, dividends from money invested in industrial shares can be received and enjoyed without the recipient having to put himself to the slightest exertion as a necessary condition for ownership or enjoyment. There is more hunger for money in the world than for land. (Money carries with it also the power of purchasing every kind of means of production.) How is it that the planners of the Social-

ist society in India have limited themselves to one form of property, and that the most exacting if it is to yield benefit, in their zeal to satisfy the hunger of the have-nots?

It is not easy to conjure up the vision of the Prime Minister or the Home Minister unloading the cash in their possession, or property in the form of shares in profit-making companies, or excess accommodation in houses, to make a pool of them under a scheme of joint ownership, or promoting plans for their management by co-operative societies with a special place of virtue assigned in their running to persons devoid of any status as holders of these forms of property! Yet they may be sure that the reward for organised covetousness which they are now establishing as a principle of 'reform' in the sphere of agricultural land, will not stay where they have now put it. It will destroy in time other sanctities of traditional proprietorial rights and privileges, until the hunger of the have-not becomes fully established as a title for possession superior to that of the owner himself in every branch of the nation's life and economy.

This is neither Socialism, nor Welfare State. This is the crude outcome of power without wisdom, of playing to the gallery as the supreme function of statesmanship. Ownership, with control over property, properly paid for, acquired and cherished as a valuable asset, which is a time-

honoured incentive for work, planning and wealth-yielding activity, has by the Nagpur Congress resolution been undermined in the case of land, the primary giver of the nation's food. In its place has been established a cheap substitute, a legal fiction with no life-substance or contractual consideration behind it. It is mainly a product of the Prime Minister's fantastic, nostrum-fed cerebration, in defiance of human psychology and the teaching of experience. Starting with a depredatory orgy destructive of the restraints of self-help and respect for neighbours' property, it takes agriculture from the solid foundation on which it has rested, and consigns it to a chaos of confusion, uncertainty, cross purposes and disruption.

Mr. Nehru has passed the stage of being reasoned with. Power has intoxicated him into the belief that in him alone exists the ultimate repository of everything progressive in the world. The slightest dissent is dismissed as 'irrelevance'. The maintenance of consistency with earlier fallacy has become our great test of 'progress'. Congress thinking has abandoned all stimulants and sources of inspiration except the only one of studying the Prime Minister's mind and forestalling his wishes with anticipatory proposals. The proceedings of the Nagpur Congress show that this purpose has been fully achieved. That does not mean that either Mr. Nehru or the Congress can save the country from the catas-

COMING SHORTLY



Sotto Voce

A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL
COMMENTARY

By

VIGHNESWARA

(N. Raghunathan)

Under the pen-name Vighneswara, Mr. N. Raghunatha Iyer (Chief Asst. Editor, *The Hindu*, Retd.) has for the past thirteen years been contributing a widely popular weekly causerie headed "Sotto Voce" first to *Swatantra* and then to *Swarajya*. At the insistent request of readers it is proposed to collect these articles in a series of self-contained volumes because of their permanent interest. The first, entitled "*The Coming of Freedom*," contains the articles written from February 1946 to February 1949, with an introduction in which the record of the Governments in India since Independence is critically examined from the stand-point of the social, cultural and political values that are part of our living Indian tradition. Brief topical and literary notes are appended at the end, as well as a glossary and a useful subject Index.

Of the author whom she met while she was in India, Vera Brittain, the British novelist, wrote in her book "Search After Sunrise" that she had found in him a man with one of the best brains in the country. In the Survey of "Contemporary Indian Literature" published by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, "Sotto Voce" is spoken of as among the best of its kind.

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trophic consequences of the Nagpur agrarian pattern.

The Nagpur resolutions on "land reform" are naturally couched in vague language as precise objective assessment of consequences has not gone into their framing. They will do irreparable mischief if taken for granted as national resolutions. They are just party majority resolutions imposed from the top, principally, as indicated above, on the ground of consistency with previous declarations. These resolutions must be placed before the country for adequate appraisal and criticism in its free forums before being considered or acted upon by Parliament and Government. The Press has a heavy responsibility in this matter. Newspapers, like individuals, have been subjected in the past ten years to increasing invasions on their freedom in the name of Socialism and the Welfare State. The cost of dissent, of non-conformity with prevailing authority, has become progressively heavy. It is as if the work of the Kremlin is being carried on in this country with disguised nomenclature. At this rate it will not be long before State-dominated regimentation under the Congress banner will completely extinguish independent thinking. If that dreadful fate is to be averted, newspapers should play their part and do their duty in time. They should offer independent judgment uninfluenced by considerations of regard for the Prime Minister's personality, and placing the national interest before everything else, they should strive for consideration of the great issues of the moment with a sense of reality and freedom from obsessions, particularly those dangerous obsessions that have become inseparably associated with the Prime Minister, and for that very reason are tamely and timidly accepted without scrutiny and examination.

It is when we try to grapple with another man's infinite need that we perceive how incomprehensible, wavering and misty are the beings that share with us the sight of the stars and the warmth of the sun.

JOSEPH CONRAD



Sotto Voce

Fooling the people

The Congress has made another leap in ideology. The people have been sold Socialism without frills. It was a package deal. And it was done, as usual, in a fit of absent-mindedness. The Working Committee had proposed that the surplus land after introduction of ceilings should be vested in village co-operatives. This, said the critics, was a violation of the repeated pledges to landless labour that such land would be distributed to them. Thereupon Mr. Nehru promptly allayed their agitation by an amendment: these "co-ops" will have only landless labourers as members and not small peasants also. But the resolution and the amendment alike quietly jettisoned the famous argument about "land-hunger" that has so long held the field. For, while that might have been all right with the socialistic pattern, it will not fit in with Socialism neat.

The landless labourers included in these "service co-operatives" would, Mr. Nehru assured his partymen, have all the rights of ownership over the land—except that of selling! Actually, the State will, in fact if not in name, become the landlord. And landless labour will, in return for illusory collective ownership, work on starvation wages to produce grain that will go to feed industrial labour. In other words landless labour will increasingly conform to the classic pattern of the rural proletariat in Eastern Europe. If it has not enough to eat, it will be told that it has only to multiply the yield by 200 or 300 per cent so that it can have all the surplus.

It could meanwhile be used as a powerful lever to force the 'small peasants' to enter co-operative farming societies.

Failure to conform on their part might invite strikes and other well-known methods of persuasion that helped to eliminate the 'kulak'. If landless labour should enjoy ownership, however nominal that ownership might be, it would not be very willing to work for a wage on the land of those farmers who stood out of the co-operative farms. If on the other hand they agreed to come in, landless labour would not be prepared to concede them a larger share in the dividend in consideration of their ownership.

Pandit Pant has hinted that in future the small peasants might find that it did not pay to look to hired labour, since wages and other terms demanded by the latter might be onerous. That would be a logical inducement to them to join farming "co-ops". And once they joined it would be difficult for them to claim that they should be remunerated both as owners and as workers. For many of the new-style small peasants would be really tenants who had been gifted by the favour of the State with somebody else's land; and what the State has given the State may take away.

As for the minority of original owners who still survived, they too might be made to see reason by being reminded that others who had been owners like themselves had been incontinently extinguished because they were 'absentees'. They should know well enough (so the argument would run) that the difference between the absentee owner and the so-called tiller was precious little. For no tiller can by his own physical labour till more than a fraction of even the small holdings that will remain after ceilings are imposed. The importance that the

"tiller of the soil" suddenly achieved was purely a by-product of Congress strategy aimed at setting by the ears the different sections that together had constituted the rural interest.

The new "organisational pattern of agriculture" has been hailed by the *avant garde* as truly revolutionary. Mr. Nehru himself has modestly said that it was the result of "enlarged thinking". After this Mr. Pant could only say that, though he had had some doubts about ceilings, Mr. Nehru's clear thinking had opened his eyes. Mr. C. Subramanyam again, in an outburst of candour, confessed that ceilings could be defended only on sentimental grounds and on the basis of past pledges by the Congress. But, with true South Indian ingenuity, he made the reassuring discovery that a ceiling on land was not the same thing as a ceiling on income, since the peasant was at liberty to multiply the yield of his land by 200 or 300 per cent. Don't we know that land is Kamadhenu?

If all this is startlingly suggestive of the humility with which the idols of yesterday in Soviet Russia confess to "deviationism", you haven't got to go far to find parallels to "double think" either. The Finance Minister of Madras was telling the converted at Abhyankarnagar that, while for the present peasant-ownership will be recognised, this must be merely a half-way house to the ultimate goal of ownership of land vesting in the community as a whole. At the same moment his colleague the Revenue Minister was assuring the mirasidars that they need have no fears about their own future as in ryotwari areas the land-owner was in fact the tiller. It is just possible that there are owners who will swallow this as there are owners of other forms of property who will heave a sigh of relief that Mr. Nehru has promised them *abhayam*. Human nature is eternally gullible and the politicians flourish on this knowledge.

VIGHNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS ::

Twelve years ago when I started *Swatantra* I requested Sri N. Raghunatha Aiyar to contribute a regular feature to the proposed weekly journal. He agreed to do so for six months. That was the beginning of *Sotto Voce*. He chose the pen-name *Vighneswara* for the feature.

When Vighneswara got into his stride he simply could not be confined into a six-month period. That stipulated time-limit has gone on expanding week by week into a matter of some twelve years and a half, covering the whole decade of my editorship of *Swatantra*, and after I left that journal and *SWARAJYA* came into existence, the entire period of its life till now from the very first week of its inception.

Up till a year ago, Vighneswara had other and strenuous journalistic tasks connected with the editing of one of the most important daily newspapers in the country (*The Hindu*). Yet except for

some six weeks in all this long period, there was never an occasion when *Sotto Voce* failed to make its weekly appearance. And there would not have been even that exception if when it occurred Vighneswara had not gone on a pilgrimage to the Himalayas and was out of reach of the post.

I do not think there is in this or any other country a parallel to Vighneswara's stupendous journalistic feat — the week-by-week contribution for nearly thirteen years of a causerie on contemporary themes, of the highest quality and variety, in the midst of the hard and exhausting grind of daily journalism, altogether without any material inducement, and wholly as a labour of love.

Readers of *Sotto Voce* do not need to be told its distinctive qualities. In all the series comprising over six hundred essays, there is scarcely a repetition either of idea or of phrase and idiom. A perennial freshness runs through the whole series. Coming from a family in which was bred for generations the agriculturist's love of land and the Hindu rustic's pride in tradition, Vighneswara, before he took up the pen in a newspaper, served a brief term at a desk in the Government secretariat. With deep learning in Tamil and Sanskrit, he combined wide reading and scholarship in English language and literature. The simple upbringing of an orthodox environment with deep roots in traditional religious culture, acting on the acquired sophistications of modern Western studies, and illumined by the practical insights of close acquaintance from the inside with the routine, red-tape and complexities of official administration, has imparted to Vighneswara a capacity rare among mere journalists, of integrating the exciting phenomena of politics and other momentous issues with the basic realities underlying their surface impressions. An alert, vigilant and undecelvable sagacity

shines therefore through Vighneswara's comments on men and matters.

As it was given to me to pass these contributions through all the various processes between writing and printing, I know the drastic changes they underwent between the two stages. Of course I never touched a line of what he wrote, I never altered even a comma, and never made any suggestion about subject or content. Those who would perfect themselves in the craftsmanship of writing can do no better than study Vighneswara's relentless methods of correcting his own copy. The axe is laid without mercy on every vestige of repetition or redundancy. In every case the attempt is to pack thought and argument into the briefest possible compass of words. It is surprising how much more interesting and attractive an article becomes when conscientiously pruned by the author himself in this fashion for the elimination of the superfluous.

Sotto Voce is a social and political commentary on the trends and happenings of our time written by a master of language who missed nothing of importance, understood everything, had no axe to grind, possessed a razor-sharp intellect, and was susceptible to none of the blandishments that distort judgment and corrupt the understanding. The contributions of the first three years, running into 157 essays, are now brought out in book form. This is a book that will never stale. Time will only multiply its worth and value. Art and wisdom mingle in its pages to add pleasure and delight to the reader's profit.

Sometime ago, to the intense displeasure of many friends and admirers of Sri R. Venkataraman, I gave publicity to some remarks of his before a gathering of reporters that revealed a regrettable lack of concern for industrial harmony. I therefore now publish with added pleasure a fine tribute to him from an

(Continued on Page 15)

POWER WITHOUT WISDOM

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"The spread of power without wisdom is utterly terrifying and I cannot much blame those whom it reduces to despair," writes Bertrand Russell in his latest book. He wrote this in another connection, that of nuclear weapons and space adventures, but the statement is a general truth which applies to many particular cases. It does apply to the land "reforms" so repeatedly advocated by the Congress party.

The chief occupation of the ruling party as distinguished from its eminent leader is how to remain in power, and that leads to the search of slogans that most widely deceive. The Congress at Nagpur had raised no expectations in circles that knew the present obsession of the Congress, but the newspapers in India are disappointed and write melancholy editorials. They had expected common sense to emerge from a large meeting of common men. The newspapers that criticise the outcome of the Nagpur meeting ignored in their expectations the main obsession of those that met there. Hence the disappointment.

Where in the wide world except in India are statesmen employed in curbing incentive, or putting a ceiling on the ownership of land, or expropriating property, or transferring the rights of owners of agricultural land to lessees or to the men hired to work on it? Nowhere barring the areas under the monolithic Communist way of life. The Government of India prides itself on having a goal of Socialism divorced from compulsion and mass-slavery. But what have they achieved so far? And what do they hope to achieve ignoring the history and the example of countries whose enlightened governments have achieved full employment, general welfare and equal opportunities to all? Have they put ceilings on landowning or on incomes in England? Or in Denmark? Or in Sweden? Or in Germany? Or Switzerland? Have they continually adumb-

rated in any of these countries proposals that created widespread uncertainty, want of confidence, and lack of enthusiasm as has been done in this country?

Are those countries static? What is this 'dynamism' that spells the breakdown of confidence and individual exertion at the altar of a governmental machine that aims at a pattern which prevails nowhere?

Of course our country and our people are different from other countries and other peoples of the world. But that is the very reason why the present borrowed ideals — borrowed from fabian writings never put to practice but with totalitarian brute force — do not fit into the realities of our country.

The old bureaucracy disappeared with the British regime. A much less-equipped bureaucracy is now to carry out the fabian policies of the Congress party and is to take over all departments of life-activities which the education and training of the officials never attempted to make them acquainted with even in the outermost fringe. Power and oppression create an illusion of competency while all the time the effort of the official is to hide his ignorance and to rule by authority and the hypnotism of mantrams repeated and repeated.

State-trading in food-grains which is said to be 'inevitable' is blind faith in centralisation and the first step in a chain of errors that will lead through bottlenecks and loss by deterioration and warehouse depreciation to rationing and general misery. Co-operative societies attempting to do agricultural operations will result in a new official zemindari system because co-operative societies will work only through the Government officials in charge of them.

The final test of a welfare government is the achievement of full gainful employment and joy in life. This is far from us whatever ism we adopt but it is not in

the horizon at all of the present policies of the Congress. One fears that in the highest circles there is confusion between Socialism and what is called the 'public sector'. A box of paints is not a picture. All paint boxes do not make good pictures.

Direct taxation on those who can bear it having reached an oppressive limit, the notion probably is that the State could make profit through the 'public sector' indirectly taxing the large body of victims that have to buy steel, cement and foodstuffs. State-trading in grains means making up for losses of all kinds and a margin of 'profit' out of which commission is paid to those who deal as agents of the Government. All this is paid for by the consumer who does not realise it is concealed tax but thinks it is a phenomenon in price variation that is outside the pale of criticism. As a matter of fact it would be a miracle if bureaucratic management should ever prove to be as frugal or careful as business run by even a second-rate managing agency. The attempt to 'form capital' out of nationalised business will be a complete failure unless indeed as in the case of cement exorbitant prices are extracted from consumers. The inescapable fact is that we have not a dedicated bureaucracy as the Communist States have, and a body of workers who are completely at the mercy of the State. Indeed the upbringing of the officials has produced an aversion to commercial habits and more reliance is placed on statistical show-charts than on plain vigilance and frugal management. The only way to frugality in our country is through decentralisation. Bureaucratic centralisation leads to the exact opposite. Socialism is not just 'public sector' but the increasing absorption of the vast mass of unemployed and under-employed men into adequate gainful employment — gainful for the individual and for the community. The comparative merit of any arrangement must be judged on this basis.

What was Gandhiji's ism? He repudiated the attempt to name it after him and depre-

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CAPITAL COMMENTS

QUEST FOR A PRESIDENT FOR
CONGRESS

By JUNIUS

cated the use of the term *gandhism*. He wanted that people should be educated in the idea that every one who holds a position and everyone who owns property or business should hold them as trustees for all those who have dealings with them and for the community at large. In brief his *ism* was the *ism* of trusteeship. This involves a programme of education rather than organisation of machinery or sequestration of ownership. This social doctrine of trusteeship is not a new conception. It is as old as all our *shastras* and it is the common foundation of all great religions. Gandhiji's *ism* was closely related to the recognition of moral and spiritual values of life and therefore to religion. The outdated but obstinate doctrine of enlightened selfishness should be substituted by this doctrine of immanent trusteeship,—by *dharma*, to put it in Indian language. *Dharma* must weave itself into every material activity of life. The education or rather re-education of the Indian people in this right way of life requires example, patience, and faith. The way may be long, but the short-cut of governmental coercion and the anarchy that is mistaken for dynamism will never reach the goal. On the contrary it will reach and shape itself step by step as an inferior copy of Communism and the suppression of human personality.

Even in the process a degree of suppression of personality has already happened. The single brain-activity of the people who meet in Congress is to find out what is in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's mind and to anticipate it. The slightest attempt at dissent meets with stern disapproval and is, so to say, nipped in the bud. How can realism emerge in this atmosphere? "Power without wisdom is utterly terrifying" and no one seems capable of resistance or even willing to try.

Hope lies in the Congress dictator himself turning his back on unreality and resolving to build Indian welfare with native clay. But the great hobgoblin of consistency stands between Power and Wisdom.

New Delhi: 'India 1958', the great Industrial Exhibition at the Capital, is still open while 'Congress 1959', the major political exhibition in Nagpur, is now a thing of the past, having served its purpose as a much-needed diversion from the dull routine of our political life. But even there nothing much happened: perhaps nothing much could have happened. Nagpur had few surprises and fewer sensations, and the 64th session of the Congress, like any other in the post-Independence era, was a business-like, humdrum affair. Clarifying its own objectives, the Congress quietly, almost imperceptibly, shifted the emphasis from 'Socialist pattern' to 'a democratic and a Socialist society'. Enthusiastic interpreters of current affairs spoke of 'a radical change' in the basic objectives of the Congress, though the multitude which always looked for some political excitement could hardly enthuse over terminological exactitude in the exposition of an ideology. There was little in the proceedings, and less in the Presidential address, to inspire the people with a new faith and a new fervour. There was nothing like a call to action; there could be none when the Congress could not get over its later-day tendency to make little essays serve as resolutions. The average man needs directive rather than a discourse. Mr. Nehru who alone could give the lead, as more a thinking or loud-thinking man, saw no need to resort to any kind of exhortation. He was generally satisfied that all was well while the others were wholly satisfied that he felt so. Thus at Nagpur the Congress reached another mile-stone in its onward journey to the Promised Land. It seems that if the Nagpur Congress of 1959 will be remembered for anything in particular, it will be for the simple fact that the austere Dhebarbai doffed his Presidential robes.

The stage is being set for his successor. It is not yet certain who will appear on the scene but it is certain that no top-ranking man will think it worth while to take up the Presidentship for mere ornamental purposes. So the race is confined to second-raters; in fact there is hardly any race either. It does not add to the prestige of the Congress that its Presidentship — once the most coveted of prizes in the Indian political world — is more or less hawked about so that some one or other may just carry on and do others' bidding. In the circumstances there is wide choice — Mr. Nijalingappa of Mysore, Mr. Subrahmaniam of Madras, Mr. Ramakrishna Rao, now of Kerala, Mr. Harekrushna Mehtab of Orissa — or, if it is to be from feminine ranks, Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani or Mrs. Indira Gandhi. If it is to be a State Minister, why not Mr. Kala Venkata Rao? Any day, he would prove to be a more convincing party boss. If it is to be one of our Governors, why not Mr. Giri? He is not wanting in stature and he has still a hold on the working classes. Among those discussed, Mr. Mehtab will not be a bad choice. He was on the Working Committee for a longer number of years than the rest in the list. But where do the others come in, in a matter which is the sole prerogative of the party? And is not the world assured that a party gets the leader it deserves? So, let the Congress make its choice, wise or otherwise—and plod on, in its own way, however mysterious it may be.

While the Congress can certainly be left to itself in so far as its own affairs are concerned, it cannot be where the interests of the country come into clash with it. It is an ironical situation that even some of its critics wish it well; for, howsoever Congressmen behave in office, the Congress,

KOESTLER

By N. S. MUTHANA

despite overt or covert lapses into totalitarianism, essentially stands for a democratic way of life or at least for a parliamentary system of government. And the latter has no meaning if it rests on one-party rule for ever. There is every need not only for Opposition, in a parliamentary sense, which now it has to however limited an extent, but for the kind of Opposition which is capable of annexing and occupying the Treasury Benches, not for imposing its decisions in the democratic guise but for playing the parliamentary game. It is doubtful if the Communist party will supplant the Congress all over or, if it can, it will respect parliamentary tradition and the laws of democracy outside the context of 'People's democracy' which is a synonym for the new despotism. The so-called Independents and unattached elements are of little use except for symbolising the middle-of-the-road attitude to the existing scheme of things. It is just possible if things continue like this, — on the other hand it is very likely — that after the next elections, several States will have legislatures with the Congress having no safe majority and the Communist party having no adequate strength to replace the Congress in office, there may be unstable Ministries depending on the merciful support of some non-party men. Danger lies that way: the only safeguard to it lies in the emergence of a new party which can ensure the survival of Democracy, even if the Congress will go under. It is all for good that the most far-sighted of politicians and the most distinguished of elder statesmen in the country, Sri Rajaji, has publicly gone in quest of an Opposition — and set people athinking. It is a national service. But it need not necessarily be, much less need it be prematurely called, a conservative party, because of certain associations. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to treat it — and also call it — a Centre party, hemmed in as it will be between a doubtful Congress and the impossible Communist party. Such a party will be an effective check to extravagances whether from the so-called Right

When William Faulkner said he would get his shotgun out and fight the Yankee if the American Civil War were to be re-fought, I died a little.

I just couldn't stomach a Faulkner who talked like an archetype racist.

Last week I died a little more when I met Arthur Koestler.

Now, I almost wish I had not read Koestler and creased my brow in an attempt to divine out the fate of Comrade Rubashov if he had been pardoned and allowed to study astronomy. Would Rubashov have found a faith to replace the one he threw up? Would he have sought refuge in religion? Or would he have been content to be just an astronomer? A thousand other questions not only in regard to the fate of Rubashov but also in regard to the fates of Richard Hillary, Spartacus and the Scum of The Earth have occupied my mind for the last sixteen years.

Somehow (maybe due to my own reliance on the 'superior' knowledge of some writers), I always had a feeling of comfort that some day one of my favourite authors would come with me the answer, or answers.

Comrade Rubashov, Arthur Koestler's hero in his *Darkness At Noon*, was ready to die—resigned to the inevitable without even a trace of bitterness. At least that is the impression the reader gets from the last 'Fragment of The Diary of N. S. Rubashov.'

"With what right do we who are quitting the scene look down on the Gletkins? There must have been laughter amidst the apes when the Neanderthal first appeared on

or Left and have a salutary influence on the course of politics, even if it cannot aspire to office. Whatever name it may take or can possibly make, the emergence of a party like the one envisaged by Sri Rajaji is a historical necessity. Having floated the idea, Sri Rajaji should make it a reality: perhaps he alone can when the country is at the cross-roads of history.

earth. The apes, saturated and peaceful, lived in sophisticated playfulness, or caught fleas in philosophic contemplation. The Neanderthal tramped gloomily through the world, banging around with clubs. The apes looked down on him amusedly from the tree tops and threw nuts at him. Sometimes horror seized them: They ate fruits and tender plants with delicate refinement; the Neanderthal devoured raw meat, he slaughtered animals and his fellows... He was uncouth, cruel, without animal dignity — from the point of view of the highly cultivated apes, barbaric relapse of history...."

Rubashov accepts the inevitability (historical?) of the present-day Neanderthal almost as a matter of course.

He could afford to, for he was going to die.

Even in his last moments Rubashov's mind appears to have ticked fairly lucidly.

In the cell next to his, No. 402 tapped a message out to Rubashov:

Dont listen I will tell you in time when they are coming... what would you do if you were pardoned?

Rubashov thought it over. Then he tapped: *Study Astronomy.*

"Ha—Ha!" expressed No. 302, "I, too, perhaps..."

A painfully boring march into the basement, with the executioner three steps behind him, ends when "A dull blow struck the back of his head. He had long expected it and yet it took him unawares... A second smashing blow hit him on the ear. Then all became quiet. There was the sea again with its sounds. A wave slowly lifted him up. It came from afar and travelled sedately on, a shrug of eternity."

Koestler's hero's problems were over with a melodramatic "shrug of eternity."

That's where he left Rubashov. It was easier that way. For if Rubashov had been pardoned and been really given a chance to study astronomy, what then? Would he have been impelled by the same urge which made him quit the party to fight it all over again with renewed vigour?

This was the first question which Arthur Koestler refused to answer. It was too political and he wouldn't talk politics, he said.

With Rubashov's death Koestler appears to have stopped thinking—even for its own sake, Koestler himself is a Rubashov who came out of the Communist party, and

nobody shot him for that. Hence my question, what was the future of Rubashovs who were cutting loose from the fold of orthodox Communism? Did he expect them to "enter the womb of a church?"—his phrase, not mine.

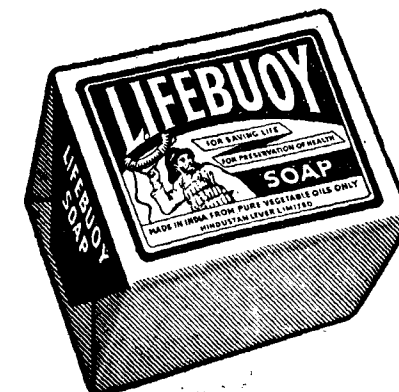
He listened to it patiently, for I insisted that my question con-

cerned the spiritual isolation of the Rubashovs.

Koestler's answer: "I don't know."

When a man enters the womb of Marxism (a variation of his own phrase) he purges himself of the last vestiges of all the bourgeois faiths beyond the compre-

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hension of materialist mind. A good Marxist laughs at humanism too. That's why perhaps when he comes out of the Communist party disenchanted, he is uncertain if he will go back to religion or to any other faith which was once his mooring. His mind is closed, and he becomes a seeker again — a melodramatic seeker searching for a new set of values to live by — forever "trembling on the borders of the unknown and infinity."

Which is perhaps why Koestler chose to ignore my question if he had found another God since *The God That Failed*?

Now a mystic with a yen for the "unity of opposites", Koestler has taken a six-week holiday from the "spiritual desert of the West" to seek afresh new values — or maybe a new faith (in the matrimonial columns of Bombay newspapers which, he confesses, he reads so avidly)?

Koestler does not seem to know the answers which he appeared to know at one time. When he wrote, 'In Memory of Richard Hillary' in *The Yogi And The Commissar*, he knew that Hillary was looking for a faith. Hillary flew with the Royal Air Force Fighter Command and got killed over the North Sea or some-

where—in quest of a faith. He died before he found a faith to hang his hat on.

Good for Hillary, for otherwise the author of *The Last Enemy* would have had to face the same disillusion his "keeper" Koestler now faces.

It is unfair to say that Hillary might not have found a faith. For all his nihilism he might have. But then Arthur Koestler who claimed to have understood Hillary probably didn't understand him at all.

Somehow, Koestler leaves one with a feeling that the "opposites" he refers to when he speaks of the "unity of opposites" are not opposites really. One is inclined to agree with V. S. Pritchett who dismissed Koestler's pre-occupation with "opposites" as "his journalistic habit of treating differences as opposites..."

Perhaps the trouble with Koestler is that he is (or was?) half-Jewish and wanted to be a good Jew (a Zionist and a Palestine Pioneer) at one time, but soon became ashamed of it and switched to the sophisticated pastime of his days of youth, which was to become a Communist activist. The more sensitive the man the more militant he became. Koestler didn't want the stigma of "bourgeois humanism" to stick to him. He wanted to be a Communist — a Revolutionary, alternating between thought and action without, of course, letting either of them commit him irrevocably.

There was a whole school of them in the Marxian waters not long ago: Andre Malraux, Ignazio Silone and even Arthur Koestler...

But it is Arthur Koestler who is the most disturbing of them all, for he flaunts his spiritual rootlessness (apologising for it by striking the pose of a "student not a teacher, please") before those to whom he was once one of the prophets to bring home the hollowness and corruption of that glib aphorism, *End Justifies The Means*.

Perhaps V. S. Pritchett was right when he said, "Koestler uses words as thought-saving gadgets from the ironmongery coun-

ter, and draws especially on the vocabulary of science and economics which is paralysed by patents... neither exactitude nor illumination issues from them... The love of jargon suggests a deaf and arbitrary nature."

Deaf and arbitrary, that seems to be the most fitting description of Koestler. He cannot help it. With Rubashov he died a little more than his readers did.

When asked by a vivacious lady if he would like to take a ride into outer space, he said he certainly would, but wanted a journey from which there was no return. It was smart! The lady was impressed. But what about arriving at some place, Mr. Koestler?

Koestler did not need to answer this one either. In the selection of a title for one of his books (*Arrival and Departure*), he had made it clear in his "pistol-barrel logic" that arrival always preceded departure — not the other way about!

Koestler, to this writer, appeared to be somewhat like one of Andre Malraux's characters, Old man Gissors in *Man's Estate*, who tells his son's widow, May, "You can go on tricking life for a long time but in the end it converts you to what you were intended to be. Every old man is an admission of defeat, believe me, and if old age is often so empty, it is because many of the elderly are themselves empty and have concealed the fact. But that in itself is unimportant. Men should be able to comprehend that there is no reality, but the worlds of contemplation exist with or without opium — where all is vain..."

"They say, it takes nine months to create a man and only a single day to destroy him. We both of us have known the truth of this as well as any who could ever know it.... Listen, May: It does not take nine months to make a man, it takes fifty years — fifty years of sacrifice, of determination, of — so many things! And when man has been achieved, when there is no childishness left in him, nor any adolescence, when he is truly, utterly a man — the only thing he is good for is to die."

LAND CEILINGS, PERVERSION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

By K. R. KARANT

When the Prime Minister was asked whether the programme of fixing ceiling on land was being thought of in terms of social justice or of increased production, he said: "It is thought of in both terms. Certainly it is thought of in terms of social justice—but surely the basis of everything is more production. Otherwise the whole thing goes to pieces".

His refusal to touch urban incomes by means of any ceiling is quite contrary to what we were told recently in the speeches made in the A.I.C.C. meeting. We were told at the A.I.C.C. that an attempt would be made to put a ceiling on urban income also and that the process would be completed soon, at any rate before the next General Elections.

To be told today that it is even "wrong" to do so takes one's breath away. Why in the one case it should decrease production and in the other case it should increase, is an enigma which many of us of ordinary intelligence find it hard to follow. To be told today that ceiling on land is possible and right, while ceiling on urban income is not only not possible but wrong is something which we cannot swallow.

It is almost a play on words to say that what is now being fixed is not a ceiling on agricultural income but only upon land. The middle classes in the rural areas are in a state of great turmoil, discontent and even despair. The wonder of it is that in almost every party persons individually spoken to are against either the ceiling as a whole or ceiling at such a low figure as Rs. 3,600 per annum. The Praja Socialist Party aims at a ceiling on all income and not merely on income from land. In its party programme this point is emphasised and it is urged that there must be a ceiling on income of all kinds, whether land or business or salary, and that it should be achieved without delay. According to the figures adopted by the party the monthly income

of any person should not be less than Rs. 100 at the lowest and not more than Rs. 1000 or 10 times the former at the highest. In a country like ours where today the gap between the two is far beyond this the scale adopted by the party cannot be called unreasonable. At present some people get less than even Rs. 30 per mensem and in the countryside most people do not get even that much income, whereas in public and private appointments there are persons getting more than Rs. 10,000 per month. Any Socialist form of society should reduce the gap between these two sets of incomes to some reasonable proportion.

In the famous Karachi Congress

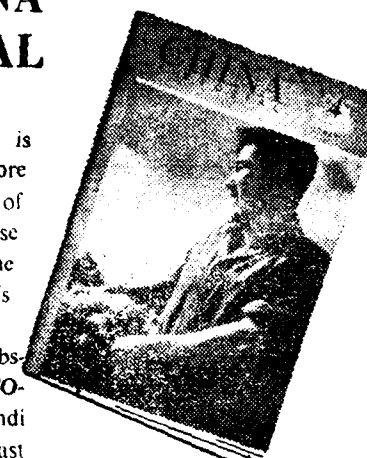
resolution of 1931 the Congress laid down a maximum salary of Rs. 500 per month for public servants. But a rupee of that time was in terms of buying power really worth Rs. 4 to-day. Having regard to this, even if the maximum salary is fixed at Rs. 2,000 per mensem one cannot call it excessive, but the P.S.P., thinking that such high salaries cannot be afforded by the State, has fixed the highest limit of income at Rs. 1,000.

When those are the limits fixed by the P.S.P. on what may be called a Socialist basis, I cannot understand why any rural landowner should not get from his lands an income of more than Rs. 300 per month as fixed in the Mysore Bill just introduced in the legislature. It seems to me that this net income of Rs. 3,600 per annum which is fixed as the utmost that the rural landowner can get from his lands is highly

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BHARAT STUDIO

CEREBRATIONS AND CEILINGS AT NAGPUR

By S. NARAYANASWAMY

*"But, good my brother,
 Do not, as some ungracious pastors do,
 Show me the steep and thorny way to Heaven;
 Whiles, like a puff'd and reckless libertine,
 Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads,
 And recks not his own rede."*

Ophelia in Shakespeare's 'HAMLET'

The Congress mela at Nagpur has come and gone. The content of its proceedings seems to have aroused even pro-Congress sections of the Press into frank and forthright assessments of the anticlimax that was Abhyankarnagar. The slogan-riddled preambles and resolutions, whose monotony was unrelieved by any vibrant or bright new ideas, have robbed the Nagpur session of much of the dynamism that the Prime Minister of India has been anxious to impart to the Congress and through it, to the people of India. Friendly estimates of the investment on Abhyankarnagar, have put them at two and a half million rupees, with breath-taking break-up of the specific expenditure on the quadrant of ornamental gates. The irony of it all is that so much should have been spent on a ses-

unjust, especially when we are told by the Prime Minister that he will set no limit to urban income. If the object of ceiling on land is to achieve social justice, what is being done in this fashion is utterly wrong and a perversion of social justice.

The General Council of the Praja Socialist Party at its meeting just concluded at Allahabad has resolved that even the ceiling of Rs. 3,600 per annum on income from land proposed by the Congress is too high. I cannot agree with this resolution. How can we tell the educated children of the landholder to go to the land and work if this Rs. 3,600 is the utmost they can look for whilst their brethren in the towns will be left free to raise and enjoy any income they choose to?

sion, that seems to have been occupied with a rehash of over-worked slogans.

The only new and important decision is on land ceilings. On this subject it is clear that several important members of the A.I.C.C. hold widely varying views. It is also clear that only a small section of those who hold views different from the official resolution, summoned the gumption to express their views. Several State ministers (including Chiefs) have been indulging in stage whispers that the land ceiling business is just apple sauce and is not going to work. Their knowledge of the working of panchayats and co-operatives, to whose tender mercies surpluses over ceiling are expected to be committed, drives them to the undeclared conviction that the organisational inadequacy and lack of calibre of these institutions will frustrate the well-meant effort of Governments to secure greater productivity through redistribution of land surpluses. With Prime Minister Nehru, land-ceiling has become an obsession, though with customary candour he disclaims knowledge of agrarian problems. His sagacious confreres decided to keep discreetly out of the runway of this fast-moving aircraft. Those that tried to wave red or amber lights like Mr. Chaudhury Charan Singh, Revenue Minister of Uttar Pradesh, who seems to have made a very convincing and realistic speech, were petulently waved away. Several speakers starting with Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, appear to have been declared irrelevant by the Prime Minister in the course of a speech, the strong point of which was not its relevancy. The only new decision of Nagpur — the one on

land ceiling, appears to have been adopted with the maximum of mental reservation among those that participated in its adoption. The delegates apparently dispersed with an oppressive consciousness of the chaos and consequent reduced production that might flow from implementing the resolution. It is not necessary to discuss non-Congress opinion on land ceilings; nor revel in the chagrin of the Communists over this brazen stealing of their clothes by the Congress.

The resolution on Planning was charming in its naivete and in most parts unexceptionable. This is not to say the resolution is a string of platitudes. In fact, the recognition of the importance of relating wages paid to man-hour output and to Indian conditions is certainly so much oxygen breathed into an atmosphere of idealistic mumbo-jumbo. The part of the resolution that asks for avoidance of ostentation and wasteful building in India seems to accord ill with the four fifty-thousand rupee gates, through which the delegates made their entrances and exits before and after adopting his resolution.

The Planning resolution contains the most painful of contradictions. It asks in one breath for greater capital formation and for control of profits — which latter can only mean greater control than exists at present. It is quite clear that the sponsors of the resolution failed to get a total picture of the rigour with which profits in the private sector are controlled already. The income and super-taxes at the personal level in India are such, that while the man with a personal income of Rupees One lakh is left with Rs. 41,176, out of all excess income over one lakh only 16% is left with the assessee. Taxation of incomes exceeding Rupees one lakh, that is at the higher reaches of personal income is 84%, without taking into account Wealth Tax, which ranges from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. As regards Company profits, there is a direct tax of $51\frac{1}{2}$ per cent thereon, irrespective of whether the income is Rs. 5 or Rs. 50 lakhs. Then there are dividend taxes on distributions exceeding 6 per cent, the

January 17, 1959

The Individual is the Ultimate Reality

"Socialism in this part of the world is merely a label covering all kinds of government intervention."
DR. TUTSCH in W. Z. Laquer's *Middle East in Transition*.

"An eminent administrator who rose to the highest office in his department and who is no longer in service writes to a friend :

I am perturbed by all that I read in the papers about State trading in food-grains. Although the motives are unquestionable, I am afraid a large scale intrusion of Government into the procurement and wholesale business of food-grains in Indian conditions will only lead to disaster. Another matter which needs deep consideration is the headlong manner in which a ceiling is proposed to be imposed on agricultural land-holdings and incomes. The idea of eliminating ownership without cultivation is one thing but a ceiling on holdings and incomes leads at once to a demand for limiting urban incomes also. The consequences can be imagined. Such policies will automatically result in ceilings on work and output also. Social justice can never be achieved by distribution of poverty but by only progressive increase of production and judicious taxation which curbs undue concentration of wealth without destroying incentives. Sound economics should not be sacrificed on the altar of political ambitions and popularity.

From the very ancient times, the philosophers and statesmen of our country had evolved a fine balance between the rights of the individual and those of society. They well understood that the individual who constitutes society is the ultimate reality and the character of any society depends upon the character and qualities of the majority of the individuals composing that society. It was not by a multiplicity of formal laws, regulations and restrictions imposed by the State on the individual that the good of society was secured, but it was rather by convention, social custom and by the training of the individual that a balance was secured between the good of the individual and the society to which he belonged. In modern States and especially in new democracies, there is an undue tendency for rushing into legislation with the slightest provocation. However well-intentioned this may be, I hope that we in this country will not continuously dwarf the individual by such policies and action.

Sidelights

(Continued from Page 4)

esteemed American friend whom I hold in the highest veneration. In a letter to me he writes :

"About the middle of November an important American organisation in New York sponsored an evening for a few of its members, to sit down and discuss India with R. Venkataraman, Minister of Labour in the Madras Government. Really, Khasa, he did a superb job of it. He spoke frankly, with charm, and with rapier logic. But never did he appear self-important. The group here was enormously impressed. Many said afterwards he was the most impressive Indian they had met, bar none."

SAKA

SWARAJYA

January 17, 1959

Companies' Wealth Tax at $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, the bonus tax of 30 per cent where Companies issue bonus shares, Section 23-A tax on undistributed profits of Section 23-A companies, apart from any indirect taxes they pay.

Any comprehensive scrutiny of the incidence of personal taxation will reveal, that the assessee in India in the higher income brackets, sometimes pays more than his opposite number in the United Kingdom, where the tax levy at the highest level is 92½ per cent (against 84 per cent here) because of the liberal personal allowances in U.K., and the absence of wealth tax. This is without taking into account the fact that in U.K., Government re-

turns part of tax collections to the people through social security benefits, in the form of unemployment insurance, retirement, accident, maternity and disablement pensions.

One therefore wonders what the Congress means by "control of profits" — in the background of the very stiff taxation at individual and corporate levels that now obtains in India which has rendered ploughing back of profits in industry very difficult already.

Capital formation on which great emphasis is being laid in the resolution simply means that those who save money in India (which is largely the middle class, who are also finding it difficult to save, amidst their ceaseless battle

against inflation) must invest in industries. Investment in new industries involves the sacrifice of interest or yield on money invested for three or four years — a sacrifice which the investor can ill afford. At the end of that period he may get a small return, if the industry makes good. The small investor is not induced easily these days to plank his money on venture capital of new industries because of his need to supplement earned income by currently obtainable dividend or interest — apart from his diffidence about the future of the industry in which he is asked to stake his savings. On top of all these inhibiting factors, if Congress declares that "profits should be controlled," existing misgivings will only deepen and confidence in the prospects of a reasonable return (not to speak of compensation for absence of any yield during the period of waiting) will evaporate. It is difficult to believe that the Congress has adopted so stultifying a resolution — despite the assistance that is received by it from competent economists, who must be aware that self preservation in human nature is bound to over-ride idealistic anxiety to participate in the country's industrialisation on terms that involve risks to hard earned personal savings.

The Nagpur Congress was no doubt a severe jolt to those that expected that eleven years of self rule would give a practical bent to the egalitarian zeal of Congress bosses. But to those who have become surprise-proof by reason of their disillusionment coming of age, what is interesting about

it does not matter
if we win or lose
so long as
tea is there
to cheer us up!



I am Tea

I serve
those who play
and those who watch



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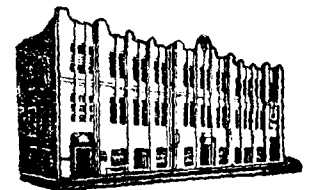
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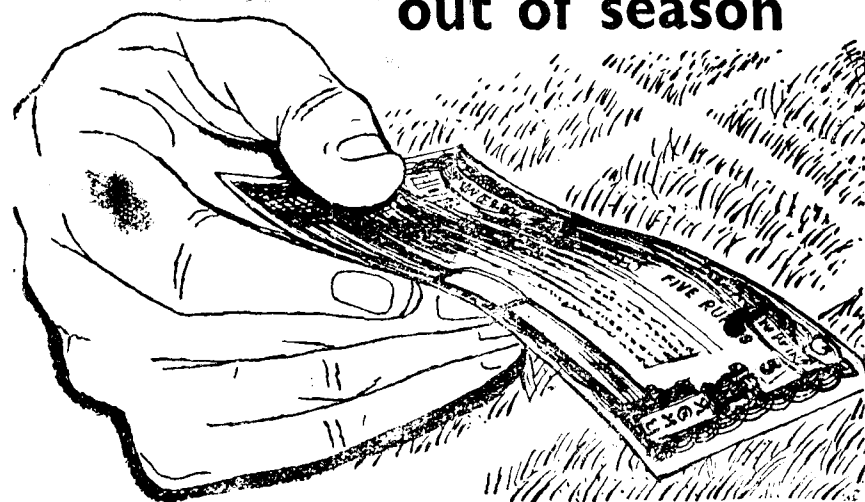
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SWARAJYA

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 29

MADRAS, JANUARY 24, 1959

15 Naye Paise

THE ETHICS OF INTERFERENCE

The ethics and the practice of Government interference in the lives of the people has undergone a sea-change since the advent of what has come to be known as the Welfare State. Contrary to popular impression, the ancient concept of *Rama-Rajya* was the apotheosis of minimum government, one amongst several separated *dharma*s, in which the only function of the State was to hold the scales even between one community and another, one way of life and another, so that each pursued his *dharma* unhindered. *Dharma* was the supreme law that upheld the universe and was above the king. The State had no duty to impose welfare, but it had to promote it by maintaining justice and fair-play for all.

That the State should "look after" its people is a recent concept, and arose in the nineteenth century, as a result of industrialisation and the accumulation of huge wealth in some hands, side by side with poverty for many. It was also the result of the break-up of the small community in which the indigent were fed and not left to starve. But it has brought in its wake new problems. The price that the citizen has to pay for the welfare that he derives by State interference has to be counted carefully; and a moral balance has to be struck between the demands of the body and the demands of the mind. One may make bold to state that the interference of the State in

the lives of its citizens is not a good thing by itself and that it needs to be justified every time it is resorted to. At the present time, life has become demarcated into a public and a private sector, and one school of thought, which looks upon man in the mass and not as an aggregate of separate individuals with differing needs and faculties, claims for the public sector a moral justification which may well be questioned. Indeed, the time has come to assess the value of material prosperity itself in relation to the loss of freedom and manhood.

What then are the limits that one may postulate for the boundaries of interference?

The first is the rule of law. The tendency to set up administrative tribunals in place of the civil courts, with a loose procedure and a bias in favour of the State, is one abrogation of the rule. Another is the scant respect shown to existing laws. Old laws are being changed overnight, and the whole theory that law should express the will of a people rather than the authority of the State, has been given the go-bye. A third is the nullification of the principle of mutual contract as an essential aspect of civil life. Expropriation of property by means of special legislation and the arbitrary fixing of shares among the various interests is a direct negation of contractual relations. The so-called economic and social sanctions for

such interference boil down to astute political bargaining. A fourth is the radical inroads into the personal laws of particular communities. If an individual believes that by feeding fifty Brahmins every day, his soul will reach God, and makes an endowment therefor, it is not for the State to question that belief and divert the endowment for some pet project of its own.

The second condition of true welfare is freedom of occupation. In turn, this implies the existence of varied avenues of occupation. The public sector involves the regimentation of employment into large civil armies of men, conditioned to a preconceived pattern. State control of the conditions of all employment, on the other hand, combines freedom with supervision. Public ownership within the ambit of political democracy was a Fabian dream and even the British Socialist Party has come to recognise its limitations. But in India the concept is receiving the homage due to a sacred *manthra* of salvation. When the State enters the field of business, its primary philosophy loses its chastity, and instead of being an impartial judge, it becomes a business institution, with special privileges. To revert to the traditional Indian example, the Kshatriya becomes the Vysia, and the motive of profit interferes with the kingly duty of promoting *dharma*. In modern parlance, once the State enters the field of

business, it takes on the dual character of the citizen who requires the protection of the State and the State that gives that protection. This is nothing but the arrogation by authority of a monopoly that enjoys a private freedom of its own.

The most malignant manifestation of this malady is the incursion of the State into the field of trade. Trade is, par excellence, the most widespread of employment, and filters down in a long series from the producer to the consumer. In times of short supply, it is necessary that the State should step in to control it, so that undue profits are not made or hoarding of essential goods resorted to. But for the State to take over trading is to omnivorise and convert society into an aspect of government; and in practice, Government means the party in power and, in a more direct sense, the men in power in the party. There are several purely economic arguments against State trading, such as the fixation of prices so as to include a large element of taxation (as in cement) and the loss of business resulting from inexperience (as in export of cloth) and the absence of incentive resulting in lowered turnover (as in the LIC), but all these are of less final significance than the pernicious philosophy of the State, by which it becomes the governed and the Government.

The Probe of Heaven

When the thrusting, conical nose of Sputnik I first flared across outer space a year ago, the action upon the United States was abrasive, as though rough, jagged metal had scorched the tender skin of national pride.

There was fear, too, of a new, unknown weapon grasped by the hands of a potential enemy.

The Soviet Union's lunar probe, however, is less startling in its consequences. The feat is admired, though not as if a friendly nation had won the celestial victory, but admired nevertheless. But disappointment is calmer: outer



PRELUDE TO PENANCE

(Fable by RAJAJI translated by
MRS. A. V. RAMAN)

An ascetic doing penance under a tree saw some birds above him. This distracted him and he felt he could be very happy if he were a bird.

The power of his penance was such that his wish was immediately translated into reality. He became a sparrow and flew away happily with a mate.

The sparrow couple enjoyed life thoroughly and tended their offspring with gentle care, bringing back to the nest, worms for the little ones to eat. One morning the male sparrow that left on its daily rounds, did not return. He had found another mate.

"After all," grieved the first mate, "this sparrow has shown its human nature!"

A few days later the ascetic-sparrow met his first mate again, on a tree. He sat at a distance at first, but later moved closer to her.

"Tweet! Tweet! Do not come near me," she said.

"Tweet! Tweet! Why do you say so?" asked the male bird.

"You are not a genuine bird," replied the mate. "Indeed were you a true bird, you would not have deserted me and our children and gone away with another mate."

The ascetic-bird flew away

in shame. He sat on a branch all alone. A cat approached the bird. This so frightened the sparrow that it fell down dead. The ascetic regained his original body and resumed his meditation.

The cat came close to the ascetic and sniffed at him for he had still a little of the bird's scent left on him. The sage did not hurt the cat and it sat next to him and closed its eyes in meditation likewise.

"Can a human being never acquire the good nature of a bird," contemplated the sage engaged in deep meditation.

"Quite impossible," replied the cat, that had somehow read his thoughts.

"Why do you say so?" enquired the ascetic.

"Nature is a wicked power," mewed the animal. "I too try hard to be good, but when I see a bird or a rat, I forget all else. Human nature is very much the same. Men are most inconstant—like we cats."

"Go away," said the sage who was quite ashamed of himself. "I can't continue my penance with you about."

The Goddess appeared before the sage. "My son," she said, "you are not yet free from desire. Go and run a household first and then come here to meditate."

space no longer is the dim unknown; worlds made in the United States have whirled confidently above earth; and, sooner or later, the United States will catch up.

But even in this calmer mood, two grave facts are clear. One is that the United States, as of now, lags in the race for outer space—by how far, the public is not sure. In the words of Dr. T. Keith Glennon, head of the National Aeronautics and Space Adminis-

tration, there is still no long-range plan. This is a weakness of politics and organisation, not of scientific skill.

The other fact, reluctant as people of good will are to accept it, is that the race for outer space is indeed a race. Two concepts of man, opposite to each other, are poised at this moment in history to dart upward for control of earth's immediate heavens.

JOHN E. FRAZER



Sotto Voce

Education in Octopus-grip

Total planning, regarding human material as dough to be kneaded, is ever anxious to get the whole of a nation's educational activities into its hands. But the result, to the extent it is successful, is not education but something very different. It is just possible that in certain respects, as in the large-scale production of technicians within the shortest possible time, regimentation may achieve miracles, as for instance in Soviet Russia. "The better the technician the worse the man" need not necessarily be true in such cases. But the purposes of the all-conquering State are rarely favourable to the individual's discovering the true purpose of his life and following it without impediment.

Addressing the Central Board of Education Dr. Shrimali was very severe on "unsympathetic or ill-informed critics" of Basic. He said they continued to harp on those aspects which "are no longer accepted as essential features" of the scheme. Unfortunately he did not stop to explain what these discarded features of Basic are. He maintained, however, that "the principle underlying the system which combines education with productive work is a sound one". And he went on to clinch the argument by pointing out that "this principle had recently been re-asserted by one of the most advanced countries, Soviet Russia". That will seem hardly conclusive to those who value freedom.

Education of the young, exploiting the pedagogic value of crafts as well as other activities of the community, is not a new idea. What was new in Basic was the emphasis laid on the value to the community, as a contribution to the economy, of the productive

work done by the children. It may be that advocates of Basic do not go so far nowadays as to demand that in a school where weaving is taught the stuff the children weave should fetch in the open market a price that would leave a margin over costs. But the accent on the productive and remunerative character of work as the determinant of educational policy still dominates official thinking; which is perhaps the reason why poor Samskrit, which has no cash values, gets cold-shouldered.

And that, no doubt, explains Dr. Shrimali's conception of the new Higher Secondary Education as fundamentally pre-vocational training. He deplored the tendency to regard High School education as a stepping stone to higher education. It should rather, in his view, equip the students with "enough vocational competence", so that "after a six months' or a year's apprenticeship course in a factory or a farm they are ready to take up skilled or semi-skilled occupations". No doubt he remembered to interpolate something about the function of the High School being "to discover their talent, academic, aesthetic and technical". But when discovered these talents were to be so guided as to enable their possessors to become "suitably engaged in productive activity and thus become useful members of society".

It may be that the new High School will be equally appreciative of all potential talents, whether it is a talent for playing the violin or a talent for plying the needle. But the violinist thus enabled to discover himself may not look upon his work as productive work at all. And he may perversely refuse to think of his duty

to society. In the same way, if quite a large percentage of High School boys hanker after a college education, it does not mean that all of them are after cushy jobs or that they perversely prefer to loaf in the corridors and go on periodical strikes.

Any bureaucratic attempt to restrict the output of graduates — the new goal proclaimed by the Central Board of Education—will, more likely, end in weeding out the best than in excluding the unqualified. For, though it insists that only the qualified should be assisted, it adds in the same breath that this should be done "with due regard to the needs of backward communities". If the aim is to discover individual talent and to encourage it, where does the talk of communities, backward or forward, come in? And we know how in actual practice State scholarships have a way of flowing into the channel not of talent but of nepotism.

The discouraging of private voluntary effort in the educational sphere is luridly illustrated by the Madras Government's dead set against aided elementary schools. Even the modest goal of free and compulsory primary education for the age group 6-11 by the end of the Third Plan may, like the horizon, recede endlessly. Why, then, should private effort be snuffed out? It has been found that even the meagre amounts allotted to the States are not being spent. The paucity is not so much one of money as of talent in the charmed circle of power-wielders. The State as universal provider and dispenser of the destiny of education is not only a menace to democracy. With a people so little apt for regimentation as this, it is bound to result in a disastrous breakdown of educational effort.

VIGNESWARA

The wise do not launch an undertaking by which, for a possible future gain, they will lose what is already got. — KURAL.

SIDELIGHTS ::

I was told the other day of a friend in Government service who rose to the highest position in his department but retired before his time in disgust over the deviations from just and upright standards sought to be imposed on him by Ministers and others in authority. He would receive day in and day out chits which said "Minister A is interested in officer X. Push the officer up", or "Minister B is interested in officer Y. Push up officer Y". For one straightforward head of a department who did his duty by refusing to adjust himself to the ways and wishes of corrupt and unprincipled 'superiors', we have hundreds who do just the opposite thing. The result is that the administration is generously studded with pampered favourites helped to meteoric rises because of the keen interest in their fortunes evinced by influential godfathers from positions of authority.

This pushing up of the favoured does not merely mean good luck to those benefitted by it. It involves the exclusion, from coveted posts, of other aspirants who have a superior moral title to them on account of their greater worth. The petty plotting that goes on in practically every government office to withhold promotions from the qualified in order that they might go to selected persons in whom the wielders of high authority are interested is the basic corruption that has disturbed the even balance between work and its reward, causing injustice, discontent, apathy, heart-burning and frustration on a wide scale.

It is only when, in the pursuit by individuals of the desirable goals of life, their relative merits get their full value, that a balanced and well-ordered society can emerge in which each citizen will be inspired to give of his best to the general welfare, for it is only

then that authoritarian privilege under its manifold disguises will not steal for its special benefit what belongs to all, and walk away with it.

The "pushing-up" process, to the exaltation of a special order of favourites backed by power and privilege, which has already resulted in the infiltration of the untested and the inferior into important offices not only in government departments, but practically in every branch of the nation's life and economy, has now come into the open and culminated as a grand move to push Sri-mathi Indira Gandhi into the Congress Presidentship. There might be potential qualities of leadership in Mrs. Gandhi which might later on blossom into public view. But they are not on the record now. At the present moment, but for her being the Prime Minister's daughter, she would not be thought of at all as a choice for President. That about sums up how justified the choice is.

The Prime Minister of India has enormous powers of patronage in his hands and there is relentless competition in the Congress hierarchy to please him. It is not therefore surprising that some prominent Congress Ministers should have sponsored Mrs. Gandhi for the Congress crown, or that some others, whose names too had been mentioned, should have rushed out of the running to avoid the appearance of rivalry to her.

The public goodwill that popular leaders command is extended in a large measure to members of their families also. Living and moving in the reflected glory of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi is held in high honour and is received, wherever she goes, not only with welcome but also with affection. This protective sentiment of national goodwill will not accompany her if she were to be-

come a career politician and enter the lists for competitive political leadership. On the other hand there will be widespread resentment that such a thing should happen. We have an indication of this already in the chilling reception that the country as a whole (minus the flatterers who wish to please the Prime Minister) has given to Mrs. Gandhi as prospective Congress President.

When Pandit Nehru took exclusive personal initiative for imposing Sri Dhebar on the Congress as its President, he destroyed the prestige and dignity of that time-honoured office. Nobody would have considered Sri Dhebar fit for leadership of the Congress organisation if the Prime Minister had not pitchforked him into it. It is significant that the P.M. was the only one to shower lavish encomiums on the retiring President at the Nagpur session of the Congress. The downgrading of the Congress which began on the advent of Sri Dhebar will be complete with the enthronement of Mrs. Gandhi on the gaddi. It is a humiliation to the Congress and country, to the Congress President, and in a way to the Prime Minister himself, that a position of great honour traditionally reserved in the past for the reward of outstanding national leaders on the authentic credit of their work and record, should be reduced now to one of secondary importance, dependent on the personal favour or family affiliations of a single man.

SAKA

Before they have got office, they think about nothing but how to get it; and when they have got it, all they care about is to avoid losing it. And so soon as they see themselves in the slightest danger of losing it, there is no length to which they will not go.

High office filled by men of narrow views, ritual performed without reverence, the forms of mourning observed without grief — these are things I cannot bear to see.

CONFUCIUS

WELFARE THROUGH COMPULSION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Almost like a reaction from the non-violence that Gandhiji preached and built all his hopes on during the last fifty years of his saintly life, we have an unrestrained course of compulsion ruling the policies of the Government of India. Gandhiji's conception of non-violence was not just abstention from the naked threat of beating or killing. It comprehended mutual confidence and faith in the persuasive power of human affection. It included the principle of respect not only for life but for individual freedom. *Per contra* his abhorrence was not only of beating and killing but of all compulsion. He did not define violence as violence to the person, but included in it compulsion of every kind either through executive or legislative authority. He allowed for human weakness and hoped that his theory of life and self-government based on non-violence would be kept as a goal and not forgotten in our hurry to get things done. He knew and wanted his people to realise that things done by compulsion were only seemingly accomplished but were as far from real accomplishment as the North Pole is from the South Pole.

To the creed of non-violence he added the principle of truth as a twin-brother. Like non-violence truth was to him not merely verbal or apparent truth, but reality in the fullest sense. The so-called compensation awarded for taking over property in land that is now thought to be a fulfilment of the pledge given in Art. 31. of the Constitution of India he would have deemed an untruth of the worst kind, because it is practised in the name of law. Untruth legitimised by law is the worst of lies.

If an honest effort were made to keep the principles of truth and non-violence intact in our policies, whatever be our failures they would be stepping stones to real progress. Without them and over-

ruling them, every success is but failure.

The breakdown of individual freedom, initiative, courage and strength under a reign of State compulsion is fatal. Not all the gold and splendour of the idol can save it from the consequences of its feet being of clay. The individual is the reality, the community is but an arithmetical idea. The whole is bigger but cannot be better than its parts. Society rests for its character and for its progress on the individual.

It is idle to speculate on what measures Gandhiji would have adopted to correct the evils that vitiate the Congress party today. He had a power in his own person which he would have used up to the last drop. Today no one has that power. If any one fasts today he fasts to get a request from the Prime Minister to give it up and friends around work to hurry up that request. This is not power but futile imitation. Whatever remedies we ourselves, ordinary men of common sense, can by unbiassed objective thinking devise to remove the evils, we must adopt and try them out. If, as I have dared often to assert with sorrow, the men engaged in Congress at all levels, almost all of them, have become self-seekers and exploiters rather than servants of the Congress, if they take out of it instead of giving to it, what is the remedy? All values are now material and so we must find a material palliative if not remedy. I would suggest that no one should be a member of any committee of the Congress or be in any position to influence its activities unless he has a profession or calling which enables him to live. While he is engaged in Congress activities no one should pretend that he is independent while he is actually living on Congress. Be it manual labour as a cooly or rickshawman or trade or business or paid service of any kind, it should qualify a man to

be in Congress and take part in its activities. The absence of this should be a disqualification. He should make his position clear every year to the public and show that he does not draw on his position as a member of the ruling party but lives within his means which are known.

If a man gives all his energy and time to the Congress and gets paid for it, it should be deemed quite honourable but it should be completely known and there should be no pretence about it.

I have spoken about this to the retiring Congress President but while he approved of the idea he felt many difficulties in the way and thought the proposal was too drastic to be put in force. I do not think so. If we do not feel anxious about immediate popularity among partymen we can put it in force. We cannot cure any malady if we are afraid of displeasing the patient. The rule I suggest will work a sea-change in the whole organization and consequently in the whole of the political life in the country.

Once we wanted people to be free from the entanglements of occupations so that they could put forth maximum courage in the sacrifices called for in the political struggle. But today it is an unjustifiable anomaly if an organization consisting mostly of jobless people and people who do not wish to follow any occupation or do honest work should lay down the law and govern a vast country and seek to control all activities and occupations.

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NO IMPINGING

By POTHAN JOSEPH

If Congress alters its telegraphic address from year to year, the code-word after the Nagpur session should be "Impinge". We are past the stage of "Broad Approach" and "Hard Core" in respect of Planning, and Pandit Nehru (intervening) has warned us that there could be no going back on the agricultural pattern as delineated in land-ceiling plus allotment of surplus tracts to labourers; and Pandit Pant (explaining) has reminded Congressmen that the policy is essential for Congressmen to retain the confidence of the people, the voters. The retiring President has undertaken to activate co-operative farming and panchayat functioning at Mandal level. In a spirited speech, the Prime Minister declared that the Public Sector and the Private Sector could comfortably co-exist for the promotion of productivity and the conquest of food-deficits which now place a strain on our foreign exchange position. And the Home Minister in a second speech added as if by way of a stop-press item that tillers given land have full liberty to treble and even to quadruple their crops. Why then the magic word "Impinge"?

Summing up the economic measures before the country, Pandit Nehru announced that the Government would not allow the Private Sector to impinge upon the Public Sector. If there is any impinging, the latter would be given priority and it would prevail against "savaging" in the race (as turf-stewards would say) by Private Enterprise with all its outcry of pessimism. At Calcutta, the Prime Minister spoke of sweeping out impediments with a broomstick. To impinge means to come into physical contact with a body already in motion, not amounting to catastrophic collision. The word will now be in fast currency; indeed V. K. Krishna Menon brought it in the course of his defence of India re-

issue of remote significance when maiming in the Commonwealth, and we consider the number of live subjects omitted from the Nagpur agenda. Said Mr. Menon:

"There is no question that our freedom is not for sale and we shall not accept economic conditions which, whatever might be their immediate implications, would ultimately IMPINGE on the dignity or sovereign rights of our country. (Applause)"

There is the suggestion of an insidious threat against our invulnerable status, but the subjects slated did not include questions which called for leadership.

At last year's Gauhati Congress the problem of the enforcement of Hindi as official language by 1965 had received lousy handling. No rigidity, said the escapist Resolution; and now in spite of further evidence of resistance, Congress just evaded the issue. Solidarity and emotional integration are running towards the rock of disruption and the loose rule of "flexibility" against the law is considered the height of prudence. Again, any reference to border-disputes and bilingual complications? No mention of it in the agenda nor a passing compliment to Prime Minister Nkrumah for adopting English as the official language of Ghana instead of any of the dialects of Hindi in colloidal formation. There was an overflow of sympathy for the Algerians and the Cypriots, but no apology for the non-recognition of Israel nor any word of sympathy for the disenfranchisement of Indians in Ceylon. Two days before the Nagpur Congress, Prime Minister Bandaranayake of Sri Lanka declared that he had won the support of Pandit Nehru for the policy behind his creation of "Stateless" subjects. Their affinity in foreign policy we all know; but a kindly expression of

concern would not have been out of place as a foot-note to the eloquent passage impinging on apartheid in South Africa.

In view of the middle-class distress over the failure of the Administration to hold the price-line, a delegate (commerce) from Bombay submitted in the open pandal that the relationship between planning targets and available resources should be a limiting factor in ambitious planning, but the Prime Minister was unperturbed seeing that he had already dismissed foreign criticisms from friendly quarters that Indian planning had become slightly "over-ambitious".

Glamour - Economics, however motivated by sincerity and patriotism, is apt to impinge on the hard core of wisdom enshrined in the maxim "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof". Let us attempt the solution of problems nearest to our struggle for subsistence before posing conundrums of cosmic co-existence. The Congress mind at Nagpur had been floated high into an ethereal orbit to the detriment of a realistic assessment of things nearest us crying for gradualized relief. This can be moderately attempted within our capacity without "impinging" all over the globe nor at home barging against the tradition of private enterprise.

As for the dubious constitutional position of the Kerala Government in view of the Dhepar Report and the controversy about security, the subject seems to have been blacked out at Nagpur. Similarly the dispute in the U.P. about the right of Ministers to express their personal opinions about extramural developments of an organizational character, there was a roly-poly decision construable as a double-think feat malodorous with mental reservations. Live questions of current relevance were thus shirked.

"A baby is an angel whose wings decrease as his legs increase".

—OLD FRENCH SAYING

A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

A TIP TO BROTHER PROFESSIONALS

This little one did not want to be photographed.

The other children were willing, one of them even eager. Look at the young lady to the right, mounting the step in melodramatic ascent! She wanted her picture taken, and struck up a series of attitudes, never looking directly at the camera but conscious of it all the time, conscious also of the effectiveness of her posturing. And, naturally, I took no picture of her. What I wanted was a portrait of this frightened, camera-shy child, and in the end, after my subject had fled screaming from my ponderously placatory approaches and sought the refuge of an elder sister's skirts, I got this picture.

And isn't it just what I wanted, after all, isn't it every bit as expressive of the personality of my fugitive sitter as a portrait, front-face, would have been? Of course it is. In fact, it is even more than all that—sort of representative, or symbolic if you prefer 'symbolic', of all frightened children seeking the asylum of their elder sisters' skirts, why, even of the brave protectiveness of all humanity, however frail or small, when someone weaker seeks its guard!

Once upon a time, in my cynical thirties, I wanted to set up as a portraitist, specialising in subtle studio photographs of the rich. I can't remember what put me off, but even today I think my idea was basically sound and that the equipment needed for such an enterprise would have been much less costly and cumbersome than what I have now acquired, as a wild-life photographer and the venture would have been lucrative in the extreme, whereas there is no money in India in the photography of animals, as everyone who has tried it knows. Will I be less vague, please, and say



what I mean more explicitly and in detail? Of course I will. Here goes.

These are the things one needs for the successful photography of the well-to-do: first, a studio (which need not be anything grander than a neat, long room) and a battery of floodlights and 'kickers' which can be arranged to provide even, plastic lighting (take care to ensure adequate reflection from the floor to eliminate those ugly shadows under the chin and mouth and the eyes) which can be varied as required; next, a few broad rolls of crepe-paper in shades of pink and warm browns which can be thrown out of focus to provide a soft, semi-luminous background; a stool for seated portraits; a few fancy furnishings for providing variety and the element of surprise, in desperate emergencies; and finally a camera with front and back tilts and swings, to be used, with the utmost discretion, to slenderise ever so slightly the august visages and figures of the customers.

You use a fast, long-gradation film, develop it to a low gamma in a soft, compensating developer (the ancient pyro formula is as good as any), enlarge on a matt paper using a really soft paper-developer (M without Q)—and there you are! High-key portraits, flattering to the figure and complexion, beautifully toned in three or four shades of grey, looking, not like highly-finished pencil studies but like the silver-point portraits of the old masters.

Years ago, in the days of Royalty, I visited a studio specialising in Rajas and Ranis which had its own make-up artist on hand to mask the blackheads and other slight textural blemishes of its patrons—a tactless arrangement, if you ask me. Much better to retouch the negative unobtrusively, a tedious job, but then one can't mint money without doing some work. Do not seek out your patrons in public and in private, do not cultivate the acquaintance of the rich, and do not join their clubs. A little judicious advertise-

ment can do no harm, but much the best advertisement is to insist on charging precisely ten times as much for a portrait as they do in other studios. Courtesy towards the patron is desirable, even necessary on occasion, but there is no need to engage in it personally; a colourless receptionist, whose amiability does not go to the extent of garrulousness, can attend to all that. Preserve a haughty, impersonal dignity in the presence of the customer, be laconic in your replies (if you must reply) and never smile. If you can manage it, matted locks (like a sadhu's) are an asset. Success is yours, if only you keep these few and simple rules in mind.

And why wasn't success mine, then? Somehow I couldn't bring myself to hobnob with the rich, even in a taciturn, professional manner, or may be it was that I couldn't raise matted locks. So I photograph wild animals and wilder children, by available light. But take heart, even if you are, like me, one of those who do things the hard way—all is not lost. You and I, we can still have the consolation of exposition.

It was Mencken who said that the only people who talked, and kept on talking, about their work in rapturous tones, were barbers and painters—a remark that at once exposes the limitations of the essayist's experience; apparently he never met a photographer in the flesh! We photographers have the right to talk about our art, and we know it—the right I mean, not the art. We take our pictures, then we process and print them in the secrecy of our dark-rooms, and then, for days on end, we hold forth on their nuances. When I was inexperienced I used to start the exposition as soon as I had taken the picture; later, I waited to see the negative first, and now I contain myself till I have inspected the actual print, and have decided how I can base my exposition. You don't get me? Well, re-read the third paragraph of this note, and you will!

CAPITAL COMMENTS

INDIRA GANDHI TO THE CONGRESS GADDI

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: Speculation about Shri Dhebar Bhai's successor is now at an end; all doubts are set at rest. Even before the tent-pegs in Abhyankar Nagar were pulled out, the matter was formally discussed and informally decided. It was the High Command's desire to elevate Shrimati Indira Gandhi to the Presidential gaddi. The Chief Ministers of Madras and Andhra and the ex-Chief Minister of Mysore issued a press statement canvassing support for the Prime Minister's daughter; the former President of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee and now one of the General Secretaries of the Congress advanced special reasons for the choice. More will come forward in the next few days pleading for an uncontested election. No other name is likely to be proposed; even if there is any other nomination, it will make no difference. It is clear that Shrimati Indira Gandhi will be the next President of the Congress, perhaps subject to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's approval. There is no reason—indeed no conceivable reason—why he should withhold his consent. Nor will he, good democrat that he is, even if he is not particularly enthusiastic, persuade himself to discountenance the move and cold-shoulder those colleagues of his who have put their heads together and indicated their preference in unmistakable terms. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru is capable of subordinating his personal views to the general will of the party when there is no question of principle involved. He should rather be glad that there is a near unanimity in the choice—and proud that incidentally the Congress is to set up yet another record in history.

It was a record that Pandit Motilal Nehru handed the Con-

gress crown directly to his son in 1929; it was yet another record that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru presided over five Congress sessions; it will be one more record that the third generation in the same family will annex the Presidential gaddi by a purely popular vote. It is a dynastic triumph worthy of any royal family. Seldom has there been a like achievement in the history of any democracy—and India may well be proud—indeed cannot be too proud—of the family which has on the high tide of popular sentiment set up one record after another and captured the imagination of the country and excited that of the world. The primacy of the Nehru family in contemporary India bears no trace of any kind of imposition; it cannot even be called an historical accident; it almost seems to be Providential dispensation. What is divinely decreed must be accepted or received, in good faith and in true humility. The Congress can now feel sanguine of its recovery, not only from rightist tendencies (to quote Shri Alluri Satyanarayana Raju) but from all wrong practices, and indeed look forward to a new drive to a 'brave new world' with a woman charioteer at its head.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi will be the third woman and the second Indian woman to wear the Congress crown. Dr. Annie Besant had the honour in 1917 and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in 1925. And now nearly three and a half decades later, a younger celebrity has appeared on the scene, with an equal sense of inevitability. If Dr. Besant and Mrs. Naidu were, among other things, born orators, Shrimati Indira Gandhi was born to greatness; she could, at least partly, achieve by her very presence what her illustrious pre-

decessors did by their eloquence. It would, however, be an exaggeration to claim for her any of the intellectual gifts which Dr. Besant and Mrs. Naidu were so liberally endowed with, but Shrimati Indira Gandhi's is not all reflected glory. She has inherited a few magnetic qualities and has a certain intrinsic worth. By long, intimate association with the Congress, she has, so to say, become a part of its being. With her great father she has travelled extensively and is no stranger to any international capital or centre. As the official hostess of the Prime Minister's House she has come into direct, personal contact with contemporary celebrities. She is, in her own right, a little world figure by virtue of association and God-given opportunities. With her own stature now enhanced, she can bring to the Congress a new prestige, tinged with the traditional Nehru glamour. She too can draw crowds—and cast a spell of her own. It would be idle to deny her importance—or the significance of her ascent—in the Congress scheme of things.

Yet there are doubts, not unmingled with sympathy, if Shrimati Indira Gandhi, in the present setting of the Congress which is one of disorder and dissensions, will have the nerve to deal with all individual wrangles and internal squabbles and manage the creaking machinery of an unwieldy organisation. The Congress has today divided houses all over the country and lost its hold on the masses. What it needs is a strong hand which is not within the gift of any woman. Unless by the grace of the feminine touch, she brings the healing process, she may find it hard to tackle the big problems that confront Congress leadership at so critical an hour like this. She is far too refined a being for unruly crowds. Maybe that under her father's shelter she could more authoritatively manage men and things than she would be otherwise able to do. The experiment is worth making; the opportunity should not be lost.

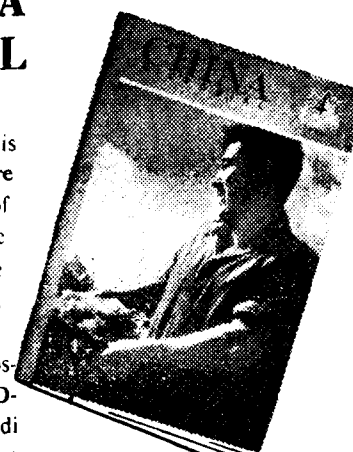
With the primacy of the Prime Minister inextricably bound up with the future of the Congress, it is as well that there should be a President who will ensure Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's control of Congress affairs, however indirectly. The whole country, indeed the world, will watch Shrimati Indira Gandhi's helmsmanship with unfeigned sympathy and wish her all success.

One of the sensations of the Capital is the impending if inevitable

able exit of Mr. M. O. Mathai from the Nehru orbit. One of the key men around the Prime Minister and for long years his principal Private Secretary, he had built up for himself what seemed to be an unassailable position. But some thing happened to render it vulnerable to assaults. Whether it is a matter of Time's revenges or amends, he will be out of a familiar picture. Where he can be located next may be an easy guess, the private sector not being such a private affair after all.

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CONDITION OF THE PRESS IN ASIA

By E. J. B. ROSE

Director, International Press Institute

(Mr. E. J. B. Rose spent six weeks (from mid-October to the last week in November 1958) touring India, Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, Hong Kong, Malaya, Singapore and Ceylon, studying the needs and problems of the press in these countries. The result of his study is embodied in the report published below, condensed from the MONTHLY BULLETIN of the International Press Institute, Zurich)

In the forty-two working days spent in Asia I was able to talk to some 400 editors and journalists. I visited some 40 newspaper plants operating in 13 Asian languages and ranging in circulation from 5,000 to 125,000. These languages included eight of the major 13 Indian languages, the two main languages of Pakistan, Burmese, Thai, Chinese, Malay and Sinhalese.

The future lies with the vernacular press in Asia. English is a dying language and the standard of English everywhere is declining. However, in most of the countries which I visited the vernacular press is now the poor relation of the English press. This

is particularly true of India and Pakistan. Even in a country like Burma, where the bulk of the newspaper circulation is in Burmese, one of the two leading papers is in the English language. In Malaya where nearly 50 per cent of the population is Malay, only 10 per cent of the newspaper circulation is in the Malay language. Almost nowhere has the language press got a strong economic base. Nevertheless, this position of inferiority is bound to change with the national awakening and with the growth of literacy.

The most striking factor about the press in Asia is the incredibly low newspaper circulations, even when one considers the low literacy rate. For example, literacy in India is given as 16 per cent, which means 40,000,000 people, and yet the total circulation of all newspapers, including the English language press, is only 3,000,000.

There are various economic factors which at the moment set a limit to the circulation of the language press. Chief among these is of course the poverty of the people and the price of the newspaper. In India a month's subscription to a newspaper is the equivalent of one day's salary of an average worker. The cost of a cheaper newspaper in India was expressed as the equivalent of 20 minutes of labour.

The result is that newspapers are passed from hand to hand and the average newspaper is read by at least seven people. In Hong Kong and Singapore, the average readership of the Chinese press may be as much as 30 a paper because the teashops rent out newspapers to their customers.

The hourly rate for three newspapers is the equivalent of selling price of one newspaper. In the shops, where there is little work to do, the paper is passed from the owner down through the employees and, when it has been read finally by the apprentice, it is exchanged for another newspaper with the neighbouring shop.

However, even when one takes into account the poverty in most of these countries, there is still a large reading public which is not being reached by the press and which is there to be trapped if anyone finds the right formula at the right price.

The second main impression is of the low standing of the profession in most countries and of the wretched pay and conditions of employment for many journalists, with resultant low morale and absence of journalistic standards. The right people are not being attracted to journalism.

Thirdly, there are too many newspapers in most metropolitan cities and not enough newspapers in the districts. For example, the State of Mysore has a population of 20,000,000 (Kannada speaking) and in the city of Mysore there are 13 dailies with a circulation of 6,000 between them. In the other main city, Bangalore, there are five dailies with a circulation of 68,000, but there is only one district newspaper in the whole State. In Hong Kong there are some 30 newspapers and only four or five of them are making a profit.

In the main cities in most of the countries visited, the majority of the newspapers are run at a loss. In some cases they are subsidised by politicians or by political parties. In other instances the publishers have wider business interests and use their newspapers to further their commercial ends.

Some of the problems of the language press spring out of the nature of the languages themselves and these are mainly production problems. Others are common to English language papers as well and lie in both the management and the editorial fields.

All agency copy has to be translated in the newspaper. This is universally the case and in no country that I visited do the main

news agencies supply their file in any language other than English: this imposes an added burden on the budget as most newspapers have to employ ten or more translator sub-editors.

As the body type of most of the scripts is a minimum of nine point—in most cases it is twelve point—and as the languages are wordier than English and in translation run as much as 50 per cent longer than the corresponding English text, it will be seen that the amount of space available for agency news in a six or eight-page paper is severely restricted.

The translator sub-editors (who are paid considerably lower rates than sub-editors on the English language papers) have the very difficult task of condensing or cutting the agency messages. Almost certainly in the process all background information gets cut out and the resulting text may easily be distorted.

Further, because most newspapers are hand set, the deadlines have to be much earlier than for the English language papers, quite apart from the delay imposed by the business of translation.

In Urdu, which is the principal language of West Pakistan and widely used in North India, there is not even hand setting. The newspapers are written by calligraphers and then produced by litho. This means that, with an 8-page paper, the first two pages have to be "composed" at eight in the morning and the deadline for the last two pages is three or four hours earlier than that of an English language competitor. Moreover, because of the litho process, it is impossible for many Urdu papers to carry photographs to accompany the news.

All this means that, unless radical changes are made in the future, the next generation in Asia is going to grow up more and more in ignorance of the outside world.

Furthermore, a great many newspapers are working with bad type and antiquated machinery. In many cases the poor printing speed is a brake on circulation. In

a few cases newspapers are making enough money to buy new equipment but they are handicapped by currency restrictions which prevent them getting import licences.

These production problems will not be solved until there is central translation at the agency but, to be effective, there must also be teleprinters and, in order that the vertical flow shall not be

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choked at the newspaper, there is also a need for linotypes in the different scripts.

Many language papers are badly managed. There is too much concentration on the editorial side and the relation between the editorial and management staffs is unbalanced. As an example, I found one paper in Bombay which has a staff of 15 on the editorial side and two on the management to deal with all questions of production, distribution, circulation and advertising. In Rangoon I discovered a paper which was being managed by 1½ people, the half person being the principal shareholder director who worked half days.

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K. MAHADEVAN,

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Some of the statements reported to have been made by the Prime Minister regarding ceilings on land and the private sector in industry should cause a jolt to all students of agricultural and political economy. He is reported to have stated: 'What Government sought to do was not putting a ceiling on agricultural income but on land held by a particular person, which was quite a different thing. A person was free to increase his income from his land'. The distinction between land and its income seems, with great respect to the Prime Minister, to be a distinction without a difference. It is a truism that land has little value but for the income it yields. However much the producer tries to adopt modern methods of agriculture the income on his land depends on certain imponderable factors like climate and rainfall which are gifts of Nature and are not in the power of any Government to bestow. The income is correlated to the land, its extent and fertility, and depends ultimately, as stated above, on God's grace. How does the Prime Minister reconcile his present statement with the recommendation of the Planning Commission, of which he is the Chairman, that the ceiling on land is to be on the basis of an annual income of Rs. 3,600, which disastrously low limit is being forced on unwilling State Governments?

On the question of private sector in industry, the Prime Minister states that the correlation of private enterprise (meaning big enterprise) with democracy is wholly unjustified and has no meaning and may and does come in the way of the functioning of the democratic apparatus. Let it be noted that the term 'private sector' is a misnomer. It is really the public sector in which vast numbers of shareholders, mostly of the middle class, have invest-

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History has been teaching us that "Communist ideology is inseparable from the Communist technique and they are both parts of the same gospel". We should know clearly to what goal the country is being led. Is it to be a Welfare State under our Constitution or a Socialist or Communist State where almost all industrial and banking concerns are to be nationalised? Is the citizen to exist for the State and not the State for the citizen? Is not our country being led further and further away from Gandhiji's ideals? Is our Prime Minister to be "the Asian equivalent to Stalin" as George Bernard Shaw depicted him on the basis of his speeches in 1948? Let the public judge before it is too late.

A. S. NARAYANASWAMI

CINEMA

FUND-RAISING BY FILM STARS

By V. P. SATHE

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to take black money, they would be rendering a far greater service to the film industry and the nation than by their occasional appearance in so-called cultural shows.

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in the movement and Wangloo, a Chinese hawker who wanders all day long through the by-lanes of the great city to sell China silk. When he first comes to the lady to sell the silk, he is completely broke — having missed his previous day's meal, for want of money. Mrs. Roy is reluctant to buy 'foreign' silk but when the Chinese hawker convinces her that he is no foreigner in his broken English and Hindi, Mrs. Roy is left with no alternative but to buy the silk. And her casual mention of him as 'bhai', makes him feel as if he is her real brother. The rest of the story relates the growth of this relationship which in the beginning is resented by

Mr. Roy, but which is later tolerated by him. There are many touching moments in the film. Twice, Wangloo is forced by Mr. Roy to leave the house—and the second time, it is his New Year day. Mrs. Roy's visit to his place is also most movingly depicted. He helps her in carrying away important papers when the police pursue her and spends the night on the road to escape the police vigilance.

A moving, unusual story, it is presented by Mrinal Sen with sincerity, warmth, realism and technical excellence. It has only two songs—and both are beautifully rendered by Hemant Kumar who is responsible for its brilliant

background score. Kali Bannerji as the Chinese hawker gives a truly magnificent portrayal. Manju Dey is good as the Indian sister. Only Smriti looks too glamorous and artificial in an otherwise genuine, authentic and realistic movie.

'Neel Akasher Neechey' revives our hope in the Indian film and proves that Satyajit Ray was not a fluke. There are others like him who can also make powerful human pictures with almost the same mastery of film-craft. Mrinal Sen is undoubtedly a name which will have to be reckoned with. Only, he should avoid the obvious, sentimental clichés which at places mar the beauty of his first film.

Though he has made a remarkable film, Hemant Kumar is quite modest about it. Lata Mangeshkar who had gone all the way to Calcutta to give a 'clap' for the muhurat of this picture was present at the preview and so was Hrishikesh Mukherji who had already seen the picture three times before and had been praising it to the skies. The Bombay journalists who are not familiar with Bengalee did not find it difficult to follow the film and appreciate its beautiful points.

Producer-director Lekhraj Bhakri performed the muhurat of Jubilee Pictures' 'Honeymoon' starring Vyjayantimala, Radhakishan and others. Salil Chowdhary is giving music.

Bina Rai and Premnath are starting a new picture under the supervision of director Mahesh Kaul.

Bibhuti Mitra began the shooting of his new picture at Prabhat Studio on Friday, 16th January with Shammi Kapoor.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"BONUS IS DEFERRED WAGE"

Sir,—Your "conscience-stricken" correspondent's letter (SWARAJYA, Jan. 3) is interesting reading. He has poor understanding of the history of trade unionism in this country. The upward revision of salary for the L.I.C. employees and the increase in D.A. of which he is a beneficiary, have been due to the persistent efforts of the Employees' Association. Referring to the bonus, he asks a rather cynical question: "Is there a ceiling limit to the demands?" Well, the bonus question has been before the L.I.C. authorities for more than two years now. It is a tribute to the patience of the employees that there has been no break-down in the long-drawn out negotiations that have been going on from the beginning. Bonus is considered as a deferred wage which serves to minimise the difference between the wage paid and the due living wage of a worker. As an organised body we have a duty not only to the organisation but we have a greater responsibility to the country. It is this conscience that makes us continue to fight for all our rights. Perhaps the

employees will have to struggle for some time more till all the old facilities and privileges that they were entitled to during the company days are restored to them.

For employees this is a period of consolidation. It is because we want to do an honest day's work that we dare ask for a full and fair wage. It will be a good day for the Life Insurance Corporation and the country when its large body of employees will have nothing to complain about.

G. RADHAKRISHNAMURTHY.

Joint Secretary,

L.I.C. Employees' Association

A REMINISCENCE: NAGPUR CONGRESS OF 1920

Sir,—I was one of those who attended the Congress session held at Nagpur in 1920 to protest against the triple boycott of schools, law courts and councils. It was the biggest Congress ever held; after this session, rules were framed for regulating the number of delegates. The Congress tent could not hold all the delegates. Moulana Shaikut Ali

carried Gandhiji on his shoulders to outside the tent from the dais; and both of them addressed the overflow gathering. The Presidential address was very long, and was read by the President Sri C. Vijayaraghavachariar, Bepin Chandra Pal and Satya-murthy in turns. The audience interrupted the speech of Mr. Jinnah, calling on him to call the Ali Brothers Moulanas; but he did not budge an inch, and went on calling them Mr. Mahomed Ali and Mr. Shaikut Ali. Finding overwhelming support for the Non-cooperation movement, the delegates who attended the Congress in large numbers to oppose the triple boycott kept mum. The President was reported to have advised Gandhiji not to trade upon his past reputation in South Africa. The weapon of Non-cooperation would not be accepted by the leaders lightheartedly, and Gandhiji had to struggle through to convince them. The Nagpur Congress of 1920 was a unique event in the annals of our national struggle, and would be remembered as an unforgettable experience by those who attended the same. It was as historic as the present one.

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.
Thillaisthanam

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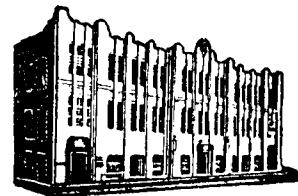
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**Sotto Voce**

A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL
COMMENTARY

By

VIGNNESWARA

(N. Raghunathan)

Under the pen-name Vignneswara, Mr. N. Raghunatha Iyer (Chief Asst. Editor, *The Hindu*, Retd.) has for the past thirteen years been contributing a widely popular weekly causerie headed "Sotto Voce" first to *Swatantra* and then to *Swarajya*. At the insistent request of readers it is proposed to collect these articles in a series of self-contained volumes because of their permanent interest. The first, entitled "*The Coming of Freedom*," contains the articles written from February 1946 to February 1949, with an introduction in which the record of the Governments in India since Independence is critically examined from the stand-point of the social, cultural and political values that are part of our living Indian tradition. Brief topical and literary notes are appended at the end, as well as a glossary and a useful subject Index.

Of the author whom she met while she was in India, Vera Brittain, the British novelist, wrote in her book "Search After Sunrise" that she had found in him a man with one of the best brains in the country. In the Survey of "Contemporary Indian Literature" published by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, "Sotto Voce" is spoken of as among the best of its kind.

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SWARAJYA

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 30

MADRAS, JANUARY 31, 1959

15 Naye Paise

MR. NEHRU AND SCIENCE

Mr. Nehru is a passionate believer in science. Under his lead and inspiration, vast amounts have been spent in the past eleven years on national laboratories, scientific institutes and research institutions. All this can undoubtedly be described as progress on a scale that we have never witnessed before. But nothing will be lost and the country will definitely be a gainer if now and then we critically assess the benefits we have derived from all this expenditure, and try to find out whether the tax-payer has received an adequate return for all the money spent. Mr. Nehru rebuked the Association of Scientific Workers for their criticism of Government's actions and reminded them of what an American expert had told him. The American expert had found widespread criticism of the Government even from among the Government's supporters, while he had found little appreciation of the rapid progress India was making in many directions. Now there are many things which can impress a foreigner in India—especially the enormous amount of constructional activity that is going on everywhere. New dams, power houses, roads and steel plants are doubtless impressive. New buildings for schools and laboratories and research institutes are equally impressive. Few foreigners can have the time or inclination to find out at what cost these constructions are being erected or whether after the building is over, the new struc-

tures are fulfilling the purposes for which they are intended. Failures in the achievement of these purposes can be known only to those who are intimately associated with them. It is easy for a foreign visitor to go round India's first atomic reactor at Bombay—built out of Canadian funds and technical assistance—and express the view that India is fast catching up with the Western atomic powers. Politeness as well as a certain amount of surprise at our ability to come somewhere near the West in these matters prompts them to pay exaggerated compliments. How many of them can possibly know that the Atomic Energy Commission is a vast sink of scientific talent in this country which is sucked into the establishment but is lying unused most of the time. A vast number of chemical, mechanical and electrical engineers, metallurgists, and scientists from other fields are on the Commission's payrolls doing virtually nothing. The more conscientious of them feel bitterly the lack of anything to do, but do not know what to do about it. A close student of the work at the Atomic Energy Commission was of the view that the establishment at Trombay could pull on with one-fifth of the existing staff. For a poor country like India, an atomic reactor or anything else must be viewed in terms of the real benefits the country derives from it here and now. It is from this point of view that we must regard so much of the outlay on the nation-

nal laboratories and on scientific research as an expensive waste. An outspoken scientist like Prof. J. B. S. Haldane remarked that there was too much of brick and mortar in our laboratories and too little of first-rate scientific work. Many of our top scientists are entangled in administrative work and devote very little time to their basic job of advancing scientific knowledge. Another blighting factor which has inhibited the growth of genuine scientific research in the country is the existence at the directing level of most scientific institutions of men of third-rate quality who have either wangled their way to the top or achieved eminence by the mere efflux of time. Their one anxiety is that their ignorance and incompetence should not be found out and this they can do only by keeping out of their departments anybody with a suspicion of genius. Is it any wonder that in the past ten years the truly outstanding work done by Indian scientists can be counted on one's fingers and even these are mostly persons outside the Government-sponsored institutions? Indian science will advance only when scientists develop a freedom from political or bureaucratic affiliations of any kind and realise that a devotion to their pursuits is more rewarding than cultivating the men in power. The tragedy is that since Independence so much of the field open to scientists lies within Government-run institutions that we are developing a

class of scientific bureaucrats who are more adept at cultivating the powers-that-be than at pursuing their specialised knowledge.

Mr. Nehru will be deluding himself and misleading the country if he carries the impression that all is well with our scientific institutions or our scientific personnel. There is a good deal that is wrong. Many institutions will really begin to justify themselves if the heads of these institutions were told that they must show adequate results for the outlay on them or else will have to quit. Highly qualified technical personnel should not be allowed to cool their heels just because some departmental chief, acting under the impulse of Parkinson's Law, loves to have a large number of scientists in his department to emphasise his own importance. There should be a searching enquiry into the state of morale in all scientific and technical institutions, because the progress of research depends on the devoted work of people at the lower levels. (Not infrequently it happens that the results of good work done by two or three juniors in a department are appropriated by the head of the department, who goes a few more rungs up the official ladder while the juniors continue to rot where they were.) We wonder whether the Prime Minister is aware of the state of near-paralysis in the work of the Geological Survey of India because a large number of Assistant Geologists, mostly from the south, were denied the promotions that were due to them and laboured under a terrible sense of injustice and frustration? The Prime Minister objected to the A.S.W's resolution protesting against the importation of foreign technical experts. But has he realised how often the views of foreign experts have been taken as a sort of gospel truth in preference to those of Indians equally competent to express judgments and who have certainly the national interests closer to their hearts? And why should there be a pathetic reliance on foreign experts even in fields where we have competent Indians



THE RAT'S RELEASE

(Fable by RAJAJI, translated by
MRS. A. V. RAMAN)

An atheist and a devotee were next door neighbours in the city. Soon they became fast friends. The atheist was born and bred in a respectable family. Though he denied the existence of God, he lived a pure life.

Every day the friends would meet and discuss over a cup of tea. In the course of his vehement denial of God, the atheist would repeat the name of the Lord many times. But the devotee lost half his faith by repeating the propositions of the atheist in order to meet them in argument.

Suddenly both of them died of typhoid fever.

Lord Yama welcomed the atheist. "Son", he said, "in spite of yourself you have obtained freedom. See who wait there", and he pointed to the servants of Mahavishnu. "Follow them".

"No, no, God does not exist," protested the atheist even there. But Vishnu's men heeded him not. They drew him away by force. And he entered Heaven in tears!

"My son," Yama addressed the devotee with pity.

The devotee continued his argument. "Your pleadings are of no avail now. You have

wasted your life by useless arguments for and against the existence of God. Return again. Be a small mouse in the temple of Srirangam. Live on the remains and dirt thrown there. Return here after having lived a life of sublimity."

Thus spoke Yama, and having patted him on the back sent him away.

"O, mother Perundevi, do you think this is fair?" asked the weeping devotee of the Goddess at Srirangam. He had now reached the temple there; rather it would be more correct to say that it had reached the temple; for our devotee had by now become a mouse.

The mouse spent its days in the temple of the Goddess. The rat's span of life is very short, unlike that of man who lives up to even a hundred years. But rats age soon and perish also soon. Even before they are old they are caught either by a cat or a bigger rat, and killed.

Our devotee rat attained freedom in six months.

"Come, my darling," said the Goddess with outstretched arms, "I have been only waiting for you". Thus saying she clasped him to Her bosom and left.

who can do the job equally well? Why, for instance, should lakhs of rupees be spent on getting blueprints prepared by foreign specialists for the quarrying of ores for the steel plants at Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur when this work can be got done by Indian engineers at a tithe of the cost?

And by way of conclusion we may refer to the racket in scientific degrees that goes on in different universities. Nothing can be more unscientific than a process of manufacturing scientific graduates without regard to their real

achievements and competence. We understand that some of the universities produce First Class M.Sc.s in large number because government departments advertise for First Class graduates and the university authorities think their alumni must have a good start in the race for jobs. Other universities which stick to their traditional standards handicap their graduates by giving them II Class or III Class though in terms of merit and competence these candidates may be better than the so-called I Class graduates of other univer-

(Continued on page 4)



Sotto Voce

Supplementary Jobs

The Government of India has plucked up courage to ban "casual or occasional" work being undertaken by its employees even if that work should be done outside office hours. The prohibition is not, however, simple and absolute. "In rare cases permission may be given to accept part-time employment, but for that prior sanction of the Government will be necessary". Note that the proviso speaks of "part-time employment" while the rule refers to "casual or occasional work". Now, running a fire-wood depot outside office hours may be described as "part-time work" without doing violence to language; whereas writing an occasional review for a periodical is "casual" work. The Press Note might well mean that the former is permissible while the latter is not.

That sounds fantastic. And it is possible that we have here a case of verbal confusion rather than one of topsy-turvy ideas. But one is not so sure, knowing that in the past such absurd things have been allowed to happen. Not merely in Delhi but almost everywhere large numbers of Government servants have been following part-time occupations that actually involved more close day to day attention being given by them personally than even the recognised and sanctioned official work for which they received a salary from the public exchequer. The business was supposed to be carried on by a benami name-lender, often a minor, sometimes a person long dead or even non-existent. But all the world knew who was the real owner and beneficiary.

If New Delhi has acted it is because latterly this matter has become a major scandal there, especially with the enormous multiplication of otiose

jobs. Most of these sine-curists, having practically nothing to do the livelong day, brought their outside work (say, a typist's job work) to the office and did it in the hours which were supposed to be dedicated to the Government's service, making free use of Government equipment and other facilities. Such was the politeness of the men who were placed in disciplinary jurisdiction over them that they dared not question these improper proceedings, though the subordinate concerned hardly cared to hide them.

Those who live in glass houses cannot afford to throw stones. There was a very high-placed Central Government official who, though stationed five hundred miles away, found it necessary to visit his home-city every month on official business. Even when he came on leave to attend to private work his secretary on five hundred rupees had to accompany him. And he was enabled to draw his usual allowances though he came to help his chief in his private concerns. When a subordinate runs flourishing multiple stores in which quite a number of your unemployed cousins are provided for, you would be less than human if you did not discreetly ignore the fact that the subordinate in question invariably turned up at the office late and, to compensate for it (as Elia said), went away early.

It must be remembered that the big bosses merely copy the example of their betters. Some years ago the leading member of a firm of chartered accountants was appointed for a term of years as a member of an Income-tax Tribunal. As a condition of the appointment it was stipulated that his firm, with which he had terminated his connection in due form, should nevertheless change its name so that in the public mind it

might not be associated with him. But no such incognito was imposed on other firms over which Ministers had presided before their translation to high office. They continued to parade on their mast-head the name of their ex-chief, presumably because of the goodwill it carried.

I should not be therefore surprised if this new rule proves to be a "wooden lie", as the textbooks used to describe the notice-boards that warned trespassers that they would be prosecuted. There is a postern left conveniently open. The power to exempt in "rare cases" will, we may be sure, be exercised as it has always been in the past, selectively and without the exempting authority bothering unduly about the public interest. Such fraudulent connivance apart, this kind of rule cannot work because it illustrates the fundamental divergence between the Government's philosophy and its politics.

In its zeal for Socialism it is prepared to pamper labour in the private sector by piling upon the employer back-breaking burdens. There is no attempt to relate remuneration to efficiency or even to minimum performance. The Government affects a godlike unconcern when the result is a breakdown and thousands of men are thrown out of work. But when the Government servant asks for the same liberal treatment he is exhorted to tighten his belt and to remember that he is doing national service. If in the circumstances he consoles himself with unrecognised perquisites and private work *sub rosa*, superior authority prefers not to ask for trouble by riding on the bit.

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TRUTH ABOUT CO-OPERATIVES

Of late, our leaders in power have been plumping for co-operatives as a universal panacea for all our financial ills. The latest suggestion is for co-operative farming.

There can be no doubt that the co-operative movement is a very helpful one and will go a long way to reduce the cost of living. In Denmark they have co-operatives for every kind of business and they lead the world in this movement. But it has never thrived in India in spite of the fact that it has been in existence here for more than half a century.

The reason is not far to seek. Co-operation can succeed only where favourable conditions exist. To work co-operatives successfully we must have disinterested and industrious members with a high sense of public duty. Even under the British regime co-operation was only a qualified success. The co-operatives were under strict official supervision and so did not suffer much. But in these days of adult franchise, the co-operatives are a law unto themselves, the influential illiterates forming the majority. With increasing emphasis being laid on 'official non-interference' in the 'internal' affairs of the co-operatives, the movement has not the ghost of a chance to thrive. We can only sink more and more public funds into these co-operatives which are more often than not made tools of by designing men. Disinterested men and selfless workers without influence are not wanted anywhere near these co-operatives. In the end, when things become impossible financially, these co-operatives are wound up one by one, thus ending only in huge waste of public funds.

The so-called 'audit' in the Co-operative department is only an eye-wash, the auditor having no guts to call the president of the co-operative to order. Even the Deputy Registrar is afraid of the presidents of urban co-operatives as the latter happen to be big local guns with plenty of political pull. That at least is the

inside story of the majority of co-operatives in India. Nobody has the courage to scrap the Co-operative department, that is all.

Co-operative farming will share the same fate as other kinds of co-operatives. It will help designing men to corner all the benefits, leaving the ordinary citizen-member not one whit better and perhaps positively worse off. When even urban co-operatives are in such a bad way, rural co-operatives can only fare worse, for people in rural areas are extremely faction-ridden and are never known to unite over a good cause without their petty prejudices affecting their judgments.

As in cooking, so in co-operative farming, it would be just a case of too many spoiling the broth. Co-operative farming would thus, far from augmenting, only retard production.

"TRUTH"

If Congress Rule Lasts for 7 more years...

Once again C. R. has made an appeal for a conservative party. His logic is unanswerable. The Congress is becoming ever more totalitarian, and its only rivals are parties with the same ideas and policies. There is, on the other hand, a vast body of opinion which is offended by the iconoclasm, the studied contempt of everything established, in the economic and social system, in morals and religion, shown by the Congress under its impetuous but irremovable leader, and the rapid series of legislative attacks he is making on the old order. If democracy is to be made to work, an effective opposition is essential and a real opposition can only represent this huge section of the public who want to preserve what is good in established institutions.

C.R. is quite clear that in the present climate of opinion a conservative party could not be merely selfish or obscurantist. The demand to improve the lot of the poor and backward is accepted by everybody. The dispute is about how to do it and how far

to go in pulling down the existing structure of society in the process. Everybody accepts the need for heavy taxation, but everybody does not accept the need to liquidate the institution of private property, or to deny all legitimacy to private profit.

The need is becoming urgent. The third general election is approaching, and if the present ruling party is allowed to continue its depredations through a third five-year term and a third Plan, there will be no economic basis left for an opposition party of any kind. It is quite clear that the Prime Minister intends, section by section, to expropriate the entire owning class. Incomes from land are to be cut down to Rs. 300 per month per family this year. All other incomes must follow. Given seven more years of power he can do the job; and as things are going now, if he falls he can only be replaced by a communist, who will not only expropriate the propertied class but shoot them.

A conservative party will not be a party devoted wholly to the defence of property. But it must defend property, together with the liberty of the individual and other established values; and as a matter of practical politics it cannot hope to become an effective force unless it gets the support of a substantial number of propertied people.

This is the second time within a few months that C. R. has made the same appeal. He evidently realises how urgent it is that a beginning should be made. We cannot expect him to do more, at his age, than to give such moral support. Somebody else must take the lead — and soon.

—Mysindia.

Mr. Nehru and Science

(Continued from page 2)

sities. It is high time something was done to establish uniform standards throughout the country and to see that they were maintained objectively. Incalculable harm is being done to the real and long-term interests of the country by the manipulation of university degrees.

THE PRINCIPAL CAUSE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

It may look like over-simplification, but I am convinced that the principal cause of all our backwardness is the distaste for manual labour prevailing among the classes. Not only has this age-long defect been kept up without counter-moves against it, but every scheme of widening the area of education spreads this evil among the sections of the population that lived by manual labour alone. Our education seeks to convert the whole nation into a queue of soft-job-seekers. The distaste for manual labour is thus being steadily universalised by the 'education' we give in increasing measure. It is not my plea that education is bad, but what we give as 'education' is wrong.

I read an article in a foreign journal wherein an analysis is made as to why Latin America, which had distinct advantages over her northern neighbours, has not progressed while the latter with all their disadvantages have won in the race for progress, and the writer confidently traces it to the continuing distaste for manual labour that prevails among the classes in Latin America — just as it does in India.

I do not believe in the sham worship at the altar of manual work that is sometimes done in the present day schools. Nor is sport or scout activity equivalent to what is wanted. Class activities of that kind, although they involve some amount of physical work and strain, do not go to the root of the matter, viz, the distaste for doing hard manual work as a reality, that is, for eking out one's livelihood. Sport and hobbies yield pleasure, but the distaste for pain and labour is not tackled by them. We have to make the classes give up the dislike to use their muscles for work. The use of muscles for play or enjoyment or for exercise is wholly different.

Merely shouting for work will not make any impression on the people. Educational and family

lives must be shaped to convert all our people into labouring individuals. It is only then that the social and economic evils of our society will begin to disappear.

What do we see today? Everyone belonging to the so-called 'middle classes' as well of course as those higher up, always look to the service of some one 'below' to do any piece of work that involves manual work and stooping to touch what requires subsequent cleaning up. How can any equality dawn in the horizon as long as we allow this psychology to continue? Apart from equality

or inequality how can economic progress issue out of such a condition?

Much has been said about the phenomenal progress achieved in China. Many causes can be discovered and much can be claimed for particular ideologies on those grounds. But if we observe the Chinese way anywhere in South East Asia, it will be seen that the great difference is that those people have no distaste for manual work of any kind. Khrushchev has discovered the defect in the scheme of education that prevailed in his country and has taken drastic steps to remove the defect. We must in India turn our attention in this direction if we wish to avoid pain, misery and frustration.

THE UNSOLVED ISSUE OVER TESTS

The West has great cause to feel discomfited. Russia has not only gone ahead of America in the rocket game, but in the more significant competition in fearlessness. America may feel that her good conduct must be taken for granted. She may think that she must be presumed to conform to her promises. But enemies do not allow what self-righteousness takes for granted. Yet Russia is prepared to accept and act on America's promise if they both enter into a treaty to ban all tests.

America is not ready to accept Russia's declaration, it may be argued, because Russia must be presumed to be always willing to break her word. This however is neither fair nor in the present context true. Russia is prepared to take the risk of a treaty to give up tests while America is not as fearless. She has lost in the competition for fearlessness as in Science. This is a great pity and it can yet be rectified. Fear can be conquered if there is strength of will. The courage to believe your enemy's word is an essential foundation for all international agreements. As against this what a poor substitute is the readiness to retaliate and destroy civilization! No, fearlessness is a better substitute,

trust is a more human and civilised alternative to what is believed to be security through the threat of retaliation.

And now the issue unsolved is said to be whether the ban agreed should be on a year-to-year basis or be permanent. The package plea has been given up and general disarmament has been separated from the issue of nuclear tests.

Can this disagreement about year-to-year or permanent ban be solved by some formula that provides for the fear of America — say, by agreeing that the ban should be permanent, but either party is free to denounce the treaty with a year's notice and giving the reasons for the abrogation publicly so that the civilized world may see why it is done? This is a formula that may be well considered by the nuclear powers in view of mankind's protest against the continued poisoning of the atmosphere and the hereditary cells of the human race.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

Man has great powers of speech, but the greater part thereof is empty and deceitful. The animals have little, but that little is useful, and true.

—LEONARDO DA VINCI

NEED FOR CREATIVE THINKING

By B. R. KUMAR

Emerson has a fascinating essay on the "Uses of Great Men", and Carlyle pointed out long ago that "History is the biography of great men" — and yet in the contrary world in which we live, great men are instruments not only of great uses, but equally of great abuses or misuses. If on the one hand every great man is nature's greatest catalyst, his name in the hands of others is as often as not mankind's greatest curse.

Christ brought salvation to millions; and yet Christianity in the hands of the Spaniards, the Portugese and others who professed to follow the Prince of Peace brought only death and massacre in the New World, in Asia, and the Inquisition and the stake even in Europe, so that for Voltaire the

Church of Rome was the Great Infamy to be destroyed at any cost. Similarly, Muhammad the Prophet, of Allah the All Merciful, the All Compassionate, brought freedom and happiness into millions of households of the oppressed, and later in the hands of his followers also an equal if not greater amount of misery and suffering. The same is equally true of Marx the prophet of the 19th Century millions of the oppressed proletariat, and the justification for the 20th Century communist tyranny in Russia and China. Alexander spread the torch of Greek culture into Asia and the Middle East, and with it slaughter and murder. Napoleon broke the shackles of feudalism in Europe and spread the doctrines of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity in all its four

corners — at the cost of millions of dead and mutilated. Luther, Cromwell, Knox, Savonarola, Catherine, Frederick — their glory is counter-balanced by the misery inflicted in their name.

Emerson quotes Voltaire saying of the good Jesus, "I pray you, let me never hear that man's name again", and the cry of the Jacobin, "Damn Washington". Madame Rolland was an enthusiastic follower of Rousseau, and yet in her later years she had to lament, "O, Liberty what crimes are committed in thy name!" Chester Bowles in his recent book "The New Dimensions of Peace", quotes Simon Bolivar, the "liberator" of South America, writing a few days before his death, "There have been three great fools in history, Jesus, Don Quixote and I... to serve a Revolution is to plough the sea": and writing a little earlier, "I have never approved Revolution and in the end I even regretted our Revolution against Spain". And Gandhiji is quoted as saying before his death, "This liberty stinks in my nostrils". Spengler in his "Decline of the West" has some caustic remarks to make on what he calls "world-improvers", who by their philosophy of Pacifism, only act as fifth columnists for the man of the Will-to-Power.

Wherein lies the mystery of this paradox? The great danger of great men, in the words of Emerson, is that they tend to suppress all desire for further thought. "His attractions warp us from our place. We have become underlings and intellectual suicides". In the field of religion we see this fact illustrated in the tendency for ossification of all religions since the day of the founder; the last word has been said and it would be impiety to question the sacred book. But the same is true in all other fields of life — politics, economics, ethics etc. Karl Marx, the modern god of the proletariat, said so 100 years ago, and therefore it must be true today. Because the whole thesis of Marx was built on the then existing facts of class struggle even in England, and without any parliamentary machinery of settlement on account of

January 31, 1959

the narrow franchise, therefore the same must be true today. The great stranglehold of a great name has prevented all creative thinking, and is being used to push through all kinds of opposite policies.

Now to cease to think creatively is not merely a negative evil; it becomes a positive evil in that the place of creative thinking is taken by imitative talk and action. From the first moment of Independence 11 years ago, except in the changes of some names of streets and towns, and hospitals, and railway compartments, and government houses, and parliament, there is hardly anything that we have done, small or big, that is original and creative. Our Constitution is a hotchpotch of a number of foreign constitutions without a single saving grace of native ingredient, or even of elimination of outworn forms. To take a single instance, the form of clearing the parliament of outsiders for a private session, we must take over the English procedure of "spying the stranger", evolved under totally different circumstances. From this to the flag, the national anthem, the half-mast and black arm bands for mourning, the half baked theory of socialism in a poverty stricken economy, the attempt to manufacture steel without the capacity to manufacture a good pin which will go through paper, every action is tarred with the brush of imitation. Nature progresses by adaptation, not by imitation.

The Prime Minister complained the other day that our universities were not creative. The Vice-President has said that there was something basically dishonest in us. A Minister has complained about the gulf between our professions and our actions. The President has often told us that we have fallen away from the Gandhian ethics. May it not be that the fundamental cause of all these complaints is the shadow of a great name that has suffocated all creative thought in the country during the last 40 years — since 1919 when Gandhiji appeared on the scene, — and we are now pay-

SWARAJYA

7

ing the price of our intellectual suicide? "The children of the revolution" often chide the more conservative and religious with their idols of shastra and gods. What about the new gods in the wake of the Gandhian movement? If creative life is dynamic then even Gandhism is no more sacred than any other ism, and may it not be that all the rebukes of those in power are misaimed, since the plants in the shadow of a great tree have no choice but to distort themselves in order that they might catch the sunshine indispensable for their very existence? Great men thus have plenty of scope for being misused, but there is a saving clause. "True genius seeks to defend us from itself." (EMERSON). Christianity, in spite of all the abuses of the churches has something still dynamic in it because the genius of the founder has created an antidote for all human depravities in its message of a universal love, as illustrated in the life of Schweitzer. It may be that the message of Gandhiji — the message of simplicity and voluntary poverty, which has been the basis of our culture through the ages — has still within it the power of our regeneration, and may still save us against ourselves. Only if it does so, will Gandhiji survive the parody of the last 11 years of our history and rank among the Great.

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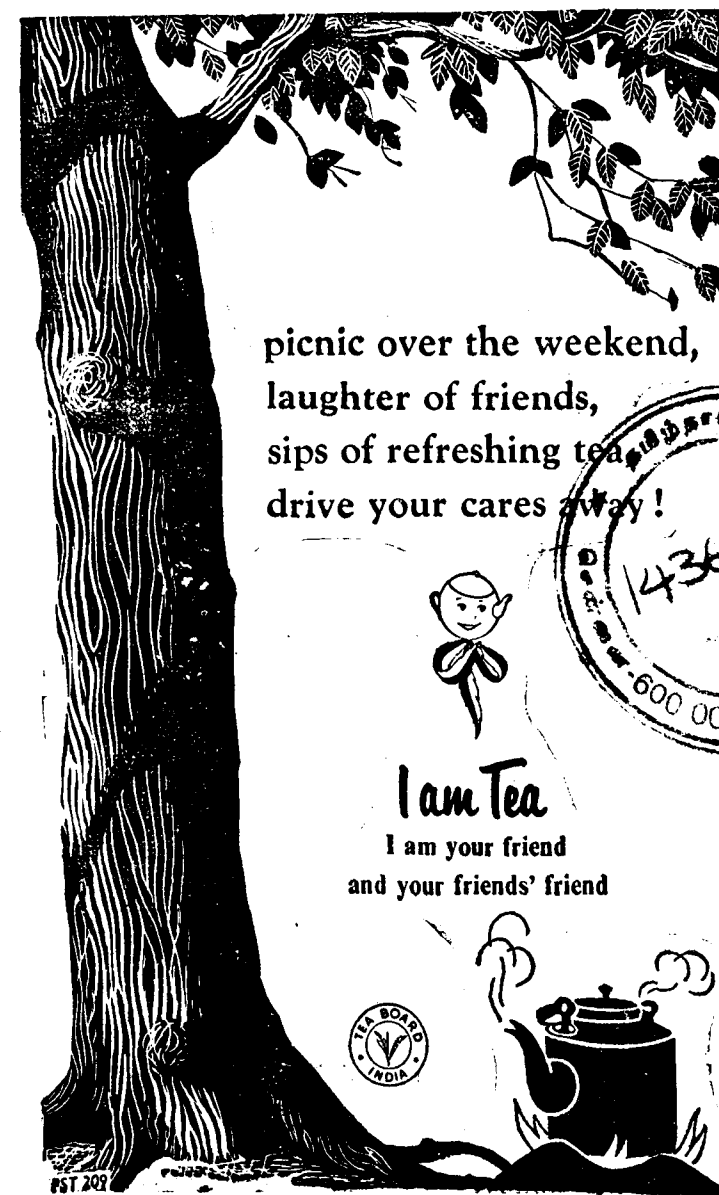
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and your friends' friend



ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF TAXATION IN INDIA

By PROF. RUSSI JAL TARAPOREVALA

The burden of direct taxation on individuals and joint stock companies has been increased so sharply in India that today it is the heaviest prevailing in any country of the world.

There are no less than six different taxes now directly levied on individuals and Hindu undivided families. First, personal income is subject to income-tax, super-tax and surcharges. The rates of these taxes are fixed on a sharply progressive scale. The maximum rate of income-tax and super-tax is kept as high as 84 per cent. Second, the personal wealth of an individual in excess of Rs. 2 lakhs and of Hindu undivided families in excess of Rs. 4 lakhs is now subject to the wealth-tax at rates which rise from $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of net wealth per year. Third, the personal expenditure of individuals and Hindu undivided families beyond certain low, almost niggardly, exemption limits is now taxed on a progressive scale in which the rates of tax rise from 10 per cent to 100 per cent of the net expenditure incurred every year. Fourth, capital gains are now taxed at a rate of income-tax applicable to the total income plus one-third of the capital gains made by an individual or Hindu undivided family. Fifth, gifts are taxable in the hands of the donors at stiff rates ranging from 4 to 40 per cent of their market value. Finally, when an individual dies his estate is partially confiscated by the Government through the levy of death duties on a progressive scale in which the maximum rate of tax is as high as 40 per cent of the total value of the estate.

The burden of these six different taxes when considered separately may not, at a casual glance, appear to be excessive. But a careful study of the net total burden of these taxes reveals a burden of taxation far heavier than that prevailing in any other country of the world. Indeed

a point is reached beyond which the income-tax, super-tax and wealth-tax confiscate the entire gross incomes and even portions of the capital annually of persons in the higher brackets of wealth and income. Thus the combined effect of imposing income-tax, super-tax and wealth-tax at the present rates is to impose annual capital levy — a thing unheard of in any other country and not recommended even by Mr. Kaldor! The introduction of the expenditure-tax on top of these taxes merely accelerates the process of annual confiscation of private wealth and income. The capital gains-tax, the gift-tax and the death duties enable the Government to take away a substantial portion of capital appreciation realised during a person's lifetime and an even larger share of his accumulated savings given away as gifts during his lifetime and as bequests after his death.

In the realm of direct taxation we have reached a peculiarly tragic position. If a man earns income, most of it is taken away by the income-tax and super-tax. If a man accumulates savings of his hard-earned income, they are partially confiscated every year by the wealth-tax. If a man spends or tries to enjoy the money he has earned or saved, he has to pay a further expenditure-tax on his spendings. If after all this there is the rare case in which a man reaps some capital appreciation, such gains are heavily taxed by the Government through the capital gains-tax. If a man is unselfish and shares his wealth by giving gifts to his friends and relatives he has to pay the gift-tax — such, oddly enough, is the reward for applying Socialistic principles and for being generous in our country today! And finally when a man is unfortunate enough to die, the only consolation given by the Government to his relatives and heirs is through

the immediate confiscation of a large part of his fortune by way of death duties!

Joint stock companies in India are subject to no less than eight different taxes on their profits and assets. Companies pay income-tax on the whole of their assessable profits at the rate of 30 per cent. Next, they pay a surcharge at the rate of 1.5 per cent of their total profits. Then, they are subject to the Corporation tax at the net rate of 20 per cent of their profits.

Further, the profits of companies are subject to three special "penalty" taxes — and the vast majority of companies have to pay one or more of these taxes. First, there is the excess dividends-tax. This tax is charged at the rate of 10 per cent on dividends declared by a company amounting to between 6 per cent and 10 per cent of its paid-up capital, at the rate of 20 per cent on dividends between 10 per cent and 18 per cent of the paid-up capital and at the rate of 30 per cent on dividends in excess of 18 per cent of the paid-up capital. Second, under the provisions of Section 23A of the Income Tax Act companies in which the public are not substantially interested are required to distribute between 45 per cent and 100 per cent of their profits by way of dividends. Failure to distribute such dividends attracts a penalty super-tax at the rate of 37.5 per cent and 50 per cent on the undistributed profits in excess of the minimum levels laid down under Section 23A. It is interesting to note the peculiar conflict in principle underlying these two "penalty" taxes. The excess dividends tax aims at restraining companies from distributing their profits as dividends and encouraging them to plough back their profits into the business for the purposes of expansion and growth. Yet the provisions of Section 23A penalise companies which do not distribute a certain percentage of their earnings as dividends. It discourages the ploughing back of profits into the business by joint stock companies: The "penalty" tax is the bonus tax. Companies have to pay super-tax at the rate of 30 per

cent on the value of bonus shares issued to shareholders out of reserves or accumulated profits.

All capital gains made by a company are now subject to a flat rate of tax of 31.5 per cent of such gains. Companies have to pay wealth-tax at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of their net assets in excess of Rs. 5 lakhs.

All these taxes impose a crushing and almost unbearable burden on the resources of companies in India. The net burden of the income, surcharge and corporation tax amounts to no less than 51.5 per cent of the profits of the companies. When the various "penalty" taxes, the wealth-tax, the capital gains-tax and the com-

pulsory deposits scheme are taken into account it is found that most established joint stock companies have to part with between 60 per cent and 90 per cent of their gross profits by way of taxation to the Government.

Mention may be made of the wide range of excise and other duties imposed by successive bud-

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gets of the Government of India during 1956-57. Heavy indirect taxes have been imposed on many articles which enter the consumption of the masses. In some cases the burden of the excise duties has been passed on to the consumers so that these taxes have had an undesirable inflationary effect. But in other cases the excise duties have had to be borne by the manufacturers and dealers whose profits have been sharply reduced and whose financial position has rapidly deteriorated after the imposition of these taxes. Thus the excise duties imposed on cloth had a crippling effect on the textile industry. A number of cotton mills closed down and the profits of all units in the industry were severely squeezed. It was only when the entire textile industry came to the verge of economic collapse and bankruptcy that the Government of India gave it some relief from the unjust excise duties.

Excise duties have been levied not only on the products of old and well-established industries but also of new industries in their formative stages as, for example, the rayon yarn industry. The moment an industry appears to be established or profitable the Government tries to mop up a portion of its profits by imposing

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excise duties on its products. Further, once the excise duties have been levied, the Government is most reluctant to remove them or reduce their burden when the industry runs into adverse business conditions and makes losses.

The burden of the new taxes imposed on individuals and Hindu undivided families is so heavy as to destroy all incentives to work, to save, to invest and to take risks — indeed in most cases it makes saving impossible. It is not difficult to realise that these effects must prevail in a country where income, wealth, expenditure, capital gains, gifts and even bequests after death are all heavily taxed and where the rewards of hard work and exceptional success in business or industry are not only the confiscation of the entire gross income but also the confiscation of portions of the capital annually. There is statistical evidence to show that the high rates of personal taxation have already had adverse effects on the rates of personal saving and investment. In this connection it is interesting to note the views of Mr. Asoke Kumar Sen, Law Minister in the Government of India. In an article published at the end of 1957 Mr. Sen rightly pointed out that: "...while the incidence of tax burden increased in India, there was a fall in the number of assesseees (between 1951 and 1957), indicating that the law of diminishing returns has already started operating in the field of taxation In India the sources of personal income are drying up and the policy of increased progressive taxation has not been yielding increased revenue The capital market is drying up fast. It is estimated that as a result of nationalisation of Insurance there has been a fall of new business to the extent of Rs. 80 crores and the fall of premiums to the extent of Rs. 8 crores Such trends would further affect the capital market and ultimately react on investment and employment The structure of income-tax is tending to reduce the incentive of the entrepreneur to work more and earn more."

Every patriotic Indian wants that the country should progress, that economic development should be rapid and that his fellow countrymen should lead better lives materially than ever before. This can be achieved quickly and efficiently by adopting certain measures to reform the tax structure and the economic policy of the Government. First, the rates of tax should be reduced. The burden of taxation should be made more reasonable and should compare favourably with that prevailing in other countries of the world. Second, the tax structure should be rationalised. The total number of taxes should be reduced. A number of inequitable taxes should be abolished and the remaining taxes should be simplified and if possible consolidated. This will reduce the complexity and eliminate the confusion prevailing between the various tax laws. Third, the administration of the tax laws must be simplified so as to reduce to the minimum tax litigation. The vast discretionary powers vested in the hands of the tax officials at the moment should be reduced in order to lighten the burden of responsibility on the officials themselves and in order to safeguard assesseees from the possibility of harassment. This will also remove the present great scope for corruption in the tax-gathering administrative machinery.

Besides these reforms in the realm of taxation Government must revise its economic policies and introduce various changes in order to regain the confidence of the investors and the public. If all this is done the economy will be revitalised. The country will once again begin to make rapid progress towards the goal of economic development at a rate which will probably even pleasantly surprise the Government. We will have less unemployment in the country, higher incomes, better standards of living, greater happiness in our daily existence and the distinct possibility of seeing our country become one of the richest and most industrialised nations of the world within a few years.

A MAN TO REMEMBER

By MONICA FELTON

I paid my last visit to A. V. Raman on Republic Day last year.

When I first came to Madras I was taken to see him because I was told that there was nobody who could, if he would, tell me so many of the things which I wanted to learn about Rajaji. He did help me a great deal. But by the time the formality of early acquaintanceship had been rubbed off, I found myself visiting him for his own sake.

Although he was an invalid, no man could have been more intensely alive. This intensity shone in his eyes. They were deep-set with pain, but wide in the way that the eyes of young people are, clear and searching. I did not realise at the time how much of what I was beginning to learn about India I saw through his eyes. His vision was not only intense. His descriptions had the sharp accuracy of an engineer's blueprint.

I first realised the qualities of this unusual man when he talked about London. Every day for years I had walked out of the back entrance of the block of flats where I lived into the canyon of Victoria Street. But when Mr. Raman described his first visit to the Institute of Structural Engineers, I saw the tall, dark buildings more vividly than I had ever seen them on the countless occasions when I had stood waiting at the bus stop. He had loved England very much, and more than once he told me that if his health had allowed him to make the journey he would have liked to buy a house in the English countryside and settle down there.

But this was not only because he loved England. It was partly because of his passionate indignation at the inefficiency, corruptions and injustices which he saw around him. He could not bear to see any job less well done than he himself would have done it, and his high standards showed themselves in his comments on everything he read and heard and saw,

from the greatest affairs of state to the most trivial details of ordinary life.

There was a small instance of this on my last visit which I remember because of the way in which it led on to one of his most vivid reminiscences. It was some weeks since I had visited him, and as he greeted me he surveyed me carefully and then said: "So you have taken to wearing Khaddar. That's good. Where did you buy it?"

I told him.

He said: "You had better wash it yourself. The dyes they use are not really fast, and if you trust those things to a servant the colour will soon go."

I said: "I washed them once, and the colour did run."

"You must use cold water. Put salt in it and dry the things in the shade. I found that out from experience long ago, when we first took to wearing Khaddar. Of course I had to wear Western style suits in those days because of my work, but I had them tailored from Khaddar silk. I had a lot of them: I can't even remember how many. Rajaji must have told Gandhiji about it, because once at one of the Congress sessions Gandhiji bought a length of Khaddar silk and gave it to Rajaji and said: 'Here! Take that back to your elegant friend!' At that time I had not even met

Gandhiji. Of course I was impatient to meet him — and of course not chiefly because of the suit, but because of all the serious problems that we were discussing in those days and which I wanted to hear him express an opinion on. The next time he came to Madras, Rajaji brought him to my house. The first thing that Gandhiji said when we were introduced was 'Raman, take me into your bedroom'. I could not imagine why he should ask such a thing, but of course I did as he asked. As soon as we were inside the bedroom he said: 'Now open that cupboard and let me see all those rows of elegant suits!'

Then, when the laughter had subsided, he went on to speculate about what Gandhiji would think and say and do if he were alive now. From time to time I interrupted, criticising and questioning, wondering at the range of his knowledge and filled, as I always was, with admiration for the crisp precision with which he expressed his opinions.

At last I got up to go.

"Thank you," he said, "for helping to relieve the tedium of my existence."

I knew that the indebtedness was all on my side, but I was so deeply touched by the phrase he had used that it was impossible to tell him so. I said only: "I will come again soon."

Four days later he had gone. But to those who had the good fortune to know him, for however short a time, no man could have left a more living memory.

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REPUBLIC DAY REFLECTIONS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi : One more Republic day has come and gone ; come heralded by the Presidential broadcast to the nation and gone after the now familiar celebrations all over the country. It is but natural that the day should have been 'observed' best at the Capital which can always be trusted to yield quite a respectable number of distinguished visitors from abroad. This time Delhi was particularly lucky in drawing scientists from all parts of the world. It was an additional attraction that the Duke of Edinburgh was there, with the halo around him that is more than ducal. The Mountbattens, it seems, have a claim on the affections of the people of India ; the Lord and Lady who were the last to animate the Viceregal scene are so dear ; not the least welcome is the Prince who has honoured us by his visit. As the Queen's husband, he holds a unique position in the Commonwealth of Nations by virtue of Royal ties, if not Royalty. Whatever other Republics are like, the sovereign Republic of India has still a sneaking fondness for those in whose veins runs blue blood. Prince Louis Mountbatten, otherwise known as the Duke of Edinburgh, is in the line of Prince Albert of old, to whom a veteran British journalist, Hannen Swaffer, once paid a fulsome tribute when he casually spoke of "Victoria the Good and Albert the Much Better". In our day Prince Louis Mountbatten is equally popular. Incidentally, it is a most interesting coincidence, that one of his sons, the ten-year old Prince Charles, was born on the same day as our Prime Minister—the fourteenth of November. All this is really an aside. To revert to the latest Republic day, the celebrations in Delhi provided a colourful spectacle to illustrious foreign observers, easily the most illustrious among them being the consort of Queen Elizabeth the Second.

Other places in India cannot in the nature of things claim Delhi's distinction or opportunities as the capital of the country or the emporium of the State. It should be misleading if the country as a whole is judged by the Capital alone. What is the measure or quality of mass enthusiasm in the country for the celebrations on the Republic day ? Do the people celebrate the day or do they just move about as mere spectators of the celebrations as organised by the State ? These are vital questions. For, if there is no effective identity between the State and the nation or the Government and the people, there is something missing somewhere. If we have less of conventional parades and salutes, with the 'authorities' so much in evidence and Ministers and heads of States fussing about, and more of 'melas' conducted by the masses in their own way with all the local variations, there will be far greater enthusiasm than is now in evidence. However spectacular a State-managed show is, the Republic day celebrations lose much of their colour and more of their significance unless the people are made to feel that it is they who are celebrating the day in a mood of gay abandon. As it is, they are only on-lookers of what is some kind of official 'tamasha'. And nothing emphasises the Republic day routine more than the announcement of the President's awards which are so much like the old Honours lists. There is inadequate recognition in the country of the ugly fact that anything smacking of official patronage does offend true Republican sentiment. The Government have their own views about these matters and are not too ready or willing (to use the President's phrase) to "ponder over the situation", except in the light of their own understanding, assessment, and inferences. Appeals for austerity and sacrifice are not new but those who make

them, doubtless in good faith, should be conscious of the realities of the situation. Formerly they were made in a clime of confidence ; the people believed the leaders ; today they do not. It is not wholly their fault if they do not feel convinced that their leaders are not themselves imbued with the true spirit of service that once animated their very being and governed their purpose in life. Those who desire to spread light, must be known to have themselves seen it.

Another day which has come and gone, not less significant though less noticed, is the day of the anniversary of Gandhiji's death and martyrdom. And there is no day in the calendar other than the thirtieth of January which is better suited to make us reflective, and the Congressmen introspective. Conventional, sentimental tributes have lost their meaning in the present temper of the country. There is no dispute, there has never been any, about the lasting value of Gandhiji's teachings. But to what extent are we, as a people, affected or influenced by his moral genius and idealism : of all the sad spectacles in the world, none is sadder than that of the Congress which has perilously cut itself off the Gandhian moorings. And nothing would be more woeful than to judge the Master by those who profess to be his men. By their behaviour, Congressmen have, it seems, deposed Gandhiji and deserted Gandhism in its essence. And it is time they were told this. The great Gladstone described Communism as the negation of God erected into a system of Government. Congressmen of today are guilty of erecting the negation of Gandhi into a political system. This is what Rajaji has been harping upon. But one Rajaji here and another Vinobaji there cannot possibly make up for the limitations and lapses and loss of values on the part of those who confront us with Gandhiji's name on their lips.

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Sotto Voce

A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL
COMMENTARY

By

VIGHNESWARA

(N. Raghunathan)

Under the pen-name Vighneswara, Mr. N. Raghunatha Iyer (Chief Asst. Editor, *The Hindu*, Retd.) has for the past thirteen years been contributing a widely popular weekly causerie headed "Sotto Voce" first to *Swatantra* and then to *Swarajya*. At the insistent request of readers it is proposed to collect these articles in a series of self-contained volumes because of their permanent interest. The first, entitled "*The Coming of Freedom*," contains the articles written from February 1946 to February 1949, with an introduction in which the record of the Governments in India since Independence is critically examined from the stand-point of the social, cultural and political values that are part of our living Indian tradition. Brief topical and literary notes are appended at the end, as well as a glossary and a useful subject Index.

Of the author whom she met while she was in India, Vera Brittain, the British novelist, wrote in her book "Search After Sunrise" that she had found in him a man with one of the best brains in the country. In the Survey of "Contemporary Indian Literature" published by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, "Sotto Voce" is spoken of as among the best of its kind.

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CINEMA

CHILDREN'S FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: The Children's Film Society has released its third picture in Delhi — actually it is its fourth. For the first picture 'Char Dost' was never released for reasons not yet publicised. The first picture 'Jaldeep' had a fair amount of success; it won an international prize and was appreciated by children. The second picture was 'Scout Camp' which fared poorly. In Bombay, it was not half as popular as 'Jaldeep'. And now last week, the Children Film Society's new offering 'Haria' was released in Delhi. The comments on this film are not very enthusiastic.

As against this, the 'commercial' film industry has succeeded in making better films for children as is obvious from the fact that the Prime Minister's gold medal for a children's film was awarded to 'Ham Panchi Ek Dal Ke' and not to any picture produced by

the Children's Film Society. During 1958 also we had two or three pictures of special interest to children produced by commercial producers. One of them was Kardar's 'Do Phool'. But for the one lapse of treating the children's love in the Laila-Majnu style in some portions 'Do Phool' was a beautiful picture which with trimming can provide an ideal fare for children. Based on a children's classic 'Heidi', the picture was beautifully acted, photographed and naturally it won plaudits from the age group of 12 to 16 in Bombay. The other picture that appealed to children even more was Prabhat's 'Gajgouri'. Though no concentrated effort was made to bring school children to see the film, in Bombay and Poona, it proved immensely popular among children for whom Bhim is naturally an ideal hero. And since children all over the world love Tarzan and follow his adventures, it was but natural that children should have appreciated 'Zimbo', the Indian version of 'Tarzan', so much.

'Zimbo', 'Gajgouri', 'Do Phool' — all produced in 1958 — had greater appeal for children than all the pictures produced by the Children's Film Society. And yet while the Central Government is financing the Society and

the State Governments are giving special concessions — like exemption from tax — for screening of these films, the above mentioned films had no such privilege, though they offered clean, healthy and instructive entertainment. Indeed, unlike the Films Division, the Children's Film Society has so far failed in its task and by its poor, amateurish products only proved that the commercial producers are better equipped to make films for Children's Film Society. But for that remarkable short 'Ganka Ki Lahren', made by Kidar Sharma, the Children's Film Society's contribution has singularly failed in promoting art or in proving attractive to children who still prefer the much maligned commercial films.

Would it not be better, in the circumstances, to entrust the task of producing children's films to professional producers? The Children's Film Society as constituted now is not in a position to compete with the professionals and the sooner it realized this fact and stopped producing pictures the better for the children's film movement.

The news that Mohan Segal has cast Sayeeda Khan, a newcomer from Calcutta, for the feminine lead opposite Kishore Kumar in his latest picture 'Apna Haath Jagannath' has been received with delight by the film world.

Tall, slim, pretty, sixteen year old, Deolali-educated Sayeeda Khan faced the camera for the first time on 9th January. Since then she has completed one set and Mohan Segal was rather confident about her — and believed that she may turn out to be the discovery of 1959.

Discovered by Mrs. H. S. Rawail at Calcutta last year, she was signed by Rawail without even a formal screen test. But as he was busy completing 'Shararat', which at last has been passed by the censors, he could not avail of her and readily loaned her services to Mohan Segal who has been in search of a star for the last six months.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"QUEER FURORE"?

Sir,—Mr. Pothan Joseph thinks that the short-notice question in the last session of the Rajya Sabha, for which Pandit Kunzru and I were jointly responsible (Mr. Bhupesh Gupta presumably associated himself with it at a later stage) about the Home Minister's eulogy of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari at a public function in Madras was "queer furore". He overlooks the circumstances under which the statement was made and its implications. The Bose Commission's report has not yet been published. Messrs. H. M. Patel and B. G. Kamat, two senior officials of the Government of India, are on their defence, to show cause why disciplinary action should not be taken against them. These notices were drafted and sent to them by the Home Ministry. Their replies have yet to be considered by the Union Public Services Commission. The Commission's verdict, based on the findings of the Bose Commission and these replies will then be considered by the Home Ministry in the first instance and later by the Government of India as a whole. Is it really "queer furore" to point out that the Home Minister's statement, at this stage, completely absolving Mr. Krishnamachari from all blame for the transactions now under scrutiny, amounts to a pre-judgment of the case against these two officials? He occupies in his official capacity a key position in this episode, and his view must carry enormous weight. Let Mr. Joseph do a little reflection.

New Delhi. B. SHIVA RAO.

REPLY TO RAJAJI

Sir,—Rajaji is now "in quest of an Opposition."

In an age when values are fast changing and national and geographical boundaries are increasingly losing their pristine meaning, and concepts of social justice are the order of the day, Rajaji wants to keep the pot boiling for what he calls "Conservatism." He wants to cook a "Conservative party" a la Great Bri-

tain! This will be an effective Opposition to "the ruling party in India (which) is itself tired of near totalitarianism."

Rajaji would fain equate the Communist party of India with the Labour party in Britain. He says:

"..... the fact is that the Congress has immobilised the Communist party even as the Conservative party has immobilised the Labour party in Britain, by taking up all the Socialism of the latter."

The entire programme, policy and activities of the Communist party of India are, in the language of Rajaji, "dislike of one another." It is amazing that wise men are sometimes so ill-informed.

Rajaji may not be unaware of what has happened in Pakistan. I hope and trust that it is not his intention to give a green signal for reaction at home.

There can be no gainsaying the fact that industrialisation of the country cannot go forward unless existing land relations are changed in favour of the actual tiller of the soil. Rajaji of course stands for the "status quo."

The sands of time are running out. In this age of tremendous speed it would be a calamity if our country lags behind.

May I request Rajaji to ponder over?

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15 Naye Paise

MEMORIAL TO KAMBAN

Tamil Nad's greatest poet is at last to have a memorial at his birth-place. It is as well that the impulse for this move comes from a devoted couple who shun publicity and who, in a strange way, seem to be the instruments of Providence in the fulfilment of a noble cause. Those who may have visited Therezhendur and seen the inconspicuous notice board at Kamban Veedu—the site which is believed to be the birth-place of the poet—will have felt a pang at the way in which the memory of a great poet is sought to be perpetuated. An English poet musing in a country churchyard lamented the lack of suitable memoriais to the undiscovered gentuses, "the mute inglorious Miltons" of an obscure village. But what shall we say of the lack of a memorial to the poet who gave us the greatest Tamil epic and who touched the heights of Tamil poetry eight centuries ago. Kamban, however, has survived in the hearts of generations of Tamil scholars to whom his vibrant verse has been a ceaseless source of inspiration and meaning. It is a standing testimony to the wide popularity of Kamban throughout the length and breadth of Tamil Nad that his Ramayana has come down to us in numerous manuscripts written down by pious scribes who looked upon the task as a sacred duty. The variety of these manuscripts, however, has itself created a formidable problem in the study of Kamban. Ever

since scholars like U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar took up the work of editing and publishing Kamban's Ramayana, they have come up against problems similar to those that Shakespearean scholars have faced in the publication of the bard's plays. And Shakespeare is much more recent than Kamban. A correct edition of Kamban's Ramayana, after a close and thorough study of all the available manuscripts, is the first desideratum. A great step towards this has already been taken by the band of scholars who have assisted Mr. S. Rajam in bringing out a new edition of the Ramayana in a form that should make the text of the great classic accessible to everyone in the Tamil country. But this is only the beginning. There will be undoubtedly differences over the readings adopted, the omissions made in the new edition and, above all, there is an endless field for the study and interpretation of Kamban's work. The most important immediate task is to ferret out all available manuscripts that may be still lying with private persons or little known institutions in various parts of the country and either to acquire them for the proposed institution at Therezhendur or at least secure microfilm copies of them for the benefit of future study and research. The proposed memorial at Therezhendur, for which a suitable plot of land has been generously donated by Mr. Rajam's worthy spouse, should be

primarily a centre for the promotion of Kamban studies. It should be a living fountain of inspiration to every one who worships at the shrine of the Tamil muse. As Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar pointed out at the Madras meeting at which the Kamban memorial movement was formally launched, here are many things which the memorial at Therezhendur can be made to serve. Besides being a centre for information about Kamban and his work and the works about him, it could serve as a forum for annual gatherings of Kamban's scholars, for the staging of plays by writers who have derived their inspiration and their themes from Kamban and for initiating efforts to make Kamban and his poetry known to people in other parts of India and to the outside world. In a unique way Kamban represents the genius of the Tamil country and the spiritual essence of India. The Ramayana in all its forms, from Valmiki's eternal verse to the great renderings in the many regional languages of India, is perhaps the single biggest unifying cultural force which the Indian people have been privileged to have through the troubled centuries of their annals. A memorial to Kamban is in a very real sense a memorial to the authentic genius of India. It is a cause to which not only the Tamils but every one in this country who believes in its immortal heritage of a life rooted in dharma, should contribute.

"More and More Pay for Less and Less Work"

A Central Government Employee writes:

The letter of the "conscience-stricken" employee of the L.I.C. published in the SWARAJYA dated January 3 and the rejoinder to it of the Joint Secretary of the L.I.C. Employees Association appearing in SWARAJYA dated January 24 provide interesting reading. I fully agree with the observation of the 'conscience-stricken' friend about the tendency of the present-day employees to demand "more and more for less and less".

In post-Independence India everyone talks of his rights and privileges without stopping to think that privilege entails responsibility. The motto of the majority of the assistants in government offices is just "keep the ball moving" and no one cares for good drafting and noting. Slipshod and perfunctory disposals have become the order of the day and man-hours wasted in smoking, chit-chatting and loitering cannot be easily assessed. Even a few who are interested in giving their best are ridiculed and in due course their interest also slackens. The employees are mostly men with university degrees who have taken a high first or second class and yet the efficiency of the administrative system is fast sinking.

It is high time that leaders of trade unions and employees' Associations think over these matters in a dispassionate manner and arrive at healthy conclusions. No doubt the cost of living has gone very high and is steadily increasing further. Yet one has to acknowledge that the salaries of Central Government servants at least are not as low as stated by these who agitate for more and more.

The calamity of the middle classes is brought about partly by the high cost of living and partly by the glorification of crass materialism. The tendency to spend above one's means on dress, cos-

metics and recreational activities, and to have very big families, is on the increase in the middle classes. Unless middle class families learn to develop a sense of

THE GROCER

(Fable by RAJAJI, translated by MRS. A. V. RAMAN)



Arunachalam Chetti was known to be an honest trader; he would purchase ghee of high quality from the villages and sell it in town for a fair price. His trade fetched him a good income and he acquired a fortune steadily.

As his prosperity grew, so did his greed and avarice. He began to adulterate the ghee with ground-nut oil. His profits mounted.

When his customers asked him why the quality of ghee was deteriorating, he blamed the village dairies. "They don't feed the cows well now-a-days. The milk itself is bad," he would say.

Other grocers in the town began to compete with Arunachalam Chetti and generously mixed oil with the ghee that they sold.

A wandering ascetic from the South who came to the town to preach, deplored the wickedness of the place.

Arunachalam Chetti denied the existence of God. If God did exist, one who sold adulterated ghee would have been punished. This argument strengthened Arunachalam Chetti's disbelief. He became a confirmed atheist, and also preached atheism to others.

The hermit attempted to convert Arunachalam. He gave him Tamil books to read. He asked him to look above and around him to appreciate the existence of God.

Arunachalam Chetti read the books. But wisdom does not dawn on reading books alone. When the love of money works

inside, reading literature about God will not help. Arunachalam's atheism stood unshaken.

One day, Arunachalam's house was burgled. The thieves took away all his money. Arunachalam did not trust anyone and therefore did not put his money in a bank. He thought others would be as unscrupulous as he himself, and kept all his cash at home. The thieves made a clean job of it and Arunachalam had not a pie left of his fortune.

He wailed with grief and attempted to begin business all over again. But nobody would trust him and come forward to advance capital for the business. He had to give up the idea of an independent business and took to service under another person, as a clerk. With this, he began to develop faith in God. He re-read the books given by the ascetic. He was able to see the truth in them. He also preached it to others. He forgot all about the money he had lost. He would go to the temple every day and offer his prayers to the Lord.

His master would sometimes ask him for spiritual advice. He was loved by all. He came to be known as the 'Grocer Sage'.

Some people would ask him, "Why did not God save you when thieves burgled your house?" He would calmly reply: "The burglars came to correct me. Who can understand the ways of God? The thieves did not take away my wealth. They took away my Ignorance".

discipline in all spheres of their activities, they will be running themselves, which in turn will check the growth of the nation to a very great extent.



Sotto Voce

Monopoly and "Influence"

An official hand-out on the report of the Committee appointed by the Kerala Government to investigate charges of indoctrination against the text-books published by it last year has appeared in the press. I can't see why the entire report should not have been made available. One of the three members of the Committee, evidently dissatisfied with the potted version, has come out with a statement which seeks to dot the i's and dash the t's. But one reader at least has not found it enlightening; it is too statesman-like and genteel.

The Committee finds that haste in the preparation of syllabi, "resulting in certain discrepancies and defects", rather than any concerted attempt to import anti-religious bias or to commend the Communist ideology, is what may be fairly charged against some of the text-books. It has laid down certain essential criteria for the writing and selection of school text-books. But the official summary of the report fails to mention one—(perhaps it omitted it as not being among "the more important")—to which Mr. Kuruvilla Jacob attaches utmost importance. It is "that there should be nothing in the book which has a tendency to offend the religious, social or political sentiments of any section of the people".

The Government hand-out casually admits that in Malayalam text-books "a few passages, which tend to offend the religious sentiments of certain sections of the people" had crept in. This it ascribes to the absence of adequate machinery "for production and approval of text-books". This defect allowed "opinions and prejudices of individual writers to find expression". So

far as the charge of indoctrination in Communist ideology is concerned, the official summary by itself would give the impression that the Committee gave a clean bill.

Mr. Kuruvilla Jacob is more explicit. "Some of the passages tend to offend social, religious and political sentiments. Certain lessons.....tend to create impressions in the pupil favourable to Communist ideas". That "the schools had no choice in the matter of selection of text-books" is a fact to which Mr. Kuruvilla Jacob refers as if it were an ancillary evil. Actually it is the worst result of the "nationalisation" of text-books. Mr. Jacob seems to think that if there had been a scrutiny committee and proper criteria for approval of text-books had been laid down, the spasmodic propagandising found in some of the books might have been prevented. But the adoption of such safeguards is ineffective in the face of the pervasive influence of partisan rule, whether it be that of the Communists or of the Congress, as we shall see presently.

Both the Government of Kerala and the Committee seem, however, more concerned over the charge that "the achievements of India have been belittled" in these text-books, especially in those on social studies. The official summary cursorily refers to the Committee's finding that there is something in this charge. But it hastens to quote the Committee's testimonial that the fact that the Central Government's book "We plan for prosperity" has been prescribed for non-detailed study is proof of the Kerala Government's bona fides. Mr. Jacob, while endorsing this certificate, is however con-

strained to observe that chapters 13-15 of book VI "do not give a fair and correct picture of the achievements of India after the attainment of Independence. This is a serious error which does give the impression of belittling the achievements of India in comparison with China".

Why all this pother about "belittling" or "magnifying" India's achievement in the context of a discussion of the suitability of text-books to which both these activities are equally irrelevant? My first induction into civics (as it was called in those days) was through Lee-Warner's "Citizen of India", not a bad book as text-books go. But it rested on the comfortable assumption that British rule was there by divine dispensation. It reinforced more discreetly the crude propaganda which we were made to mug up in the lower classes under the glamorous heading "Benefits of British Rule". But the successors of those who denounced that as imperialism seem to have no qualms now about ramming home the "Benefits of Congress Rule".

Turning over a Tamil book on 'Social Studies' approved for the upper forms in Madras schools I found the writer faithfully taking his cue from the syllabus. He brightly and briefly began by saying, "Co-operation and State Socialism are the two prominent remedies available for removing the many ills labour is suffering from". Our agrarian reforms, he was convinced, were calculated to curb the rapacity of landowners. He gravely discussed the pros and cons of nationalisation. But no suspicion seemed to cross his mind that the citizen's freedom might under Leviathan be gravely in jeopardy. In another approved text-book, one "on morals" used in a Convent school in a Congress-ruled State, I found the little mites religiously mugging up the self-evident truth proclaimed there that "idol-worship is immoral". The pot is certainly not in a position to call the kettle black.

VIGNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS ::

The so-called unanimous election of Srimathi Indira Gandhi as Congress President is an index of the isolation the Prime Minister has forged on himself by his masterful way and intolerance of criticism. When Sri Dhebar was selected for the Presidency, the choice was exclusively Pandit Nehru's. It was a great personal triumph for the P.M. to have pitched upon a nominee which no second man in the whole country had considered, and got him elected as President of the most important political organisation in the country. But the Prime Minister's personal triumph ruined the prestige of the Congress. Its titular leadership acquired a dummy status.

It is now realised by Congressmen that no Congress President can last for a day unless he is approved of by the Prime Minister. They have shrewdly calculated that his approval would be

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forthcoming in desirable abundance if a member of his own family standing high in his affection were to be chosen. Responding without resistance to the basic reality of the Prime Minister's strangle-hold on the Congress, they have passed on themselves a self-denying ordinance inhibiting freedom of criticism and honesty of judgment. Flattery and the profits of flattery have replaced traditional conceptions of political duty and the discomforts of performing it in difficult circumstances.

One cannot help deeply sympathising with the Prime Minister's plight caused by this brain-strike and duty-strike on the part of the members of the ruling party at all levels of power and responsibility. For he is now revealed in a light which no leader of the nation before him, or any democratic leader anywhere in the world, could have found enduring, let alone gratifying. Neither Mahatma Gandhi, nor any of the great nation-builders of India in the past, angled for lineal successors within their own households for the great positions they had built up for themselves with their individual characters. It is unthinkable that President Eisenhower should aspire to have his son blossoming straightaway from the family shelter into the leadership of the Republican party. It is the primary condition of democratic government that political power and position do not pass from father to son in automatic hereditary succession as they do in despotic regimes.

In the Indian tradition of leadership, what is called 'sacrifice' is an important and vital factor. The essence of sacrifice is the subordination of one's own individual and domestic interests to the public cause. The late T. Prakasam was a classic example of such sacrifice before he became Chief Minister of Andhra Pra-

desh. He literally beggared himself in service of the movements that commanded his interest, and rose to the position of a hero in public estimation. He achieved power and influence by giving to the community the benefit of effort and acquisition normally reserved in the world for one's own family. But when State power fell into his hands, he reversed the gear of the process by which he attained his position, with the result that there was a rapid diminution in his prestige and popularity. Some such crisis seems to have overtaken the Prime Minister now.

There is none to call him back to restraint and wisdom when he lapses into error and excess. Just now I read in a Delhi weekly (*The Organiser*) that a Union Minister has secured from the Government of his home State Rs. 97,000 for a plot of land he had bought for Rs. 7,000 only! This is no exceptional incident illustrating the aberration of an abnormally greedy individual. It is typical of the manner in which Congress power is being enjoyed and exercised now-a-days. The prevailing trend is the exploitation of office and political power for individual and family benefit and to the advantage of related coteries of dependents. So many basking in the sunshine of Olympus have so many private aspirations that very few are found disinterested enough to risk dilution of influence by telling the truth. That is why, though collective farms cannot and will not work in a free society; though it will only exalt greed into a legitimate title for ownership to take land from the man who has paid for it and give it to others who covet it, and this will only disrupt the economy with uncontrollable insecurity; and though it is cruel to impose on Mrs. Gandhi the burden of the Congress Presidency fit only for the tried shoulders of the nation's biggest stalwarts, all these things are being done, or permitted to be done, to please the Prime Minister.

SAKA

DEPENDENCE UNDER INDEPENDENCE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

I am not sure that this will reach the intelligentsia of Pakistan. But I am writing this for them also.

When India including the Pakistan area was about to get freedom and the only impediment that British Conservatives found in their favour to put off the Indian demand was the fear and the opposition of the Muslim League to be placed under Indian majority rule, India through Gandhiji offered all the autonomy now enjoyed by the people of Pakistan. Yet it did not satisfy the Qaid-e-Azam and the League. What is the situation now and what would have been the condition of affairs if Gandhiji's offer to the Qaid-e-Azam had been accepted by him and the League? We would have had an army and other defence forces under a joint command and a common defence policy against outsiders. We would have had no mutual fear of military aggression. We would have had autonomy for the Muslim area as well as for the Indian. We would have saved literally millions of rupees for fruitful, sensible expenditure on the people and raised their condition from poverty to full employment and happiness and hope, without having to borrow, beg or steal or what is worse than all these, to tax the people so heavily—all for practically nothing but increased administrative and defence expenditure.

We would have had no Kashmir problem, for in the absence of military insecurity and fear of mutual aggression this problem would not arise, and Kashmir would have been like Travancore or Hyderabad. Today what is the real state of Pakistan but transfer of dependency from under Britain to America? The dependence is worse for its not depending on a constitution but on the undefined executive policies of the nursing Government abroad.

And as a result India too is

forced to a similar condition, for action always produces an equal reaction. India too has to be on an uninterrupted mission for foreign aid. It makes little real difference if we first overspend on defence and then depend on American or other foreign assistance for welfare work, or whether we do it the other way about, directly borrow for defence expenditure, saving our resources for welfare expenditure.

And what a curious game it is, for America to lend or give to each country in the name of making an anti-communist bastion but really the defence expenditure in each country is for defence of offence against the other country as between India and Pakistan—a fact known to, but winked at, by the foreign aid-giving Government. It is folly from our point of view, that of India and Pakistan. It is no less an amusing and foolish game for those who aid us, either by gift or sale, or hire-purchase of the naval and military arms and other military equipment that they do not need for themselves, now that they depend entirely on nuclear deterrence for their own security.

I have said enough to start people thinking on both sides of the

border, between the two divided members of the Indian continent. It is a tragedy how what could have been such a great and prosperous and happy nation now stands divided and reduced to so painful a dependence after independence.

The superficial inquirer may ask the question: Why then did you agree to partition as finally framed? The answer is, because half a loaf is better than no bread. The bread of freedom would not have been obtained if the League and the Congress continued in disagreement. Freedom was not to be obtained by either but only by both. That was the riddle which the British statesmen and Mr. Jinnah produced between them for us to solve. The nearest to agreement was partition and in that sense freedom was obtained by both, not together but separately. If we had not agreed to divide and that way solve the riddle, we would have continued today where we stood: not only we, but Burma and Ceylon too; and the life the colonial empire of Britain would have been prolonged.

Two different and independent nations can unite in amity and trust and achieve self-dependence. There is nothing in the world that we cannot correct, although we may not restore the status quo—if only we have the will and the courage and God in His mercy help us.—*Hindustan Times*

MIKOYAN'S INVASION OF PEACE

There are Americans who are positively afraid that the tension may melt! The fear of Communist Russia which has become chronic creates a peculiar sense of security that finds its balance only in fear. The victim is afraid that danger may overtake him if he casts off his fear! Fear which is the same thing as distrust is equated to vigilance and is believed to be the guarantee for safety. This is pathological but it seems to be the present phase in America after Mikoyan's visit.

"This is a dangerous man, he

actually inspires confidence in our people!" This seems to be what the established political leaders of America feel. Finding that a wave of goodwill threatens to sweep the country and undermine the official fear, the leaders are trying every art to frighten the people with possibilities of subtle fraud. May be the world is unfortunate and they will succeed and the sunlight that brightened the scene for a time may darken again.

But what good can such 'success' produce, except a continua-

LEGISLATORS' EXODUS TO THE HILLS

By R. V. KRISHNA AIYAR

tion of the dismal atmosphere that has be-fouled the earth ever since Hiroshima and Nagasaki. To keep the tension at full stretch, to nurse the cold war by every means, this seems to be American policy, a policy that not only injures America, but is a canker to the whole world that wishes to live in peace.

There is on both sides a growing accumulation of the most dreadful weapons of destruction. We have a volcano built under us with a very thin crust to cover the fire that will not only kill but fill the earth with diseases and deformities unknown to mankind so far. We are sitting not on a cask of gunpowder but on something immeasurably more deadly which cannot for ever remain dormant. The accumulated danger is alive and itching to burst.

In addition we have, we are told, bacteriological terrors being organized. It is said that the revelation of the British Radar scientist is "a gross exaggeration." But whatever the actual measure of the preparation for bacteriological warfare may be, whether it is a quantitative exaggeration or true, the thing is there contrary to express convention, the outrageous meanness of preparing to kill people by planting disease. Truly, civilization has attained total godlessness. The 'civilized' world is threatening not only to annihilate itself but to suck into the nemesis the innocent world outside the limits of its diabolical technology.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

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Nothing illustrates more clearly the feelings of helplessness and despair that have gripped the minds of public men in the State of Madras than the indifference with which they have received the proposal of the Government to hold a session of the Madras Legislature at Ootacamund. Prior to 1920, that is, before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, Ootacamund was regarded as the summer capital of the territory then known as the Presidency of Madras, and the executive government were in the habit of going to Ootacamund annually with their whole secretariat, and staying there for half the year. At that time, the Legislative Council which was then in existence was regarded only as an expansion of the Governor's Executive Council for the purpose of making laws and the members of the Legislative Council were themselves called additional members of the Governor's Council. A session of the Legislative Council at the headquarters of the Government during the summer months seemed natural to the Government of those days. The number of members of the Legislative Council was then only fifty and most of them were Europeans.

There was in those days a continuous agitation on the part of the public to stop what used to be called the Government exodus to Ootacamund. Even in the year 1920, just before the introduction of the constitutional reforms above referred to, there was a resolution in the old Legislative Council for the discontinuance of the exodus, but the then Government succeeded in defeating it only by promising that a permanent decision on the question would be left to be taken by the new and enlarged Government and by the new and enlarged Council under the reforms. When the reforms came, almost the very first resolution which the new and enlarged Council discussed was that of Sri T. A. Ramalinga Chettiar "that

the annual exodus to the hills be discontinued from this year". This resolution was moved on 16th February 1921 and in connection with it, the Government made an announcement according to which there was to be no further session of the Legislative Council at Ootacamund. Mr. Charles Toddhunter made the following statement on behalf of the Government: "During the recess of the Council H. E. the Governor will take up his residence at Ootacamund and will summon members (of the Executive Council) and Ministers for Cabinet meetings and otherwise as he thinks fit. Under this arrangement a secretariat staff with a minimum of establishment will transact business at Ootacamund but the period of their residence on the hills will be limited to three months".

From that time till now, no session of the legislature has been held at Ootacamund.

Though no session of the legislature was held at Ootacamund after 1920, yet many select committees of the Legislative Council used to meet there during the summer months when the Council was supposed to be in recess. The select committees used to meet only for a few days now and then. Even these occasional and short meetings of select committees were regarded by the Legislative Council as a whole as detrimental to independent speech and action so much so that the Legislative Council took the step of amending its standing orders by inserting a new standing order to the effect that no select committee could sit outside the place fixed by the Governor for a session of the Legislative Council without the express leave of the House given on a motion made by a member of Government. Recently even this confidence placed in a majority of the legislators was withdrawn and only the Speaker has the power, presumably as the authority expected to have full regard to the wishes of the mino-

rities and even individual members, to decide finally whether a select committee should sit outside the place fixed by the Governor for a session of the legislature. It must be repeated that the place fixed by the Governor for a session of the legislature has from 1921 always been Madras.

Rajaji's Government of 1937 refused to allow even the Government as such to move to Ootacamund, and of course there was no question of arranging a sitting of the legislature or of any select committee at that place.

But several Ministers have made it a habit to go to Ootacamund and spend a few days there during the summer months. And when they did so, their non-official colleagues in the legislatures were naturally anxious to be extended the same amenity and to be allowed to participate in the pleasures of a trip to Ootacamund during the summer months.

On 30th January 1956 Sir P. T. Rajan moved in the Assembly that arrangements be made for holding the sittings of the Legislature in Ootacamund in April or May of 1956. In his speech, he pointed out that there were two arguments against the resolution: (i) that the proposal would involve extra cost to Government and (ii) that the Congress party (which was in power) had in the past itself opposed exodus to the hills. But the Congress party of 1956 was not the Congress party of previous years.

The counter argument was advanced that Ootacamund was the queen of the hill stations, that it was necessary to maintain its importance, that ordinary people should be encouraged to take advantage of this holiday resort which nature has bestowed on this State and that therefore a session of the Legislature should be held there. The extra cost involved was negligible as compared with the advantage of popularising the hill station.

As regards the extra cost, it must be remembered that it does not consist merely in the extra expenditure on the travelling expenses of members. The whole of the secretarial legislature with the

Chairman, the Speaker, the secretaries and their assistants together with an army of permanent and temporary reporters, clerks and last grade servants has to be taken there. All the Ministers and their personal staff have to go. A substantial portion of each department of the Secretariat will have to be present at Ootacamund. Most heads of departments also will have to be ready at hand for consultation. Arrangements will have to be made for the removal of necessary records and furniture from Madras to Ootacamund and back. Hundreds of letters and telegrams from the Government at Ootacamund to Madras offices and replies to them will become inevitable for the purpose of obtaining necessary information which every now and then during a legislative session the Government are usually called upon to give. At a time when economies in Government expenditure are seriously talked about, indulgence in this new wasteful expenditure would appear to be improper. Apart from the cost involved, the question of finding accommodation for holding the meetings of the Assembly and the Council, and for the residence of the members of the legislature

and of the officials, high and low, who have to go to Ootacamund will not be easy.

If a private person goes to Ootacamund he is responsible for finding his own accommodation and arranging for his own comforts. But if the Government hold a session of the legislature at Ootacamund, they in effect invite the legislators and others connected with it to that place and become morally liable to look after their accommodation and comforts. Why the Government should undertake this trouble it is difficult to guess. One sometimes hears the theory that better work could be turned out in a cool place like Ootacamund during the summer than at Madras. If it is meant that legislators can sit longer hours for work, it must be remembered that people generally go to Ooty not for doing increased work but for enjoying a holiday.

In connection with the resolution of Sir P. T. Rajan already referred to, Mr. C. Subramaniam admitted that Ootacamund was a holiday resort, but argued that "these holiday resorts should be made available not only to rich persons to whom alone they are restricted now but also to the middle class and poor class of

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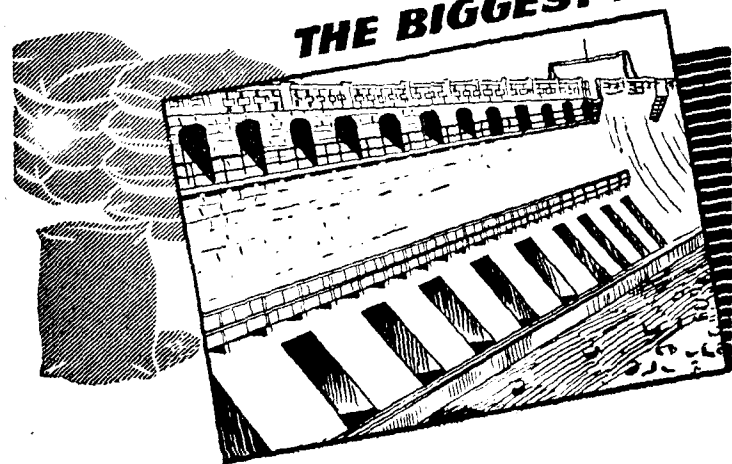
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RAJAHMUNDY.

our people". He did not choose to explain how a session of the legislature at Ootacamund promotes this object. Middle and poor classes of people cannot be identified with the members of the legislature. Such people can be encouraged to undertake trips to health resorts by travel concessions, hotel facilities, construction of cheap houses, grant of leave and special hill allowances to Government servants for stay in them and other similar services. On the other hand, a session of the legislature at Ooty would only result in scarcity of accommodation, the rise of prices, the crowding of trains, all of which will only deter the few members of the poorer and middle classes who may like to spend a few days at Ootacamund, from going there at all.

There is another very serious objection to the proposal. It creates in the mind of the common man a suspicion that the persons whom the people have sent to the legislature to represent them are out not to serve them or look after their interests but to obtain some concessions or pleasures or benefits for themselves at their cost. When our representatives in the legislatures demand higher salaries and allowances, free travel by aeroplane, payment of pension on retirement and other like benefits, people will naturally begin to feel that membership in the legislatures is not an opportunity for service but a pretext for personal profit. As long ago as 1950, Rajaji in a message to Congressmen warned them thus: "Every Congressman should ask himself 'shall I serve the Congress?' or 'am I making the Congress serve me'". In his article on 'Welfare through Compulsion' published in SWARAJYA dated January 24, 1959, he has regretted that the men engaged in Congress at all levels have become self-seekers and exploiters rather than servants of the Congress and that "they take out of it instead of giving to it". Unless the desire of gaining a personal benefit from places of public trust is completely exorcised from men's minds our progress in every direction will neither be swift nor real.

CECIL B. DeMILLE— MR. HOLLYWOOD

With the death on January 21 of Cecil B. DeMille, pioneer movie maker, Hollywood loses one of the most colourful and fabulous film personalities of all time. From his earliest venture to "The Ten Commandments"—the biggest motion picture on record—DeMille made film history. And even at 77, DeMille showed no signs of slackening the colossal showmanship which made him, despite the multitude of luminaries in the business, the personification of "Mr. Hollywood." "The Ten Commandments" was the 70th film made under Mr. DeMille's personal direction, in a forty-four year career stretching back to 1913's memorable "The Squaw Man" and paralleling closely the growth of Hollywood itself. In 1915 he made the spectacle "Carmen", starring the opera singer Geraldine Farrar. In 1918 he directed "Joan the Woman". It is still remembered for its panoramas of war scenes, the ritual-like dream effects, and a striking double exposure (Joan is in Charles VII's court pleading for soldiers to save France, while dim and shadowy figures of great knights in armour plunge over them all).

Included in the DeMille roster have been such epics as "The King of Kings"—made in 1927 and still being shown—"The Sign of the Cross", "Cleopatra", "The Crusades", and "The Greatest Show on Earth".

Critics may cavil about how much DeMille advanced cinema aesthetics. They may hoot at his flamboyance and such titillating devices as his recurrent bathtub scenes. But generally they concede that the DeMille productions have drawn an astronomically larger aggregate audience than the creations of any other individual in the industry. His showmanship down the years set the pattern for motion pictures at their most "colossal".

Cecil B. DeMille did not conform at all to the traditional, if mythical, stereotype of the cigar-

chewing, loudly caparisoned Hollywood producer. He was a cultivated and ultra-conservative combination of dramatic impresario and businessman.

Combining the usually separate functions of producer and director, DeMille used to work 12 to 14 hours a day, sleep five to eight hours a night, and field-marshal a corps of subordinates which, on his last production, numbered as many as 15,000 people at a time.

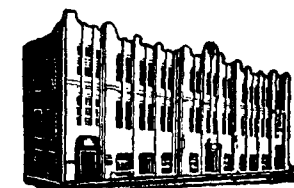
He earned a reputation as a demanding taskmaster. He was short with people who fell down on assignments or offered alibis; often he exasperated acting companies with long hours, belated lunch periods, and insistence that things be done over and over to his precise satisfaction. He recently told a grumbling group of extras: "I don't mind if you don't like me as long as you like yourself when you see yourself on the screen."

But he was seldom accused of being capricious or illogical. He had a loyal cadre of assistants, headed by Henry Wilcoxon, his associate producer, whose terms of service range up to the 40-year record of Anne Bauchens, his film editor, who is in her seventies.

On the set, DeMille wore the riding breeches and high boots that became a personal trademark, and was followed religiously by a "chair boy" with a stool ready to put under him wherever he elected to sit down. But idiosyncrasies, he explained, are utilitarian. The boots gave his legs support, so he could stay on his feet far longer than he could in ordinary shoes. The stool saved energy and, flopped over with a padded side upward, served as a kneeling-point during his incessant study of camera angles through a view-finder.

"The Ten Commandments," the story of Moses' life and the exodus from Egypt, was in preparation for more than three years. Historical research alone involved material from some 1,800

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reference books and many documents on several continents. There were two months of location work in Egypt and the Holy Land, involving herds of extras, menageries of camels and other animals preceded by a year of building in Egypt sets towering more than 100 feet high, as well as a domestic shooting schedule of more than 100 days, double Hollywood's par for even a big production.

Although famous as the exponent of the lavish, and as a builder of Hollywood stars, DeMille discounted both elements as reasons for the world-wide audiences his films attract.

"No spectacle can make a film successful," he used to insist. "No amount of casting nor all the direction in the world. Only one thing—the story."

DeMille had rarely seen a camera when, at a memorable

luncheon in New York in 1912, he formed a partnership with Jesse Lasky and Samuel Goldwyn to make movies. But he had an exceptional dramatic background, inherited and acquired.

His father, Henry C. DeMille, had been a collaborator with David Belasco, the Broadway producer. His mother ran a leading Broadway play agency. Cecil attended the American Academy of Dramatic Arts in New York. For ten years he toured the country as an actor and wrote plays. Ultimately he formed his own company.

In 1912, with film rights to "The Squaw Man" and a troupe headed by Dustin Farnum, DeMille entrained for Los Angeles, where a half-dozen other cinema pioneers were grinding cameras in the sunshine. "The Squaw Man" was shot in a rented stable.

A decade later, after the original triumvirate had gone their separate ways, DeMille was fired from Paramount for having the temerity to make Hollywood's first million-dollar picture. It was "The Ten Commandments", a modern story, however, with a Biblical prologue (which included a spectacular parting of the Red Sea that was repeated in the new film).

The million-dollar investment returned manifold, and Paramount quickly repented its precipitateness. But DeMille had set up his own studio operation. He spent eight years on this basis and as a producer at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer before finally moving his base back to Paramount.

Two of DeMille's early contributions to film-making were the introduction of realistically substantial sets instead of sleazy, painted canvas scenery, and the use of shadowed, "Rembrandt" lighting of individual players and sittings in place of the flat, overall scene lighting that had prevailed.

One of DeMille's mere exceptional repudiations of old age was a disinclination to pontificate about his field. While others bemoaned the state of the medium vis-a-vis television and other competition, he was content to concentrate on making movies. He rejected the role of soothsayer with the whimsical observation: "I believe I was one of those who said the horseless carriage wouldn't last."

"Good motion pictures are good entertainment and always will be," he said. "The methods of distribution may change, but drama doesn't." He suggested 10 years ago that television might become a means of bringing films to theatres—a system engineers are pondering seriously today.

"But you are not going to wipe out the theatres with home television or anything else," DeMille said. "The Ten Commandments on a forty-six foot screen is quite a different thing from 'The Ten Commandments' on a forty-six-inch screen."

REVIEW OF VIGNESWARA'S SOTTO VOCE

By SIR M. VENKATA SUBBA RAU

The object of the book under review is twofold: Firstly, to deal with things ephemeral; secondly, with things of permanent, nay perennial, value. The two are so interlaced that one cannot separate them.

I shall first touch upon the former. Vigneswara, first and foremost, has no love for the "high priests of science", is out of patience with men in power who, if not corrupt, connive at, or defend corruption, which is corroding our very vitals. We read pretty often of Ministers who, when any subordinate official is charged with being corrupt, come valiantly to his rescue. This augurs ill for the State. Vigneswara would not brook vice in any form; nepotism, hankering after power or pelf, so much in vogue, "the bane of easy tolerance", "the tyranny of fashion" which threatens to assume monstrous proportions, "or evasion of moral responsibility" — these he looks upon with utter disfavour. Take for instance what he says on "Legal Murder":

Children of enlightenment as we like to call ourselves, we have to our own satisfaction abolished the ideas of sin and Divine punishment.

Capital punishment is a relic of barbarism and a confession of failure...and it is unforgivable presumption for puny man who cannot create even the single-celled amoeba to claim the right to take away the life of his fellow...No Government that retains this abomination has a right to call itself civilised.

The moving words of John Bunyan, to which Vigneswara alludes, linger in my memory. When John Bunyan saw a murderer being led away he exclaimed: "But for the grace of God there goes John Bunyan." Sensitive judges when awarding capital punishment feel the same way.

In a book bearing, strangely enough, the title, "The Court Of Final Appeal", a purely volun-

tary body of laymen and lawyers have collected instances of persons who, on close investigation, were found not guilty after they had been sentenced to capital punishment now and again on their own admission. The authorities, after much persuasion, reprieved and released these so-called murderers. This should serve as an eye-opener to hanging fanatics and inexorable governments; at any rate, our Government which reveres the memory of Gautama Buddha and Gandhiji ought to act by this tried principle.

Here, you find in juxtaposition two concepts, one material, the other transcendent. I have a personal reason for quoting this; Vigneswara's view happily coincides with mine (which does not always happen), a view which I have stressed repeatedly, during my long tenure on the Bench. His well-reasoned essay cannot be improved upon and clinches the matter.

One more instance. Commenting in "Gadarene Glissade"—an example, by the way, of his flair for a telling phrase—the writer treating of the Hindu Code, says:

The Rau Committee when it pompously declared that "the eyes of the world are upon India now," has not even Napoleon's excuse for its magniloquence. It is an exhortation to Philip sober to walk in the jazzy footsteps of Philip drunk... They are orthodox but with the orthodoxy of topsyturvydom... Here is wisdom with a vengeance.

These instances suffice to show that Vigneswara, if so minded, can dip his pen in vitriol. As regards the Hindu Code, I dissent, and radically, from his view. I held repeatedly that a judge is bound to take note of changed conditions and adapt and adjust the law accordingly. In an article entitled "Judicial Valour," which I wrote for the *Madras Law Journal*, I dealt with this exhaustively, citing several instances and referring to British and American

judges of great eminence, in support.

In a word, Vigneswara is a born conservative, an apotheosis of orthodoxy, rooted in our ancient past; I am, on the contrary, just the opposite. I mention this, to make clear that in reviewing Vigneswara's work, every page of which scintillates, when I differ from him, I do so with some hesitation, conscious as I am that he is well-read, that he is as *au fait* with our philosophy and metaphysics as with, say Kant, Schopenhauer or Master Eckhart.

There is however much common ground between us. With him I am proud of our ancient past, our magnificent religious and spiritual heritage, our *dharma*, the Upanishads, and the immortal Bhagavad Gita. I revere, like him, our moral and spiritual values, hallowed by tradition and sacred legend, and bow to the ancients' wisdom in all humility.

Vigneswara treats all alike, has the courage of his conviction, he spares none — Gandhi, Rajagopalachari and Radhakrishnan. Of the Mahatma, Vigneswara says: "And I have heard it whispered that the *charkha* has been routed not by Asoka's wheel but by the Vishnu Chakra and that Mahatma Gandhi, devout Vaishnavite that he is, should feel elated at the thought." Of Rajagopalachari the writer observes re temple-entry: "It was but proper that at this solemn hour the apostles of uplift should have raised up their hearts to high heaven and rendered thanks for C. Rajagopalachariar...The ferocity with which the crusaders would enforce the Tactile Imperative—'You must touch me'—is pure sadism. The twilight of the gods is the twilight of reason." Of Dr. Radhakrishnan this is what Vigneswara remarks: "India's eclectic philosopher... must have overwhelmed his hearers with the wealth of suggestion which he read into the familiar tri-colour...it was a veritable cornucopia that Sir S. Radhakrishnan poured out. And for a wonder Chaudhuri Khaliqzaman was not silent merely; he

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applauded. The lion and the lamb lay down together in touching amity."

Why does Vighneswara find fault with these eminent personages? I have a shrewd suspicion that revering as he does our age-

long tradition and firmly steeped in the past, Vighneswara cannot stand heresy of any sort. Vighneswara, as I have hinted, can be harsh, very harsh indeed, he can write with biting sarcasm. He is reminiscent of Swift sans his ran-

cour, of Voltaire, a genius, but without his insincerity and dissembling. Indeed Vighneswara's sincerity and purity of thought are his forte as revealed in the many passages referred to in this review.

I have so far dealt with Vighneswara's aptitude for castigating; let me look at the other side of the coin. "I gladly acknowledge", he says, "the happy resilience and the undefeated Idealism" of Mr. Nehru, "who has been passionately pleading" for emotional integration. The detractors of our Prime Minister forget that the great leaders all over acclaim him a "world figure" of "international renown", "a man of destiny." They forget that by disparaging Mr. Nehru who is identified with India, they are doing infinite harm to our motherland.

His eulogy of Ananda Coomaraswamy, a "great bridge-builder of our time", moves one to one's depths. "A single generation of English education suffices to break the threads of tradition and to create a nondescript and superficial being deprived of all roots—a sort of intellectual pariah who does not belong to the East or the West, the past or the future." Vighneswara adds: "Remember that the man who felt our cultural degradation so keenly was by blood only one half Indian."

Referring to "Omandur's" Convocation address at the Annamalai University, Vighneswara says. "Mr. Reddiar is not only not afraid of being old-fashioned. He does not seem to have heard of the Aryan-Dravidian controversy at all. He considers himself—and you and me—lawful heir, as much to the mystic wealth of Patanjali and Vyaghrapada, as to the wit of Avvai and the wisdom of Tiruvalluvar. For the prototype of all Convocation addresses he goes, as any Brahman might, to the Taittiriya. He has with admirable taste and understanding translated the famous passage from the Siksha Valli—a fact which few even of his Brahman auditors may have suspected."

To speak of Vighneswara and not refer to that aspect of his book which deals, as stated earlier, with perennial values, would be to overlook its dominant note. To quote passages relevant to this,—there are so many of them—will make the review heavy reading. I take however at random a sentence from "New Lamps for Old":

The hankering to be constantly assured of your worth is a sign of that distressing thing, spiritual poverty.

Again in "The Jackdaw" occurs the following.

The Nasadiya Sukta and the Hymn to Ushas, the Aditya Hridaya, Arjuna's song of adoration after the 'Viswaroopa Darsana', and above all those litanies of the Divine Name, the Sahasranamas, are calculated to induce in the devout intoner a mystic fervour which neither the sound nor the sense taken by itself can explain.

The reader will do well to select such passages and peruse and ponder over them. Right through the book runs like a golden thread a recognition of human values, a conviction that earth-bound as we are, Divine Providence guides and watches over us, that there are blessed spirits, though few, who strive to attain communion with the Infinite who feel, nevertheless, that in service of man, not in the seeking of individual salvation, not in dwelling in forest retreats or in mountain caves, rather in allaying human suffering, in rescuing their fellow-beings from poverty and degradation, and warming them like sunshine, in giving and not in receiving, lies the secret of true happiness.

Independence has given us emotional satisfaction, even that is slowly fading away. The process of deterioration is slow and gradual, a sort of twilight pervades our thinking.

Vighneswara is a wizard of words, a creative artist, a sage counsellor. His book ranks as literature, (although journalistic writing scarce reaches that level), is a veritable treasure-house of wisdom, is full of seminal

thoughts; his style is racy, crisp and vital, his phrases are vibrant and trenchant.

If I have created in the readers of this review the thirst for reading the book through, I shall not have written in vain. That is why I have quoted passages, a few too many, perhaps.

Mr. N. Raghunathan—now that he has dropped his mask, why

continue his disguise?—is not content to rest on his oars but "should the public extend its indulgence", to the present volume (who can doubt it?) he proposes to bring out further volumes dealing with later epochs. Every reader of this book will await the event with eager anticipation.

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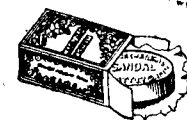
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CAPITAL COMMENTS

NEHRU BRAND SOCIALISM

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: Socialism, "this kind of Socialism" as conceived and fashioned by the Congress; in other words, Socialism of the Nehru brand, and too, "here and now": this is in unmistakable terms what the country is in for, may be for good or bad — for good as the Congress "besses" believe, for bad as several outside the Congress apprehend.

Any down-the-throat business savours of coercion: it is so alien to the philosophy of the Master on whose latest death anniversary, his 'political heir' spoke so aggressively. There is nothing wrong if he lashes at his critics as he did in this New Delhi speech. Slashing exchanges are an essential part of all political debate. But Mr. Nehru seemed to think that he had no need to argue when he could afford to admonish. He was sore that criticism of the Congress resolutions created, "an atmosphere of hopelessness and despair" in which "the Congress will be deflected from its policy of Socialisms". He dismissed the critics as "prophets of doom". He had no regrets if some of those whom he had thus cavilled at, were no men of straw. Pouring ridicule even on men of standing and stature is quite an easy job these days, indeed a fashionable occupation. Any Congress tyro or political parvenu can do it for cheap applause. But one in the position of Mr. Nehru should have resisted the temptation of answering argument with nothing more than mere anger. He should have realised that some of the critics of Congress policy were not those who wanted the Congress to disappear or decline but discerning friends who desired to save the Congress from blindly plunging headlong into perilous courses. It is a pity that the Prime Minister has no use for thinking men; he has no patience to argue with them or listen to them; he would simply brush them aside as "enemies of the Congress". He

is only deceiving himself if he does not realise that the critics do not necessarily come under that category. In fact, very much inside the Congress there are persons who are wholly unreconciled to the official policy of the Congress, in regard to agrarian reform, for instance. Will they be stifled then?

Admittedly, Mr. N. G. Ranga is, in American parlance, a "tough guy" or, as Wodehouse would have it "hot stuff". He may well be hailed as Andhra's Wat Tyler. He speaks from no ivory tower but roars from the countryside. He has live contact with the masses; he knows his peasants; he is indeed the leader of the kisans. If today he has raised his voice—or is it the banner of revolt?—against the Congress, because of its agrarian policy, it is not for want of appreciation of Congress zeal for land reform or understanding of Socialist ideology but because of his firm conviction that what is sought to be done is harmful to larger agricultural interests and the way in which it is sought to be done is authoritarian in character. It would be easy to call Mr. Ranga a rebel; it may even be easy to elbow him out; it would not, however, be fair to leave so senior and sturdy a partyman unconvinced of the wisdom of Congress decisions and drive him, and others like him, to despair. His presidential address at the recent Punjab State Farmers' Convention is a forthright, frontal attack on the Nagpur Congress in so far as it sponsored and blessed collective farming.

According to Mr. Nehru, any resistance to the new drive, since it would be tantamount to a violation of Congress pledges, is "an act of betrayal". It would be impossible for such Congressmen as dare to differ, to get on as party-men if they are expected, or commanded, to prefer imbecile sub-

mission to serious questioning, and if they are told that any deviation from regimented opinion is nothing short of apostasy. Surely it is no disrespect to Mr. Nehru or his leadership if Congressmen are cautioned against the pursuit of a policy and the implementation of a programme in which there seem to lurk hidden dangers, if not dangers so much hidden either. Far from trying to understand, though not appreciate, their point of view, Mr. Nehru is inclined to question their understanding, a trifle rashly. In any effort to carry with him his people, no great leader ever summons bellicosity to his aid. It would be unfortunate, if not tragic, if at this stage when he has set his mind on the re-orientation or re-moulding of our affairs, according to his heart's desire, Mr. Nehru grows intolerant of criticism, even from friendly quarters.

When Congressmen in the mass ostentatiously proclaim that "we are all Socialists now", one is confronted with a curious spectacle. There is, however, nothing strange in Mr. Nehru avowing his determination to see Socialism in India through, in whatever guise or measure. On this now all-important issue, he has been remarkably consistent. Thirty years ago, on his first elevation to the Congress gaddi, he declared:

I must frankly confess that I am a Socialist and a Republican... I recognise, however, that it may not be possible for a body constituted as is this National Congress, and in the present circumstances of the country, to adopt the full Socialistic programme. But we must realise that the philosophy of Socialism has permeated the entire structure of society the world over and almost the only point of dispute is the pace and method of advance to its full realisation. India will have to go that way too if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality.

The man who said this in 1929 is now "more than the Prime Minister of India". Also, the Congress which holds the citadels of power, is now family property (though ironically in times when the Congress itself is allergic to property-ownership). A new chapter in our history is opening—"here and now".

A NEW FORM OF OWNERSHIP

By S. S. BANKESHWAR

Today terms such as 'Capitalism' and 'Socialism' have attained the status of symbols. These terms now retain precious little of their original meaning. The connotation of a word like 'Capitalism' is so broad that it can mean anything and everything. It can mean free enterprise to an American, a process of State-administered capital expansion to an Englishman, and a synonym for exploitative cupidity to a Russian. Symbolic expressions such as 'Capitalism' and 'Socialism' fail to describe precisely today's business world.

In its early derivation, the term 'Capitalism' rested upon the simple idea of capital. It was thus associated with the process of saving and the use of savings to provide tools or machinery for an enlargement of production and distribution.

All types of saving—personal, institutional and induced—result in capital formation. They do not result necessarily in the establishment of new individual enterprises or employers, however.

The dream of the early Socialists to diffuse the ownership of the means of production among the people is well on its way to being realised in America and West Germany.

In America, there are a number of large manufacturing corporations. The interesting thing about them is that for every forty employees there are five to six owners or shareholders. The shareholders are sometimes twice as numerous as the employees. In addition to the substantial public interest in corporations through the ownership of bonds—and the indirect interest through the holdings of life insurance and savings accounts—some 6,500,000 individuals own shares of public corporations. Ownership is being acquired by employees. A 5 per cent assignment of wages by steel workers to stock acquisition under the existing payable savings plans would result, according to

the New York Times, in majority control of the steel companies in 12 years.

Several concerns in Germany have for some time past made their employees co-workers by enabling them to purchase small shares in the works. A certain percentage of the stock capital is made available in shares of small denominations so that pensioners and other people of limited means may also be able to buy them. Shares are offered for sale to the public with special emphasis on shares of small denominations, with no desire to have the works controlled by one or two large stockholders. The same procedure is applied to Government-owned concerns which might be easily turned into privately owned stock companies.

New ways are being found to make saving more attractive and to provide the German economy with the capital that is urgently needed for investments and rationalization measures.

This method of saving and new form of ownership—midway between the concepts of Capitalism and Socialism—has been received with great interest by the public in West Germany. Nor is it confined to Germany alone. According to the President of the New York Stock Exchange, some 120 million Americans hold shares in companies either directly or indirectly. A year or two ago, Austria embarked on a new experiment by issuing 'people's shares' of two large nationalized banks. The small saver in these countries is casting around for possibilities of investing his money and seems to develop a preference for shares of small denominations.

What we see in America, West Germany, and Austria today is not pure Capitalism, nor is it Socialism. It is unique. It has had no pre-conceived blueprint. It has brought into being new institutions of society including the modern business corporations which are quite different from

anything which existed when concepts of Capitalism and Socialism were first being formulated. There has been no discernible degradation or exploitation of the working masses—quite the contrary! Indeed, the so-called leisure classes have become now the leisure-masses.

Business organisations have diffused the ownership of the means of production and distribution without placing the Government in control. Control has gradually moved into the hands of a developing group of professional managers. The separation of ownership and immediate control could have been foreseen a century ago.

Ownership has been distributed widely, for the most part. Control of the means of production and distribution has been denied to the Government; for history and current experience tell us that in that direction lies danger. Private managers of business firms can do society's economic tasks better than Government officials. The modern large corporation is not just an extension in size of the single enterprise, or the partnership firm of business organisation. It is qualitatively different, and there is much we have to learn of its vast possibilities. By the process of trial and error, institutions have evolved which seem to work and serve tolerably well the needs of society. As long as we are possessed of human freedom, we shall continue to evolve such institutions which are neither capitalistic or socialistic in the original sense of these terms.

It is now necessary to make small savings popular in India too. We too must introduce the 'people's shares' which constitutes a new method to enable the man in the street to accumulate capital. It will awaken his interest in the general economy. He will no longer be an underprivileged outsider since he has a direct share in the profits. 'People's shares' might well be regarded as a promising attempt to establish a new form of ownership midway between the old concepts of Capitalism and Socialism.

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THE TOUCHSTONE OF POLICY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

What was the reason for this flop? The easiest way out would of course be to shrug your shoulders and say that State policy is not arithmetic, that you can't always find where the mistake in the sum is, and hence the reason why it didn't 'come off'. But it is no good doing that, because in most cases you can find the mistake, and if you can, it means you must.

—Adapted from puppet master
Sergei Obraztsov's book
My Profession

Socialism cannot produce wealth. It can only distribute what is produced. The prior problem in India now is not how to distribute, but how to make wealth. The question is, therefore, before any policy is adumbrated, whether it will help increase honest hard work which alone can make wealth. No other consideration is so urgent and so important as this. The problem of India is how to produce more. The answer to this must decide all policy, what should be done, how it should be done, and at what pace it should be done. I maintain that what Gandhiji called the doctrine of trusteeship is the best creed of distribution for our country and it stands the test of the question which I have said should command priority. Not intolerably high taxes nor confiscation nor egalitarianism can solve the problem of India.

A question may be asked whether there is any instance of a country whose well-to-do people

have been practising such a difficult doctrine as the doctrine of trusteeship. This doctrine issues out of the inherent limitations on the personal value of worldly possessions and the faith most people in the world have about God and what God expects of man. You may clothe this faith in any form, but it is the sustaining core of human life. Although it is not generally realised, it is a fact that in America—from whom we have already borrowed over Rs. 400 crores and from whom we are going to borrow yet further huge sums, all to be repaid in dollars, i.e., in goods produced such as America would buy—the well-to-do believe in and practise this doctrine of using wealth to help others without being forced by the State to do it. This is being interpreted occasionally as aimlessness by cynics and self-righteous critics of the American way of life. But it is really a case of the natural law of trusteeship solving the problem of the motive of life. *Dharma* is not only an ethic, it is a law of nature.

So much and so well is the doctrine of trusteeship established in America without being given that name, that it has been generally acknowledged, even by adverse observers that in that country in this materialistic age and under capitalism, better and more equable social conditions prevail than in many countries

whose Governments are declaredly egalistic.

The lesson to be drawn from American life is first — produce before you seek to distribute equally or unequally; secondly—get the full value of your possessions by treating yourself as a trustee of your superfluous wealth for the benefit of others who evoke your compassion: you are master of what you possess but your mastery is expressed altruistically.

What is possible at the very high levels of wealth of American citizens is also possible at lower levels. The quality of it can be the same whatever be the measure or the total quantity. But if there is no wealth which overflows one's own needs, mere socialism cannot create additional wealth. What creates wealth is hard toil, human labour with labour-saving gadgets if you have them, or can get them from somewhere without suicidal cost,—without them if you do not have them and if especially there is an excess of population who can employ themselves in that labour.

The real problem in India is how to increase labour, chiefly bodily labour. In China they have no compunction in getting it done by compulsion. But even State compulsion cannot succeed unless supported by a revolutionary voluntary urge. It is no

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good ignoring this task and confusing or exciting people over the inequalities of possessions, or any other matter that diverts popular attention from the real task. Whatever policy is proposed in any field, be it education or land or industry, it should be such as will evoke the desire or at least the willingness to put forth more bodily work, and create fruitful opportunities for such work. This is the supreme touchstone. It is such policies that should really be called Left or Radical and advanced. Right and Left are wrongly understood by men whose eye is only on the impossible distribution of the inadequate wealth we have among an enormous population and who mistake confiscation and expropriation and the ignoring of fundamental rights of individuals as in itself a praiseworthy advance towards progress.

A Tughlakian Proposal for Berlin

Khrushchev's Berlin ultimatum is the subject of a remarkably lucid and frank article in the *New Leader*. The writer is one who served in the British Foreign Office during the war and is now Director of Far Eastern Studies at St. Antony's College, Oxford.

The article sets out with brutal candour the anxieties and dilemmas created by Khrushchev's proposal. It explains how erroneous it is to assume, as the Western Governments wishfully think, that the Russians will not go to war over Berlin. If the

West proceeds against Russia's opposition to what is necessary to hold Berlin, it would lead certainly to a clash which will grow from small to big. Russia's 'strategic nuclear capability' is now such that it would be 'ruinous for the West' to undertake massive retaliation on account of a local clash in the region of Berlin. After fully examining the position the writer comes to the conclusion that "although the surrender of West Berlin without a struggle would not be a loss in the military sense and would indeed be a gain for the garrisons there to be joined to the field forces west of the Iron Curtain instead of being isolated behind it", politically it would be a disaster of the first magnitude for the Western powers. The article therefore concludes that "the only solution for the dilemma is the construction in West Germany as a matter of top priority and at the expense of all the Western powers jointly, of a new city to be called New Berlin or Free Berlin", and to plant the West Berlin population of two millions there.

The cost, the writer of the article claims, "would not be excessive in comparison with the economic aid which now goes to many neutralist countries, and would be negligible in relation to the expense of a major war".

A great city, Mr. Hudson points out, does not consist of the material of its houses, but of the people who live in them. It almost reads like the poet's description of what the people of Ayodhya said when it was decreed that Ramachandra was to be exiled: "The forest will be Ayodhya with Rama and Sita in it and Ayodhya will be a forest where wild beasts and reptiles will live." If the suggestion of the *New Leader* columnist were to be carried out, it would be an epic event in the history of Europe. This extreme suggestion shows the desperate nature of the situation as the West sees it. It has now become the most important question in European politics.

In contrast to the puzzlement and the military preparations of

the West to save political prestige, here is what Herr Grotewohl, the East German Premier, said at a reception given to the Soviet Premier on Sunday, March 8. Referring to the talk of the American generals about 'shooting their way into Berlin', the East German Premier said: "What does this irresponsible talk mean with regard to the Soviet proposal to make West Berlin a demilitarized free city with all free communications in all directions and guaranteed by all interested Powers?"

It will be probably claimed by the Pentagon now that their preparations frightened the Russians into this peaceful attitude!

The audit report for the year 1957 on the appropriation accounts of the Bombay Government reveals a number of financial irregularities, losses and remissions of revenue. The largest amount of loss is in respect of State schemes connected with State Trading. This is placed at over Rs. 71 lakhs. The entire amount was ordered to be written off. The loss is due to thefts, misappropriations, losses of foodgrains, sweet potatoes, sugar gummies, cotton seeds, paddy etc., overpayment of transport charges, sweet potatoes remaining undisposed of due to non-lifting by the concerned department, cost of a missing wagon of bajra, value of stocks of grains purchased but not taken to account by a godown keeper, write off of outstanding balances against the U.P. Government as relevant records were not traceable, and other items. In all, there were 1,336 items of irregularities.

—ORGANISER



Sotto Voce

A Good Man

How is one to communicate, to those who had not known him, the lingering perfume that is the goodness of a good man gone from us? I first came to know Chittoor Rajagopalachariar, who passed away the other day at the age of ninety, through a gracious act of giving. The gift was considerable for a man of his means, and it was given for a cause that appealed to me. But from the moment that I set eyes upon him I felt that the man was greater than his gift. That frail and eager body and those luminous eyes seemed designed to house the very spirit of *kaincarya*.

Rajagopalachariar was a prosperous lawyer in his home town in the early twenties when he heard Gandhiji's call to renounce. Of the forty lawyers who 'non-co-operated' thirty-nine went back to the courts within a week, as he used to recall with a merry twinkle in his eyes. To show that it was the crossing of the Rubicon for him, he gave away his law library and threw himself heart and soul but without fuss into Khadi work. It was through him that the Prince Rupert of the healing art, the late Dr. S. Ranga-chari, a near relation by marriage, used to channel his secret benefactions to the struggling Congress.

Like many of the pioneers he soon lost heart, ploughing the sands of political frustration. But the flaming idealism behind that quiet exterior would not let him be. A born hero-worshipper, he never lacked for long a leader or a cause. The impressionable years of his youth had been moulded by the example of a very remarkable man. Bhashyam Iyengar, his elder brother, was by all accounts one of the great headmasters of our time, ranking in a grateful public memory with S. Krishna-

swami Iyer and Appu Sastriar, with Santanarama Iyengar and Mosur Subrahmanya Iyer.

The old man's eyes dimmed and a tremour came into his voice as, forty years later, he recalled the heroic stoicism of that revered brother which was exceeded only by his parental affection for his charges. Bhashyam Iyengar lost his only son, a fine lad full of promise. Barely an hour after the funeral the master was back in his class-room. The whole class burst into tears, but with untroubled serenity he quieted them saying, "No, you mustn't weep for me. What if I have lost one son? Haven't I got all of you?" It was the same burning zeal and self-mastery in an older friend that drew Rajagopalachariar to another chivalrous adventure.

That friend was in Government service and so could not be as active in the cause of religious revival as he longed to be. He persuaded Rajagopalachariar to accept the secretaryship of the Visishtadvaita Sabha, with responsibility for the conducting of its newly started journal, the *Vedanta Deepika*. Both were ardent disciples of the Ahobilam Math. The worship of the Lord Narasimha in the well-nigh inaccessible forest shrine of Ahobilam, in the Cuddappah district, which gave its name to the Math, had long been allowed to fall into desuetude. The friends conceived the daring idea of reviving that worship and conducting the annual Brahmotsavam.

It was regarded as a madcap project and authority was as usual unimaginative and slow to move. But the quiet self-confidence and perseverance of the friends and Rajagopalachariar's impetuosity and drive won the day. And till almost the very end

of his life his passion for feeding the hungry made him undertake a trying journey to Kanchipuram in the heat of mid-June to supervise in person the feeding of pilgrims for which he had endowed some lands.

While he had a touching devotion to his Acharya and a profound faith in the injunctions of his *sampradaya* there was nothing narrow or sectarian about Rajagopalachariar's religion. He feared that Swaraj without Svadharma might be the sowing of dragons' teeth. The conviction grew upon him with the years that our salvation lay in the revival of Samskrit culture. Sometime in the late forties I was surprised to receive a post card from him (I had never heard of him) offering to place a thousand rupees at my disposal to be used at my discretion for promoting the diffusion of Samskrit; he was good enough to explain that he had been impressed by my peripatetic propaganda in this cause.

Finding on wary enquiry that here was no crank but that rare bird, a true philanthropist, I explained that it was too big a responsibility for any individual to undertake. But I was connected with an educational foundation which was thinking of trying out a new method of teaching Samskrit expeditiously. On coming to know of this Rajagopalachariar promptly sold his dwelling house and gave Rs. 5,000 in the place of the promised thousand. It is not often that you find a man ready to sell the roof over his head, when he is in the eighties, in pursuit of the visionary gleam. I shall always think of him as a Karna of our time.

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SIDELIGHTS ::

Recent pronouncements of the Prime Minister are distressingly self-revelatory and serve to pull him down from the high pedestal on which the affection of his admiring countrymen had placed him all these years. He has now got into the habit of meeting criticism with catchwords and slogans and turning round on his critics with intemperate outbursts of denunciatory abuse. All the answer he is able to make to Rajaji's devastating censure of the present Government's misguided policies is that there are some old men in the country who tremble at the dawn of a new era. Nehru's alleged dawn is an illusion of the myopic intoxication of power which sober observers with their feet on the ground are unable to see. In these eleven years of Congress rule, debts, heavy taxation, mismanagement, extravagant expenditure, corruption, waste, multiplication and complication of administrative machinery, reduction of the area of individual freedom and enhancement of the strangle-hold of bureaucratic authority on the lives and liberties of the people have been the major blessings that have come to be inseparably associated with the Government. Education has deteriorated. The country has been broken up into linguistic fragments. Communalism has become rampant with fresh vitality poured into it in every State by the leaders in power. Administrative justice has been put to flight. While the cost of living has soared sky high, wealth and prosperity have been isolated into narrow pockets. There is not a single commanding figure in the Congress hierarchy to whom the people can turn with confidence for justice and redress in their tribulations. It is not the hope of dawn but the despair of darkness at noon that has seized the nation.

Great ado is made by the Prime Minister of the 'high power'

value of the proposed land confiscations, misnamed reforms. We are told that a high power committee has gone into these matters and reached decisions after full deliberation. After the Congress Presidentship itself has been changed from a national honour into a family appanage, talk of any independent power at all, high or low, outside the Nehru orbit in the Congress organisation is fantastic. Sycophancy to Nehru has become the most profitable of politicians' avocations, and its returns are quick. Within a few weeks of his meritorious service in pitchforking Srimathi Indira Gandhi into the Congress presidential gaddi, Sri Kamaraj Nadar is rewarded with a seat on the Central Parliamentary Board! An example for all to follow if they want to get on in the Nehru world.

Yet the Prime Minister is not tired nowadays of inveighing against the vested interests which he says are roused to action by his dynamic projects. What vested interests can Rajaji be accused of whose whole career has been one of exemplary rectitude with not the slightest vestige of the exploitation of position and influence for personal or family benefit? What is the vested interest of which Vinoba Bhawe, most caustic critic of the Five Year Plans, can be deemed guilty? The truth is there is no greater vested interest in the country today than that represented by the Nehru family itself, and the Prime Minister's tirade against others seems to be just a reflex reaction to the pain and discomfiture of being caught at a vulnerable point.

The tremendous popularity that the Prime Minister enjoys gives him for the time being the power of ignoring the warnings of intelligent critics and well-wishers. He is now able to tell dissidents in his own party, "If you

differ from me and so cannot get on with me, get out." Even seemingly unshakable popularity that has accumulated in a whole generation can crumble at times almost overnight if the power conferred by it is not wisely exercised but is abused. The German masses adored Hitler with almost hysterical worship as long as he was successful. A Chinese philosopher wrote of Chiang Kai-shek and Madame that no blessing could equal the good fortune of being born in the China of their regime breathing the same air they did. The gap between Nehru's personal glory and the plight of the India he rules does not hold out the promise of an abiding place for him as the nation's benefactor in the panorama of history.

He has surrounded himself with adulators and lost the services of able men capable of independent judgment. In the perspective of the past ten years, his outstanding passion for grabbing more and more power, identifying himself as the State itself, is now most unpleasantly revealed. It is not for nothing that there has been a progressive decline in the area of individual initiative, enterprise and liberty in the so-called freedom era of India under Mr. Nehru's Prime Ministership. This is just the sort of thing that can easily become a prelude to Communism. As more and more people are being reluctantly forced to suspect that Mr. Nehru is playing the Communist game, the old loyalties on which he has risen are falling away and it is realised that as a democrat Mr. Nehru has become a flop.

SAKA

Men should be appointed to duties, who have the ability needed for their performance and the resourcefulness to meet the situations arising therein. Everything will go wrong if you nominate one out of mere friendship or admiration

— KURAL

WHAT ARE THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD DOING?

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

World opinion, the verdict of Science, and the fundamental international rights of non-Cold-War nations, all three demand that America should do better than it is now doing in respect of the suspension of nuclear tests.

We could add Common Sense too as a fourth element in this list, so Bertrand Russell has claimed; for can any intelligent American believe that further nuclear weapon development will be a bar to the spread of the Communist or any other doctrine? The danger is not military aggression at all unless morbidity is allowed to befog common sense, but the spread of an unwanted ideology. Soviet Russia and China claim day in and day out that their way of life leads to happiness and is the cause of their phenomenal and rapid rise to strength and prosperity. This claim cannot be met by nuclear or other weapons or even by lavish distribution of dollars to needy countries who wish to catch up Western standards of living.

It is remarkable indeed that world opinion should be so obstinately ignored by America in this matter of nuclear test explosions. It is more remarkable still that America should believe that it has a right under any circumstances to poison the world without taking any notice of the latter's protests or of the ordinary laws of good behaviour. But it is most remarkable among all things that the non-Cold-War governments of the world do not exert to stop this great and disastrous infringement on the world's right to health and life and genetic normality, and that they should content themselves by waiting for America and Russia to come to terms.

Power corrupts, it has been often repeated. And to illustrate this the ambitions of politicians are quoted. But in a more important sense the power of money

and technology has completely corrupted America's judgment of right and wrong. Else how could any nation that started so gloriously with public allegiance to the doctrine of right and wrong believe that it has an even arguable right to ask for conditions in order that it may not poison the people of the world! Whatever be its fears about Russia, it has no right to poison other people. It is time that all the governments of the world that are free from the obligations of Cold-War alliances should realise their duty and their strength in this respect. It is a shame that over and above the torpor that has come over unofficial life by reason of over-

government all over the world, even governments should exhibit inertia in a matter of this great importance to the health of mankind and of the purity of the atmosphere and the health of the animal world on which man depends for life. All the governments outside the Cold-War seem to be suffering from a deficiency of spirit and courage which Hippocrates attributed to all the people who inhabit temperate lands where seasonal variations are not severe.

American policies should not benumb the sense of duty of the other governments of the world. There is a moral power available to mankind which can, if called up and properly used, battle successfully against wrongs even if they are wrongs committed by great governments, the more so when they do not really serve even those nations on whose behalf they are committed.

UNCLE SAM AND HIS CREED

The international weekly issue of the *New York Times* of March 1 has a very fine article written by Allan Nevins on "Uncle Sam". This out-dated symbol, he says, is an outrage on present day America, even as John Bull and Jean Crapand fail to represent Great Britain and France. He would prefer the dignified female figures of Columbia and Britannia and the Eagle and the Lion to represent America and Britain rather than the antiquated caricatures of Uncle Sam and John Bull. The article is a strong plea against the prevailing oversimplification of international character, leading to malicious distortions. Most people succumb to the half-ignorant, half-careless tendency of thinking in stereotypes and cliches. Mr. Allan Nevins very rightly pleads for a good fight against this malady.

But the most important item in this weekly review is the Democratic leader Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson's survey of the state of the nation. The *New York Times* gives an adapted reproduction of Mr. Stevenson's intro-

duction to his book "Friends and Enemies". It is an extraordinarily readable summary. An intense earnestness pervades it which is infectious. The impression left on one's mind when one finishes reading it is however a sense of contradictoriness of philosophy. Mr. Stevenson says that Democracy cannot cope in the cold war with dictatorships in foreign policy, either of politics or of commerce. Russia's progress in all respects has been tremendous. Unless we take care, he says, "we might get licked" when the time of trial arrives.

Does Mr. Stevenson suggest that in order to defend the free institutions which Americans prize and ought to prize, they should relax their doctrine, so that they may catch up with the enemy? This is the lesson that the article leaves on the reader, once again illustrating the old, old truth that ardent conflict always partly converts one to the enemy's philosophy, unconsciously but none the less really.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

THE PUPPET-MASTER

By MONICA FELTON

Mr. Sergei Obratzov, the Director of the Central State Puppet Theatre of Moscow, and Mrs. Obratzov have been all over the world. Chance brought us together in London, Moscow and Helsinki, but when we last said good-bye none of us could have imagined that our next meeting would be in Madras. Quite unexpectedly, here they were. They very much wanted to meet Rajaji.

Other visitors were there before us, and we sat discussing Tolstoi, Marx and Hindutva, with occasional help from an interpreter, while we waited to go upstairs. But when we went into Rajaji's room and the introductions were over, I said: "This conversation is not going to need any interpretation. Mr. and Mrs. Obratzov both speak English."

"But so badly!" Mr. Obratzov exclaimed, his big grey eyes brilliant with pleasure as he looked at Rajaji. "I can speak only thirty words and I keep changing them round all the time."

Mr. Obratzov is short, very square and extraordinarily pale. This pallor of skin, hair and eyes heightens the vividness of his manner as he talks, lifting his hands now and then to underline a word or phrase.

Rajaji laughed. "That," he answered, "is all that we all do!"

"Besides," Mr. Obratzov went on, "I don't know to talk politics. It is too difficult in English."

"You are not a politician," Rajaji told him, "and it is right that visitors to this country should not talk politics."

"Yes. I have been an artist all my life. I was an actor and a painter. Then I started to make puppets." He talked a little about his puppets. They have astonished modern Madras, which has forgotten its own art, as much as they astonished London and Paris by their liveliness and charm and by a beauty that is sometimes touching and sometimes sardonic.

Rajaji was leaning forward slightly, his face both intent and amused. When Mr. Obratzov

broke off he commented, still smiling: "We are all puppets, and somebody else is the Director. There is a verse in the Gita which says: 'The Lord is the puppet-master. We are all of us puppets, and it is He who pulls the strings'. That was said five thousand years ago."

"Puppetry," Mr. Obratzov said, "must have been a very old art in India. Puppets were probably the first form of theatre."

Rajaji disagreed. "No. First came drama, then puppets, then shadow plays... and we have been advancing ever since until now we have the cinema—immorality, and next will come destruction." Then after another pause: "The opinion of many people is that the Russian Government is a puppet show?"

"But that," Mr. Obratzov exclaimed, "is politics!"

Rajaji grinned, and the rest of us broke into laughter as he retorted: "I can talk politics. You can't."

"In our country," Mr. Obratzov answered, "we think that the governments of some other countries are puppets." But it was evident that neither he nor Rajaji really wanted to talk politics, and soon the conversation came back to the art of puppetry: the way in which it had spread into Europe from Asia, and its popularity in ancient Rome and Carthage. Mr. Obratzov thought it was too much to believe that puppetry went from India across the mountains to China. Rajaji said: "Even more difficult things like philosophy and religion spread from India to other parts of Asia." His talk about how this happened led to a discussion about Indian culture. "Even beggars here," he remarked, "are great artists and great philosophers."

Mr. Obratzov nodded. There was a frown, as if of concentrated effort, on his face as he said: "This is a hard country to understand. Everywhere else I have been—in America as well as Europe—I have understood, and when I got back to Moscow I wrote about my experiences. But I don't think I shall be able to

March 21, 1959

write about India. Here I understand"—he lifted his right hand, spreading thumb and forefinger to measure two or three inches—"so much only. Then there is a big gap before I understand the next thing. For us India is really very difficult."

I knew exactly what he meant because I had gone through the same experience. Mrs. Obratzov's dark eyes narrowed as she said that she, too, found India both puzzling and fascinating. Rajaji watched her and observed: "You don't look like a Russian."

She smiled and said: "Probably I came from India? My grandmother was a gypsy." And then the talk turned to the origins of the gypsies and the migrations of peoples across the plains of Central Asia and Europe. It was sometime before we came back to puppetry, to the theatre and the cinema. Mr. Obratzov, crystallising the difference between theatre and cinema, said: "The theatre is now. The cinema is not now. But my poor English—the cinema—was."

"You have said it exactly," Rajaji told him. "It is like the difference between reading the history of old Russia and being a soldier in Peter the Great's army."

"Yes!" exclaimed Mr. Obratzov.

"But drama," Rajaji went on, "is better than puppet show."

"No. You cannot compare. It is like meat and oranges."

"No," Rajaji insisted, "It is like orange-pickle and fresh oranges." He paused. "No, puppets are like the clay orange, which may look better than the real thing but cannot be tasted."

"If you want to show the quality," Mr. Obratzov persisted, "the puppet is best. If you want to make a type of a man or a bird or a tiger you can do it with a puppet—you can put all the badness or goodness into one puppet, but you cannot do it with one man on a stage."

"True," Rajaji conceded, "but the man on the stage is a reality, and your puppet type is an unreality."

"It is not!" Mr. Obratzov declared. Watching the profiles of

the two strangely contrasted faces, it seemed to me that they were both alight with the same enjoyment. "A woman is only She. Maybe very nice, but still only She. But a puppet can be all Shes. My wife and all women. I have seen in Paris many naked women—"

"Don't see them!"

"I saw them with my wife—"

"You still should not see them."

The naked woman is an ugly creature. But the easiest thing to entertain quickly is sex. Do you have vulgar things in your puppet shows?"

"Only for satire."

"Even then it is not good."

"Sometimes it helps to improve people."

"That is important, but it can

be overdone with more emphasis on the attractive side. Our people think the Russians have discarded all things connected with traditional arts and values. It is a good thing that you should show them that this is not so. But you should see our Indian puppetry."

"That," said the interpreter, "has been arranged."

"When will it be?" Rajaji asked.

The interpreter looked at his watch and was too honest to conceal that the Indian puppet-masters had already been waiting at the theatre for half-an-hour. The guests rose to say good-bye, with words tumbling over hand-clasps.

We hurried downstairs. But at the bottom Mr. Obratzov looked

Morning breaks—
bustle in home,
the kitchen fire is lit,
children are dressed
for school,
the tiffin box
for the office
is prepared,
bustle ends,
now the housewife
can relax over her cup
of refreshing tea!

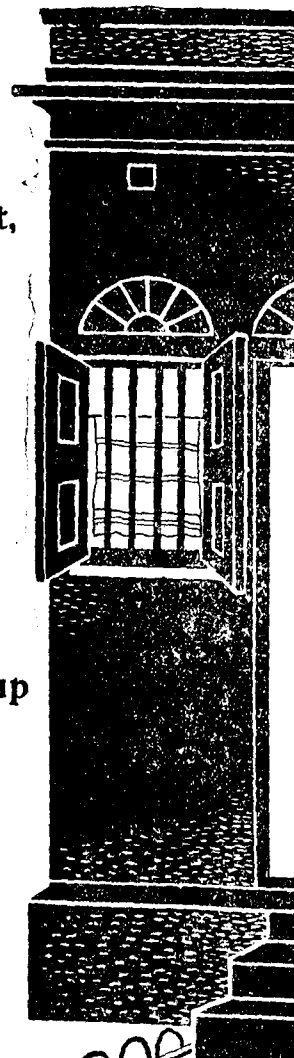


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at me with a most intent expression. "Monica?"

"Yes?"

"Do you know that it needs three things to make a truly great man?"

I met his glance. The big eyes were excited and very earnest. He lifted a hand to his forehead and said: "First, a man's brain."

"Yes?"

He put a finger to his chest. "And a woman's heart." Then he spread his hands wide, in a gesture that seemed to look outwards to the whole world. "And a child's temperament—a child's freshness."

It was so perfect that I could not answer. I turned away, but his glance forced me to look at him. "Rajaji," he said, "has a man's brain and a child's temperament. But tell me please, Monica, what about his heart?"

I said: "He is afraid of showing it."

The Iron Facade

From what an outsider can surmise, alterations, however temporary, are going on behind the Soviet's iron facade. Yesterday, as this is written, Prime Minister Macmillan spoke eloquently to the Russian people by television: the content of his talk, as, for example, the reference to the Gospel injunction that man does not live by bread alone, is material not normally heard by Soviet ears.

Does the re-introduction into Russian life of such heretical ideas, and, as a further example, the forthcoming American exposition in Moscow, suggest that Khrushchev's Soviet is backing away from communism's cruder imperatives?

Who can tell? And what western statesman dares risk his country's security on the gamble of gradual Soviet metamorphosis?

The West, at best, can recognise that moral inevitables in every land struggle to reassert themselves; and can welcome, though cautiously, temporary abatements which appear to give new health to the human spirit. Further than this no nation dares venture in any relaxation of alertness.

JOHN E. FRAZER

THE CENTRAL BUDGET AND INFLATION

By S. NARAYANASWAMY

In dealing with the overall resource budget for the coming year Sri Morarji Desai disclosed Government's intention to finance the Plan requirements of the year by "issue of Treasury Bills," to the extent of about Rs. 245 crores. It is however expected that the actual size of the issue will be about Rs. 225 crores after allowing for adjustments. Government's anxiety to avoid avoidable alarmism in terminology is appreciated when they refer to deficit financing or created money as "Issue of Treasury Bills" — which is operationally a correct description of what goes on, because the Reserve Bank is the currency issuing authority and Government purports under a fiction of statute to borrow the currency issued under its own orders, through *ad hoc* Treasury Bills, paying a small interest to the Reserve Bank — a modern version of the serpent swallowing its tail. However, the lay public are apt to confuse open Treasury Bill issues which are taken by Banks for short term investment of their funds with these *ad hoc* Treasury Bill issues, which are mere conduits of created money from the Nasik press to the public, in the course of which the Government's role of creator is transformed into that of a borrower of currency.

The question that arises is, will the country be in a position to absorb this additional dose of created money in the coming year? Would the balance of advantage be on the side of the productive power it adds to the country as a whole while compared to the transitional hardships it creates? For the week ended 6th March, currency in circulation stood at Rs. 1,688.58 crores and may be expected to go higher before the month is out, because funds allotted for specific projects must be spent before 31st March, if grants are not to lapse. Meantime

price levels have been going higher—and the last three months have seen the fixed income classes making frantic efforts to bridge the widening gulf in their home-budgets. Truly the strain has been back-breaking for all except those who in the villages have some cushions against inflation because they pay no house rents, buy no cereals and wear no pretentious apparel. There is little point in marshalling statistical data on the basis of the "Bombay workmen's cost of living index"—a very handy figure on which the Union Finance Ministers draw whenever it suits them. Now such data are not necessary to prove how prices have shown a persistent tendency to spiral up — while all round us we see day after day, more and more currency buying less and less of the basic requirements of life. Any such statistical effort would be no different from trying to prove the conflagration in a neighbouring house by reference to the air temperature in the wall thermometer. The fact is conspicuously before everybody, that the stresses and strains on the economy have been wearing the nerves of all income groups to a frazzle. Nothing is riskier today than, for instance, making assumptions as to aggregate savings on the basis of an arithmetically higher national income, because the higher cost of living has not only tended to absorb higher incomes, but also a part of the credit-worthiness of the urban working man.

It is undoubtedly true that other factors than inflation have contributed to the high cost of everything. In 1958-59, the clamping of restrictions on imports reduced drastically the volume of goods in the country and tended to aggravate inflationary pressures. A shortfall in both rice and wheat production tended only to accentuate the distress. It is fortunate that current food production reports are heartening and in some

States the surplus production has compelled the Governments concerned to fix floors. In fact this seems the only silver lining in a somewhat gloomy horizon today. That food grain shortfalls and scarcity of imported consumer goods were accelerators of our internal currency depreciation

will not acquit Government of primary responsibility for holding price lines to the extent necessary to prevent general impoverishment. The money supply with the public (as distinct from notes in circulation) has gone up from Rs. 1,666 crores in Sep-

tember 1953 to 2,394 crores in January 1956. That means that in a little over five years the increase was 728 crores. This increased money supply has been offset in some measure by increased wealth produced in the country. But the set-off has, alas, been partial and the residual sur-



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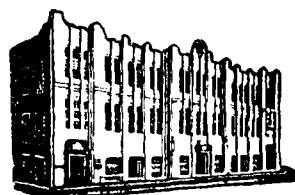
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plus of money supply has always pushed prices up in the last few years.

It is only fair to admit that the inevitable time lag between investment and production in heavy industries constitutes an inflationary cycle and having regard to the large number of industries in which money has been invested in India, the cumulative inflation has been somewhat severe. This is not unfortunately the full story. The time lag in India between investment and production has been considerably more than estimated, and more than it ought to be in a developing and planned economy. Delays in building works because of delayed sanctions of structural steel, delays in receipt of machinery from abroad, delays in customs (which incidentally increases capital cost because of heavy demurrage), delays in obtaining electric power, and also in licences from Delhi for spare parts to replace breakages during installation or trial working—all these are known to have almost systematically put off industries, in which individually tens of lakhs were invested, coming into commercial production. It is impossible not to put the blame for a major number of these delays at Government's door. While appeals to entrepreneurs to go ahead, play the game and help the Plan have been countless, the Government has had a habit of defeating in detail what they conceded in principle. However, the person who ultimately paid the price was the consumer, who because of production delays all along the line, found the forces of inflation in full play. The inflationary interval between investment and production may be compared to the pains of child birth and one would think the skill of the doctor consisted in reducing the period. But unfortunately this has not been the case in India. The heavier the industry, the longer the time lag and the longer the tribulation for the public.

Public concern over the proposed scale of deficit financing, namely 225 crores, is warranted because this will be approximately 13 per cent addition to

existing notes in circulation and about 9.4 per cent addition to the money supply — all in one year. What are the chances of several of our heavier industries coming into production in 1959-60? Two steel units have gone into pig iron production and will soon produce steel. One more will be going into production in 1960. The private sector steel units will be going into partial production, in respect of their augmented capacity. There ought to be a fair norm of food grain production — if existing agricultural tenures are not interfered with. Existing private sector industries which have increased their installed capacity will account for greater output.

What are the chances of the additional money supply being balanced against the new stores of value so created? One has to assess the effects of the impact of additional money supply only by ascertaining the residual margin of endurance now available with the consumer to bear the load of added currency—considering what he has borne over the past few years!

The peculiar inwardness of inflation and the pervasiveness of its effects on the community deserve attention. While stores of value remain constant or nearly so, if Government issues additional currency to finance even capital projects, what it does is to forthwith reduce the content of the notes stored away in private safes, reduce the value of insurance policies, giltedge holdings, savings certificates, fixed deposits, all fixed interest securities and all money lent — in fact all investments that are returnable on maturity in money form. The great solace about it all is that the owner of the money does not know about the depreciation in buying power of his money all at once. The value by which these stores of personal and institutional savings depreciate in a cycle of inflation, is quietly transferred to the new currency issued by this financial legerdemain, called inflation. In a word, deficit financing is a means by which some part of people's savings is transferred to Government by means

March 21, 1959

other than direct taxation and indirect levies. One often meets somebody who sold a house in 1959 for five times the value he paid in 1936 and expects to export your admiration of his business acumen as reflected in the transaction. What that person has comfortably omitted to reckon with is the decline in the purchasing power of the 1959 rupee, as compared to his 1936 rupee, in his considerable absorption with the sale proceeds that threaten to burst his pocket at the seams. Meantime the buyer of the house feels with Omar Khayyam :

"I often wonder, what the
Vintners' buy

One half so precious as the
goods they sell."

Yet it is this blissful oblivion of lowered buying power that acts as a cushion to popular discontent. However, beyond a point, inflation can be self-defeating for any Government. For Government will, in the long run, be obliged to reduce the external value of the currency, to match its internal depreciation. At least one of our respected economists has already been asking for a devaluation of the rupee on the ground of the heavy back-log of inflation to which Indian currency has already been subjected, though he has been ploughing a lonely furrow. It is necessary for Government to soft-pedal their deficit financing programme, even if it means postponing a few Plan schemes. After all the economic wellbeing of the people is of primary importance and all the production that we are now planning has to be consumed by our people. Goldsmith's quip about the land "where wealth accumulates and men decay" should not become applicable to this country. Our deficit financing should, as far as possible, be matched by currently produced goods and services, if we are not to put our people through greater hardships. I suspect that the expected inflation is responsible for the rise in stock market prices — for there is no reason to expect greater distributable or retainable corporate profits under the new scheme of company taxation. In fact the

Finance Minister has candidly admitted that Government will be slightly better off under the revised arrangement, which means companies will be worse off. Equity shares are an excellent hedge against inflation and hence this rise can be explained only on

grounds of monetary horse-sense. A smart young man was gazing at a shop window in Berlin soon after the First World War. He took out his kerchief to mop his brow and incidentally a thousand mark note slipped out of his pocket. He replaced his kerchief

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C. S. RANGASWAMI

By POTHAN JOSEPH

March 21, 1959

Early appreciation of his talent by the late Sir S. Subramanya Iyer gave a turn to the career of C. S. Rangaswami which might otherwise have been limited to Madras either as an outstanding professor of English or a prominent evangelist of the Theosophical Society. He was recommended to the Maharajah of Dharmabanga by his senior kinsman and generous patron to serve as personal secretary during the ferment of the Montford era. His arresting personality and quick intelligence won him influential friends in Calcutta without any of the arts of guile and toadyism that might have shortened his course to solid fortune at the cost of his soul, but Rangaswami could never be obsequious. He it was who introduced me to Pat Lovett the famous editor of *Capital* as assistant editor, severing my connection with the *Bombay Chronicle* in 1920, while he for his part exchanged venue as junior partner of a big firm of brokers in Bombay. A votary both of Lakshmi and Saraswathi, Rangaswami was bound to make his mark combining his gifts of business acumen with literary quali-

ties of a refined type. When Rangaswami stepped into a room, it was as if the chairman had arrived to take up the agenda with a call to order, so sparkling was his personality. He could mix with equal ease amongst Puritans and Bohemians, making allowance for their deviation from the norms of life.

After a blazing career in Bombay, he switched back to Calcutta, for Rangaswami was essentially a Calcutta man, with Bombay as his school of juvenile experiences. The innate ambition to found a weekly journal like *Indian Finance* was always there, and it was a heroic venture when with scanty capital he launched the journal. I, as a friend who owed much to him, shuddered; but he had superb confidence in his power of winning friends and influencing people. More, he created a journal to fill a vacuum that he had recognised as existing after years of observation. Rangaswami was too much of a patrician to start from the lower rungs of the ladder. We had all taken him for a life-celibate fond of *de luxe* surroundings in hotel suites, but he turned it all into a course of education for himself and all others who thronged round him. I have seldom come across a mind so absorbent as C. S. Rangaswami's. If he talked with Norcott Warren for an hour and later held a session with S. R. Bomanji on the amalgamation of the Presidency Banks, well he could present the situation in nutshell to Sorabji Pochkanawala or to Sir Basil Blackett, and abridge differences. In his London visits, he preferred the dapper bearing of a city celebrity. He could be grave and gay as the humour seized him. I never could imagine in the thirties that statistics would grip him, but his capacity for assimilation whilst he appeared glancing at pages proved enormous in the development of his reflective apparatus. In his first impressions, he could be mercurial, but C. S. Rangaswami's final

summing up was based on sound judgment. All his flair for politics faded with the death of C. R. Das who was his sole hero. About Gandhiji he had his mental reservations; anyway, what had to be said about the dangers of imposture traceable to the company kept by the Mahatma was left to *Indian Affairs* to discuss, a remarkable weekly published by Rangaswami in the days of Schuster, Grigg and Raisman. Politics was not his *milieu* and I could never figure Rangji (as he was known amongst his friends) soliciting the favour of a vote for himself in any forthcoming elections. He was incapable of rubbing shoulders with the sweating masses, but he could keep an assembly of the elite spell-bound. Solitude bored him: wherever C. S. Rangaswami dwelt, there was something of a caravansarai, all welcome at meal time in a row. Success was his hallmark whether the test called the spirit of a sprinter or the stamina of a stayer. Rangaswami had certain phraseological mannerisms like the use of "puissant" and "by the same token", but his even diction was a model of apt expression without the clutter of repetitive adjectives to ruin the essential sense of nouns.

And remember the number of people he influenced, of his perception of other people's difficulties and his own willingness to lend a hand. Memory holds the door — but I can see a gallery of faces: Dr. K. Sankaran, Natarajan, Pochkanawala, S. T. Sadasivan, Khasa Subba Rau, N. S. T. Chari, A. R. Davar, Shirin Fozdar, Manu Subedar, R. D. Tata, Saklatvala, Dewan Chamanlal, T. C. Goswami, N. R. Sarkar, Matheson, P. R. Srinivas, K. Ramasubbier, and the promoters of the Travancore Quilon Bank amalgamation with its sequel. And many more I cannot count who felt the dynamism of C. S. Rangaswami.

As for me, I confess I feel the most beholden of all. As I pause musing, I get the image of another funeral; Mahadev Desai's, at which Gandhiji officiated. (No presumptuous comparison). As he smeared the body with sandal-

March 21, 1959

SWARAJYA

13

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

OPERATION SUNRISE AND AFTER

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

Imagine an area nearly as big as that of Madras, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Kerala, Bombay and Orissa put together. Imagine again that in such a vast region about 72 lakhs of Africans are struggling to shake off domination by a minority of 3 lakhs of white settlers. In a nutshell this is the background of the current political unrest in the Central African Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

What is the larger and historical background? The history of Africa had become the story of not those who lived there but of countless foreign adventurers who came in search of glory, gold, ivory and slaves. Native Africans are now rewriting their history and redrawing the political map of the continent.

About three decades ago Liberia and Ethiopia were the only independent states in Africa. There are now eight more—Egypt, the Sudan, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, the Union of South Africa, Ghana, and Guinea. Four more territories—the Cameroons, Togoland, Somalia and Nigeria—will be free in 1960. Last year France had given all its colonies south of the Sahara option to choose independent status if they wished.

"White Settler Rule"

In spite of all these developments, only a third of the total area of 116 lakh square miles of Africa is now free. The other areas are either completely colonial or partially independent. While the struggle for freedom goes on in the colonial areas, native Africans are fighting for racial equality and majority rule in the indepen-

wood paste, Mahatma said: "Mahadeo, I thought that you would live to do this for me". I had always cherished the hope that C. S. Rangaswami would outlive me to write a generous obituary of his dear friend—Pothan Joseph.

dent and semi-independent areas. The Central African Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is one such partially independent territory where Negroes are now waging a fierce struggle for personal and racial justice. In 1953 Britain had forcibly joined Nyasaland, a British possession, with Northern Rhodesia, another British colony, and with Southern Rhodesia, a self-governing territory, to form the federation with a promise of dominionhood in 1960.

The federation is controlled by the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia. Sir Roy Welensky, the federal Prime Minister, is an European. In the federal Parliament 29 out of the 35 elected members are whites. The African National Congress, a powerful Negro political party, is opposed to the federation, because it fears white settler rule.

Madras-born Governor

Nyasaland—as big as Madras State—particularly, with its 99.6 per cent Negro population, wants to get out of the federation and join with Tanganyika and Kenya. The disturbances that took place this month in the federation started in Blantyre, the capital of Nyasaland. Two political meetings organised by the National Congress were broken up by the police. The enraged Africans attacked Europeans and raided Government offices, aerodromes and power installations.

The Governor of Nyasaland, Sir Robert Armitage, a liberal among colonialists, whose father was an Inspector-General of Police in India, was born in Madras in 1906. He was at first opposed to stern measures against the Congress. But after strong pressure from the federal government and the alleged discovery of a Negro plot to assassinate Europeans, he declared an emergency. The federal government sent plane loads of troops

and even Vampire jets to cow down the Negroes.

Under the code name "Operation Sunrise", troops, airmen and police were in action in a round-up of nationalists. Dr. Hastings Banda, President of the Nyasaland branch of the National Congress, was whisked away one night in bathrobes and flown out of Nyasaland to an unknown destination. Schools, factories and offices, as well as the numerous Indian shops in Blantyre, remained closed. Rioting spread all over Nyasaland.

"Uflu! Uflu! Uflu!"

In Southern Rhodesia also a state of emergency was declared, and nationalists were rounded up. All political parties throughout the federation were banned early this month. Over 500 Negroes are in prison and at least 50 have been killed.

In Britain the ailing Colonial Secretary, Alan Lennox-Boyd, told a sullen House of Commons on March 10 that conditions in Nyasaland were still generally disturbed in rural areas, but better in urban centers. The *London Times* put the blame for the disturbances on Dr. Hastings Banda.

Although this London-educated doctor had returned to Nyasaland only last year after 41 years of self-imposed exile in London where he practised surgery, he has since 1951 become a passionate symbol of freedom to Nyasalanders. After his return last July, he gave new hope to Negroes.

"To hell with the federation," he would roar. "In Nyasaland we mean to be masters and if that is treason, make the most of it." The excited crowds would roar back: "Uflu! Uflu! Uflu!"—meaning freedom. He told the white settlers early this month: "Your police and troops can never solve a political problem, and that is what this is."

Dr. Banda is only a symptom of the trouble and not the cause. Unless majority rule and racial equality are established, there will be more eruptions in Africa.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

LENGTHENING SHADOWS ACROSS THE BORDERS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: Mr. Morarji Desai's first Budget holds the field. IT emerged unscathed out of the debates in Parliament. He said the same things in both the Houses except for local variations; he spoke with commendable clarity and shunned all jargon in making his case; he faced his critics manfully and silenced the hecklers effectively. If there was more politics than budget in his speeches, it was not his fault. Most of the members were extremely discursive while quite a good few harangued on matters which were only remotely relevant to the Budget.

The charge that there was nothing of Socialism in the Budget having gone home, Mr. Morarji Desai gave his answer. The Budget, he said, was framed round the Plan while the Plan was framed to achieve the objectives fixed by the Government. And no Budget would become a Socialist budget if only the word was bunged in, or cease to be one if only because the word was not used. Mr. Morarji Desai was just trying to be clever; he was not bothered that he was not convincing. And when he made a bid to cover it up by pleading for co-operative farming, he just funked. But he appeared to be brave, having assured the House in some context that the Government were strong and could take care of themselves.

How strong the Government were became apparent when the Lok Sabha had a special debate on the border incidents in West Bengal. They did not seem to know what exactly they should or could have done, to cope with Pakistan's 'pressure tactics', in occasionally — within recent weeks, even frequently—firing

across the borders, despite strong protests. Members of Parliament were frankly perturbed. The Prime Minister understood their sense of concern; he also appreciated it; he however discouraged them from suggesting that Pakistan felt wrongly encouraged by the military aid given her by the U.S.A. And he firmly insisted on their not bringing America into the discussions at all, on the assumption that the arms used by Pakistanis in firing across the border necessarily included arms which came into their possession as part of the military aid. It was but right that any, such serious charges should not be hastily, much less rashly, made against a foreign power, when they were in no position to substantiate them. The Prime Minister felt, however, much concerned with certain consequences that naturally flowed from such military pacts as U.S.A. and Pakistan entered into.

If there is one matter on which the Prime Minister is particularly agitated now, it is about this, and this alone. The categorical assurances he received from America have not eased the situation or allayed his anxiety as Pakistani spokesmen have been unabashedly, and a trifle brazen-facedly, putting their own interpretation on the Military Aid Pact which renders American assurances to India meaningless. The Prime Minister is again seeking clarification. But it is difficult to know what can be done about it even if American assurances, however categorical, are repeated for the umpteenth time, while Pakistan continues to take a wholly different view of her own obligations or commitments. It is one of the limitations of international statesmanship that, in any clash of arms, it has never been easy to name the aggressor, as India

knows from her bitter experience. There is no use raising that question. And in any case till it is settled whether it is mere aggression, or aggression from Communist countries, that is supposed to warrant the use by Pakistan of the American military equipment, India cannot help having misgivings. Mr. Nehru has shown great statesmanship in not encouraging, indeed allowing the M.P.s to question American motives. Here is a great chance to American statesmen to earn Indian good-will by making Pakistan realise that she cannot just play with fire but must play the game, in the interests of each, and in the larger interests of all.

In the minds of those who heard the Prime Minister in Parliament there was no doubt, indeed no room for doubt, that he was most anxious to be on the friendliest terms with the American Government. By the extension of the Eisenhower doctrine to the very door-step of India, the Government of U.S.A. is complicating matters to such an extent as to delay, if not hamper, India's advance. If it is admitted that the successful implementation of the Second and Third Five-Year Plans will, besides making India prosperous, register a great victory for Democracy, America should be willing to so change her policy as not to create problems which only create doubts in the mind of the Indian people about the American attitude. Virtue goes out of the American economic aid to India if it is accompanied by military aid to Pakistan. The charm of the former wilts and withers in the atmosphere of the second, with its untold possibilities. Mr. Nehru's loud thinking on this subject with convincing restraint, should have put Washington in a more reasonable frame of mind. There are no signs that the White House is yet rid of the shadows of Mr. John Foster Dulles. This seems to be, if anything, a period of lengthening shadows across our borders, no matter from what quarters and in what shapes they are projected so menacingly.

BENEFIT SHOW FOR CHARACTER ARTISTES

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: The show put up by the character artistes under the auspices of the Rajasthan Kala Kendra somehow lacked character. For the play chosen for the show, though written by one of the character actors—the erstwhile screen hero Sajjan—utterly failed to exploit the talent of the character artistes and to underline the purpose for which the show was held. The plot of the play followed the usual filmic pattern with the story moving round a young hero, who is a fugitive from the law as he is believed to have committed a murder, which of course he didn't. The plot was so trite and commonplace that it passes one's comprehension how the character artistes could agree to perform it.

The tragedy with almost all the charity shows performed by film artistes is that they have no relation to the cause for which they are performed. They are most unimaginatively organised with the usual skits and songs that have no bearing on the cause for which a particular show is held. Significantly, not a single top star or producer or music director or writer was present to watch the play. But the character artistes right from the good old Prithviraj and Jagdish Sethi mustered strong for the occasion and the show drew a fairly good house and must have collected good revenue.

The character artistes had a good cause; and though the industry gave them support as was evident from the large number of advertisements for the Souvenir, the artistes lost an excellent opportunity to put across their case to the public.

At last Indian picturegoers will be able to see Charlie Chaplin's 'Limelight' which was produced about eight years ago by Chaplin just before he was sort of forced to bid goodbye to the United States and Hollywood for good.

Those who go to see this picture with the expectation of seeing Chaplin in his famous attire and doing the same old clownish antics would feel rather disappointed. For, this picture is not a comedy; it is rather the tragedy of a once famous comedian now gone into oblivion. Chaplin appears as old Calvero, who is no longer in demand. He saves a young girl Terry from committing suicide; and though he has received a big set-back in his own life, he instils the faith to live and work in Terry and by his 'psychological' pep talk helps her to overcome the feeling of leg paralysis not only to walk but to dance.

Terry confides all her dreams and desires to him; and knowing her so well, he refuses to accept her proposal of marriage. For, though she professes love, he knows it is just gratitude, and that she loves a young composer. So he leaves her and plays music on the streets and collects money for living until he is found again by Terry who arranges a benefit show for him.

Calvero is back. He performs all his famous acts; and in one of them we see Chaplin, the clown, at his best. The scene in which Chaplin plays violin with Buster Keaton accompanying him on the piano is the funniest in the picture; and the scene in which Calvero tries to stage a comeback under an assumed name only to find the audience walking out on him is the most poignant.

In the beginning, the action is too slow and Chaplin indulges in a lot of preaching and philosophizing. But his dialogue is sparkling and his attitude to life is inspiring. Life, to Chaplin, is worth living for its own sake. He talks of life as a desire and does not try to find any meaning to it. Once Terry is 'discovered' and brought into limelight, the story becomes poignant and moving

and the climax in which Calvero jumps into the orchestra and dies in the wings of the stage is unforgettable.

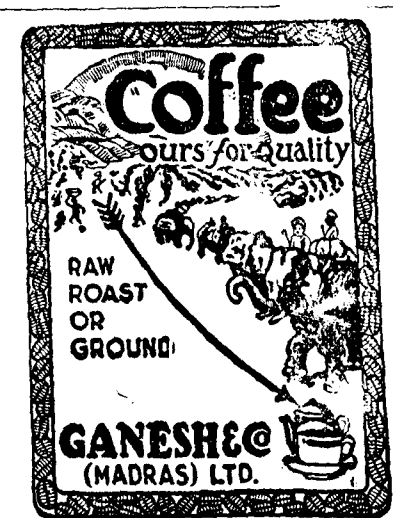
Chaplin reveals that he is as good at emotional drama and poignant tragedy as in making fun. Of course, as usual he is subtle—and in this particular picture he appears to be rather intellectual—and not the common man who has made the world laugh for the last forty years. The music and choreography reveal the versatile genius of Chaplin and 'Limelight' is fully worthy of his great genius.

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The case of the unconventional toothpaste

A LEARNED book tells us that some fish have teeth all over the roof and floor of their mouths. And pythons—those vast serpents that hang motionless from trees by prehensile tails, and have a nasty habit of dropping soundlessly on to unsuspecting prey passing below—they have long and lethal teeth that actually push up or recede at will. Birds, however, are totally toothless, and “chew” their food with their gizzards.

Although birds seem to thrive minus teeth, we humans who have teeth are anxious to preserve them. The twentieth century is a toothpaste-conscious one. What have you been looking for when buying toothpaste? An exciting flavour? Oceans of foam? Gibbs SR lays claim to none of these. That is what makes it so unconventional, different. Gibbs SR hasn't the popular toothpaste flavour either, yet lots of people keep on asking for it. Why?

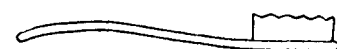
Beware Gum Troubles!

People use Gibbs SR because it contains ‘SR’—Sodium Ricinoleate. Those who know about mouth care go for SR, and ours is the only toothpaste that has it. SR is a special substance used by dentists the world over to combat and guard against gum

diseases. You see, most teeth losses are due to gum trouble. So, to keep your teeth safe, your gums must stay firm and healthy. By neutralising the toxic action of bacteria in your mouth, Gibbs SR protects both gums and teeth.

The Taste Proves It's Doing You Good

Our toothpaste tastes as it does because of the SR in it. We could, of course, add less SR for the sake of a better taste, or even remove SR completely and put in an ice cream flavour. But we're in the business of fighting dental troubles. We consider gleaming white teeth and hard, healthy gums much more important than pleasant flavours. That's why we keep SR—and our Gibbs SR users. You can tell who they are: they're never afraid to smile!



Your dentist advises changing toothbrushes regularly. No need to make hieroglyphics about it in your diary—you get a fine nylon-bristle toothbrush free with every Giant size carton of Gibbs SR toothpaste. Pick up yours today!

GSR. 116-X52

SWARAJYA

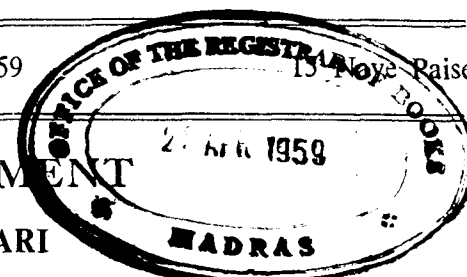
Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

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MADRAS, MARCH 28, 1959

WANTED A MOVEMENT

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI



A strong government and a loyal people no doubt make a good State. But a deaf government and a dumb people do not make democracy. Democracy is not just a statutory entity. A knitting together of people's hearts makes democracy; the hearts being not of sheep but of men.

I have had forty years of contact with the saint who came to show a new way of life and an altogether new way of resistance against evil. The sieve of time has of course dropped many impressions and many details but what remains has by that process become all the clearer and firmer:

That happiness, either of the individual or of the body of thinking and feeling men and women called the nation, depends on character, not on material possessions or on the prospects of getting them later on.

Again, that reform must always come from within; and that loyal devotion to God is the spring of all reform from within and compulsion or violence of any sort makes no reform.

The problem of national happiness consists in nothing so much as in a change of heart. That should be our real ten-year plan. It does not need any annual confirmation by parliamentary vote at budget time. It calls for a nation-wide movement, for it is based on

something more than a majority vote, the nature of man, something permanent.

Happiness does not depend on competition either among ourselves or with other nations. We cannot ‘catch up’ when we are behind other nations by centuries. Indeed why should we ‘catch up’ if our aim is not show but welfare and happiness? And if catching up depends on external aid it is a temptation and a trap; we shall be entangled in a voluntary moral subjection worse than military occupation.

We have to conserve what we possess of virtues. We must keep off new attractions that do not add to, but undermine old virtues. The inner urges and the unquestioned religious convictions which form the framework of action are far more important and effective than laws and regulations which the State may seek to impose. Nothing should be done to sabotage those urges and those convictions that have issued out of age-long co-operation and experience and the climate of a particular national life. As in art, so also in government, the artist or the ruler must fully feel and put himself in harmony with one's land and people. Then only can good results be achieved.

Today our rulers have strayed away from this axiom. They feel as if they belong to a higher race and have a mission to impose their convictions on the people.

Their language is far too reminiscent of foreign autocracy. The musicians of India are even now in perfect tune with the land of their birth and its people. So the music of the musicians continues to give joy. In contrast with this the disharmony of the Government is striking. The activities of the Government being in disharmony have brought into being a sense of uncertainty and insecurity and have destroyed initiative. They have created disincentives for work and thought, which alone add to national wealth. Men and women have come to look upon the State as they look upon the stars and planets whose decrees of fate decide and which they cannot hope to change.

Two things are essential, a movement to make all people work hard whatever their place or their job, and a movement to make the rich feel they are trustees of what they hold beyond what they need for themselves. These can be sought to be brought about by extreme compulsion, but by far the most efficient way is by a movement for voluntary acceptance of these essential and right conditions for progress and happiness. They are in the tradition of our people. They will preserve the graces of life and spread joy both spiritual and material.

Whatever the nature or the system of government may be, the two essentials—work and compassion—make for prosperity

March 28, 1959

and true happiness. A B.B.C. Panorama recently broadcast a lot of important facts about China. Human labour can hardly ever have been employed since the days of the Pyramids with such insect-like profusion as in modern China. "45,000 Chinese, men and women, toil from sunrise to sunset on the building of a new dam and they do it all without any kind of earth-moving machinery or equipment—in fact practically with bare hands," said Richard Dimbleby in this B.B.C. programme. "Men and women are working like this all over China," said Gerald Clark, London editor of the *Montreal Star*, in confirmation of Dimbleby's statement.

"The same methods of mass unskilled labour that are putting up these huge twentieth-century earthworks are being employed also in other aspects of the drive for more industrial power," added Dimbleby.

What are WE doing? We thirst and hunger for foreign exchange to import machinery and run family planning propaganda and distribute contraceptives among girls who mix with ardent boys. Manual labour, the tortoise, wins the race in China against the hare, foreign machinery, in India.

"The backyard blast furnace is really the symbol of modern China. It is her industrial revolution, the great leap forward into the twentieth century," said Gerald Clark.

We in India are planning to invest astronomical figures of rupees in the founding of an atomic power station.

"The Chinese Communist philosophy is Don't wait for the big factories, use your millions, let industrialization rise in the cottage and the village workshop," said Dimbleby in this B.B.C. Panorama. "There are from 3 to 7 lakh backyard furnaces throughout China," confirmed Gerald Clark.

"Thirty years ago it was Japan, that sold cheap consumer goods to the world. Now China is competing with much lower prices, in the markets of South-East Asia," said Richard Harris of the editorial staff of the *London Times*.

We are constantly and irrelevantly reminded that we are in the atomic age. What has the atom got to do with our progress? Nothing. Our large population of two-handed human beings is relevant and that is either ignored or deemed to be a handicap. In China they use these hands.

May be, it is there done by compulsion and indoctrination. But that is not an essential. Our men can and must be made work-minded. Our rulers must be liberated from the machine obsession. If together with this we have the doctrine of trusteeship, that is of compassion and a sense of reality, we can solve the antinomy of individual and society. We can make a paradise of free men in India.

There need be no Crisis

The emphasis in the West has gone over from Peace to Unity. This is deplorable; not that one does not like unity, but that we should like peace more. The NATO unity slogan is a cold-war slogan. Flexibility on the other hand has been demonstrated not to be a weakness but an infective virtue. Flexibility on one side produces flexibility on the other side.

The sanction for obstinacy and unity is not the wars we have seen, but as the *New York Times* wrote "we stand in this generation in the shadow of a conflict little resembling what was called war so late as the spring of 1945. The front-line trenches are no longer held by soldiers alone. The blood of helpless unarmed millions would now be written with letters of fire in any declaration of war". Terrible words, but not too terrible for what is really in store for mankind. "The propaganda of peace" as the same great paper has said "will do more to undermine the enemy than any barrack-room defiance".

Both sides truly fear aggression, and the offer of relief from this fear is the best tactic towards peace. "Let us act like reasonable men. If Mr. Khrushchev will do likewise," says the *New York Times* in the spirit of true patri-

tism, "there need be no crisis over Berlin and no obstacle to the peaceful co-existence of different kinds of governments and systems". Fanatics are the most dangerous people now in the world. Their advice must be discarded. Peaceful co-existence must be accepted as a final fact. And from it many corollaries flow that will bring negotiation much nearer.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

U.S.—Pak Treaty

America wishes that India should build herself up rapidly so that she may as early as possible become a strong democratic bulwark against the spread of Communist ideology in Asia.

But this cannot be achieved simply by throwing dollars at India. It is effectively counteracted by the military aid given to Pakistan with terms attached in dubious language, the phrases of limitation being attached in the text of the treaty to the wrong verbs. It is not remembered that India is not just Nehru who could be asked to satisfy himself with explanations. India is a nation, a large people who are as simple-minded as the American people. The people of India can be frightened by danger just as the American people are. The interpretations put by the Pakistani Government on the U.S.—Pak treaties and the expectations roused in Pakistan by that treaty frighten the Indian people. There are political parties in India who effectively make Mr. Nehru spend relatively more on military deterrence against Pakistan than on the people on the big welfare front. Though all the time he may be cursing all these parties they greatly influence. Thus America is undoing with one hand what she is trying to do with the other. There is no meaning in giving military aid to Pakistan for stemming Communist military aggression until Pakistan and India federate in the matter of defence. There is no meaning in giving economic aid to either country without ensuring against the waste of resources in both countries over military preparations against one another.

March 28, 1959

SWARAJYA

3



Sotto Voce

Broomstick Politics

Of late Pandit Nehru's discourses have abounded in references to the broomstick. This preoccupation seems strange at first sight since he has neither traditional knowledge nor personal experience of that humble but useful instrument of sanitation. But a clue to the mystery was forthcoming by his speech at Alwar the other day. He has been apparently nettled by the fact that some of his former colleagues have been quoting Gandhiji with a devastating effect against his nostrum of Socialism by confiscation. So he seems to have put in over-time practising the *sortes virgiliavae* with the old Harijan files. And he thinks he has landed a nugget.

The Mahatma once said "I do not want to harm anybody, but if anybody's special right or privilege came in the way of the rights of the people then it (the special privilege) would be swept away with a broomstick". Mr. Nehru comments that the system which allows a few to live in palaces and condemns the many to live in mud-houses is doomed. If the whilom palace-livers find themselves without a roof over their heads, they must philosophically reconcile themselves to the historical necessity. But Gandhiji, unlike his political heir, was a *bhangi*. He knew that the broom must be used not to collect dust, but to clear it.

When the Mahatma spoke of 'special right' and 'privilege' he was using the words in the sense they have all over the free world. He was thinking of advantages gained by an individual or class by the practice of force or fraud and retained by coercion, open or camouflaged, to the detriment of the many. He was not attacking property itself as a 'special right' or 'privilege'.

His massive commonsense would have revolted at the hypocrisy of roundly describing property as 'theft' and at the same time using State power to take it away from some and give it to others. For that would be theft no less, or, to be more accurate, it would be robbery with violence masquerading as legality.

An arithmetical distribution of wealth as the *sine qua non* of egalitarian Socialism is a silly chimera, as men who knew far more about Socialism than Mr. Nehru is ever likely to learn pointed out long ago. If the few 'palaces' that are such an eyesore to Mr. Nehru are to be pulled down, the debris might choke the neighbourhood without providing so much as a scantling apiece for the hut-dweller. Their nightmare of squalor would remain, but unredeemed by thoughts of emulation or even by pathetic dreams of magnificence. The States by setting an example of cold, calculated spoliation, would be merely undermining their moral integrity.

Of this we have ample evidence already in the demoralisation of the tenantry pampered by doctrinaire legislation at the owners' expense. Mr. Nehru declared it was a strange thing that most of the critics of co-operative farming were men who worked in big cities like Calcutta or Bombay and were not going to gain or lose by co-operative farming. Their opposition, he suggested, could therefore be only due to the fear that here was the thin end of the wedge of Socialism, that if today it was the turn of the land-owner tomorrow it might be that of their own 'vested interest'. Apparently Mr. Nehru cannot conceive of disinterested zeal for the public welfare animating those who oppose his policies.

The opponents of co-operative farming, if they are to be blamed, must be blamed rather, for their timorousness or lack of imagination in not standing up against injustice when State after State effected drastic arbitrary reductions of the rent or share payable to the owner by custom and free contract. Emboldened by the lack of organised opposition to the principle of spoliation the Prime Minister decided to make a more spectacular attack on property rights. The decision to impose ceilings on land is not in essential different in character from the cutting down of income from land brought about by the increase of the tenant's share. And it is likely to affect adversely a comparatively smaller number. But it aims at distracting and confusing the opposition to the much more sinister decision to introduce collectivism in the guise of co-operation.

It is clear enough that the Prime Minister realises that he is playing for high stakes. He more and more frequently relapses into the language of totalitarianism. The Communist rulers of Kerala confess that even the distribution of text books through co-operative societies has been a failure. But the Congressmen seek to make the flesh of the masses creep by declaring that the alternative to co-operation is dictatorship. 'Co-operation' imposed from above and 'guided' by trained party cadres is not so very different from Communism as is pretended. The ineluctable duty is cast on all who love freedom to see that the simple villager is not taken in by the non-violent blather of *pada-yatra* carpet-baggers.

VIGNESWARA

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SIDELIGHTS ::

C. S. Rangaswami was my first great friend. We studied together in the Presidency College. I was a bad student, and he a good one. On the eve of the annual examination he overheard me one day in the college library asking a neighbour about the portions we had done in the class. He was shocked and said: "What! You do not even know the portions we have done! How can you pass? You have no chance. Come with me, I will coach you". For greater convenience he gave me a room in his house and I became his tenant. I paid a rent of six rupees for the first month. But before the month was out I had become a friend of the family. There could be thereafter no more any question of further acceptance of rent. That was not all, I was

not allowed to go to a hotel for meals. They looked after me as if I were one of themselves. I had not known such kindness before. Years later, Prakasam, who had been Rangaswami's guest at Bombay or Calcutta, told me that his mother always spoke of me as her third son.

Pothan Joseph's statement in his article in SWARAJYA last week that Rangaswami was appointed private secretary to the Maharaja of Darbhanga on the recommendation of a kinsman (Sir S. Subramania Aiyar) is not correct. The Maharaja was on a visit to the South and called for applications. He gave the applicants a test: they were to write a speech. Ranga-

swami was selected as the Maharaja considered his speech the best. After he left for Darbhanga, for nearly two years, Rangaswami wrote to me a letter every day; and if occasionally he failed, he would make up for it by sending a telegram. He did not however stay at Darbhanga long. He accepted a partnership in a Bombay firm of brokers, Batliwala and Karani, and shifted to the West-ern capital. When he became a broker he knew nothing of the business. But he had the gift of absorbing the knowledge of experts by listening to them carefully and very soon he mastered the intricacies and technicalities of money market dealings. He made a fortune by the time he was thirty. It was lost as quickly as it was made, and he left Bombay and went to Calcutta where he alighted grandly in a posh hotel with two rupees in his pocket.

In Calcutta Rangaswami did not take long to rehabilitate himself financially. But it took him longer to recover from the shattering effects of excessive prosperity achieved too early in youth. Having tasted both fortune and misfortune, he learned detachment, and though he lived a full life of hedonistic enjoyment, he was not lost in it and a part of himself always kept aloof, above the level of the sensations of the moment.

Rangaswami had the rare gift of losing himself in others. He would forget himself in planning the lives of those for whom he cared. He would do this so thoroughly and with such uncalculating abandon that they would come to look upon him as a deputy of Providence on earth. This was the secret of his great influence. He was a truly irresistible friend and companion and in his presence the hours sped like minutes. I recollect now when he once visited me at Nellore we kept awake a whole night talking, and when day dawned I was amazed it had come so soon.

(Continued on page 15)



THE STORY OF VAZHAIPADI

(Fable by RAJAJI, translated by

MRS. A. V. RAMAN)

In the days of King Gunaraja Chola, there dwelt in the village of Vazhaipadi some Vaishnavites who initiated a new cult.

"One should respect only God and not human beings. We must bow in reverence only to Him and to no mortal", they argued and evolved a corresponding code of conduct which they propagated vigorously.

This cult came to be known as the "Cult of Non-Respect" and its adherents "Non-Respecters". The individuals subscribing to this cult made it a practice not to bow their heads or join their palms as a token of respect for any other human, however old or learned, or even possessed of official authority. The Non-Respecters unflinchingly obeyed the law of the cult.

This generated a severe reaction. Others in the village started a rival faction with a diametrically opposite doctrine. They were the Respecters who felt it a duty to bow in obeisance to others. They exhibited their respect for those whom they met, more ostentatiously than before. The Respecters were the numerically larger group in the village.

The Non-Respecters were undaunted by this opposition. They persisted in keeping their vows boldly.

Enmity between the two factions increased. Inter-dining and inter-marriage were stopped between adherents of the rival groups. In the case of marriages performed prior to hostilities, wives had to accept their husbands' views.

In course of time, the ranks of the Respecters swelled in number while the Non-Respecters lost ground. This aggra-

vated the enmity. The Respecters decided that the Non-Respecters ought not to be permitted to draw water from wells situate in the former's locality. It so happened that the well containing good water was located in the area occupied by the Respecters. This dispute was brought before the King who, on enquiry, held in favour of the Respecters. He directed the Non-Respecters to dig another well in their own area.

This strengthened the hands of the Respecters. They gave up showing any respect for even old men, if they belonged to the Non-Respect cult. Their leaders resolved: "Why should we bow to these fools?" The very fault for which one stoutly opposes another, slowly begins to seize oneself as a result of that opposition.

The Non-Respecters were angry. But they could not object. How could they, for they believed in respecting nobody? The Respecters' resolution was carried out faithfully.

After some days, some Respecters began to suspect each other. "This man took betel leaves in the house of a Non-Respecter", or "That man drank water out of a Non-Respecter's hands" came to be the charges that were flung at each other in the Respecters' camp. Anyone against whom such an accusation was made, came to be treated as an infidel, and he was boycotted in the same manner as if he were a Non-Respecter! Thus, the showing of respect practically ceased in both camps. It even seemed as if the Non-Respecters' movement was gaining strength. The Non-Respecters gloated over their indirect success.

"Just what we wanted!" they said triumphantly.

Hatred grew more and more intense, the Respecters began to enforce their rules even more rigidly, as they found the opponents proud with a sense of victory. Father suspected son, brother bore witness against brother — the whole place was filled with suspicion and hatred.

Vazhaipadi which had been a cheerful and hospitable village was clouded with gloom. Coconuts from trees in the backyard were missing. Fresh vegetables found in the garden in the morning, disappeared by evening. When the matron blamed the squirrel as the villain, the master would insist that it was the work of the Non-Respecters. The Iyengar even observed: "Fancy that thief sporting the caste mark as well!" "Hush!" replied the wife, "Do not say such things. They may even enter houses and burgle, for there is none to question them." The older men of the movement tried to suppress their anger, but it was not of much use.

One night, the house of a Non-Respecter called Ramana Iyengar caught fire. His house was surrounded by houses belonging to Respecters, but they did not attempt to put out the fire. The fire soon spread to their houses as well. "Very good! Served them right," said the lady of the Non-Respecter's house. Ten houses were gutted before the fire could be brought under control.

The next year, there was a good season. Rainfall was ample, and the crops plentiful. The peasants spoke amongst themselves:

"Why do these people in the Agraharam keep quarrelling?" asked one.

"They must have differed over the Sastras. Why should we bother about it," the other replied.

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STONE FOR BREAD

By BHIKKU

It is true that evils that exist in a body politic cannot be eradicated within a set period, but what for practical purposes for the governance of a land is almost equally effective is a systematic application of the telescope to the blind eye as to their existence. Is Prohibition effective? Oh yes! Look at the fall in the number of detections and convictions! Are crimes less in the land? Why, certainly. The number of cases are point 99 percent less last year as compared with the previous one. Are people more prosperous? Can't you see how many now rush to the cinema joyously bartering their extra cash for amusement? As against the concrete dignity of tabulated arithmetic and facile correlations such *Sotto Voce* observations as "More likely the detections are less because of inefficiency or collusion, that a very simple method of lessening the number of crimes is not to register them and that urbanised sophistication is a more likely reason for cinema goings" appear malignantly feeble and ill-tempered. Bernard Shaw says, "If you cannot have what you believe, you must believe in what you have". And he makes out a wonderful case proving the efficacy of a new cure for an old ailment by a conspiracy of the doctors to call the cases of failure with the new treatment by an entirely different name and restricting the use of the old name only to such as got well with it. Consumption can be put out of count by calling it chronic pulmonary haemoptysis.

A world of unworkable legislations and broken laws is a paradise for the dare-devil who can hector and browbeat his fellows, suborn witnesses and lie with an immobile face and an unfaltering tongue. Like a child that, when it gingerly steps along to avoid a drain, invariably teeters into it by some psychic inevitability, it is the one to whom legalities wear a halo, who obeys all dictations and who has a cramp in the

stomach when he gets a lawyer's notice, who gets inveigled into law courts and the clutches of lawyers, court clerks, process servers and all the organised fraternity that minister to the dispensation of law.

For instance, under the shadow (or sunshine) of the Rent Control Act wether as a landlord or as a tenant a foe who despises legality and is resolute with lung and muscle power is at a fearful advantage over one who can only make hand-wringing protests clutching at the filmy skirts of the law for support. As a predaceous landlord, the bully can, as they are said to do in Bombay, take big sums as 'pugree' to make up for all lacunae in the monthly law-enforced receipts. A disgruntled one of brass and gristle in Madras can cause such systematic annoyance to unwanted tenants by language and gesture through street ragamuffins, that the poor rabbit of a tenant scuttles out to another hole.

The bully as a tenant flaunts

Municipal Elections

The Congress has now realised that students should be saved from politicians. It is only when an evil takes shape adversely to us that we realise its character. One may now prayerfully hope that the party leaders will see that party politics should not figure in municipal and other local body elections under Swaraj. Recent Congress reverses are striking enough to lead to the hope that soon the party leaders will take up the theme of making Municipal and Board elections run on pure merit and not on the blind strength of political parties. Defeats teach. Successes, oftener than not, mislead.

C. R.

the Rent Act as a pirate's flag of skull and cross bones and plays with a law-oppressed landlord as an urchin with a mouse. He does not pay rents for long spells, pays it in dribblets as and when he chooses and if an action which is a weary-some costly headache is threatened or set in motion by the landlord, he can needle the court into giving long frustrating periods of time for payment of dues, can trick the service of summonses and execution of warrants and so befoul the intricacies of the legal abracadabra by judicious investments of a few annas or rupees on handouts for 'tea' and 'bus fares' to the human media, that what is wrung out of the gods in the courts is taken away by the priests in the temple courtyard.

Between justice and what is just, what a chasm!

The trading community of 'Komuttis' half a century ago was known for its conservative-ness and secretive canniness. Distrusting such new fangled innovations as banks they accumulated wealth mostly in gold ornaments and sovereigns and were thus an easy and succulent prey for house-breaking thieves. When any such burglary happened, however, even if the loot borne away was of considerable value, the Komutti wouldn't go for any complaint to the police and if any one asked about what he had lost, he would contort his features for what would pass for a smile and mendaciously aver that though the fools entered the house — this couldn't very well be denied seeing the big hole in the wall—they did not touch a thing. "The child's rattle and the cow's halter were all that were missing!"

This attitude to law and the police was a trader's astute assessment of probabilities in profit and loss, whether the final balance will be on the credit or the debit side of the ledger. The argument was this wise: What were the chances of restoration of the gold lost, if he owned to the loss and brought the police in? Barely 5%. And meanwhile what would be the very real and tangible fact? Only the daily walk-

ags-in and walkings-out by the police myrmidons and their 'heads' and occasionally of the 'sub's'—a general upset of family life and business—a never ending pay-out in small and big doles to the investigators who would patronise him possessively as a handy tiffin and small change supplier for, God knows,

how long. Was it worth it? No. Definitely No. A little control over the emotions and a little extra marginal play with the tamarind and chilli deals would restore things to original position, if not in a month, at least within a measurable time. Hence the smile even if wry and the falsehood even if thin.

Fear of the law may conceivably be a social asset, but the fear of the institutions of law and its henchmen makes for a jungle where Baloo the bear and Bhagira the leopard hold benevolent sway. The meek and the lowly get a pelt of stones of various shapes and colours when they ask for bread.

A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing

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HIGH LEVEL CONNIVANCE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Early in March Prime Minister Nehru brushed aside certain questions regarding the fate of Indians in Ceylon saying that there is not much to cause concern in India. For the Tamil-speaking population, the attitude is particularly hurtful, but on the whole Pandit Nehru treasures Premier Bandarnaike's support in the prosecution of his foreign policy at international level. Depending upon his strategic value, the Ceylon Prime Minister is not in a hurry with conciliation measures, whilst the interests of the North are naturally nearest the heart of the All-India Cabinet manned largely by Hinditva politicians of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. There is this curious circumstance that the Sinhalese of Sri Lanka trace their descent to original inhabitants who had come from Northern India and settled in Ceylon over 2,000 years ago. The dwellers of Himalayan foothills who abound in the North with their Nepalese physiognomy have facial resemblances with the Sinhalese of Ceylon, not to mention other features clearly visible to anthropologists. They are Buddhists and if the Central Government is tolerant of their claims for dominating Ceylon at the expense of Tamils, the attitude can be explained as being partly instinctive.

Of the population of nine millions in Ceylon, six millions are Sinhalese and the Tamil-speaking people number two millions. The Sinhalese among whom Buddhist monks are the most bellicose are intent on smoking out our South Indian kinsmen from the little island separated from the mainland by a few miles. The Emergency Outrages of 1958 had been played down by Press Censors in spite of organised leaflet warnings like the following and their consequences:

"We are giving you and the Army till the 28th of this month to clear Tamils out from Panadura to Fort. If by this time this had not been done the whole lot of you will

be killed one by one or in groups by hand bombs, shooting or stabbing.

"Don't think that you or any of the Tamils will be safe as we have enough petrol to make living torches of all of you and monuments of the Tamil houses. The Muslims and Malays can come later."

"We have the priests behind us and every temple will come out into the open against you if you try to use force on us. A few of us may die but a lot of you will die faster and in a manner which will make you regret living."

"Be warned. Death is at your doorstep. Act now and join us in our struggle for freedom from the Tamils and other aliens such as the Muslims, Malays, Burghers, etc., all of whom can go to the Northern and Eastern Provinces if they want to remain in Sri Lanka. Our sacred cities of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa and our capital cities of Colombo, Kandy and Galle must be made a hundred per cent Sinhala without any foreigners or non-Buddhists allowed to live in our midst and to corrupt us."

A campaign of terrorism and acts of savagery in fulfilment of the threat were enacted throughout Ceylon, but it always irks Prime Minister Nehru to hear of complaints about the Tamil minority in Ceylon, whereas matters like the future of the French Cameroons are vastly agitating as in the case of his counterpart, the Prime Minister of Ceylon. At the Nagpur Congress, there was not even a slanting reference to the sufferings of Indians in Ceylon, whereas we extended sympathy for Algeria, Cyprus, Guinea and other remote locations on earth. I quote from Resolutions 9 and 8:

"The Congress reiterates its solidarity with the peoples of Indian origin as well as all others in the Union of South Africa in their struggle against racial discrimination. The cruelties and suffering inflicted on them by deprivation of their homes is an affront to their dignity and often the loss of even the means of their livelihood.

"It declares its solidarity with our kin in Goa in their struggle against Portuguese rule, and expresses the hope that, even at this stage, the Portuguese will see the wisdom and the advantage to themselves in a peaceful approach and settlement of this issue."

Observe that the sentiment of "solidarity" is repeated, but when it comes to oppressive conditions in Ceylon for Stateless subjects, there is not a word or whisper of sympathy. We can't trace it back to Sinhalese ancestry from North India but connivance in their favour stands out in the story of harassment and threatened extermination of our folk in Sri Lanka.

To say that South Indian interests are apt to be ignored in present developments is, therefore, no exaggeration.

A New Word in Industry

A few years ago no one had heard of the word 'automation'; but today everyone uses it. Now another strange word has made its appearance and is likely to become just as familiar — 'ergonomics'. Margaret Stewart, industrial correspondent of the 'News Chronicle' newspaper, talking about it in a recent BBC General Overseas Service broadcast, said: "It means, in its simplest form, the study of work capacity and its aim is to fit the job to the worker, rather than the worker to the job. There is already a new journal called 'Ergonomics' and there is an Ergonomics Research Society. The steel industry has set up a special research department on it, and courses are being held at Bristol University. A great deal of research is being done in Germany and Sweden. The Trades Union Congress are now taking an interest in Ergonomics, and they discussed it at a recent conference.

"The basic object is to estimate scientifically how the individual worker, whether in a factory, office or mine, can give of his best, with least physical and mental strain, and with least danger to health and capacity. It isn't enough just to cut down working hours, to introduce tea-breaks, and provide welfare and music while you work. All these things are necessary and helpful. But there are more subtle strains and stresses involved in a job, which aren't so easily recognised." Accordingly, ergonomists were studying such subjects as the effect of noise, or working in excessive heat, and the adjustment the body needed in changing over shifts. These scientists said it was important to see a man and his machine as a unit, and felt that far too few designers had firsthand knowledge of operating the machines they designed. It was surprising how little was really known about the physical and mental strains of particular jobs. The science of Ergonomics was still very much in its infancy, and scientists were largely working in the dark. Miss Stewart said, but it was clearly going to become more important, and the fact that the TUC were now taking it seriously should speed up its extension to British industry.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

FURORE OVER U. S. AID TO PAKISTAN

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: Parliament (which means Lok Sabha in the present context) has been busy in meeting the demands for grants to the different Ministries. It is more a democratic formality or Parliamentary routine, for there is no question — there has never been any — of a Ministry not getting all the money it asks for, with the concurrence of the Finance Ministry. Yet these debates do serve a useful purpose. They give an opportunity to members, particularly to those of the Opposition to raise certain awkward or difficult issues and occasionally blow off the steam.

The valiant effort on the part of Communist members to raise a furore over the sinister implications of the U.S. arms aid to Pakistan, when the External Affairs Ministry was discussed, were, as said earlier in these columns, scotched by the Prime Minister, out of his utter reluctance to complicate matters by letting in motive-hunting. It is now generally believed in well-informed political circles that American statesmen are themselves not happy over these military pacts and agreements but they are finding it difficult to get out of them, having got entangled too much. They are, however, made to know that Indian opinion will not be assuaged till Pakistan's generals are made to acknowledge publicly that they accept the American interpretation and mean to abide by it. Of that, there is yet no firm hope.

What came in as a side-issue when the demands for grants to the Law Ministry were discussed, became almost the main issue when the Home Ministry came into the picture. The credit for drawing pointed attention to some of the observations of the Law Commission in the matter of appointment of judges to the

Supreme Court and High Courts, goes to the young, intrepid and eloquent Mr. Nath Pye of the P.S.P. He had almost fought a lone battle in making the rafters ring over the implied executive interference in judicial appointments. The battle was for the nonce seemingly lost on the floor of the House but at the end of it one could not help feeling that a fierce controversy would continue to rage. It is unlikely that the esteemed members and chairman of the Law Commission would appear before the public in sack cloth and ashes and confess that they were guilty of a rash generalisation or any exaggeration. If, on the other hand, they do not feel impelled to break their silence even after they were so brusquely brushed aside by the Law Minister and the Home Minister on the floor of the House, the inference will be that they could not hold their own, whereas if they say that they do stand by what they have so deliberately said, the pitch will be queered. It is in the public interest that the Chairman of the Law Commission on his own and on behalf of his colleagues should say something to clear the air of all miasma. So far the last word has been that of the Law and the Home Ministers, Mr. Ashoke Sen was very emphatic in making it appear that the Law Commission's was an error of judgment for which it should not have made itself responsible. Though a master of platitudinous sentiment and mellifluous language, Mr. Govind Ballabh Pant entered into a vigorous defence of the Government and refused to concede any basis whatsoever to the Commission for its obiter dicta on this delicate subject. If the combined contention of Mr. Ashoke Sen and Mr. Pant has any meaning, it will appear that those of the Law Commission did not really know

what they were talking about and could not weigh their words. The question that arises now is if those estimable gentlemen who constitute the Commission would like the public to carry such an impression to the loss of its prestige and authority. If the mood at the capital provides correct indication, the country is frantically awaiting Mr. Patanjali Sastri's word on the subject.

The Prime Minister has now become a crusader for co-operatives of the Nagpur design. The stiffer the opposition, the more resolute he is that nothing should come in his way to go the whole hog. Frankly he does not mind if the Congress breaks on this point or what is now to him an article of faith. It is slightly hazardous to proceed on the basis that those who are not with him are against him. Not less hazardous is it to assume that those who are not openly against him are really with him. But he won't see this point when he is so aggressively obsessed. It is a wonder why, for all his crusading, no sub-crusaders are on the scene, except for casually and half-heartedly echoing the Nehru sentiment. Meanwhile, other forces which as much fight shy of the Congress as they keep aloof from the Left have been unobtrusively preparing the ground for the emergence of a Centre Party, with the sure knowledge that as time passes, middle-class spokesmen as well as middle-of-the-road politicians will rally under its banner.

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HOW TO GET ON AND KEEP GOING

By "OLD BANDICOOT"

These simple hints, though primarily intended for Government servants seeking promotion or confirmation, will no doubt be of considerable use to those with the same aspiration in other services as well. All the suggestions now offered have been experimentally proved in the writer's own rich experience of varied service, usually by doing the reverse of what is now advised and gaining a prompt depromotion. For the sake of quickness and clarity in reference, these notes are arranged under separate sub-heads.

Dates on letters: These can, at times, be of vital importance. Take the instance of the gazetted officer who recently had to send in a report by the 4th of the month. He sent it in on the 5th, dated it the 4th, and trusted entirely to the delay being blamed on the post. The effect was, unfortunately, completely spoilt by his despatch clerk putting in the actual date of despatch on the envelope. What should he have

done, not having his report ready on the 4th? Simple. He should have dated his report the 3rd, put in, beneath the typewritten '3rd' and in ink, the date '4th' (this always lends convincing versimilitude to pre-dating) and, in view of the urgency and importance of the matter, sealed, stamped, initialled and posted the report himself.

This bothersome business of a conscience: What should a subordinate do when his boss wants to get something done that involves the breach of a specific regulation and therefore asks the subordinate to do it? Should he point out that the infringement of a rule is involved? Should he ask for written orders? Should he, on the grounds that his conscience does not permit it, refuse to do what he is asked to do?

A conscience is a handicap, a liability, and, as Linley Sambourne put it, "a white elephant round a man's neck", in subordinate service. Only bosses can afford a conscience. Therefore a subordinate must have, at hand, at least three separate Consciences, and also the Gita for good measure.

In the circumstances, on no account should a subordinate seek to provide himself with a safety-valve by reporting to his boss in writing that "as per orders received" he had completed the assignments, and filing copy of this report. This will only bring the wrath of the boss on his head. He must, using Conscience I and the Gita, just do the job and keep quiet. However, if Conscience III (which is his own, Personal Conscience) tells him the risk is too great, he should develop a sudden and paralysing bout of malaria.

Letters from outsiders seeking urgent information or help: If the writer is a man of no importance, file the letter in the W.P.B. If he is a man of some status, or has influential relatives, refer his letter to the nearest departmental expert and send him an interim

reply to say that expert advice is being sought — this should gain you at least a year's respite.

Extra-curricular activities: Originally, the writer had many other hints in mind, but realising that to impart them all he would need to write a regular Manual and not a magazine article, has scrapped them all to make room for this most important subject.

In the bad old days of the British raj, the standard formula for carrying favour with bosses, Secretaries to Government and others likely to influence one's fate, was to Entertain — dinners, teas, fetes on special occasions, parties at clubs and other select societies of which the genus Boss was member, that sort of thing. That will work no longer. With the attainment of Independence all bosses are Indians and past 45. They suffer from dyspepsia and have no use for teas. Moreover, even ministers nowadays eat simply and frugally off a banana leaf, and the glitter and clatter of cutlery and crockery have no appeal to them. Therefore, try private therapy instead.

Find out what chronic ailment the Boss suffers from — he is bound to have the asthma at least, even if his pH value is normal and he is not given to hyperacidity or gastric ulcers. Then mention to him, quite casually, that you had a cousin or uncle or other suitable relative who had the identical trouble, but that thanks to a secret remedy given him by a Sadhu, he is now completely cured. After a suitable interval (wait till the Boss begins to press you) give him a jar of the following, telling him that a teaspoonful of it is to be taken on an empty stomach in the morning after walking a mile:—

Mix in equal proportions jaggery, the crushed pulp of the nelli fruit and finely-chopped bitter gourd, add a generous spicing of ground ginger and cardamom, and mix with honey to a viscous consistency.

This can do no harm and might well do good. In any case you should get your promotion within a month of supply of the secret remedy. Thereafter chances are slim.

Enthusiasm, widely advertised

and assiduously displayed, for such things as Wedded Life, Social Service, and Green Manure, can get you substantial increments. Qualify as an expert. Never mind if you have no knowledge or experience — just qualify as an Expert. Write news-

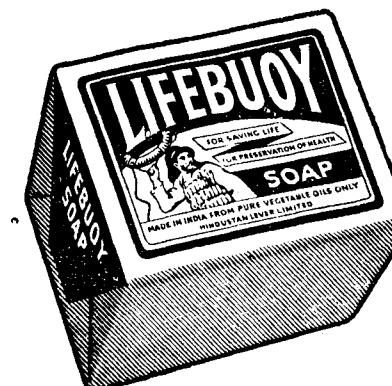
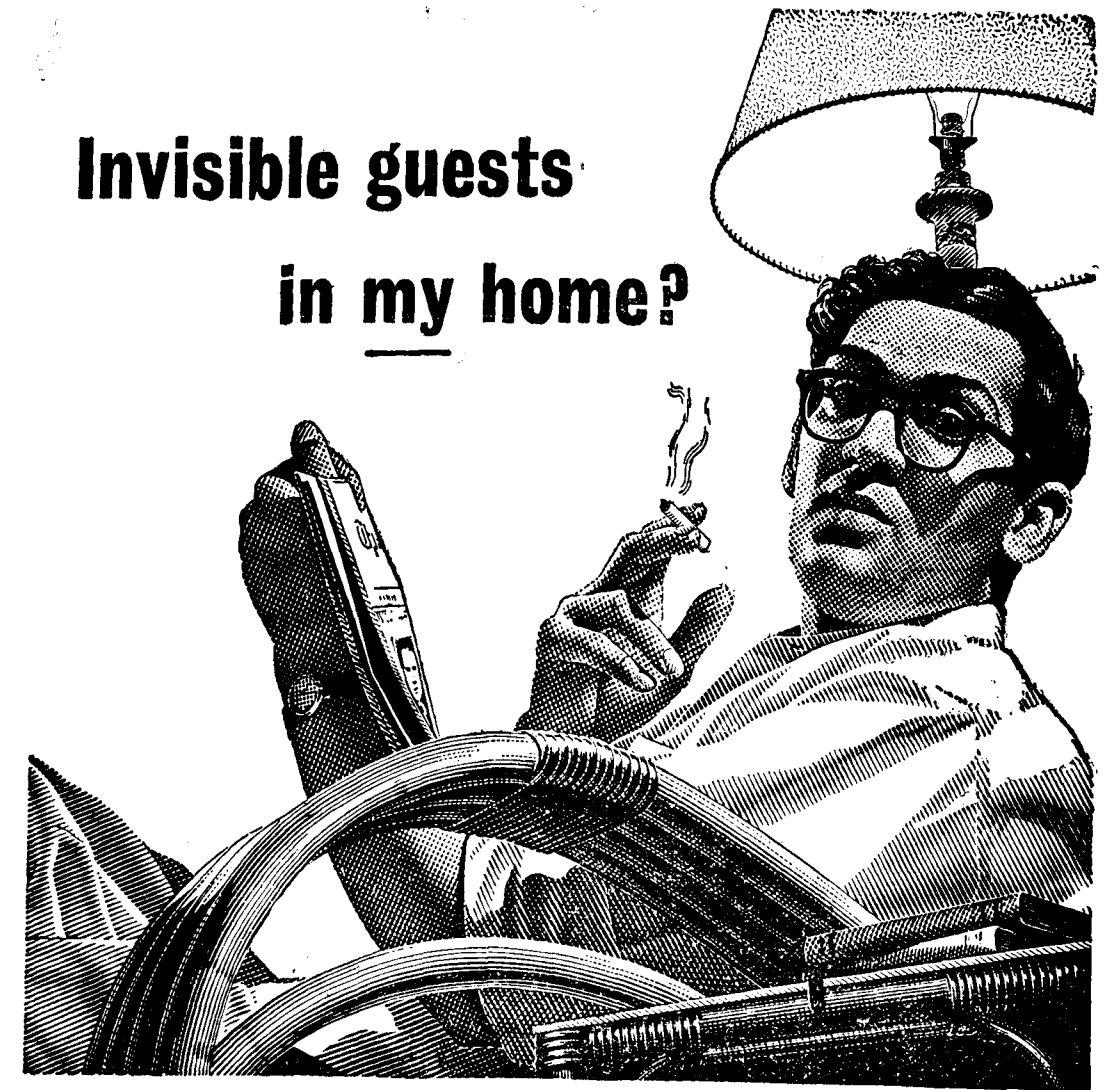
paper articles on your chosen subject, using the most pompous and technical-sounding words you can find. Invest in a dictionary — an encyclopaedia is better still.

There are many other lucrative extra-curricular activities you can indulge in, but all of them can be

summed up in one sentence which should be inscribed in letters of gold (block capitals, of course) on the frame of your shaving mirror — here it is:

In India today butter is infinitely superior to elbow-grease as a lubricant.

Invisible guests in my home?



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Yes, indeed! Invisible 'guests' that arrive uninvited — to cause disease. Look here... my friends are neither invisible nor the cause... It's not friends we mean. It's enemies: the germs in dirt! But my home is as clean as a new pin! Ah! Even here there's ordinary everyday dirt. Perhaps you can't see it — but you can't avoid picking it up! Heavens! Never saw it that way! What can I do about it? Simple! Just bathe the healthy way! Make it a habit to...

wash away the germs in dirt with

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

IN SEARCH OF A HERO

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

In his only published book entitled *Egypt's Liberation*, President Gamel Abdel Nasser of Egypt wrote: "For some reason it seems to me that within the Arab circle there is a role, wandering aimlessly in search of a hero." Nasser believed that he was destined to fill that role, and the Arabs who were in search of a hero believed too that they had in him their hero. But the events of the last few days in the Arab world seem to have shattered this belief.

What is the Arab world like and what are the events? The principal Arab States are the United Arab Republic (a union of Egypt and Syria), Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon. Five crores of people live here and the area connects the three continents of Asia, Africa and Europe. Sixty per cent of the proven oil resources of the world lies beneath its desert sands.

A three-cornered struggle for influence and control of this strategic area has been in progress for some time now between the West, the Soviet Union and forces of Arab nationalism. For the past five years the course of this contest has been largely influenced by the rise of Nasser in Egypt. He became a champion against the old, oil-rich feudal dynasties—a leader of the people versus the pashas. His strong and successful stand against the Israeli-British-French expedition to retake Suez in 1956 seemed to confirm his role as the hero of the Arab masses.

Russians Leapfrog

As the British and French influence declined, the United States of America had sought to step into the gap in order to secure the area against Communism and had sponsored, among other things, the Baghdad Pact. But the Russians leapfrogged over the pact countries of West Asia (Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Pakistan) and

established their influence in Nasser's United Arab Republic.

An east wind soon began blowing in Cairo—an east wind bringing the music of Russian roubles. Since 1955 Russia has given Egypt and Syria loans, grants and credits totalling Rs. 340 crores. This is more than 43 per cent of the total Soviet-bloc economic aid extended to all countries.

Nasser's happiest moment came last July 14 when the feudal regime in Iraq—his greatest Arab rival—collapsed. The world, including Nasser, believed at first that the Iraqi revolution was an uprising aimed at union with Nasser's UAR. But the circumstances were not so simple. The new Iraqi Republic was headed by General Kassim and his closest associate and Deputy Premier was a fervent, pro-Nasser nationalist called Col. Aref. In September 1958 friction developed between these two leaders of the Iraqi revolution. Suspected of trying to undermine General Kassim's position and plotting to kill him, Col. Aref was tried and sentenced to death on February 5. Aref now awaits his punishment in a Baghdad jail.

The West Wind

The Communists in Iraq began supporting Kassim against nationalist forces, although Kassim himself did not openly seek their help. In December the Communist hierarchy in the Arab world had met in Syria and decided to support Kassim against Nasser and to work for a confederation of Arab States, as opposed to a Nasser-led united Arab nation.

Nasser became disturbed by the Communist threat to his ambitions and took strong measures against Communists in his UAR. His philosophy is that of improvisation and he began to edge towards the West. In the last few months America has agreed to

release to Egypt Rs. 12 crores in blocked funds, revived the CARO relief programme, resumed the Rs. 6 crore rural improvement scheme and leased dredgers for the Suez canal work. London and Cairo are again on speaking terms. A west wind started blowing in Cairo—a wind full of the aroma of dollar and sterling.

A top Soviet Muslim leader, Mukhintinov, went to Egypt a few months ago to assess the strength of this west wind and returned discouraged to Moscow. The stage was being set for the Communist struggle against Nasser's dictatorship, and a crack now appeared in those Arab nationalist forces which were formerly united by their simple desire to expel the West and the feudal lords.

Search Goes on

The failure of the March 8 revolt in Mosul which was touched off by a Communist-led demonstration of two lakhs of Iraqi peace partisans, further aggravated the strain in Cairo's relation with Baghdad and Moscow. Two weeks ago, for four days running, Nasser attacked Iraqi Communists, international Communism and Kassim. He said on March 15 that the Arab Communists aimed at establishing a "red dictatorship built on blood." Iraq hit back. An Iraqi broadcast four days ago charged Nasser of "changing his Communist apparel for a cowboy shirt." Meanwhile, Russia agreed to give Iraq Rs. 77 crores in economic aid and the Soviet Premier, Nikita Khrushchev also joined the battle of abuses. On March 19 he described 42-year-old Nasser as "a young President and somewhat hot-headed."

Into this fantastic picture of the Arab world full of blood and furry, can enter any time an assassin's knife, more army revolts and street riots. And the search for the hero continues.

When you read in the British Press, the phrase, 'Sensation in Court', it means nothing more than that the lawyer may have raised his voice a little or the judge looked sternly at the prisoner.

—WYNFORD VAUGHAN THOMAS
in a BBC programme.

CINEMA

EXHIBITORS' MALPRACTICES

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: The exhibitors held their annual meeting in Bombay and elected a new executive for the Cinema Exhibitors Association of India. Mr. Bharucha's presidential address contained nothing new. As usual he enumerated a long list of grievances against the Government. He wanted the closing time to be extended, he complained against the various taxes and corrected "the misconception that the cinema business is a profitable business". He was gracious enough to admit that it is profitable in some major towns but not in small towns. He blamed the Government for not providing facilities to build new theatres or renovate old theatres. He also pleaded for a reduction in the entertainment tax.

But there were many vital points which affected the producers and distributors which Mr. Bharucha conveniently forgot in his speech. For instance, he did not point out what justification the exhibitors had for raising the rental by almost 50 per cent in Bombay City and almost all other towns. In Bombay, every week exhibitors are getting about a lakh of rupees more from the distributors in 1959 as compared with the earnings in 1955-56. On what grounds is this rise justified when the exhibitor's expense has not gone up by even a single pie? All the 'taxes' are borne by the distributor; what is worse, the distributor has to pay at least Rs. 20,000 per week under the table—as black rental to the exhibitors. Mr. Bharucha has not a word of protest against such exhibitors.

True, outside Bombay, the exhibitors have to pay advances to distributors. But here also the exhibitors are shrewd enough to cover their 'losses', if any. The fact remains that the exhibitors are the most prosperous branch of the industry. On an average, with protection and other guarantees the exhibitors earn 60 per cent of

the net collections and at the monopoly centres, the exhibitors do not pay even 10 per cent share to the distributors.

Before Mr. Bharucha and his associates expect a fair deal from others, let them be fair to the distributors who supply them

with pictures and let them be fair to the workers. Is it not a fact that one of the members of the executive had closed his theatre for two years rather than concede the workers their just demands? Are the exhibitors not responsible for the evil of black-marketing in tickets? What steps have they taken to stop this racket?

H. S. Rawal's 'Shararat' has at last been released. Inspired from his own 'Jhooti Kasmen'.

SHORTLY COMING



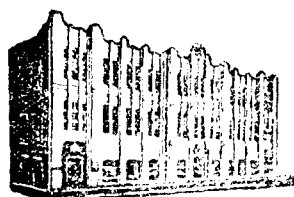
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Total Working Funds	46,05,11,811

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Rawail's new star-studded musical offering is a rather queer mixture of romance, comedy and melodrama.

The first half of 'Shararat' is true to its title and depicts the efforts of a crazy youth to court a girl to whom he is betrothed. Enlivened with Kishore's antics and Abrar Alvi's spicy dialogue, the picture, though absurd and nonsensical, is delightful all the same. It is only when the story takes a tragic turn with Meena Kumari being married to Raaj Kumar, another youth, by her father and Kishore commits suicide by taking poison, that the picture loses its charm.

In the second half we find Meena Kumari almost faced with a situation like 'Sharda' when she finds the brother-in-law an exact replica of her dead lover—a miracle achieved by the double role played by Kishore. Had he not been a 'replica' but the 'lover' himself the story would have been dramatically interesting. But the double role not only deprives it of logical interest but gives an artificial and false atmosphere to the whole proceedings. More so because Kishore behaves exactly alike in both the roles.

The seed of suspicion about Meena and his own brother is sown in Raaj Kumar's mind in a rather flimsy manner. And the climax arising out of it with the inevitable child's illness, and mother's affection proving superior to medical aid, is too unconvincing to be digested by any discriminating picturegoer.

Meena Kumari's valiant effort to give credence to the tragic situation is most praiseworthy while Kishore is delightful as usual. But unlike 'Loku Chori' in which he played the double role with greater variation and subtlety, he has failed to give different identities to the two characters he portrays. Raaj Kumar fills the role well, while Kumkum gives a scintillating performance as a street singer. The excellent photography by Dwarka Divecha and the popular musical score by Shankar Jaikishen are the highlights of 'Shararat'.

Shailendra's lyric 'Ajib Hai Zindagi' is really haunting.

Chimanlal Trivedi, the veteran writer and producer, celebrated his fiftieth birthday on Thursday at National Sports Club with a lavish dinner which was attended by many film personalities.

Chimanlal Trivedi who began his career twenty-five years ago has been always an ambitious producer. He started his career as a screen writer for Sagar and wrote his first screenplay for a Motilal-Sabita starrer.

Later he migrated to Calcutta and produced pictures in association with New Theatres, the most notable of which was 'Vidyapati'. Back in Bombay he became the head of Circo and was responsible for producing 'Geeta', 'Mahatma Vidur' and 'Apna Ghar'. Circo went into liquidation and Chimanlal Trivedi launched on a new project under a new banner, Laxmi Movietone. He imported Phani Mazumdar, Pahari Sanyal, Leela Desai, Sudhir Sen and several other artistes and technicians from Calcutta and launched on 'mass' production. During that era, his two pictures that had any artistic pretence were 'Kadambari' and 'Amrapalli'. 'Kadambari' proved a box office hit.

With the war time boom over, Chimanlal Trivedi like many other producers of his time, went bankrupt. But after a lapse of some years, he resumed production again. Instead of making ambitious pictures as in the old days, he was confined himself to making quick costume fantasies like 'Jung Bahadur' and 'Chamok Chandni' on the one hand and mythologicals like 'Raj-rani Meera' on the other. Today, next to Filmistan's Tolaram Jalan, he produces a greater number of pictures than any other producer. Both these producers are vying with each other for quantity; and as for quality Chimanlal Trivedi is busy making 'Reporter' starring Raj Kapoor and Shyama for the last two years. From the producer of 'Vidyapati', 'Apna Ghar' and 'Kadambari', one expects better pictures.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

INDIA'S MINERAL WEALTH

Sir,—Not so very long ago U.S.A., was getting worried about her diminishing oil resources and how to conserve the same by lower consumption annually, and U.K. likewise regarding her coal. Their anxiety has somewhat abated owing to hopes of getting atomic energy, though how it will compare as regards cost with orthodox sources remains to be seen. This same intense intent in regard to the vital interests of the country appears to be at the back of the compulsory control said to have been recently imposed by President Eisenhower on exports of crude oil, residual oil, etc.

With an awareness of the above experience in other countries we should proceed slowly in respect of our iron ores and other items of India's mineral wealth. Two of our steel plants have not completed their expansion programmes; our three nation-owned plants have yet to come to the stage of producing according to plan and a fourth plant in the public sector is in the offing.

There is a wider aspect to ponder. During the last century, the West considered themselves as ascending a spiral of moral improvement and material prosperity and thought the road had no end. Disillusionment has since come. On the one hand there is talk of universal peace, and goodwill — no war pacts for fifty years, complete disarmament and so on. On the other hand no nation is prepared to trust another; there is fear all round and an atmosphere of cold war pervades throughout. In fact all the Governments seem to feel that the latter is a fact to be faced and the former mere make-believe and wishful thinking.

There is no need to go far into history; the last twenty years will suffice. Three nations entered into an entente. Even within the first few years, as recent publications have disclosed, rifts began to appear among them; there were combinations of two against the

third. And now there are wide open differences. Japan waged war against the other Eastern countries and came almost to the borders of India! Further during the war there were recriminations among the entente powers over the sale of war materials to enemy countries.

With all this background, and our own expansion of the steel industry is it prudent to sell large quantities of our iron ores for immediate cash and dissipate our potentialities.

K. V. IYER

CO-EDUCATION

Sir,—Co-education has multiplied the problems of discipline. Our boys have yet to learn the great virtues of chivalry and magnanimity towards the weaker sex. The more irrepressible of the boys view the girls with derision. Their dress and behaviour provide the raw-material for loose talk and uncharitable remarks. College authorities find themselves helpless as resort to stern measures is like disturbing a hornet's nest.

It is not always that the boys are in the wrong. The college girl often thinks it modern or progressive to imitate her counterpart in the West, thanks to the influence of Hollywood films. This results in 'provocative, daring and revealing' sartorial habits. The young ladies forget that they are within the four walls of the college and not in a film studio.

Separate institutions, besides improving the atmosphere of our colleges and high schools, will provide for the fullest development of the individual personalities and special tastes of the two sexes. It is regrettable that this problem has not received the attention and thought it deserves even at a time when so much is talked about improving the discipline and the quality of teaching and in spite of the universally accepted dictum that the same pattern of education is not suited

to both sexes. It is widely known that in Russia co-education is conspicuous by its absence and that that country is happily free from the grave problems that arise from sexual indiscipline. If things are allowed to take their own course, women's education in our country will receive a serious set-back. It is amazing that women's organisations are keeping silent over this matter. Let not freedom include the freedom to throw off modesty and the great values that have a stabilising influence over the family and society. D. VENKATA RAO.

Sidelights

(Continued from page 4)

Even very great men have felt indebted to him for some good service or other. I have it from Rajaji that at a time when he was disheartened and felt diffident about his ability to collect the prescribed target for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, Rangaswami came to his aid and by his splendid energy and optimism, all obstacles were overcome.

SAKA

From 27—3—59 at Madras
NEW ELPHINSTONE



DAILY THREE SHOWS
3-15, 6-30, 9-30 P.M.

**Quite a striking disguise, Sitaram,
but why hide your handsome features?"**

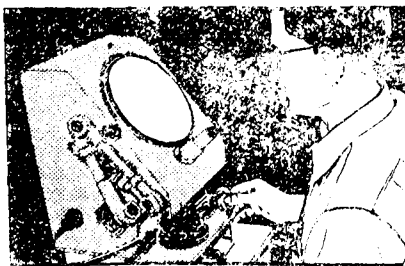
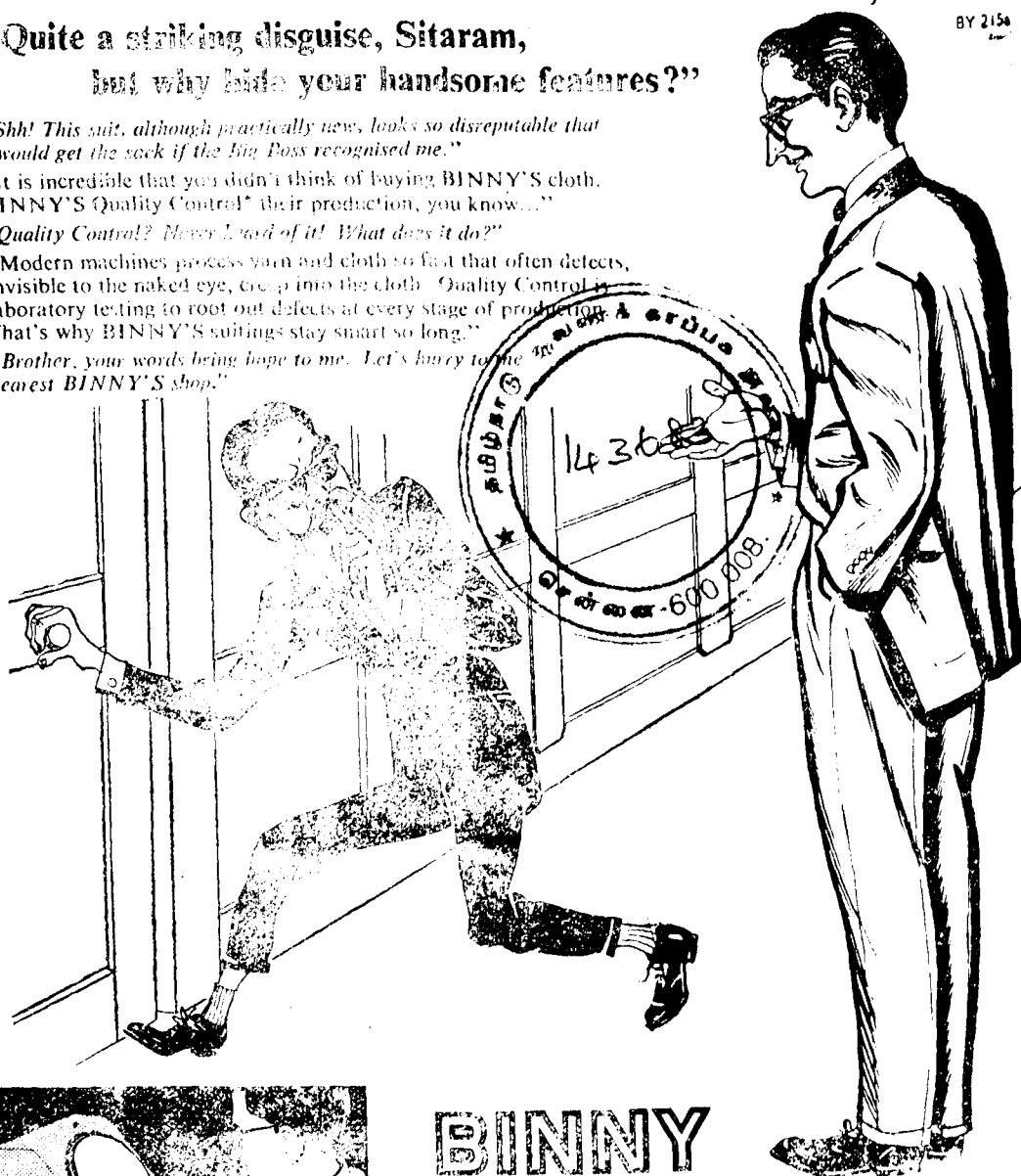
"Shh! This suit, although practically new, looks so disreputable that I would get the sack if the Big Boss recognised me."

"It is incredible that you didn't think of buying BINNY'S cloth. BINNY'S Quality Control! their production, you know..."

"Quality Control? Never heard of it! What does it do?"

"Modern machines process yarn and cloth so fast that often defects, invisible to the naked eye, creep into the cloth. Quality Control is laboratory testing to root out defects at every stage of production. That's why BINNY'S suitings stay smart so long."

"Brother, your words bring hope to me. Let's hurry to the nearest BINNY'S shop."



***This projector magnifies
500 times—reveals every defect
lurking in the cotton**

The quality of cloth depends to a large extent on the cotton used. Only specially selected cotton goes into BINNY'S fabrics. That's why they last so long.

BINNY

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BINNY'S manufacture nearly 90 million yards of cloth every year. Here are some of the varieties they make:

Shirtings - Khaki Drills - Bleached & Dyed Drills - Towels -
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