



SWARAJYA

VOL - III

NO - 39

APRIL 4. 1959

5L /
ISSUED, N 5857
NS9-3
143604

SWARAJYA

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 39

MADRAS, APRIL 4, 1959

15 Naya

REAL AND MAKE-BELIEVE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"Who is the old fool talking about *dharma* in this atomic age?"

"We have to conquer space as the other nations are doing. Don't talk of conquering oneself."

"We are in a revolution, don't you see the violent objections themselves demonstrate this. We are marching. No one can stop us."

Thus and in such like other terms are we asked to accept imitative tyranny in a mimic revolution.

A great and sincere revolution like a flood or storm of nature may devastate, but would still be a step in nature's evolutionary process. So were the revolutions of Paris and Moscow each in its time, storms of humanity. There was disorder, tyranny and destruction. But they were eruptions of the order of the storms and floods of nature that construct while destroying. But we have here in India a pinchbeck anarchy which is destructive, and constructively worthless, because there is no volcanic sincerity behind it but only a book-made ambition, just imitative puppetry. There is no invincible faith but petty political defensive careerism posing as faith, yellow brass pretending to be gold, insincerity claiming all the privileges of a national storm. Uncompromising clarity, unalterable faith born in the heart; these are the forces behind a revolution that does not wait for the old order to finish

before beginning a new one, which explodes a new way of life in the very thick of the old order, starting not at the beginning but right in the middle. Make-believe cannot achieve it. People must wipe themselves out not looking for any gain or profit or power.

Something like this we certainly had when we started Non-cooperation in 1920. But what about sincerity now? The political architects of Socialism today are far, very far from it, very far from uncompromising clarity of vision or faith that springs from the heart. The first touch of acid shows up the brass that puts on the show of gold.

Revolution like a natural storm or flood does not concern itself with time and opportunity. It has its own laws which it obeys. An electrical fan blows some wind but however fast or noisy you make it, it is not the same thing as a storm. People do not mind darkness, hunger and death when the foundations of existence explode and reconstruct themselves. But that climate of suffering everything for the faith that explodes from within cannot be called in for a make-believe revolution. Men and women will not suffer or die for it. It is the make-believe itself that nature in its irony will cause to explode in ridicule and defeat.

The basic fact that must be clearly realised is that what vio-

lence does is different from the way of non-violence which we have nationally and internationally adopted. Non-violence has its own course totally different from that ushered in by bloodshed. The one has nothing to do with the other although we may use and play with words and figures of speech that blur the difference. A bloody revolution is not the same thing as what brings in a non-violent re-birth, although we may call the latter a revolution and a struggle calling into requisition war-like phrases advocating it. More appropriate for non-violent birth would be the jargon of midwifery than that of military operations.

Lightning and thunder precede rains but theatre-technicians can produce flashes of lightning and thunder-claps for the stage with tin cans and mirrors. These however do not herald the rains that feed the grainfields; they are good enough storm for an evening's entertainment but we cannot expect the life-giving rain that follows nature's thunder-claps.

The Dalai Lama

The Dalai Lama, the spiritual and temporal sovereign of Tibet, is an able and attractive young man who has just earned his doctor's degree under Chinese professors. He has hitherto met the wishes of Peking only in so



THE PARROT'S DOUBT

(Fable by RAJAJI, translated by

MRS. A. V. RAMAN)

"The Lord is omnipresent. Why do these foolish people worship Him in idols in the forms of *lingams* and statues and call themselves Saivaites and Vaishnavaites respectively?" asked a crow which was sitting on the top of a temple wall.

The parrot seated nearby said, "If He is everywhere, is He also in those idols?"

"You are repeating someone else's words like a parrot" replied the crow.

The parrot felt ashamed and flew away. It went and sat next to a squirrel and expressed its doubt.

The squirrel said, "That crow is an argumentative creature. Do not heed to its prattle. But I have my own doubt".

"What is that?" queried the parrot.

"Is there one god or several gods?" asked the squirrel.

"Only one!" said the parrot emphatically.

"There, you are caught!" laughed the squirrel.

"How, why?" asked the parrot in fear.

"There! Do you see the cat? Ask him!" advised the squirrel.

"Oh! no. I am afraid to go near the cat" was the parrot's reply.

"How can a coward ever learn? Go slowly and ask boldly" insisted the squirrel.

"Uncle! I dare not go near the cat. If I were to go, both my doubt and my life will be

cleared at one stroke! You had better tell me. Did you not build the Sethu Dam for Lord Rama?" The squirrel's vanity was touched.

"Well, I shall tell you. Listen!" he said and began to give a lecture.

"If idols are worshipped there will be as many gods as there are idols. Isn't it? How is it you couldn't understand this simple arithmetic?" asked the squirrel.

The parrot replied submissively, "I am only a parrot. Which school did I attend? So, how can you expect me to know mathematics?" Thus saying she flew away quietly.

The parrot went and sat on a lawn near a butterfly. "Oh little butterfly! You are very clever, aren't you?" asked the parrot.

"Oh, yes. I know everything. What is your doubt?" asked the butterfly.

"How can one god reside in many temples in several forms? Can one single fruit be several fruits?" asked the parrot.

The butterfly laughed and said, "Parrots can only think of fruits?"

"Oh, please don't laugh", pleaded the parrot. "I do not understand anything. This doubt of mine splits my head in two. Please tell me. You know everything."

"Oh, parrot," said the insect, "Look above, what do you see?"

"I see the sun in all his glory" answered the parrot.

"See below, what do you observe there?" asked the butterfly.

The butterfly put questions like a school master and the parrot answered like a student.

"The shadows of the leaves and the light of the sun in between the spaces", answered the parrot.

"Wherefrom did the light fall upon the earth?" was the next question.

"From the sun", answered the parrot.

"Now, see, I shall count", said the butterfly and flitted from place to place counting as he went. "One, two, three" and so on till he counted one hundred and eight.

"Yes, yes. I have understood", cried the parrot. "One sun above becomes one hundred and eight in the shade below".

"Yes. He will become one hundred and eight or even one thousand and eight. There will be as many as there are spaces in between the leaves. Each man has a God and in each temple is a God. Thus there will be a crore of Gods." Saying thus the butterfly flew away.

The parrot was astonished.

The butterfly is an insect which flies from flower to flower and drinks the honey without harming the flowers. Isn't it? That is the reason why it was endowed with this intelligence.

Lord Kannan whispered into the parrot's ear, "Is it not myself who remains in the flower as honey? What wonder is there in the wisdom of the insect which has drunk of me".

"I am One. To those who meditate I appear as many", said Lord Kannan to the parrot.

The parrot's doubt was cleared.

far as he has acted as chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet. According to Tibetan custom, he should now, I'm told, tour his vast, but still — in spite of new Chinese roads — undeveloped country, where he is universally

venerated. The Chinese fear that the effect of such a royal progress would be to strengthen the morale of the rebels. So far, the Dalai Lama has refused their invitation to go to Peking. Tibetans now fear that Peking intends to abduct him. The result has

been fighting inside Lhasa. In south-eastern Tibet, the warlike Khambas, who resisted the Communists in 1950, and again rebelled in 1956, have now gathered under the united command of 16 chieftains and formed

(Continued on Page 15)



Sotto Voce

The Gospel of Work

Totalitarian ideas have a fascination, not least for those idealists who would violently recoil from any such imputation. Fanatics who are obsessed with their vision of the good life have been responsible for half the world's misery. So I am frankly apprehensive of the current passion to put to work our four-hundred million pairs of hands on the task of re-making India. The suggestion that these hands are idle now is simply not true; in a recent cross-country jaunt I saw hundreds of square miles of the parched earth of North Karnataka carefully ploughed and pathetically waiting for the clouds. It bespoke neither the idleness of the peasant nor the rapacity of the owner but the niggardliness of Nature and the futility of paper plans.

"Can we not do what Mao's China is doing?" ask those who in the same breath declare that they would not tolerate for a moment the regimentation that has produced the Chinese communes. It would be extremely naive to believe that China has moved mountains literally with bare hands without employing devices which would destroy democracy. What Mr. Jaya Prakash Narain says on this matter cannot be bettered. "The psychological climate of hysteria that is created, the overt and covert methods of coercion that are used, the lying and deceit that are shamelessly practised would be impossible in a democratic regime".

Even more pertinent is his caution that "the temptation to use these well-tested and facile methods in order to drive the masses into action is a standing menace to the future of democracy in all the backward coun-

tries". The words I have italicised set in a new light Mr. Nehru's thesis that Socialism is the only salvation for backward countries. And what is it but an unscrupulous attempt to work up mass hysteria which says that if our second or third Plan fails or if co-operative farming is not accepted the inevitable alternative is Communism? Equally fatuous is the bogey that if we do not win in the race against China we shall go down before the Communist deluge.

An aside that Mr. Nehru permitted himself the other day regarding co-operatives is disturbingly revealing. He said that no compulsion would be used to make the peasants join co-operative farms, but a stray or cantankerous dissident here and there could not be permitted to hold up progress. How long will it be before authority by an easy transition persuades itself that the opposition of a 49 per cent minority might be as righteously overridden in the "general interest"? Such things have happened before. And the national apathy and frustration on which everybody harps is not a little due to the feeling that those who wield power do not care to find out what the unhappy people think or do what they want done. Their experience is that governments too often act as lawlessly and unpredictably as national calamities.

It is true that we have four hundred million pairs of hands. But there are four hundred million brains behind them and as many hearts. And if these are to be mobilised effectively, it will not do to feed them with slogans based on blue-prints to drag in Utopia by the forehair. Crores of rupees have gone down the drain

over C.D. and N.E.S. fancies and fallals. But nobody has thought of making a national survey of what every village lacks and wants. Much less of what every village can give or do. The problem, of course, is one of not only preparing a Domesday Book of that sort, but even more of discovering the real village spokesman.

You will not discover them by holding panchayat elections in the approved style. Mr. Jaya Prakash Narain calls for a vast army of voluntary workers. These must be local men, known and trusted; the outsider, unless he has extraordinary grit and staying power, will wilt in the atmosphere of suspicion and cynicism which unfortunately wrap village life like a miasma. Nor should doctrinaire notions lead to the exclusion of the traditional leadership based on caste and wealth. These leaders know the people and they know how to enthuse them for the satisfaction of concrete, felt needs.

Above all the decimation of the middle class, which seems to be the conscious or unconscious object of almost every official policy, must stop if the villages are to have a chance. It is the small or medium owner of land who today has the modicum of education, financial resource and capacity to set an example which may yet send new blood coursing through the veins of the rural community. After all it is this class to which we owe the founding or the strengthening of the few village industries there are. It has the idealism and the ability to look ahead. Through its instrumentality you will not achieve a revolution overnight, but may look for steadily slogging progress. Weed it out in a frenzy of egalitarian levelling down and red Revolution will be upon you before you know where you are.

VIGNESWARA

KALA VENKATRAO

By K. ISWARA DUTT

It is difficult to believe that Sri Kala Venkatrao passed to his rest. For, at no stage in his hectic life had he taken it, though more than once the worst threatened to happen. And even when physical rest was forced on him, if ever it was, never could he control his active mind from functioning at its dizziest, for the good of society, through the Congress to which he had so deliberately dedicated himself. It was all of a piece that he should have died as a Congressman, and in harness, unneglected by colleagues or opponents till his last breath.

In some respects there was none like Kala on the Andhra political scene: doubtless it was singularly attractive when benign Venkatappaiah, heroic Prakasam, picturesque Gopalakrishnayya, versatile Pattabhi, intrepid Ranga, dominated it, each in his own way and in his own day; doubtless others came on the scene to play a vital role, like suave Gopala Reddi and sturdy Sanjiva Reddi. But none of them was so

compulsive a figure inside the Congress, for tilting the scales at the organization level. In Andhra, Kala's was by far the most resourceful mind applied to politics while the Congress arena was his chess-board. He played the game to the manner born. It was both his strength and weakness that, in running or controlling the party machine, he was the supreme boss, in the line of the veteran Sardar. None like him in hitting the nails hard in the head when the occasion, from his own point of view, warranted it—and he had no tears to shed; for it was all politics while party politics, was nothing if not ruthless.

There was an episode characteristic of Kala in an hour of crisis. Obligated to take an unwilling decision when the Prakasam Ministry was in jeopardy, he reduced the problem before him to fundamentals. He said that he had but two alternatives, either to do political murder or to commit political suicide and had perforce to prefer murder to suicide. It was grim politics but extremely realistic. For, when he faced a Caesar, he gave notice of the assault, without going about it the Brutus way in the grip of philosophic disputation. It was a forthright and frontal attack, for a win or a loss. And he won.

It was his zest for the strife of politics—and there was none among his colleagues to whom politics was more the breath of life—that made Kala so controversial a figure in our politics. But whatever could be said of the merits of his stand or even of his political motive, he had certain outstanding traits which compelled the admiration of even his worst opponents. Whatever he did was for his party, maybe sometimes for his own group inside the party, but at no time for himself. Never had he any individual ends. His private character was spotless; his integrity in office was unimpeachable; his mind as a work-

ing instrument in politics was first-rate.

He was an amazingly well-read man. What he lacked in eloquence, he made up by his outstanding grasp of subjects. Through each problem he was confronted with, he drove a Roman hand. He always knew his mind and he could play his hand. Those who were familiar with him knew what it meant when he was holding the ring on his finger between his teeth. It portended a grave decision from which there was no turning back, whatever might happen and whoever might cross his path. He had no use for theories or abstractions. He was no visionary or doctrinaire. He was a hard-headed, cold-blooded realist. If there was economy in his words, there was precision in his deeds.

If politically he made enemies, personally he earned lasting friendships, for beneath the tough integument of the purposeful politician lay a sensitive heart, full of warmth for those who came within his own genial orbit. In his own countryside he rose to be something of a legendary figure. From his sylvan haunts he carried with him wherever he went, a certain rugged simplicity and an element of austerity which one never missed about him, whether he was in the statelily surroundings at Delhi or in the seductive Mughal environment at Hyderabad. To the many friends he left behind (and he left behind him no children), it is a consoling thought that, after life's 'fitful fever', his mortal frame was consigned to flames amidst the ashes where 'the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep'.

Karl Marx

Karl Marx lived in an age when the indignities of labour were inescapable, and so he dreamt of binding the working class together into a new elite. He never imagined that it would wither away by acquiring the income and the outlook of more prosperous classes. But his doctrines and his phraseology linger on.—*The Times*.

CLASS HATRED AND FALSE HOPES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Nobody objects to well managed co-operative stores. What those who have farming experience object to is to the forced co-operative cultivation that is in the offing of the Congress talk. Those who raise objections to the adumbrated Congress policy do not object to the principle of co-operation or the *dharma* of mutual help. Our rulers in Delhi have put on the role of new Marx's and Engels' and have begun to talk dialectics, in their hearts staking all hope on State compulsion.

The poor must be looked after. There must be much greater food production. These two problems form the challenge of our time. The answer is not the rousing of class hatred. More toil, more compassion, these are the answers; more love, not hatred, is wanted, and it must be roused by a spiritual effort which Shri Jawaharlal Nehru is qualified and in a position to put forth.

The true *Yuga mantra* is work and compassion. Work makes wealth, and compassion distributes it without removing the incentive for work. Expropriation or other compulsion, of whatever nature it may be, kills incentive and thereby acts as a hindrance to work and production. These are simple truths derived from experience. The new Marxism does not realise where it is riding to. The *dharma* that should be revived is — Let us do maximum work, all of us in every station or job: Let the well-to-do look on themselves as trustees of their superfluous wealth. These twin principles must now be our *dharma*. Let us do all we can to teach and spread these twin doctrines. They will be like the *bala* and *atibala* that Viswamitra taught Ramachandra. This is the answer to the challenge of our times, not an ineffective and ill-thought out imitation of what the Communists are doing elsewhere. Imitations produce no good results but only ridicule from those whom we imitate and ultimately finish up in

the people preferring the original to the copy.

We are not objecting to real and plain co-operation which is true only if voluntary. What people object to is to the violation of the Constitution which guaranteed freedom of avocation and the right to earned wealth and property.

No one objects to co-operation among those who wish to do it with their own properties if they find it more profitable than independent management. What is objected to is to the idea that what has been some one's property should be made some other people's property whether it is to be held in co-operation or otherwise. What people feel is that this is a violation of the Constitution and that the net result of it will be both injustice and a drop in production.

The issue of farming practice, whether personal proprietary cultivation will yield better results or whether organisational management will in our country result in higher production, is a question of fact. Co-operation of villagers and management by a secretary or committee elected or accepted by them is not the same thing as a high grade technical corporation with tractors and modern equipment managing a large tract of virgin land and bringing it under the plough with the help of big capital and science. A rural co-operative organisation in our countryside cannot be very different from what we have seen in many experiments that have been already made especially in the South where much more earnest efforts were made in such directions than in other parts of India. In any case, such a policy can be subjected to trial and error although error in this case means serious fall of food production. This must be remembered by lovers of doctrine. Experiments might however be made and lessons learned afresh.

But expropriation cannot be tolerated. So far nothing has

been said about compensation in connection with ceilings; nor has any one thought about the consequences of private investments on land being liquidated into cash or Government bonds and the impact of it on inflation which is already a matter of concern.

There is an unreal and indirect way of dealing with issues which want of courage tempts people into. Those who object to ceilings on landed property think it is good tactic to say, let there be ceilings on all kinds of income. The extension of an error is not an answer to a wrong policy. Again they attack the co-operative farming that is proposed for the land to be taken away from its lawful owner instead of protesting against the illegal invasion on rights which are protected by the law of the land. If some one proposes to rob a woman of her jewellery and melt it down into gold, is she to be arguing with the man about the infrugality of that procedure on the ground that it would be better he retains them as jewels? This is just what those who do not want to be robbed of their land are now doing. They object to its being put by Government under co-operative cultivation instead of objecting to the expropriation itself. These indirect attempts to stem the tide of tyranny will serve only to confuse real issues.

What should most severely be objected to is the policy of spreading class hatred by rousing false hopes among the wage-earning poor and setting them up against the few who possess some property. Socialism should in this age when we have so much past experience to teach us, be not allied to policies that breed class hatred. It is easy to raise votes on hatred but that is not good government nor the way to raise prosperity or increase the quantum of food grains that come into the urban markets. Means should be found for making people happy. Rousing hatred is not the way. The satisfaction born of hatred is not happiness. Hatred has a way of getting out of hand even if it be under Government management.

Short Stories

	Rs.	nP.
Collected Short Stories of Aldous Huxley ..	17	06
Collected Stories of Sean O'Faolain ..	17	06
Collected Short Stories of Somerset Maugham—3 Vols.	33	75
Dubliners—Short Stories by James Joyce with 15 drawings by Robin Jacques ..	10	19
P. S. Prichett's Collected Stories ..	17	06
Selected Stories by Malachi Whitaker ..	7	75
The Best of A. J. Alan — Short Stories selected by Kenelm Foss ..	8	56
Jataka Tales — Birth Stories of the Buddha — Selected and retold by Ethel Beswick	6	94

K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A, Royapettah High Road,
Mylapore, Madras-4

THE DOCTRINE OF TRUSTEESHIP

R. K. PATIL'S LETTER TO RAJAJI

In a letter to Rajaji Sri R. K. Patil writes :

Nagpur,
24th March '59

My dear Rajaji,

I have been impelled to write this letter in order to understand better and more fully your brief article in the weekly SWARAJYA under the heading 'The Right Alternative'.

The points you make in the above article are as follows :

(a) Marxism and Socialism are really the same. In both 'the individual dies', the only difference being that in the one he dies a violent death while in the other he accepts it in a spirit of resignation.

(b) If the individual is to be retained and is to contribute fully to the general welfare the only way is to make society conscious of the 'duty and discipline of compassion,' flowing from dharma.

(c) In doing so, the whole problem will not be handed over to the sweet will and pleasure of the rich, because 'misconduct invites the great and powerful sanction of social obloquy and personal unhappiness.'

The issue really is what we mean precisely by 'retention of the individual.' In the same article is a quotation from Gandhiji, in which a plea is made for trusteeship in the following words :

"The rich man will be left in possession of his wealth, of which he will use what he reasonably requires for his personal needs, and will act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for the society. To insist on more would be to kill the goose that laid the golden egg".

A little before this, Gandhiji is saying "Society will be the poorer, for it will lose the gifts of a man who knows how to accumulate wealth".

The issue really boils down to the following propositions :

(a) Should trusteeship be regulated through individual conscience propped up by dharmic considerations or through social action?

(b) Historically have we not evolved from the process of regulating trusteeship through individual

dual conscience to one of regulation through social action?

(c) If trusteeship is regulated through social action, will it involve the killing of the goose that lays the golden egg?

It would be appropriate to consider (a) and (b) together. In Europe in the Middle Ages, and in India till the advent of British rule, had the process of the regulation of trusteeship through individual conscience backed up by dharma, not sufficient trial? Let us picture our old Indian society, with its considerations of caste, untouchability, prohibition against going abroad, etc. True, economic disparities were then not so acute, the struggle for existence not so keen, and the society then was much more stable than now. But could we say that the individual contributed then much more to national growth than say in the British period from Ram Mohan Roy to Gandhi? On the contrary the dharma as we understood it in the pre-British period meant a static society, and all change was looked upon as against dharma. In the British period, the dharmic hold became loosened, and the individual contributed a lot to the acceptance of new ideas by society. It thus appears that historically 'the duty and discipline of compassion' has had no particular part to play in introducing large-scale social changes by the acceptance of new ideas.

The same perhaps is true in the economic sphere also. In the West everybody is agreed that *Laissez faire* has failed to solve economic problems. As the Chief Minister of Madras, you passed the Tanjore Tenants and Panniyals' Act. You could not leave the results to 'the duty and discipline of compassion'. All modern legislation is based on this 'failure of 'the duty and discipline of conscience'.

The issue, as I see it, is not of the long and short road, but about the destination we want to go to, and the mode of reaching the destination. By whatever name we call it, Sarvodaya or Socialism, the destination is one in which property, being a social product, would be subject to social ownership and control. This is basic. Do you accept this? The retention of

the individual is to be secured, but not at the cost of the social ownership of wealth. Perhaps, some could argue that this is impossible as things are today. If so, we must find out ways and means of doing so. Even in Sarvodaya, gramdan involves the surrender—albeit voluntarily, but all the same surrender—of private ownership. It is not merely a society based on non-exploitation, but one based on positive sharing. The individual should feel that his interests are one with the group and vice versa. It thus appears that the 'retention of the individual' must be co-extensive with the social control of the instruments of production. If there is contradiction it must be resolved.

How is the goal to be reached? Socialists favour the agency of the State. The Sarvodayists want a change of heart. The duty and discipline of compassion would certainly play some part in producing a change of heart. Here there is clearly a difference in approach, but on further consideration it appears that democracy is the bridge between the two. In a democracy the State cannot produce changes unless the people are made ready to receive and accept them. And making the people ready by propaganda and persuasion is the first step in a change of heart, i.e. Sarvodaya.

Will this kill the goose which laid the golden egg? Historically this fear does not appear justified. Socialism has everywhere led to an increase in production and general prosperity. This is so whether the country is Communist or Socialist. The practice of the principles of Marxism has everywhere led to an increase in production and improvement in standards of life. The reverse also has been generally true.

May I request you to let me know where this thinking is wrong or incorrect?

Rajaji's Reply

Sri R. K. Patil has written a very closely reasoned letter pervaded by his characteristic kindli-

ness. The issues remaining over after his arguments as it appears to me are set out briefly below.

We have to get every one to work to maximum capacity. Otherwise there can be no increase of production or reduction of national poverty, without which there is no meaning in directing our attention to distribution. This is fundamental.

How shall we get the maximum output of honest work? Compulsion is the way in Communist lands, which leads to serfdom and the effacement of the individual in the State. To make every one a wage-earner and to make the wage high enough to be an incentive for hard work would be a futile waste. We must find a non-violent way that leaves the individual sense of freedom intact and also creates maximum incentive to work. It is clear that for this, we must revive our traditional dharma or voluntary concern for the community along with a drive for maximum work.

*Kurvanneveha karmaani
Jijeevishech chhatam samaah
Evamtvayi naanyatheto sti*

Social action is necessary but what kind of social action is the question? Democratic compulsion, i.e. the coercion of the minority by the majority is no less compulsion than that of old style autocrats. We can provoke class conflicts, set one group against another offering advantages to the former and get the 'consent' of the larger group. This would be 'democratic' consent, but it is not the consent required in a scheme of non-violence. Compulsion, whatever be the source of authority, kills incentive as well as freedom.

Dharma revived is the only effective and proper social action which will keep the goose alive and encourage it to lay its golden eggs. The dharma of hard work and the dharma of compassion, both together, this is the social action called for in a non-violent scheme.

The *laissez faire* doctrine was accepted as gospel truth some decades ago by the highest autho-

rities of social science, even as strongly and confidently as now Socialism through State-force is being commended. *Laissez faire*, it is now stated, has failed. Socialism too will end in a recognition that with the loss of individual freedom and initiative, the net result will be negative and far from good. If it has not already been found to be this, it will soon be.

I shall not take up here the question of the cost, the waste and the inefficiency of bureaucratic social action and how it must lead to 'tyrannies of all kinds. America has survived the attacks on *laissez faire* by suitable State action calculated to moderate the excesses of materialistic *laissez faire*. The freedom given by that doctrine to the individual was exaggerated by the materialistic doctrine of life that accompanied and nullified most of the truths enunciated in the nineteenth century. Liberty in an atmosphere of dharma such as we in India can still hope to revive, is quite a different thing from the *laissez faire* of a materialistic philosophy. No policy can be judged aright unless its aim is rightly enunciated and kept in view. The materialistic philosophy of the last century vitiated its policies.

The spirit of sacrifice was seen in action (even in this twentieth century) when we started Non-co-operation. What is required is a re-statement of patriotic duty and a firm spiritual leadership with faith in the people and an open abrogation of coercion of the few by the many.

INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman :

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,
K.C.S.I., D.C.L. (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business
transacted efficiently and
quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits
which may be ascertained on
application.

S. Krishnaswami,
Secretary.

Quick,
soothing
relief
from pain

The gentle touch of
AMRUTANJAN,
Conqueror of Pain,
quickly relieves
throbbing aches
and pains.

AMRUTANJAN



AMRUTANJAN LTD.,
Madras-4.
Also at Bombay-1,
Calcutta-7.

QUIXOTE QUITOLOGY

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The peremptory bidding to get on or get out rules out persuasion; indeed it becomes incongruous when the principle of voluntary participation is claimed to be the fulcrum of the Nagpur thesis. If the text is re-read, it will be found to be a discursive statement on current affairs consisting of 1,500 words which is, with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, his standard-length of Congress resolutions which he usually dictates. Nobody will probably bother to analyse the co-operative part of the pronouncement when it has been sloganised into a war-cry.

There is the story of a political crisis in Dickens when someone of the name "Mr. Popkins" flouted a compromise plan. Why not Popkins' Plan? What about Popkins' Plan? The novelist devotes a paragraph to the speed with which nostrums gain ground when, according to him, Mr. Popkins himself was at his wits' end to explain his Plan, although the members of the party swore by that unknown quantity, Popkins' Plan. The aim of the Nagpur Plan is to double the quantum of food to be raised in seven years to catch up with the increase in population under curbs of planned parenthood. The procedure to

achieve the aim consists of service co-operatives, pooling of land, joint farming and rational distribution of harvests amongst the brethren engaged in altruistic labour without compulsive discipline. The words "coercive" and "collective" are taboo. And Congressmen who are not happy about the Plan must quit early. If it's the time for all good men to come to the aid of the party, this Quit cry deserves to be stopped forthwith despite its exhilarative effects in whipping up enthusiasm against "vested interests".

When in 1921 the late M. R. Jayakar took soundings on the policy of Responsive Co-operation, Pandit Motilal Nehru declared (batting an eyelid in quizzical humour) that he would cut off the diseased limbs. Gandhiji never could feel happy about terms like vivisection and amputation; and today one of the toes of the old diseased limb against which the surgical knife was once flourished, is in Parliament—M. S. Aney on a Congress ticket. At the time of acrimonious party-debate, the proposition was considered pretty stiff like the current threat of sweeping away critics with a broomstick. Is the Prime Minister so sure of his broomsmanship that he could cope with the long term effects of the dust raised in the rear? At her inauguration ceremony in New Delhi when Indira Gandhi was hailed by a panegyrist as the symbol of the Indian Revolution and the forerunner of the next world-era, she wanted dissidents to quit Congress instead of continuing within as so many question-marks. Doubting Thomas has raised doubts without forfeiting his rank as Apostle. If Gandhiji had said "Quit India", it was no directive to any section of his compatriots or Indian nationals. He merely wished foreigners to quit power whilst welcoming the presence of those who could acclimatize, Jinnah put in the amendment "Divide and Quit", and his last chance of the

Cabinet Plan ended in a quit after a split! In the English language, there is an expression "Quit Shilling" which meant a tip of one-shilling from the accused to the policeman if he is acquitted. The sporting custom implied that there were no hard feelings left between the citizen and the State at the end of a scrap. Kashmir was, so to speak, Jinnah's quit shilling, but digression apart, the temptation to cry "clear out" should be firmly resisted by statesmen as they raise doctrinal hatchets.

"There is nothing in the Nagpur resolution which a sensible person can oppose" asserts Jawaharlal and the parrot-cry will circulate all over India, fully amplified in re-intonation by Communists who enjoy Congress doing their work as a chaotic levelling down, before "co-operativisation" is re-spelt as "collectivisation". Meanwhile every Indian has his place under the sun and no one is entitled to point to any exit-door.

Three years ago, when the Prime Minister was rightly angered by the Dravidian cry in terms of another full-scale partition, he shouted back that those who thought that way had better quit the country. Now I have no serious objection to E. V. Ramaswami Naicker making a private bon-fire of Indian maps minus Tamil Nad, provided he pays for the purchases until supplies run out, but I had no little sympathy for the Periyar's retort: "Where shall we go? We were here first. Let late-comers depart first. House full". Similar is the sentiment I feel for folk anywhere in the world proclaimed "Stateless persons". Even the race-mad colour-phobes of Georgia and Alabama admit that those who are dark are Americans by every known definition. Negroes too assert their rights and the Federal Court recognizes the dignity of man.

The hauteur and the consciousness of superior knowledge behind the Quit cry in India or the Congress may prove a menace if it is allowed to spread. St. Paul wrote: "Quit ye like Men. Be strong".

ORDEAL IN AFGHANISTAN

By ALAN EDMONDS

"Don't come to this god-forsaken country," wrote a notoriously intolerant friend, "or you'll regret the day you were born." He went on to give a detailed account of his travels and hardships in "god-forsaken" Afghanistan.

Thus challenged, I set out from Teheran for the Afghan border. I scaled my small but precious mixture of pounds and dollars into a plastic wrapper, sewed this into a cotton bag made from worn-out underpants and stitched this false pocket into my trousers.

As I left the Persian customs post I gripped the handle of my swordstick. (In the 4,000 miles to this point the trusty blade had never drawn blood but several times came in useful as a tent pole and clothes prop.) A driver promised a free lift in his empty bus to Herat, the first town, 100 miles inside the border.

After two compulsory hours of entertaining the bored Afghan customs officers with news from the outside world we set out along one of the worst main roads in the world: deeply rutted dried mud, rocks and bridgeless river beds. Every mile or so we stopped to refill a leaking radiator or to beg a couple of pints of petrol from rare westbound vehicles, and covered the 100 miles to Herat in nine hours.

For what is by any standards an undeveloped country the state-run hotels are surprisingly good and I had a comfortable bed in a well-furnished room for Rs. 2.30.

I was quite contented and I determined to admonish my friend when we next met with the suggestion that when he passed through, God had perhaps merely been on a short holiday.

The next day a man was sent with me to report to the police—a requirement at every town I stopped in overnight—and find the bus station. The police took two hours to mark my passport and I missed the daily bus to Kandehar. Back to the hotel, where I tipped my guide. But

thereafter, whenever I set foot outside he followed me and nothing could persuade him to go away. I was a bit puzzled by his large boots, though he dressed like a shepherd, in a country of sandals.

Then, in a crowded bazaar, he was the only civilian to throw up a smart salute to an army officer. I twigged it, he admitted it: he was a police spy. But at last I gave him the slip by crawling with my luggage through a hole in the hotel's back fence. That made my day. I had a plain-clothes man with me in most towns after that.

The 400-mile journey to Kandehar in a lorry-bus (there are no railways in Afghanistan), packed about twice as densely as a third class Indian train compartment, was one of the most uncomfortable in my life. We rattled and bumped along through mile after mile of almost unrelieved desert, the dust coming up in clouds through the floorboards and everybody chewing kharab (a kind of oral snuff) and spitting furiously though they couldn't see the floor for humanity.

The seats had but a meagre layer of upholstery and were so close together we had to sit sideways. Cafes were rare and the diet was usually bread and tea. The journey took thirty-four hours.

Worse was to come. The bus from Kandehar to Kabul was in much worse condition than the last. We ran into rain and the roof leaked badly. Then snow that got deeper with every mile. It was the blanket of snow which probably saved a man's life. We went over a bump so violent that he fell off the roof, where he and some others were riding, and was injured.

We passed that night in a tea-house and made very slow progress the next day, finally giving up the struggle behind a line of a dozen abandoned vehicles. The passengers force-marched in single file through the snow—noth-

ing looked so much like the retreat from Moscow—to the town of Ghazni, where every house is a fortress, every fortress a house. And all built of mud.

There we spent four days while the local authorities played a shall-we-shan't-we comic opera with the one remaining snow-plough more or less in working order. In these four days I read an English translation of the Koran—the only reading matter I could find—from cover to cover. Heavy going, like the bus ride.

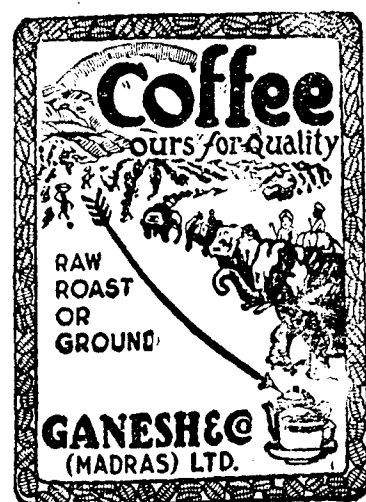
Even when we started again we made only a few furlongs' progress at a time between digging ourselves out of snowdrifts. It was now so bitterly cold that I imagined my feet were getting frostbite and when we again abandoned the bus and struggled to the shelter of a mud fortress I was on the point of collapse.

We reached Kabul on the eighth day. Gone was the dismal desert. The city was completely cradled in the lap of a 12,000 ft. high, snow-covered mountain ring. In winter, at least, Kabul must be one of the world's most spectacular capitals.

Two days later I was riding in comfort in the British Embassy mail van through the magnificent Kabul river gorge, climbing to 1,000 feet above the torrent over a near-vertical drop, the road thick with ice and no parapet; the sensation was not exactly soothing.

Then, leaving deep winter behind, down the other side into springtime and rice fields, and so—after two weeks, a thousand miles—to Pakistan.

"Dear Peter: God forsook the deserts of West Afghanistan to reign in majesty in the mountains of the east. But then you never got that far."



SWARAJYA

(Published every Saturday)

77, LLOYDS ROAD, MADRAS-14

PHONE: 86640 & 85251

Single Copy: 15 Naya Paise

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

(Including Postage)

In India: Annual: Rs. 7.50,

Half-year: Rs. 4.00.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

PAKISTAN'S PRESSURE TACTICS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: Life was gay at the Capital on the occasion of Holi, much of the gaiety, or the inspiration for it, having been the bounteous gift of the Prime Minister who was at the top of his form amidst the revellers who appeared under his roof and on the lawns at his residence. Ministers, Members of Parliament, the Mayor, lent distinction to the gathering; the Mountbattens (mother and daughter) lent additional distinction. It was a most colourful spectacle—indeed the colours were laid too thick, not only on one's apparel but on one's anatomy, each having done his best for the other. Elsewhere in Delhi the scenes were boisterous. The Capital went colour-mad. But was it in true colours? For Holi came amidst tensions, near and far and yet not too far, causing considerable uneasiness to politically-minded citizens. Happenings in Tibet or Tukergam were distinctly on the ominous side and their repercussions on Delhi unmistakable. Yet the citizens of the Capital, under the Prime Minister's unofficial auspices, did not allow issues of grave importance to side-track matters of immediate interest. There could have been no better demonstration of the dominating fact that Delhi's political and social moods are different watertight compartments!

With Pakistan's violations of the borders continuing as a matter of course, or according to plan, India is having no respite. The way in which Tukergam has become part of Pakistan's occupied territory has come as a jolt to the Ministry of External Affairs. Its tongue is of course not tied, but its hands are. And Pakistan is least susceptible to protests, however strong. The Prime Minister is well aware of the feeling in the country but refuses to deviate into action. Nobody in India wants strife with Pakistan while everyone wants

India to be able to resist Pakistan's pressure tactics across the borders and aggressive inroads on Indian territory. But there seems to be no way out of the impasse and no escape from consequential resentment and irritation.

The situation in Tibet cannot, however, be so lightly treated. It is far too serious and complicated to admit of Indian complacency. There is none that does not know the meaning and significance of the assaults on the autonomy of Tibet. We have the authority of the Congress President to say that the Congress (which is the ruling party) is very much concerned. So the Government are. Yet it is one of the limitations of our foreign policy that we are so placed as not to be able even to raise our

voice loudly, though there is little doubt in anyone's mind where our sympathies lie. The dictates of diplomatic finesse do not seem to permit the Government of India to go beyond urging a peaceful settlement. It is hardly likely that Mr. J. P. Narayan's call for a positive, emphatic denunciation of Chinese aggression will make a difference to the Government in regard to their attitude of self-imposed restraint. There is a feeling, and a growing one, that India has placed herself in the position of a passive spectator while Communism, in whatever guise or under whatever pretext, is coming right to India's doorstep.

Nobody would say that the Prime Minister has been in any way responsible for the peculiarly difficult situation India is confronted with, round about the northern borders, east and west. But it is a fact that the situation there has so developed as to weaken the Prime Minister's position and authority. Over this nobody is, or can be, happy.

BOOK REVIEW

MAINSPRINGS OF CIVILISATION

"Mainsprings of Civilisation," by Ellsworth Huntington, published by the New American Library in the Mentor Series in 1959 is not only interesting because of its subject, but is especially appropriate at the present time for intellectuals when all over the world, including India, tremendous efforts are being made to remake the contemporary world into a new pattern of so-called "Welfare State," either as per the Fabian tactics of England and the U.S.A. or the revolutionary tactics of Russia and China. For the book raises and discusses the fundamental questions, "What is civilisation?" and "To what extent is it spontaneous?"

"Civilisation," according to the author, "is the unfinished, and perhaps never-to-be-finished, product of some great evolutionary force which permeates all nature". Civilisation is a question of qua-

lity and not quantity. Too often in the modern world this fact is forgotten, and it may well be that the frustration in which we live is the natural consequence of this mistake. The modern "Welfare State" aims too often at only quantity and not quality; it takes pride in the word secular, and shuns the word religious; it swears by the "common" man, and swears at the "uncommon" man, who alone embodies quality. This is specially so in democracies—whether ancient or modern—for the very philosophy of democracy is uniformity. This uniformity would inevitably lead to stagnation but for the fact that the principle of freedom which is the very foundation of democracy has within itself the power of regeneration. This permits an occasional genius—a mystic, a philosopher, a poet, an artist, an Emerson, a Ruskin, a Shelley, a

April 4, 1959

Lincoln, or a Gandhi—to inject the nectar of religion into the national life and give it a tone and a quality. The democratic politician of course disregards this fact, and the modern world is made to pay for the false doctor.

If civilisation is a force, "the action of this force is swayed by three great factors: namely biological inheritance, physical environment and cultural endowment. These three constantly react upon one another, and a knowledge of their combined influence is a pre-requisite to a full understanding of history. When all three factors are favourable, civilisation makes rapid progress; when all are unfavourable, retrogression is the rule. The author lays great stress upon the biological inheritance, and quotes the great achievement of small groups with a selective biological inheritance such as the Parsis, Jews, Puritans, Chinese Hakkas, German Junkers and the Icelanders. It may surprise many of us to learn that in the author's view among Europeans "few out-rank Iceland in the finer elements of Civilisation". The underlying reason the author gives for this pre-eminence is the biological stock. Perhaps our ancestors were not so foolish as we are inclined to take them to be when they laid great stress on racial purity. Ultimately it is the quality of the stock that tells, and the author compares Iceland and Newfoundland to prove his point.

The cultural endowment of a people is a part of their biological heritage, and this it is that almost compels two people living in almost identical physical environment to react in two different ways, and thus to build up two different civilisations. The Red Indians had lived in the same physical environment as their later successors the Pilgrim Fathers, but look at the two civilisations that the two created.

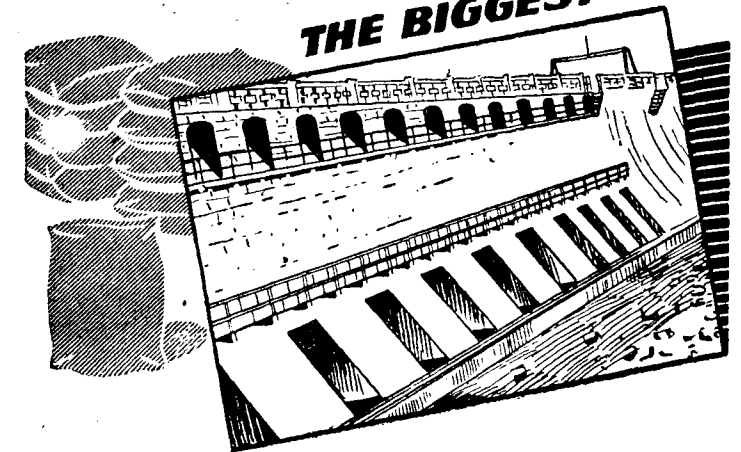
The book is illustrated with innumerable charts to prove the thesis that physical influences have a great part to play in the building up of civilisation at a particular place and time.

B. R. KUMAR.

SWARAJYA

11

**SOLID STRENGTH
AND STABILITY** Behind
THE BIGGEST DAMS



DURGA BRAND
PORTLAND CEMENT

Manufactured by

THE ANDHRA CEMENT CO., LTD.

Reg. Office: 337 THAMBU CHETTY ST. MADRAS-1

Factory Office: VIJAYAWADA - 2

Managing Agents:

**THE ANDHRA ENGINEERING COMPANY
(Private) LTD.****RAJAHMUNDRY.**

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ECHOES FROM THE HIMALAYAS

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

The people of Tibet, perched on the top of the world, never bothered down the centuries about all the noise below. They went on dodging devils and waiting patiently for the reincarnation of their uncles. All this has changed now. The monks in their monasteries have begun to think of dialectical materialism and their meditation on the futility of life is being interrupted by the noise of street demonstrations.

For the last many months news of political unrest in Tibet has been trickling down the snowy mountains of the Himalayas, and now the trickle has turned into a torrent. Two weeks ago there was bitter fighting in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, between the Tibetans and Chinese soldiers. An official Chinese report listed the Tibetan casualties at 4,000 captured. Although the Tibetans are more linked to China than to any other nation, their opposition to the Chinese has always been very strong.

The history of Tibet reveals that twelve centuries ago a Tibetan emperor had conquered China. But the roles were reversed in the eighteenth century when a Chinese emperor conquered Tibet. The Chinese authority over Tibet had remained nominal till the Communists came to power in China and invaded Tibet in 1950.

In a Hurry

Tibet is a big country, over 4½ lakhs square miles in area (nine times the size of Madras State) and is of strategic value to China. Besides, the Chinese believe that there must be tons of gold and other valuable minerals under the world's oldest earth crust in Tibet. They have already begun surveying the minerals of Tibet and drilling for oil. The Chinese are in no mood to tolerate any opposition and are in a hurry to get going.

When the Chinese came in 1950, Tibet was in a bad way and the age-old feudal theocracy was crumbling down. It was indeed an easy walk-over for the Chinese, although the frightened aristocracy and the lamas were in a flutter and shouted for help. After several months of unrest, in May 1951 Tibet and China reached an agreement by which defence and foreign affairs were made the special responsibility of China and Tibetans were granted complete autonomy to manage their internal affairs. In 1952 the Chinese set up a divisional army headquarters and later a foreign affairs bureau in Lhasa. Since then the Chinese hold on Tibetans has steadily increased.

With the co-operation of the Dalai Lama and under his chairmanship, a Communist-sponsored preparatory committee introduced many drastic reforms. Forced labour was abolished, payment in cash was instituted for all work and trade practices were regulated.

A Terrible Reaction

The Communists went further. The 10,000 strong Communist Party of Tibet at its joint annual conference in September 1956 called upon the lamas to agree to nationalisation of monastery lands and to a system of allowances to keep up the traditional standards of the lamas. Meanwhile, the Chinese began a fraternising campaign with the aim of winning over the Tibetans. But the Chinese as well as the Tibetan Communist workers were overzealous. A terrible reaction set in, and a new wave of nationalism began to sweep through Tibet. Exiled Tibetan nobles and interested foreign circles are supposed to have helped this nationalism to grow. The Khambas of the Kham region in Tibet have been in open revolt against the Chinese for a long time, and they now joined

hands with other forces opposing Communism.

In 1957 Chairman Mao suggested that reforms in Tibet should not be taken before 1962. The Chinese closed down schools, abandoned land reforms and ordered all Chinese Communist workers to go back to China. But the Chinese army remained in Tibet. The two Chinese Generals, Chang Kuo-huo and Chang Ching-wu, together with the political officers, kept a close watch on Tibet.

In recent months there have been signs that the Chinese were getting weary of waiting. Last year China sent a five-member mission to Lhasa with instructions to carry out a programme of weeding out reactionaries who stood in the way of modernising Tibet on Socialistic lines. The Chinese were tightening their hold and wanted to break the power of the lamas.

India's Concern

The recent disturbances had their origin in the apprehensions created in the minds of the Tibetans about the safety of the Dalai Lama. Despite the Dalai Lama's occasional public conferences in the Communist party line, the Communists do not trust him. Last Saturday, March 28, Peking radio announced that the Chinese Prime Minister Chow En-lai had appointed the Panchen Lama as the head of the government in Tibet. China believes that foreign agents were actively helping the rebels in Tibet and that such help reached them through India.

The Chinese were also peeved about India's interest in the situation. India cannot forget for anybody's convenience age-old ties of friendship. Ever since Buddhism crossed over to Tibet in the eighth century, India has maintained close cultural and trade relations with Tibet. India's annual trade is for about Rs. 2 crores. Kasi and Manasarovar, sacred to the Hindus, are in Tibet. India's concern about the safety of the area has not been adequately expressed, and irrespective of what others think, India's rights have to be safeguarded.

CLASH

ANOTHER MEENA KUMARI IN THE MAKING

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay : In keeping with the present trend of family dramas, producer-director L. V. Prasad has made his latest tear-jerker 'Chhoti Bahen' recounting the tale of Meena, a lovable sister and Rajendra and Shekhar, her two brothers who were devoted to her. The poignant drama begins when on the eve of her wedding she loses her eyesight in an accident; and the bridegroom's father goes away without performing the marriage and the younger brother gets married and his wife becomes jealous of the affection showered by both the brothers on the unfortunate sister. She is ultimately responsible for breaking the home and taking away her husband to her rich father's home.

Feeling guilty about forgetting his brother and sister, Shekhar, encouraged by his father-in-law, takes to gambling and later drinking and destroys the wife's home. Rajendra loses his job and is thrown out of the house by the greedy uncle. On their way to the city, Rajendra and Meena lose each other. By coincidence Meena meets Ramesh, the doctor who was betrothed to her. He gives her refuge and after a series of coincidences and accidents the brothers and sister are united in the end. The parting scene in which the sister leaves for Europe is touching. In fact, though the story is conventional, there are many touching moments in the film, thanks mainly to genuine performances by Nanda as Meena and Balraj Sahni as Rajendra. They invest even the most trite situation with sincerity and genuine emotion. Comparatively Rehman and Shyama as Shekhar and his wife appear rather artificial. Veena and Sudesh Kumar give excellent support.

The subsidiary plot involving the greedy uncle and his spirited son and the girl he rescues is

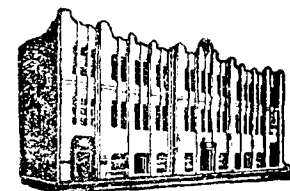
breezy and entertaining. Radhakishen as the uncle, Mahmood as his son and Shubha Khote as the girl have given delightful performances. The comedy is exceedingly hilarious and the drama is poignant; but they are loosely connected and follow each other in the good old theatrical fashion. The pace is rather slow and too much footage is spent on unnecessary details. The dialogue by Inder Raj Anand is sparkling but the screenplay appears to be a half-hearted improvement over the original Tamil screenplay. Other technical values are excellent.

Expertly directed by Prasad but for its inordinate length and plethora of cliches and coincidences, 'Chhoti Bahen' offers clean and wholesome 'family' entertainment of the conventional variety.

Nanda whose performance in 'Chhoti Bahen' has received unanimous acclaim from critics has grown to the full stature now and dropped the prefix 'Baby'. One of the critics complimenting her on her performance has described her as 'Meena Kumari in the making'.

Nanda, daughter of the late Winayak, who was himself a great actor, producer and director, made her debut on the screen in her father's last picture 'Mandir'. But before the picture was complete, her father died. As a juvenile artiste she played bit roles in some pictures including K. B. Lal's 'Angarey' in which she was cast as child 'Nargis'. In a Marathi picture 'Krishna Sudama', she played a boy's role; but unfortunately that picture was never released. She also appeared in another Marathi picture 'Kul Devat' made by Dinkar Patil.

THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"
NORTH BEACH ROAD,
MADRAS-1.

23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole
of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND
SINGAPORE.

CAPITAL

Authorised Capital Rs	1,00,00,000
Issued and Subscribed Capital	72,00,000
Paid-up Capital	66,19,625
Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium)	91,61,883
Deposits as on 30-6-'58	38,00,96,415
Total Working Funds	46,05,11,811

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.
R. SUNDARAM IYER.
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA
MUDALIAR.
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA
CHETTIAR.
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.

ALL TYPES OF
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING
FOREIGN EXCHANGE
TRANSACTED.

London Agents :
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents :
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,
SECRETARY.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

BONUS DEMAND OF L. I. C. MEN

But none of these pictures gave her the break she needed. It was in Rajkamal's 'Toofan Aur Deeya', in the role of the sister who also goes blind, that Nanda won accolades from critics and with the success of the picture she came into popular limelight. And Nanda's triumph in 'Bhabi' made her one of the most sought after actresses. But even more than 'Bhabi', her performance in 'Chhoti Bahen' reveals her histrionic talent at its best. No wonder she is acting today in many important pictures including B. R. Chopra's 'Dhool Ke Phool' and 'Kanoon'. Dev Anand's 'Kala Bazaar' and Radhakishen's first production venture.

Nanda who has to look after a number of brothers and sisters and her mother had to face rather hard times after the death of her father. Now one of her brothers is studying in college while her elder sister acts as her secretary. Like her illustrious father and uncles (Shantaram, Baburao Pendharkar) and her aunt Hansa Wadkar, Nanda would surely rise to the heights of Meena Kumari as predicted by critics.

B. R. Chopra's 'Sadhana' is celebrating Silver Jubilee week in Bombay from 3rd April. This is the third consecutive picture made by him to achieve this rare distinction. Several public receptions have been organised in his honour.

Mohan Segal is going to Cannes by the end of this month to attend the international festival where 'Lajwanti' will be shown.

Summer having set in, many units are leaving for hill stations for outdoor shooting. Alankar Chitra's unit is leaving for Belgium for shooting of 'Sarhad'. Navketan unit is expected to visit Ooty for the location shooting of 'Kala Bazaar'.

The energy that is spent on action without being first adequately spent on planning it out, will be empty of results, whatever may be the man-power placed in the field.

—KURAL

Sir,—May I seek once again the hospitality of your columns for answering the points raised in the rather hard-hitting and forthright letter of Sri K. Brahmanandam? All along I was content to watch the reactions of your various readers but since my esteemed colleague could not refrain from indulging in personalities I have come forward to defend myself.

My desire to remain anonymous stemmed primarily from the fact that I wished to conceal my identity from the authorities and also to prevent wrong inferences from being drawn. My friend has chosen to characterise it as a subversive act.

It was not vanity that prompted me to write. I wanted to draw the attention of my co-workers to a new avenue of thought which had hitherto been shut to them. I do admit that the employees who joined service prior to nationalisation are entitled to bonus. I merely asked them to renounce their rights voluntarily and unilaterally for a period of years. In the case of employees who joined after nationalisation it is altogether a different thing. They were neither promised bonus at the time of appointment nor is it their "birthright".

I hope my friend will agree that the question of raising the wages of other Government employees (State Government servants) and the unorganised section of the working class at least to our level is of larger national concern than that of bonus to us. And that while demanding bonus he will look around to observe the standard of living of the people around him and consider whether a few sacrifices on our part will not go a long way to ease their distress.

To talk of refusing bonus at this stage when it has not been offered may sound like braggadocio. But let me assure my friend that if bonus is offered I shall accept it and use it for some

worthy cause rather than for my personal needs.

Masulipatam K. SIVA RAMAN

ENGLISH IN SCHOOLS

Sir,—It was indeed a pleasant surprise to read the statement made by the Education Minister that he would do his best to raise the standard of English in all schools. Now the best method of doing this would be to permit more schools to adopt also the English medium. By refusing to grant this permission we are preventing the poorer and middle classes from having the advantage and privilege of taking up the English medium in the ordinary schools, while the rich and higher classes have this privilege in convents and other schools. The choice of the medium should be entirely left to the parents and the pupils and not to the Government. The bureaucratic methods adopted by the State Government have been greatly responsible for the lowering of standards in schools in every subject and also for the lowering of discipline. The pupils seem to have lost their refinement and they do not seem to have any respect for the teachers. There is a cry for the maintenance of discipline in schools and colleges. This can be done by raising the standard of English. Even the Tamil medium children may be allowed to study Science and Mathematics in English. Really competent teachers should handle English in the lower classes. If need be, only graduates should be allowed to handle the classes. The present day secondary grade teachers are in no way fit to handle English in the lower classes. The choice of books should be entirely left to schools. The Government should not butt in imposing particular text books and publishing text books. Good text books written by private companies and by foreigners go a long way in the teaching of good and correct English. There is always the tendency to produce the best when there is private competition.

Nationalisation has been the bane of most systems in our country. That it should come to the field of education also is the greatest tragedy.

I hope it is not still too late for the State Government to change its decision. The recent case regarding "Quentin Durward" must be a great eye-opener to all those who are in charge of Education. Mistakes as seen in "Quentin Durward" will be more common in all the text books prescribed by the Government. There is a sort of indifference and apathy towards accuracy and correctness. Books cannot be written to order. One should have the enthusiasm and the required talent to write books. I do hope the authorities concerned will ponder a little before they embark on this great enterprise which is really not their field. English is the gateway to all knowledge. It has to be learnt and mastered well, through the right and proper kind of books.

AN EDUCATIONIST

RAJAJI'S MEMOIRS

Sir,—Recently I came across some extracts from the Memoirs of the late Maulana Azad, which are quite revealing.

Looking to his age and present state of health, it is indeed too much to expect our revered leader, Sri Rajaji, to take the trouble of publishing his own Memoirs or Autobiography, but if he chooses to undertake this arduous task, this greatest and sanest living Indian statesman would have rendered yet another unique and distinct service to the nation, for which he alone is adequately qualified, thanks to his erudition, breadth of vision, political sagacity and maturity, administrative brilliance, and above all selflessness.

S. RANGANATHAN

THE RIGHT APPROACH

Sir,—Mr. Giri has expressed his frank view that the sponsors of land reform should demonstrate to the public the different kinds of co-operative farming and com-

The Dalai Lama

(Continued from Page 2)

a legion called the 'Guardians of Religion'. Last summer they were strong enough to march on Lhasa to get the blessing of the Dalai Lama. Their leaders now believe they can depend on the army, and focus the discontent of the mountain peoples who acknowledge the Dalai Lama's sovereignty not only within Tibet, but also over the frontiers—into Sikkim, Nepal and Ladakh. A word either way from the Dalai Lama could be decisive. Here is ample cause for Nehru's anxiety.

Mr. Giri's suggestion is not only good but practical and deserves the earnest attention of those who are insistent on introducing the so-called land reforms in a precipitate manner.

Madras.

R. S. V. RAO

CRITIC in New Statesman



Your goods have a ready market in South East Asia

EXPORT NOW

INDIA produces the very commodities which the South East Asian countries need—jute, textiles, tea, handlooms, handicrafts, cycles, sewing machines and many other manufactured goods. Export them now—they'll buy them.

THE INDIAN OVERSEAS BANK LIMITED has made a special study of this important, growing market. Our network of overseas branches, agents and correspondents are at your service for on-the-spot advice.

THE INDIAN OVERSEAS BANK LIMITED, MADRAS



Branches at: AHMEDABAD, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, CUTTACK, HYDERABAD, MADRAS, NEW DELHI and throughout South India. Overseas Branches: BANGKOK, COLOMBO, HONGKONG, IPOH, KLANG, KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA, PENANG, RANGOON, SINGAPORE.

Agents and Correspondents all over the world

M. Ct. Muthiah Chairman

C. P. Doraiswami General Manager

SANKAR BRAND

PORTLAND CEMENT

FOR SOUNDNESS STRENGTH STABILITY

THE INDIA CEMENTS LTD.
FACTORY: SANKARNAGAR, REGD. OFFICE: MADRAS-1

SWARAJYA

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 40

MADRAS, APRIL 11, 1959

15 Naks Paise

LOST ITS ANCHOR

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Conservation is the first law of progress. If change for change's sake is to be condemned, why should people be shy about calling themselves conservative? To conserve is to look after what is good and not to let thoughtless ruin overtake what is essential and good, in a hunt after will-o'-the-wisps.

Britain is not ashamed of being ruled by the Conservatives who openly call themselves by that name. The Labour party which was for some time called Socialist has not attracted all the votes of the poor in Britain. The party now prefers to call itself Labour rather than Socialist. I wonder if even in the next election, the Socialists of Britain would score over the Conservatives. The poor seem to have greater faith in the latter's good sense than in that of the Labour leaders.

.....the prevalent high-flown rhetoric which has spread everywhere—phrases such as 'the dawn of the future', 'the building of a new world' The first time you hear such talk you think 'what breadth of imagination, what richness!' But in fact it's so pompous just because it is so unimaginative and second-rate.

From Dr. Zhivago

What the people want is not futile attempts at egalitarianism, but happiness. Freedom and Welfare are what they want and what their honest souls hunger for. These cannot be got by cloud-

formations of vaporous thought. Egalitarianism is the last thing that will bring welfare in a poor country. Freedom is the first and surest casualty in the Socialist pattern. Socialism will not bring welfare but result in an all-embracing bureaucracy. Welfare is the last thing to be secured under bureaucracy. What we shall get is waste of resources and the rise into power of a new class of tyrants whose daily function would be the daily interference in private life under various pretexts. Fear will be the air we breathe. If we desire Freedom, Swatantra, and not tyranny, if we desire human personality not to be strangled by over-government, if we desire the general welfare of the poor to be uplifted and looked after, we must have a conservative party whose function will be to restrain and guide the ruling party if not to replace it. The ruling party has lost its anchor and in its nervous fear of the Communists, themselves offer to become Communist.

The nation and its welfare are like the total crop of a country, its quality and measure. The total is in both cases just an arithmetical idea. The individual seeds must germinate, receive water and sunlight, and grow. So also the individuals among the people of a country must be good, active and grow in freedom so that the total of the individuals, the

nation, may turn out to be good, active and progressive. We can make flour out of corn; but if we grind the corn into flour, and sow it, no amount of watering or manuring or sunlight can make it grow. Grinding the individuals down into a common mass would result in just the same total sterility. This is a universal law. The whole cannot be better than its parts. The parts must live so that the aggregate may be a worthy whole with life throbbing in it. Take care of the seed and the crop will take care of itself. It would be foolish to seek to raise a great ready-made crop of cornflour. The patriot therefore watches himself, guards his freedom and his life. It is in the individual that the nation lives and grows, not in statistics or government literature wherein figures are collected and exhibited.

A Marina Story

"Sir, what do you think of co-operative farming?" he asked.

He was a baby of eighteen with a charming face peeping into the window of the parked car in which I was sitting to breathe the sea-air.

"Why do you want to know about it? What are you doing?"

"I am a law-student — first year."

"Well then, this is politics: so it is not for you".

"No, sir, it is not politics. It is economics and social science. It is the first question one is asked when interviewed by the Service Commission".

"Oh, I see. If you are asked, say that you have read many conflicting opinions on the subject and that, if you answer one way, you may be considered a toady and seek to get favour; and if you answer the other way, you may be deemed disloyal to government and undesirable. So you would rather not answer".

"That may not do, sir. They may still press for an answer".

"Say, then, you believe that co-operation is good. But you know nothing about farming and so you cannot tell whether 'co-operative farming' is good or bad".

The boy laughed as if to say the suggestion would be a good way of escape and may even score with the Commission.

I wonder if the young man was right in thinking that the Public Service Commission would put such awkward questions to the young candidates appearing before them. It would be unfair. At least one may hope that such questions are put and answers are listened to, not for appraising the candidates' loyalty but only to test their alertness and their capacity of expression, whatever the answers may be from the political angle.

C. R.

Vulgar

It was commendable nobility on the part of Sri Sivaji Ganesan to donate a lakh of rupees for the Mayor's Mid-day Meal Fund. But the Corporation vulgarised the gift by renaming Besant Road, Sivaji Ganesan Road. Annie Besant's benefactions to the city of Madras amount not to one lakh but many. But her services cannot be reckoned in money though in the arithmetic of rupees they stand out magnificently. If naming a street after a citizen is



EVIL COMPANY

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

"I am equivalent to the divine amrita which was churned from the ocean of milk once," said the milk which was boiling on the oven.

Lord Siva and Parvati who overheard this spoke unto themselves.

"Dear spouse! Do you see how proud this milk is?" asked Lord Mahadeva.

"Do not speak harshly about milk, our Nandi will be angry with us," warned Parvati.

The milk had reached the boiling point. It was overflowing with joy.

Nappinai removed the pot from the oven and kept it aside.

"What do you say? Why not both of us play a game and cheat this milk?" said Lord Kannan to the buttermilk.

"Certainly" was the reply. "You need not come in a whole pot, a drop will be enough," said Kannan.

A drop of buttermilk took the shape of a young shepherdess and went down neatly dressed.

She set out with the idea of punishing the milk for its vanity just as Vamana set out in days of yore to put down Mahabali's pride.

"Oh, sister-milk! Do we not belong to the same caste? We shall live together!" said the buttermilk.

Seeing the buttermilk pure white and beautiful the milk agreed and embraced her.

"You are so hot!" said the buttermilk to the milk.

"What if? Wait a moment. I shall cool down! I have just now descended from the oven,"

said the milk and cooled down quickly.

Alas! what is to be said of the milk which had had the buttermilk's association? It was a solid bit of curd! It could not even open its mouth.

"How sad!" said the goddess Parvati.

Lord Siva replied, "The milk's pride is now put an end to. This is the result of evil company. A drop of buttermilk is enough to spoil a whole pot of milk."

"Why should the buttermilk spoil the milk? Could not the milk have changed the buttermilk in a better manner? This foolish milk which was in a whole pot has allowed a drop of buttermilk to conquer it!" said the Devi.

"That is Kannan's business. There is no limit to His pranks!" answered Lord Siva.

"Are you different from Kannan?" said Parvathi pleading for her brother Kannan.

"Please ask Nandi that question: whether Kannan and I are one or different. He will tell you," said Lord Siva changing the subject.

"Is there any salvation for this milk?" asked Parvathi.

"There is nothing wrong. Curds are as good as milk. Only the milk's pride has been put down," said Lord Mahadeva.

Kannan told Kamadhenu, "Even for fun you should not mix with evil people."

"I have seen everything. The milk should be preserved carefully," replied Kamadhenu.

an honour, the Corporation is guilty of undoing an honour it had already conferred on a departed great leader in order to transfer it to someone else infinitely less important. This is a matter

of shame to all concerned. Sri Sivaji Ganesan himself should save himself from having his generosity perverted thus, and refuse to be 'honoured' in this outrageous manner.



Sotto Voce

In Buddha-land What Avatar?

The sigh of relief heard over the escape of the Dalai Lama may have been in part due to the instinctive sympathy that goes to the hare that successfully dodges the hounds. But it is definitely more than that. It shows that our people have never felt quite happy over the policy that the Government of India have adopted towards Chinese aggression in Tibet since 1950. In recognising China's claim that Tibet had always formed a part of the Chinese State, Mr. Nehru professed to have been merely following the policy that our former British rulers had adopted. If their policy was worthy of emulation was he not being inconsistent when he chose to repudiate one part of it?

I refer to the Indian Government's relinquishing its extra-territorial claims in Tibet and withdrawing the small detachment of Indian troops stationed there. Mr. Nehru contended the other day that it would have smacked of Imperialism to claim the right to keep our troops in another country. There might have been something in the argument if immediately on the advent of Indian Independence our Swaraj Government had put its faith in Panch Shila in practice. But it did nothing for three years and then quit only when China, having gone Communist and resolved to bring Tibet under its iron heel, asked it, none too politely, to walk out. Even if we felt we could not continue to maintain our troops there in the face of Chinese opposition, we need not have gone out of the way to accept China's suzerainty over Tibet.

That suzerainty the Tibetans themselves have never accepted. As for the autonomy that China was supposed to have pledged herself to, 'autonomy', in the Communist lexicon, means some-

thing very different from what it means to the rest of the world. The India-Chinese Agreement of 1954 failed to secure guarantees that Tibet would not be forced into whole-hogging Communism or that its religious freedom would be respected. If the Chinese have preferred to go slow with their programme for remaking Tibet in the Chinese image, it was not out of consideration for India but from a shrewd calculation that even the peaceful Tibetans might not prove exactly dough in their hands.

Mr. Nehru's restraint in dealing in public with so delicate a matter is to be commended. The possibility of involving ourselves in unpleasant complications with a formidable neighbour is not to be lightly contemplated. And I would like to believe—and the belief is strengthened by the treatment accorded to the Dalai Lama—that his hedging over the question of granting asylum to refugees from Tibet is dictated by anxious concern for the refugees themselves rather than from fear of Chinese displeasure. But it is difficult to follow him when he says that the right of asylum does not mean that everybody who knocks must be admitted.

He tried to make the proposition appear farcical by asking what we were to do if the entire population of Tibet asked for asylum. Even in Hungary it was not the entire population or the vast bulk of it that hated the Communist tyranny that crossed the border into Austria. It was, as it must be in every case, the minority that had dared and done greatly in the abortive bid for freedom that sought asylum. And weak Austria granted it without question. Could our Government swearing by Panch Shila do less?

Allowing an exile government to function from India is a differ-

ent matter. But surely, we are not precluded from coming out as strongly in favour of Tibetan Independence—since 'Autonomy' has like Humpty-Dumpty fallen, never to rise again—as we did in the case of the other countries of Asia that were once under the sway of European Imperialism? It may be that, the Tibetans being a mild and unworldly people, 'the rebellion' has been scotched, as the Indian Communist statement gloatingly put it. But the power of the spirit is incalculable; who knows but Communism may yet meet its first reverse on the roof of the world? In any case, having repeatedly declared that every subordinate people has a right to be free we cannot meekly acquiesce in the Chinese dictum that Tibet is her internal concern.

Mr. Nehru has in his public utterances on the Tibetan question shown a deplorable tendency to blow hot and cold. He went out of his way to offer an apologia for the egregious statement of the Indian Communist Party. Then, realising that he had gone too far, he indulged in heavy sarcasm at the Communists' peculiar patriotism. Similarly he first enlarged on the historical and sentimental ties between Tibet and India. But as if to redress the balance, he has been harping at Allahabad on the paramount importance of remaining friendly with China. Is it uncharitable to conclude that he is more than half inclined to think that the Chinese pill must be good for Tibet, since it is administered in the name of modernisation and progress?

VIGNESWARA

INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, K.C.S.I., D.C.L. (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business transacted efficiently and quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits which may be ascertained on application.

S. Krishnaswami, Secretary.

FRIENDLY AND RUTHLESS

By POTHAN JOSEPH

For more than a generation, the Pope lived as a refugee in Avignon where His Holiness held court until restoration to the Eternal City, Rome. Whether the Dalai Lama would ever return to reign in Lhasa, no Delhi wizard in foreign policy dare predict, but the flight of the man-god ruler of millions of devotees marks a crash in tradition, and it may take more than a couple of generations, for Communist China to digest the gains of this internal matter of a "friendly Power," as the Prime Minister has described the situation in a sorry nutshell.

As long ago as 1953 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had decided to accord recognition to Peking as enjoying the overlordship of Tibet, and he co-edited the Panch Sheela Code with Chou En-lai as the magic formula of peace on earth and goodwill among men. Now that the Dalai Lama has found sanctuary on Indian territory, the Panchen Lama has been elected "Deputy to the People's Congress of the People's Republic of China," which means that the friendly Power is ruthless enough to make a captive of the holder of few precedents, because of the

temporal power, treating the Dalai Lama as a nonentity.

The Prime Minister has a vague feeling that the Panch Sheela has not been meticulously observed in the slaughtersome revolution at Lhasa. He is one of the valiant champions of Algeria, contending that Algeria has "a personality" in spite of mixed population; and when we consider that the people of Tibet are more homogeneous in their worshipful psychology, it would be hard to maintain that Tibet has no "personality". One of the speakers in Lok Sabha gave out the adage that Lhasa is wherever the Dalai Lama resides, a saying corresponding to the dictum that Ayodhya existed wherever Rama lived. Extensive guerilla fighting is likely to last for years, and when the Buddhists of Ceylon are emotionally excited over the expulsion of the Dalai Lama from Potala, we could realise the reaction to China's bid for power by carrying with her the sympathy of Soviet Russia who would like to see Chinese expansionism operating in South-East Asia.

As for India, the Himalayas had always been deemed our northern wall of defence, but in addition the existence of Tibet despite all its material backwardness represented another buffer of safety. When the Japanese seized hold of Manchuria, they installed a king called Mr. Henry Pui in order to camouflage aggression and to advertise the independence of Manchuria under rape. The Panchen Lama might likewise be heralded as the symbol of Tibet's sovereignty, but all the same stark realities of colonisation would gradually reveal themselves not in ten years but in a few generations.

In maintaining the offer of asylum and not taking extradition proceedings to hand over the Dalai Lama to his Peking friends, India has done the least that could be expected of the Land of the Buddha. It is a situation with unfortunate commitment that we

had gone in a hurry to applaud the suzerainty of Communist China over Lhasa with its deep-rooted traditions of religion.

India being a Secular State cannot mechanically function in harmony with the feelings of people at every crucial test. In return for the championship of Peking in the UNO and our deferential recognition of Communist claims on Formosa, the Mao regime has never openly stood by India on the Kashmir question where the utmost concession has consisted of China's hope that India and Pakistan would settle the matter by negotiation in contrast with the position across the Taiwan Straits.

Except the common denominator of latter-day liberation from the mastery of Western Powers, India has not got anything out of the effusive alliance except a hazy approval of the "Bandung spirit" and a signature to the self-evident truths of Panch Sheela which are now subjected to mockery. It is not easy to "contain" Communism, though Mr. Dulles may hold a contrary opinion; nor would it be easy to bottle up the age-long spirit of devotion and learning fostered in the thousands of Lamasaras north of the Himalayan foothills.

In the month of March when riots occurred in Central Africa as a consequence of African nationalism, the Federation Premier Sir Roy Welensky denounced the whole movement and in consequence there were scenes of destruction and death. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the distant spectator of Ghana, could not render any physical aid, just as the Prime Minister of India can now do little for the Dalai Lama. There is, however, one difference. Dr. Nkrumah was free to ask the House of Parliament in Ghana "to stand in silence to mark Ghanaian sympathy for the Africans killed in Central Africa."

Although India is famous as a spiritual country, it is not open to the Prime Minister to ask his House to rise in prayerful sympathy, because after all it is our boast since independence India is a "Secular State."

THE CRUSADE CALLING

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

I wrote in October 1956 in SWARAJYA:

"Strange are the ways that things take! The Atom no longer deters. It actually isolates the weak from possible external protection. The call of justice will no longer be heard and aggression will have a freer field."

In confirmation so to say of this melancholy forecast of mine, Sri Balaraman, representative of the Hindu in New York, reported on March 30 this year: "The Tibetan revolt has evoked much sympathy both at the United Nations and the United States. But while there is general indignation... there is at the same time the realisation that apart from protesting... there is nothing the outside world can do at the present juncture to help the Tibetan people in their travail".

Sri Shelvankar, the Hindu representative in London, has sent a report on March 31 about British reactions: "There is no doubt that British opinion has been deeply stirred by the news of revolt, but since there is no question of any Western intervention owing to military as well as political considerations, attention is focussed largely on India's reactions and Mr. Nehru's attitude in particular."

The focussing of attention on Mr. Nehru's attitude is tragic though amusing. The West admits unanimously that apart from protest no help can be rendered. They could not possibly imagine under these circumstances that India could do what America and her powerful allies find separately or jointly impossible. It is obvious that for the West, Tibet is just an opportunity for propaganda and Mr. Nehru's attitude is seized only for this purpose. Not any desire to help Tibet but a hope that Nehru may be further held on the side of the West in the cold war is the driving force of all their reactions.

The Atom, it was once believed

by good Bertrand Russell, would end war and came as a blessing disguised in evil. It is now clear that mutual assistance in the cause of justice and of saving the weak from the aggression of the strong, has been ruled out by the nuclear armaments that have come into being. Thus it is not war in general that has been made improbable, but assistance to victims of any powerful nation has been rendered impossible. Justice had a fair chance in the old days. Now, it is choked out completely. The chapter of chivalry of the strong going to the help of the weak is closed by the Atom, there can be no salvation for the world unless nuclear armaments are banned and to this end the whole world must unite and work. I said this in October 1956. March 1959

reminds us of this supreme duty. If there is to be any hope in the midst of this desperate situation, the not too greatly involved and good nations of the world must think out a way and unite in this holy crusade against nuclear weapons.

As for the test explosions they will in all probability be indefinitely stopped as a result of the Geneva conference who I believe have found a safe formula, safe for both sides. The world issue now is how to get the nuclear weapons outlawed altogether. The use of these weapons under any circumstances and by whomsoever it may be would certainly be a deadly wholesale attack on the life and health of all the uninvolved non-belligerent population of the world, men, women and children. What greater stake can there be than this to wage a relentless united crusade against these weapons staying in the world in any form?

PRIME MINISTER'S BROOMSMANSHIP

MASANI'S WARNING

"The battle for the survival of peasant proprietorship will be fought and won not on the floor of Parliament but in these fields by you who own them. If any attempt is made to collectivise the land, there will be not one but a thousand Bardolis in this country," observed Mr. M. R. Masani, M.P., in the course of his presidential address at the Dehati Janata Conference at Sonapat recently.

Mr. Masani said he agreed with Prime Minister Nehru on one point and that was that this issue would be decided neither by Mr. Nehru nor by himself but by the peasants of India. He ventured to make the forecast that long after both of them had moved on to another world where there was neither family nor collective farming, the peasants of Sonapat would still be found cultivating their own family farms.

The cumulative effect of ceil-

ings, joint farming and a State monopoly in the foodgrains trade would, according to Mr. Masani, be to uproot the system of peasant proprietorship and to create a situation where the surplus value of their crops would be squeezed out of the peasantry so that the industrialisation of the country could be effected with the fruits of such exploitation. The failure of Government to provide water, fertilisers and credit, which are the real needs of Indian agriculture, were sought to be covered up by ideological slogans such as that of joint farming.

No one had yet pointed out what was the precise difference between the Nagpur pattern of joint farming and the Soviet system of collective farming in Soviet Russia. Mr. S. N. Agarwal of the Planning Commission had suggested three points of departure: the Nagpur pattern of joint

TRAVEL BOOKS

	Rs.	nP.
<i>The Condor and the Cows: A travel diary by Christopher Isherwood with illustrations.</i>	17	06
<i>The Kon-Tiki Expedition by Thor Heyerdahl with illustrations</i>	10	12
<i>American Indians in the Pacific by Thor Heyerdahl with illustrations</i>	58	87
<i>Kon-Tiki and I by Eric Hasselberg</i>	8	59
<i>The Silent Traveller in Paris by Chiang Yee with illustrations</i>	24	37
<i>So near and Yet Far by Emily Kimbrough with illustrations.</i>	17	06
<i>A Stranger in Spain by H. V. Morton with illustrations</i>	17	06
<i>Lightest Africa by Spencer Chapman with illustrations.</i>	20	31

K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A, Royapettah High Road,
Mylapore, Madras-4

farming would be voluntary; it would not be mechanised and the "co-operative" farms would be relatively small. None of these distinctions was, however, fundamental or decisive. What was decisive was whether the boundaries of a man's farm remained or were uprooted. Once they were uprooted, his property would be taken away from him despite the scrap of paper that might be given to him by way of consolation. It was this pooling of land which was the dividing line between genuine co-operation and collective farming. Co operators throughout the world believed in the pooling of resources but were opposed to the pooling of land.

The way in which the Prime Minister had been going round the country threatening Congressmen who disagreed with his policy with expulsion showed that coercion was already being applied even at the stage of discussion. Speaking at Alwar on March 20, Mr. Nehru had said that "a firm decision had been taken" to introduce co-operative farming and it had to be implemented in a "firm way". Such a statement showed that the freedom of choice promised to the farmer would be reduced to a farce.

Mr. Nehru had threatened that those who came in his way would be swept aside with a broomstick. The flourishing of a broomstick was no less violent than the flourishing of a sword, though it was much less dignified. It was a pity the Prime Minister had launched on this adventure in broomsmanship.

Turning to the question of ceilings, Mr. Masani said that they would result in a new depressed class being created in Indian society. To lay down a ceiling of Rs. 300 a month or Rs. 3,600 a year for a family of five meant that, however hard a farmer worked, he could not hope to raise his standard of life, to have some furniture or a radio set in his home or to send his son or daughter to college. The peasants of India would thus be consigned to permanent helotry. Mr. Masani described as a "verbal quibble" the Prime Minister's assertion

THERE ARE NO UTOPIAS

By BHIKKU

Over the bleak and barren snow,

A voice there came a-calling:

'Where are you going to, Tory O!

Where are you going this morn'g?'

'I am going where there are rivers of wine,

The mountains, bread and honey;

There kings and queens do mind the wine,

And the poor have all the money.'

—COLIN FRANCIS

My friend Raghuram is of the brand of cow that is at peace on its current pasture only for the first three nibbles of grass. With the fourth there is the inevitable stump with muddy roots and a dry twig. Thereupon it lifts up its head in distaste, gazes into the horizon and sees unblemished green on the next hill and trots over. My friend is always chasing perfections in dwellings and sundry other things. The first habitation, a roomy, high roofed gracious place with trees and grassy terraces was discarded as cold and draughty. The second was a nest of cosiness all right

that ceilings would not be on agricultural incomes but on holdings.

Mr. Masani appealed to the peasants to organise themselves from now in defence of their lands. This could not be done by them in isolation. Just as their farms were in danger, so the existence of foodgrain dealers and other sections of businessmen was also threatened by governmental policies. It was desirable that all those who were thus in danger should come together for common self-defence.

Mr. Nehru had tried to confuse the issue by talking of "vested interests," but the biggest vested interest was that in a monopoly of power. An attempt was being made to divide one section of the people from another by playing off the urban classes against the rural classes and *vice versa*. It was necessary that a mighty united front of landed peasants, middle class people and businessmen should be formed. "If you do not hang together," warned Mr. Masani, "you will certainly hang separately."

and all went well for quite a while until the lady owner was found to be too nosy and the street too noisy. He gathered his pots and pans and put them into a third. "Low priced indeed for so well located a place," he said, "so near everything—the market only a few steps down, the post office only a few steps up and you have only to stretch a leg and you were inside the bank!" But look, what happens! The walls change into a dirty green during the monsoon with mildew. "One could grow mushrooms on them! Not to be endured especially when one has an affinity for colds". What crotchets the fourth will develop is yet to be seen.

It is the same with his walking sticks. For a whole year the wild cherry with its mottled surface ruled his thoughts and he went for assorted lots of them. The English beech or something and the Swiss walnut have all had their innings before the cherry came. The Malayan cane has now taken up the prime place. So is it with him even with such bizarre unruly things like cars and bridge clubs. Fortunately friend Raghuram can afford these ebbs and flows of enthusiasms, these chasings after external elusive perfections in an effort to counteract disturbing stresses within.

"Everything that God made has a crack in it"—so said Emerson. Eden will have its serpent and so has every institution that puny man conceives to bring about universal happiness. There seems to be a law by which every good at a certain level turns sour and loses quality.

So long as man was tied to the surface of the earth in locomotion in slow or fast crawl, countries

like Tibet which were closed by mountains and protected by snow had no foreigners and no problems, no unrest except for the unrest of the spirit for release of the soul. Now that man has developed wings and could fly across mountains, these Shangrilas are laid fearfully bare and naked.

exposed for coercion and enslavement as a helpless tortoise when its fleshly under surface is laid uppermost.

Tribal bonds of rituals and taboos may cramp a people and inhibit their growth. But loosening of these chains also loosens bonds of fellowship, of truth and

honesty, sharing in common woes as in common weal.

In a thankless self-denying un-economic act of do-gooding the State brings in Prohibition for forcing regeneration of drunkards and for placing the sodden beyond the reach of temptation. Within a short time there is a

A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing

-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER

SOLVING A PRESSING PROBLEM:

It was such a large pile of clothes, sheets and towels—Mummy had to ask Ruma and Uma to help with the ironing. Lots of washing, yes. But Mummy used so little soap. She washes with SUNLIGHT, of course. That wonderful extra lather washes so much! It draws out every scrap of dirt without beating!

Make SUNLIGHT your soap for the washing!



SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT

A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEVER LTD.

L 10-11

thriving widespread small scale industry in brewing country moon-shines and a new entrepreneur class springs up and does itself well in boot-legging the more aristocratic liquors. There is no doubt these are the strongest exponents of the benefits of this law.

Universal education is the ardent aim of all under-developed countries as a panacea for mass regeneration. But what is brought in first with education is mass unemployment, mass discontent and a handle for massive biased propaganda for class hatreds leading to breaking of heads and looting of property.

Socialism which is meant to eliminate private greed and oppression to the detriment of the community by the artificial creation of scarcities produces State-wide waste and State-wide tyranny of a larger and more ruthless kind because it is impersonal, without alleviating the basic wants. The right to work and wages degenerates into the right to loaf and make some one else work for one's wages.

The right of collective bargaining and strike for living wages and amenities has its counterpart in collective going slow in work, collective bullying for extortionate benefits unrelated to the gain in the industry or the general level of earnings in the community.

Universal franchise which gives the poor man and the oppressed a stake and a voice in the governance of the country only enthrone the mediocre and the incompetent, 'the little men with loud voices' to whom talent is suspect for its gravitation towards leadership and power.

Even so unexceptionable a blessing as a high standard of living has its counter-weight in diseases like polio, neuroses and imbalances of mind.

Only too often do good things fall defeated before evil; but for the utter rout of the good what is most potent is a rival good. This good in turn will show its cloven feet and in due course will be thrown out by a third and a fourth endlessly. There is no utopia anywhere.

RELIGION AND POLITICS

By B. R. KUMAR

It is an obvious truism that in its nature all life is an aspiration; an inner dynamic urge to improve its quality through the very profusion of its quantity; using the latter to achieve the former. It is in this sense that it is said of life that it is so careful of the species and so careless of the individual; that Nature is red in tooth and claw. It is in this sense that Tennyson asked:

Are God and Nature then at strife,

That Nature lends such evil dreams?

So careful of the type she seems,

So careless of the single life.

It is only in this sense that history becomes philosophy; that literature becomes classic; that poetry becomes mysticism; that art becomes inspiration; that religion becomes love; that priests become prophets and politicians become statesmen. It is towards this consummation that all laws of nature are formed and the whole cosmos seems to work for; that the seed inside the ground struggles to rise up into a mighty tree to soar into the sky; that the flame must ascend into the heavens; that the oceans must evaporate and that man must sacrifice all things of the earth to gain the kingdom of Heaven. It is to symbolise this truth that the temple has its gopuram; the mosque its minaret; the church its steeple. It is to embody this quality that the whole universe, including man, has been struggling from time immemorial. Darwin's Law of evolution, Einstein's relativity, Plato's republic, Homer's Odessey and Kalidasa's Ramayana, Buddha's search and Christ's crucifixion are all diverse manifestations of this urge at the very basis of things.

Hence fundamentally all manifested life is religious—the dynamic urge to go back to the source of things. Throughout history great men and great civilisations have a religious foundation. Even

as regards modern Russia and China, the dynamism of their Communism is in its character religious. To the extent that the Communists claim that they are improving the quality of life they are religious; and if the claim is unfounded, either they are foolish in which case they will learn by experience, or they are knaves, in which case their very hypocrisy is the homage that vice pays to virtue. The inspiration of all aspiration is religion. As the plant cannot live and grow except by inhaling the air round it to draw the biological requirements for its physical nourishment, so the human spirit cannot live and grow except in a dynamic urge towards aspiration supplied by religion. Nothing else—humanism, rationalism, secularism—can take its place, for nothing else is universal. Hence it was that the inspiration of Indian history was derived from "Sanatan Dharma", the laws of eternity, not from a passing phase like Hinduism, Islam, or Christianity. All dynamic, all healthy life is thus religious; it is moving towards self-realisation; and as long as it continues to be so it builds a thousand channels—economic, educational, social, cultural, commercial, industrial—to express itself, to bear the fruit of its dynamic urge and to bear the flower of its individual pattern. Life is organic, integrated, planned, all contained within the eternal laws of the universe. Every aspect of it is an organic part of the purpose of life—wealth to give opportunity, education to give understanding, power to develop the capacity of sacrifice, the ultimate aim being to improve the quality of life in every part and thus in the whole.

But as Aristotle pointed out, every urge in life has its perversion, the other side of the coin. And the perversion of religion is politics; as the perversion of polity was democracy. The aim of religion is quality; the aim of politics is quantity. The aim of

April 11, 1959

religion is to build from within as the tree grows out of the seed; the aim of politics is to impose from without. The aim of religion is to start with good and deep foundations; the aim of politics is to build without foundations. The aim of religion is to keep the goal in sight; the aim of politics is to get lost in the means. The aim of religion is to produce good men; the aim of politics is to produce powerful men. The aim of religion is to kill egotism, to kill greed, wrath; the aim of politics is to enflame egotism, greed, wrath. The aim of religion is to kindle universal love; the aim of politics is to kindle self-love.

Religion pays homage to embodied virtue—a Christ, a Buddha, a Krishna. Politics pays homage to embodied power—a Napoleon or Stalin. Religion has produced saints and saviours; politics has produced only conquerors—Chengiz Khans and Hitlers. Religion united the whole of this continent at a time when there were no communications into a single culture; politics has broken up this unity into Pakistan and Hindustan; and within Hindustan even into a hundred small fragments of narrow domestic walls against which Tagore sent up his prayer.

To talk of the secular State as a positive good is as logical as to talk of illness as a positive good. Illness is the absence of health; politics is the absence of religion. The Gita says over and over again that wisdom consists in seeing the essence of things; but the world in which we live has forgotten this simple fact. Is it any wonder that, accepting as it does a diseased state of things as a positive good, the world is descending into self-destruction?

Village Level Worker

The V.L.W. (for such of those who have not gone on pilgrimage to community projects, he is the village level worker) has just come back to his post after a gruelling three-day refresher course in Hotel Malabar in the city on the multifarious subjects embracing Socialism, with empha-

SWARAJYA

9



Sotto Voce

A Social and Political Commentary
by "Vighneswara" (N. Raghunathan)

SOME OPINIONS

Sir M. Venkatasubba Rau in "Swarajya": "Vighneswara is a wizard of words, a creative artist, a sage counsellor. His book ranks as literature".

The Statesman: "When the views are expressed with as much gentle irony and are sharpened by as much scholarship as Vighneswara can train on his writing, then even dissentients cannot but murmur appreciation".

The Mail: "Vighneswara is steeped in learning, ancient as well as modern. *Sotto Voce* is ample testimony to his versatility".

The Deccan Herald: "You will find it an education to read him. His sense of language is exquisite".

Mysindia: "Vighneswara is a journalist with wit and learning and a capacity for invective which never flag or allow the reader to turn the page before he gets to the foot of it".

368 pages Price: Rs. 4. Library Edition Rs. 5.

Postage (Re. 1-20 nP.) extra.

B. G. PAUL & CO.,

4, FRANCIS JOSEPH STREET, MADRAS-1

sis on co-operation. Alighting from the bullock-cart, the V.L.W. was shocked to note that the traditional welcome was not there. After a good deal of cajoling, the village munsiff obliged the puzzled social worker with the ominous remark: "There is some tension here. The co-operative farming slogan may have something to do with it." The reformer for a moment was chagrined that this novel scheme had outpaced him to the village. However, his dutifulness asserted itself and he decided to unburden himself of the principles and practices of co-operative farming drilled into him at the seminar. He ordered a beat of drums for a panchayat meeting near the cattle-pound. The response was encouraging, as both sides were keen on enlightenment.

The V.L.W. by way of preliminary remarks extensively quoted statistics from the Plan volumes and impressed upon them the need for more production and more and more production. He also proceeded to explain what Pandit Nehru wanted them to do in the interests of the Congress, in the

interests of the nation, in the interests of people, and in the interests of themselves.

At this stage, the munsiff, seated next, observed that Ramiah Thevar was getting impatient, eager to say something. In the interests of peace in the community, the munsiff nudged the V.L.W. to stop his peroration and allow Ramiah Thevar to speak. The latter straightened his quivering moustache, cleared his throat and said: "I don't care if there is co-operative farming or Communist farming.... what I want to know is if my patch of land will be tagged on to Laxmiah Thevar's..... If it is so, it can be done only over my dead body.... or after I tear him limb by limb..... The scoundrel has been making passes at my wife for quite some time. Unless I get justice, I won't allow anybody, even God, to come anywhere near my property." The munsiff fully realised the seriousness of this observation and pleaded with the V.L.W. to make a note of this before he thought of taking any step.

(Continued on Page 15)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

THE SWING TO THE LEFT

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

Just about the same time municipal elections were taking place in Madras State, France was holding local elections to choose 500,000 councillors and mayors in 38,000 municipalities. Although normally local elections create only local interest, the municipal elections in France have aroused considerable international interest. For it provides new ground for speculation about the future of French politics.

France has presented to the world a bewildering picture of political instability. But France is physically sound. The malaise is mental. Unlike Britain, France can feed herself. With a fertile country, a smiling climate, and 44 million intelligent and reasonably hard-working people, France should be able to earn her own living.

And yet she is—has been for a long time—in a bad way. The glory that once was France had gradually lost its political base as she got caught between an empire she was unwilling to give up and a brutal war in Algeria. Added to these was the flappy individualism of Frenchmen which encouraged multiplication of political parties and invited interminable squabbles.

De Gaulle to Power

When in May 1958 long fermenting exasperations came to a head and the Algerian situation exploded, General Charles De Gaulle rode to power with authority to transform the Government from a parliamentary democracy to a presidential one with a strong executive and balanced powers. This political upheaval brought into being a new Gaullist Party, the Union for the New Republic (U.N.R.). Many observers felt that this party would profit from the general discontent with the parties of the earlier period. The first parliamentary elections held in November seemed to support this view. The U.N.R. won 22.7

per cent of the votes. The Communists who held the largest number of seats in the previous assembly, dropped from 25.6 per cent in the previous elections to 19.5. Their strength in the assembly was reduced from 148 to a mere 10.

This put the Communists to shame and created problems for them. French assembly members are paid the equivalent of about Rs. 800 a month and the Communist members were turning over this amount in full to the party which in turn paid allowances to them. When the party strength in the assembly was reduced to 10, the party was forced to adopt economy measures and three provincial newspapers of the party suspended publication.

Communists Dazed

Indeed, the Gaullist revolution of May 1958 dazed the Communists. Throughout the post-war era this party led by Thorez has been a powerful factor in French politics. There are about 6 lakhs real party members in France and less than 60,000 reliable militants.

But when the crisis came to France a year ago, the Marxist machine showed not the slightest sign of fight. It called for strike that did not materialise. One explanation was that Russia had sent secret orders to avoid truculence towards De Gaulle until his foreign policy had assumed clear shape. Others said that Thorez was so confident that the new regime would soon make mistakes and sag and he could afford to wait.

Thorez was right. After assuming power as President in December, De Gaulle instituted a broad austerity programme—higher taxes, virtual elimination of veterans' pensions, reduction of social security payments, a freeze on wages, and sharp cuts in subsidies that have brought higher prices. The measures have had a heavy im-

pact, especially on wage earners.

Last month's municipal elections reflected this impact. The results obtained in Paris and 12 other towns are tabulated below with the percentage of votes received by each Party in 1958 and 1959:

	1958	1959
Communists	19.5	27.7
Independents	23.0	17.5
Gaullists	22.7	20.8
Socialists	13.0	12.8
Pop. Republicans	4.7	4.7

This time there was a difference. Frenchmen did not go to the polls with the shadow of civil war. Six months after the referendum (80 per cent in favour of De Gaulle) and four months after the general elections, France seems to have discovered that the new regime has no magic cures for ills that beset France.

The swing to the left in French politics will become more pronounced this month when elections are held for the Senate which is on the basis of electoral colleges composed mostly of municipal councillors.

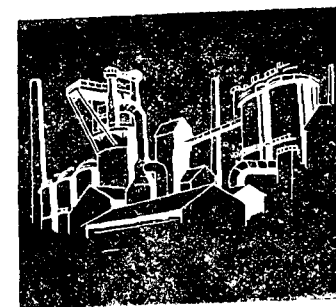
The New Trend

The red belt in France seems to be redder than ever. In most places the Communists obtained as many votes as in 1953, the date of the last municipal election, and in some even more. Thus the elections have gone against U.N.R.'s sweeping success last November.

But De Gaulle seemed unconcerned last week. He is not going to modify his economic measures. He, however, acknowledged on March 25 that dissatisfaction with economic and financial conditions was a factor in recent municipal elections. He attributed the return of some votes to the Communist camp to a lack of information about the French recovery programme.

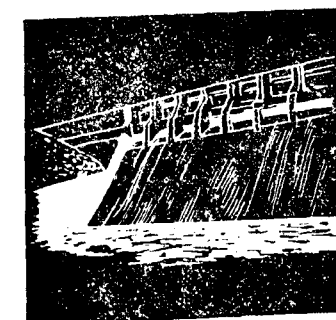
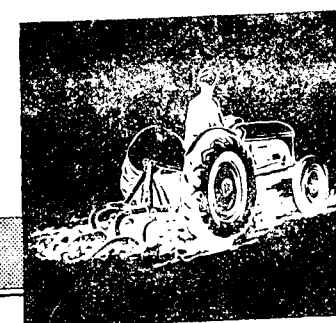
The change in mood of the French public is not the result of purely local and economic issues. The current dialogue between the West and Russia seems to have influenced the voters. In any event, the trend is clear. There is a swing to the left in France.

RAILWAYS deliver the goods for industry, agriculture, commerce



The Indian Railways have traditionally been a constructive force in the nation's economy. With the commencement of the planning era, they have been shouldering increasingly greater burdens in keeping with their century old mission—*to serve the individual and build the nation.*

At present, the railways run about 3,000 goods trains—apart from 4,500 passenger trains—in each 24-hour period, to speed the nation's progress and to deliver a vast range of goods essential for the life of the community.



The railways today are a beehive of engineering and other activity. Men by the hundred thousand are busy on scores of projects, designed to raise the railways' capacity to render transportation service on an unprecedented scale, as part of their Second Plan effort.

INDIAN RAILWAYS
serve the individual
and build the nation

106 years of National Service

His daughter is
able to attend
college on time
—thanks to her
Hercules cycle

It's a WISE and loving father who gives his college going daughter a HERCULES. He knows the difficulties of public transport, and he knows too how much his wife worries when the daughter returns home late. Because of the HERCULES, his daughter now finds more time for her studies, more time to help her mother at home. Few things in life are so useful for so long as a HERCULES.

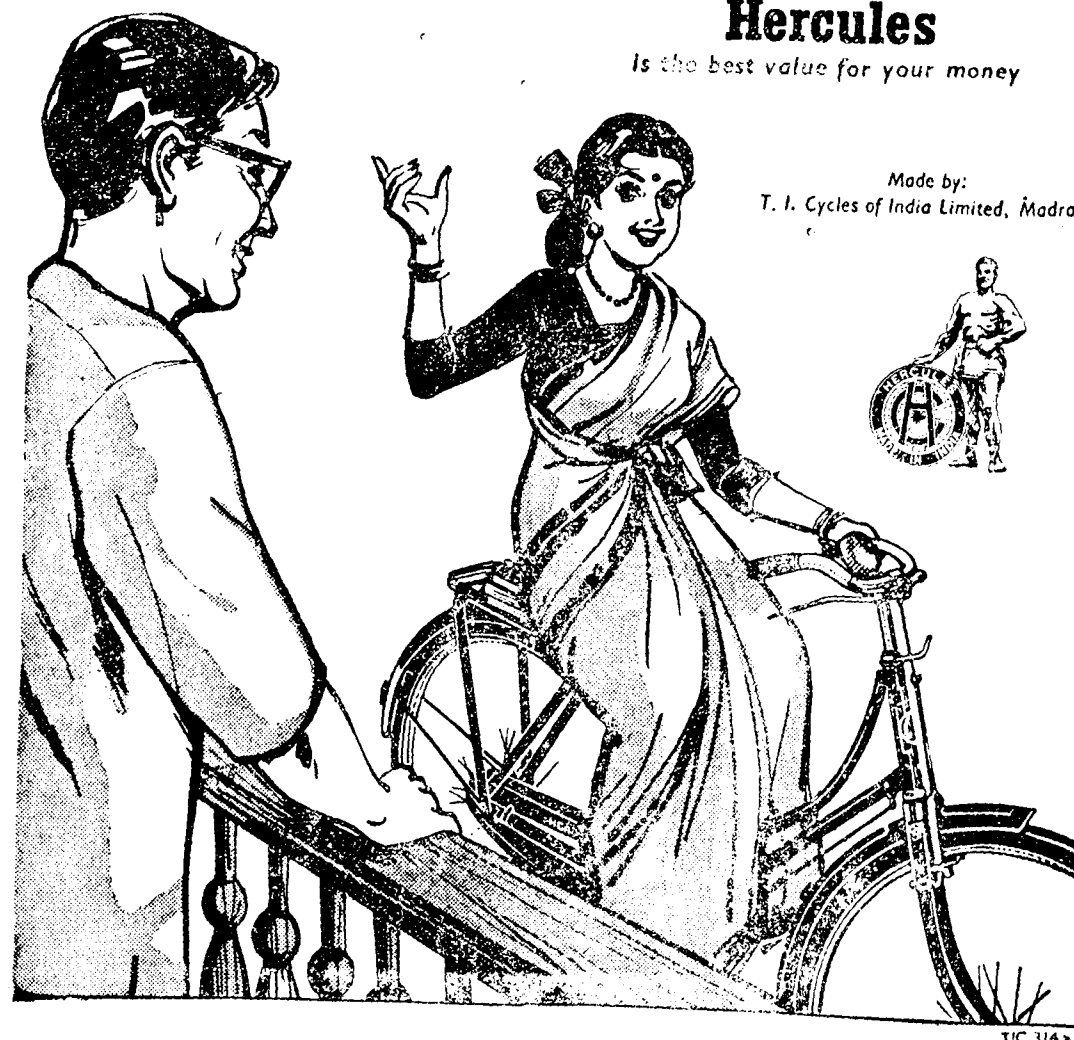
Backed by the experience of people who have made top quality cycles for nearly 50 years, the sturdy HERCULES is precision built in T. I. Cycles' ultra-modern factory. Its streamlined beauty, smooth effortless drive make it the finest cycle you can buy today.

Your cycle is an investment

Hercules

Is the best value for your money

Made by:
T. I. Cycles of India Limited, Madras



TIC 314

CAPITAL COMMENTS

HANDWRITING ON THE TIBETAN WALL

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: It is the Tibetan needs to be left, to feel or find his own way. He hates pressures of any kind.

It was sixty years ago that the Government of India became markedly uneasy over the situation in Tibet, in the light of a secret understanding between Russia, China and Tibet. It was left to the then Viceroy, Lord Curzon, to warn the British Cabinet against imperviousness, "even when the finger has already begun to trace its fatal handwriting across the Tibetan wall". If Lord Curzon's remedies were not dismissed then as too drastic, the whole history of Tibet in the terms of Chinese suzerainty would have been different. But it was not to be. Nothing went beyond Col. Younghusband's mission to Lhasa in 1904, the treaty that followed, and the presence of a British trade agent at Gyantse under the treaty.

The first British trade agent was a certain Sir Frederick O'Connor, himself a member of the Younghusband mission. He was Irish born. While in service he became a familiar figure in the Far East and happened to know the Dalai Lama and the Tashi (later Panchen) Lama of the day well. It fell to O'Connor's lot to deliver in person an invitation on behalf of the Government of India to Tashi Lama to visit India to see Their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and Princess of Wales. The whole affair was so adroitly handled. If he had not prepared the ground unobtrusively, taken the Tashi Lama into confidence unofficially, and handed the invitation formally later, the Tashi Lama could not have evaded Chinese interference and left the place. He was the first Lama of his rank to have ever gone out of his country or to India. The setting in which the

Tashin Lama stirred out is worth recalling today, and we can't do better than to turn to Sir Frederick O'Connor's own record:

"Dense throngs crowded the streets of the city (Shigatse) to see him pass, kneeling and bowing their heads to their God as his palanquin approached many with tears pouring down their cheeks. Poor people—they hated to see him go, their beloved Lama, their God on earth, whom they so devotedly loved and worshipped. They feared that they might never see him again. It was the same all along the one hundred miles of windswept plateau which we had to traverse, till we reached the crest of the Himalayas at the Tang La. Everywhere along the road the villagers assembled from far and near and lined the track with the same signs of emotion. They lighted little fires to burn incense as he passed and they would try to press forward to touch his chair and obtain his blessing."

If such was, indeed, the feeling in Tibet when the Tashi Lama of the day left on what was no more than a goodwill mission, we can but imagine the intensity of feeling and the depth of emotion, among the Tibetans when the very Dalai Lama was obliged to leave them behind, without their knowing and his knowing what awaited him or them next minute. India was most deeply moved by the fate that had overtaken the Dalai Lama. Sympathy for him in his hour of trial and test is ready, abundant, overwhelming. But will this have any repercussions on the Indo-Chinese relations? That is the one question which is being asked everywhere. There is definitely a pro-Tibetan feeling in the country. It should not however, be mistaken for anything like anti-Chinese feeling as such. Nevertheless, it must be conceded that there is an anti-pro-Chinese feeling, because of the ideological excesses of the Indian Communists who let themselves be swept off their feet.

I would love to be able to say that life's big lesson had had a mystical, or ethical, or philosophical value. But the humble truth is that food is the only subject-matter of the most unforgettable lesson I've learned from life.
—MAURA LAVERTY, an Irish writer.

CINEMA

12 LAKHS FOR A STAR
FOR ONE PICTURE

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: The star-problem threatens to plunge the film industry into a crisis if the astronomical figures of rise in star prices are to be believed. According to film-circle rumours, the highest price a film star has been offered is Rs. 12,00,000 for one picture.

A picture paying one star such a huge sum cannot be made for less than twenty to thirty lakhs. True, some of the pictures do cover that price. But the successive flops during the last four months do not warrant such phenomenal rise in the cost of production. More than any other handicap, the star-prices threaten to create the greatest crisis the film industry has ever faced.

Subhash Pictures' 'Be Dard Zamana Kya Jane' is a melodrama based on the ever popular theme of the trials and tribulation of a suffering woman.

The picture begins with Kamala's mother dying and the creditors taking away all the utensils. Alone and helpless Kamala goes away to seek her fortune. She meets in the train Pran who wants to take advantage of her. She escapes from him to meet Ashok whose child comes to like her. Ashok marries her. Instigated by Pran, Ashok's sister-in-law poisons his child and puts the blame on Kamala. Pran who has already sown the seed of suspicion in Ashok's mind succeeds in making him drive Kamala out of his home.

Kamala gives birth to a child which Ashok takes away. Later she saves the child of Pran and his deserted sweetheart Shyama and brings her up as her own daughter. Mohan, Ashok's son, falls in love with Radha, Kamala's foster daughter. And when Pran casts his evil eye on Radha, Ashok's sister-in-law reveals the truth and before he could meet

his wronged wife, Kamala kills Pran and is tried on the charge of murder. Ashok and his son defend her in the inevitable loud and crude court scene.

The picture bears a striking resemblance to 'Adalat' and Pran's character is very much the same. Instead of killing Pran, had he been made to repent for his rough treatment of his own daughter Radha, the picture would have had a different climax. As it is, there is nothing new in the picture and its coincidences and cliches are stale and false.

Nirupa Roy as Kamala gives her usual good performance and so does Ashok as Ashok. Pran is the dominating figure. Sudesh and Jabeen make a youthful but insipid pair of lovers. While there is nothing to commend technically, the music by Kalyanji Veerji is quite pleasing. At least a couple of tunes haunt you afterwards.

Baldev Raj Chopra has achieved the hat-trick of the Silver Jubilee week's celebrations in Bombay. His three consecutive pictures 'Ek Hi Rasta', 'Naya Daur' and 'Sadhna' have celebrated Silver Jubilee weeks in Bombay.

The success of these three pictures is praiseworthy since they were not the conventional musical entertainers but off-beat social dramas dealing with present day problems in a popular but thought-provoking manner. Chopra began his film career as a journalist in Lahore and became a film producer after the partition. His first picture did not run; and so he decided to direct his own pictures. His first essay in direction was 'Afsana' produced eight years ago. Since then he made 'Shore' and 'Chandni Chowk' for Hira Films and later started making pictures under the banner of B. R. Films. As luck would have it, all the three pic-

tures produced by B. R. Films have proved jubilee hits. In 1956, Chopra's 'Ek Hi Rasta' was released; in 1957 Chopra's 'Naya Daur' and in 1958 'Sadhna'.

Unlike other hit makers who sleep over their laurels, Chopra has been a most regular filmmaker. In 1959 Chopra promises to deliver two pictures 'Dhool-ke-Phool' and 'Kanoon', the shooting of which he is starting this week.

Amiable and co-operative Chopra has earned a good name in the industry both as a man and a producer. He called upon Mehboob to give away the trophy at the Silver Jubilee function at Taj. The function was very well attended and revealed Chopra's popularity.

Chopra is leaving for his first continental tour next month. One hopes that his tour will further broaden his vision and he would be able to make even better pictures in future and win the State award which has so far been eluding him.

Journalist Bunny Reuben and Dube are launching their picture on 9th April at R. K. Studios. Based on a story by Reuben with screenplay and dialogue by Vishwamitra Adil, the picture will be directed by Prasad and star Raj Kapoor and Padmini. Shankar Jaikishen will provide the music. On the same day Chandulal Shah is launching his second picture 'Akeli Maat Jaaeyo' starring Meena Kumari and Rajendra Kumar.

Shantaram returned from Hollywood last week via Honolulu and Tokyo. Shantaram has resumed the shooting of his technicolor picture 'Navrang' starring Sandhya, Mahipal, Agha, Baburao Pendharkar, K. Date, Ullhas and the charming newcomer Vandana.

'Girl Friend' is the new title of Satyan Bose's picture while 'April Fool' is the title of Subodh Mukherji's next production.

Dilip Kumar left for Madras after completing the outdoor shooting of 'Ganga Jamuna' for 45 days' continuous shooting of Vasan's next picture.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CO-EDUCATION

Sir,—One has to endorse the views of Mr. D. Venkata Rao on Co-education. The allegations made against the bad behaviour of the male students towards the female students are, I am afraid, true and justified. As a student of the Law College I have been observing the behaviour of the male students. The boys make paper arrows and dart them at lady students, trumpeting that they are Cupid's arrows. The students also take a delight in bumping against the members of the opposite sex and when questioned they have the audacity to attribute the collision to accident. As stated by Mr. Venkata Rao the boys are not always in the wrong. The ladies drape themselves in transparent apparel, without bashfulness and modesty. Though co-education contributes liveliness to the atmosphere, it is detrimental to the moral health of the student community.

A. R. LAKSHMANAN,
Law College, Madras.

Village Level Worker

(Continued from Page 9)

The next to speak was Karnam Sivasubramania Nadar. His tone was necessarily cautious. He welcomed the idea of increasing paddy output. But he was interested in finding out if the land boundaries would vanish under the scheme. If that were so, he must contact his lawyer immediately for filing a writ under the Constitution. He cannot allow his main source of income—arbitrating over boundary disputes—to dry up by a stroke of the pen as it were. However, he hastened to add, he would give his utmost co-operation, if this provision was not thought of.

Padmanabha Naidu, sporting on his proud chest a Krishi Pandit medal awarded for having grown 3,000 lbs. on an acre praised the benign Government for their interest in doubling and trebling the yield per acre with a good number of incentives. But he had a doubt. For instance, what would

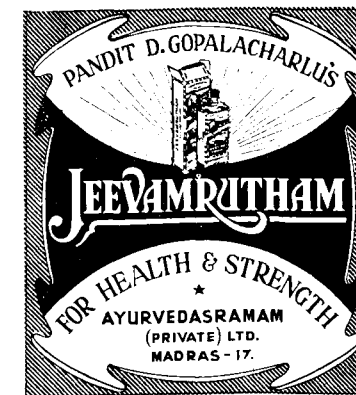
be the basis of sharing of produce (per acre) in a co-operative farm? Would he get the same amount of paddy as his neighbour who comes to the field only twice in the season—at the sowing and harvest times? It is on the face of it unjust, he cautioned.

Srinivasa Sastri quoted extensively from ancient texts to show how land was considered to be as important as water and air and he blessed the efforts of the Nehru regime to bring in Ramarajya. What he wanted to stress was that he could not be expected, considering his scholarly achievements, to offer *shramdan* at the bidding of Harijan Mookan. At best he could give a free discourse on Sundarakantha every evening to soothe the tired nerves of toilers coming home after ten hours' manual labour under the hot sun.

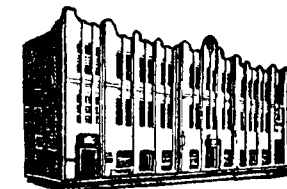
The V.L.W. was disappointed that none had yet come forward enthusiastically to give him a helping hand. He was about to disperse the congregation, when the village school headmaster adjusted his turban and spoke: "The authorities while introducing this measure, should think of commandeering the services of our fraternity, of course with a little honorarium.... Whether it is forthcoming or not, I offer my unconditional co-operation."

A wag was heard to remark: "Why can't he? He doesn't own a cent anywhere."

L. A.



THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"
NORTH BEACH ROAD,
MADRAS-1.

23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole
of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND
SINGAPORE.

CAPITAL

Authorised Capital Rs	1,00,00,000
Issued and Subscribed Capital	72,00,000
Paid-up Capital	66,19,625
Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium)	91,61,883
Deposits as on 30-6-'58	38,00,96,415
Total Working Funds	46,05,11,811

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.
R. SUNDARAM IYER.
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA
MUDALIAR.
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA
CHETTIAR.
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.
RAMDAS PURUSHOTTAM DAS.

ALL TYPES OF
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING
FOREIGN EXCHANGE
TRANSACTED.

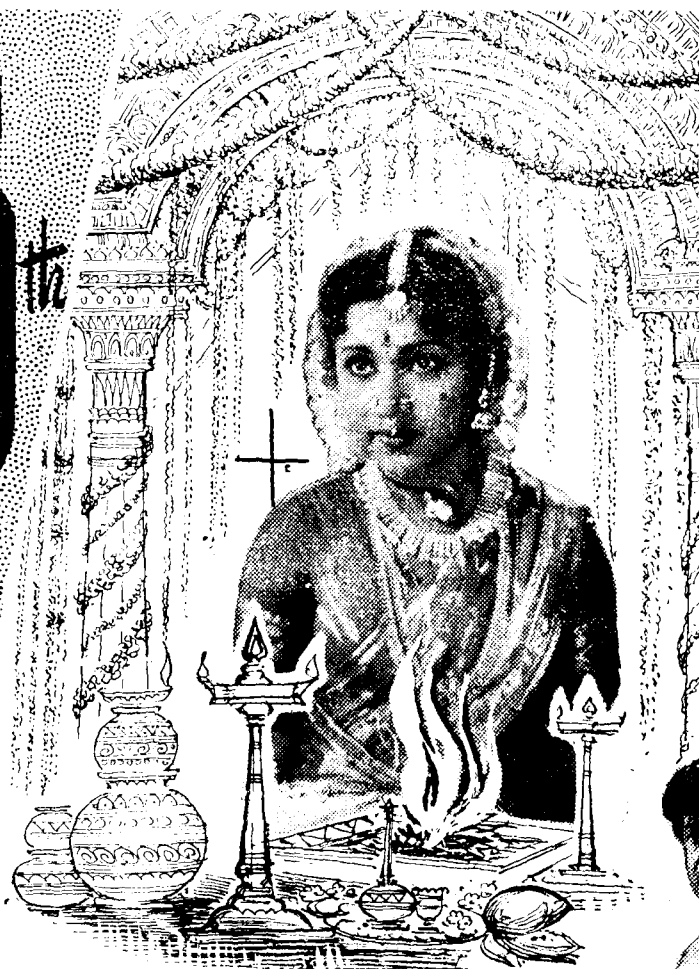
London Agents :
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents :
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,
SECRETARY.

At Madras CASINO - BROADWAY - & - SAYANI
and all over South

FROM
9th
APRIL



**VENUS
PICTURES**

**Kalyana
Parisu**

CAMERA ART EDITING SONGS
VINCENT • GANGA • N.M. SHANKAR • P. KALYANASUNDARAM

MUSIC • **A.M. RAJA** STORY • DIALOGUE & DIRECTION • **SRIDHAR**

ELEGANT

434

SWARAJYA

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 41

MADRAS, APRIL 18, 1959

15 Naye Paise

WANTED A CONSERVATIVE PARTY

Everyday that passes makes the need for a conservative party in this country to stem the tide of statism increasingly urgent. A conservative party in the context of Indian conditions is not a party of reaction. On the contrary, it will be a progressive liberal party, which will have its roots in basic democratic principles and in the cherished traditions of the country. The absence of such a party makes our Parliament and legislatures distorted mirrors not reflecting the real pattern of public opinion in the country. Large areas of moderate opinion, as represented by the mass of professional people, traders, small and big businessmen, small and big agriculturists, and millions of self-employed producers, go entirely unrepresented because these sections are so much immersed in their own concerns that they have little time and less use for the din and strife of party politics. They become conscious of the demands of politics only when some radical legislation or grasping taxation affect them directly or indirectly. The general upsurge of feeling in the country over the impending legislation on ceilings for land and the threat of near-extinction of private property in land in the name of co-operative farming have led many leaders who were formerly staunch supporters of the Congress to come out and say that this kind of thing must stop. There is undoubtedly a crisis within the Congress which can only be resolved by a clear

division between those who genuinely believe in the Socialist programme with all it implies in terms of extension of State ownership and control, and those who feel that for the growth of a balanced democratic society, which respects individual freedoms and traditional values, there should be a limit to the intervention of the State and that, over a fairly large field of economic and social activity, private initiative and voluntary co-operative action should prevail. In Western Europe, even in countries where the Socialist movement has made striking advance, the basic democratic character of the government has been maintained by the existence of a conservative party which has acted as a counter-weight to the pulls and pressures of the Socialists. Wherever the counter-weight of such a conservative party has been lacking, the tendency has been for the government to become totalitarian, whether of the Communist or other variety.

In India, this danger is not the less real, just because at the moment it seems as if our democratic system has been working fairly well. Neither quinquennial elections nor the formal procedures of parliamentary government are a real guarantee of democratic freedom. What counts in the ultimate analysis is the quality and integrity of those who compose the legislatures from whom the members of the government are drawn. No one studying

the changing composition of our legislatures since 1946 can escape the conclusion, so tellingly pointed out by Sri Rajaji, that increasingly these legislatures are made up of professional politicians who have no other stake in the country except their political existence and whose abject dependence on the party leader has made them valueless as independent units of political thinking. The amazing case with which all sorts of measures are carried through Parliament with little or no criticism is a striking commentary on the transformation of Parliament into a body which meekly registers decisions taken elsewhere. A Socialist Congress Party, prodded more and more to the left by a small but obstreperous opposition drawn from Socialists, Communists and Radicals of various degrees, is engaged in the dangerous game of outbidding the Communists, which only serves to prepare the ground for them. There is a frantic search for short-cuts for solving problems which, because of their very magnitude and cumulative character, are incapable of being solved that way. The country is being made a vast guinea-pig for desperate remedies tried elsewhere with indifferent success. In this situation, unless instructed and intelligent opinion comes forward to explain to the people the dangers implicit in the policies pursued by the ruling party and creates an organised volume of opinion which acts as a check on the govern-

Edited and Published by KHASA SUBBA RAU at 77 Lloyds Road, Madras-14.

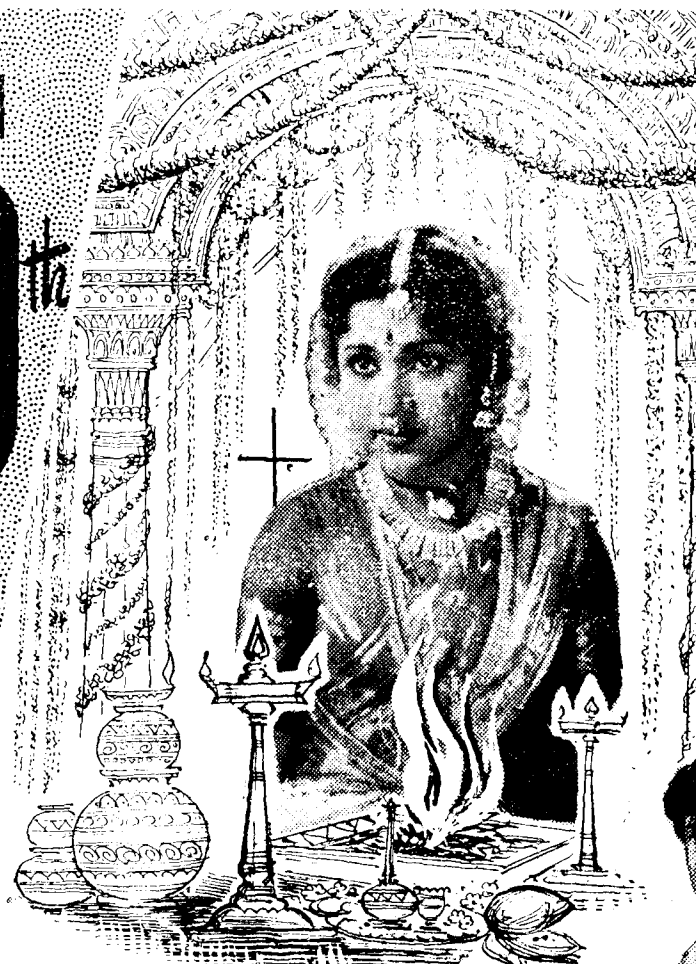
Printed by T. K. VENKATESAN at THE JUPITER PRESS PRIVATE LTD., 109-C, Mount Road, Teynampet, Madras-18.

At Madras CASINO - BROADWAY - & - SAYANI
and all over South

FROM

9th

APRIL



**VENUS
PICTURES**

**Kalyana
Parisu**

CAMERA ART EDITING SONGS
VINCENT • GANGA • N.M. SHANKAR • P. KALYANASUNDARAM

MUSIC **A.M. RAJA** STORY • DIALOGUE & DIRECTION **SRIDHAR**

ELEGANT

Edited and Published by KHASA SUBBA RAU at 77 Lloyds Road, Madras-14.

Printed by T. K. VENKATESAN at THE JUPITER PRESS PRIVATE LTD., 109-C, Mount Road, Teynampet, Madras-18.

434

SWARAJYA

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 41

MADRAS, APRIL 18, 1959

15 Naye Paise

WANTED A CONSERVATIVE PARTY

Everyday that passes makes the need for a conservative party in this country to stem the tide of statism increasingly urgent. A conservative party in the context of Indian conditions is not a party of reaction. On the contrary, it will be a progressive liberal party, which will have its roots in basic democratic principles and in the cherished traditions of the country. The absence of such a party makes our Parliament and legislatures distorted mirrors not reflecting the real pattern of public opinion in the country. Large areas of moderate opinion, as represented by the mass of professional people, traders, small and big businessmen, small and big agriculturists, and millions of self-employed producers, go entirely unrepresented because these sections are so much immersed in their own concerns that they have little time and less use for the din and strife of party politics. They become conscious of the demands of politics only when some radical legislation or grasping taxation affect them directly or indirectly. The general upsurge of feeling in the country over the impending legislation on ceilings for land and the threat of near-extinction of private property in land in the name of co-operative farming have led many leaders who were formerly staunch supporters of the Congress to come out and say that this kind of thing must stop. There is undoubtedly a crisis within the Congress which can only be resolved by a clear

division between those who genuinely believe in the Socialist programme with all it implies in terms of extension of State ownership and control, and those who feel that for the growth of a balanced democratic society, which respects individual freedoms and traditional values, there should be a limit to the intervention of the State and that, over a fairly large field of economic and social activity, private initiative and voluntary co-operative action should prevail. In Western Europe, even in countries where the Socialist movement has made striking advance, the basic democratic character of the government has been maintained by the existence of a conservative party which has acted as a counter-weight to the pulls and pressures of the Socialists. Wherever the counter-weight of such a conservative party has been lacking, the tendency has been for the government to become totalitarian, whether of the Communist or other variety. In India, this danger is not the less real, just because at the moment it seems as if our democratic system has been working fairly well. Neither quinquennial elections nor the formal procedures of parliamentary government are a real guarantee of democratic freedom. What counts in the ultimate analysis is the quality and integrity of those who compose the legislatures from whom the members of the government are drawn. No one studying

the changing composition of our legislatures since 1946 can escape the conclusion, so tellingly pointed out by Sri Rajaji, that increasingly these legislatures are made up of professional politicians who have no other stake in the country except their political existence and whose abject dependence on the party leader has made them valueless as independent units of political thinking. The amazing ease with which all sorts of measures are carried through Parliament with little or no criticism is a striking commentary on the transformation of Parliament into a body which meekly registers decisions taken elsewhere. A Socialist Congress Party, prodded more and more to the left by a small but obstreperous opposition drawn from Socialists, Communists and Radicals of various degrees, is engaged in the dangerous game of outbidding the Communists, which only serves to prepare the ground for them. There is a frantic search for short-cuts for solving problems which, because of their very magnitude and cumulative character, are incapable of being solved that way. The country is being made a vast guinea-pig for desperate remedies tried elsewhere with indifferent success. In this situation, unless instructed and intelligent opinion comes forward to explain to the people the dangers implicit in the policies pursued by the ruling party and creates an organised volume of opinion which acts as a check on the govern-

WELFARE WITHOUT FREEDOM

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

(i)

According to an eminent American professor of sociology reason has not fared well in the present 'post-modern' age. The sway of bureaucracy, he says, has replaced moral sensibility. "The moral insensibility of our times was made dramatic by the Nazis. But was not the same lack of human morality," he asks, "revealed by the atomic bombing of the peoples of Hiroshima and Nagasaki?"

What he deplores is according to him happening both in the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. In the over-developed countries the standard of living dominates the style of life. The inhabitants are possessed as it were by the industrial and commercial apparatus. Collectively and individually there is a frenzied pursuit of commodities. Life, labour and leisure are all organised around the fetishes of production and consumption. A panic for status prevails corresponding to the proddings of poverty in under-developed countries. Society has become 'a great sales-room and a net work of rackets'. Anxious obsolescence has become the way of life.

The world antagonism between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. has produced similarities between them. Both are super-societies wherein the power of both is based upon technological development which is made into a cultural and social fetish, and is not an instrument under public control. In both, men at leisure and at work are subjected to impersonal bureau-

ment, the country may easily find itself irrevocably committed to more or less totalitarian programmes. The foremost task before all those who believe in orderly progress, within the framework of a truly democratic system, is to bring into the open the mass of conservative opinion which does exist in the country, though it is hardly reflected in the legislatures.

cracies. In both, the political order is enlarged and centralised. The political order becomes less and less political and more and more bureaucratic.

The two-party State, this professor has posed, can be as irresponsible as a one-party State. There is no vehicle in the over-developed State for reasoned opinions, no instruments for the national exertion of public will. This is how this professor paints the situation in America as well as U.S.S.R.

The picture may perhaps be deemed, he says, a biased view. But, he asks, what good is it to provide a 'balanced view' which is usually a vague equilibrium between platitudes? In this post-modern age, the professor says, we face the possibility of the deterioration of the human mind in quality and cultural level, hidden by the accumulation of technological gadgets, those who use them not understanding them, and those who invent and maintain them not understanding much else. The privileged men, the intellectuals of post-modern society, do not meet the challenge, he says, with moral passion and intellectual energy and are guilty of the greatest human default of our times.

(ii)

Yet this is the pattern of progress we are after in India, too. The craze for imitative adventure, to do the things that are done in the over-developed countries, has seized the political leadership of our country, falsifying the hope of the Father of the Nation that we might work out a future according to our own genius and not run after what has proved to be a will-o'-the-wisp where the hunt has been fully carried out.

State compulsion, direct and indirect as a substitute for people's character, and the expansion of the size and function of the bureaucratic machine—these are supposed to usher in paradise. Communism is anathema, but all

the same it is the pattern of Communism we are asked to work out for our happiness.

Neither Capitalism nor Socialism can produce happiness. Our national poverty should not mislead us into false values. We must raise ourselves materially without losing individual freedom or the spiritual values which are basic for all real progress and true happiness. Western Capitalism and Western Socialism worship the same gods. They kneel at the same altar. In addition, Socialism, be it Fabian or Marxist, believes in concentrating power in the State and utilising that power over every individual.

(iii)

Gandhiji too had an *ism*. His *ism* can be briefly described as the *ism* of trusteeship—that every one who holds a position or owns property should hold and look after it as trustee for all those who can benefit from it; a trader should be a trustee for his customers, a farmer should be a trustee for his family and his tenants and for the community at large, and so on in every case. The social and moral rule of trusteeship should replace the State compulsion involved in Socialism or Communism. This social doctrine of holding what you hold as a trustee for others is not a new conception. It is as old as our Shastras:

*Esha panthaa mayoddishtho
yēna yaanti maharshayah*

as Visvamitra said to Sri Rama when he asked him which way to take to cross the sandy Sone river. "I want you to go along the path the *maharshis* have shown".

Modern civilisation has greatly increased the number of situations which this sacred relationship of trusteeship must govern. Every human action, no matter how intimate and personal, is affected with a public interest, and attracts this principle of trusteeship. The doctrine of enlightened selfishness of the nineteenth century utilitarians should be refined into a doctrine of immanent trusteeship.

The means to reach this end should not be compulsion but a

refinement of the moral sense by education and religion. Dharma is the single word that sums up what we require. Religion cannot be pigeon-holed but should be woven into every activity of life, including social and public activities. The time calls for a great spiritual movement. We need more work, intense and honest work, so that more wealth may be produced and we need to spread Dharma so that what we produce may be spread out into general welfare and happiness.

It is not necessary to alter the producing machinery in order that others may share in the benefit. Every person should work to his full capacity, but every person should deem himself to be a trustee all the same.

This will preserve freedom while producing welfare. Welfare produced under expropriatory laws robs us of freedom if indeed it is welfare at all to live under an omnipotent bureaucracy with tentacles running into private lives. You own what you own, but remember that the best way to enjoy it is to look after it as a trustee for others. This social and moral doctrine must be strenuously inculcated. This is the true non-violent way to national welfare without the incubus of a Socialist bureaucracy.

(iv)

Is it a feasible plan? Let us remember that all the religions of the world have idealised this way of life. If but we do not wreck the spiritual work of the past by thoughtless attacks on the foundations of that work, we can build thereon more effectively and more rapidly than we may imagine it to be possible. Conscience is a part of the human organism as developed by evolution according to Adam Smith, Charles Darwin, Alexander Bain, Freud and all the eminent psychologists of the world and it has, according to them all, grown out of sympathy and imagination—putting oneself in the place of other people and feeling what they feel. What we can achieve through this conscience is what we really achieve. Any other means adopted for accom-



BUFFALO'S MILK

(Fable by RAJAJI, translated by

MRS. A. V. RAMAN)

There dwelt a cat in a village. One day she drank stealthily lots of buffalo's milk and went to sleep in a corner.

The cat's brain grew dull on account of the nature of the milk she drank.

She asked the jackal, "Oh, uncle, how is it no one is afraid of me? Everybody fears the tiger. Do I also, not resemble the tiger?"

The jackal understood that the cat's brain had become soft by drinking the buffalo's milk. So he played a trick.

"O, cat," said he, "do you not know the tiger has long yellow and black stripes? People are afraid of those stripes. Your coat is of an ash colour. They think you are a tame animal and do not fear you".

"What should I do?" asked the cat.

"Why, you are almost always near the oven. Create heat-scars like stripes on your body," said the jackal.

The innocent cat believed the jackal's story. She scalded herself. The poor thing suffered a great deal. It took a week for

the sores to heal. But eventually she was happy on seeing the scars like stripes on her body.

"Henceforth I am a tiger," said she, and started out.

There stood a cow on the road. She went opposite to it and looked at the face. The cow did not even move. Why should it? It did not at all heed the cat. It just went on grazing.

A dog which was standing nearby barked at the cat.

The cat stood there boldly displaying the stripes.

The dog chased the cat without paying any notice to the stripes.

The poor cat got frightened and got on to the top of a roof. She told herself, "I have been cheated. There is no difference. I have only these scars in the bargain. Thank God, I did not forget my climbing capacity. I have escaped from the dog".

"What's the news," queried the jackal. The cat did not reply in shame.

"Please do not drink buffalo's milk in future," advised the jackal and ran off.

plishing what can truly be accomplished only by appealing to conscience and spiritual values, nullifies the accomplishment. It would rob society of its priceless possession *viz.*, individual freedom, and convert achievement into a mirage.

The laws of government have a great deal of legitimate work to do, — to prevent exploitation, fraud or oppression without entering the positive field of actually doing what individuals alone can do frugally and with zeal. Within tolerance limits the government may levy taxes for its purposes but not attempt to do with tax-money what companies and

individuals have been doing with their capital. Society must depend ultimately on the impulses of the spirit which move people to do good and not levy taxes for doing it all themselves substituting compulsion for love and compassion and gradually starving out these impulses.

We regret the omission of the usual feature "Sotto Voce" in this issue. Vigneshwara is taking a much needed holiday and hopes to resume in a few weeks.

—Ed. S.

SIDELIGHTS ::

Sri Kamaraj Nadar lightly disposed of the Congress reverses in the recent Municipal elections by saying that men of outstanding ability and calibre were not forthcoming to contest as candidates. But why were they not forthcoming? The explanation is to be sought largely in the manner in which the selection of party candidates in the various elections has come to be made as a result of Sri Kamaraj's own personal control of the Congress organisation. He has exercised this control in the Tamil area for nearly fifteen years now. During this period he had a larger share of responsibility for the selection of party candidates to Municipal, State and Central electoral bodies than any other person. Can it be said that ability and calibre had ever anything to do with Sri Kamaraj's acceptance or rejection of applicants seeking the Congress ticket? Personal power consolidation has been his primary concern. Docile yesmen who could be depended upon to render implicit obedience were preferred to their abler competitors of superior calibre whose unquestioned subservience on all occasions could not be taken for granted. Secondly, the local communal composition of voters in a given constituency determined which of the seekers for Congress nomination was chosen. There have also been cases in which, irrespective of political creed, influential persons expected to win in a locality were admitted to the Congress fold. The momentum of these methods has caused in the minds of intelligent people disgust with the Congress organisation. It has come to be looked upon as a private zamindari of the principal manipulator.

Sri Kamaraj was not fair to opponents of the Congress in charging them with fantastic and impracticable promises to "poor slum-dwellers" to gain their votes. In making promises to voters each party outbid the other and there was little difference between the Congress and

its opponents. But the Congress had one advantage which the others had not. As the ruling party with favours to confer it had a larger access to the resources of interested supporters. Its command of money to spend in the elections was greater. This advantage it fully utilised in the slums and the cherries with consummate knowledge of the susceptibility of their poor dwellers to monetary inducements at election time.

Pandit Nehru used to be a great vote-catcher. The glamour of his name has been pulling many votes into Congress ballot boxes in all the States of India. But of late, especially after the elevation of Srimathi Indira Gandhi to the Congress gaddi, the Prime Minister's influence is quickly wearing thin. The splendid legacy which Gandhi gave to his heirs has been dissipated, and they have made such a mess of our affairs that 70 per cent of the voters have stood aloof in revulsion from the elections in Madras State.

Ill health and physical disability prevented me from undertaking the journey to Vijayawada last Monday to attend the reception got up there in honour of Sri Narla Venkateswara Rao. I am informed by friends present that it was of unprecedented magnificence. In the profession of journalism the rewards are uncertain, the hazards are in plenty, the strain and the wear and tear of body and mind are terrific, life is precarious, and nothing is safe and settled. Narla had his full share of the difficulties and nightmares of this gruelling profession in his early days. He entered it without any influence to back him. By dint of hard work and sustained integrity of character, he has made himself the most powerful influence in it in the Telugu-speaking world.

I knew him first when he joined Sri Prakasam's English daily *Swarajya* as a reporter. What impressed me then was a certain easiness of demeanour in his work,

his gift of doing even a very difficult job with a casual air. Later when Sri Ramanath Goenka started *Andhra Prabha* it fell to me to make the initial choice of editorial staff for that paper. Very soon Narla outshone his colleagues and established himself as their natural leader. His experience as a reporter stood him in good stead. It redeemed him professionally from the theoretical desk academics which mars so large a mass of our newspaper work, investing it with unreality and artificiality. He achieved genuineness by actual contact with the affairs of the workaday world. It was heightened by two of his distinctive attributes, intellectual and moral probity, and perseverance in the spirit of the workman through all phases of responsibility. Narla is a devil for work because he had the good luck of stumbling on life's great secret of realising joy and happiness in hard work. He acquired pride of vocation through joy of work. It enabled him to cast away all tempting pressures as unthinkable defections from duty.

With unrelenting toil and honesty of purpose Narla has won his way to the affections of people of all walks and stations in Andhra Pradesh. The Vijayawada reception is an epitome of a grateful community's admiration for hard work well done, and in a way it reveals, for all to see, to what pinnacle of glory devotion to duty in the untrammelled path of journalism can take a man. In politics, unlike in journalism, the fallacies of the leaders bind the practitioner, and the scope for individuality of expression is limited. It remains to be seen to what extent any journalist, unless he is himself the top leader of a political organisation, can conform to the steamroller discipline of party politics without surrendering what is most precious in the function of the Press. I hope therefore that in the days to come the lure of parliamentary politics will not divert Narla from a vocation of such high purpose where he is so much at home and has given such a good account of himself already.

SAKA

STUDENT ORGANISATIONS

By PROF. D. D. KARVE

When we speak of student organisations, we have usually students of colleges and universities in mind, for pupils in primary and secondary schools are very young in age and cannot have any independent organisations of their own. As regards students in institutions of higher education, there can be various types of organisations. Thus, for example, there can be organisations of students coming from particular regions, or speaking a certain language, or interested in certain extra-curricular activities, or studying a certain subject. Such organisations can obviously attract only a limited number of students. I am concerned here with organisations which aspire to have all students in one or more institutions enrolled as members and whose aims and objects are usually stated in rather vague terms like the maintenance of academic freedom and of students' rights (whatever they may be), promotion of student activities for the social, cultural and educational advancement of students, etc.

Some kind of a body representative of the students in an institution is to be found in each college and university. In some institutions it is called a union, in others a gymkhana. If the number of post-graduate students is large enough, they may also have an organisation of their own, apart from the ones in the affiliated colleges. In unitary universities, where there are no affiliated colleges, there is generally a single organisation of all students.

These organisations are usually in charge of a number of extra-curricular activities like sports, debates, social functions, etc., but as stated above, many of them have, among their aims and objects, certain vague and general provisions which could include almost any type of activity. It is through these that often politics and politicians get a foothold.

We must first consider some peculiarities natural to the organisations of students. In the first

place the members are young in age, most being between about 17 and 24. This means that many of them, probably a majority, are not legally majors and are not voters in the elections to the State and Central legislatures. Secondly, persons can be students in colleges or universities only for a very limited period of time. Those who complete their course upto the first degree usually take 4 or 5 years (7 in the case of medicine) and those that leave before achieving this, remain students only for 2 or 3 years. The very small minority which go in for masters' or doctors' degrees may continue for 4 or 5 years more, i.e. about 8 or 10 years in all. The Mudaliar Committee has cited the case of a "student leader" aged 35 who continued to be a student for 15 years. But that must be an exception. The large majority therefore are students only for a few years during their lives and then go over to another state, they become ordinary citizens.

It is obvious therefore that thousands of students become non-students every year and cease to have any right to be members of student organisations, while thousands of others become students and acquire that right. Naturally therefore the body of persons designated as students has a perpetually changing composition and, what is important, a person can belong to that group for a comparatively short period of a few years. It is for this reason necessary to consider what is or can be the permanent part of an organisation of students, how such organisations from different institutions can co-operate with each other, and what functions a "national" body representing many or all organisations can fulfil.

Often when some controversial point arises, as for example the invitation of a particular person to preside over a function or a proposed rise in fees, etc., various students' organisations suddenly

crop up like mushrooms, take on impressive names and step into the fray. Presidents, Chairmen, Secretaries quickly appear on the scene, become representatives of the students and demand that they be consulted about the removal of the grievances. It is quite obvious that such organisations have no representative character and are not constituted after regular elections, etc. They are, in most cases, the result of outside agitators or pseudo-students mixing themselves in the affairs of students. Any person who is familiar with students' movements during the last few years knows well about the handbills circulated by such mushroom organisations or the "public" meetings held by them for the purpose of getting up an agitation. It has always been a puzzle to me what these organisations do in normal times and how they suddenly spring into existence.

It would be impossible for students' organisations to collect subscriptions from members, hold elections of office-bearers in a systematic and constitutional manner and carry on their normal activities without the full co-operation of the authorities (i.e. the teachers) of the respective institutions. In most colleges and universities every student pays the subscription and becomes a member of the union and the money is collected along with the tuition fee. It is desirable that this money is spent by their elected representatives for the students under the general supervision of their teachers. There must be definite rules as to the items on which expenditure is to be incurred and personal expenses of the members of the managing committee (e. g. transport, refreshments, blazers and badges etc.) must be banned or kept down to the barest minimum.

Some years back in a few universities the question of collection of subscriptions and control over the funds had become a matter of bitter controversy. Many students wanted the institution to collect compulsory subscriptions from all students and then hand over the amount to the managing committee which was to

All India Dental Association research shows 92% OF SCHOOL CHILDREN EXAMINED HAD GUM TROUBLES!

Guard
your children's
gums and teeth
with Gibbs SR

—the only toothpaste
containing
Sodium Ricinoleate
...used by dentists
to combat and
prevent gum troubles

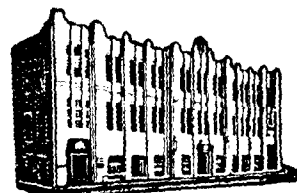
That distinctive 'SR'
taste tells you the
Sodium Ricinoleate
is actively protecting
your teeth and gums.



MADE IN INDIA BY HINDUSTAN TOILET POWDER CO. LTD. FOR D. & W. GIBBS LTD., LONDON

GSR 197-400

THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"
NORTH BEACH ROAD,
MADRAS-1.

23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole
of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND
SINGAPORE.

CAPITAL

Authorised Capital Rs	1,00,00,000
Issued and Subscribed Capital	72,00,000
Paid-up Capital	66,19,625
Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium)	91,61,883
Deposits as on 30-6-'58	38,00,96,415
Total Working Funds	46,05,11,811

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.
R. SUNDARAM IYER.
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.
RAO BHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA
MUDALIAR.
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA
CHETTIAR.
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.
RAMDAS PURUSHOTTAM DAS.

ALL TYPES OF
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING
FOREIGN EXCHANGE
TRANSACTION.

London Agents :
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents :
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,
SECRETARY.

April 18, 1959

exercise unfettered control over the spending. On the other hand, the university authorities insisted on exercising supervision over the spending if the collection of compulsory subscription was done through them. They had no objection to making the membership of the unions voluntary and then leaving to the representatives of those who chose to pay the right to spend the amount collected as they liked. Everybody knew that the number of students who would voluntarily join the union and pay the subscription would be very small and the money collected would be negligible. I think the stand taken by the authorities was eminently reasonable because if all students are to be made to pay and the collection is to be made by the university office, the responsibility to see that the money is properly utilised must be shouldered by the authorities, i.e. the teachers. Otherwise the funds are likely to be used for improper purposes including political agitation.

I feel that these organisations should confine their activities to the provision of recreational and sports facilities, cheap and wholesome food, books and stationery; the organisation of lectures and debates; the promotion of social contacts between students from different regions and religious and other similar work. In many Western countries, students' organisations are very active in these fields and the restaurants and shops conducted on a co-operative basis prove of great benefit to all students. But here, this type of work, perhaps because it brings no publicity and involves really hard and unselfish work, does not appear to be very popular. Students' organisations are usually associated in the minds of the public with processions, hunger strikes, hartals and marches. Actually, students' organisations could do a great deal of very useful work.

There is a general tendency to create an all-India body in connection with every possible question. In the case of students' organisation, this is not only necessary but also not practicable.

Firstly, the main business of students is to devote their full energies to their academic work and whatever other activities they undertake should be connected with their institutions. Most universities in India are of the affiliating type and have colleges situated at great distances from each other. In such cases even a university union dealing with all students in all the colleges is difficult to constitute and there are no problems common to the whole university which it can deal with. The day-to-day work of the separate unions, on the basis of the circumstances peculiar to each institution is all that a union can deal with. There will of course, be a single union in the case of a unitary university.

An all-India union of students or a super-union of all unions in India is entirely unnecessary and can fulfil no useful purpose. It will merely enable some students, who may or may not be representatives of their institutions, to travel at other people's expense to a central place, usually Delhi, a few times a year and occasionally go to some foreign country as student leaders. The work of organising various inter-university activities like debates, holiday-camps and sight-seeing tours is already being done quite well by other, more permanent and more efficient organisations. The youth festival in Delhi, the N.C.C. annual camps, the inter-university sports, etc., whatever be their utility, are in fact doing the work of promoting inter-university contacts and co-operation and there is no need, particularly for a student organisation, to enter that field.

Only recently a National Council of University Students has come into existence in Delhi with the usual paraphernalia of general council, executive committee, credentials' committee, advisory committee and the rest with rules and regulations about quorum, duties, rights, etc. With over seven hundred thousand students in about thirty-five universities and nearly 1000 colleges in India, it is impossible to have a central body like this which can be called

truly representative. Holding proper elections in this large mass of students, particularly in the affiliating universities, would be difficult enough, but considering that the composition of the whole student community changes radically every year, it would become necessary to hold such elections every year. I feel that any union of student organisations either on the basis of region or country is quite unnecessary and cannot function in an effective manner.

Student organisations should confine their activities to the unit institutions, i.e. a college in the case of affiliating universities and the whole university in the case of unitary and non-affiliating universities. It should be clearly recognised that all organisations should function under the guidance of the teachers and that politicians should keep their hands off these organisations. No direct action should be sponsored by any student organisation and there should be no organisations affiliated to political parties. In fact there should be no "right" and "left" organisations or "pro-khadi" or "anti-khadi" organisations.

TAMIL VALMIKI RAMAYANA CHURUKKAM

In easy elegant Tamil prose adapted from the Tamil prose translation of Valmiki Ramayana by Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastriar—7 kandams—451 pages. A book for every Tamil home and school library.

REDUCED PRICE Rs. 2

A large collection of English Books are offered at reduced prices. All book-lovers are invited to inspect them. No list is available.

K. MAHADEVAN,
82-A, Royapettah High Road,
MYLAPORE, :: MADRAS-4.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A CLOSE LOOK AT CHINA

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

In the ancient, gracious city of Peking, the capital of China, there is a great deal of excitement this week. For on Friday, April 17, the Second National People's Congress — the Chinese Parliament — meets against a background of fighting in Tibet between Chinese forces and rebels. Tearful tributes will be paid to Mao Tze-tung, the retiring Head of State, and a new Chairman elected. The Chinese Prime Minister, Chou En-lai will present a marathon report on the government for approval of the parliament. For us in India, the developments of the last few weeks make it necessary to know as much as we can about China.

The National People's Congress, although described by the Constitution of the Chinese Republic as the supreme organ of state power, is in reality largely a body for reviewing and discussing decisions already made by the officers who simultaneously run the Government and the Communist party. It is elected through controlled balloting for four years and has always given its sanctions to whatever proposals are put before it.

Peak of Power

The Congress is composed of deputies elected by the 21 provinces on the basis of 1 for every 100,000 persons, and 150 deputies from the autonomous regions, 60 from the armed forces and 30 from overseas Chinese. It has 1,226 members and normally meets once a year. The second Congress was originally called for last January, but subsequently postponed to April 17.

The Congress now in session in Peking meets at a time when China is almost at the peak of her military, political and economic power, although there are many dark clouds hovering over the peak. The basic Communist achievements are: (1) about 64

crores of people spread over 37 lakh square miles have been brought for the first time under one central control, and (2) private agriculture, industry and trade, the family system and the Chinese religion have all been liquidated or harnessed to the purposes of the regime.

Last year Peking radically reshaped the social and economic pattern of China by merging the nation's collective farms into a smaller number of larger units called communes. It is estimated that 90 per cent of China's 50 crores of peasants have been thus organized into about 26,000 communes. This experiment is too new to be judged accurately, but it has definitely increased agricultural and industrial production. The revolution which British Socialist M.P. Richard Gossman described "as the biggest and the most formidable mass movement in human history" was brought about by the tireless work of the world's largest Communist party with an active membership of 1.2 crores!

Leading Nation

China's achievements have been colossal. Its food crop 10 years ago was 11 crore tons and steel production the same year was 1½ lakh metric tons. In 1958 food production rose to 35 crores and steel output was 107 lakh metric tons, a 64 percent increase over 1958. More than 1000 miles of railways were said to have been laid last year. If Chinese figures can be believed, steel output and power production per capita are greater in China than in India. But China has less per capita income than India, the ratio being 13:12. Again, on the basis of Chinese figures, China produced more wheat (total 4 crore tons) and more cotton (total 35 lakh tons) last year than the United States of America. China plans to displace

April 18, 1959

Japan in 1959 as Asia's leading industrial power.

During the fiscal year that ended in July 1958, China reported, there was a budget surplus of Rs. 115 crores, attributed to the rise in value of industrial production by 70 per cent. It may be recalled here that in 1956 China had reported its first budget deficit of about Rs. 356 crores brought about by "a decline in revenue in agricultural taxes." China's foreign trade the bulk of which is still with the other 11 Communist countries of the world, increased 14 per cent in 1958. Chinese figures can seem unrealistic. There is, however, a growing volume of objective evidence to show that economic development is taking place on a vast scale.

Shortages Still

But China is still plagued by shortages in many spheres. She is backward in automobile production, and even in textiles. China's petroleum output (14½ lakh tons last year) is limited and inadequate. Many commodities, including grain, cabbage, laundry-soap and sugar are on the rationed list. The Communists seem determined to work till the shortages are liquidated and they want to make a virtue of China's overpopulation which may reach 100 crores by 1980.

China's armed forces a decade ago were relatively primitive. But, according to *Time*, the American news magazine, today "China is universally acknowledged as the most formidable military power in Asia, can throw into action at any time more jet planes (over 2,000) and more troops (over 2,000,000) than all the rest of the East Asian powers combined." China is producing large numbers of engineers, scientists, skilled workers and technicians of all categories. On the international scene, she has emerged as a source of economic aid for Cambodia and Yemen and as a growing competitor in the London tin market.

Dark Patches

All this adds up to a brilliant picture from a distance, but there

April 18, 1959

are dark patches on it. China is still heavily dependant on the Soviet Union. Russian economic aid since 1950 amounts to Rs. 900 crores. The anti-Communist outburst of the intellectuals in 1957, the apparent disillusionment among students and disaffection among peasants are all problems that embarrass Peking. Above all there is the opposition of the minority groups in Tibet and Sinkiang.

Echoes of the Tibetan struggle are bound to be heard in the Chinese People's Congress meeting in Peking this week. The Panchen Lama, the head of the new Tibetan Government, is one of the deputies and is now in Peking. His abrupt departure in the midst of Tibet's greatest crisis is difficult to explain. His stay in China may be prolonged even after the Congress is over so that the military command in Tibet may have time to consolidate its position without embarrassing the 21-year-old ruler of Tibet.

India's Voice

In 1954 something similar had happened when both the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama went to Peking to attend the inaugural session of the First People's Congress of China. The two Lamas stayed in China for seven months before they returned to Tibet.

China seems determined to have her own way with Tibet. India's voice has now been raised vehemently and no nation can pick holes in India's attitude. Writing in the *New York Herald Tribune* on April 8, columnist Roscoe Drummond, said: "Certainly no American can justly berate him (Nehru) for not thrusting his country between Red China and Tibet. We did not thrust ourselves between the Soviets and Hungary." Though it is difficult to discover any family resemblance between Hungary and Tibet, India has followed an independent policy which brings her no discredit.

SWARAJYA

MUSIC RECITAL BY M. S. S. AT DELHI

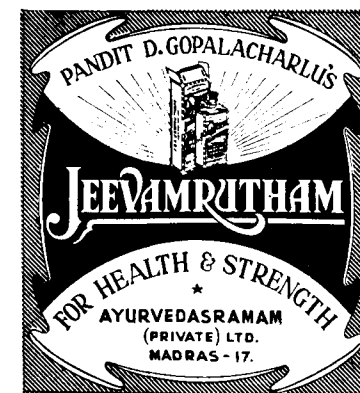
"Srimathi Subbulakshmi has placed her talents at the service of the nation," remarked Dr. S. Radhakrishnan on Sunday, 5th April, in New Delhi, while thanking the artiste for her celestial music. Srimathi Subbulakshmi gave a four-hour recital in aid of the Madras Education Association Building Fund. This munificent help by her will earn for her the gratitude and love of generations of children who will study in the school.

For sheer melody and sweetness of music, there is none to equal, much less surpass, M.S.S. The day's recital started with a brisk and invigorating *varnam* in Todi. From this *varnam* till the end there was not a single moment of rest for the enraptured audience of five thousand people in the spacious pandal. In maintaining uniform tempo of a performance and keeping sustained interest in the audience there is none to rival her, except the great Ariyakudi. Short and crisp *kritis* like 'Banturati', 'Kalikiyunte', 'Rama Nannubrovara', 'Manasuloni Marmamu' at their appropriate time embellished the recital to a very large extent. It is not difficult for a veteran artiste to satisfy the discriminating audience at Madras but it is no easy task to sing in Delhi before an audience which is cosmopolitan in character. In that respect, M.S.S. has succeeded remarkably. Her *kritis*, though purely Karnatic, kept the non-South Indians glued to their seats because of her effortless rendering and pleasant singing. Her favourite *kriti* 'Niducharana' in Kalyani was outstanding for the exposition of the *raga* and the excellence of the textual rendering. The *ragam*, *tanam*, and *pallavi* in Shanmukhapriya was the *piece-de-resistance* of the day. This *pallavi* demonstrated in ample measure her depth of learning, richness of *Ragabhava* and dexterity in *swaras*. The great assets of M.S.S. which make her music draw millions are an endearing countenance, a mellifluous voice, a

rich repertoire, and a genuine desire to give of her best. A new *kriti* of Swati Tirunal, 'Bhavaye Raghuvaram' in *raga malika* was adroitly rendered by the versatile artiste. The last half an hour was exclusively taken by her to give a feast to the ears of the North Indians by her melodious *bhajans* of Meera. That the *bhajans* of M.S.S. have magnetic appeal in the North can be seen by the number of North Indians who attend her recital generally.

For the last quarter of a century Srimathi Subbulakshmi has been at the top in the music world and if even at the age of 43 she could enthral the hearts and emotions of thousands there must be something divine in her. I feel that her success and reputation are in no small measure due to two important factors. They are, firstly, her husband Sri Sadasivam's qualities of head and heart and his piety, and secondly the *acharya anugraham* the two enjoy from His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Kamakoti Peetam. The Madras Education Association under the inspiring leadership of Dr. Subbarayan was indeed lucky to have arranged a recital by the renowned artiste.

SANGITA SIROMANI
SRIMATI MANI KRISHNASWAMI



V. R. NARLA

To mark the completion of 25 years as an active journalist and fifty years of life, Narla is being presented this week with a souvenir describing all the varied aspects of his work and lighting up the different facets of his mellow personality.

While Narla is first and foremost a journalist—and journalism is a jealous mistress—he has managed to steal time off the daily grind, over the years, to write a sizable volume of one-act plays, another of poems, mainly lyrical, a book of aphoristic verses, besides two or three collections of engaging personal essays in the Alpha-Lynd tradition. His literary work is remarkable for its quality and variety. Into his fifty years are crowned the achievements of a lifetime in different fields of human endeavour.

Born in a middle class family, which had migrated from the Krishna delta to the Narmada region (in the present Madhya Pradesh) and had seen its ups and downs, Narla had none of

the usual advantages of birth and upbringing that make for early success in life. His parents had to resettle in Andhra following a reverse in the family fortunes. After early schooling at Gudivada, he had his college education at Masulipatam and Kakinada. His academic career is marked more by his flair for debates, interest in extra-curricular activities and political proclivities of an incipient revolutionary stamp than by any distinction at the examinations. While still at college, he attracted the attention of the police by his fireworks as a freelancer and had his share of beating at their hands.

With a university degree in his hands and little money in his pocket, Narla arrived in Madras sometime in the early thirties, thirsting to become a full-fledged journalist by entering one of the English newspaper offices. Initially, he had little luck in this direction though he began to make a mark with his regular contributions to Telugu periodicals. The earliest to give him a helping

hand was the late Mr. S. G. Acharya of the 'Chitragupta' and 'The Prajabandhu'. He got a rather uncertain footing in Prakasam's 'Swarajya' and thence moved on from one shaky journal to another till he reached a less insecure stage as news editor of the 'Andhra Prabha' in 1938 a week or two before it actually came out, stepping on to its editorial gadi less than four years later.

To the missionary zeal of a journalist Narla added the consummate meticulousness of a creative artist. He took the readers by storm with his smart headlines, bright page make-up and vigorous editorials. Using simple, spoken Telugu he endeared himself to the common reader and his pungent and vigorous articles rarely missed the mark with their straight-from-the-shoulder shots. He knew his mind on every subject he dealt with and he was not afraid to speak it out. And he was always heard.

To his strenuous work as editor have recently been added the onerous responsibilities of a parliamentarian. In the Rajya Sabha, to which he was elected from the Andhra Pradesh Assembly, he has chosen to wait, watch and study, before rising to his legs. On the few occasions he spoke so far he took care to analyse and discuss at length the prospect for the Third Plan and the future role of Sanskrit. His connections with the Sahitya Akademies at the Centre and in Andhra have been very close. He is deeply interested in the work of the UNESCO, the Paris session of which he attended as a delegate.

Not many outside the circle of his immediate friends know perhaps, that Narla's books are housed in a bigger and better building than himself and his family. It is indeed a magnificent collection of rare and choice volumes secured at great cost and preserved and cherished with warm affection. Narla carries about him a reserved air, but he unbends in congenial surroundings and warms up in select company. He is not only a generous but a most understanding and

INSIDE G. P. O.

(The following revealing account of the present-day working of the Indian Posts and Telegraphs is from a communication by a Postal employee. In a covering letter he states: "I have seen India from the Himalayas to the Cape . . . Bred for five generations in the public services of the country, and rooted in the teaching of the Gita, life has little frustrations for us. Nevertheless, a feeling of frustration creeps in when we think of the services which we built up with our sweat and blood, going to pieces before our eyes. All that I have written here is therefore more in sorrow than in anger". The writer describes himself as "one to whom the service was the first and last love".)

It is high time that in the larger public interest a commission of enquiry should go into the working of the Posts and Telegraphs service, whose efficiency is at such a low ebb today. The public at large who pay for the piper, and that at a progressively enhanced rate, should judge for themselves where the responsibility lies for this sorry mess. The pay bill of the staff borne on its establishment has steadily mounted but the efficiency has gone down at an inverse ratio. The complaints are mounting. Delays have become proverbial. Everywhere the talk is: What has happened to India's once best regulated public service? Not only the standard of efficiency is now distressingly low but the incidence of loss in a service where integrity used to be proverbial till the other day has almost reached the peak figures. A regular racket is going on in this regard. Roughly one out of ten ordinary letters goes astray these days not only due to faulty delivery but also owing to mishandling in transit. The letters addressed to women are not safe. Unregistered parcels and pictorials in course of transmission find their way to the open market at times. The market rates recorded through the

imaginative host. Under his rugged exterior beats a heart of gold, and his leisurely appearance hides a dynamo of unceasing energy. Half way in the march of life, he can look back with pride and satisfaction on past achievement and look forward to the future with hope and confidence.

D. A.

telegraph and telephones are sold. There is hardly any discipline left due to diverse reasons. It is no wonder that the administrative machinery is creaking.

There has been promotion, en masse, from Class II to Class I almost overnight and at a considerable cost to the public exchequer. An entire class of officials with no superior attainments has been upgraded. Class II is now exclusively drawn from the ranks. This is not on merit rating but on seniority. Other considerations, personal and regional, weigh in the matter of promotion. Thus in these critical times of transition the administration is largely in the hands of officials many of whom are *prima facie* misfits and obviously underqualified, unable to pull their full weight.

Over and above this, they are thoroughly demoralised owing to the constant meddling with the details of day to day administration which goes on these days. Nothing is too small a matter for this meddling and discipline is undermined in the process. The unions are aggressive and run on one-way traffic lines primarily by outsiders. The officials who have little support to look forward to therefore follow the line of least resistance. When it is necessary to tighten up control and discipline in the larger public interest few have guts in them to be unpleasant and face the music. This malaise has affected every part of the great public utility service and the administration is effete today. It is not surprising that so little is done by so many.

When an impersonal administration is the need of the hour, *darbari* and *pairabi* are increasingly becoming the order of the day. Merit is at a discount. So also integrity and independence. The idea is gaining ground that the officials with impressive records of work and worth are not wanted and this has a devastating effect on the morale of the service. Other factors tell and pilgrimages to Delhi which are all too frequent are considered to be paying propositions. Nothing moves unless there is pulling of the strings from behind by some partisan showboy or other. That anything can be secured through importunate seeking through proper agencies is the prevailing idea.

There may be a crash any moment unless time is taken by the forelock in arresting the rot that is fast setting in. It is up to the Ministers to set an inspiring personal example and draw the line somewhere. After all the overall responsibility is theirs alone. While they must have the final say in the policy sphere the details of day to day administration must be left to the permanent officials who should be carefully selected and have full support. Those of them who are found to be below par, sleepy, unable to pull their weight or hold the balance even, or whose honesty is doubtful must be promptly pensioned off. There must be proper decentralization and division of labour and responsibility. Everything cannot be concentrated in the North or the South blocks of the Secretariat. The result has been that Ministers' secretariats are expanding and there are so many States within States, yet the wheels are not moving. Instead of a speech a day and a "tamasha" every month and whirlwind tours undertaken times without number at the poor tax-payer's cost and endless courses of dinners and receptions which have often an upsetting effect on their stomachs, they must concentrate on the essentials. Impersonal administration should be the keynote. Else, God save India and its Services.



STATE TRADING IN FOODGRAINS

By A. D. SHROFF

Unfortunately there is a pitiable attitude amongst us that unless it directly touches our pocket, we would not take notice of any governmental action. Today, it is a question of State trading in foodgrains, tomorrow it may be sugar or something else. Therefore, I most earnestly implore all the intelligent, independent thinking people of this country to take very serious notice of the developments which are taking place in this country. Whereas on the one hand the merchants are blamed, criticised, if not abused, for the profit motive which in the judgment of some of our rulers is something immoral, profiteering indulged in by the State Trading Corporation is extolled as a national virtue. That the State Trading Corporation should profiteer in cement and make an additional Rs. 5½ crores is something which is to be praised. That the bureaucrats were so successful that under the circumstances prescribed by the Government, they could sell cement at a price which would bring to the State an additional profit of Rs. 5½ crores blinds the authorities to the immorality of the transaction.

It is not sufficiently realised in New Delhi that the distributive trade, in foodgrains particularly involves the use of techniques which cannot be built up overnight. It is the pioneering effort of our merchants over generations

which is mainly responsible for the efficient handling of the foodgrains trade. Recently, the Prime Minister has found a new stick to beat the merchants and businessmen with. They are all dubbed as "vested interests". Whoever has been in business for a number of years and has made a success of his business, whether it be foodgrains, iron and steel, motor cars or anything is a "vested interest" and in his judgment these so-called "vested interests" must go. Unfortunately, in our experience, the biggest vested interest and potentially the most dangerous to the sustenance of democracy in this country are the people who are very anxious to see that they do not lose this political power. These are the real vested interests in the country.

Speaking at the annual meeting of the All-India Manufacturers' Organization on March 11, 1959, the Prime Minister declared that he had very strong objection to the centralisation of power in the hands of a few, whether political or economic. Apparently, 300,000 merchants who are engaged today in the foodgrains trade are a few people in whose hands all the power is concentrated. But the State Trading Corporation which is going to be run by a few bureaucrats will not involve any concentration of power!

Mr. Kazi, the Minister of Food and Supplies in Bombay, says that Bombay has a ready-made scheme for State trading from "pins to motor cars". Whilst we may not take Mr. Kazi very seriously, I want all citizens to appreciate that the sort of mental attitude which is prevalent in the ruling circles today is such that ultimately democracy will disappear from this country. One of the fundamental rights guaranteed to us under our Constitution is the freedom to choose our avocation or profession. If 300,000 merchants engaged in foodgrains

trade are to be asked to hand over their businesses to the State Trading Corporation, it is a violation of one of the fundamental rights under our Constitution.

The State has moved from one thing to another. State trading has made a complete mess of the manganese ore business. In the economic review which has been published and circulated with the Budget of the Government of India for 1959-60, it has been honestly confessed that during the last year manganese ore exports declined by 50%. One very important operating factor today which is responsible for the serious decline in the exports of manganese ore is that the foreign purchaser has no confidence in the continuance of conditions in India. The Government levies an export duty one day, reduces it another day, bans exports on the third day, tries to promote exports the fourth day. That is not the basis on which trade can be carried on. One essential prerequisite for any trade or business is that there must be some element of certainty about it. That element of certainty is destroyed by the policies which are being followed today by the Government of India.

The proposed State trading in foodgrains is nothing but an attempt to divert public attention from the biggest failure of the Government of India, viz., on the food front. The food problem can only be solved by increased production and not by taking away the trade from the merchants through a State Trading Corporation. Patriotic citizens and lovers of democracy owe it to themselves as well as to the country to mobilise public opinion so effectively that bad laws like State trading are not put on our Statute Book. Even if bad laws, through the steam-roller majority that the rulers have today, are on the Statute Book, it is the duty of patriotic citizens to go on agitating against those laws so that public opinion may be sufficiently mobilised to move Parliament to get rid of such vicious and obnoxious laws.

INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,
K.C.S.I., D.C.L. (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business transacted efficiently and quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits which may be ascertained on application.

S. Krishnaswami,
Secretary.

April 18, 1959

BLACK AND WHITE

By M. S. KALYANASUNDARAM

The following revealing conversation was overheard during a bus journey.

"Producer X has sold away his picture P for five lakhs to Y. He has started work on picture Q."

"Does it mean that the poor man has lost one lakh? The cost of production was reliably reported as six lakhs."

"I am afraid you are a Rip Van Winkle. Such a statement now-a-days means five of white money and God knows how many of black—maybe two or three. The latter does not appear in any account."

"But surely it will have to appear in the accounts of Y as showing only five lakhs as expenditure in the I.T. returns."

"You seem to know something of the problem, but not all. Y, evidently, has a lot of black money—which is not revealed as income in earlier records, and he has to be wary. So he has to unload himself whenever he could, profitably or at least charitably."

"How do you think he piled up so much of black-money?"

"By hiring out the pictures at well-calculated black and white rates."

"You make me feel giddy. My doctor has advised me about hyper-tension—not so bluntly but in words like, '150 is not bad, but go steady all the same'. I have a hunch that the figure was actually nearer to 170—again black and white figures! But what I was driving at was: how do the hirers get over their difficulty?"

"One answer would be that it is their funeral. Actually, they are small fry. The problem is cut up and distributed."

"It is rather like the Hindu view of life. The middle is manifest, and the two ends are not. So, our friend X has made a neat two."

"I would put it at three, as the 'reliable report' of a total expenditure of five may be on

the excessive side by one."

"Wait! With my newly acquired knowledge I should think that the actual expense is more than the revealed figure, as the stars too could choose to take so much in black and so much in white to reduce their I.T. liability. Or—, is it that out of vanity and with an eye to the future they sign on for a bigger amount than they receive?"

"Some used to in those days when I.T. rate schedules were not so unfavourable. Now, the stars who have 'made' look more to the earthy lucre than to celestial lustre."

"Then, how do you say...?"

"But this does not apply to the large number of three-digit

wallahs. If, as a writer or artisan, my pay is about Rs. 200, I would not mind signing up for 350 or 400, increasing my future value in the market, so long as the office accountant would kindly show me how to write my tax returns properly, if it came to that."

"Very interesting. Live and learn. But I have to get off here. Never mind, I shall ask my son, who is studying for B.Com...."

"What a hope!"

How I wish that he did not have to alight so early.

SWARAJYA

(Published every Saturday)

77, LLOYDS ROAD, MADRAS-14

PHONE: 86640 & 85251

Single Copy: 15 Naya Paise

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

(Including Postage)

In India: Annual: Rs. 7.50,

Half-year: Rs. 4.00.

LIBRARY OF SELECTED SOVIET LITERATURE

THE ENCHANTED PRINCE by Leonid Solovoyov. Rs. n.p.

Enchanting adventures of Khoja Nasreddin, the most popular wag and wit of the East. (449 pp.) 3 12

THE YOUNG GUARD by A. Fadeyev.

It is a stern, truthful novel about the Patriotic War, the German occupation, the tragic and decisive year of 1952. (716 pp.) 4 50

VOLOKOLAMSK HIGHWAY by Alexander Bek.

A. Bek's novel deals with the great battle at the approaches to Moscow in the first year of the Patriotic War. It is "a story of fear and fearlessness", a book about "Soldiers who went into battle to live and die". (330 pp.) 2 31

SHADOWED PATHS by Ivan Bunin.

A collection of nine stories (1870 to 1953). They may be called stories about love and about the unforgettable Russian landscape. (454 pp.) 2 06

POSTAGE EXTRA

Available with:

1. New Century Book House, 199 Mount Road, Madras-2.
2. Visalaandhra Publishing House, Buckinghampet P.O., Vijayawada.
3. Prabhat Book House, Cannon Shed Road, Ernakulam.
4. People's Publishing House, (P) Ltd., M. M. Road, New Delhi.

v/o MEZDUNARODNAYA KNIGA, MOSCOW 200, USSR

FOUR NEW PICTURES

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: On the auspicious day of 'Gudi Padwa', four new pictures went on floors. At least two muhurats were performed with great eclat and were attended by many film celebrities. The muhurat of Reuben and Dubey productions 'Ashiq' starring Raj Kapoor was noteworthy for the presence of a number of journalists and publicists. This picture which was planned several months ago could not be launched earlier because of the permit restrictions. The removal of the permit restrictions has made it now possible for 'genuine' newcomers to start new productions while the old producers who got permits on their 'past' record have failed to avail themselves of the permits issued to them because of their inability to raise the requisite finance.

The muhurat of Chandulal Shah and Gohar's new production 'Akeli Mat Jaiyo' marked the revival of one of the oldest institutions—Ranjit. The famous horse of Ranjit would ride on the screen once again; and the producer who made 36 silent films and 126 talkie films would be

active again. The revival of Ranjit on the 'Gudi Padwa' which also happened to be the birthday of Chandulal Shah brought together many old-timers who were associated with 'Ranjit', including Jayant Desai, Motilal, Kidar Sharma, Krishna Gopal, Sulochana and Madhuri, who looked as charming and slim as in the old Ranjit pictures. Nandlal Jaswantlal—the director of 'Akeli Mat Jaiyo'—has also been associated with Ranjit since the silent days and directed Madhuri's first talkie picture for Ranjit. Meena Kumari, the star of the new picture, also had old association with Ranjit; she had played the lead, perhaps for the first time in her career, in Ranjit's 'Baachon-ka-Khel' opposite Karan Dewan.

On the same night Satyan Bose launched a children's picture 'Masoom' at Bombay Central Station starring Asok Kumar. And Basant launched a sequel to 'Zimbo', 'Zimbo goes to Town'.

Several new projects are being launched later this month. Naresh Saigal who has completed 'Mai Nashemen Hoon' and 'Ujala'

and is directing Ramesh Saigal, 'Shikwa' is starting an independent production entitled 'Boy Friend', starring Shammi Kapoor and Mala Sinha. Radhakishen and Prabhudayal's new picture 'Amar Rahe Ye Pyar' is also going on sets next week.

And in spite of all these new projects, the production rate is not at all going up. For, with the same artistes working in different pictures, the rate is determined by the availability of dates and as the stars do not give more than a week for a picture, the producers are forced to start two or three pictures together so that their average output remains intact.

Incidentally, the meeting between the producers and stars proved a flop as only two or three stars attended the meeting. So the important issue of income tax was not discussed. Meanwhile the producers are faced with a predicament. They are unable to account for the rise in the cost of production when the star prices in their books have hardly changed. A picture with the same stars that cost six lakhs and brought seven lakhs in 1954 is now shown as costing fourteen lakhs and getting a price of fifteen lakhs. This rise in cost, the authorities are not prepared to accept and are calculating it as a profit. In these circumstances, while the stars may be able to evade income tax, the producers will have to pay it on a very exorbitant scale. And the intransigent attitude of the stars has made the old producers' task all the more difficult. Yet, undaunted by all the problems, the picture-making is going on as ever before.

After the puerile comedy 'Naya Paisa', one went to see producer-director Aspi's 'Qaidi No. II' with grave doubts. But surprisingly enough the picture turned out to be a gripping entertainer, thanks mainly to C. J. Pavri's good story and clever screenplay.

Like 'Farishta', C. J. Pavri's 'Qaidi' is a sort of an angel wrongly convicted for just one slip on his part of falling into a trap of



Sotto Voce

A Social and Political Commentary
by "Vighneswara" (N. Raghunathan)

SOME OPINIONS

Sir M. Venkatasubba Rau in "Swarajya": "Vighneswara is a wizard of words, a creative artist, a sage counsellor. His book ranks as literature".

The Statesman: "When the views are expressed with as much gentle irony and are sharpened by as much scholarship as Vighneswara can train on his writing, then even dissentients cannot but murmur appreciation".

The Mail: "Vighneswara is steeped in learning, ancient as well as modern. Sotto Voce is ample testimony to his versatility".

The Deccan Herald: "You will find it an education to read him. His sense of language is exquisite".

Mysindia: "Vighneswara is a journalist with wit and learning and a capacity for invective which never flag or allow the reader to turn the page before he gets to the foot of it".

The Illustrated Weekly of India: "Mr. Raghunathan is at his best when surveying the South Indian scene, as in 'Navaratri Novelties'. Here, his observations are direct and full-blooded and the sparkle of his wit is indeed effervescent".

368 pages

Price: Rs. 4. Library Edition Rs. 5.

Postage (Re. 1-20 nP.) extra.

B. G. PAUL & CO.,
4, FRANCIS JOSEPH STREET, MADRAS-1

'Movie Times' in which he used to collect the reaction of the premiere audiences on pictures as a sort of picturegoers' review. Later as a film critic of 'Sunday Standard' he came into limelight. From the role of critic he took over the role of publicist. But the job of publicity was not to his liking; and though at times there were rumours that he would take to acting and become a hero because of his handsome looks, he preferred to be a journalist and joined Filmfare. For over a year now he has been contemplating to become a producer. Last week his dream became a reality.

Vijay Kishore Dubey is a product of All India Radio. Later he joined Reuben in his publicity concern. He left it to join Radio Ceylon and went to Colombo where he worked as an announcer. Back in Bombay, he has been producing several film programmes for Radio Ceylon. To

the listeners of Radio Ceylon, his voice is perhaps most familiar.

For their first production venture, they have been able to gather first-rate talent including stars Raj Kapoor, Padmini, Nanda, Johnny Walker, Abhi Bhattacharya, director Prasad, music directors Shankar, Jai-kishen, lyricists Shailendra Hasrat, cinematographer Dwarka Divecha and writer Vishwamitra Adil. But as the title 'Ashiq' indicates, their first venture is a bid for box-office and not for any landmark in film art. Apparently 'commercial' success appears to them more important than 'artistic' achievement.

Guru Dutt visited Kerala last week to finalise arrangements to film the famous novel in Malayalee 'Do Ser Dhan'—the novel that won the highest Sahitya Akademi prize.

USE DAILY

Neem
TOOTH PASTE

and

ensure sound Teeth
and healthy Gums
throughout life.



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO., LTD.
CALCUTTA 29.

South India Office: 5-149, BROADWAY, MADRAS-1.

Quite a striking disguise, Sitaram,
but why hide your handsome features?"

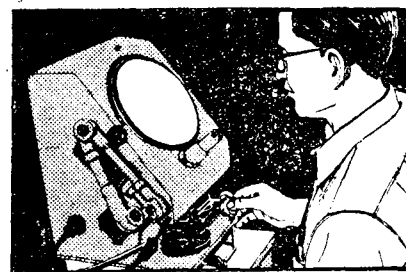
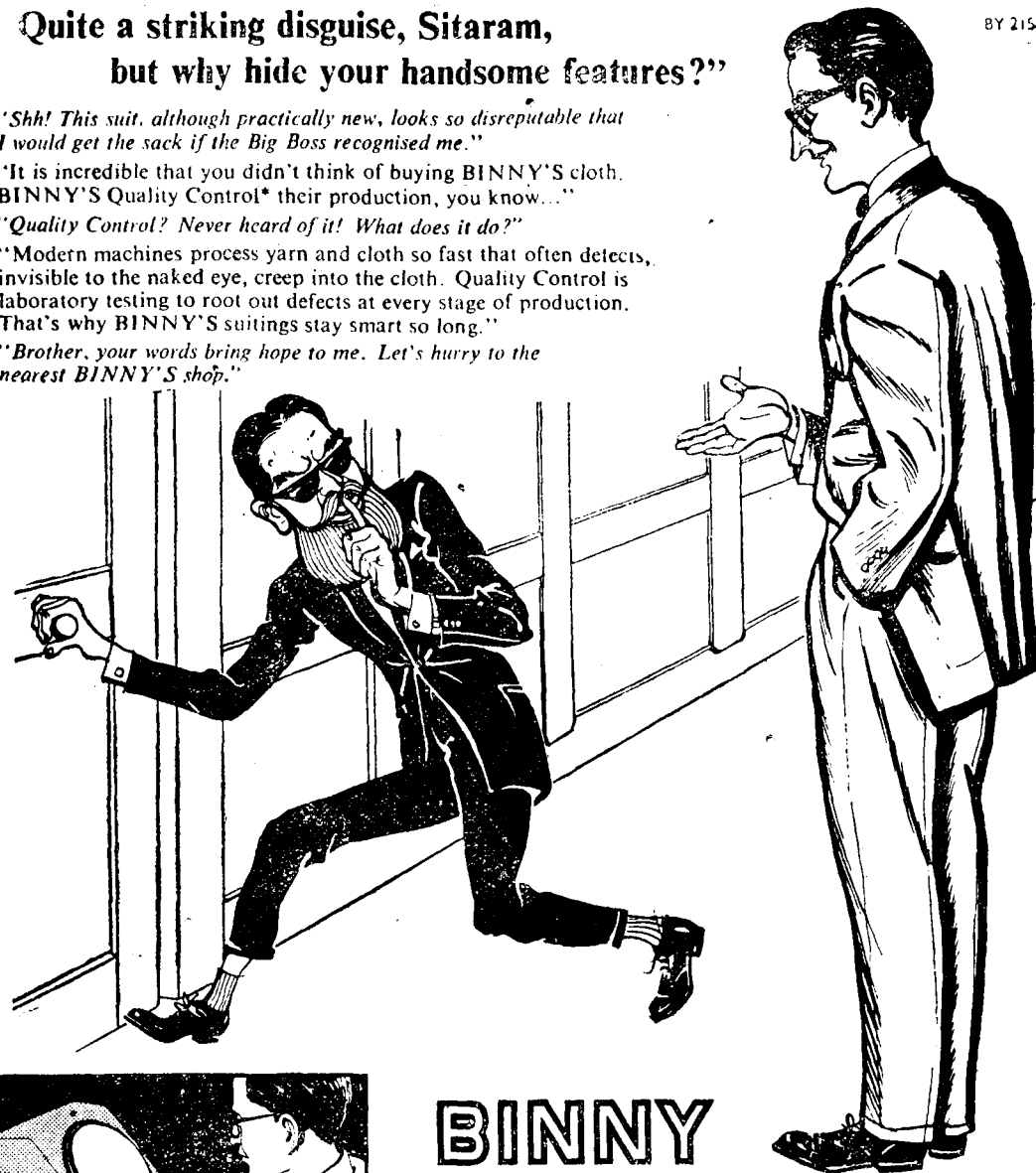
"Shh! This suit, although practically new, looks so disreputable that I would get the sack if the Big Boss recognised me."

"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

— a great name in textiles

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 -
Anticrease Suitings - Tussorees - Union Fabrics - Silk Sarees
Rugs - etc etc



The Buckingham & Carnatic Company Limited
The Bangalore Woollen, Cotton & Silk Mills Company Limited
Managing Agents: Binny & Co. (Madras) Ltd.

SWARAJYA

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 42

MADRAS, APRIL 25, 1955



THE ROAD TO SERFDOM

A sudden enthusiasm for co-operatives has seized hold of the Congress. It is an enthusiasm that is not born of an understanding of the real aims and objects of the co-operative movement. Had that been the case, the Congress would not have changed its objective from a 'co-operative commonwealth' to a 'Socialist pattern of society'. There is a vital distinction between the two objectives, though in many Western countries ardent co-operators are also convinced Socialists. But in those countries, as both co-operation and Socialism have grown up as genuine popular movements with roots among the people, there is a clear recognition of the relation between Socialism and public liberties. Enthusiasm for co-operation and Socialism will not be permitted to assume forms which will extinguish individual freedom and initiative.

That is precisely the danger in India. The new enthusiasm for co-operatives is an enthusiasm dictated from above. People in Delhi who have never run a co-operative society in their lives have decided that it would be good for themselves and for the people if all persons were organised into co-operatives. Although we have had a co-operative movement of sorts for nearly half a century, new virtues are being discovered in co-operatives that had not been suspected before. Co-operation is now being offered as a panacea for all the ills of the

village population. If really co-operation was the answer to the ills that afflict the farmer, why did not the Congress devote itself to this work for ten years? The truth is that what the Congress policy-makers want is not a genuine co-operative movement, built up by the people for the people, but State-sponsored and State-directed co-operatives that will be pliant instruments of official policy. It used to be said against the co-operative movement of the pre-Independence days that it was excessively dominated by officialdom. But what the Congress has planned will make the British appear as models of non-interference. The new co-operatives will not only be sponsored and subsidised by the State, but will be completely subservient instruments of the State. An insight into the workings of the official mind is provided by a report of the working group on co-operative policy set up by the Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture, which offers a blue-print for the expansion of co-operatives in the villages. This programme not only envisages a certain degree of compulsion to rope in all villagers into the co-operative society, but suggests that the Government should refuse to supply fertilizers, seeds, taccavi loans, etc., to farmers who do not choose to become members of co-operatives. A suggestion of that kind would be unthinkable in any other democratic country where the citizen's

rights are derived from the fact of citizenship and not from his relationship with any voluntary body with which he may associate himself or not. Where membership of a co-operative becomes almost obligatory as a condition for survival, the co-operative will cease to be a free and voluntary association of individuals who band themselves together to promote their common interests. It is not surprising that the working group's report, proceeding on the same logic, looks upon co-operative marketing societies as "agents of the State" for carrying out the State's price control policies. When the report goes so far as to suggest that to buttress the co-operatives in their role as "agents of the State", farmers should be prevented from selling to private dealers their produce at prices higher than those fixed by the State, it is clear that the co-operatives are not conceived as agencies primarily to promote the interests of their members.

When leading exponents of the new policy, including the Prime Minister, talk of replacing "middlemen" and "intermediaries" by co-operatives of producers and consumers, the public must realise what the real implications of this policy are. So long as producers and consumers are separated by distance there will always be need for some agency to buy, transport and sell the goods. The real test of the utility of the agency is whether it does the job efficiently and economically and

Edited and Published by KHASA SUBBA RAU at 77 Lloyds Road, Madras-14.

Printed by T. K. VENKATESAN at THE JUPITER PRESS PRIVATE LTD., 109-C, Mount Road, Tenmampet, Madras-18.

whether it satisfies the producers at one end and the consumers at the other. No one can prevent producers or consumers from voluntarily entering into arrangements which will safeguard their interests. Co-operation is certainly one of the well-tried forms of such joint action. But experience even in the most advanced countries has shown that co-operation does not provide all the answers and that efficient private enterprise can provide as cheap and satisfactory a service as any co-operative. Nor can a democratic system tolerate the compulsory formation of co-operatives or the adoption of measures to eliminate "middlemen" who carry on any legitimate trade or business. Private traders, whose members run into several lakhs, are not all cheats and rogues who fatten upon the community by holding it to ransom. In the vast majority of cases, they are plain, honest folk who just manage to make a living by taking all the risks and bearing all the drudgery and toil of running a small shop or business. It would be criminal folly for the State to seek deliberately to eliminate such traders by promoting so-called co-operatives, which in the ultimate analysis will only be a department of the Government. To compel independent risk-bearing, self-employed traders to become servants of the Government or of a Government-sponsored co-operative is no service to the community. The elimination of such a class will inevitably pave the way for what Professor Hayek called "the road to serfdom".

Another Illusion

One wonders who has informed the Prime Minister that the removal of bunds will add millions of acres to cultivable land. It will do nothing of the kind. It will only hasten soil erosion which in time would mean intensive artificial manuring, not to increase yields, but just to maintain them. Mechanical cultivation like ploughing would be a risky experiment for the same reason, as deep ploughing might tend to increase soil erosion.

LET US CLARIFY OUR AIMS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

If as it appears from the latest speech of the Prime Minister during his Southern tour he is firmly of the view that any attempt at socialistic equalisation is premature and that the immediate task is to increase production, it follows that he must withdraw the now adumbrated land policies.

First, why ceilings of any kind on land holdings now? Are the larger land-owners in India burning up farm-produce to keep prices up? Or are they with the same immoral object leaving good land unploughed, which if given to others could add to the food-grains production? What advantage is it from the point of view of production to transfer ownership now from those who have capital and credit to those who have neither?

The talk about ceilings has created an illusory hope among the poor that they will all get land and become landowners too. But the illusion can last only as long as the suggestion is not put in force. The moment it is put into effect it will be seen that as a result of the unconstitutional dispossessions, there is really not

enough for distribution among the landless and the net result is only an increase in the national debt and jealousies and factions between those who benefited and those who were disappointed.

Secondly, why should individual attention be terminated in favour of corporate holding and crowd-responsibility? Will there be scope or facility for the introduction of mechanised techniques of production by extinguishing the present traditional pattern of farming and by experimenting with collectivisation in one shape or another in the matter of rice-production? Co-operative stores, co-operative selling, co-operative credit, all these are good and well-known. But why co-operative farming? Has it been proved anywhere in India that this has increased production, which is the single issue we have to tackle now?

Has the Government done all it can in the agricultural department to help the farmers with credit and the other things they need? Will not better results be got if State assistance is given to the individual farmers, instead of striking at the root of individual responsibility and personal interest?

P. Chenchiah

The most broadminded and the most understanding and the most Indian as well as the most Christian of all Indian Christians in India has passed away in the person of Chenchiah. There may be among us others as good as Chenchiah but death casts a great and sad light on his superb qualities. He was a sound and reliable bridge between politics and religion, between Vedanta and Christianity, between firm faith and utter tolerance. His was not just a tied-up bundle of contradictory propositions but an integrated enlightened pious mind. We have lost a fine man, the like of him we shall not find soon.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

These are the points to be considered without prejudice or pride being allowed to confuse the issues. Let us first solve the problem of insufficient food production, before we take up the social issue of how to distribute property more equitably and usefully. Let us not add to the prevailing widespread uncertainties which are greatly hampering progress and industry. Let us try to give a feeling of security which is essential for the augmentation of incentive and for uprightness in daily conduct. Multiplicity of problems is no excuse for confusion in policy. First things first is a very good rule when we handle the affairs of a vast population.

April 25, 1959



Photograph of statue of Mahatma Gandhi unveiled recently on the Marina Beach, Madras, by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Paying tribute to the renowned sculptor who made the statue, the Prime Minister said: "The artist and sculptor, Mr. D. P. Roy Chowdhary, is a man of genius and he has brought into his work a glimpse of what Gandhiji was, that eternal pilgrim, striding forth with his staff, ever walking, ever going forward in his loin cloth representing the millions of India".

SIDELIGHTS ::

At a great symposium on the burning topic of the day, joint farming, held at Lakshmipuram, Royapettah, last week, Rajaji suggested that an experiment in joint farming should first be tried in a limited way in a small area and extended afterwards to the whole country only if the results were found satisfactory. Otherwise joint farming should be abandoned. The present method of deciding the issue academically, Rajaji said, was fraught with disaster that could not be repaired, when applied to a country with a vast population as in India.

As a matter of fact joint farming has already been tried experimentally under Congress auspices and found wanting. The report of the Land Reform Committee of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee of 1950 contains the following observations:

"Joint farming methods were tried on two occasions on the existing tenant farming societies but were found to be unsuccessful because sufficient idealism and community interest could not be developed to make up for the loss of interest in separate plots cultivated individually. There are certain difficulties in the way of co-operative joint farming as a type of cultivation. With the present background and outlook of the ordinary cultivator, it is ordinarily not possible to hope that he will merge his individuality and the individuality of his holding in a common pool and draw only wages for the work done by him, and participate in the division of profits in proportion to the resources brought by him into the common pool."

The Prime Minister goes about saying "We are determined to implement the Nagpur resolutions at any cost. Nothing will deflect us from our determination. Opposition to the Nagpur resolutions comes from vested interests. We shall brush them away with a broomstick". He does not meet argument with argument but repeats his own words over

and over again. This has had the effect of silencing his partymen even if their judgments were not in accord with the Prime Minister's policies. Their cogitations might be expressed thus: "His favour means so much to us. He is bent on doing what he has decided to do. Criticism only provokes his wrath. Why should we incur his displeasure? Let things take their course. He will learn by experience what we can never teach him with our objections and criticisms."

It is not therefore surprising that the voice of critics should be silenced and the Prime Minister should cherish the delusion that the whole country backs him in his pursuit of the Nagpur resolutions and opposition to it is limited only to a few disgruntled incorrigibles who cannot see the light!

* * *

General Ayub Khan has suggested that India and Pakistan should think of common military defence arrangements. At present there is an armament race between the two countries. The benefit of much of the foreign aid they get for economic advancement is lost to them on account of the armament race in which they have got involved. The psychology underlying the armament race is mutual distrust. If the distrust could be got over to the extent of realising that common interests bind the two nations, enormous resources now unprofitably wasted in the piling up of military equipment could be released for internal economic development. Our dependence on foreign assistance could then be reduced. Some alleviation in the crushing burden of mounting taxes may even become possible.

If India and Pakistan succeed in overcoming mutual distrust and fear, our foreign and military policies will have some chance of falling into a reasonable pattern. The advent of nuclear weapons has changed the whole complexion of national defence and security throughout the world. Even the

two great nuclear powers are not in a position to defend themselves against each other, should a nuclear war break out. The United States played for a time with the strategy of massive retaliation, but gave it up as too unpredictably dangerous after passing through the throes of an agonising appraisal. Their present hopes are now centred on agreed disarmament and banning of nuclear tests.

Even the illusion of massive retaliation is not open to the non-nuclear powers. They have no defence at all against a nuclear war breaking out in any part of the world even if they are not directly involved in it as combatants. The all-pervasive scope of atom bomb destruction has destroyed the old distinction of safety and risk as between combatants and non-combatants, military and civilian populations, and belligerent and neutral nations. Mere existence in the world entails destruction and mutilation of inoffensive people by powerful missiles or poisonous radio-active substances let loose from somewhere, anywhere, without the slightest provocation on their part. The whole problem of national defence has become absurd and unreal with the emergence of atomic weapons, with this difference between the nuclear powers and the rest, that the former can indulge in the excitement of retaliatory possibilities not available to the latter.

China has occupied Tibet and called it "liberation". Fighters for Tibetan freedom have been dubbed "reactionaries" and "agents of the imperialists." India is committed to the defence of Nepal, but it is scarcely likely that India will be able to defend Nepal, should the fate of Tibet overtake her. Against the combined physical might of China and Russia, the rest of Asia is militarily defenceless. If the moral strength of non-violence amounts to anything, this is the time to prove it by making a beginning with the scrapping of expensive armaments costing hundreds of crores which are totally useless if put to the test in modern conditions of warfare. SAKA

CRUSADES AND TIRADES

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Two lines from the *Lady of the Lake* to illustrate the martial fervour whipped by the Prime Minister in his campaign on behalf of the Nagpur decision against which "vested interests" are said to be in treacherous revolt:

*As chief who hears his
Warder call
To arms the foemen storm
the wall, etc., etc.*

Pandit Nehru is performing blitz-tours throughout the country preaching co-operation as the message of the hour and Srimathi Indira Gandhi argues that the Nagpur decision is but a condensation of Mahatmaji's teachings. Who are the foemen unless it be "vested interests" storming the wall of the Socialistic pattern first propounded by the Maulana Sahab at Avadi and seconded by Kamaraj Nadar on the spot in a pregnant speech of three words: "I second it".

Who denies the ethical and prudential merit of co-operation in human affairs? As the mythical figure in Dickens, Mrs. Harris, asked Mrs. Gamp: "Who is a-deniging of it, Betsy, who is a-deniging of it?" Without co-operation there would be anarchy in the Universe: and "Behold, brethren living in unity!" sang the Psalmist. Discord makes for inefficiency, and breakdown which could be calculated in man hours by the statisticians of the Planning Commission. Trainees in service co-operatives have been listed for three years and the resolution of March 28 in the Lok Sabha could not be gainsaid in principle. Instead of being lost in white-collared idleness, let the young folk, co-educated out of colleges for the degree course, go out into the open spaces and see broad acres in order to take on the basic task of planning, of late realised as vital namely, the doubling of agricultural output in seven years. Meanwhile there would be mandal-level recruiting for pyramid-wise social integration under proper land-ceilings to be subse-

quently laid down by the States. The Centre is to guide through directives so that the States should implement central doctrine about voluntary subordination of property rights. Land is land, and the very aquatic idiom about "the pooling of land" irritates some people. When we think of all this pooling and fooling, let us not forget the innovators who proclaim it as a crusade whereas speeches against romantic farming methods and community projects tend to become tirades. In the good old days of political agitation, we harangued on Hindu-Muslim unity in the abstract, using the expression "community" but there is a different sociological connotation, community-wise action without communalism in fostering India's food economy. Those who plead for caution are probably listed as counter-revolutionaries by some of our phrasemongers but let us also have a guess about the risks of a parasitic class developing, since honorary work is invariably a waste and a fraud.

Gandhiji wanted to join the Servants of India Society, but at Gokhale's advice he resiled. Gokhale was full of zeal for mass-education, but Gandhiji believed in the basic scheme of learning whilst earning. I am a non-Gandhian in this distinction but I may as well draw a comparison between the Gokhale idea and the Gandhian concept in respect of national service. The Gokhale project provided for the worker's security (Rs. 70 per month for each member). Pandit Nehru in a recent speech bids Indian youth to throw security to the winds in the spirit of adventure. The Gokhale brotherhood had in addition the certainty of a fine political innings. Look at the distinction won by Srinivasa Sastri, Devadhar, N. M. Joshi, Hridaynath Kunzru. By their own right they could have distinguished themselves in comparative careers, but there was a difference in the opportunities of Gandhian initia-

tion. Gokhale had asked Gandhiji to look round for a year after his return from South Africa. Now mark the difference in conditions when Mahatmaji started his ashram. Lest I forget, it was a silly village named Cocharva he chose, a Gujarat location different from Gokhale's Poona. Before being blazoned as a Mahatma, he planned it as an institution for training national workers. Every inmate had to take a vow "never to tell a lie, to abjure violence, to eat the plainest of food and never to steal or gather money for his personal use. He had also to practise fearlessness, to use articles that were made in India, to wear only handspun and handwoven cloth, to help to educate the people through the medium of national languages and to try to remove untouchability to the best of his ability". The extract is from an official publication, but the ideals of the Cocharva Ashram cannot be in functional order in the absence of another Gandhi. And any mass rally short of such vigorous discipline is not likely to command much following with stable results if only for the reason that vested interests cannot be defined in terms of ballyhoo in the agricultural sphere of production. Crusades have their thrill but the cultivation of grain is a slow process with all the potentialities of what the Prime Minister calls in the Tibetan context as "a clash of wills," when in reality it is a clash of arms. There is much lack of charity and clarity in making "Conservatives" into a target of tirades whilst monopolizing on all the crusading shibboleths. The foemen are not storming the wall.

SWARAJYA

(Published every Saturday)

77, Loyds Road Madras-14

Phone: 86640 & 85251

Single Copy: 15 Naya Paise

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

(Including Postage)

In India: Annual: Rs. 7.50.

Half-year: Rs. 4.00.

Abroad: Annual:

In U.S.A.: \$ 3. In U.K.: £ 1.

All India Dental Association research shows 92% OF SCHOOL CHILDREN EXAMINED HAD GUM TROUBLES!

Guard
your children's
gums and teeth
with Gibbs SR

—the only toothpaste
containing
Sodium Ricinoleate
...used by dentists
to combat and
prevent gum troubles

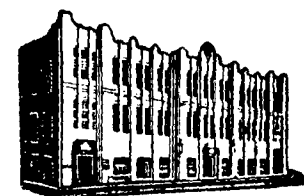
That distinctive 'SR'
taste tells you the
Sodium Ricinoleate
is actively protecting
your teeth and gums.



MADE IN INDIA BY HINDUSTAN RIVER LIMITED FOR G. & W. GIBBS LTD. LONDON

GSR 127-X32

THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)
"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"
NORTH BEACH ROAD,
MADRAS-1.

23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole
of South India

Branches also at
BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND
SINGAPORE.

CAPITAL

Authorised Capital Rs	1,00,00,000
Issued and Subscribed Capital	72,00,000
Paid-up Capital	66,19,625
Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium)	91,61,883
Deposits as on 30-6-'58	38,00,96,415
Total Working Funds	46,05,11,811

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.
R. SUNDARAM IYER.
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA
MUDALIAR.
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA
CHETTIAR.
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.
RAMDAS PURUSHOTTAM DAS.

ALL TYPES OF
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING
FOREIGN EXCHANGE
TRANSACTED.

London Agents:
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents:
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,
SECRETARY.

April 25, 1959

SWARAJYA

7

CAPITAL COMMENTS

C. D. DESHMUKH IN THE NEWS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: Parliament, it seems, is never in session without giving rise to a crop of rumours about either the reconstitution of the Cabinet or the re-shuffling of ministerial portfolios. It has become something of a political pastime at the capital to speculate on the basis of desirable changes, though not necessarily on the assumption that the Prime Minister means to give a new look to the picture. Nobody can have a private lunch with him or a casual drive in the car, or a warm handshake in public, without being talked about in terms of official preferment. He may forget about it all; normally he does; the recipient of the Prime Minister's smiles or little courtesies is, however, apt to relate it to some real or imaginary mental processes at work capable of yielding something fruitful. At least those round about the recipient, in a mood of generous enthusiasm, if not of mild excitement, scan the political horizon for signs and portents that forebode good and embark on voyages of discovery in the light of table-talk or lobby gossip or news-stories. Last week, for no fault of his, it fell to the lot of Mr. C. D. Deshmukh to be discussed everywhere, causing him perhaps some irritation and certainly much embarrassment.

Junius had little difficulty in making out what it could all be when the return of Mr. Deshmukh to the Nehru fold was bruited about, with an air of inside knowledge. It was more than a rumour but less than a fact. Yet, if people were inclined to believe it, it was because of the widespread feeling that it should have materialised in the interests of the country earlier and it was not too late for amends being made for past omissions. One could not be struck by two factors in the process—the overwhelming weight of public opinion in Mr. Deshmukh's favour, and Mr. Deshmukh's own unbending recti-

tude and utter indifference to what excites the rest. Such complete self-possession amidst the currents and cross-currents and under-currents of politics, is seldom the gift of men of affairs. Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh is admittedly and indisputably one of our rare men. He has strong views and firm convictions; he takes his own counsel, he makes no hasty decision; he utters no superfluous word. He refuses to be hustled; he cannot be drawn out. He weighs things with meticulous care and does not jump at an offer as if he were only waiting for it.

But was there any offer, anything specific? Or were only feelers being thrown about, for watching reactions—his as well as of others? What could have been the possible alternatives before him for his re-emergence as someone of greater consequence than as chairman of one or two statutory bodies or a number of miscellaneous committees? Mr. Deshmukh, as vice-chairman of the Planning Commission (if the veteran Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari is allowed to retire) or even as chairman of the Planning Commission (if the Prime Minister can ever persuade himself to make room for anyone else) may be, indeed will be, a very convincing proposition, but the chances of his fitting into that structure at all must be considered to be very remote, as long as the Finance Minister is one who is least likely to be enthusiastic about such a development. But a place in the Cabinet presents fewer difficulties, as for one thing it is an all-shades team and for another, each Ministry is largely autonomous in its working. A Cabinet with Mr. Morarji Desai the Rightist at one end and Mr. Krishna Menon the Radical at the other, with Mr. Gobind Ballabh Pant as a stabilising force, and with little in common between them except loyalty to their Chief, should not provide

too forbidding a climate for anyone to function within reasonable limits, in juxtaposition to the Prime Minister. He whom the Prime Minister desires to have by his side can look for support as well as comfort. So the question boils down to this: Does Mr. Nehru welcome or want Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh? Probably yes. Will the other Big Three of the Cabinet share Mr. Nehru's renewed enthusiasm for an old colleague? Perhaps not; in any case, extremely doubtful. But much need not be made of the latter aspect out of the common knowledge that no two members of the Cabinet, particularly at higher levels, think alike, see alike, speak alike. Thus the decisive factor is Mr. Nehru's own sense of propulsion in moving in this direction to bring Mr. Deshmukh back to the Cabinet, both for its own strength and for a larger good. Should there be a come-back, the capacity in which he will, depends on the stage at which he does. Now, it can only be via the partitioned domains of the late Maulana Saheb, the more convincingly so, in the wake of his (Mr. Deshmukh's) splendid work as chairman of the University Grants Commission. Personally, Mr. Deshmukh is not likely to lose his sleep if he is not invited but the country which has been impressively exercised over this matter within the context of press speculation, will certainly be disappointed. For, the country has considerable confidence in the man which any member of the Cabinet may well envy; the country also desires that Mr. Nehru should fortify himself by Mr. Deshmukh's wise and disinterested colleagueship in wider interests.

Smelling out the Problem

The difficulty of applying to social affairs the immensely powerful and progressive techniques that we use in natural science is that we cannot bring ourselves to dispense with the hypotheses upon which our behaviour is based. But if we cannot yet bear to be scientific about the big vested interests in our social behaviour, might it not be possible to approach scientifically at least one aspect of human happiness by studying the chemistry of smell?

—MAGNUS PYKE, F.R.S.E.

PLANNING PERSONNEL REQUIREMENTS

By B. G. RAO, I.C.S. (Retd.)

(Formerly Adviser, Planning Commission)

There is a story going round one of the State secretariats. They received from the Ministry of Health a copy of a very angry letter which the latter had addressed to the principal of one of the medical colleges in that State. Almost on the heel of it came another from the principal together with copies of correspondence which the Ministry had carried on with him. It indicated, on the part of the Ministry, complete ignorance of the conditions in the rural areas and of the country's needs as also of a blind faith in the white experts. On the part of the principal it indicated, surprisingly, an appreciation of realities and a sense of humour. It was like this. The Ministry wrote a personal letter to the principal suggesting a scheme for public health orientation whereby the medical college would be given equipment, financial assistance and expert guidance on condition that the college met a certain proportion of the expenditure and provided a certain number of medical specialists to work under this "expert guidance". The principal wrote back to say that he hoped to be able to find the necessary funds and personnel and that he would welcome the assistance under this scheme. There was, however, one little matter on which he wanted a

small modification. He pointed out that our people sat on the floor, ate with their fingers, had different ideas about methods of cleaning their bodies and so on, methods and ideas which were completely incompatible with those prevalent in the white man's country. He, therefore, suggested that he could do without the expert guidance of the white man but would suggest that his own experts could go abroad for a short period to learn whatever there was to be learnt and come back and give effect to the scheme. If, however, the Ministry insisted upon foreign expert guidance superior to that available within the country he would welcome it from Eastern countries, like Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Burma, Japan, etc. The Ministry told him that the scheme could be accepted or rejected as a whole whereupon the principal replied that he could not with any sense of responsibility accept it under the circumstances explained by him. And naturally the Ministry got very annoyed and angry and told him off.

I give this as an instance of how we import foreign experts without any reference to our needs or their competence to advise us. I remember seeing the report of a real genuine expert from America on Soil Conservation in India and the recommendations which he made and the importance attached to them at least on paper. All these recommendations had already been made by different Indian experts at different times and were known to the department concerned. This report received the same treatment as was accorded to the suggestions of Indians working in the departments, namely, scant attention. Certain other reports by persons recognized all over the world as 'experts' in their lines like Dr. Grigg, Dr. Trone and others have been treated exactly on

similar lines. We called in Sir Malcolm Darling to report on the working of our newly adopted policy in the co-operative field even though the new policy had just been given effect to and had little time to show its results. And what did we do with his report? Nothing—literally nothing.

Respect for white skin and wide belief that the white man knows very much more of any subject than an Indian pervades as never before the higher circles of our Administration. Thus we decided that no architect—town planner could do our Chandigarh but a French man. True, La Corbussier is an outstanding architect and town planner. But can it be presumed that we had none who could plan the new capital of the Punjab competently keeping in mind the conditions and traditions of this great country of ours? Any number of experts are being imported without any enquiry about their real background, without finding out whether there can be comparable or even superior experts in the line within the country.

Another aspect of this problem is the extent to which the foreign experts really train up our technicians to shoulder responsibility. The American weekly journal *Time*, surely no friend of the Russians, in one of its recent issues pointed out the difference in the method of work of the Soviet experts in Bhilai and of the German, British and U.S. experts elsewhere in India. Let it be remembered that we will never learn to do things efficiently, whether in a big way or in a small way, unless we handle things ourselves and do them in our own way. This applies to all fields of human endeavour whether it be the democratic way of life, community development, technological advance or increase of agricultural production.

The question of trained personnel is one which should cause very much more concern to us than it actually is doing. In the administration of States little attention has been given to planning personnel requirements. At the Centre there has been con-

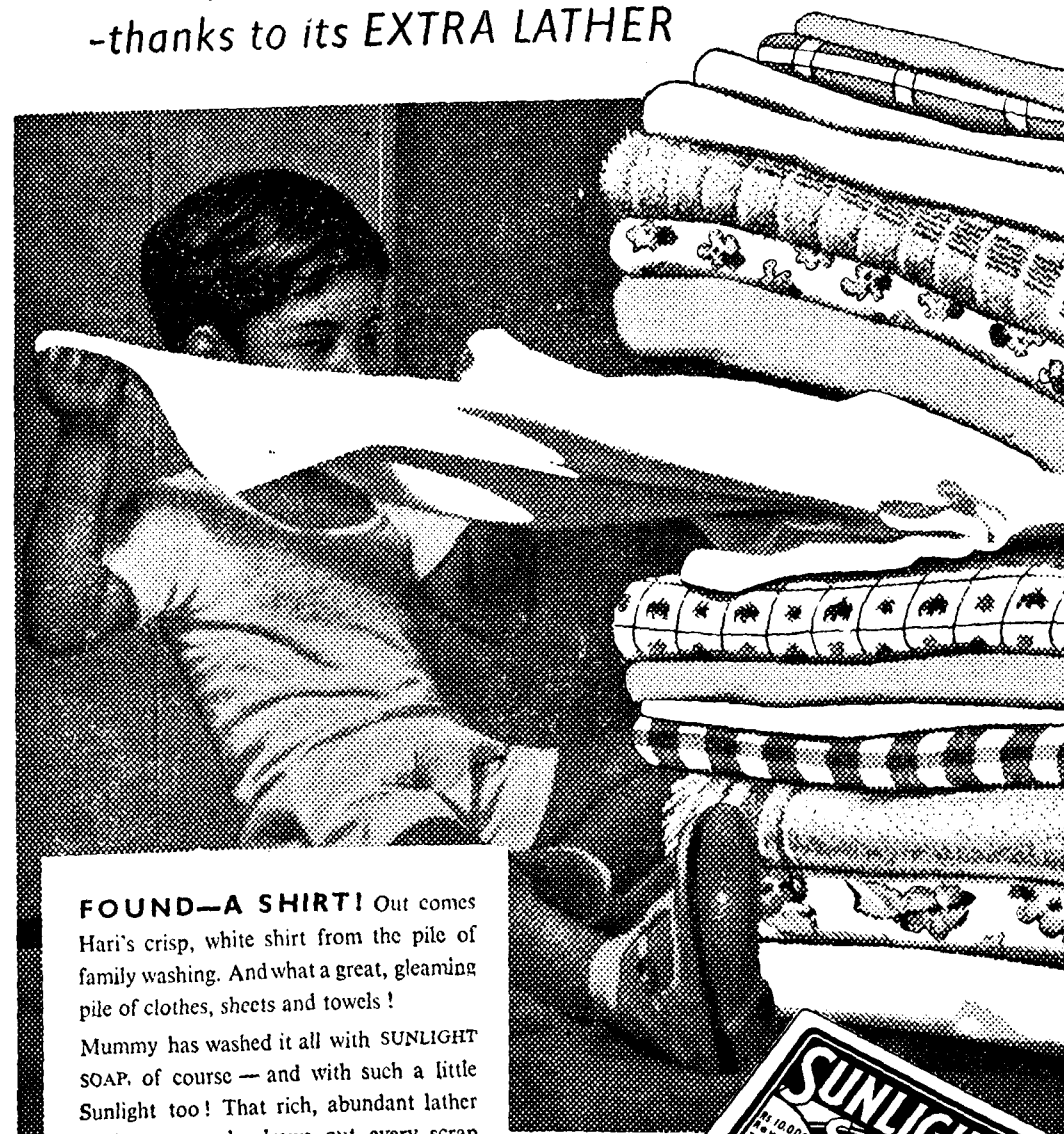
siderable talk of planning the requirements and working out training programmes but in actual fact there is little attention given to these matters. There is a Man Power Directorate in the Ministry of Home Affairs. There is a National Register maintained by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. Then there is

a separate division in the Planning Commission dealing with this very serious problem. Now administrative and technical personnel cannot really be separated by governmental fiat. A surgeon, for instance, may have considerable duties to perform as the head of a department in a medical college. An engineer in charge of a

hydro-electric scheme has very much more administration in his charge than people think he has. Thus the division of work between the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research is itself defective. Nor is there any effort other than purely academic at assessing requirements for any

A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing

-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER



FOUND—A SHIRT! Out comes Hari's crisp, white shirt from the pile of family washing. And what a great, gleaming pile of clothes, sheets and towels! Mummy has washed it all with SUNLIGHT SOAP, of course — and with such a little Sunlight too! That rich, abundant lather washes so much, draws out every scrap of dirt.... washes so white and bright! No more beating when you wash with Sunlight. Try it and see!



SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT

A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEVER LIMITED

S. 259-X53

INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,
K.C.S.I., D.C.L. (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business transacted efficiently and quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits which may be ascertained on application.

S. Krishnaswami,
Secretary.

Plan period. The requirements in the States and the requirements at the Centre are not being dovetailed; and the requirements of neither are certain, partly because the Plan is "flexible" and partly because these requirements change according to the pulls of different personalities both in the permanent services and in the political field. Personnel in the Co-operative sector has during the past few years been assessed and training facilities created on the basis of a scheme for a large number of large-sized societies. The policy in this regard has now been completely reversed. Then again there was no scheme in the Second Plan for the establishment of any new pharmaceutical plant in the Public Sector until it was suddenly formulated and finalised just when the resources position became acute. An example of the creation of posts for reasons other than purely administrative can be found in the Planning Commission itself. Till 1958 there were three senior officers working as Advisers of Programme Administration. It was then suddenly found necessary to increase their number to four. It is doubtful if the existing three were consulted

Books on Politics

	Rs.	pP.
<i>Encyclopaedia of World Politics</i> edited by Walter Theimer	28	44
<i>Theory and Practice of Modern Government</i> by Herman Finer	51	19
<i>Governments of Greater European Powers—A comparative study of the Governments and Political Culture of Great Britain, France, Germany and the Soviet Union</i> by Herman Finer	51	19
<i>Parliamentary Government in England</i> by H. J. Laski	20	31
<i>Liberty and the Modern State</i> by H. J. Laski	7	75
<i>The American Presidency: An Interpretation</i> by H. J. Laski	10	19
<i>Parliamentary Procedure in India</i> by A. R. Mukherjee	25	00
<i>May's Treatise on the Law, Privileges, Proceedings and Usages of Parliament</i>	83	94

K. MAHADEVAN,
82-A, Royapettah High Road,
Mylapore, Madras-4

as to whether they were or were not able to cope with the work. The fourth post was kept filled for about nine months and since then has remained vacant with no palpable deterioration in the Programme Administration. Very good reasons such as the protection of the genuine interest of certain officers might have led to the creation of the fourth post but the fact remains that the post was really unnecessary from the point of view of administrative requirements.

Another source of constant worry and reason for genuine apprehension is that we train up men and women in certain specialised lines to find that we have no way of finding suitable employment for them. For instance, nearly one hundred junior engineers intended to be employed in the Durgapur Steel Project were sent abroad for specialised training. They have now come back to find that their newly acquired knowledge cannot be put to any use for another year or so. They are now being paid not merely for doing nothing but almost for forgetting what they have learnt. The Government's intentions in sending out officers are often inscrutable. There is, for instance, an agreement with the U.K. Government under which civil servants are sent abroad for a special course of training in Defence Administration at the Imperial Defence College. Officers are sent out at regular intervals but of those who are so sent, few have had past experience in our Defence Ministry, and only one has been subsequently appointed to a post in that Ministry. In fact, the last of the series was in the Ministry of Production before his deputation to the Imperial Defence College and was posted to the Finance Ministry immediately on his return. Not a question was asked in the Parliament! Another sort of deputation is of non-technical officers to study technical matters. One State Government desiring to start an Agricultural University sent to the U.S.A., its Education Secretary and its Agriculture Secretary neither of whom was a specialist in agricultural education or agricultural

technique—one past the age of retirement and the other approaching it. The conclusion to be drawn is obvious.

Quite a different aspect is furnished by the technicians whom we import from abroad. It is true that part of the expenditure on these technicians is borne by other countries or by foreign organisations. It is equally true, however, that a part of their expenditure is borne by India. It is, therefore, essential that we should curtail the employment of these experts to the minimum required period. It is very much more important that in that period we should train up an adequate number of substitutes. What actually happens is that these experts continue here for periods much longer than originally contracted for and even then it is reported that suitable substitutes have not been trained.

The problem of personnel has two aspects—requirements and training. In regard to requirements we have never been able to assess them with any fair amount of accuracy. As for training, our schemes have not always been consonant with our requirements. Our dependence upon foreign experts has not been reduced to the extent possible and all these facets of the problem have to be viewed from another and compelling standpoint—our limited financial resources. The Third Plan, if it has to be of any considerable size, will have to face the problem of tightening the belt and not merely by reducing the number of chap-rasls, though this is an over-due step. The size of our personnel requirements in the administrative field has to be reduced to more reasonable proportions. Our schemes for training have to be more accurately related to our needs. The employment of superfluous foreign experts has to be discontinued, first by finding out whether we do not possess our own experts in the line and then by telling the Ministries and other organisations that when a foreign expert is asked for, a time table has to be submitted (and strictly adhered to) for getting our personnel trained by him.

WAITING FOR THE DALAI LAMA

By N. S. MUTHANA

Tezpur: This isn't much of a town as towns go, but it is a town all the same—whatever you may make of it!

There were two things which stood out on the face of Tezpur like two big warts which you just couldn't miss; one, a circus, and the other, also a circus which they called "The Press". At the genuine circus they shot a man out of a cannon thrice every evening while the pressmen who heard the boom from the Tezpur Station Club's bar an earshot away cried in unison "There goes the six-thirty man. Bar closes nine-thirty. Kholai three beers, six glasses and one gin and lime for the lady."

Kholai, an Assamese, had not seen such a bunch ever before. The pressmen were a queer lot too—hard drinkers who made belly-aching noises when they spoke about their editors who had "shot" them here and wired everyday "downhold" in response to service messages saying "there's nothing doing here".

Waiting for the Dalai Lama became like waiting for the dawn on nights when you just couldn't sleep. It made you nervous—edgy, that is, and you blew up at the dhoby because he was the only one who took it lying down; others snarled at you.

You couldn't let yourself go all the time; so you did something to keep yourself fit for the great day of the Dalai Lama's arrival: You propped the bar.

Kholai the barman with the cut-est limp gave you the statistics: Sixty bottles of whisky in less than eight days and five hundred bottles of beer in about the same period.

We were a queer lot really—for Kholai thought our performances at the bar were better than those of the trapeze artists at the circus. Kholai said he wouldn't see the circus until we left town. But before we caught our planes the circus hit the road to Siliguri. Poor Kholai!

Odd things happened at Tezpur. James Cameron, of *News Chronicle*, London, took a kind of "post-prandial promenade" to the whistle stop railway station one evening. He sat on a pile of gunny bags as the station phone jangled away merrily. A sleepy-eyed porter looked at the phone as though it were some instrument of torture. Cameron picked up the ringing phone more to reassure the porter than to eavesdrop on the station call. And to his horror it was London calling Cameron!

Geoffrey Thirsky of *Beaverbrook's Daily Express* had similar eerie experiences of the London Desk catching him at the Tezpur airstrip where his plane stood temporarily grounded.

Noel Barber of the *Daily Mail*, London, the man who saw what could not be seen by the human eye, heard what was unspoken and wrote what scarcely could have happened, had a plane too, and his experiences were always on the periphery of fantasy. But then, Noel Barber is fantastic. He was in Nyasaland one day, and the next, he said, he found himself here in our company. Or to be more accurate, we found ourselves in his company, when he chose to wink at us as though we were all long lost brothers.

It would be wrong to say long lost brothers. Actually we were all like babes in the wood found out by the wrong search party.

Things moved slowly here, but we were resourceful enough to justify our swindle sheets, euphemistically called expense accounts. Everybody filed "colour copy" about the Foothills—lovely date-line, Old Boy—and about the misty dawn which cracked—but of course in the East, Old Boy!

Yes, here the Old Boy network did work; or else you didn't copy to chalk up against your expenses.

Then one day, a man in a sports shirt and grey flannels showed up from New Delhi: S. Sen, of whom we talked very fondly at the bar. We referred to him as "Old

Tinoo". We garlanded him with a beautiful wreath of torn newspapers and carried posters saying SENSE and SENSIBILITY. (Peter Jackson of Reuter and Desmond Doig had worked very hard on it on the reception committee).

Sen was a god-send, for he spoke enough everyday to keep us happy and clear our consciences about the mounting expenses. One night when we crowded at the bar until it burst at the seams we tossed "one for Sen now" until Kholai said he wanted to sleep. That night went off with a terrific bang when a soda-water bottle blew up on Kholai's side of the bar. Casualties: Seven bottles of whisky and eighty bottles of beer; gin uncounted.

On another night when beer, gin and whisky sloshed in the innards of the Special Correspondents we got our first clue: We were going to get press cards for ourselves and car-park stickers for our taxis, the drivers of which cheated us because they knew that their illegitimate earnings had nothing to do with the sweat on our brows. We took it all as a big joke because if we didn't, the drivers, who knew that they were as good as their fares, would walk out on us.

The great day came on the 17th when "Tinoo" told us that at 3 a.m. we would all go to the Foothills to receive the Dalai Lama and ride back ahead of him to reach Tezpur at 11 a.m. This made us happy too. Since we did not want to be woken up by our hosts we decided to stay up all night—at the bar. At 3 we scrambled for seats in the bus headed for the Foothills. The Old Boy network had failed. We stepped on each other's corns and



SRI GANESH RAMS
777 BRAND
FOOD PRODUCTS, MADRAS 5, INDIA

TOMATO SOUP

Mix in Hot Water and Drink

PEPPER WATER

(MULAGU-TANNI)

Paste & Powder

Mix in Hot Water & Drink

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CO., LTD.,

Opp. High Court - Madras-1.

14 3684

piled up on one another until we all packed into the bus like sardines in a tin.

Foothills: The dawn cracked as per schedule. The Dalai Lama didn't fail us. But he rushed us as we were never rushed before. We scrambled again to get to the cablehead — the Old Boy network failed again.

Then we scrambled for the plane. The pilot, an old Burma hand of World War II days, later said "Dammit I have been a fighter pilot myself; but you ink-slingers jolly well scramble faster. Scramble—is that the word you chaps also use?"

Yes, we scrambled all the time stepping on each other's most sensitive corns.

The poor khansama, a noble soul, who fed us right through our Tezpur days with an unvarying diet of fish curry and rice, was the worst hit. We forgot to pay him when we scrambled for the plane. And those planters—regular members of the club—I am sure must be cursing us too. Not all of us remembered to pay the telephone bills at the Tezpur Station Club in spite of the typed reminder at the bar which read: "Gentlemen of the press who used club telephone for long-distance calls are requested to pay up the charges".

I wonder what the honorary secretary of the Club thinks of us now.

I wonder what bar-tender Kholai thinks of us.

For my part, I wonder what the dhobi thinks of me, for I forgot to collect my shirts and trousers from him when I joined—pardon me, Sir — the pig-scramble for the plane seat.

Also I wonder what that scoop-artist must be thinking now after New Delhi decided neither to confirm nor to deny a small clerical "leak" which passed for a scoop one afternoon — again at the bar.

And again it was at the bar that we all argued round and round the mulberry bush why a South Indian trio should have been better accommodated than the locals and the Moghuls from New Delhi!

That's how we waited for the Dalai Lama's blessings in Tezpur.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FATEFUL MOMENT FOR THE EAST

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

Let us look at the Western alliance this week—the men and motives behind it. John Foster Dulles, the former U. S. Secretary of State is out of the picture. Dr. Konrad Adenauer, the West German Prime Minister is not very sure of his political future. General Charles de Gaulle, the French President stands aloof, casting a long shadow over Europe. And Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, with an eye on the next general elections and another on history, is in a mood to talk and be flexible.

The post-war marriage of convenience between the Western nations has been showing signs of stress and strain for the last many months. There are now open differences of opinion on problems that agitate Europe and endanger the peace of the world. The three main subjects for which the West is seeking settlement with the Soviet Union are (1) the future of Berlin, (2) reunification of Germany, and (3) European security. While the West has no agreed formula on any of these, the Soviet Union's stand is clear.

On May 11 the foreign ministers of the Western nations are scheduled to meet Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet foreign minister in Geneva to iron out differences and pave the way for a summit conference. The West has still a lot to do before it goes to Geneva. Next Wednesday, April 29, the Western foreign ministers are meeting in Paris to iron out their own differences.

The Disagreements

What are these differences? There is agreement in principle that the Western powers must maintain their garrisons in West Berlin which is an enclave 110 miles inside communist territory. The British government wants to ensure the situation by agreement with the Soviet Union and the East German government.

France believes that such a settlement can be negotiated only after the Western powers have made it clear that they intend to remain in Berlin even at the risk of war. The West German government opposes any formal dealings with East Germany, since this could be interpreted as recognition of the Communist government.

The U. S. position is obscure. It has all along shown as much concern for defending Berlin as for negotiating a settlement. But the continued flying of U. S. military aircraft at high altitudes to West Berlin is widening the differences and creating more problems for the West. Britain's *News Chronicle* said that the affair "gives the impression that America is the aggressive Power."

On the second question of the reunification of Germany, the British argue in virtual isolation that the West should accept the impossibility of uniting Germany and suggest some tacit acknowledgement of the position of the East German government. They further suggest talks by slow degrees between East and West Germany with a view to lead to an understanding about free elections at some future date. Neither the Germans nor the Americans are prepared to recognise the partition of Germany publicly. The French wants Germany reunited within the present frontiers and are not very much bothered how and when this is done.

On European security, Britain wants a limitation of forces in a zone of central Europe to be negotiated with the Soviet Union without disturbing the existing balance of power. Germany is totally opposed to this and wants general disarmament with mutual inspection by East and West. The U. S. and France are behind Germany and endorse a wider area of general disarmament.

Like Summer Boils

These differences have erupted like summer boils all over the face

April 25, 1959

of western Europe and America and are reflected in the press. British circles point out that Harold Macmillan is the only Western leader who has talked with Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Prime Minister in recent months and knows the Soviet mind better. British papers have been openly critical. *Daily Mirror* compared Adenauer of Germany to Hitler in Munich. Eisenhower, the U. S. President was described by a former editor of *Punch* as the "poor, meandering old president," and *Daily Mail* wrote: "Marshal Stalin (who was not even a real general) died in 1953. Now there is a new menace—the loudmouthed American generals."

A Critical Period

The clash of personalities and of interests in the Western camp cannot be easily brushed aside. The two powerful men who tried to keep a semblance of balance in the Western camp are now ineffective. Dulles is fighting a losing battle against cancer and Adenauer has already lost his battle against his own party in West Germany. Although Dulles had committed the U.S. with not much sense to fight for a vast, assorted company of nations from Suez to the Sea of Japan, he stood head and shoulders above the other western diplomats and gave them direction. The new U.S. Secretary of State, Christian Herter (over 6' 4" tall) may stand head and shoulders above others in physical proportions, but it is yet to be established whether he can lead.

Without doubt the Western alliance is in a bad way and faces a fateful moment full of risks. For the next few weeks the world will again stand on a brink—not of war but of peace. Whether we will take the plunge toward peace or not depends on the Western alliance to a great extent.

In this particular time, there is an extraordinary tendency on the part of artists nervously to avoid saying anything about anything if possible. I think the reason for this is that the artist has got himself into a situation —or been put into one—where he is regarded as a kind of sacred idiot. A kind of natural, in a sense that certain eastern cultures regard the mentally unbalanced as sacred.

—British artist MICHAEL AYRTON

SWARAJYA

13



THE MOSQUITO'S STORY

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

The mosquito complained: "Our lives have become miserable now, since the advent of these malarial mosquitoes. Everybody sleeps under a net."

The mosquito's wife suggested, "If we request the net to open and let us in saying we are not the malarial ones, probably, it will give us way."

Thus sang the mosquito couple.

A breeze blew. The Mudaliar had not tucked in the net properly. Therefore the mosquitoes were able to get inside the net.

"Phut" slapped the Mudaliar on his shoulder. One of the two mosquitoes died. The other escaped and flew away. The female mosquito cried. "Alas, I am alone now!"

That day it fasted. It did not feel like having anything. It hid in a corner of the room and spent its time. In the night she felt very hungry. She forgot the male mosquito. She flew round and round the curtain in search of food. There was no way. The Mudaliar had tucked the net well this time. So she went without anything that night.

The Mudaliar slept well. "By Lord Murugan's grace I slept well today", he said when he woke up in the morning, washed his face and applied sacred ashes on his forehead.

"That Lord Murugan did not grant me His grace" said the mosquito to itself. "I shall show you a way" said Lord Murugan.

"What?" asked the mosquito. The mosquito and Lord Murugan spoke to each other. It is only to us that the Gods do not talk. They converse with birds, creatures and insects.

"See! There! The mosquito net has not been taken and folded. So, slowly get in now

and commence your work in the night" said the Lord.

The mosquito did accordingly. She waited patiently till the night.

The Mudaliar's servant let down the curtain as it was and tucked it in.

That night was a feast for the mosquito. She had to her heart's content the Mudaliar's blood without getting caught.

"What, you idiot! You did not tuck in the net well last night and I had such a hell of a time. The mosquito's nuisance was unbearable!" said the Mudaliar.

"No, Master. I had tucked it in properly. There was no room for the mosquito to get in. It cannot be mosquito bite; it must be due to heat," answered the peon.

"You are responsible if I get fever" said the Tahsildar Mudaliar.

The next day it was the same story. The Mudaliar grew wild with anger. That night he himself tucked in the net carefully and went to sleep.

"Must be due to the hot weather; for even yesternight I had no sleep", said he.

The Mudaliar's youngest daughter, Sumitra, an unmarried girl, said, "The mosquitoes must have gathered inside the net."

They opened the net out. The little girl's words were true. The mosquito met her end.

Lord Murugan welcomed her. "Come, we shall play together," he said. There is no need for the Mudaliar's blood.

"I shall give you food", he said.

The mosquito was very happy. She drank nectar and rode on Murugan's back joyfully.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

RAJAJI ON CONTRACEPTIVES

Sir,—I feel I really must protest against a statement that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari makes in his editorial "Wanted a Movement" in your March 28 issue. I agree with some of the other things he says in this editorial and disagree with some, but that is not what I want to discuss here.

He says (on the second page) that we "run family planning propaganda and distribute contraceptives among girls who mix with ardent boys." This is not only unfair but is positively an irreverent statement to make about our young people. It is worse. It is an artfully aimed blow against (1) family planning and (2) free and unmotivated friendliness among boys and girls. It evokes a horrible picture of widespread wantonness among the younger generation. But perhaps it is worst of all in this, that a casual and sweeping remark like this by an eminent elder, respected and looked up to by a

great many people, may hinder the steps being taken to encourage the education of women, and also relieve many legally wedded ladies and gentlemen of the responsibility to think seriously about family limitation. *Rajaji makes fun of family planning. I can almost hear them saying, so let us crawl back into our cosy, nice beds and leave it all in God's hands as before.*

There is no special category of male adolescents called "ardent boys". (I hope they are all ardent, or they might as well be dead.) And contraceptives are not distributed among girls by anyone. They are given at a nominal cost to women who attend Government family planning clinics which are run by doctors. They are expensive in the open market and require skilled instruction for proper use. I dare say there is a girl here and a girl there who is not afraid to "get her fingers burnt," as the

expression goes; but they are the exception. And, while we are on the subject, may I commit the impertinence of saying that in almost every one even of our most respectable, most pristinely ignorant and impeccably uneducated families there are at least one or two female skeletons (not to mention the innumerable male) in the cupboard. And if we rattled them all, what a noise they would make—why, the noise of our family planning propagandists would be quite drowned in that din! Vice or sin (if we must use these words) is not exclusively confined to our age or the new generation. The attitude of young girls in this country to sex is generally timid, diffident and tinged with shame and fear. They may be curious about sex—weren't we all when we were young?—but it is only an infinitesimal percentage which seeks to satisfy that curiosity before marriage.

I sometimes think that it is not surprising that there is greater indiscipline among the young now than in the Good Old Days and

that they lack respect towards their elders. Look what things we say of them and how we treat them. We talk of them in their hearing as if they are not to be trusted to behave decently, to have any principles of their own or any ideals, that they would stoop to cheap gratifications and succumb to temptation without putting up any kind of a fight. And we talk like this ignoring the fact that young people like children learn by example. How can they respect us when we do not respect them?

SANTHA RUNGACHARY

New Delhi

SALES TAX ON PERISHABLES

Sir,—Sales tax is paid by every one, every day and on every purchase made whether he is a trader or a consumer. The merchants have been long used as tools for the collection of this inequitable levy. For one thing, this tax demoralises the merchant by making him seek ways and means of avoiding it, and for another it rests on the sales tax Authorities' unlimited patronage and unquestionable discretion.

The recalcitrant attitude of the Government in persisting in the levy of sales tax on foodgrains and perishables, in spite of universal opposition and protests by continuous hartals, is most unjustified. Food articles in a famished poverty-stricken country should never have been taxed.

We are thankful to Sri Rajaji for his considered criticism of tax proposals. Sri Rajaji enacted the Sales Tax Act about two decades ago but it has become a demon which, beyond the expectation of the creator, is growing dangerous to the very existence of the commercial community.

V. S. L. NATHAN,

Hon. Secretary, Tamil Chamber of Commerce

RECRUITMENT IN RAILWAYS

Sir,—The Railway Minister, Sri Jagjivan Ram, is reported to have told the Lok Sabha the other day that in the case of Class III services he had authorised the General Managers to recruit candidates from the Scheduled castes,

the Scheduled tribes and the Anglo-Indians if the Railway Service Commission failed to recruit men for all the posts reserved for them. The Minister also stated that similar powers in respect of Class IV posts had been given to Divisional Managers. This statement raises a number of issues.

Firstly, how does it come about that the Railway Service Commission "fails" to recruit enough number of men from the under-represented communities? It can only be due to the fact that sufficient number of men from those communities with the requisite qualifications is not forthcoming. The remedy, therefore, lies in reducing the standard of qualifications for these communities and asking the Commission to proceed on that basis. If the Commission selects a few candidates with the requisite qualifications and if the General and Divisional Managers hasten to fill up

the remaining vacancies with their own candidates, who, by the very nature of the case, must be inferior to the Commission's choice, where is the need at all for entrusting the work to the Commission? The whole thing is tantamount to bypassing the Commission by the backdoor.

Secondly, when the whole nation is engaged in the herculean task of uplifting the country in the industrial, economic and other fronts, efficiency in the public services, including the Railways, should be the supreme concern of one and all. If a competent body like the Railway Service Commission considers that there are not enough candidates to discharge the duties of certain posts efficiently, because they don't have the basic qualifications, are we to risk failure of our Plans by insisting on recruiting unsuitable candidates of particular communities, by hook or by crook?

KOOVELI

Your goods have a ready market in South East Asia

EXPORT NOW

INDIA produces the very commodities which the South East Asian countries need—jute, textiles, tea, handlooms, handicrafts, cycles, sewing machines and many other manufactured goods. Export them now — they'll buy them.

The INDIAN OVERSEAS BANK LIMITED has made a special study of this important, growing market. Our network of overseas branches, agents and correspondents are at your service for on-the-spot advice.

THE INDIAN OVERSEAS BANK LIMITED, Madras

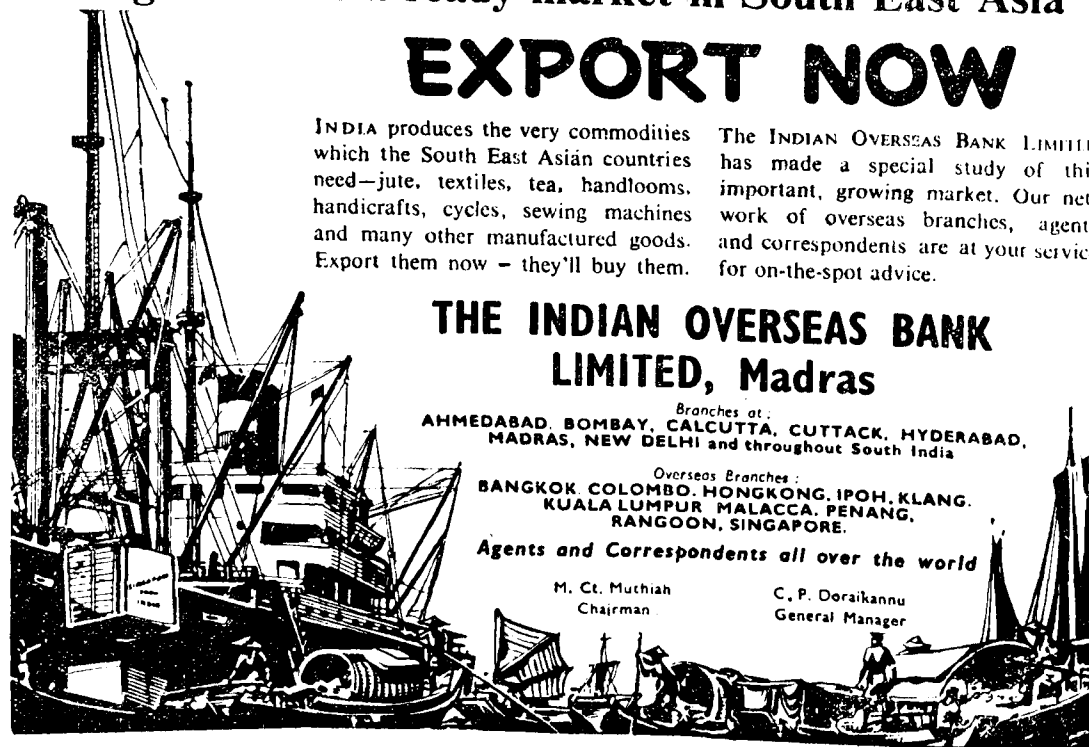
Branches at: AHMEDABAD, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, CUTTACK, HYDERABAD, MADRAS, NEW DELHI and throughout South India

Overseas Branches: BANGKOK, COLOMBO, HONGKONG, IPOH, KLANG, KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA, PENANG, RANGOON, SINGAPORE.

Agents and Correspondents all over the world

M. Ct. Muthiah
Chairman

C. P. Doraiannu
General Manager



1081440

ANNOUNCING

A NEW FEATURE

SOVIET LITERATURE

Monthly magazine of Literature

In response to many requests from readers SOVIET LITERATURE will carry from issue No. 4, 1959 a course of RUSSIAN LESSONS.

This course is intended to provide a foundation for studying RUSSIAN. The publishers also will answer questions that may arise while studying the lessons, directly by correspondence.

Subscribe Now!

Subscription Rates
Annual: Rs. 6.00
Monthly: 0.62 nP.

Subscriptions accepted at:

1. New Century Book House, 199, Mount Road, Madras-2
2. Visalaandhra Publishing House, Buckinghampet P.O. Vijayawada
3. Prabhakar Book House, Cannon Shed Road, Ernakulam
4. People's Publishing House (P) Ltd., M. M. Road, New Delhi

V/O MEZDUNARODNAYA KNIGA, Moscow 200 U.S.S.R.

"Lost your shirt, Parameswar?"

"Don't remind me of shirts! One dozen shirts, made just 6 months ago, returned from the dhobi 'phut'!"

"Tut, tut! You must have been so busy hunting for fancy cloth that you haven't heard of BINNY'S! BINNY'S Quality Control* their production, you know..."

"What is this Quality Control?"

"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 fabrics last so long."

"Your words give me courage, brother. Lead me to the nearest BINNY'S shop."

BINNY — a great name in textiles



*Testing the uniformity of cotton fibres

Durability of cloth depends on the strength of the yarn used. This, in turn, depends on the uniformity of the fibre in the cotton. Only specially selected cotton goes into BINNY'S fabrics. That's why BINNY'S cloth lasts so long.

BINNY'S manufacture nearly 90 million yards of cloth every year. Here are some of the varieties they make:

Shirts - Khaki Drills - Bleached and Dyed Drills - Towels - Anticrease Suits - Tussore - Union Fabrics - Silk Sarees - Rugs - etc etc



The Buckingham & Carnatic Company Limited
The Bangalore Woollen, Cotton & Silk Mills Company Limited

Managing Agents:
Binny & Co. (Madras) Ltd.

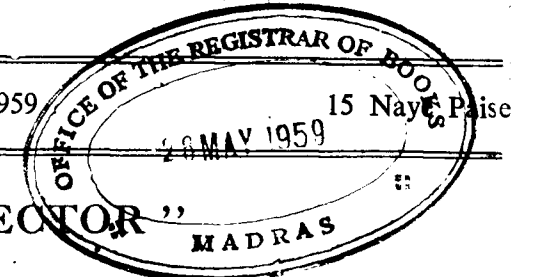
840

SWARAJYA

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 43

MADRAS, MAY 2, 1959



"THE SUPERIOR SECTOR"

In a mood of unwonted petulance last week-end, the Prime Minister declared: "My firm opinion gathered after some knowledge, is that the public sector in India today is infinitely superior to the private sector—superior in economy, efficiency and general outlook." The occasion was the annual general meeting of the Indian Institute of Public Administration. The Prime Minister had perhaps reason to feel that the opportunity should be availed for some measure of morale-boosting of public sector services—having regard to the low mercury level of morale in the administration of government enterprises in the face of engulfing criticism. In the process, he has tilted full lance at the private sector, though he has often set his face against the tendency to canvass achievements as between the sectors, on the ground that they are not opposed but complementary to each other.

The bulk of the criticism of the public sector has come from quarters that have first hand knowledge of the detailed working of state enterprises—namely, the Auditor-General of India, the Public Accounts or Estimates Committees—though amazingly enough these comments, some of which are corrosively acid, have a habit of seeing the light of day four, five or six years after the errors of commission or omission complained of occurred.

The next in the order of loud

critics of the public sector has been the Press—which has based its criticism on the authentic reports already referred to. The Fourth Estate is not to be expected to throw away such valuable grist to its mill and practice total patriotic abstinence from a follow-on of the criticism made by audit officials. In fact the Press as the reflector of and guide to public opinion, asks for greater vigilance in capital expenditure, in payment of copious salaries to "experts" in valuable foreign exchange, for great conformity of actual expenditure to estimates. The Press conceives it to be its legitimate function to express tax-payers' opinion on how his money is being spent.

The private sector has observed a fair degree of reserve of expressing opinions on the way the public sector functions—though it has often been amazed at the high capital cost of several public sector undertakings. In fact when Ministers come to Chambers of Commerce and in addition to mouthing a lot of clap-trap about businessmen moving with the times (as though they could afford to move against the times and expect to stay in business), tell them about how industries should be run in public and consumer interest, and with the utmost economy and efficiency, the audience often suppressed a giggle in recollection of the official reports on the working of some state enterprises. Nor can the

commercial man help making comparisons of how resources have been husbanded in comparable industrial units in the two sectors, though he did not make a furore over it.

If the Prime Minister feels there has been needless fouling of the nest, public criticism such as there is of the public sector, is largely based on official accounts of what happened and nobody is interested in a sadistic pillorying of state enterprises.

The Prime Minister has claimed for the public sector superior efficiency and competence over the private sector. While there is no doubt, some state enterprises have started working remuneratively and purposefully as in the case of the Sindhri Fertilizer Unit and the Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory; and there is even less doubt that some private sector industrial units have fared badly, the claim to "infinite superiority" of the public sector is not borne out by the periodic reports of the Auditor-General about the husbanding of resources in the public sector. In connection with the steel plant erection at Rourekela and Bhilai, we have already been treated to grim tales of inadequate harbour equipment, leading to demurrages running into fantastic figures, while we are happy to pay judges' salaries to imported carpenters—all which again was information furnished in reply to Parliamentary interpellations. The

Edited and Published by KHASA SUBBA RAU at 77 Lloyds Road, Madras-14.

Printed by T. K. VENKATESAN at THE JUPITER PRESS PRIVATE LTD., 109-C, Mount Road, Teynampet, Madras-18.

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Neither food insufficiency nor the population growth is a new phenomenon in our country. Both have been with us these twelve years and long before that too.

We have abolished titles. We have decreed the banishment of the English language and ordered Hindi to take its place. We have driven the *anna* and the *pie* out of the currency and enforced the people to deal with hundred instead of with twelve and sixteen. We have arranged to end the confusion of weights and measures by a total and universal confusion of metric weights and measures. We have changed the names of streets. We have redistributed the provinces and realigned the boundaries so as to divide them from one another more effectively and live in passionate parochialism. We have downgraded railway compartments. We have even touched up the calendar. Our weather reports have been shifted from fahrenheit to centigrade. We have changed so many things and we have borrowed a lot of money from abroad. Democracy is running without riots and disturbances and no one talks about the bribery that is almost openly indulged in.

private sector is not inclined to rejoice over leakages or extravagance, because more than anybody else, the private sector through income, super and corporation taxes, supplies the wherewithal of plan finance for those enterprises. The Prime Minister has made a claim for the public sector that must have secretly embarrassed those in charge of at least some of the public sector enterprises — and which in any case is not sustainable in terms of the Auditor-General's juicy remarks from time to time.

Many men from banking and business enterprises are serving the public sector. Many retired officials are now holding high administrative positions in industry and commerce. With personnel

But these do not seem to have improved the food situation nor affected the growth of population. So, we have now a new patent medicine: Co-operative cultivation.

Is this likely to increase production? There is a general scepticism about it. Those who have farming experience doubt the efficacy of substituting individual interest by distributed responsibility and the efficiency of paid officials taking the place of the landlords' attention and experience. But the politicians are firm in their views about agriculture.

Now, co-operation is good up to a point. But there is nothing so good as individual interest to produce the close, constant and intimate attention that lands and crops require. Unless the joint owners are a family of blood relations or are bound together in some such intimate manner, the responsibility of many becomes the responsibility of no one. This is the loudly expressed view of all those who have dealt with farms.

No slogan for merely rearranging ownership can solve the over-all quantitative produc-

and technical talent so freely exchanged between public and private enterprises, there is no iron curtain between the sectors. Every enlightened citizen believes that the public and private sectors are the two wheels of the chariot in which India should move forward. You cannot reach your goal by spokes giving way in one wheel or by over-lubricating the other. It is time India's constructive energies, which experience of two plan cycles has taught us is not unlimited, should be dedicated to the cause of increasing our productive horse power and not dissipated in ploughing the arid sands of mutual under-assessment by the public and private sectors of each other's achievements. It is time for the Prime Minister to set the example in this regard.

tion. Steady and well-considered assistance to individual owners so as to *increase*, not decrease the output of working capital to be sunk in land is what is called for, not change of hands by expropriatory laws from those who have capital to those who command neither capital nor credit and the rousing of unfulfillable mass egalitarian hopes of gifts of landed property. These are good for raising votes, not for raising food crops.

In this universe which as far as science can see is still a riddle of causeless and endless existence, where we see space and time turn round and move in an infinite curve that meets where it began, no doctrine or remedy is true or valid in the absolute sense. The only way is the humble way of temperance in everything, not to carry anything too far.

This golden rule excludes State-directed collectivisation masquerading as co-operation. It excludes the removal of bunds that hold the needed water and mark the ownership where it is necessary. It excludes the wiping out of personal interest, the creative instinct.

The Bhagavat Gita with all its idealism lays down the rule of temperance in everything. This rule applies to the principle of co-operation in work also. Co-operation in its simpler forms is a joy. When it is over-done and over-organized, it gets identified with the power of the State. Then it becomes a despotism. The interference of the community becomes a tyranny. Be it Communism, or be it anti-Communist rule, the principle of co-operation can by over-doing be converted into bitterly resented despotism obedience being secured by men specially trained to extract it.

The only way worth living is the way that Socrates, Buddha, Christ and the *rishis* of India preached, which includes sympathy and helpful co-operation in its hygienic forms and excludes collectivism masquerading as co-operation, which is welcomed by the Communist party because it adds to their prestige and helps their future strategy and opportunity.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Extracts from the editorial comments of some of the Indian newspapers on the language issue are published here in view of their topical interest to the readers.

Reasonable people have long accepted as beyond controversy that English could not, by 1965, be completely displaced from being India's official language.

If those in favour of Hindi did not have to contend with a fanatic fringe, then this language, which can never supplant the regional languages or reach the international importance of English for a considerable time, might be more willingly learnt.

Would it not be desirous that commissions and committees on the official language should contain more men and women who are not already committed to rigid views, one way or the other, about Hindi? And would it not be wise to allow wide discussion of the proposals of such bodies? The debate about English and the Eighth Schedule is almost certain to become a debate on this latest report, and should be only the start of country-wide discussion.

—The Statesman.

English has been a unifying force in the political evolution of the country; it has permeated the educational pattern in every region; its place in the cultural sphere has been acknowledged by the Sahitya Akademi and other bodies; and its use in administration and in the law courts has been recognized as indispensable in the foreseeable future.

—The Hindustan Times.

However much one may dislike out of a false sense of national pride, to call English the strongest cementing force in India's national life at present, as it has been for decades past, the fact is too patent to be sentimentally talked away. If India desires, as she certainly does, to maintain and speed up the tempo of her progress, English must continue to be an important means for it. Parliament should consider Mr. Anthony's proposal without passion or prejudice bearing in mind all these facts and agree to accord English its rightful place, in the list of India's national languages.

—Amrita Bazar Patrika.

Mr. Frank Anthony's rhetorical and passionate devotion to the English language reminds us rudely that there are many people in this country whose mother tongue is English. It cannot, therefore, be a foreign language like French, Russian, or Yiddish, and it has the right to be treated as a tongue of natives who are as ancient as Clive and Duplex.

—Shankar's Weekly.

Prudence demands that the idea of replacing English by Hindi by 1965 be dropped and that the *status quo* be continued for another fifteen years. Nothing will be lost by such deferment save confusion that may follow immediate imposition of Hindi. After all, a decade or two do not count for much in the life of a nation. But if the intransigence and the arrogance of a few disrupt the nation's solidarity that will spell disaster for India. Surely we should value the nation's interests more than the satisfaction of having an Indian language as our official language in place of an alien one. Inclusion of English in the Eighth Schedule will in no way prejudice the case of Hindi or strengthen the claims of English. It will merely give formal recognition to something which is an undoubted fact. —Hindustan Standard.

The future of English appears to be as uncertain as has been the lan-

guage's fate, as far as India is concerned, over the last decade. But there seems to be growing recognition of the fact that to rule it out altogether would be folly. At best, however, English has won a reprieve — and not quite full pardon as yet. It remains for time to set pride and necessity in their proper perspective.

—Indian Finance.

In all the non-Hindi States, with perhaps the single exception of Gujarat, it is the regional language which is being increasingly used as the official language in internal matters and as the language of higher education. Along with the raising of the status of the vernacular, English is gradually taking the second place, not Hindi. It does not appear to be yielding its place to Hindi. The only sensible policy in regard to official language would be to pluck the nettle firmly by the roots that there is any intention on the part of the Government of India to force Hindi on an unwilling people. The advocacy of moderation by Rajendra Prasad or Pandit Nehru is not enough, if one thinks only of the turmoil in the South.

—The Economic Weekly.

THE BATTLE AGAINST A. & H.

That Mr. Nikita Khrushchev has said it does not make it any the less true. Whether you explode a test nuclear bomb within reach of the naked eye or above a height of thirty miles or more, the poisonous fall-out is of the same character and produces the same results as test explosion in the Pacific islands. The radioactive elements are stored and sent down to poison man and his food as surely as a bank account sustains a family, the likeness being in the opposite direction, destroying and mutilating instead of supporting.

The proposal of the U.S.A. President that the two blocs might agree to ban all tests other than those exploded above a thirty-mile height betrays a complete lapse of knowledge of the scientific evidence on the subject, or may one say, loss of memory, or a form of naivete wholly out of tune with the gravity of the discussions. Would it be heard in legal circles that the prohibition of murder may be limited to daylight killing and that night-time murder may be permitted for the time being? The analogy is not to

be considered far-fetched. Test explosions are greater crimes than common murder. It is surprising that after all the difficult and probably successful talks at the Geneva Conference the U.S.A. President makes this ridiculous suggestion. The only solution to the issue of test explosions is a total ban from now with an opportunity for complaint if any party seeks fraudulently to evade the treaty, the complaint to be investigated publicly.

Homage to the British Air Corporal John Raymond Pritchard who saw the H. bomb demonstration of British men and women — only in a film — and refused any longer to work on the Victor-bomber to which he had been attached. As a result the young man has been courtmartialled and sentenced to be reduced to the ranks. Conscience has not been completely smothered or strangled in Britain yet. There are brave young men who refuse to reject Christian doctrines. They cling to the faith in unilateral action taught by Jesus.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.



THE PET CHILD

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

Mrs. Ramakrishnan the Deputy Collector's wife, disliked ants. She crushed them as soon as she saw them.

"Mother! May we kill ants?" asked Kuppu.

"You can kill ants which sting you", answered Mother. Three children had been born and had died before Kuppu's arrival. Therefore Kuppu was brought up very fondly.

I shall tell you how Kuppu got his name. Supposing in a family children are born and they die consecutively, then the last child is thrown in the dust and taken back as unwanted. This is being done as a ritual. In olden days there was a belief that God Yama would not care to take away an unwanted child and that he could be thus cheated.

So, a child thrown in the 'kuppai' (குப்பை) meaning dirt, used to be named 'Kuppan'. This was the reason why the Deputy Collector's son got the name Kuppan.

Satisfied about the answer that mother gave about killing ants, Kuppan ran off to play.

The mother ant sent out her detective ant-force to inquire about the disappearance of her children. "Someone is killing them" she bewailed. "They never return home once they set out".

The detective ants traced the tract by scenting the ground from their hole. They reached the Deputy Collector's house. Their noses told them that their brethren had met their death at the Deputy Collector's house. They returned and gave this information to the mother ant.

"Father! Can we kill ants?" asked Kuppu of his father. He had his doubts again.

"You should not kill them. If you tell the peon he will do it", answered the father.

"Is it not a sin?" asked Kuppu.

"If the peon kills, it is no sin. He does it in order to obey us", said the father.

"Is it a sin for us?" asked the boy.

"We do not kill! How is it a sin for us?" answered the Deputy Collector.

"But" — began the boy.

"Well, well. You go in and find out from mother whether dinner is ready" ordered the father and sent away the enquiring child.

The mother ant told her sorrow to its friend the cobra who lived in an adjacent empty hole.

"You will have to punish this Suppammal", it said, "it is she who has been destroying my little ones".

"I shall see to it", answered the serpent and issued out of its hole.

It lurked in a big hole next to Mr. Ramakrishnan's house.

"Mother!" asked Kuppu, "Velu tells me that we will die if a serpent bites. Is it so?"

"Who told you about dying? You should not talk such things. The serpent will not bite us" answered the mother and tried to stop the child's prattle.

"If it bites?" was the next question.

"It is poison. If a serpent bites anyone, he will of course die. One should not go near a snake", she said.

"Mother! it seems there is a snake in our house!" said Kuppu.

"Who told you this? Is it Velu?" she asked.

"No, mother, next door Seshu said so. It seems he saw

it!" said Kuppu.

"Seshu is a naughty boy! You run away to play", said Suppammal.

That night Suppammal had a dream. She dreamt that her only child was bitten by a snake and it died.

"Oh!" she cried and woke up.

"What! What is the matter?" asked Ramakrishnan.

"I had a bad dream" said Suppammal and told him the dream.

The next morning she went to the temple, prayed and came back with the prasadam. The whole day she spent in misery and fear.

The snake was a good snake. It saw the mother's anguish. "She has suffered the agony of her son's death fully. This is enough. Besides, in her next birth she is going to be born as a mother ant and will lose her young ones". Thus saying it returned to its own hole.

"Oh sister! I did not have the heart to bite that boy", said the snake to the mother ant and gave its reason also.

"In that case, at least my own ants should go and do something. My grief will subside only when he is bitten well", said the mother ant.

She sent out her soldier race. Among ants, there is this allotment of work for different groups.

"Mother! Last night the ants have bitten me badly!" said Kuppu. The child's face was swollen.

"Poor dear!" said the mother and applied cocoanut oil on his face.

"Thank God! The effect of my bad dream is only this!" said she and again went to the temple and offered a cocoanut to Lord Ganesa.

Since then, Suppammal never killed ants. She also kept jaggery and other sweets well covered and put them safe. She kept her house clean and free from ants.

HEROICS AND HYSTERICS

By POTHAN JOSEPH

For expressing the fear that the sterile complexities of co-operative farming at the cost of effective ownership would drive discontent underground and bring ryots to the zone of civil strife, Pandit Nehru roundly castigated Minoo Masani whose criticisms, however, stand unanswered. The Prime Minister charged him with "virulent rhetoric" and he nearly shrieked over the bare notion of "civil war". And now in his speech at Madras he attacked vested interests and the group of "incorrigibles" who would apparently ignore the existence of poverty by laying stress on improved methods of cultivation as in Japan, rather than the stunts of collectivization reported from China. In highly deferential words, Pandit Nehru pleaded for a little more charity at the hands of C.R. who had at a previous symposium warned people that chronic failures of the civil administration might create a vacuum that the army might undesigningly fill, and that since the army is good only for law and order such an eventuality could be no good either for fostering the welfare of the masses. As against the theatricalized scare about the "civil war speech" (originally foisted on the Kerala Premier but deftly shrugged off from his shoulders by E.M.S.), we may now hear, from Congress partisans, references to C.R.'s "mutiny speech" dragging the defence forces into the controversy; but it is really bunkum and the plea for charity does not banish the need for clarity in the economics of jumbled farming at the level of mandal guidance. Look at the facts.

It is no novel doctrine of incitement to say that history—why, current events from Baghdad to Jakarta—carries the warning that civil administration when it turns effete has a way of breaking down, just as revolutionary juntas tend to weaken after the first flush of cleaning-up racketeering, for the relief of inarticulate millions.

Dictator Ayub Khan's pride is that he had contrived a bloodless revolution and that corruption underwent such a bust that prices crashed as a blessing to a stricken population. For the moment, he would complain it as uncharitable comment if credit were not given to his army for achieving such a welfare-result, albeit of limited scope. On the other hand, one of our cracks against Pakistan that in twelve years they have not produced a Constitution and that instead of a stable government as in India and the helmsmanship of an irreplaceable and popular Prime Minister, Pakistan has had seven or eight of the lot and also an erratic career without a general election, the whole kaleidoscope culminating in a scrap-up of the first gerrymandered Constitution. Despite these blemishes, profiteers and nepotist gangs and fraudulent operators are on the run to escape the net-work of military laws administered by men in khaki. General Ayub Khan probably feels as secure as General Franco in Spain, and if the Spaniards are at ease under authoritarian rule, how could any spectator point the finger of scorn at them? Pakistan as a proposition remains the same to us, in military shape. That is why President Rajendra Prasad sent from Viet Nam (he had been on tour) his greetings on Pakistan Day to General Ayub Khan adding best wishes for his personal welfare over and above our hopes of prosperity for the State of Pakistan. On the other hand, U. N. Dhebar extends his sympathy to Tibet as a whole without specifying whether it is pro-Panchen or pro-Dalai, which, of course, is highly diplomatic.

There is historical warrant for saying that stability in civil government is not everything. No Prime Minister in the East ever had such a long and merry innings as Nure-el-Said for instance in Iraq; but his activities consisted of cock-eyed changes favourable to what in English political idiom could be called the

Establishment. The mastery of a central elite has a conserving quality about it no doubt, but it bores. I fancy the younger generation began to get bored with Mahatma Gandhi just as today, contrariwise, it is the elders and so-called fossils who are getting bothered about the impetuosity of Jawaharlal Nehru in spreading his brand of tabloid-economics for fast consumption by the masses, the specific which Rajaji would call *sarvaroga nivarini*. Heroics are bearing the symptoms of hysterics, and on reflection Pandit Nehru would find that his demand for charity had been mis-addressed.

MODERN POETRY

	Rs. nP.
<i>The Faber Book of 20th Century Verse</i> —edited by John Heath-Stubbs and David Wright	10 19
<i>A New Anthology of Modern Verse 1920-1940</i> —edited by C. Day Lewis and L. A. G. Strong	4 50
<i>The Oxford Book of Modern Verse 1892-1935</i> —Chosen by W. B. Yeats	14 62
<i>Moon's Farm and other Poems</i> by Herbert Read	8 56
<i>My Many Coated-Man</i> —Poems by Laurie Lee	4 87
<i>A Way of Looking: Poems</i> by Elizabeth Jenkins	6 94
<i>The Shield of Achilles: Poems</i> by W. H. Auden	8 56

K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A, Royapettah High Road,
Mylapore, Madras-4

INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,
K.C.S.I., D.C.L. (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business
transacted efficiently and
quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits
which may be ascertained on
application.

S. Krishnaswami,
Secretary.

BUDGETARY SITUATION IN INDIA

By A. D. SHROFF

The whole budgetary situation in India for the last eight years is completely dominated by the five-year plans. During the last three years in particular, between the Centre and the States, Rs. 2,466 crores have been spent on the Plan, of which, the share of the Government of India is Rs. 1,424 crores. In the coming year, it has been decided that an expenditure of Rs. 1,092 crores will be incurred on the Plan. It is very interesting to see that during the First Plan, the total amount which was spent was roughly Rs. 2,000 crores in five years. But out of Rs. 2,000 crores, only 36% was found by foreign borrowings and deficit financing. The picture is entirely different now. During the last three years, as much as 63% of the money has been raised through foreign borrowings and deficit financing and it is very difficult to estimate that at the end of the Second Five Year Plan whether this percentage would not still be higher.

When the Second Five Year Plan was formed, it was estimated by the Planning Commission that although the gap in resources would be much larger, the Government of India will have to make an effort to raise Rs. 450 crores of additional taxation in five years. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari obliged the Planning Commission by putting taxation on a level which has ensured receipt of about Rs. 900 crores during the Second Plan. The total amount of external assistance which has been promised to this country till January 31, 1959, comes to Rs. 1,018 crores. When the Second Five Year Plan is implemented — I mean the hard core of the Plan — Rs. 1,500 crores of foreign money will have been borrowed. That is not the whole story. It consists of Rs. 1,500 crores of fresh foreign borrowings plus Rs. 540 crores of the sterling balances, which we have already used up during the last three years, plus, Rs. 95 crores of short-term loan which we are taking from the

International Monetary Fund, plus Rs. 35 crores which the U. K. Government gave to the Government of India to assist the Second Five Year Plan, as advance pension payment. This will give an idea of the borrowing position that we have developed for this country with the result that till 1967, on an average, by way of interest charges and amortisation, we shall have to provide Rs. 100 crores of foreign exchange every year.

Along with the Finance Minister's speech every year, an economic review is circulated. I wish to congratulate the official who has prepared the economic review for this year. It is a factual review which gives up-to-date statistics regarding various aspects of our economic life, and on the basis of the facts recorded, it indicates certain trends which may be expected to follow in the coming twelve months. On this particular situation, the economic review says: "Inflationary pressures in the economy at the present moment can hardly be said to be strong, but it would also be wrong to suggest that the problem of inflationary pressures has been mastered. Basically, the problem still remains — and will for long remain — one of sustaining a high rate of investment in the economy without generating excessive inflationary pressures and causing an undue strain on the balance of payments."

The conclusion appears to me to be inevitable in view of the development of certain economic trends during the last 12 months. On the one hand, we have the mounting budgetary deficits. It is Rs. 950 crores in the first three years of the Plan and at the end of the Plan it might be well over Rs. 1,200 crores or Rs. 1,300 crores. One redeeming feature of India's economy since independence was that every year industrial production went on increasing till about the end of 1957, when the trend has been definitely lowered.

The very heavy withdrawals of

sterling balances made possible larger imports in 1956-57 and 1957-58. These withdrawals have been such a heavy drain on our sterling balances that we are left with about Rs. 200 crores only against a short-term debt of about 95 crores from the International Monetary Fund. Therefore, very little is left in the sterling balances to draw upon to make possible larger imports. Even when that cushioning effect was available in 1956-57 end, in 1957-58 there has been a rise of 15% in prices. With the removal of the cushioning effect, with a definite decline in industrial production and unfortunately with our reduced capacity to export, all the evidence indicates that we are heading towards inflationary pressures.

It is always said that we cannot have planning in the country without tears, and that is a fact. Whilst it is true that no under-developed country can develop on a large scale and at a rapid pace without causing some strains and stresses on the economy, it is the relative capacity of the people of the country to withstand those stresses and strains which ought to be the determining factor. So, when we are told that we must tighten our belts, the real fact of life is that one cannot tighten the belt on a shrinking stomach.

To add to the inflationary pressure, another very significant and serious factor to consider is the growth of deficit financing. Deficit financing means that the Government makes commitments to spend so much money in the year while it has not got the money. If you or I had attempted to do it, we will soon be seen in the bankruptcy court. But with a very efficient printing press, the Government can do it, but only to a certain limit. At one stage, we were told and the Planning Commission endorsed the view that India could easily stand the strain of Rs. 1,200 crores of deficit financing, on the basis that Rs. 1,200 crores of deficit financing would not cause such inflationary pressures in the country as would push up prices beyond the capacity of the people.

But, unfortunately, the background in which the Planning Commission had estimated the figure has gone completely wrong. For instance, the Planning Commission had estimated that we would need to draw on our sterling balances only to the extent of Rs. 200 crores whereas in less than three years we had to draw over Rs. 500 crores causing a very serious disturbance to our balance of payments. And that serious disturbance will add to the inflationary pressures in the country.

There is another point which has not yet been properly or widely noticed. Recent budgets are a deliberate attempt to divert resources from the private sector to the public sector. From a break-up of imports since 1956-57, one can make out that whereas due to exchange difficulties very severe restrictions have been placed on imports on private account, imports on Government account have been showing very substantial increase. In 1956-57, Government imports were only Rs. 291 crores; in 1957-58, Government imports increased by Rs. 201 crores and private imports declined by Rs. 122 crores. While in 1956-57, Government imports represented 4th, now they represent about 48% of total imports.

The new tax system will affect different companies differently. By and large, all those companies which have been regularly distributing dividends will not save anything on the new basis, but may well be called upon to draw from their reserves anything between 2 and 5 per cent to maintain the same amount of gross dividend as at present.

So far as the shareholders are concerned, this so-called simplification of the tax-structure has caused a lot of confusion. The shareholders' position will be determined by the dividend policies pursued by different companies. It may well be that in the case of prosperous companies which can afford to pay higher taxes than what they are paying today, the dividends may be maintained and the dividend tax which would be payable by the companies is something which will be recoverable by the shareholders.

THE EFFICACY OF FASTING

Excerpts from a recent address at Ambattur by His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Kamakoti Pēetam.

I wish every one of you to observe complete fasting on Ekadasi day. This will bring you peace of mind and enable you to keep good health. This sacred *vratham* is rigidly followed by Maharashtrians and Madhwās. During Ramzan Muslims observe complete fasting and it is evident that they have understood the importance of fasting for self-purification. I have a feeling that instead of Sundays we may have holidays on Ekadasi and Amavasya days which will enable us to observe these *vratams* successfully and divert our attention towards God. The erstwhile British Government declared holidays on Sundays, since Christians offer their prayers and go to churches on that day. Both Christians and Muslims believe in congregational prayers in churches and mosques. We are yet to understand the efficacy of congregational prayers. We must know how to unite and express in one voice our daily *anushtanas* and prayers at the appointed time. Muslims, wherever they are, will start offering *namaz* at sunset, spreading before them a cloth over which they will bend and offer prayers. Hindu religion and culture had a great sway even in neighbouring countries like Cambodia, Java, Malaya and China. Temples and inscriptions in these countries give expression to the greatness of our Hindu religion and culture. Even fifty or sixty years ago, things were much better in our country and I may say that a thousand years ago there was not even one per cent who failed to conform to the code of Hindu religion. People of our country were very happy then.

During the British regime Christian missionaries used to visit hospitals and jails to propagate their religion. They tried to convert as many Hindus as possible to Christianity. After the advent of Swaraj, Sri C. Rajagopalachari gave equal opportunities to all leaders of faith to visit hospitals and jails. Although Muslims availed themselves of the opportunity by sending their *mullas* (religious Heads), there was none to plead for Hinduism; that was the plight of Hindu society! Hinduism still flickers because of a few who still believe in its greatness and who observe their daily *anushtanas* rigidly. We should not allow the flame of Hinduism to be extinguished; it should be kindled and allowed to burn brilliantly as in ancient days.

N. S. KRISHNAMURTI.

The net result of the new budget proposals as they affect direct taxation is that there is a further diversion of capital resources from the private sector to the Government exchequer.

I am unable to follow this trend because even the ruling party in this country recognises the imperative need of promoting capital formation. Only as recently as the last session of the Congress at Nagpur, it passed a resolution on planning. It is a sober resolution. One significant thing which that resolution says is: "It is only when a sufficiently high rate of capital formation is kept up and the national income rises with some rapidity, that the process of economic development becomes self-accelerated."

As regards indirect taxes, it is not sufficiently appreciated in Government circles that these indirect taxes are adding to the inflationary processes because most of these indirect taxes have a bearing on the cost of living. The cost of living is going up because of the higher prices which are charged due to higher excise duties. One particular excise duty to which I would strongly object is the higher duty on vanaspati which one would be justified in describing as a tax on the middle-class kitchen.

AN INDIAN IN OOTACAMUND

By M. KRISHNAN

I was in Ooty for a day, for a day and a night to be precise, and by the time I left I had had all the Ooty I wanted. It wasn't that I, used to the torrid heat of Madras, found the hill-top too cold—with forethought I had provided myself with a blanket. It was just that I felt miserable in that peculiarly alien setting, being an Indian at heart still, unlike my more enlightened countrymen. The grotesque superimposition of Australia upon England that I saw, whichever way I turned, saddened my eyes. Of course I realised, intellectually, that all that exotic flora represented over a century of sustained enterprise and foreign culture, and, much more important, money—but then, one feels with one's senses, not with one's intellect.

At times I almost felt I was no longer in my own country, but one look at the humanity around dispelled the illusion. The contrast between the sybarite luxury of the well-to-do and the squalour of the working classes is a feature

of life in India everywhere, but in few places is it so manifest as at Ooty. Here were the hearty, well-fed planters, the self-important legislators, the summer visitors to the Queen of India's Hill-stations, going about in their gleaming cars and complaining bitterly of the elevated cost of comforts in the hills, and here were the coolies in their wretched hovels, slaving at the plantations and great hydro-electric projects in and around Ootacamund. I could not help noticing that on the whole the coolies seemed the happier.

Another thing that depressed me was the Tamil of the Tamilians I met at Ooty. I come from the far South, where we have no difficulty at all in expressing ourselves fluently and adequately in Tamil, and I have a fair acquaintance with the dialects of most places, but the mongrel language I heard at Ooty was new to me. It was hard for a man of my birth and upbringing to suffer the affected accents and lisping illiteracy of those legislators.

The main thing, however, was the vegetation. I had come to Ooty from the forests of Mudumalai, in flower and new leaf in March, and on the way I had passed the lovely forests of Naduvattam—but from Pykara to beyond Gedde in the Kundah valley I saw nothing but projects and plantations. Tea, even coffee, silver oak, eucalyptus and *Acacia melanoxylon* and wattle in large clumps and plantations, cypresses in clumps and orderly lines, eucalyptus and Australian acacias again scattered and isolated, potato plantations—and hydro-electric projects marking the conquest of Nature by man. Beyond the Kundah project are the last of the virgin forests of the Nilgiris, semi-deciduous jungles fascinating to a botanist if only for their ecological value—how long will it be before they, too, are converted into useful, revenue-yielding plantations?

Ooty as it developed is understandable, up to a point. Surprised and delighted by its almost English climate (which, however, was equable) and its sheer vegetative beauty of virgin, green downs and dark sholas, the British founded a home from home here for their exiles in South India: the honour of 'discovering' Ootacamund goes (vide Sir Frederick Price's monumental OOTACAMUND. A HISTORY.) to two young Collectors, Kindersley and Whish, and the credit for colonising it and introducing English vegetables and fruits to Mr. Sullivan. Ooty proper does not seem to have been inhabited, even by the Todas, before then. Macaulay says in his letter to Mr. T. F. Ellis, of July 1, 1834: "You need not get your map to see where Ootacamund is: for it has not found its way into the maps. It is a new discovery: a place to which Europeans resort for their health, or as it is called by the Company's servants—blessings on their learning!—a 'Sanitorium'".

Frankly, the place was developed for the British in India who needed recuperation and relief from the enervating heat of the plains, though later a 'chowtry for natives' was conceded. They

established their clubs and societies, their Hunt with its imported fox-hounds, their schools and other social amenities, and each year the Government retreated to the hill-top to escape the Madras summer.

They named localities (Charing Cross is an example) after cherished memories of home, and introduced not only English fruit-trees and vegetables into Ooty, but also English weeds, such as the gorse, the dandelion, the thistle and the dock, so that the place might look more like home. All that is understandable.

After all, the British chose only this one bit of South India to make their own home here—moreover, it is a fact that plants from England can do little to change the face of an Indian mountain, except very superficially. The thing that puzzles and pains me is the un-English whim of the late Captain Dun. This Noble Captain (who later developed into a full-fledged Colonel) had relatives in Tasmania apparently (at least that is what the chronicler of Ootacamund, Sir F. Price says), in Tasmania which is the home of *Acacia melanoxylon* and *Acacia dealbata* (one kind of wattle). Sometime prior to 1825 Captain Dun introduced these two acacias into Ooty. Awhile later another Australian tree *Eucalyptus globulus*, was introduced, by someone else. By such accidents as a Captain of the Indian Army having relatives in distant Tasmania does a lovely bit of India lose its native complexion.

Incidentally, the enterprising Captain Dun was quick to appreciate the commercial possibilities of the new hill-station. He found it highly profitable to acquire or build houses here, and he was so flagrant in his breach of a government order of 1829 "which prohibited the charging of rent at a rate above 25 per cent on the capital value" that the Governor was forced to suggest to the Captain's superiors that "he be peremptorily interdicted from further residence on the Neilgherry Hills".

The only voice that seems to have been raised against the

introduction of these Australian trees into Ooty was that of a Colonel Babington who wrote to the Collector as follows in 1854, somewhat wishfully:

"You have amply tried the extension of Australian trees here, but have found it impossible to clothe the hills with them to any extent, from their early delicacy, their being stolen, and their shape, which is not adapted to affecting climate by foliage as are commoner forest trees".

Sir Frederick Price asks (in 1908), "What would Colonel Babington say if he could now revisit these hills, and see the most storm-tossed ridges lined with tall gum trees and thick

melanoxylons, and the houses of Ootacamund hidden by that dense growth of them which now detracts so much from the beauty of the place!"

Since that exclamatory comment was made, in recent years, one more Australian wattle of ever readier growth and even more at home than its predecessors on these hills, *Acacia mollissima*, has been extensively planted in the Nilgiris, by Government. It seems highly probable, therefore, that if Colonel Babington could now revisit Ooty in some astral shape, he would do just what I did—return to Madras at once, only to find the cashew and the casuarina awaiting him here!

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN COLLEGES

By G. RAMANATHAN

Principal, Teachers' Training College, Trichur

Once again the floodgates have been opened. First, it was the secondary school that went under. Since then the lament over deteriorating standards in the high school has been gathering volume year after year. And now the turn of the university has come. The Madras University has at last agreed to open its gates a tiny bit. Tamil will be introduced as the medium of instruction in one college as a pilot project, to be followed by wholesale inundation by 1962.

The mistake is, not the adoption of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction, but the omission to correct the imbalance created by the change. The curriculum is an organic whole. Many forces are active in it. Its effectiveness is proportional to the aggregate resultant of these forces in the direction of the child's growth. When any constituent element in it is changed, corresponding changes in other elements should be introduced, so that the total effect may be to accelerate the pace of growth, but never to retard it.

When English was given up as the medium of instruction in se-

condary schools, compensatory changes should have been introduced in the syllabus in English. This was not done and so standards began to fall precipitously. The problem in regard to the university has now overtaken us. Whether the change of medium is good or bad, it is going to be adopted under popular pressure. If universities had been more actively concerned about the maintenance of proper standards throughout the whole range of education, we would not have come to this pass.

There is no country in the world where the question of medium of instruction exercises the public mind so deeply as in India. Instead of declaring a change of medium the authorities of the university should abolish the medium of instruction altogether. The learner and the teacher should be allowed to use any language for the study of a subject. They would then adopt the language most conducive for the purpose.

The result will be a mixture of English and the mother-tongue, in which the mother-tongue will be the main stem, but which will

Quick,
soothing
relief
from pain

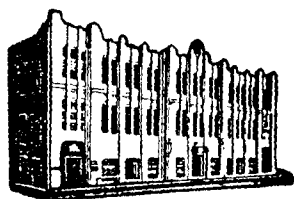
The gentle touch of
AMRUTANJAN,
Conqueror of Pain,
quickly relieves
throbbing aches
and pains.

AMRUTANJAN



AMRUTANJAN LTD.,
Madras-4.
Also at Bombay-1,
Calcutta-7.

THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"
NORTH BEACH ROAD,
MADRAS-1.

23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole
of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND
SINGAPORE.

CAPITAL

Authorised Capital Rs	1,00,00,000
Issued and Subscribed Capital	72,00,000
Paid-up Capital	66,19,625
Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium)	91,61,883
Deposits as on 30-6-'58	38,00,96,415
Total Working Funds	46,05,11,811

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTIAR.
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.
R. SUNDARAM IYER.
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.
RAO BHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA
MUDALIAR.
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTIAR.
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.
K. BALASUBRAMANIAM IYER.
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA
CHETTIAR.
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.
RAMDAS PURUSHOTTAM DAS.

ALL TYPES OF
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING
FOREIGN EXCHANGE
TRANSACTED.

London Agents:
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents:
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,
SECRETARY.

contain a good deal of English. English phraseology will be bodily built into the frame-work of the mother-tongue. In fact the daily conversation between educated persons takes place in such a jargon. Even our thinking in many fields is carried on in that medium. We adopt this jargon, not out of any linguistic partialities, but because we can carry on our intercommunication best in this way. So what harm is there if the same practice is applied to the medium of instruction?

This mixed jargon of English and the mother-tongue will be only a transitional feature. In due course many of the foreign words will get incorporated into our own language. The assimilation of knowledge will be facilitated and our own languages will grow.

If Governments and universities are bold enough to take this step it might be possible to arrest the avalanche of declining standards. Further, this is the only way in which our languages can develop as efficient tools to deal with any branch of human knowledge. The imposition of any of our languages as a compulsory medium in the universities is at present the surest way to maintain our bondage to English for all future time.

Knowledge exists independently of language, though it requires a medium for expression. To regard the medium as more important than the knowledge itself is wrong. But that is exactly what happens when a particular language is prescribed as the medium of instruction. For instance, a change over to Tamil would mean that the teacher is compelled to give his lectures on, say, Economics, in Tamil and the student is compelled to write his answers in Tamil at his examinations, whether he has the requisite command of Tamil or not. Due to this element of compulsion, Tamil gets precedence over Economics. That is an undesirable situation from the point of view of Economics. It will only hamper the indigenous development of economic thought.

This argument is equally appli-

cable to the prescription and continuance of English as the medium of instruction. The remedy is not to substitute one tyranny for another. It is better to retain the tyranny of English than to replace it by that of one of our languages. The obvious solution is to abolish prescription altogether and to permit the teacher and the taught to communicate with each other in the language they understand best. But that language is not the mother-tongue, but the mother-tongue reinforced by other tongues. Let us look at the structure of language in the context of its functions.

We have already at our command the English language which is a key to all major departments of knowledge and which we can requisition to our aid whenever necessary. To replace it by an Indian language at present is the best way to lose it altogether. Now that the decision to change over to Tamil has been taken, the practical way in which we may avert disaster is, first, to ban the use of Tamil translations, and secondly, to prescribe a course of reading of English books on all subjects whether original works on them in Tamil are available or not.

INDIA'S INHERITANCE

Republican India has an inheritance from the Evangelicals and the Utilitarians. It was at their insistence that English displaced Persian as the language of Government, justice, and education, and that centres of western learning were set up in India. The language, learning, and the contacts with the world thus established, should not be dismissed as survivals of past servitude, but cherished as international assets enjoyed in India as in no other Asian country. Macaulay's Minute of Education was deeply wounding to Indian sensibilities, but the scar may perhaps now be regarded as honourable — and the results damned useful.

— ODYSSEUS in
The Eastern Economist

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ART IS DOWNRIGHT HUMAN

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

The headlines in the newspapers do not often reflect the way people think, feel, or act. It is the politicians and army generals who get more space than the apostles of peace and ambassadors of goodwill. Indeed, amidst the clash and thunder of the cold war, the voice of culture and understanding is almost inaudible. Summit talks, disarmament, missiles, rockets, Berlin, Tibet, and a hoard of similar subjects keep a helpless world in perpetual tension. What unites man and establishes the fundamental unity of human impulses and aspirations, his love of peace, of art, of higher values of life, do not always get recognised.

But there are candid moments when men forget artificial barriers and ideological divisions, and behave like uninhibited human beings. One such moment came two weeks ago in New York when the Soviet Union's Bolshoi ballet opened its tour to the thunderous applause and excited bravos of a glittering audience at the famous Metropolitan Opera House.

Cultural Exchanges

What was it all about? Since the beginning of the cold war a decade ago many attempts have been made to bridge the widening gulf between the East and the West. In January 1958 the U.S. and the Soviet Union reached an agreement for exchanges in the cultural, technical, and educational fields. Since then a large number of artists and athletes, scholars and technicians, students and teachers have moved between the two countries. Under this exchange programme, the famous ballet troupe of the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow is now in the United States for an eight-week concert tour. Under the same programme, an American ice skating company, "Holiday on Ice", is at the

present moment in the Soviet Union. "Holiday on Ice" which visited India a few months ago, is now being enthusiastically applauded by Soviet audiences.

"Romeo and Juliet"

The first night's performance of the Bolshoi ballet which opened in New York on April 16 was "Romeo and Juliet." Every one of the 3,616 seats in the opera house had been sold. The highest class ticket cost the equivalent of Rs. 240, but in the blackmarket it was selling for Rs. 700. Along the sides of the orchestra 200 people were allowed to stand and some of them had waited as long as 39 hours for the privilege of paying Rs. 15 to see the performance.

The audience were required to be seated by curtain time and many who arrived late were shut out. The bejewelled women and fashionably dressed men who enjoyed the 3½ hour performance were far from proletarian in appearance or temperament. Among the audience were Greta Garbo, Marlene Dietrich, Noel Coward, Douglas Fairbanks, and Martha Graham. Van Cliburn, the 24-year-old pianist who won recognition in Moscow last year, was also present.

The diplomatic contingent included Dag Hammarskjöld and many U.N. representatives. The U.S. government was represented by a State Department official, and, of course, the two top Soviet diplomats — Mikhail Menshikov and Arkady Sobelov — were present. It was reported that the only event of comparable brilliance in New York's artistic life appeared to be the world premiere on December 10, 1910 of Puccini's "The Girl of the Golden West" with Arturo Toscanini conducting.

Among the 110 Russian artists now performing in the U.S. is one who is familiar to Indians. She is Maya Plisetskaya, the ballerina

who created a terrific impression in India in her role in *Swan Lake* when a Russian ballet team visited us a few years ago. The Russian dancers are giving 27 performances in New York and nearly all the 100,000 available tickets have been booked in advance. There is demand for 900,000 more tickets and many people have sent blank cheques to the impresario's office, with the amount to be filled.

Why is there such a mad rush? John Martin, one of America's most well known art critics, provided the answer when he said: "Everywhere there is magnificent acting and magnificently created direction. The company is all stars, there is no doubt about it.... Much of this though not all by any means, is directly attributable to Ulanova. There are no two ways about it, she is a glorious artist and her method is entirely her own." This is the first time in the nearly 180 years of the Bolshoi Theatre's existence that its ballet company is performing in the U.S.

Russian Adulation

The American exuberance is only matched by the mad adulation Russians lavished last year on the American pianist, Van Cliburn who got under the Russian skin as no foreign artist had done before. Last April the young American artist was besieged by admiring Russian crowds in Moscow where he won an international piano contest. Russian girls had sent him flowers and when it was reported that he had lost weight, pretty Russian girls turned up with baskets of oranges. At a Kremlin reception Premier Nikita Khrushchev threw his arms round the young American and Deputy Premier Mikoyan told him: "You are much better than all the political leaders."

The success of the Russian ballet in the U.S. and the American artist's popularity in the Soviet Union show, if anything, that real art is neither proletarian nor capitalist, but downright human.

55TAY-5G-74

Just a little **TINOPAL** makes
white clothes
whitest—of all



★ TINOPAL is the registered trade mark of J. R. Geigy, S. A., Basle, Switzerland

Manufactured by: SUHRID GEIGY PRIVATE LIMITED, Wadi Wadi, Baroda — Sole Distributors: SUHRID GEIGY TRADING PRIVATE LIMITED, P. O. Box 965, Bombay-1

CAPITAL COMMENTS

RUMBLINGS IN RAJYA SABHA

By JUNIUS

In popular imagination, Rajya Sabha is wholly identified with the personality of its pre-eminent Chairman, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. To him it owes half its importance and all its prestige. And at least so long as he will preside over its deliberations, even in name though not in practice, it will continue to command attention. But Dr. Radhakrishnan is so much above the institutional structure of Parliament that he may be kept apart, in all current discussions.

Thus if he is left aside, Rajya Sabha, in the public mind, is largely associated with two hon'ble members who have nothing in common between them except their membership of the same House: they are Mr. H. N. Kunzru and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. The one is a Liberal Independent and the other is a Communist; the one a 'Pandit', the other a comrade. Both are, however, strong critics of the Government. And yet how dissimilar! Mr. Kunzru is knowledgeable, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta well-informed; Mr. Kunzru assembles his material from diving deep into blue-books and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, more often than not, gets his information from secret documents. The former speaks with restraint, born of a sense of responsibility; the latter declaims with gusto, with complete freedom from all handicaps and embarrassments. It is thus that while Mr. Kunzru is highly respected, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is greatly feared.

'The privileged Mr. Gupta', as the 'Hindustan Times' called him, has by now set up a record in making various disclosures from mysterious documents—stolen by others but smuggled into his hands. And it is no fault of his if he makes deadly use of them and creates a flutter in the Treasury dovecotes. The latest he flaunted in the ministerial faces was a photostat copy of a letter written by one of the Birla

brothers (Mr. B. M. Birla) from New York to Mr. Satyanarayana Sinha, M.P., Minister for Parliamentary Affairs. Mr. Birla's letter was by way of a reply which meant, from the contents, that Mr. Sinha had taken the industrialist into confidence about the Nanda-TTK tussle in the Cabinet over the steel plants, the former having succeeded in getting them within the public sector while the latter favoured the private sector.

This is, however, an old story, worth telling for some interesting tit-bits as well as for some unpleasant inferences. The letter was no faked one; it was genuine. At the time it reached Delhi, there was in Parliament, in the same Lok Sabha, another Satya Narain Sinha as well, no friend of Minister Satyanarayana Sinha. As ill-luck would have it, the letter was by mistake delivered to the wrong Sinha, with some disturbing consequences. The story leaked out; in fact it became a matter of public knowledge. It was characteristic of the peculiar political climate at the Capital that instead of Minister 'Babu' getting into trouble over the implications of the disclosures in the Birla letter, his namesake, the other Satya Narain Sinha, was denied a Congress ticket in the last elections! It was not unlikely that, because of the discomfiture, he vowed to himself: "I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him".

Anyway, the photostat copies of the letter which was not meant for him but which he had opened, with the excuse of having the same name as that of the rightful recipient, are now in free circulation. And having all the privileges of a Member of Parliament, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta raked up the issue in Rajya Sabha, while intervening in the debate on Allotments, and gave a long-winded homily on the links between the Treasury Benches and Big Busi-

ness and asked how a Minister could have divulged Cabinet secrets before Parliament was taken into confidence! This is all now old wine, and it is doubtful if the bottles are new either. Yet, the issue having cropped up in one of the two Houses, notice was taken of it, by the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs who explained it away. Nothing will, however, come out of it, except that it will give good talking points to the critics or opponents of the Congress, about the Birla, the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and the former Finance Minister.

It is a relief to the country that Mr. Gobind Ballabh Pant is now convalescent. It is most unlikely that his medical advisers will let him stick to Delhi in the present weather: it is almost certain that he will go elsewhere for prolonged rest. It is out of the question that he will be in active charge of the Home Ministry till the autumn session of Parliament. Meanwhile, all the important questions that call for his personal attention will be kept pending—and in a way nothing suits the Nehru Government better. Mr. Nehru's own load is already too heavy, as the world knows.

The English Language

In a B.B.C. talk, Mr. Aidan Crawley, who recently returned from a tour of the Commonwealth, said:

Running through all these phases of Indian life, linking them as on a powerful sound wave, is the English language. I have a golden rule in any Indian city: if I want to know the way I stop and ask someone wearing spectacles. It is astonishing how often it works and one receives an answer in English. English is the only language in which educated Indians of all the twenty-three different States can talk freely with each other, and although it was retained after independence on a purely temporary basis, it now looks as if it will remain for always the chief common language of the world's second most highly populated country. Far from being resentful of such a necessity the Indians welcome it and make prodigious use of it. There is not only the most complete freedom of speech every where in India—there must be more political argument even than in France—but a higher standard of English speaking than in many parts of Britain itself.

CINEMA

THE ITALIAN FILM DELEGATION

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: The Italian Film Delegation arrived in India recently. It is a ten-member delegation led by Mr. Lidio Bozzini, Director-General of Unitalia Films and it includes Mrs. Rosana Podesta, the popular star of the Hollywood film 'Helen of Troy', Miss Franca Bettoja, actor-producer Morco Vicario, director Dino Risi, director Alberto Lattuada and Salvatore Argento and Franco Ferri, both of Unitalia Films. They are here in connection with the Italian Film Festival organised in Delhi on 15th and 16th and in Bombay on 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st. In Delhi, two pictures 'Tempest' and 'White Nights' were shown; in Bombay four pictures 'Scandal in Sorrento', 'Herod the Great', 'The Girl of Palio' and 'Summer Tales'.

The Unitalia Film is an organisation for promotion of Italian films abroad and that is perhaps the reason why the films selected for the festival have more commercial than artistic value. As the leader of the delegation told newsmen in Bombay, the pictures selected for the festival do not represent the 'best crop' of Italian films but they covered a variety of fare representative of Italian motion pictures. He also disclosed that the Italians prefer comedy and historical films. He denied the Hollywood influence except in the matter of technique.

The pictures shown at the festival revealed that the neo-realistic post-war Italian films which won international laurels were no longer in vogue and that the days of Rossellini and De Sica and of pictures like 'Bicycle Thief' were over. Indeed, though pictures like 'Scandal in Sorrento' were enjoyable and had perhaps more sex and box-office potentialities, they did not create the same impact which the Italian films created seven years ago when the great neo-realistic masterpieces were shown for the first time in

the International Film Festival held in Bombay.

Today, the country which made 'Bicycle Thief', the picture that brought neo-realism to Indian films, is content with making comedies and historical spectacles like 'Pather Panchali', 'Aparajito' and 'Do Ankhen Barah Haath'. It was revealed at the inauguration of the festival that the distribution rights for the afore-mentioned three films have been acquired for Italy and that the pictures, now being dubbed in Italian, will be soon screened there.

Such festivals help exchange of films and as such are most welcome. A large contingent of Indian film producers, stars and technicians attended the festival and Nutan garlanded the delegates who were introduced to the invitees. The Indian film industry should emulate the example of Unitalia Films and organise similar festivals for Indian films abroad.

Shivaji Productions' 'Amar-deep' has at last been released in Bombay. This picture which fetched fabulous prices from distributors has been mainly designed to entertain and it succeeds in its design in ample measure by way of songs, dances, comedy and stars.

The story by Sridhar is however rather disappointing, offering nothing new either by way of plot or characterization. The theme is also contrived. Essentially a romantic triangle drama, it revolves round a jobless but happy-go-lucky youth who stays in a discarded bus. A rich girl runs away from her home and takes refuge in his bus. Gradually they fall in love. But then comes the usual twist. The girl is taken back to her home by the villain and the youth meets with an accident and loses his memory.

He meets a gypsy girl who looks after him. He secures a job in the rich girl's factory and deli-

vers a tirade against the capitalists to the villain and loses his job. Another accident brings his memory back and revives his interest in the rich girl. But the triangle is resolved by the gypsy girl who finds that her rival in love is her own sister. In the fight between the hero and villain, the gypsy girl gets herself killed to save the hero—and the light of her love is called 'Amar-deep'.

Dev Anand is impressive in the beginning, but he seems to be lost with amnesia. Vyjayantimala seems to be improving as an artiste. She has only one dance and puts it over with gusto. Padmini makes an attractive gypsy girl and along with Ragini puts over a couple of excellent dance numbers. It is however Johnny Walker who steals the show with his comedy antics. And he receives excellent support from Mukri, Bepin Gupta, David and Pran give their usual performances.

C. Ramachandra's musical score is another redeeming feature of the film. The tunes, though not exactly new, have a pleasing lilt. Rajender Krishan's racy dialogue is more lively than his lyrics. The production is lavishly mounted.

After twenty years' experience in the film industry, character actor Radhakishan has taken the plunge and become a producer. Radhakishan joined Prabhat in 1939 and played a villain's role in Shantaram's famous classic 'Padosi' which was released in 1941. Radhakishan and Pandit Mukhram Sharma almost came together to the films and both started their career with Prabhat.

Later Radhakishan joined Santoshi and not only worked with Santoshi on scripts but developed into a fine comedian. But after ten or twelve years of struggle, Radhakishan came into his own as an actor in Pandit Mukhram Sharma's 'Aulad' and 'Adhikar'—both directed by Mohan Segal. It was in these two pictures that Prabhu Dayal was also starred.

Along with Inder Raj and Mohan Segal, he collaborated on the screenplay and dialogue of 'New Delhi'. An earnest, upright and serious man in private life, he has hardly anything in

common with the characters he has been portraying lately on the screen. As an actor 1958 was perhaps the most glorious year for Radhakishan. And though he did not get supporting actor's award, his performances in 'Sadhna', 'Talaq' and 'Parvarish' merited the best of awards.

In 1959, he will make a bow as

a full-fledged producer and writer with R. P. Films' maiden venture 'Amar Rahe Ye Pyar', the muhurat of which was performed on Sri Ram Navami day at Mehboob Studios.

Mehboob launched his new picture on Friday 17th without much ado at Mehboob studios. The picture revolves round a child and a

dog and will feature Master Sajid in the pivotal role.

Trilok Jetley, scenarist, producer-director, launched the film version of Munshi Premchand's 'Go-daan' starring Balraj Sahni, Kamini Kaushal, Shashikala, Kumkum, Baby Naaz, Bepin Gupta and Achala. Ravi Shankar is giving music.



The flawless complexion of a film star for YOU!

Lovely film stars like Padmini know that a woman's loveliness depends on a flawless complexion. Padmini says, 'I use pure, white LUX TOILET SOAP to keep my complexion soft and clear.' Why not fragrant LUX for your complexion? And remember, LUX is such a pleasure at bath-time.

Pure, white
LUX
TOILET
SOAP

THE BEAUTY SOAP OF THE FILM STARS

A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEVER LTD.

LTS-601-XS2

SANKAR BRAND

PORTLAND CEMENT

FOR SOUNDNESS STRENGTH STABILITY

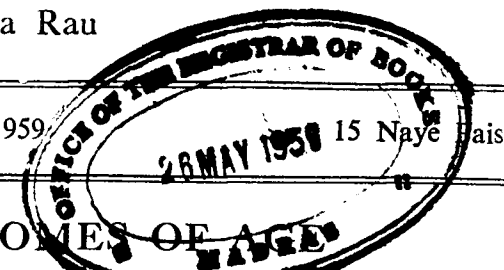
THE INDIA CEMENTS LTD.
FACTORY: SANKARNAGAR, REGD. OFFICE: MADRAS-1

841 SWARAJYA 81 2.

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 44

MADRAS, MAY 9, 1959



THE LANGUAGE ISSUE COMES OF AGE

The Official Language Committee of Parliament has taken over a full year to traverse the orbit around the language problem and has achieved the distinction of getting back to the starting point. The Committee thinks what the original constitution-makers wanted India to think — namely that we should switch over to Hindi by 1965. There was a considerable amount of humming and hawing and Congress members of Parliament were heard to whisper with all the audibility of an amateur stage prompter, that the 1965 deadline was simply not going to work. But the Committee's combined wisdom decided it would.

Some State Governments like Madras have been trying out regional languages in selected areas where the regional language is supposed to have strong roots. The enormity and inwardness of the problem of change-over, the inadequacy of the glossaries painstakingly prepared and the perfunctoriness that has attended the efforts to educate the middle administrative levels in terminology and transliteration — is a measure of the price that linguistic patriotism demands of the people concerned. If the change-over to a regional language, with which the middling and lower levels of administrative personnel are so familiar, is fraught with such difficulty, what of a language like Hindi, with which the overwhelming masses of large parts of India are totally unfamiliar? One would have ex-

pected that those at the state level who know the brass-tack facts about linguistic switch-over and their attendant problems, through the random sampling they have already done, would have categorically told Delhi bosses and the Parliamentary Committee that the language change-over should wait — notwithstanding what that Book of Words—the Constitution of India has laid down about the deadline. Particularly when our economic programme makes such an exacting demand on our energies and resources and there is need to carry the entire country with the administration, in translating plan blue-prints into actualities, is it necessary to throw this Apple of Discord?

A great deal of wishful thinking befuddles political judgment as to the extent Hindi has spread over the country. We are often told that large numbers have learnt, mastered or obtained proficiency in Hindi in South India and how the South Indian Hindi scholars make the visitor from U.P. blush, by the faultless Hindi they speak. The Hindi Pracharaks have done splendid work in the South and response from a people with a natural propensity to learn languages, eager to quality for some employment, both men and women, has been no doubt encouraging. But what does this amount to? In some urban areas a few men and women have learnt Hindi. This section of the middle class which has learnt Hindi to purpose has the same ratio to the

population as a full stop has to the earth's equator.

When we think of a switchover to what is claimed to be the most widely spoken of all Indian languages, Parliament must at least make sure that the number of people who know the language in the non-Hindi speaking areas are larger than those that know English—which unfortunately is not the case in many important parts of India particularly in South India. Even if Parliament sought to salve its conscience by including English in the Eighth Schedule, it would still leave the official language tangle unresolved.

We sang choirs at the altar of linguism in state organisation and found that what we actually did was to wake up a Frankenstein monster from his slumbers. We want now, more than at any time the co-operation of the whole country and their concentrated effort to be directed to abolish poverty and raise living standards. Should we wake up another Frankenstein monster—all in the name of a stipulation in the Constitution which requires that we change to Hindi in 1965? Should we not assess the balance of convenience to the country as a whole? Should we become so time-table dominated or feel so convinced of our own past infallibility, that we simply refuse to hear the voice of realism? We pray for the triumph of commonsense over constitution worship in the choice of India's official language.

THE DALAI LAMA

The flight of the Dalai Lama and the impetuosity of the Chinese attacks on India, and the embarrassments of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru have come as a windfall to the Western bloc. Every attempt is being made to confirm and underline the slant towards themselves of Indian public opinion. The situation calls for very great circumspection.

If we consider that our neutrality in the world conflict is correct policy, no excitement should be allowed to push us out of that policy. It is far too easy to fly into a passion on particular issues and lose sight of the main battle. Our battle is against the cold war, and not against one or the other of the two blocs. If we serve or let ourselves be used to feed the cold war, we lose the battle wherein we have so far been victorious and wherein our neutral policy has extorted appreciation from our

previous detractors. Our neutrality is firmly based on a balanced appreciation of the whole position in the world and we should not be elocuted out of that policy. Tibet is smaller than the world. We should not fall into the error of being attracted to either side of the cold war, believing that we have been appointed keeper of our brother.

The Dalai Lama must continue as our honoured guest. He probably can never return to his country after what has happened and after his admitted advances to Peking. But he can make himself more and more a spiritual leader of Buddhism and less and less of a Tibetan leader. Buddhism is a field of vast potency and in India he can shape himself into a world figure and serve mankind and through that service, serve Tibet also.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

SOME QUESTIONS

By J. B. KRIPALANI

The vituperative campaign carried on from day to day in Billingsgate language, politely referred to by Sri Nehru in Parliament as the "language of cold war regardless of truth and propriety," clearly shows what value China places on India's friendship! Though in the virulent Chinese attack Sri Nehru's name was not brought in, he has rightly taken all that has been said as against his Government and the way that it has dealt with the Tibetan situation.

Sri Nehru's statement in Parliament was comprehensive. It was dignified, couched in polite and courteous language, as befits the head of a civilised democratic government. In spite of great provocation he exercised restraint. Throughout the statement there was scrupulous concern shown to the susceptibilities of the Chinese authorities and the people, and a solicitude for continued friendship. He made it clear that "we have no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet. We have every desire to

maintain the friendship between India and China; but at the same time we have every sympathy with the people of Tibet and we are greatly distressed at their hapless plight. We hope still that the authorities of China in their wisdom will not use their great strength against the Tibetans but win them to friendly co-operation in accordance with the assurances they have themselves given about the autonomy of Tibet region. Above all, we hope that the present fighting and killing will cease".

What can be the possible objective of this wild and undignified Chinese attack on India which, as the Prime Minister said, was not true to facts? The immediate desire can only be to bully the Government of India to withdraw the asylum that it has accorded to the Dalai Lama, his party and the Tibetans obliged to cross the borders. We may get an idea of the ultimate aim from the maps of China which remain uncorrected, in spite of the protests of the

Government of India. These maps include not only the territory of our Himalayan neighbours but parts of Uttar Pradesh and the North East Frontier Agency.

It is nothing new or strange in the political world of today for nations, whatever their ideology or the form of internal governance—whether autocratic, military, democratic, socialist or communist—to have expansionist and imperialist ambitions. Even democratic, socialist and communist regimes are not free from the virus, in spite of the fact that all the three ideologies are inconsistent with imperialism. But under the guise of the White man's burden or the establishment of a classless society, or, on the plea of the antiquated right of sphere of influence or under a mandate, etc., they deprive weaker nations and countries of their freedom. What therefore China is doing today is nothing new. It is understandable. It is true to type.

Under these circumstances, what should be the attitude of the Government of India towards Communist China may be left to the Government of India. But what the nation, after the clear and emphatic statement of our Prime Minister, would and must like to know is the opinion of a section of our countrymen towards the violent, virulent and not-true-to-facts propaganda that is going on in China against India. In spite of what Sri Nehru said, do the Indian Communists believe that the charges levelled against the Government of India are true? Do they believe that Kalimpong was the centre from where Tibetan revolt was guided or regulated? Do they believe that the Dalai Lama was kidnapped to India? Do they believe that he is under strict surveillance or that he was tutored by the officials of the Foreign Department to make the statements that he made? Were the statements made under duress? Does India want to interfere in the internal affairs of China? Do the Communists here believe that India has expansionist designs on Tibet or for the matter of that anywhere else?

The Communists have to answer these questions.

A HOUSEWIFE WRITES TO RAJAJI ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

The wife of a military officer in Upper India has written a letter to Rajaji in which she says: "I am an ordinary housewife and an admirer of yours. I have been closely watching your campaign for English for the last four or five years. English is not my mother tongue and I do not think I am very good at it. Yet I also feel the same way as you do. I am enclosing herewith an article on the subject. I want so much to express my views to somebody. There is no better person than you for this. That's why I am mustering enough courage to send it to you. That gives me satisfaction. By sending this article to you, I am expressing the voice of the common man (or should I say woman?),—an educated one, of course." Extracts from the article are printed here:

The policy of the Indian Government regarding the gradual replacement of English by Hindi is unwelcome. The reasons seem to be more sentimental and based on excessive (and misplaced) patriotism rather than practical. It is held that the retention of English will be suicidal and will result in our losing our hard-earned independence. I feel just the opposite. I would like our Government to reconsider their decision not only because we cannot afford to do away with English, but also because there is no need to do so.

After all, what is a language? It is a vehicle for exchange of thought. Just as some vehicles are better and faster than others, so some languages are simpler and better than the others. There is no place for patriotism in this. How does it really matter if two people call the same thing by different names?

A language grows or dies naturally. Forcing it on somebody may hasten the process, but often with adverse effects. After all, in our modern democratic society, why should anyone force anyone else to learn a certain language?

English is flexible, has a simple grammar and an even simpler alphabet pattern. It has captured not only us but nearly half the world. Time alone will prove whether or not it will be completely rooted out from India. It took nearly two centuries to take root. So will Hindi, even more, perhaps.

Myth of the Common Man

I have heard many people say that it would be in the interest of the common man of India if Hindi replaced English. I think this so-called common man could not care less if the Government decided to adopt Italian or Chinese or for that matter any other language as the *lingua franca*. This is because the common man is necessarily a regional man first and an Indian national afterwards in so far as his domestic problems are concerned. He is confined to his region, i.e. his village or

town or his district for his lifetime. He has no other alternative. He just does not care for the national language. He need not. So this regard for the common man is not real. Perhaps the so-called poor man does not even know that he is being used as an excuse for the big change-over from English to Hindi.

We have come to associate the English language with the British. Naturally so. But let us now look to it from a purely language point of view and not discard it just because our one-time rulers also use it. It has often been openly declared by our responsible leaders that the British are our friends now. If that is so, why not accept this gift of English from a friend? It is not unpatriotic to do so. On the other hand it would be plain, childish stubbornness to reject it. We do not have to pay for that language. We have already acquired it. Let us keep it.

English has the Roman alphabet which is also used for a great majority of modern languages. Thus, once we learn English, other European and non-European languages which are based on the Roman script will present little difficulty. Technically too, the Roman alphabet presents fewer difficulties in printing, typing and telegraphy. There are no mixed letters and no intricate alphabet pattern. No doubt it has "spelling" as compared to the phonetic Devanagiri script. But this is not strictly true. There is a limit to the sounds that the Devanagiri script can provide for and even then there are differences of opinion on the pronunciation of some of them. As such I do not see why a slightly lower limit should not be accepted by using the Roman script, especially when learning it is so much easier. The very fact that China has so much illiteracy has its roots in her vast and intricate alphabet. To a less extent India too owes her illiteracy to the intricate phonetic scripts current in this country. As a contrast we have only to look at the advancement in the West

to realise how easy the Roman script must be.

No Practical Alternative

If, after all the logic and reasoning, the super-patriot doggedly maintains that the English language has no place in India, what other language does he suggest as an alternative? It has already been decided by our Government that Hindi will replace English, as has already been laid down in the Constitution. I doubt whether this is practical. Hindi is necessarily a regional language. It can never claim to be a national language. Whatever the reasons, it did not get a chance to grow as well as English. This is a fact and there is no use being sentimental about it. Some people might say that, in that case, we must make Hindi grow. But a language grows or dies naturally. No one can force the process.

Different regions in India have different languages. Hindi is only one of them. I do not see in what way Hindi can claim to be the language of the nation. You have only to go to the South and feel for yourself the bitterness caused by the dictatorship of Hindi.

We have already counted out the common man from the language scene. He is content with his regional language for his day-to-day life within his own region which he never can afford to leave. Who matters then? It is the inter-regional man (viz. a businessman) who has to leave his own region quite frequently and as such needs to know an inter-regional language besides his own regional language. English has been and still is the answer so far. Hindi fails here. The added advantage in having it as an inter-regional (i.e. national) language is that it is useful to him even outside India. From a practical standpoint it is wiser to continue with the already established English language than waste time, energy and money in "propping up" Hindi by translations, coining fantastic new words and so on.

I do not disagree with those who say that most of the Indian languages will lend themselves to the highest form of thought and feeling even by modern standards. I do not deny that the vocabulary in technical fields can be gradually acquired from various modern languages. But I did not see any logic in this. It seems to be a big waste of everything. It is much easier to learn English and acquire proficiency in it than to revive our comparatively backward languages.

I look upon English as an electric push-button door which slides open at my finger-touch and makes available to me all the convenience of a modern home all ready to be used. On the other hand, I regard Hindi as awkwardly bulky, like a heavy gate of an old fort, which is difficult to open and which when broken open with much effort, yields in front only a mass of ruins and graves. What would you prefer?

A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

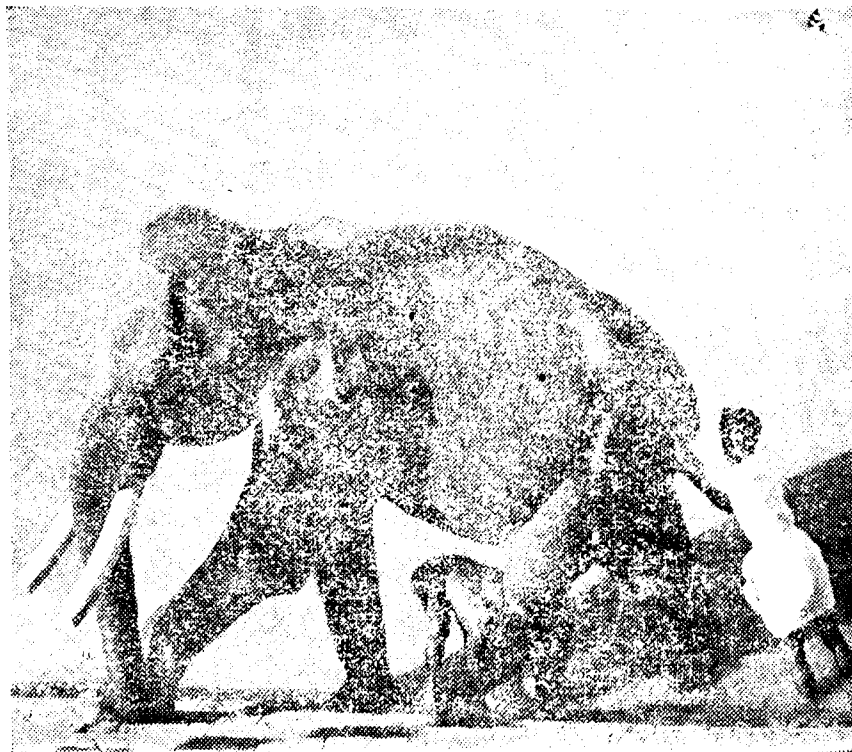
BATHING THE PACHYDERM

One of the most effective posters I have seen advertised bread. It said, in red, four-inch-tall letters across the bottom, BREAD FOR ENERGY, and it showed six enormous elephants lined up in a row, six dusty grey elephants needing a wash. A man with a small step-ladder, a large pail of water, and a wet cloth was flinging himself against the foremost elephant, and had just scrubbed a gleaming black, square patch clean on its flank with his mop—he had 5½ elephants to go still, and the gusto with which he was setting about the job convinced the onlooker that it would not be long before this man, this bread-eater, would be through with it.

A great poster that, but symbolic like most posters. In prosaic fact people do not, and cannot, clean elephants with a wet cloth, and the biggest pail of water will be of no use. The thick, rough, much-wrinkled hide gathers up quantities of dust and dirt, and what an elephant needs and likes is a good soak in water, not a mere mop-and-pail wash. So they take the great beast to a pond or a river and stand him in the water, then splash him all over, and rub him down with something rough, some suitable, elephantine sort of a loofa.

"The elephant, the elephant!
Azhagar's elephant,
The elephant that Azhagar and
Chockar ride,
The elephant that bathes in the
little pond,
And muddies the mighty waters
of the Kaveri!"

That, loosely rendered, was one of the first things I heard about the elephant, and one of the first things I ever heard, for those are the words of a rocking-song that Tamilian mothers sing to their children. I have always



liked the contrast between the last two lines, and the sense of power they suggest, but as I watched the tusker in the picture being bathed, I had to revise my ideas on bathing elephants.

For one thing, he was being bathed, not bathing, and he didn't seem to like it at all. He was a temple elephant, young and big-tusked, but rather gaunt in the body, and there were two men at work on him. They stood him in the muddy green water of the temple tank, and scrubbed him all over with a red brick—the photograph was taken at the end of the ritual, just as the elephant left the tank and stood on the steps, while his feet were being attended to.

A little boy watching the operations with me was moved to protest. Look, he exclaimed, they are rubbing with a rough, hard brick! When they rubbed the beast over the closed eyes with the brick, he made his protest again. I wanted to tell that boy not to worry, that an elephant was so strong and superb in body and hide that a rub with a brick only tickled him pleasantly. However, I said nothing. Thick as the elephantine

hide is, it is sensitive, too, and what they use for scrubbing it with is a hard and spiky but resilient sponge, such as one made out of the fruit of the screw-pine with the rind removed — not a brick. And it was as clear to me as to that child that however technically correct the men were, the elephant did not like being bathed. Which is strange, for all elephants love the water.

I could not help feeling sorry for that reluctant bather, so far away from his native forests and the kind of things that elephants, even captive and tamed elephants, find to eat in them. Nowadays our temples are modernised; there is electric lighting everywhere, and more sightseers than worshippers in them; they are no longer the social and cultural forums they were, but have acquired a different set of social and cultural values. An elephant, no doubt, adds much to the pomp and pageantry of any occasion, but a jeep is more useful. Why can't our temples go in for jeeps instead of elephants, for outsize, super-deluxe jeeps with knobs on, if the spectacle-value is really important?

THE INTERLUDE OF QUOTATIONS

By POTHAN JOSEPH

In the days when young orators like V. Chakkarai and P. Chenchiah spoke in the Danish Mission Hall holding college students spell-bound, it was the fashion to wind up the address with a moving quotation, preferably from Browning or Tennyson. The custom has vanished. Deeds are more important than words. Voice and gesture have lost meaning with the advent of the loud-speaker now installed for a chat across the table. No imitation of Gladstonian periods would now win the ear of listeners. Queen Victoria was irked because Gladstone addressed her as at a public meeting, but today the politician minimises words not for the reason that brevity is the soul of wit but for the belief that there is safety in being uncommitted. Last year I had occasion to drop in the Madras Chief Minister's office after reading an article in a Sunday Supplement on Phrenology. It struck me that Mr. Kamaraj Nadar's forehead was quite a Gladstonian design, but speech was just the contrast, largely monosyllabic. By the twenties, Dr. Miller's model of delivery was superseded by the chipped speech of Dr. Skinner; but still the vogue of pithy quotations lingered. Florid pronouncements on the "Challenge of the Times" ended with a solemn reference to the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World. The words rolled out *apropos* nothing in particular, but the rafts echoed with loud cheers. I have applauded those words falling from Mr. Satyamurthi's lips more than once. Had he lived to be Chief Minister, such eloquence in the council chambers would not have availed him much in these days of matter-of-fact expositions and pre-determined voting. His platform-rival was fond of another quotation. Ramaswami Mudaliar would end up with "one step enough for me". Like Newman he didn't ask for the distant scene, but just the acceptance of the proposition he had moved. Gokhale in sponsoring his Elementary Edu-

cation Bill had previously quoted the same passage requesting Lord Curzon to let him have but one step, he himself being no visionary. Then there was another eminent rhetorician who would remind us of that "one far-off divine event towards which the whole creation moves". This climax at the end of the road I have never been able to divine during all my years of a busy and partly-misspent life; but I was thrilled to hear of it from that silver-tongued orator Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri. Coming at the close of a speech there is no danger of any irreverent back-bencher crying "Question, Question, When? How?" Surendranath Banerjee, moving the loyalty resolution, would dwell on the "golden chains of an indissoluble union". Dominion status at best. The phrase must have been of his own coining and there was no lack of persiflage when he took the floor or wielded the pen. I have not chanced upon that precise link-up of words in any literary labyrinth, but I have a hazy recollection of Tennyson singing (in diverse tones) of the World in golden chains indissolubly clinging to the feet of God, another non-Marxian fantasy that would not pass muster in Kerala today.

Nor were pre-Gandhian loyalists short of their literary aphorisms and poetic graces. Even pro-Consuls fond of quoting Kipling about the East being East and the West always West, would not steer clear of the following doggerel to keep the intelligentsia out of subversive agitation.

For forms of government let
fools contest
Whatever is administered best
is best

That was counted realism among level-headed men, and many a provincial governor would strum the tune during War Fund rallies. Much of what is called realism in the world amounts to compounding with greasy propositions not compatible with the ideals preach-

ed to youth in Convocation Addresses at the degree-taking ceremony. In my time I too was deceived in that no "realism" had been mentioned.

If for forms of government fools in India did not contend we could never have had even a fleeting experience of Independence.

Mao in China in a fit of post-prandial expansion once spoke of a hundred flowers free to bloom and a like number of opinions to contend; but it looks all over in the Tibetan background. Some other poetic sentiment should be formulated to fit the case within the framework of *Panch Shila*, the leaky ark of the covenant.

I don't pine for the days of pious citations from defunct authors to grace the finish of speeches, but we cannot forget the brief era when speakers in India adorned their perorations with apt alliteration's artful aid.

INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,
K.C.S.I., D.C.L. (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business
transacted efficiently and
quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits
which may be ascertained on
application.

S. Krishnaswami,
Secretary.



CAPITAL COMMENTS

LATEST OF THE WORLD'S CHARTERS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: It seems that one more landmark had been reached in the history of the Indian Press when, in his high capacity as the President of the AINEC and higher role as the saviour of editorial freedom, Mr. Durga Das returned to the capital from Trivandrum, armed with a heaven-shaking charter which would have, or at least should have, repercussions on the future of the press in India—and incidentally on his own future as well. Is this a correct impression? Or just an illusion? Let us analyse the situation and assess its significance. For four reasons, great importance may be attached to the latest AINEC session. Firstly, it had the distinction of being inaugurated by the high-

est in the land—the President of the Sovereign Republic of India. Secondly, it had for its President one of the best-known and foremost journalists, Mr. Durga Das, not only one of our editors but a Chief Editor. Thirdly, the Conference was held at the capital of a State which provided the right climate for the emergence of all charters. Fourthly, the Conference was a personal triumph for Mr. Durga Das, inasmuch as he (as every journalist in Delhi knows) equated a personal issue to the level of a public or, indeed, national one, 'with an ease and adroitness that politicians might well envy.

Public bewilderment is unavoidable when the cry of 'editorial

freedom in danger' is raised, the public being told in one breath that editorial freedom is as impregnable as a rock and in another that it is as brittle as glass. The world's great editors who gave meaning to the phrase 'editorial freedom' were never seen in public tearing their hair (such as was left after the accretions of time!) or heard shouting about it, for popular support or sympathy; they were not even found knocking at the doors of the mighty for being saved or salvaged. By their own example of moral courage and individual sacrifice, they upheld the cause of editorial freedom or integrity, in terms of martyrdom, if necessary.

An editor who, in the event of disagreement with the management, and pending resignation or removal, insists, or has an eye on "six months' gratuity and pay in lieu of leave due to him at the time", may well be within his rights, but he is hardly the type of the crusader who is out to efface himself for the sake of the Cause. He puts the premium on security and, worse, he is the sort of man who, having collected his silver or currency, would appear before the public in the guise of a sufferer who had paid a price.

When the editors ask for the enjoyment of complete freedom in respect of the execution of editorial policy, it is difficult to divine what is precisely meant. For no editor has the right to lay down the policy of a paper; that is admittedly a proprietorial right. Editors or others who want their policy, must find their own papers. Whether out of conviction or expediency, an editor takes up a paper, he does so with no responsibility for its policy but with every freedom to move within its ambit, and the traditional privilege of parting from the proprietors in case of differences of opinion. An editor's freedom in respect of 'staffing and conduct of the paper' stems out of the understanding on which he has himself joined an organisation. It is always a good rule—indeed the right thing—that no staff appointments should be made except in consultation with the editor, if

the editor is denied the right to make the appointments himself.

The new President of the AINEC wanted the conference to see that "the management did not make inroads into the sphere of the editor and reduce him virtually to a leader-writer". No management has in it to reduce an editor to a leader-writer, and Mr. Durga Das knows only too well that not all editors write leaders or even pretend to do so. Of course, one may be reduced to a rubberstamp, if that is what he means. One should indeed take a grave view of managerial inroads into editorial territory; any editor in particular should take a graver view of it. If managers do not play the game—and if they are allowed or encouraged by the newspaper owners not to play it—the remedy lies in the editor's own hands. He must manfully resist all pressures from inside and not himself resort to any pressure-technique outside, and either win and stay, or lose and quit.

From the editors' deliberations at Trivandrum, it appears that the Indian editor of to-day is a helpless victim of a system, which stifles his individuality and smothers his very existence, and that he needs to be rescued out of his plight by strength of public opinion and by Government intervention. An editor's independence can no more be sustained by sealed charters than by unwritten codes: It essentially depends on his character and personality. To ask a conference to provide "the upright editor with moral, professional and legal backing" is the queerest proposition within the context of a profession or a calling which is least susceptible to enthusiasms other than those that spring from within, by the impact on it of editorial personality. No "upright editor" is manufactured by order, nor is he produced by any charter: he is born. His strength comes from within, precisely in proportion to his own self-respect as an individual and his adherence to a great tradition as a professional. He rises or falls by his own standards. And more often than not, when he has to face an issue or meet a challenge, he

seeks only moral courage to sustain him whereas if he feels the situation is beyond his control, he disappears without any consideration of what he will be able to collect, than let himself be dislodged out of a sense of expediency that can but bring doubtful returns. It is a sad day in journalism when editors think of independence (their own) in terms of

an extraneous gift or imposed favour.

Finally, when the AINEC takes care to attach a footnote to its resolutions, drawing a distinction (to suit particular exigencies) between chief editor and editor, it seems that like the Tibetan order, the Indian Press, on the editorial side, has its own Lamas—Dalai and Panchen!



Sotto Voce

A Social and Political Commentary
by "Vighneswara" (N. Raghunathan)

SOME OPINIONS

Sir M. Venkatasubba Rau in "Swarajya": "Vighneswara is a wizard of words, a creative artist, a sage counsellor. His book ranks as literature".

The Statesman: "When the views are expressed with as much gentle irony and are sharpened by as much scholarship as Vighneswara can train on his writing, then even dissentients cannot but murmur appreciation".

Thought: "What is evident in the discussion is a scholarship that is amazing for its richness, range and depth and an independence of judgment that is striking in this age of conformity. He can soar into the heavens with the eagle, almost habitually. Yet he has the time, even passion for chasing butterflies. It is this extraordinary quality of mind, together with the excellence of the writing that makes the book a sheer delight. For journalists and columnists this is a 'must'. For others too it is equally important. Writing of such excellence is rarely come by".

368 pages Price: Rs. 4. Library Edition Rs. 5.
Postage (Re. 1-20 nP.) extra.

B. G. PAUL & CO.,
4, FRANCIS JOSEPH STREET, MADRAS-1



TRAYOPHANE

Material for
modern packing,
protects your
merchandise from
moisture
and impurities

TRAYOPHANE
offers 96 per cent
Transparency

PACK IN TRAYOPHANE
AND INCREASE
YOUR SALES

**RAYON TRADERS
PRIVATE LIMITED**

61, Sembudoss Street,
Madras-1
Grams: "CELYARN"
Phone: 21641

BRANCHES:

Phone: 253.
Grams: "CELYARN"
68/416, Main Road,
SEVAPET, SALEM.

Phone: 598.
Grams: "CELYARN"
114-A, South Mas Street,
MADURAI.

Grams: "RAYONS"
United India Life Building
Avinasi Road,
COIMBATORE.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By S. T. KASIRAJAN

Seldom has a poet in India been more universal in his outlook and in appeal than Rabindranath Tagore if only because he has "exquisitely phrased moods of misgiving and wistful trust that have been inarticulate but felt by men and women of many races". He is the sun of the literary landscape of our land, and this epoch belongs to him as decidedly as that of Dante was his and far more decidedly than that Shakespeare's was his. He is the head of his tribe and leads the rest, his influence being as pronounced and emphatic as it was fifty years before: there is none still remotely like him, much less to eclipse him. The passage of time has but enhanced his lonely greatness.

The story of his early days is beautifully sketched in his *Reminiscences*. His upbringing devolved much on his servants, because he lost his mother in his childhood. He had tutors, to whom he paid little attention. He entered schools, which he soon managed to escape. His Jorasanko house in Calcutta was a rambling congeries of mansions from which he could see the cluster of the miserable huts around and watch their indigent inhabitants in action or in inaction.

Books by Bertrand Russell

	Rs. nP.
A. B. C. of Relativity ..	12 19
History of Western Philosophy ..	24 37
An Outline of Philosophy ..	17 06
Jeptical Essays ..	10 19
Unpopular Essays ..	8 56
Mysticism and Logic ..	10 19
The Scientific Outlook ..	8 56
Freedom and Organization ..	20 31
Human Society in Ethics and Politics ..	13 00
Portraits from Memory and other Essays ..	13 00

K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A, Royapettah High Road,
Mylapore, Madras-4

tion. This dreaming sort of a boy, for that is the dominant picture we get from his *Reminiscences*, had nevertheless the keen eye of a spectator, storing in his sensitive mind many a vignette, many a swiftly-taken glimpse of habit or idiosyncrasy.

He was born (May 6, 1861) in a family which had been enjoying the twin assets of culture and wealth for generations—a rare combination in the world. It can be said that Saraswathi had her temple in his home, which was rich and varied in genius and talent. It led the thought of Brahmo Samaj and of so much of society in other than religious ways too. The air he breathed with exhilaration was the air graced by different Muses. His father was the *Maharshi*. His eldest brother was a philosopher—a writer of brilliant prose. And there were his many nephews and others who had made their mark in fine arts and literature.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Tagore had become a writer of repute even before he was fifteen, thus having the honour of standing beside Mrs. Browning and Cowley in precocity. His was not a disciplined mind in those days and his work was desultory in character. "This period of my life", says Tagore, "from the age of fifteen or sixteen to twenty-two or twenty-three, was one of utter disorderliness". But his literary output was unceasing if intermittent, and ever increasing with the advance of time—increasing in quality as well as in majesty. And the variety in his work was astonishing. Even Victor Hugo did not possess a wider range of mood and form. Yet his countrymen did not realise his excellence in time. Only the conferment of the Nobel Prize for literature made them awaken to his greatness!

It is on record that when Sir Asutosh Mukherji, the renowned Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, proposed some six

years before Tagore was awarded the Nobel Prize, that he might be made a Doctor of Literature, the Senate objected saying that he was not a Bengali scholar! And when it was suggested by someone, rather wittily, that a way of honouring him was to have him appointed as an examiner of Bengali in Calcutta Matriculation, the language papers vehemently opposed it saying that he wrote bad Bengali! The truth, however, was, "in literature" as in many other things. "he has been," to quote the words of a biographer of perception, "the representative man of his time, in touch with the fulness of his intellectual heritage. Even in language he has been a mediator and reconciler. He brought the diction of the road and market into poetry, and married it with the great style of Sanskrit literature." This the learned pandits could not bring themselves up to relish.

His English was also found fault with. One English lady had the effrontery to write to him stating that she understood that the English of *Gitanjali* was C. F. Andrews' and to request him to send his autograph and the address of C. F. Andrews so that she might get his autograph too, thus to have the signature of "both authors" in her copy of *Gitanjali*! Despite this poor lady, critics of note know that "it is one of the most surprising things in the world's literature that such a mastery (as that of Tagore) over an alien tongue ever came to any man". And it is to be remembered that Tagore was over fifty before he began the "courtship" of the English language.

Another criticism that has been levelled against him, perhaps with justification, is that "in his earlier books, there is a vast amount of flowery undergrowth which needs a sickle or (better still) a fire, to clear the loftier trees and show them in their strength and nobleness... Even in much of the noblest work of his later years, his incorrigible playfulness, the way in which, often when most serious, he will fondle and toss with fancies, spoils some splendid things. In his lectures and

addresses, he can never resist the temptation of a glittering simile. Often he dazzles the beholder with beauty when he wishes most to convince. When he should run a straight course, he turns aside. From all this comes sometimes a sense of monotony, which hides

from the reader the richness and versatility of his work." Perhaps the aesthete in his blood asserted himself, in season and out of season, despite the author.

A love-poet first, a nature poet first and last and throughout his work (especially the river was the

very soul of his passionate delight), Gurudev had the preacher too in his blood. He smacked at tradition and superstitions. On the question of equality of woman with man, he did not allow himself to be carried off his feet with the outcries of the ultra-moderns.



A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing
-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER

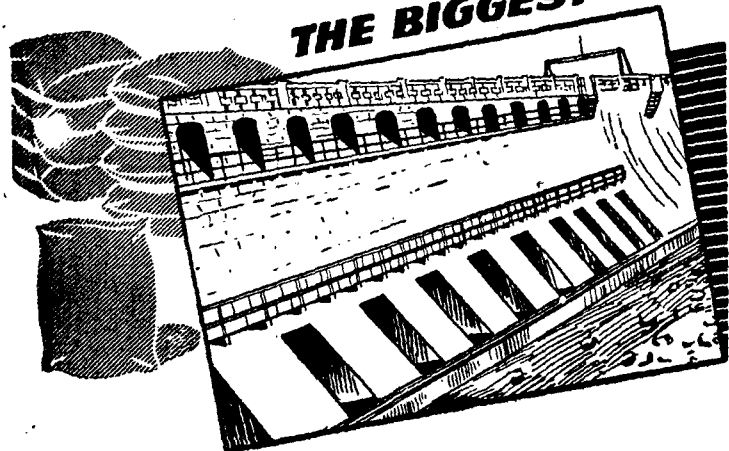
SEEING IS BELIEVING: Shankar is obviously delighted with the gleaming white shirt that Sita has washed. And look at the pile of clothes, sheets and towels washed white and bright—all with such a little SUNLIGHT! SUNLIGHT's rich, abundant lather washes so thoroughly and draws out every scrap of dirt without any beating! Prove it for yourself—try it today!

SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT

S.267-XS2

A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEVER LIMITED

SOLID STRENGTH AND STABILITY *Behind* THE BIGGEST DAMS



DURGA BRAND
PORTLAND CEMENT

Manufactured by

THE ANDHRA CEMENT CO., LTD.

Reg. Office: 337 THAMBU CHETTY ST., MADRAS-1
Factory Office: VIJAYAWADA - 2

Managing Agents:

THE ANDHRA ENGINEERING COMPANY
(Private) LTD.
RAJAHMUNDRY.

He would have been a woman, a centre of love and affection and tenderness and inspiration without which the world is poverty-stricken. But he never, for a moment, ceased to attack, with all his artillery of sarcasm and with all his being, the unspeakable cruelty and injustice heaped upon women, treating them as inferior and unfitted for education or arts. The desolated lives of the Hindu widows came to him with the stab of personal infliction and drew his heart's blood. He mercilessly plied the lash of his cutting anger at the shameful marriage-market of Calcutta.

His experiment in education was the direct consequence of the disillusionment and disappointment he experienced in the political climate of his fettered motherland. He himself has told us about this in his introduction to Mr. W. Pearson's *Shantiniketan*: "I seemed choked for breath in the hideous nightmare of our present time, meaningless in its petty ambitions of poverty, and felt in me the struggle of my motherland for awakening in spiritual emancipation... We must seek for our own inheritance and with it buy our true place in the world".

Gurudev had espoused many causes but recanted on some, because he always had an open mind, fortified by honesty and earnestness of purpose. He may be unfair but no man had a stronger sense of fairness. If you convinced him that he was wrong, he would never fail to own his fault. He was also a most independent and fearless spirit. Neither the learned anger of the pandits nor the patriotic fulminations of his countrymen could make him flinch from the path of duty he had chartered for himself on the perilous sea of humanity, for his mobile mind was too universal to be narrow-minded, too glancing to be dogmatic and too receptive to be in a groove. The philosophy of his life is difficult to scan, especially because he was a poet, and a poet has moods. If he has left any message, it is the message, crying out for open-mindedness, for independence of spirit and fearlessness of action.

THE BIHAR 'SEARCHLIGHT' CASE

By S. RAJAGOPALAN

Shri M. S. M. Sharma, the Editor of the 'Searchlight' was arraigned before the Committee of Privileges of the Bihar State Legislature for publishing what was alleged to be the expunged portion of a speech in the Assembly. Thereupon he applied under Art. 32, in the Supreme Court, to quash the proceedings on the ground that they were in violation of the fundamental right to free speech and expression, secured to him under Art. 19 (1) (a) of the Constitution. Their Lordships have by a majority held that they were not, since Art. 19 (1) (a) is subject to "the powers, privileges and immunities" which Art. 194 (3) confers on the Legislature. Subba Rao, J., is, however, of the opinion that the "privileges" of the Legislature in that Article must subserve Art. 19 (1) (a).

Indian Legislatures under both the 1921 and 1935 Government of India Acts, were functioning only as subalterns of the British Parliamentary institutions, and acquired only such privileges as the Statute conferred on them, more often than not grudgingly. For example, the right to take action against strangers had been expressly disallowed.

The Constitution, however, has altered the position radically, and has conferred on them "all the powers, privileges and immunities" of the House of Commons as they stood on 26-1-1950, until defined by the Legislatures themselves by law (Art. 194 (3)). The legislative bodies in the post-Constitution era are therefore sovereign bodies with full and unrestricted powers of debate and authority, within their own spheres. But their powers of legislation are however circumscribed to a great extent. For one thing, the Union and the State Legislatures operate in separate and mutually exclusive fields of legislation. And for another, they are forbidden under Art. 13 (2) to legislate, abrogating any of the fundamental rights in Part III, all of which may quite appropriately be described (as in

America) as so many "Constitutional limitations" on both the State and the Legislature.

To that extent, the sovereignty of the latter is cut down. Therefore it seems reasonable to assume that the "powers, privileges and immunities" of the Indian Legislature, are subject to the superior law of the realm, viz. the fundamental rights, of which the right to "freedom of speech and expression" (Art. 19 (1) (a)) is one, in the same way perhaps as the English common law cannot whittle down the Magna Charta.

Art. 194 is however not happily worded. Sub-cl. (1) says that "subject to the Constitution and to the rules and standing orders, there shall be freedom of speech in the Legislature". This would be in harmony with Art. 211, which forbids discussion of the conduct of Judges, and to the standing orders which taboo debates in respect of enquiries *sub judice*. But another unintended consequence is that the freedom of speech becomes subject also to Art. 19 (1) (a) (2). That provision does not confer immunity from the law of libel, slander, contempt of court and revolution against the State. Now, the right of free speech in the parliamentary arena is absolute even in ordinary law: but strangely enough, if Art. 19 (1) (a) (2) be applied, it becomes much too restricted, if not illusory.

The words, "subject to the Constitution", are, however, not prefixed to Art. 194 (3) relating to the "powers and privileges", but that again leads to an anomaly. They are specified to be those of the House of Commons, until defined. If they are defined, that is by legislative enactment, they have to conform to the mandate in Art. 13 (1). Their remaining undefined ought not therefore to confer on them greater privileges or exemption from the fundamental rights in Part III.

There is still another aspect of the problem. Art. 194 (3), as stated, confers powers and privileg-

es, which consist amongst other matters, the right to arrest and detain offenders after summary adjudication. It cannot be that these powers, over which no check or appeal is available, could be exercised, without observing the minimal requirements of fair dealing and justice set down in Art. 20, 21 and 22 of the Constitution. In fact, an identical issue cropped up in 1954, when a member of the U.P. Assembly, was arrested for breach of privilege and was not produced before the Magistrate within 24 hours, as required in Art. 22 (2). The Supreme Court quashed the proceedings which meant of course that legislative powers to arrest, could not override the fundamental right under Art. 22 (2).

Therefore it is submitted that Art. 194 (3) would be subject to the fundamental right of "freedom of speech" in Art. 19 (1) (a) on the general principle that if the Legislature could not legislate against the fundamental rights, neither could it bypass them whilst exercising its powers and privileges. Secondly, on the construction of Art. 194 as it stands, if even so absolute a right as freedom of speech inside the Legislature is subject to the Constitution, then it stands to consistency that the powers and privileges in Art. 194 (3), should also be construed as being governed by Part III.

Part III itself provides for the suspension of the fundamental rights in two contingencies only, viz. maintenance of discipline in Armed Forces (Art. 33) and Martial Law administration (Art. 34). There is no reservation for parliamentary proceedings. Furthermore, the Constitution uses apt words whenever it excludes its provisions. In Art. 329 for instance, the words are "notwithstanding anything in the Constitution". It may not therefore be an extravagant assumption that the omission of these words by way of a prefix to Art. 194 (3) leads to the inference that "the powers and privileges" are subject to the provisions in Part III, Art. 19 (1) (a) — "the right to freedom of speech and expression" being one of them.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

OIL HAS ITS OWN CHARMS

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

In London last July a worried official of the British Foreign Office looked out of his window at the steady flow of traffic below and said: "That traffic can be stopped, industry stifled and the lives of everyone in Britain, yes, and in Western Europe too, seriously affected for the worse if oil does not flow westwards from the Middle East." He was only expressing the constant worry and anxiety of politicians and industrialists in Europe about maintaining the steady flow of oil to the West from the fertile oil fields in West Asia.

The industrial development of Europe, even of Asia, is closely tied to the vast oil resources that lie beneath the desert sands of Iran to Morocco. The struggle for access to that oil has spread with new nations trying to get concessions long monopolised by a few Western powers. And now the Arab countries themselves are talking and planning about their hopes of getting an increasingly greater share of the profits from oil.

The Petroleum Congress

The first Arab Petroleum Congress which concluded its sessions in Cairo two weeks ago—April 23—gave adequate expression to these hopes. The Congress wanted improvement in participation of petroleum-producing countries with oil firms on an equitable and reasonable basis. Existing arrangements between oil producing countries and Western oil companies are on a 50 : 50 profit-sharing basis.

The Petroleum Congress also urged the setting up of national petroleum companies to operate side by side with existing foreign firms. There was also proposal for the construction of an oil pipe line owned by Arabs. The existing pipe lines are all foreign-owned. But this proposal was discreetly referred to the Arab League secretariat. For it has many political implications and the Congress was

not bold enough to take a stand on the proposal.

Bidding Time

There was, however, no talk of nationalisation of oil interests and, therefore, Western observers have praised the note of moderation in the resolutions passed by the Congress. It would be foolish to assume that this note of moderation represents the feeling of most Arab countries. Western oil interests were well represented in the Congress and a delegation from Venezuela—a rich, oil-producing country in South America—was also present. There was no government representative from Iraq, although President Nasser had specially emphasised the non-political character of the Congress.

Nationalisation of oil interests is in the minds of most Arab politicians. The misadventure in Iran where in 1951 Premier Mossadegh tried to nationalise the oil industry, is still fresh in their memories. The Arab leaders and masses are biding their time. In Iraq already feeble voices are being raised in favour of nationalisation.

For the present the Arabs are anxious to see that the revenue from oil should be used to finance purposeful schemes that bring about more substantial productive development in Arab lands. Till a few years ago, and to a great extent even now, the chief Arab benefactors from oil have been the feudal lords of the area. The monarchs of Saudi Arabia alone have received nearly Rs. 5 billion in oil royalties since the end of the last world war. Though some of the Arab countries, notably Iraq, have utilised oil money on public projects, on education and health, there has been little tangible improvement in the lot of the people. Naturally some of the accumulated resentment of the Arab masses has turned against Western nations who control the oil wealth.

CINEMA

AMERICAN PRODUCERS TO INVEST IN INDIAN THEATRES

By V. P. SATHE

Almost 60 per cent of the region's oil resources are held by U.S. companies. 30 per cent is British and most of the remainder is Dutch and French. In the last two years there have been many new and interesting developments. Oil has started flowing from new French oil wells in the Sahara desert. Italians have protested that they are being kept out of Libya by American oil companies. Western firms have been planning a new pipe line to carry oil around hostile Syria. A Japanese firm has signed an agreement for a new concession in the Persian Gulf. And an Italian government oil agency secured three concessions to develop oil in Iran.

Oil Politics

Although 64 per cent of the world's known oil resources are in West Asia, at the present time oil production in the United States is 1½ times that of West Asia. The twelve Communist countries of the world are believed to produce only less than half the quantity produced in the U.S. The vast, untapped resources of West Asia are estimated to total 170 billion barrels and this wealth invites and excites Western as well as Soviet interests.

Last year oil politics played a part in the crisis in which U.S. marines landed in Lebanon and British paratroops went to Jordan. It was again oil politics that inspired in large part the Soviet Union's move into West Asia in 1955 and its subsequent military and economic support to Egypt and now to Iraq. It is again oil that inflames Arab nationalism. Although Arab nationalism does not exist because of oil, it is lighted by oil and feeds on it. Oil has all along been associated with imperialism, and it would be wise if Western powers would now make oil the base for a new relationship in West Asia.

Whenever a book begins with a foreword, a prologue, an introduction and a preface, the reader is warned that the book is, more often than not, not worth the paper on which it is printed.

— Tana Zinkin.

Bombay: While the Indian producers are worried about star-prices, according to reports from Hollywood, the conditions there are almost equally bad. Shri Shantaram, who had been to Hollywood to receive the award for best foreign film from the Foreign Press Association came back with the impression that Hollywood had the same problems of production and stars. He felt that their studios were huge but they had the same type of equipment which he had in his own studio. In fact, the bigness of the studios forced Hollywood producers to make greater number of pictures.

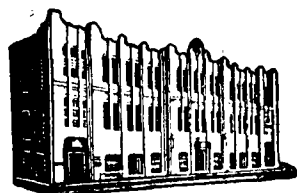
And Shri Shantaram also disclosed the fact that with the tough competition of Television, Hollywood today depended on foreign markets for more than half of its revenue—a fact admitted by American trade journals like 'Motion Picture Herald' and 'Variety.' To counteract the Television competition, American producers are making big pictures—block-busters—as they call them in Hollywood jargon. As to the star prices in Hollywood William Holden and John Wayne are both being paid 750,000 dollars (Rupees thirty two lakhs) each plus a percentage for acting in a picture called 'Horse Soldiers' while director John Ford is being paid 250,000 dollars (about ten lakhs of rupees) for directing the picture plus percentage in profits. At this rate even if Holden were to make two or three pictures a year, he would make more money than any Indian star—even if he succeeds in getting twelve lakhs per picture. Besides, while the Indian star or rather the producer is worried about payments in 'black and white' the Hollywood star has no such worry. If stars, producers as well as Income Tax authorities study the Hollywood parallel, surely they can find a solution to this 'black' payment business.

The reason for making 'block-busters' in increasing number has been aptly given by Lewis Milestone. He told a pressman that the financiers back big ventures because "they have got so greedy. Once they used to be satisfied with a million dollar profit; but now they want to put in five millions and get back fifteen or twenty". The reason for the Indian distributors and finan-



N. T. Rama Rao & Sowcar Janaki in Swastisri's forthcoming Telugu picture, *Rechukka Pagati Chukka*.

THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"
NORTH BEACH ROAD,
MADRAS-1.

23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole
of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND
SINGAPORE.

CAPITAL

Authorised Capital Rs	1,00,00,000
Issued and Subscribed Capital	72,00,000
Paid-up Capital	66,38,990
Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium)	99,61,883
Deposits as on 31-12-'58	40,93,17,330
Total Working Funds	50,12,19,816

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.
R. SUNDARAM IYER.
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA
MUDALIAR.
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA
CHETTIAR.
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.
RAMDAS PURUSHOTTAM DAS.

ALL TYPES OF
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING
FOREIGN EXCHANGE
TRANSACTED.

London Agents :
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents :
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,
SECRETARY.

May 9, 1959

ciers backing the star-studded pictures in India is almost the same. But apart from stars, Hollywood tycoons bank on good stories, best-seller novels or Broadway stage hits, and produce them in colour and cinemascope, do the shooting on locations. If our producers—and distributors are conscious of these selling factors of Hollywood super-films, they would be financially in a better position.

Incidentally, Shri J. C. Jain, who has also been to Hollywood recently giving his impressions in Bombay said that the American film industry is keen on constructing a chain of cinema theatres all over India with the participation of Indian Capital, and the American producers would 'invest' their blocked capital in India for that purpose.

After a long time a producer has shown the courage to bring Munshi Premchand's story on the screen in Rupaiya's 'Heera Moti', produced by Pravin Desai and directed by Krishan Chopra.

Based on a short story 'Do Bailon Ki Katha', the picture recounts the tale of a farmer and his wife who loved and tended their pair of bullocks—Heera and Moti—with great care. They won the race against the Zamindar's bullocks. The Zamindar's pride was hurt and he wanted the farmer to sell his bullocks to him. When the farmer refused to sell he manoeuvred to dispossess him of all his property and drive him out of the village. The bullocks were auctioned by the authorities. But the bullocks knew their master and just as the farmer was leaving home, they came back defying their new masters. Their loyalty for the farmer touched the villagers, who had so far lacked the courage to side him and give evidence in his favour against the Zamindar. The unity of the villagers won against the pride and ego of the Zamindar.

This simple but moving story is told with vivid realism by Krishan Chopra. The dialogue has an authentic flair and the visual images are picturesque and capture the rural beauty of peasant

life. The romantic scenes between Balraj and Nirupa, both of whom give excellent performances, are sensitively handled; but the romance between Shubha Khote and Ashim Kumar is out of tune with the theme of Premchand's story. Even the Zafnindar as portrayed by Kailash appears to be the usual stock villain and not a real character. The bullocks do their job remarkably well.

The music by Roshan is pleasing and the lyrics by Shailendra and Prem Dhawan have the rural lilt. The outstanding feature of the film is K. Vaikunth's outdoor photography and Krishan Chopra's realistic presentation.

"Heera Moti" is perhaps the first Premchand story which retains its spirit and theme in its film version.

Johnny Walker is going abroad for the first time this week accompanied by his actress wife Noor. Johnny whose real name is Badriuddin hails from Indore. He began his film career as an extra and it was his small but unforgettable cameo as a drunkard in 'Andhiyan', that brought him into limelight. He became a popular comedian in a series of Navketan and Guru Dutt films. Since then he has been steadily rising in popular esteem and has saved many pictures from being flops.

Among his noteworthy portrayals is his performance of a marwari in 'Railway Platform'. Though he never drinks in life—he is a confirmed teetotaler, Johnny has always excelled himself in the role of drunkards not only on the screen but even on stage. And though he does not know dancing—and has had no training in dancing, he is made to dance often on the screen and dances successfully. A self-educated man, Johnny has a large circle of friends in the industry. He won the *filmfare* award for the best supporting actor in 'Madhumati'. The award was presented on 25th April in Bombay. He is leaving for Europe for two months in the first week of May and is busy now completing work in Guru Dutt's 'Kagaz Ka Phool' and other films.

Johnny has opened a distribution office in Indore—his home town and though he has played the hero in a dozen pictures by now, he has always fared better as the supporting comedian.

With 'Sujata' censored without a cut and 'Parakh' on the sets, Bimal Roy is finalizing the plans for the shooting of 'Usne Kaha Tha' based on a very famous Hindi story of the same name.

Mahesh Kaul who is busy with the shooting of Pancholi's 'Nirmala' is making a comedy for Guru Dutt and a cinemascope film for Anupam Chitra. He will start both the films in May.

Talwar begins regular shooting of 'Ek Dil Sau Afsane' from May at Famous Studios, with Raj Kapoor and Madhubala in the lead.

Shady Affairs

Sri R. S. V. Rao writes:

I could not believe my eyes when I read a news item in a local daily that a State Government entered into an agreement with a non-existing firm as far back as 1953 for the supply of 10,000 tons of jowar valued at about Rs. 29 lakhs merely on the recommendation of the Central Government. Fortunately the loss stopped with the loss of 16,504 gunnies valued at Rs. 26,630.

The whole affair looks strange and strains public credulity. In these days of high taxation, austere living and rigid planning, this kind of laxity and negligence on the part of those responsible for this shady affair is unpardonable and calls for drastic action.

Inaugurating the Patel memorial lectures in 1955, C.R. said: "Human nature has a mysterious quality in it. Self-interest and profits attract. Character is a fundamental requirement for administration at every level from the Chief Secretary down to the last grade servant as sunlight is to every form of life".

How true this is!

May 9, 1959

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CONTRACEPTIVES

Sir,—The sarcasm in Srimati Santa Rungachary's letter is, I think, misplaced. Very uncharitably, she has assumed that people who do not 'conform' in the matter of the current mania for birth control are fatalists who believe in no restraint.

I do not oppose birth control wholesale, but I am naturally concerned about the means used to achieve it. The concept of planning the size of the family is nothing novel to us. Manu, the greatest Hindu ever, regards the functional aspect of sex as only a means of continuing one's progeny. 'The first-born', he declares 'is sufficient for the purpose of Dharma, and subsequent offspring are mere products of lust.' Family planning, therefore, is common ground between me and the modern birth-control experts; where we do not see eye to eye is how to reach the end in view. Self-restraint obviously is the most natural and harmless method. My objection to contraceptive methods is that they train you to try to avoid the natural results of your persistent habit, which is just another way of saying that they make you a moral coward. The sex instinct of all natural and the strongest of all impulses. Our traditional way of dealing with it was to sublimate it so that you can not merely solve the problem of over-population, but realize your spiritual potentialities. Swami Vivekananda has confirmed the claim that sublimated sexual energy is transformed into *ojas* which takes you nearer and nearer the Divine.

I have heard the argument that birth control by contraceptive methods cannot cause much biological harm: evolution will take care of that. In a recent article in *The Times*, Sir Julian Huxley has declared that the major processes of evolution have come to a dead halt. This, according to Sir Julian, has imposed on us the ineluctable necessity of formulating moral values to fulfil the purpose of existence as we are no longer mere toys in the hands of blind

and impersonal evolutionary forces. And here we are, just beginning to demolish any moral value that comes within sight!

I would like to point out that Srimati Rungachary's opinion about youth's invulnerability to corruption is wrong. That no amount of parental advice and judicious sex education has been able to reduce the incidence of what is known as teen age vice, is clear from, to quote one authority only, the monumental works of Havelock Ellis.

Calcutta R. MANI

(2)

Sir,—Whatever the elder statesman Mr. C. Rajagopalachari says is worthy of respect and admiration. But there is a growing tendency among the people to turn a deaf ear to his wise sayings and repent later for having flouted his wise counsels. When Rajaji introduced the Sales Tax it was opposed tooth and nail, but now it is applauded and hailed as the brain wave of a genius. Rajaji as the salt and leaven of the Indian National Congress was responsible for having effectuated many reforms in the social sphere, though vigorously denounced at first, met with approval later. In his recent crusade against Family Planning he is outspoken. If contraceptives are distributed among girls without any restriction imposed on the marketing of such products the results are bound to be catastrophic. Contraceptives can be had at any shop and a layman can use it without any instructions at all. If one is eager to learn the A.B.C. of Family Planning he or she can go through the Family Planning Manual published by the Government of India. If any unmarried girl goes through this Manual she will not get her fingers burnt, but will become an expert in hiding her nocturnal sin. The circulation of this manual and the selling of contraceptives in the open market will only promote sexual promiscuity among young girls and ardent boys. The unrestricted

ad propaganda carried on a wide scale urging people to use contraceptives will have the most deleterious effects on the minds of the young. The Government should ban the free circulation of contraceptives in the open market and save the unmarried from depravity and dishonour. "Lest Child, Child's Children, cry against you 'woe!'" Rajaji is serious and not making fun of the family planning. I am afraid his prognostications will come true. Let Mrs. Santha Rungachary ponder over.

Madras. A. R. LAKSHMANAN

(3)

Sir,—I am not surprised to see the strong protest Smt. Santha Rungachary of Delhi has made against Rajaji's remarks about contraceptives. I really admire our Delhi friend coming in violent defence of adolescents. But, should youngsters' impulse to commit sins or to indulge in vices (our friend seems to have some doubt in using these words) be appreciated by the assumption that they will learn by example? And if only we should learn by example, more particularly in sex matters, I am bewildered at such a suggestion. Curiosity is no doubt an essential for good thinking and proper understanding; but if temptation should be misunderstood for curiosity the hazard is better untold.

I may even add that immorality knocks at the door and unless we all push it out by virtue of the tradition that our sages and seers have preserved for us for ages we shall be in peril tomorrow, which means a national disaster. Madras. S. K. SREEDHARAN



777 BRAND
100 PRODUCTS - MADRAS - 5 YEARS

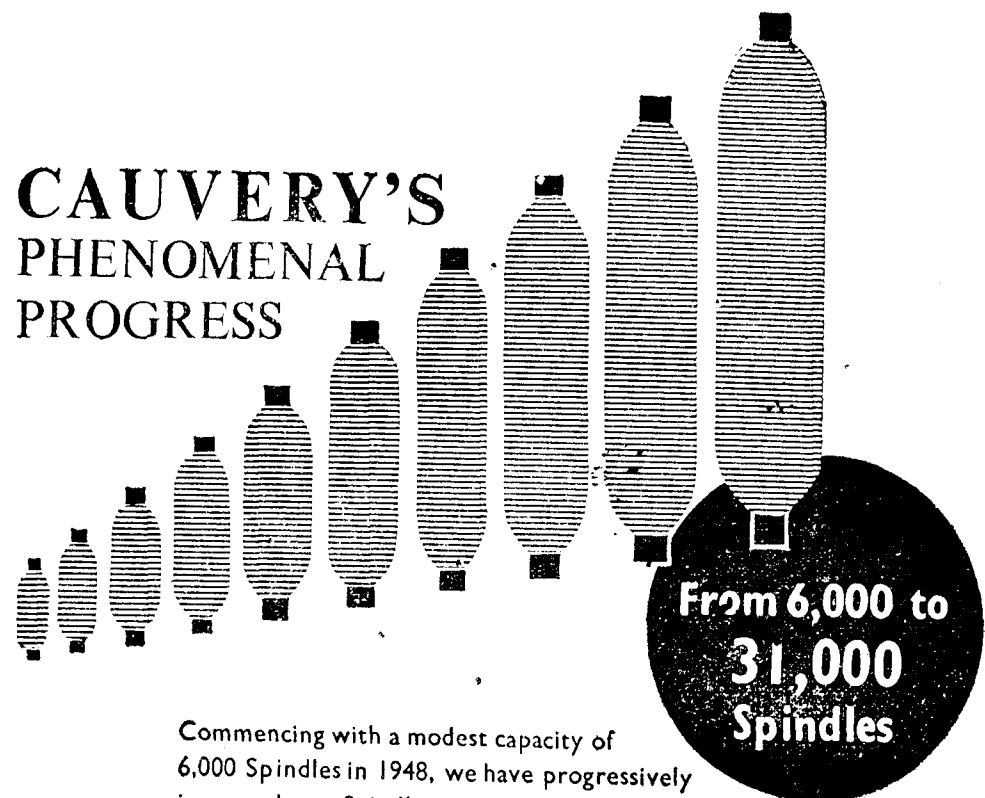
TOMATO SOUP
Mix in Hot Water and Drink

PEPPER WATER
(MULAGU-TANNI)
Paste & Powder
Mix in Hot Water & Drink

Now available at:

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CO., LTD.,
Opp. High Court - Madras-1.

CAUVERY'S PHENOMENAL PROGRESS



Commencing with a modest capacity of 6,000 Spindles in 1948, we have progressively increased our Spindleage to 31,000 today. Besides, we have installed machinery for the production of cheese, cone and doubling yarns. We are now in a position not only to meet the requirements of Handloom but also of the Powerloom and Hosiery Industry. All this has been made possible because of the constant control exercised at all levels of production to maintain highest quality and thus creating increased demand.



CAUVERY SPINNING & WEAVING MILLS LTD.

Managing Agents:

M/S. UNITED INDUSTRIES (PUDUKKOTTAI) PRIVATE LTD.
Mills: VELLANUR, CAUVERYNAGAR P. O.

Registered Office:

3rd FLOOR, INDIAN CHAMBER BUILDINGS, MADRAS-1.
Phone: 21390 - Madras
Phone: 7 - Pudukkottai
Telegrams: "CAUVERIS"
Madras & Pudukkottai.

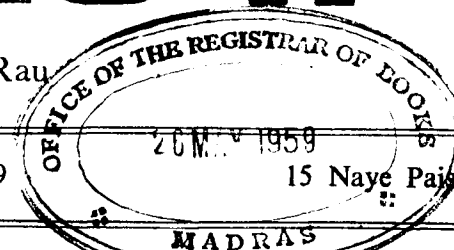
EP

42 SWARAJYA 2

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 45

MADRAS, MAY 16, 1959



THE PRIME MINISTER'S COUEISM

Auto-suggestion can cure a number of personal ailments. But when it is practised by the Prime Minister of a great country, it may prove an unmitigated calamity. Ever since the Nagpur session, Mr. Nehru has been indulging in a dangerous form of Coueism. He has persuaded himself that co-operative farming is the only panacea for the ills of our agriculture, though he confesses that he knows little about agriculture (and not much about co-operation). A personal belief, however perverse, may still be genuine. But when Mr. Nehru tries to persuade others—as he did at the meeting of the A.I.C.C.—that the rest of the country is also behind co-operative farming he is not only deluding himself but deluding others. The simple truth about co-operative farming is that hardly one percent in the Congress understand what its implications are, how it will work out and what its effects will be on production. All the known facts about co-operative farming societies that have so far been worked in this country show that they have been a dismal failure. The farmers just would not agree about how to share labour, how to share the produce and so on. The Communists, for reasons which are not difficult to imagine, have become the most vociferous supporters of the Nagpur resolution. But the utter dishonesty of their attitude will be clear from the fact that their support to the Nagpur resolution and co-operative farming has nothing to do

with their real opinions about the utility or feasibility of co-operative farming. The Finance Minister of Kerala in his last budget speech, admitted that every one of the co-operative farming societies in Kerala had failed and that the Government had decided to convert them into better-farming societies. As for the Congress's new-found enthusiasm for co-operation, its wholly artificial character was revealed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi when she told the A.I.C.C. that in response to an appeal to Congressmen to offer themselves for training in co-operation, hardly a handful had volunteered. She was speaking on a proposal to run a training camp for 100 persons and was answering a member who had flippantly suggested that not a hundred but 75,000 men should be trained for organising co-operatives. What these 100 trained Congress knights of co-operation are going to achieve remains to be seen. If, as Mr. Nehru has repeatedly insisted, co-operatives are to be entirely voluntary organisations, it will require an enormous amount of persuasion and the proved example of hundreds of successful co-operative farms to induce our farmers on any considerable scale to give up individual farming. Whether it is at all worthwhile and whether there are not more urgent and more effective means of increasing agricultural production are not questions which seem to have troubled the Congress leadership in their frenzied attempt to out-bid the Communists

at the vote-catching game.

How far will the Congress get by playing this game? Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in a graphic account of the Communists' attempts to utilise the Government machine for party purposes, said that co-operatives had been promoted in Kerala by the Communist Party to secure Government funds for the party. But she did not draw the proper lesson from this phenomenon. Namely, that a co-operative movement dependent on Government backing and support is bound to degenerate into a political appendage of the regime in power. There can be no doubt that in the Congress-governed States, precisely the same thing would happen if co-operatives are promoted by the Government and sustained by them. They will have no relation to the great co-operative movements that have been built up in the West, which have vigorously protected the interests of small producers or of consumers. Co-operatives promoted by political parties or the State can only be the instruments of political policy and not genuine agencies for promoting the interests of their members. It will then be inevitable that they will become, as most trade unions have already become, the battle ground for contending political factions which will look upon co-operatives as one other area of expression of political power.

That way lies not a better future for our villages but their exploitation for party ends.

DO NOT SUCCUMB TO THE LEVIATHAN

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

In a recent third-programme B.B.C. broadcast Professor Wright Mills of Columbia University has given a lead to the intellectuals of all nations who have generally come to differ from their governments but who at the same time feel impotent to do anything by way of putting their own views into political effect. The great world-issue of today on which intellectuals in most countries differ from their governments is about the Cold War. The intellectuals see no rationality in the policy of an unending fear and the search for an impossible security. But they are unable to go into a political battle against their governments. The intellectuals therefore simply withdraw from political life and believe it is the only thing they can conscientiously do.

Professor Wright Mills speaks the language of Thoreau and Socrates and Gandhi and says to them: your withdrawal from politics, I am sorry to point out, is itself a political act. Your political inactivity does not save you from the offence of being accomplices. Whatever your intentions may be, in effect you assist the powers that be in their wrong course.

The Professor's advice is that although a direct party struggle is not possible for the intellectuals, they should personally persist. They should become international again. They personally must refuse to fight the Cold War. They must attempt to get in touch with their opposite numbers in all countries of the world—above all, those in the Sino-Soviet zone of nations. With them, they ought to make their 'own separate peace'.

The Professor insists that no one may conceive himself as an altogether private person, or accept impotence, or a position tantamount to fatalism. Refuse in your own person to do or say what you do not approve in conscience, he says. "If you refuse to do it,

others may refrain from doing it, and those who still do it may then do it only with hesitation and with guilt. To refuse to do it is an affirmation of yourself as a moral centre of responsible decision. It would be the act of a man who rejects fate. It would reveal the resolution of at least one human being to take his own fate into his own hands."

Professor Wright Mills says the 'intellectuals', who are a wide group of thinking men, are guilty of the 'greatest human default being committed by privileged men in our times'. If this be so, what about the intellectuals of the future, asks a correspondent commenting on the professor's statement. "What chances have they got? The same agencies which are making the cheerful robots—the bureaucracies, he points out, are inevitably controlling the processes of education. There will be no place for thinking men in the societies of the future, in the 'rational' schemes envisaged by the

bureaucracies who are constructing future societies. This is happening, he says, as much in 'western' societies as in the Communist societies. Educated people are not wanted, but only 'trained' people!

How relevant all this is to certain things that are happening in our own country. The intellectuals in our country have for some time past been overwhelmed and hypnotized into silence and dismal fatalism by the steamroller policies of the Congress. These have in Professor Wright Mills's B.B.C. broadcast a very stimulating re-emphasis of what Gandhiji taught and which they seem to have so soon forgot. It might help them to resume their duties to the public. Those farmers and landowners who command intellect and possess the needed capital besides farming experience can learn much from this re-emphasis of the principles that enabled Gandhi to do what he did. We should not be afraid of the steamrollers. We should be loyal to our convictions and give full expression in our own person each of us of our own conscience without fear of the Leviathan.

Conan Doyle Birth Centenary

The centenary of the birth of Sir Conan Doyle falls next week. It is an event which should not pass disregarded by those to whom detective fiction has given pleasure. True, Sherlock Holmes is not the first detective in fiction, and it was by no means Conan Doyle who invented the genre. This distinction should perhaps go to Dupin and Edgar Allan Poe respectively. There are also a few detectives in Willkie Collins. But it is undisputed that it was with Sherlock Holmes that detective fiction, so to say, came of age. What it was in its nonage may be judged from the works of William le Queux and Phillips Oppenheim (though authors wrote many of their novels after Sherlock Holmes had captured the world by storm).

Sherlock Holmes' great fame

raises the question why detective fiction should be so popular, engaging general attention, even though a serious rival to the detective, who had succeeded the cowboy, has arisen in the "space traveller". Intrinsically, a story of murder and the passions must excite aversion. But it fascinates an epoch which has supped of horrors and has been promised an even more sanguinary diet. Violence is the *aura* of modern generations, and it seems natural that it should take vicarious delight in the simulated violence of detective fiction, in which the insufferable man seldom dies in his bed and the most unexpected, the most seemingly saintly, character proves to be his murderer. If only our acquaintance with violence could be confined to this!

SRIVATSA

TIME TO WAKE UP

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

News that may be considered pointing towards danger are coming out. We should not be surprised if in the near future China makes up her mind to drop her patience with Formosa and act on the assumption that it will not lead to a world war if they exercise their national rights to put an end to the armed camp against their mainland maintained by Chiang-kai-Shek. It is now well understood that the great nuclear powers are not so eager to join in any local war as they may make it appear by way of deterrence. There is a definite cleavage of opinion in America itself about the maintenance for all time of the army of Chiang-kai-Shek. Enough respect has been shown to old loyalties that are no longer consonant with established facts. If it comes to the actual opening out of a nuclear war America would hesitate a great deal before plunging the world into it.

Even if the conflict between China and Formosa were to be successfully localised, the use of second class atomic weapons by America and American-aided forces on the side of Formosa is sufficient to poison the atmosphere for all of us who are not involved and have a right to our health and the normalcy of our children. It must be seriously and fully examined whether the authority of any world organization may be duly and formally invoked in time by uncommitted India and Burma and Ceylon to prevent any nuclear power exploding or assisting the explosion of nuclear weapons of any sort to the prejudice of the health of the peoples of India, Burma or Ceylon. We cannot let things go on until it becomes too late.

This is an issue different from the issue of test explosions. The use of nuclear weapons of any grade on the Chinese coast is likely to result in the adding of poisonous fall-out in greater quantities than even by the test explosions that have been the subject matter of anxiety so far.

America cannot refuse to accept the jurisdiction of world courts or other world authorities. The Government of India has to take up this matter without delay in view of the active preparations of offence and defence reported in that area. America cannot be allowed to put into practice her theory that certain atomic weapons have now to be treated as

UNREPENTANT TRUMAN

In an interview article by Cabell Phillips in the New York Times (May 3), we read that ex-President Truman is unashamed about the dropping of the atom bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima. "To me it was a weapon of war, an artillery weapon. We faced half a million casualties trying to take Japan by land. It was either that or the atom bomb, and I didn't hesitate a minute."

And he added "I've never lost any sleep over it since."

We know however that America has lost some sleep over it ever since! The law of Karma has worked relentlessly and Truman's atom bomb has grown into the sleep-less nightmare that it is now for all the good people of Truman's country.

Harry Truman seeks to justify his act. But Churchill's narrative is fairly conclusive on the point. After setting out all the facts, he winds up: "It would be a mistake to suppose that the fate of Japan was settled by the atomic bomb. Her defeat was certain before the first bomb fell and was brought about by overwhelming maritime power. Her metropolitan army had capitulated without striking a blow. Her shipping had been destroyed."

The message sent by the Emperor of Japan to Stalin said according to Churchill "that Japan could not agree to what was then called 'unconditional surrender', which included the handing over of the Emperor as a war criminal but Japan was prepared for admission of defeat and cessation of war."

"conventional". Scientists have made it clear that an extensive use of these weapons on the battlefield as a part of even a local war is enough to produce a terrible amount of radio-active poison that cannot be limited to operate only on the belligerents.

The time has arrived for non-belligerents to wake up from their lethargy, to throw off the hypnotism of brutal power that is suppressing them and to show some warlike energy of the peaceful kind.

Now, as I said in my speech at the YMCA Madras in March 1955, Churchill is not a negligible authority in such a matter. But, so to say, from the horse's mouth we have a very relevant passage in the book of Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Staff to President Roosevelt and President Truman, a book that was published with a foreword by President Truman in October 1949:

"It is my opinion that the use of this barbarous weapon on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender.... It was my reaction that the scientists and others wanted to make this test because of the vast sums that had been spent on the project. Truman knew that, and so did the other people involved. However the Chief Executive made a decision to use the bomb on two cities in Japan. 'Bomb' is the wrong word to use for this new weapon. It is not an explosive. It is a poisonous thing that kills people by its deadly radio-active reaction more than by the explosive force it develops. My own feeling was that in being the first to use it, we had adopted an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages... There is a practical certainty that potential enemies will develop it in the future and that atomic bombs will some time be used against us."

(pp. 441, 442 in *I Was There* by William D. Leahy.)

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

SENSATIONS OF THE SEASON

By JUNIUS

Parliament is now in recess, the Rajya Sabha first and the Lok Sabha next, having adjourned *siné die*. They will re-assemble in August next and embark on the monsoon session. But the monsoon is far-off. Nor only are the days so hot but they threaten to become hotter still. It is but right that except those who by virtue of their occupation (of the Treasury Benches) pay the price of sticking on to Delhi, the M.P.'s should have now the much-needed respite from fierce blasts and burning issues.

The Budget Session that ended on Saturday, the ninth of May, had its interesting features. Over 20 Government Bills were introduced in the Lok Sabha during the session; indeed, they were 21, apart from two which were laid on the table, having originated in Rajya Sabha. The Government Bills actually passed by the Lok Sabha were even more; they were 25 while 11 were left pending. As for private members' business, 15 Bills were introduced and eight disposed of. The total number of starred questions was 2,310 and of unstarred ones 4,281; then, there were also 33 short notice questions. The Committees too gave a good account of themselves, the Business Advisory Committee having presented five Reports, the public Accounts Committee nine, and the Estimates Committee as many as twenty-nine.

To turn to livelier features, it was a new Finance Minister's inaugural session. Yet it was not he who dominated the session. The fact that the Prime Minister, as always, overshadowed everyone else in the House, hardly detracted from Mr. Morarji Desai's political success on the financial front. It is not in his present capacity that he can ever be in his element. By a strange coincidence, the same two issues that monopolised Parliamentary attention at the beginning of the session, also weighed on Members'

minds towards the end — the Mathai Affair and the L.I.C. Inquiry. The documents relating to the latter have yet to see the light of day. But it is generally assumed that the fates were not half so kind to the former Finance Minister as to the former Special Assistant of the Prime Minister; it is likewise assumed that the return of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari to Delhi as some dignitary of consequence is as remote as Mr. M. O. Mathai's gate-crashing into Rajya Sabha is likely.

Two other issues that cropped up during the last session of Parliament continue to agitate the public mind in varying degrees. The shooting of the Indian Canberra by Pakistan raised controversies which are still raging at different levels while the developments in Tibet have meant other developments elsewhere. In the Parliamentary speeches on Tibet, the Communists unabashedly isolated themselves from popular feeling and national sentiment by taking a line which was ingenious and peculiarly their own. It was the P.S.P. that sounded the tocsin with a touch partly ethical and mainly emotional. The Jan Sangh approach to so delicate an issue as Tibet was as unrealistic as it was aggressive. For the Congress it was a bit of tight-rope dancing, as sympathy for Tibet should be uncontaminated by any censure of China. It must be conceded that in admittedly difficult circumstances, the Prime Minister so spoke as to leave no one in doubt about either the firmness of his stand or the politeness of his demeanour. The one who caught his spirit and made the best speech in either House on the subject of Tibet was Mr. B. Shiva Rao, the doyen of journalism.

Yet there was another big issue which excited a great deal of interest inside the House as well as far beyond it—that of co-operative farming. The general readiness of Congressmen to fall in

line with the Prime Minister's (known and declared) passion for it revealed a fine sense, more of political opportunism or of institutional loyalty, than of any understanding of the implications of the issue. Not that Delhi has set the seal on Nagpur, it remains to be seen how much nearer the Promised Land, Congressmen are.

The one man who made a Parliamentary reputation by attacking the Congress and its leader on this issue with no compunction then or regrets since, was Mr. M. R. Masani. Incidentally, another Independent also distinguished himself by his strong convictions and fervid eloquence, during the last session of Parliament. It was Mr. Frank Anthony on the question of English. He will not be answered before the monsoon will break and the heat and the dust subside.

The South fared none too well in the elections to the Congress Parliamentary Party. Kerala was nowhere in the picture; Mysore had but a single representative; Madras was luckier because of Dr. P. Subbarayan in Lok Sabha and Mrs. Ammu Swaminadhan in Rajya Sabha. The position of Andhra Pradesh was redeemed by a few refreshing features. Smt. Yashoda Reddy came to Andhra's rescue from Rajya Sabha, while Mr. H. C. Heda made up for Lok Sabha's omission in the Executive by snatching away Secretarial laurels. What Andhra Pradesh lacks by more direct representation is perhaps counter-balanced by the election of Rani Manjula Devi from Assam and Mr. R. Jagannadha Rao from Orissa who are both hundred naya-paisa Andhra. Both of them are so popular that they have a ready welcome everywhere; indeed, Mr. Jagannadha Rao has gone up the scale this year. In any case, Andhra is lucky in having Mr. Heda nearer the seats of power both in Parliament and on the Congress organisational front. It is good to find newcomers in Andhra forging ahead, with masculine drive as well as feminine grace in sparkling evidence!

ENGLISH OR HINDI

By K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

The publication of the Report of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language has come as a rude shock to those who had hoped against hope that sentiment and fanaticism would not finally overrule reason and fairplay. The articulate Hindi faction demands its 'pound of flesh' in terms of the 'bond' which the representatives of the non-Hindi areas had hastily signed ten years ago. And Mr. Frank Anthony has underlined in double red the dangerous implications of the recommendations of the Committee and issued a grave warning to the country. We are verily facing what may probably prove to be the most crucial crisis in our history as a free nation.

This brazen surrender to 'national' sentiment, when all the time we are also piping heroic international tunes, can only heap confusion on confusion, and give a further twist to our self-deception. We are neither guardedly conservative nor consistently progressive. In Allahabad, for example, while the sanitation is wretched, the civic amenities poor, and the city transport system primitive and expensive, a new Railway Station costing about Rs. 1 crore has come up, and the old solid edifice has been rudely pulled down. Who has benefitted? The Second Plan—Indian Planning generally—is fighting for survival: and here are we wasting money on prestige buildings, and frittering away our energies on the fabrication of an impossible official language. God help us!

Bad tactics, both towards Britain and towards the Muslim League, divided India, and brought upon us most of our woes. Now it is not bad tactics merely: it is blind arrogance born of a false sense of numerical superiority which is more nominal than real. But this cannot alter the lessons of history nor the stern logic of facts. In Rajaji's words, English in India today is the "shell" that protects our national unity; if we "antonly break the shell, the fluid

contents must inevitably spill over, and "we can only expect disintegration".

During the decades of Gandhian leadership, certain panaceas were offered as the solvent of one or another of our national evils. Khadi was thus set against mill-made cloth, and the substitution was expected to alleviate some of the economic evils of the country. Likewise, the adoption of Hindi (or rather Hindustani) as the national language was expected to raise our self-respect and promote a feeling of unity in the country. That a fully shared language does not necessarily promote unity was, however, the bitter lesson of the partition of Bengal and of the Punjab. There is therefore very real danger in our blind attempts to harden into dogmas the experimental programmes of pre-independence days.

Twelve years after independence, and notwithstanding all the special facilities afforded by Party and Government for its expansion and consolidation, Hindi has made no spectacular advance, and the vogue for English has suffered no serious set-back. Recent statistics are very revealing in this connection. From the Annual Report of the Registrar of Newspapers for India for the year 1957 we learn that 50 English newspapers in India had between them a circulation of 1,005,000, while 57 Hindi newspapers had an aggregate circulation of only 394,000; and English newspapers are, almost as a rule, not only better edited with a wider coverage of news, but are also read all over the country, whereas the Hindi reading public is confined to certain areas in North India alone. Again, it is an interesting fact that there are seven times as many quarterly journals in English (mostly of a learned character) as in Hindi—and as many in English as in almost all the other languages put together. We learn further that, during 1957, as many as 193 new English journals were started as against only 108 Hindi journals;

and 37 Hindi journals ceased publication as against only 25 English journals. It will be seen that Hindi loses all along the line.

It is a fact no less that the annual production of books in English in India by Indian authors is greater in volume, more numerous in respect of individual titles, and perhaps also more varied in range and richer in content than books published in Hindi. Moreover, a study team that visited most of the Indian Universities some months ago with a view to exploring the possibilities of university publishing in India, found that only 11 universities had sizeable publishing programmes, and had between them brought out 1,845 learned books. Out of these, as many as 778 were in English, 333 in Sanskrit, 130 in Tamil, 120 in Bengali, 195 in Kannada, 105 in Malayalam, 38 in Telugu and only 26 in Hindi. Even these 26 books had come, not from the universities in the Hindi region, but from Calcutta (10), Osmania (5), Visvabharati (5), and Madras (2), Patna providing the remaining (4). Osmania at one time had an ambitious programme of Urdu publications, but all that proved a costly fiasco, and the University eventually reverted to the English medium.

PLAYS

	Rs.	nP.
<i>The Burning Glass</i> by Charles Morgan	7	75
<i>I am a Camera</i> : A play in 3 Acts by John Van Druten	6	12
<i>Cupid and Psyche</i> : A play in 3 Acts by Benn W. Levy	4	87
<i>Victoria Regina</i> : A dramatic Biography by Laurence Housman	8	56
<i>Happy and Glorious</i> : A dramatic biography by Laurence Housman	8	56
<i>The Rose Tattoo</i> by Tennessee Williams	8	56
<i>Caligula and Cross Purpose</i> : Two plays by Albert Camus	8	56
<i>The Flies and In Camera</i> : Two plays by Jean-Paul Sartre	8	56

K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A. Royapettah High Road,
Mylapore, Madras-4



RETURN WISER

(Fable by RAJAJI, translated by

MRS. A. V. RAMAN)

"Is there happiness in giving or in receiving?" asked a sage.

A poor woman rose up and answered, "Lord, I felt most happy when I gave breast to my child. I did not get that pleasure when I ate to appease my own hunger. But when I took up the baby and nursed it, I felt extremely happy."

Next, another woman got up and spoke, "Oh, Lord," she said, "the pleasure which I obtained when I served the inmates of my house with the food I had cooked, I did not derive when I sat alone and ate the food afterwards."

Later, a Chettiar spoke, "Oh! Lord!" he said, "I too have realised the same truth just like these ladies."

He continued, "Though I had amassed plenty of wealth during my lifetime I found no contentment, pleasure or happiness. I started giving to the poor. They were so happy and were full of gratitude to me. In their happiness I found pleasure. I enjoyed true happiness only then."

The sage said, "We have gained wisdom by the experiences of these people."

In the *agraham* of Eecham-

pakkam there lived an orthodox Brahmin. It was his custom to get up early and after performing his morning ablutions, go begging for alms with a vessel slung over his shoulders, to each house.

Everyone liked this Brahmin. He had only to enter a house and immediately rice was put into his vessel. He would bless all his donors. Rich and poor alike gave him alms and he blessed them alike. After feeding a few poor children he ate what remained. He then taught the poor children whom he had fed.

Patrachariar's wife always asked her pet child Kesavan to give alms to the poor Brahmin. Her idea was that her child should also be benefitted by this good act. As soon as the child had given she would fondle it lovingly and ask "Have you given?"

On some days Kesavan's little sister pleaded, "Oh mother, I shall give alms today" and the little one also got the pleasure of giving rice to the poor Brahmin.

Kesavan would stand by his little sister saying, "Put the

rice in the vessel carefully, without spilling".

Whenever these children ate anything they always shared it with others. They were thus brought up in unselfishness.

Their neighbour Saradambal—wife of Raghavayyar, a fairly rich man—also was in the habit of giving alms to the Brahmin through her child.

Do you know the reason why?

There is a popular belief that one should give as much rice by way of alms as both hands can hold. Saradambal's idea was that if she herself gave, more rice would be spent as her hands were much bigger than her child's! But if the child was made to give, the custom would be respected and at the same time less rice would have been spent!

Thus she too made her child give rice to the begging Brahmin, like her neighbour.

In the court of Death, Lord Yama asked.

"Oh, Saradambal, why did you ask your child to give alms?"

Saradambal: "Did not my neighbour Patrachariar's good wife do likewise? I followed her."

Yama laughed—"Go—return here after having learnt how to give alms properly!" Thus saying he dismissed her back to earth.

"a stately people clownish, putting indignity into their very souls". He was wrong, though wrong in a characteristically Irish way. It was another Irishman who recently wrote to me—

"There seems to be a growing universal tendency to confuse linguistics and politics, and as you know, my own country has paid dearly because of it. Emotional politicians have not only killed any possibility of the Irish language being revived in Ireland, but have spent millions of pounds in doing so."

The current position, therefore, is that people continue to talk and write and publish in English, the language of the higher administration and the law courts remains English, the proceedings of the numerous all-India conferences and congresses are generally conducted in English, and the many examinations and interviews for the Indian Administrative and other all-India services and even most of the provincial services are also conducted in English. As is only to be expected, and indeed welcomed, the regional languages are steadily forging forward, and

Hindi too is worthily participating in this movement of expansion and modernisation. But for all India administration, inter-state communication, pursuit of knowledge at the higher levels, and for maintaining and promoting international contacts, English is proving an indispensable tool, cementing force, key, and channel all at once. Neither the conscientious Englishman nor the patriotic Indian need now be apologetic about the introduction and continuation of 'English' education in India. Yeats once remarked that English education had made

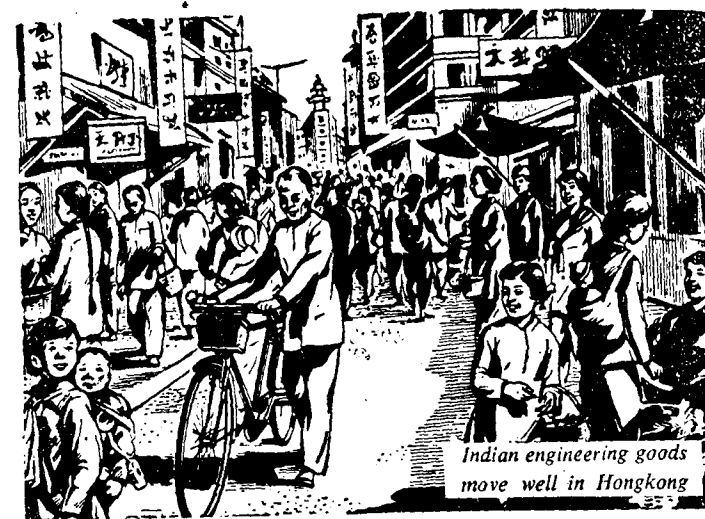
Hindi will grow in good time, and perhaps one day by virtue of its accomplished richness and strength become the *de facto lingua franca* of India. But merely forcing the pace somehow and inflating the body with tens of thousands of hastily coined, cumbersome, unpronounceable new technical terms and expressions—coined, that is, by the Raghu Vira mint—will kill Hindi rather than give it a national vogue.

For the time being, and the 'cold war' notwithstanding, the national administration is a going concern thanks to English, there is one clearly understood body of laws for the whole country, and the intellectual world of India is recognisably one world, and not fifteen. But the danger still is that we may surrender, or be forced to surrender, to sentiment, fight in the name of nationalism the very forces that are helping to beat us into the shape of a nation, and purblindly canter towards the abyss of isolation and obscurantism. As Dr. Gunnar Myrdal the Swedish economist has pointed out, culturally an underdeveloped country "has reasons for learning from all the world. It is a policy of defeatism, which a poor country least of all can afford, to build up barriers against the richer world's civilisation and values." We have to follow a policy that is no doubt reasonably nationalist, but one that is likely to bring us 'nearer, and not farther away from, the stage where an integrated world policy based on international solidarity could be effectively attempted'. Although the words are taken out of the context, their pertinence here is not affected in the least. An accident of history brought us into contact with the English language. During the 150 years of our association with it, we have marched to nationhood and independence, and the English language too has during this period increased its sovereignty—outdistanced its rivals like French, German and Spanish—and acquired a dominant position in the counsels of the world. It is lucky we know this language and can wield it with competence. Nor should we forget the important fact that some of our own great

men and women have created a literature in English that is truly distinguished and truly national.

Were we not blinded by prejudice or misled by false hopes, we shall grasp the fact that in the developing world drama, the future is with English, not with Hindi; and there is this Indian intelligentsia scattered all over the country that already knows English. It would be wiser on the whole to foster this bird in hand than nose about the bush for another, or start manufacturing a synthetic bird in a linguistic laboratory. We have to learn to be modern, we have to think of the future as well as the present, we

have to think of the mass of the people who have to be enabled to rise to a level of cultural and economic self-sufficiency. The masses should be approached through the regional languages which, again, need to lean on English as well as Sanskrit to achieve positions of strength and maturity in the competitive modern world. But if English went, with it must go whatever unity of knowledge and feeling that has been brought about after the centuries' long confusion and travail in the country. If English went, we would be obliged soon to moan with Othello: "Chaos is come again!" God help us.



Your goods have a ready market in South East Asia

EXPORT NOW

INDIA produces the very commodities which the South East Asian countries need—jute, textiles, tea, handlooms, handicrafts, cycles, sewing machines and many other manufactured goods. Export them now—they'll buy them.

THE INDIAN OVERSEAS BANK LIMITED has made a special study of this important, growing market. Our network of overseas branches, agents and correspondents are at your service for on-the-spot advice.

THE INDIAN OVERSEAS BANK LIMITED, MADRAS

Branches at: AHMEDABAD, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, CUTTACK, HYDERABAD, MADRAS, NEW DELHI and throughout South India. Overseas Branches: BANGKOK, COLOMBO, HONGKONG, IPOH, KLANG, KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA, PENANG, RANGOON, SINGAPORE.

Agents and Correspondents all over the world

M. Ct. Muthiah Chairman C. P. Doraisannu General Manager

LAND PROBLEM IN INDIA

By "OBSERVER"

The Congress party in India is now poised for its greatest policy adventure since its advent to power in 1947; it is ready to embark on the most disastrous gamble which any government in the country has so far undertaken in history.

The policy directive has now gone forth to all the State governments that certain steps for land reforms must be completed by the end of 1959. These steps are:

1. Legislation must be enacted fixing a ceiling on individual land holdings in the country. While each State was left discretion to fix the ceiling to suit local conditions and quality of lands, the dis-

cussion made it clear that the general policy should be to correspond to an annual income of about Rs. 3,600 to Rs. 5,000. This means that in rich delta lands devoted to wet crops, the ceiling may be around ten to fifteen acres; in dry lands, the ceiling may work out to thirty acres.

2. 'Surplus' lands thus excised from larger holdings should be handed over to village panchayats.

3. The Panchayats will promote formation of land co-operatives with existing tenant cultivators and landless labourers to cultivate these lands.

The strangest thing was that little or nothing was said at the

Congress session of the policy or quantum of compensation that should be paid to the present owners, nor is it clear who is ultimately responsible for the payment of compensation due—the Government, the Panchayat or the co-operatives to be formed.

With great solemnity, with scant reverence for criticism even from within the party, the Congress has proclaimed that these steps are necessary to solve the vexed land problem in the country.

But what exactly is this bogey, land problem, about which we have been hearing so much from every quarter? From Communist lips, it is not difficult to understand the problem; the question is simply one of ownership; private owners of land must be liquidated and State ownership through Communes and co-operatives and collectives should be established. It is not so simply expounded by Congress leadership.

For some time it was fashionable to talk of the equitable redistribution of land to the millions of hungry landless in the country. Politically, the landless are in the same category as the homeless, jobless and workers who do not own the factories they work in. Mathematically, equal distribution of land to all the agricultural population would result in land holdings of the size of a small kitchen garden. This slogan has, therefore, been given up.

Now the problem is posed as the urgent one of increasing the food production in the country. Our socialist planners are fired by glowing details of the phenomenal increase in food production advertised by Russia and Communist China and are now set to emulate their examples and patterns. In fact, there is a great element of exhibitionism in our latest slogan of land reforms; our Gandhian Socialists are out to prove themselves far superior to Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung by achieving the same results without shedding a drop of blood, without chopping off a single head, thanks to fifty years of Gandhian non-violence that has got into the very marrow of the people of India.

But considering the Indian conditions, the latest policy will prove bad party policy, worse economy and a total fraud on constitutional democracy to which the ruling party is sworn and to which the leaders are still paying lip service.

It is an unconvincing euphemism to call alienation of land compulsorily from existing holders to be passed on to Panchayats or land co-operatives, agrarian reform. Reform in a democratic concept of Government can mean improvement or regulation of the agricultural industry, benevolent legislation to prevent exploitation and ensure fair wages and hours of work to the workers, anti-fragmentation laws to prevent uneconomic holdings, price guarantees and agricultural subsidies to stimulate production. But reform can never mean negation of the fundamental concept in democracy of private ownership. But the present policy of the ruling party in this country is just an agrarian revolution where the concept of private ownership of land is destroyed and legislative compulsion, backed by the police and the defence forces will be applied to make the present owners part with the whole or part of their lands, in favour of another class of owners, whether the latter is called the village panchayat or land co-operatives.

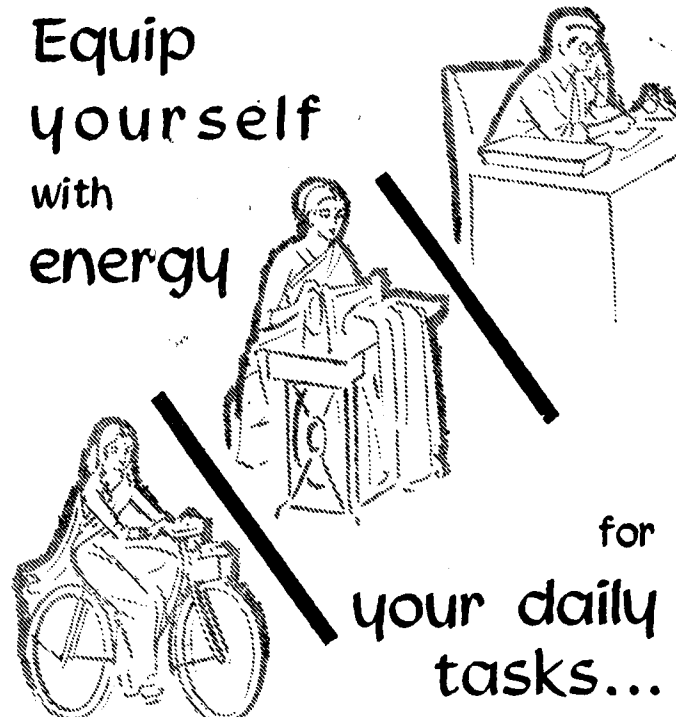
Communist ideology starts with the concept that everything and everyone belongs to the State and as such no one has any right to private ownership. This is the very fundamental and vital difference between democracy and Communism. Once the right to private ownership whether of industrial units or agricultural lands or housing accommodation is denied by a Government, that Government loses the right to be called democratic by any stretch of the definition.

It is even questionable whether legislative compulsion of a party Government with a steam roller majority in Parliament, with direct threat of police force if not the army on a completely unarmed and emasculated mass can be considered non-violence pure and simple.

When a Government starts departing from fundamental principles to woo the electorate, it has started to ride a tiger; it can neither let go lest the tiger should swallow the rider, nor can it hope to remain in the saddle long since the tiger is bound to win in the long run. Having destroyed the concept of private ownership rights in land, can the Government continue to prevent such rights in the urban property and in industrial units? These will follow the

same fate whatever the politicians or the Congress may say today. For the general elections in 1962, urban houses and industrial factories will have to be jettisoned before the gaping, hungry mouths of the voting populace.

Land and houses have been considered from primordial times as the most solid, tangible, real property of man. Bullion came next and other assets were considered more fluid, lower in priority. Land and houses can be inherited



KAMADHENU
Vanaspati

is ideal for restoring lost energy!

Made in hygienic conditions, and enriched with Vitamins A and D, KAMADHENU VANASPATI is a pure and wholesome cooking medium—as good as ghee.

Always ask for
KAMADHENU VANASPATI—the housewife's hot favourite!

THE METTUR CHEMICAL & INDUSTRIAL CORPN. LIMITED
Mettur Dam R. S. Salem Dt.

Managing Agents: **SESHASAYEE BROS. PRIVATE LIMITED**

MC 624



Sotto Voce

A Social and Political Commentary
by "Vighneswara" (N. Raghunathan)

SOME PRESS OPINIONS

Sri K. M. Munshi in "The Hindu": "The book reveals a many-sided mind and the style attracts the reader and holds his attention to the very last sentence of each article. Behind all this pungent satire and the withering sarcasm, is the man with a wholesome outlook on vital problems, the man of commonsense, the man who is not prepared to take things at their face value. It is not just the outlook of a sage turned humorist. I have come across few books in India which have such sustained variety and sense associated with literary skill and varied humour."

The Statesman: "When the views are expressed with as much gentle irony and are sharpened by as much scholarship as Vighneswara can train on his writing, then even dissentients cannot but murmur appreciation."

Thought: "What is evident in the discussion is a scholarship that is amazing for its richness, range and depth and an independence of judgment that is striking in this age of conformity. He can soar into the heavens with the eagle, almost habitually. Yet he has the time, even passion for chasing butterflies. It is this extraordinary quality of mind, together with the excellence of the writing that makes the book a sheer delight. For journalists and columnists this is a 'must'. For others too it is equally important. Writing of such excellence is rarely come by."

368 pages Price: Rs. 4. Library Edition Rs. 5.

Postage (Re. 1-20 nP.) extra.

B. G. PAUL & CO.,
4, FRANCIS JOSEPH STREET, MADRAS-1

All India Dental Association research shows 92% OF SCHOOL CHILDREN EXAMINED HAD GUM TROUBLES!

Guard
your children's
gums and teeth
with Gibbs SR

—the only toothpaste
containing
Sodium Ricinoleate
...used by dentists
to combat and
prevent gum troubles

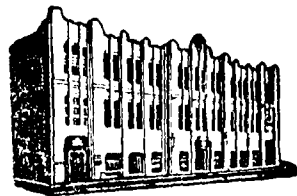
That distinctive 'SR'
taste tells you the
Sodium Ricinoleate
is actively protecting
your teeth and gums.



MADE IN INDIA BY HINDUSTAN RIVER LIMITED FOR D. & W. GIBBS LTD., LONDON

GSR 127-X32

THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"
NORTH BEACH ROAD,
MADRAS-1.

23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole
of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND
SINGAPORE.

CAPITAL

Authorised Capital	Rs 1,00,00,000
Issued and Subscribed Capital	" 72,00,000
Paid-up Capital	" 66,38,990
Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium)	" 99,61,883
Deposits as on 31-12-'58	" 40,93,17,330
Total Working Funds	" 50,12,19,816

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.
R. SUNDARAM IYER.
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA
MUDALIAR.
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA
CHETTIAR.
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.
RAMDAS PURUSHOTTAM DAS.

ALL TYPES OF
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING
FOREIGN EXCHANGE
TRANSACTIONS.

London Agents:
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents:
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,
SECRETARY

May 16, 1959

SWARAJYA

11

just as factories and law practices can be inherited. Land and houses can also be bought out of life's savings as solid investments, in preference to or in addition to industrial shares or units. It is certainly true of a large majority of small landholders today that land has been acquired as an investment out of their earnings as workers or civil servants in urban areas.

One of the most recent of such migrations of capital from the urban areas to the rural side on a considerable scale took place during the inter-war years, especially between 1942 and 1946 under the threat of Japanese invasion of coastal cities. A large number of upper middle classes and rich men invested their money in lands as the most solid of investments, pushing up land prices. Rise in foodgrain prices helped to retain this capital in the villages, but land legislation soon made land transactions in the property market difficult or uneconomic.

If the coping stone of a democratic society is the individual's right to work as he pleases, to keep the earnings from his work subject to taxes, to invest such earnings in property which he can enjoy and to live one's own life, then expropriation of land by fixations of ceilings can only have the effect of pulling out this coping stone and the structure will have to come tumbling down. Similar expropriatory measures will have to follow in respect of urban properties and industrial units; and all the other steps through which a Communist Government puts its people must follow with the inevitability of a Greek tragedy.

CEILING ON PLANTATIONS

The Public Relations Officer,
United Planters Association of
Southern India, writes:

Land Reforms proposals of certain South Indian States are cutting at the root of the plantation industry. Unless the real nature of the threat posed is clearly recognised, there is every likelihood of the most progressive

and best organised section of India's agriculture being destroyed. The Planning Commission had provided certain rules to guide land reforms measures and the most important were its recommendations that plantations, permanently developed land and efficiently managed farms should be exempted from the scope of any Bill intended to restrict the size of holdings. The two land reforms Bills, one presented by the Government of Mysore and the other currently before the Kerala Legislature indicate the manner in which the suggestion of the Planning Commission in regard to plantations has been ignored.

In the case of Kerala there is a general impression that plantations are exempted from the provisions relating to ceiling on holdings in the State's Agrarian Relations Bill.

Chapter III, Clause 55 relates to exemptions. Whereas oranges and budded mangoes are exempted as also forest lands and sites specially mentioned, plantations do not find a place under this Clause. Reference to it is relegated to Clause 57 and there are two conditions attached to the exemption. One is that the plantations exempted are those which were plantations as on the 18th December 1957, and the other specifies a limit of 20% as the absolute limit of expansion over the area as on the 18th December 1957. Not only proprietary holdings but also company holdings are subject to the limitation unless the Government exercise its powers of exemption provided for under Clause 55 sub-clause (3).

The healthy existence of plantations is very greatly determined by its ability to replace its weaker and poorer areas with new planting. This process will be frustrated with the prospective ceiling contemplated under Clause 57 (2) in operation. The 20% expansion allowed cannot benefit those who have no reserves of land contiguous to their present holding, a condition prescribed under Clause 57(2) and it does not take into account the country's general expansion needs in plantation crops.

The definition of "plantations"

is too restricted and endless problems will be caused where swamps or enclaves within plantations have been leased to cultivators on an annual basis in the interest of the State's food production drive. All such lands will be lost to the estate and the orderly control and management of plantations made impossible.

The compensation payable on land surrendered is on a steeply descending scale and where it exceeds Rs. 1,05,000 the rate is 25% of the market value. At this rate, after the market value of plantation lands has already been artificially depressed, compensation is a fiction and the take-over will amount to expropriation.

The various provisions quoted above can have disastrous effect on the plantation industry in Kerala. In a State which finds it so difficult to attract industrial investment, to undermine one which already exists, has the largest scope for expansion and is the biggest employer of labour and contributor to the State's revenues is, to say the least, inexplicable.

FOR EVERYTHING ABOUT THE LATEST S. T. ACT

THE LIFCO

MADRAS SALES TAX

Act I of 1959, Rules, Forms,
Notifications, Appellate Tribunal

Regulations, 1959, and

Practical Hints

Price Rs. 6/-; By Post Rs. 6.90/-.

Copies can be had of:

LIFCO, Madras-17; M. DAMODARAM & Co., Appah Bldgs., Madras-1; HIGGINBOTHAMS, Madras-2, & Ry. Stalls; S. KRISHNASWAMI & Co., Teppakulam, Trichy-2; M. NADANASUNDARAM BROS., Pudumandapam, Madurai; C. R. NATARAJAN & SON, Coimbatore; KAVIGNAR PATHIPPAGAM, 241, Raja Street, Coimbatore; A. K. CHANDRIAH CHETTIAR, Fort, Salem-1; and S. M. JEGANATHAM, Nagercoil.

CINEMA

FILM WRITERS' ACTIVITY IN BOMBAY

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: The Film Writers' Association held its first public function on Tuesday when it organised a *Mushaira* of Filmpoets. Though it was never publicized, the idea behind the *Mushaira* was to collect funds for the association. But as the names of the star poets were not specifically advertised and tickets were not canvassed, the *Mushaira* did not draw a huge crowd. The association collected just over a thousand rupees, though the house was half-packed with a number of invitees.

The *Mushaira* itself did not flop. For, though some of the poets like Shailendra, Nakshab, Rajinder Krishan, Majrooh, Bhrat Vyas, Pradeep were absent, the majority of the lyricists recited their non-filmic poetry, and several of them won plaudits. Deepak, for instance, won applause for his newly composed poem on the Hindi-Urdu film poets Kaifi Azmi, Shakeel, Qamar Jalalabadi, Jan Nisar Akhtar, old timer Ramesh Gupta, Kaif Arfani, Sardar Jafri and Sahir were among the poets who participated in the *Mushaira*.

Shakeel Badayuni acted as the compere and conducted the *Mushaira* in a democratic manner breaking the old rules of seniority and other things. He made a speech in which he emphasised the fact that the writers—story writer and lyricist provided the foundation of a motion picture. And yet they were not given the importance they deserved. Of late, their services were being recognised; and they were included in 'awards' and given due prominence in publicity. He pleaded for the recognition of writer's importance in film-making. K. A. Abbas also laid stress on the same fact. He compared the writer to the poor donkey who carried all the burden but got nothing except abuses in return. But this 'donkey' had now started to assert

himself and demand his rights. He pointed out that though the story provided the base of a motion picture and lakhs of rupees were spent to give visual form to the story, the man who wrote the story was given the least importance. And he gave instances to support his argument. He chided All India Radio which had time to give the names of listeners but no time to give the name of the lyricist in film music broadcasts.

The Film Writers' Association, like all film associations, has had a chequered career. But since the new executive was elected, it has been active on many fronts. It has prepared a standardized contract and it has settled many disputes between writers and producers on the one hand and writers and writers in the matter of copyright. Its affiliation to Western India Film Employees Union has given it a trade union character. Almost all the leading film writers and poets are the members of the association, and its office bearers including its president Abbas, secretary Qamar Jalalabadi and treasurer Vrajendra Gaur are active and the members meet at least once a month.

If the writers are able to keep up this activity and forge unity, their association may become as powerful and united as the screen writers' Guild in Hollywood. Only they must get rid of their 'subjective' and 'temperamental' attitude and be able to judge every issue on its merits in a dispassionate manner.

Subodh Mukerji's maiden independent venture 'Love Marriage' is designed to be a romantic entertainer, and as such need not be taken too seriously. The picture succeeds in its aim and provides very breezy and brisk romance and comedy in the first half.

Dev Anand plays the role of a youth from Jhansi. He comes to Bombay, secures accommodation

as a paying guest and shares a room with Mala Sinha, a modern working girl. In keeping with the 'Mukerji' formula, at first Dev and Mala quarrel. But after watching Dev's feat as a batsman on the cricket field, Mala is attracted to him. The romance, punctuated with excellent gags and songs, culminates into matrimony. The gags are so delightful and the pace is so brisk that the picture affords you exhilarating entertainment in spite of over-acting by Dev Anand.

But after the wedding, the couple comes to Jhansi and the story takes a serious turn. A dancing girl whom Dev had insulted takes revenge on him by ensnaring his brother Abhi whom he revered in her trap. Dev is devoted to his Bhabi—an ideal character portrayed with zest by Pranoti. To save Bhabi from being hurt and humiliated, Dev prevails upon Abhi to stop going to the dancing girl. But to prevent the dancing girl from playing any mischief, he is forced to dance to her tune! Result, he gets a bad name; his Bhabi walks out and his wife threatens to divorce him. Fortunately, Abhi confesses his guilt. But if he had done the same earlier, the uncalled for sacrifice by Dev would have been averted. The entire dramatic episode is artificial and unconvincing and mars the beauty of the exhilarating romantic part of the tale.

Subodh's direction is good and he seems to be more at home while handling romance than domestic drama. His screenplay is based on very thin story material and cracks as it reaches the climax. There are a number of songs by Shailendra and Hasrat set to popular music by Shankar Jaikishen. While the song attacking copy of western tunes and Rock-n-roll is most welcome, it is a pity that Shankar Jaikishen has himself flouted the sentiments of the song in another anglicised dance number put over by Helen and Surya Kumar.

Dev Anand overacts throughout; but otherwise his role would have been not at all defective. Mala Sinha is charming in romantic as well as dramatic sequences. Pranoti in spite of her

SIVAJI GANESAN Presents
PADMINI PICTURES
Veera Pandiya KATTABOMMAN
FULL LENGTH GEVACOLOR PICTURE
PRINTS BY TECHNICOLOR

Music G. RAMANATHAN
Art GANGA
Photography W.R. SUBBA RAO
Story & Dialogues KRISHNAN SWAMY
Screenplay BHARANI
LESSEE ALS PRODUCTIONS
Dance HIRALAL MADHAVAN
PS. GOPALA KRISHNAN
Produced & Directed By B.R. PANTHALU
Songs K. J. YASASWAMI
CAST CHITRA CROWN SAYANI
Releasing on 16th MAY
AND ALL OVER SOUTH
AT RIVOLI BOMBAY
Daily 3 SHOWS
GHRAO
ARUNA

faulty direction plays the role of Bhabi beautifully. Abhi is unimpressive and Nita hardly looks the explosive vamp.

In Bombay last week was Molina, the renowned stage and screen actress of Bengal. She had come here to act in a Bengalee play 'Thakur Shri Ramkrishna'. The play was staged by M. G. Enterprises of Calcutta.

Molina was acting in this play and other plays about the life of Shri Ramkrishna Paramhansa not just as a professional artiste but as a devotee of the great saint. She and Gurudas have formed the organisation, M. G. Enterprises, to stage plays on the life of the great saint so that his message could reach the millions of Indians. They have been performing these plays for eleven years now and they have gone to distant places in the country to stage them. So far they have performed 400 shows. And the zeal with which Molina and Gurudas have undertaken this task reveals them not just as great artistes but artistes with a mission.

Mahesh Kaul's next picture for Anupam Chitra is 'Pyar Ki Pyas' written by Pt. Mukham Sharma. It will be made in cinemascope. Vasant Desai will give the music.

Shakti Samanta, Producer F. C. Mehra, Shammi Kapoor, Padmini and Ragini are going to Singapore for the shooting of Eagle Films' 'Singapore' which will co-star Maria, an actress from Malaya.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PLEA FOR OBJECTIVE THINKING

Sir,—Loyalty to individuals and groups instead of to principles has been the cause of many of our ills. As personalities count very much in our way of thinking the place of reason has, to that extent, come down. Many people agree with any point of view if a Nehru or a Rajaji puts it forward. I know of quite a few intelligent persons who vehemently questioned my patriotism when as a student I seriously argued for the continuance of English as our official language. And I also know that these very individuals have reversed their opinions after Rajaji put forward the same idea. So is the case. I am sure, with many others who swear by the opinions of Nehru and other lesser gods

I am not for a moment suggesting that weight should not be given to the opinions expressed by men of eminence. Let every opinion of every individual be given the consideration that it may deserve. But nothing is more eminent than an opinion formed by oneself as a result of reasoned and objective thinking. Does it really matter if that opinion is not popular or that it is against the views of people whom one may respect? Respecting an individual is one thing, and agreeing with him all the time uncritically is quite another. The latter indeed is the very reverse of respect.

It is for every one of us to think objectively on these issues without being overridden by hero worship or mere sentimentalism and see where, in the light of our analysis, the truth appears to be. In a democracy it is the duty of every citizen to arrive at his own decisions on major issues of national importance. We must have to make up our minds and be able to say whether we want the Socialistic pattern or not, whether we are in favour of the particular approach of the rulers to planning, whether we would prefer Hindi to English as our official language. If a fair percentage amongst us are not cap-

able of free and uninhibited thinking what good can we expect to make of our democracy?

K. S. RAMAMURTHY

Madras

UNDESIRABLE TRENDS

Sir,—I am told by certain Tamil publishers that text-books containing Grantha letters for j, h, s, sh, and ksh are rejected out of hand for using non-Tamil script. At a time when the language has to widen its script to be able to reproduce foreign proper names as phonetically truthfully as possible (a Tamil newspaper reader reads 'Tito' as teeto, taito, deedo, daido, etc.), it is a retrograde measure to give up an existing facility of cultural value.

Smith has to be printed as Chumith, Livingstone as Livingchutan, and G. B. S. as Chiarchu pernardu cha. Jawaharlal will be Chavakaral, and Harischandran will be Karichehandiran. A rishi going through his japa will be 'irudichapiththaar'—which will mean that the ascetic cursed. Bhaavam could easily be read as paavam in Tamil, with a sinful result. Some sensitive writers seek the printer's indulgence and get a bold type used for pa.

The sensible and progressive step would be to devise letters or modifications to indicate d, b, g (hard), f, z, etc. and not give up what we have.

From his public utterances and writings, our Education Minister appears to be broad-minded and far-sighted. May I hope that he would disapprove of the present narrow policy of the Text-book Committee, and pull it up?

M. S. K.

Madras

MORE TIME, PLEASE

Sir,—The new Madras General Sales Tax Act 1959 in force from 1st April in the State in place of the 1939 Sales Tax Act was published in the State Gazette dated March 18, 1959 while the Rules thereunder were issued in the Fort St. George Gazette of April

1, 1959. Several changes have been made in the previous Sales Tax law in this State. While Rule 57 authorises use of appropriate form printed under the authority of the Madras State Government, the printed forms are not made available and permission has been granted for the use of typed form till printed forms are supplied by Government.

The position of the commission agent or the small dealer who is at liberty to pay compounded tax every year has not been made clear and no form is prescribed for registration of such classes of dealers under the Act or the Rules. Numerous complicated provisions are contained in the Act and the Rules. Dealers are to apply for registration and submit returns in Forms A-1, IX, XI by the 30th of this month. The time is very short and the accounts for the last year ending on 31st March 1959 are not yet completed by the trade.

In the circumstances, it is requested that time for submission of application for registration under the Act and of returns in Forms A-1, IX, XI should be extended by not less than three months from 30th April, 1959.

Honorary Secretary,

The Tamilnad Foodgrains Merchants Association Ltd., Mathurai.

STATE TRADING IN FOODGRAINS

Sir,—The Union Government's scheme of State trading in food grains and price-control placed before the Lok Sabha ignores as many as four vital major factors. First, the issue arises as to the proper administrative unit for food-control, whether for instance the entire Southern Zone or the individual States comprising the zone are to be the unit. The answer is yet to come. Secondly, if the administrative unit is to be the zone and not the State, the primary responsibility for food-control administration will lie on the Centre. The Centre must, to discharge its responsibility, devise ways and means to get its decisions duly implemented by the concerned States. The Centre and the States should have joint policy. The Centre should not pull in the absence of a joint and co-ordinated policy

is too well illustrated by the unedifying spectacle of the Madras and Andhra Food Ministries openly complaining against the Centre and Centre's obvious inability to discover the correct solution and enforce the same. Such an administrative result is constitutionally undesirable. Thirdly, it is well-known that more regulatory measures for price-control will not be effective unless heavily deficit pockets like the Kerala State are duly filled up by adequate supplies. Surplus Andhra and deficit Kerala, for example, should be brought together for an agreed decision for the purpose. The Centre has a heavy responsibility in the matter. Its statesmanship is on trial. The Union Government's scheme makes no reference to this issue. Fourthly, the true function of the consumer co-operative is not recognised. It has to protect the consumer from excessive profit and exploitation by private trade. It has been performing this function more or less satisfactorily within a limited sphere. It has to be duly developed. For this purpose two matters are essential. It has to maintain its freedom to purchase the requisite paddy and rice in the free market. The Central Government's order fixing the maximum purchase prices for paddy and rice has driven the commodity underground. The consumer co-operative has been deprived of its free trade under the new scheme. This is a dis-service to the co-operative movement. The Consumer co-operative movement has to be strengthened for free trade. It should not be put under swaddling clothes, as it has been under the Government's scheme. The entire scheme requires complete revision and re-orientation.

A. S. KUPPUSWAMI

Tirunelveli

FACTS ABOUT PAPER

Sir,—The Tariff Commission enquiry on paper took place recently in Bombay. Some select people were invited. Many of them, for reasons best known to them, did not come. Many a mill

agent had come. It is unfortunate that many individual dealers were neither invited by the Tariff Commission nor by their Merchants' Associations to answer the questions of the Tariff Commissioner. Thus the Tariff Commission could hear only the representatives of a few Paper Merchants' Associations. A representative of an Association will voice the opinion of the majority before the Tariff Commission. The country has not become truly democratic so as to give some facility to the minority to put forth its views. So, the case of the minority did not reach the ears of the Tariff Commission. I hope the Tariff Commission will take all steps possible, though belated, to hear the views of the minority also.

Then, there is something unusual when uniform prices are fixed for paper. When the cost of production varies from mill to mill, when the cost of procurement varies from distributor to distributor, and dealer to dealer, then how can there be any uniformity in the sale prices? Can it be considered reasonable if sale prices of a mill with 1,200 tons production a month is kept at the same level as the sale prices of a mill with 200 tons production a month? The average cost of production of a mill with bigger tonnage will anyway be lesser than of the mill with a lesser tonnage. Is not the Government by fixing some kind of uniformity in these economic matters, making bigger units earn pro-rata more than the smaller units?

Madras. PARSRAM JETHANAND

INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, K.C.S.I., D.C.L. (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business transacted efficiently and quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits which may be ascertained on application.

S. Krishnaswami, Secretary.

"Why this fancy dress,
Ram Gopal?"

"No more suits for me. After three washes, my suits get as limp as wet blotting paper. This outfit may be cumbersome, but it certainly retains its shape."

"What a pity! But, surely you've heard of BINNY'S? BINNY'S cloth retains its new look even after repeated washing. They Quality Control* their production, you know..."

"Quality Control? What's that?"

"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 fabrics retain their shape even after repeated washing."

"Is the suit you are wearing made of BINNY'S cloth?"

"It certainly is"

"Then show me the nearest BINNY'S shop, my friend."

BINNY — a great name in textiles

***Testing defects in processing**
To guarantee that the yarns BINNY'S produce are uniform in strength and appearance, processing defects are continuously checked and remedied at every stage of their manufacture. That is why BINNY'S are able to supply quality fabrics to their customers.



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 - Anticrease Suitings - Tussore - Union Fabrics - Silk Sarees - Rugs - etc etc

The Buckingham & Carnatic Company Limited
The Bangalore Woollen, Cotton & Silk Mills Company Limited
Managing Agents: Binny & Co. (Madras) Ltd.



SWARAJYA

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 46

MADRAS, MAY 23, 1959

AMATEURISH EXPERIMENTS IMPERIL FOOD PRODUCTION

Ludwig Erhard, Minister for Economic Affairs, West Germany, writes in his book :

"The successful rehabilitation of any country must serve as clear documentary evidence to put before the still vacillating and doubting peoples of the fact that only by firmly rejecting Socialist dogmas, of whatever complexion and by affirming a free economic order can mounting prosperity and genuine security be achieved. First consideration must be given to the freedom of every citizen to live his life according to his financial circumstances, personal desires and values. This basic principle of freedom for the consumer must logically be counter-balanced by freedom for the producer to make and sell what he believes to be marketable, that is, what he has found, after studying individual needs, to be essential and likely to succeed. Freedom for the consumer and freedom to work must be explicitly recognised as inviolable basic rights by every citizen. To offend against them should be regarded as an outrage against society. Democracy and a free economy are as logically linked as are dictatorship and state controls. What the individual of whatever rank or occupation professes has hardly anything in common with what the organization representing him makes of its mandate. An organization remains harmless only as long as it seriously aims at taking individual concepts and crystallizing them, but refrains from attempt-

ing to impose its own power policy. It is the task of every individual to see to it that we shall return to a form of co-operation between human beings in which, first of all, every individual feels responsible for his own fate and is no longer prepared to vanish in a fog-like anonymity. We must keep alive the will for independence and freedom, one of the most elementary forces of man and strengthen it day by day. I cannot believe that any one who confidently puts into the hands of an organization all he expects from the future can feel happy. And finally, I do not believe that the best arguments are always on the side of the strongest organization."

Nothing that Rajaji did during his periods of administrative responsibility or outside that field evoked such lusty applause and universal appreciation as his abolition of controls on the sale and movement of foodgrains as soon as he took charge of undivided Madras in 1952. Even now at any meeting on any subject whenever there is a reference to that bold step, the cheering is tremendous and exceeds the applause of any other point of appreciation whatever the nature of the audience may be. Our faith in a policy of freedom in respect of the trade in foodgrains is confirmed by this uniform continuing exhibition of public opinion. We

* Prosperity Through Competition
by Ludwig Erhard, Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

do not believe that any issue either temporarily or of permanent value in placing barriers, inter-district or inter-State, on the movement of foodgrains. India is one and in a vital matter of the common enjoyment of what the rains and the good earth give in response to human industry, the unity should not be broken by ugly barriers and zones. It would be monstrous to sit over the supply of foodgrains in any area in India when there is a lack of it in an adjoining area. The only natural and just barrier must be the cost and the delays involved in transport. Anything else would be morally intolerable. Freedom in this respect will equalise the fortunes of weather and rainfall in various local areas whereas any other policy would create ill-will and encourage disintegration.

All barriers lead to the imposition of licences and other procedural restrictions, price-fixations, monopolies, and favouritism or suspicions of it and are in the not result baneful to all concerned. Chiefly, these policies lead to a rise in prices instead of lowering them and to distress and the spectacle of queues at government managed or licenced shops which can never hope to supply all the demand even if limited to the urban areas. The rise in food prices lead to a rise in wages all round and this again leads to a further increase in prices of all things and the depreciation of money which

PLEA FOR A NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

Recent developments in our economy have been disquieting. The prices of foodgrains and other essential commodities threaten to reach new high levels. The salaried, the industrial workers and casual labourers alike are in an angry mood everywhere, as the gap between income and expenditure is widening alarmingly. Those in employ whose wages have been linked up with living costs may not be more than a million. The other two millions in the organised sectors of industry and the bulk of the employees in all other walks of life suffer a continuous attack on their already marginal standards of living. There is wide disparity in earnings, thanks largely to the total absence of a national wage policy. How an employee fares is determined largely by the catch-as-catch-can tactics of his union and the force of combative demonstrativeness which can be displayed to back the demands. In the result, only that sector which is already fairly well-protected is able to get more while the vast majority seems to be permanently engaged in the elusive pursuit of better living standards. Deep dissatisfaction and consequent indiscipline are widespread. What is called for urgently is the formulation and execution of a national wage-policy which would include employees in government service as well. It should undoubtedly link up in some way wages with costs of living. The procedure should be capable of uniform application to all sectors alike. The Government should be prepared to give their administrative and industrial employees terms and conditions which they hold to be fair for the organised sections of industrial employees. They should experience continuously the direct impact of the results of their policies. Only then will they be compelled to hold the price-line at all costs. Unless they succeed in doing so, production and productivity alike are bound to suffer and throw out of gear all the plans for prosperity written into the Second Plan and thought of for the Third.

Until a national wage-policy is evolved and put through there should be a truce between labour and capital. This has to be ensured by a spirit of sacrifice and disciplined endeavour at all levels.

There has to be an immediate reappraisal of labour policy as well. Seeking allies in the ranks of the proletariat the ruling party has unconsciously promoted schisms in the labour movement. Competitive sponsoring of workers' claims and total reliance on the adjudication machinery of the Government have led to the trade unions passing into the hands of professional agitators. The movement is not based as elsewhere on the healthy principles of collective bargaining. The workers and the salaried have had to rely more and more on adjudication to secure compliance with their demands. For this state of affairs the employees are equally to blame. The bulk of them have never thought it necessary to fit themselves into the modern milieu and encourage direct negotiations. In practice there is very little contact between the employees and the unions. What is urgently called for is an implicit acceptance by both sides of the unalterable principle of negotiation and reference to arbitration of all unsolved disputes. A national wage-policy cum the Gandhian method of settling disputes is the only answer to our current ills.

The unemployment situation in the country is alarming. While the backlog of urban unemployment remains as high as ever young people who reach the working age find little scope for absorption. 1958 has witnessed closure of a number of industrial establishments and business enterprises and a fall in production in many units. Export has gone down. The textile industry is in a deep crisis. Small concerns which everywhere help the creation of new employment opportunities are slow in coming. Those already functioning have sought to reduce as much as possible their permanent establishments relying largely on

casual labour. This development is the direct result of the near-impossible conditions imposed by Authority on employers in respect of wages and working conditions. In the very nature of things it is impossible to estimate the number affected by these devices, but it must be considerable. By and large labour laws while seeking to provide protection to the employees against exploitation have practically arrested even the normal increase expected in employment opportunities. Very few entrepreneurs are coming forward to establish new industries. Added to these are the difficulties created by a taxation policy totally unsuited to a developing economy. Tax reliefs must be linked up to the quantum of continuous employment even though this might result in a certain amount of faking and lead perhaps to wasteful expenditure here and there. The adverse factors can be eliminated sooner or later, while the fact of a continuously increasing number being engaged in some kind of productive work everywhere would help keep down inflationary pressures.

At the moment, as made clear by Srimati Indira Gandhi, the supreme motivating force behind all Congress thoughts and deeds is the overall fear of the Communists capturing power. It is, all thinking people know, an exaggerated fear. In their anxiety to weaken the Communists those in charge of our affairs seem to have taken it for granted that the safest course for them would be to steal the Communist thunder themselves. They forget that the targets they have set are capable of attainment only under an efficient dictatorship. By trying to do the impossible and deluding themselves into the belief that everything that comes to the mind is conducive to the attainment of the Socialist ideal they are not advancing but definitely retarding national progress. What is being achieved is the spread of chaos all around. The Prime Minister in spite of obvious handicaps is the only person who can, if he wants, yet restore an element of sanity into the conduct of our affairs. But it is sad to see him galloping wilfully with blinkers on.

INDIA AT THE CROSS-ROADS

By D. V. RAJA RAO

Scarcely two years after the hurling of atom bomb over Hiroshima the world witnessed another wonder on August 15, 1947. Britain, the greatest imperial power of the time, gave freedom to India. Why it did so is a matter of discussion. The non-violent nature of the Indian struggle is questioned. There can be no denying that many political and economic circumstances conspired together to compel Britain to withdraw at that juncture. There can be no denying also that the Indian struggle for freedom was not altogether free from violence. Certainly there were instances of disorder. But these instances of ineffective violence, which were few and far between, pale into insignificance compared with the millions of Indian masses that silently faced without retaliation the lathi charges, shootings, and imprisonment during the years of struggle for freedom from 1919 to 1947. It is significant that in the face of repression by Britain, the resistance of the Indian people gained strength year after year, and every successive active movement of non-violent resistance was stronger and more popular than the previous one. Weak and exhausted as Britain was after the war, it certainly was not so weak as not to be able to suppress an unarmed and non-violent people. It is obvious that Britain left India because it realised that it could no more retain India by force. Its machinery to hold down India was so much demoralised by the spiritual resistance of the Indian people that, though Britain had the material means, it had no reliable machinery to use it.

What Gandhiji did to the people of India by precept and preaching was to bring home to them a realisation of their human dignity. A people who were cowed down by superior force were raised and freed from their fear, and they asserted the freedom of their human spirit resisting the promptings of instinct to seek security

and comfort in subjugation. The strength of their spiritual resistance lay in the righteousness of their cause and the morality of their behaviour of non-violence, non-hatred and non-retaliation. This moral behaviour of the masses of India affected the British machinery of repression in the same way as the occasional spiritual leaders have affected humanity through all times. Here for the first time in human history moral behaviour, though in a restricted and small measure, was practiced by the masses, and it triumphed over material force.

Having attained our independence we are now busy building our material prosperity. We are very backward in science and technology as well as in economic resources. Having won our independence through a moral struggle it would be moral regression if we adopted non-moral methods of achieving material prosperity. In the confusion of ideals and in

the face of strong pulls backward of instinct, our path to achieve this in a moral way is not so clear. However, it is generally accepted that a social and economic order free from class and exploitation of any sort should be developed without prejudice to the freedom of the human spirit. For this to be achieved, our objective of material prosperity should be limited to the essentials necessary for the security of our survival and common comfort, and it should be shared equally by all by common consent. Voices are being raised from all corners of the world about the necessity of integrating science and technology with spiritual values. India has the spiritual tradition to bring about this integration.

Gandhiji led Indians to independence through a non-violent and moral struggle because Indians have the moral tradition to appreciate and follow his lead. Will India slip from the moral pedestal on which Gandhiji put it? The answer to this lies with our politicians and leaders of public opinion. It is to be hoped that they are alive to it.



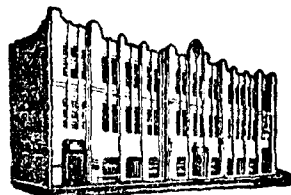
First to
fight colds
since 1893

Three generations of
users have proved that
Amrutanjan brings
quick, comforting
relief from colds.

AMRUTANJAN

AMRUTANJAN LTD.,
Madras-4.
Also at Bombay-1,
and Calcutta-7.

THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"
NORTH BEACH ROAD,
MADRAS-1.

23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole
of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND
SINGAPORE.

CAPITAL

Authorised Capital Rs	1,00,00,000
Issued and Subscribed Capital	72,00,000
Paid-up Capital	66,38,990
Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium)	99,61,883
Deposits as on 31-12-'58	40,93,17,330
Total Working Funds	50,12,19,816

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.
R. SUNDARAM IYER.
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESHA
MUDALIAR.
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA
CHETTIAR.
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.
RAMDAS PURUSHOTTAM DAS.

ALL TYPES OF
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING
FOREIGN EXCHANGE
TRANSACTED.

London Agents :
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents :
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,
SECRETARY

COMPENSATION OR EXPROPRIATION

By Dr. RUSTOM C. COOPER

The Constitution of India guarantees fundamental liberties to the citizens of the Republic of India. In view of experience of the working of this Constitution, a question naturally arises as to how these rights have been respected and how the Constitutional machinery has been used since we became independent. In this article an attempt has been made to review only one and restricted aspect of our Constitution, viz., an individual's right to compensation for expropriation of property.

The original clause in Article 31 of the Constitution was that "the State must compensate a person whom it deprives of property." Article 31 provides that no person should be deprived of property except by the authority of law and further that the law authorising the acquisition or the taking possession of property must provide for compensation. The term compensation means the equivalent in value of property taken. Inadequate or discriminatory payment would, therefore, be an infringement of the fundamental law of the land providing for adequate compensation. Article 31 was already found a hindrance to State legislative policy in relation to agricultural estates. The Constitution was, therefore, amended and Article 31A was introduced by Section IV of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act. This Article provides a stipulation that no law providing for acquisition by the State of any estate or of any rights therein is to be deemed to be void on the ground of its infringing any of the fundamental rights laid down in Part III of the Constitution of India.

It can be respectfully submitted in reason that in several cases the fundamental rights of the citizens to get fair compensation upon acquisition of property by the State have not been respected, especially by some of the State Governments and the amendment

of the Constitution which was carried through by the party in power in spite of general opposition from various quarters does no credit to the Government.

In this connection we may do well to consider what foreigners think of our Constitutional amendments. After all, from a distance, they are in a better position to judge impartially problems which we, within the country, may not be able to view so dispassionately and uninterestedly. In a learned treatise entitled "Fundamental Rights in India", Mr. Alan Gledhill makes some interesting observations which our Government in particular and Congress party in general would do well to note. Mr. Gledhill is an authority on the subject. He is a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, was formerly one of the Judges of the Rangoon High Court and is at present a professor of Oriental Laws in the University of London. This is what he observes regarding the fundamental rights guaranteed under our Constitution :—

"Article 31 has already been found a hindrance to State legislative policy in relation to agricultural estates and Constitutional amendments have been found necessary. The amendment and contemplated amendments of the rights, and the provisions of the Constitution relating to the writs, suggest that those in India who now hold political power have to a great extent lost faith in them..."

While judging the experience of working of our Constitution it is necessary to appreciate the mental background of those concerned with its formulation and its working. One cannot help recalling the Prime Minister's speech in the Constituent Assembly on 10th Sept. 1949 when he said : "We honour our Judges but we will tolerate no legal quibbles; no law, no judge is going to come in our way; the legislature must not be interfered with by courts of law in such measures of social reform." Again during the discussion on the Constitution (Fourth

Amendment) Bill, the Prime Minister of India observed : "If we are to acquire property, I think we should pay just and equitable compensation. I am talking about individual properties. Normally there may be a number of rich men interested — there are here and there — but many of these properties, big properties, are limited liability companies with large number of small shareholders. We do not wish to deprive them. Full compensation should be paid to small owners whose properties are acquired by the State for public purpose."

Regarding the first observation of the Prime Minister which reflects the attitude of those concerned with the framing of our Constitution even before it was enacted as law, Mr. Gledhill has certain interesting remarks to make. He observes : "It is submitted that it is fundamental that the Constitution and not the legislatures, should be supreme. The purpose of having fundamental rights is to prevent a temporary majority in a legislature abusing its powers. To sweep them aside, to facilitate the enactment of measures of social reform when the ink was hardly dry on the new Constitution, was to create an unfortunate precedent, especially when the comparative ease with which the Constitution can be amended, is considered. Abolition of large agricultural estates and their division into small holdings, is not one of the Directive Principles, but a plank in the Congress platform. To mention briefly, the Directive Principles which might be regarded as having a bearing on the matter, require State policy to be directed towards securing that ownership and control of material resources are so distributed as best to conserve the common good and that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment It is possible to hold with honest conviction that the legislation saved by Article 31(b) is not necessarily an advance towards the objective set out in these, the only relevant Directive principles."

"The objection to the insertion

of Article 31(b) in the Constitution is not sentimental; it strikes at the roots of the principle that Constitution should be paramount in law, not susceptible of *ad hoc* and *ex post facto* amendment. A precedent has been established for a parliamentary majority to play havoc with the fundamental rights, to make way for a policy it favours."

The second observation of the Prime Minister referred to above is fully supported by the Judges of the Supreme Court in *Bihar vs. Kameshwar*, A.I.R. (1952) S.C. 252 wherein it was laid down "Legislation enacted ostensibly in

exercise of this power, but in effect depriving a person, whose property had been acquired, of compensation, was colourable and void." The wise words of a leading thinker should be pondered over. He said :

"The freedom to acquire and own property is one of the essential freedoms of man. History, I believe, shows clearly that where the individual had no right to own and manage property, he likewise had no other freedoms — freedom of speech, of press, of religion, of assembly, and of living as an individual. Today, history repeats itself. In those lands where man is not free to own property and to choose his vocation he does not enjoy those other freedoms."

DO YOU KNOW THAT THE
NEW *Phoenix*
Field Marshall

has the following exclusive features?

1. It is the only 42" size A.C. Ceiling Fan made in India (just right for the medium room).
2. A utility-priced fan with a luxury look (that streamlined deluxe body with double canopies finished in princess grey stove enamelling will lend beauty to your room).
3. Is fitted with a condenser (that means controlled performance and lower electricity running cost).
4. Is supplied with the new square-type stamped aluminium regulator with large ventilation slits and six position control.
5. Has the phenomenal air-displacement of over 6500 cubic feet per minute (almost equalling the performance of most larger size fans).

and
all this is yours for only Rs. 135/-
(exclusive of Excise duty and Sales Tax)

Enquire at your local Fan Dealer or Chief Agents for 'PHOENIX FANS'
for Andhra Pradesh: Madras State & Pondicherry
M. S. GILLANDERS ARBUTHNOT & CO. LTD.,
2, North Beach Road : 1 Madras-1

Chief Agents for the Mysore & Kerala States :
M/s. SOUTH INDIA CORPORATION (PRIVATE) LIMITED.
TRIVANDRUM — ERNAKULAM — BANGALORE.

PEOPLE WANT RAJAJI'S GUIDANCE

Letters from persons from all parts of the country were received by Rajaji pleading for a reconsideration of his view to abstain from controversy. Here are a few extracts:

For every sad letter you may receive, there are hundreds of hearts that you gladden and endow with fresh courage and determination to speak up and act in pursuance of people's own beliefs. I trust, therefore, you will not allow yourself to be deflected from the great work you are doing which is winning widespread admiration and estimation.

MINOO MASANI, M.P., New Delhi

I was much distressed to learn of your decision. The nation can ill-afford to lose the advise and wise counsel of an elder statesman wedded to the Gandhian ideals, like you. We pray that you should continue to evince interest in the welfare of the people and come out with frank criticisms whenever the ruling party swerves from the correct path. There is a large section of the people in the north who listen to and accept your suggestions. I also wish that in addition to expressing your views in the "Swarajya", you will contribute articles in the dailies and journals in the north.

V. G. BALASUBRAMANIAM, Calcutta

It will be a grave tragedy if you decide now to keep mum. Never were you so sublime nor your services in greater need. You have roused the nation to think and act. Your speeches have infused courage and are influencing the national character. True, there is no person more misunderstood in Indian politics during the last two decades. But that is your fate—nay, your glory! Then why worry about it now and abandon the allotted task in the middle.

Please don't throw down the bow and leave the field, on seeing the sad letters or sad faces of colleagues. Pray forgive my impudence if I point out Krishna's teachings which you have given us.

M. C. VEERABAHU, Tuticorin

I am sure you will not follow the "sad letters" which dissuade you

from the path of duty. You need not, like Arjuna, kill the wrong-doers, but you can and should surely follow the example of Gandhari and Bhikarna who did not hesitate to point out the errors of Dhritarastra and the Kuru elders.

SURESH C. BASU, Advocate, Calcutta

As an humble admirer, I read your contributions with interest. I was shocked to learn that you will not write or speak, for fear, it would be misconstrued. Without indulging in hyperbole I can boldly say that you are the only Indian who can disinterestedly champion the cause of poor Indians. You have to do your duty, disregarding the favour or smiles of powers that be, however great.

DR. LALBHAI D. DHOLAKHEYA, Ahmedabad

All people with the good of our country at heart will be very sorry to learn of your decision. Your weighty words as a respected elder statesman are heard and read with great attention by many people. As a great exponent of the Bhagwat Gita you will admit that it is incumbent on you to do your duty in a disinterested manner for the good of our country, regardless of what certain groups of people may have to say for reasons known to themselves. You have been a great fighter for causes which you have considered desirable and you are not of a type who is going to be bullied, browbeaten or cajoled.

PHIROZE J. SHROFF, Bombay

At a time when the country needs your advice, you will be doing a great disservice to the country if you carry out your decision. I beg of you to desist from it.

P. K. BALASUBRAMANIAM, Madras

I felt really disappointed at your decision. It is a matter of deep regret for all those who pray for the success

of democracy in India. Questionings, examinations and tests are the essentials of a democratic spirit. Parliamentary democracy is necessarily a duct, one voice querying and the other answering, one proposing and the other scrutinising, one challenging and the other justifying. If you agree, that this is the *sine qua non* of a democratic system, I really fail to understand why a scion of your stature, having no axe to grind, should decide to shut his mouth or to give rest to his pen. I feel that both for the success of democracy and also for the purification of our private and public life, it is essential that we should learn to think independently and express our views.

D. R. GHORPADE, Miraj

I understand that you may stop writing articles in the Press on subjects which some consider (I suppose from the Congress point of view) to be of a controversial nature, and according to them are apt to create confusion. May I plead the other point of view, which is held by the vast majority of people throughout the land and which, I have no doubt, includes many Congressmen. Your writings in the Press bring out hard facts and realities to the forefront. They make persons of all shades of opinion think, and though you are not in active politics or hold any Government office, because of the unique position you hold in the country, your writings make a very valuable contribution towards the state of affairs throughout the land, and paint them in their correct perspective. Coming as they do from you, they have a profound effect, and give a much needed jolt and warnings to those in power, both politicians and administrators. Some of them are so power-drunk, that unless you 'pull' them up indirectly through your writings in the Press, they will march ahead blindly and do incalculable damage to the Motherland. Your writings at least make them ponder over before they proceed further. I can see no other person in the country, who holds such a unique position as you do.

A RETIRED MILITARY OFFICER
from Rajasthan

Few can deny that you have been rendering selfless service to the nation through your articles in the "Swarajya" spotlighting the practical difficulties in joint farming and fixing a ceiling on landholding. There are extravagant expenditure in many projects and lack of vigilance in many governmental activities, like Community Projects and National Extension service. In this context your decision pains me. You say that many letters received by you were responsible for this decision. But my opinion is that these letters should, on the other hand, strengthen your determination to offer your frank and useful views on important issues.

N. RAJAGOPALAN, Coimbatore

I am sorry to learn of your decision. On many occasions your frank and forthright criticisms and useful suggestions have served the country well. The nation should indeed be grateful to you for your valuable advice. It will be tragic if you should desist from giving your views on important issues, merely because they will start controversies. You should revise your decision.

V. SWAMINATHAN, Bombay

It is unfortunate that you have decided to keep silent on political questions, merely because they result in controversies and cause annoyance to the men at the top. But in the interest of the people, I request that you should, as enjoined in the Geeta, do your duty and point out errors in the administration or policies of the ruling party.

K. VEDAMURTHY, Bombay

Your recent statement has stirred the people all over India. It will perhaps lessen your burden in old age, but will leave right-thinking people disappointed. People still love that old man of vast knowledge and all-round experience. I request you to continue to warn the hasty and immature politicians.

A. A. TRIVEDI, Bombay

If you have not seen it already, the following extract from the *Capital* written by Ditcher may interest you. Thousands of common people like me value your dispassionate criticism

Rajaji in U. N. Senate

The Editor, SWARAJYA.

Sir,—It is with immense pleasure and joy we read in the Press that Rajaji's letter to the *New York Times* (Mar. 16) was printed in the *Record* after a short but superb summation of Rajaji's personality pleasantly portrayed by Senator Morse in his address to the U. S. Senate.

Turning to our own national if not internal problems it is disgracing and disappointing to note that our so-called 'guardians' (of national interest of course!) turn a deaf ear to the wise sayings of Rajaji, in regard to several issues facing the country. It is evident that Rajaji's voice is being respected and carefully heard all over the globe. It would be only to the deterioration of the nation if our leaders continue to be indifferent and nonchalantly carry on the measures wise or otherwise!

May the sayings and suggestions of Rajaji brighten the intellects of our leaders and guide them to pave the path of progress and plenty for the millions of our countrymen!

Coimbatore, Y. V. VISVESWARAN

from time to time and if democracy is to prove successful criticism, impartial and honest, is the corner-stone.

"Nothing he has so far said has caused me more mixed feelings than the statement that he will soon stop writing and talking on controversial subjects because it causes 'much misunderstanding'. I can appreciate C. R.'s point of view. To be controversial in India today is to risk being accused of every kind of disloyalty, not excluding treason. And, sometimes the condemnations come from persons so exalted that nobody claiming to be well-intentioned can possibly disregard them, especially, if he finds his words being used to support causes with which he has no particular affinity. That in itself would be enough to justify a decision to have done with it all; I strongly suspect it was the main reason why Dr. John Matthai retired from public life. But C. R. is making his own case why he should not do the same when he says that controversies are an essential part of democratic government. It follows

that for a person who puts loyalty to democracy above allegiance to political personalities and parties, the choice may be an invidious one, but is clear nevertheless. If men of C. R.'s standing retire from controversy, how will it retain its respectability in a country where it has become the fashion to condemn even sincere critics as ignorant or malevolent fools unrepresentative of intelligent public opinion? I can well imagine that C. R. is dispirited and doubtful, but the fate of democracy in this country today rests on the shoulders of men like him. If he capitulates, and so sets an example to the younger generation, the cause may for ever be lost."

• If by any chance you do not reconsider your decision, it is a misfortune for the country as a whole. If salt itself has lost its flavour, wherewith we can salt?

G. MAHALINGAM, Bombay

Works by T. S. Eliot

	Rs. nP.
The Elder Statesman : A play	10 19
The Family Reunion : A play	10 19
The Confidential Clerk : A play	10 19
The Cocktail Party : A play	10 19
Collected Poems 1909-1935 ..	4 06
Four Quartets ..	6 94
Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats ..	6 19
Selected Essays ..	20 31
On Poetry and Poets ..	17 06
The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism ..	8 56
Notes on the Definition of Culture ..	10 19

K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A, Royapettah High Road,

Mylapore, Madras-4

SWARAJYA

(Published every Saturday)

77, LLOYDS ROAD, MADRAS-14

Phone : 86640 & 85251

Single Copy : 15 Naya Paise

SUBSCRIPTION RATES :

(Including Postage)

In India : Annual : Rs. 7.50.

Half-year : Rs. 4.00.

FOUR WEEKS IN RUSSIA

By D. ANJANEYULU

Mid-winter is not perhaps the best season for a visit to Soviet Russia, or any Western country, for that matter. It is by no means the time for the tourist. If you must, December-January would actually be found not so unbearable in Moscow or Leningrad as the Russian winter has its own peculiar attractions. There are many things that one could see and experience only in this part of the year and could not be had at other times for love or money. At any rate, I enjoyed my four weeks' stay in the country though it was not without a tug of nervousness at heart as I started on my journey, after friendly warnings about the severities of the weather and the elaborate precautions for protection against it.

With more wool on one's back than an Australian sheep, the chill blasts of the coldest weather will lose their terrors. The shower of snowfall that greets you on setting foot on the Russian soil cannot but tickle you with the strangeness of its touch and you gently shake your coat sleeves off the icicle particles as does a newlywed the overnight's sprinkling of confetti. The first impression that Moscow makes on a stranger is one of size and spaciousness. Everything about it is huge, the multi-storeyed buildings, the big automobiles—there are no baby taxis here or in Leningrad—the trolley buses and tram-cars, not to speak of the peo-

ple who might look larger than life in their enormous over-coats and fur caps. Even the dustbins by the road-side are huge, looking like inflated flower vases. The streets are long and so wide that it is an ordeal for the pedestrian to cross them. They are obviously meant to make matters easy for vehicular transport.

In Moscow are to be found some of the biggest buildings in the world. The new building of the Moscow University situated on the elevation known as the Lenin Hills is the largest single structure that I had seen in original or in pictures. The lofty tower in the centre and the wings on both the sides lend a symmetry to the building and make it look less formidable than it otherwise would with its twenty odd storeys and thousands of rooms. It would take a full day to spend a few minutes in all the hundreds of reading halls and stack rooms that go to make up the Lenin State Library. It is said to contain over two million volumes and not less than a thousand persons are employed on its administrative staff. The hotels set apart for foreign tourists are imposing in the size of their rooms, in the decorated furnishings, in the cutlery and crockery and, of course, in their bills. Some of them have spacious halls for receptions, meetings and dance recitals.

Leningrad, on the other hand, is rather smug, though impressive with its ornate palaces, noted as it is for its well-designed buildings. The accent here is less on size than on shape. The carved structures may not, however, strike the untutored eye of an Indian visitor as they do the tourist from the U.S. whose eyes, tired day in and day out with the sight of skyscrapers, must be hungering for something new or different though old. That is what I felt when I heard an American businessman in the T. V. line going into raptures over the beauty of Leningrad. He was not the only one to be liberal with his super-

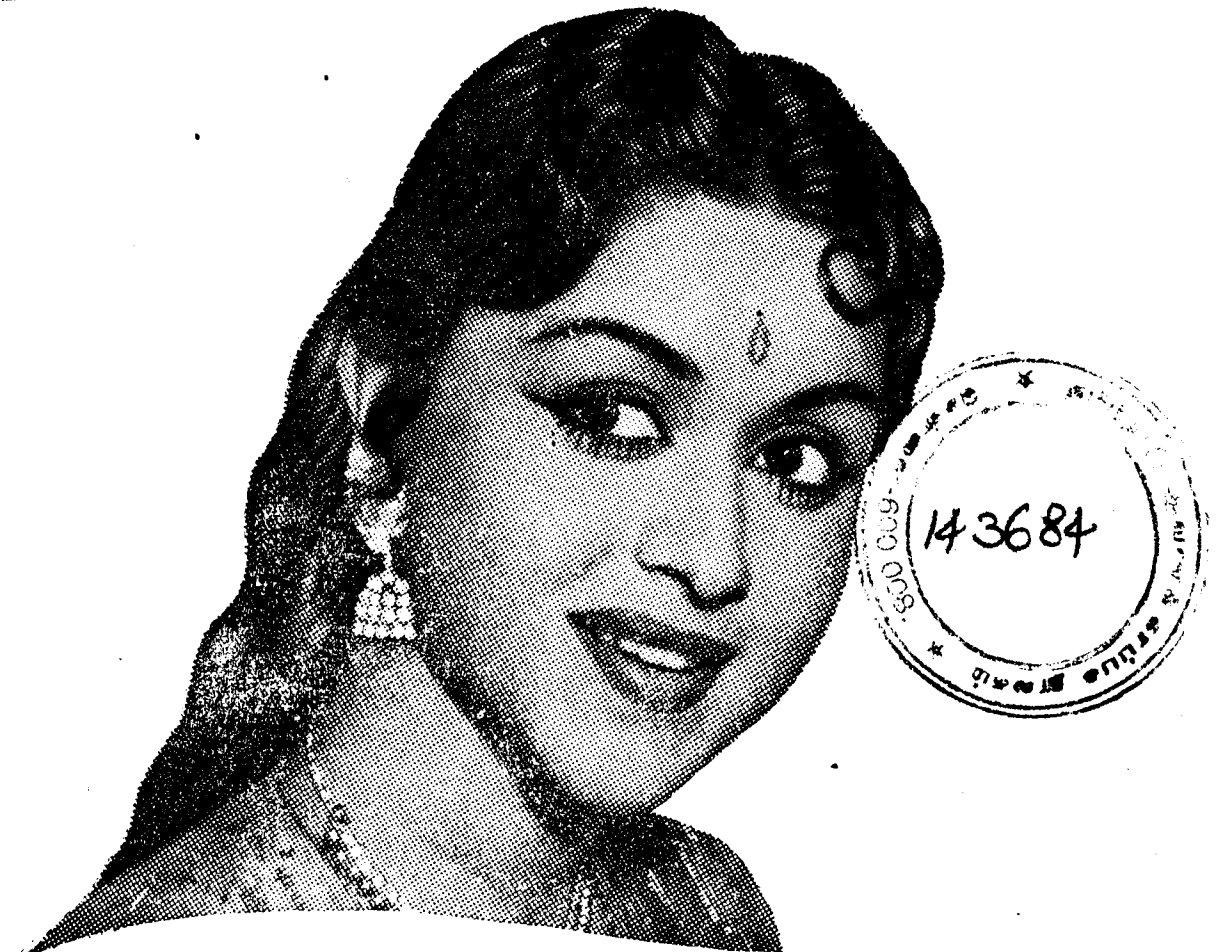
latives on the subject. The tempo of daily life in Leningrad is not so breath-taking as in Moscow. It is possible here to stand and stare once in a way and not be quite out of place.

Transport is a problem in big cities the world over and Russian cities are no exception to this. Private cars are not too common here, especially in Leningrad, considering the population but taxis are not difficult to get though the rates would be considered a little higher than ours in Madras or Delhi. Public transport, by tram-car, trolley or petrol bus, is quite cheap and comfortable. For about a rouble one could go from one end of the city to the other and the vehicles are heated in winter. Travel by metro is the fastest and the cheapest in both the cities. The metro stations are well-decorated and beautifully lighted. It is a fairly common joke that the people of Leningrad come to see the Moscow metro and vice versa while each is proud of their own. The Moscow-Leningrad trains provide good sleeping comfort at night and some of the more expensive of them leave nothing to be desired and are comparable to the best in U.S., according to an American visitor who had gone about a great deal in the East as well as in the West. A few hours in one such was enough for me to get over the allergy—not without reason—to train journeys, for the time being at any rate. There was a radio receiver set and a table with lamp in the cabin. Tea is served at the start and close of the journey.

Food is fairly abundant and apples are the commonest fruit at all times. The people appear quite healthy and well-fed. The strictest of vegetarians cannot only survive but keep himself in good health, if his palate is not too sophisticated about a frequent variety of taste. Health services are well organised and easily available to any one who might need them. Doctors and nurses attend to even ordinary complaints and bring personal, human touch that is soothing to those who are used to a lordly profes-

sional casualness that reduces the patient to a bed number in the ward. Russian children in general, present a picture of health. It is a pleasant sight to see the bonny two-year-old—almost as big as our four-year-old—tugging restively at the grip of his mother on way to the market.

In my contacts with some Russian families during my four weeks' stay which I shared between Moscow and Leningrad, I found both the men and women friendly and warm-hearted. Severe at first sight, they easily unbend in spite of the language barrier and take more interest in you than those whose language you know and with whom you feel an intellectual kinship that comes of acquaintance with English literature. It is probably one of those little ironies of national life, which has been vouchsafed by friends more widely travelled than myself.



The petal soft complexion
of a film star for YOU!

'LUX TOILET SOAP is the best complexion-care I know,' says lovely B. Saroja Devi. 'It's so fragrant and pure!' And what wonders it has worked for her skin. Your complexion can be just as beautiful with pure, white LUX! And remember, LUX is such a pleasure at bath-time too!

Pure, white **LUX TOILET SOAP**
THE BEAUTY SOAP OF THE FILM STARS



A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEBER LIMITED

LTS/P.1-XS2

INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,
K.C.S.I., D.C.L. (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business
transacted efficiently and
quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits
which may be ascertained on
application.

S. Krishnaswami,
Secretary.

NEW CASTES AMONG GRADUATES

By G. RAMANATHAN

It is regrettable that, in imposing Tamil as the medium of instruction in colleges, the Madras Government has committed the mistake of a forward deal. It has guaranteed that those who join the Tamil-medium courses would get preference in appointments under its control. By this one piece of mistaken goodwill it has created a new depressed class among graduates.

Castes die hard, especially in the Indian climate. This new caste of Tamil graduates, created by edict, will die harder. The Tamil degree will be their caste mark and their ticket to the reserved jobs. The reservation, once granted, will stay; it would be impossible to withdraw it or diminish it. On the contrary, it will tend to grow. The cry is already up that the Government has not obtained enough safeguards from the Centre to protect the new caste's share of the All-India Services. But the Government will not be able to expand the number of reserved appointments indefinitely. So, after trying several stop-gap arrangements, the Government would be compelled to restrict the output of Tamil graduates. Thus, the healthy growth of Tamil will

cease even in the field of the humanities, not to speak of its expansion into the sciences and the philosophies. Can any scheme be more self-stultifying?

The reasons behind this precaution are well known. If the Tamil-medium courses were left to the choice of the students, or their parents, nobody would come forward to adopt them. "But we have decided to introduce it. So, let us protect this pet child from competition with its peers." That seems to be the argument. But this protection will turn out to be poison. It will kill the plant before it puts forth any new bud.

A committee has also been appointed to prepare the ground for the change-over to Tamil and to ensure its smooth working. But languages do not grow in that way. A language has a central structure which fulfils all the basic vital functions of social communication, and that is what we mean by a mother-tongue. But it has also several ancillary structures, shooting off from it in different directions and serving different purposes. Every organised department of knowledge has a separate branch allotted unto it. Thus the English used by Englishmen as

their mother-tongue is different from the English used as the language of say, Hydrodynamics. The fact that a language is the mother-tongue of some people is no indication that it is competent to teach them, say, integral calculus. It must have developed a sufficiently strong offshoot to serve as the language of integral calculus before it can claim to do so.

Our languages have yet to produce offshoots over many important departments of knowledge. Expert committees cannot make them put forth new buds. Text-books are not the weapons by which language extends its empire. It is not a creditable feat to make school children and college boys and girls the grinding stone on which we might sharpen our instruments of progress. It is only by means of original thought and work put into a language that new buds grow out of the language and develop into appropriate branches for different departments of knowledge. Translations and lists of technical terms will not do the trick. We hear criticism that a lot of public funds is being wasted by the Central Government for the preparation of technical terms and the award of prizes to the best scientific works in the Indian languages. But, if the futility of developing a language through translations and lists of technical terms has been realised, the money spent on the purpose has been well spent.

It would have been better if the University had decided to introduce the Tamil medium at the post-graduate level in the first instance. There the students and the teachers will have a large mass of reference material in English and their problem will be not only to assimilate a portion of it but to reproduce it in Tamil. The students and teachers at the post-graduate level are more competent to undertake the task of experimenting with Tamil as a medium of expression in various subjects than those at the undergraduate level. Tamil expertise is not required for this purpose, and it may perhaps prove to be an obstruction rather than a help.

RAJAJI'S SOLUTION TO GENEVA DEADLOCK

The United States Congressional Record of March 25, 1959 carries the following report of Mr. Wayne Morse's speech in the Senate in which he made a reference to Rajaji's letter in the New York Times of March 16:

RAJAGOPALACHARI'S SOLUTION TO GENEVA DEADLOCK

Mr. MORSE: Mr. President, when I was in India in 1957, at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, it was my great honor to meet and confer on two different occasions with a great Indian Leader, Rajagopalachari, who is recognized throughout India as probably the number one philosophical successor to Gandhi.

I am sure the distinguished Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Cooper), now present in the Chamber, shares my high appraisal of Rajagopalachari, when I say he is a man of great influence all over India, but particularly in Madras Province. For many years in Madras Province, Rajagopalachari served in the Parliament of Madras in various positions. He is a great humanitarian. For a long time he has been one of the world leaders in calling upon Russia and the Western Powers to bring to an end nuclear testing and, for that matter, to rid their arsenals of nuclear weapons entirely.

Mr. President, there was published in the March 16, 1959 issue of the New York Times a letter to the editor written by Rajagopalachari under the heading "To Solve Geneva Deadlock: Formula Offered permitting powers to Void Treaty on Notice." I ask unanimous consent that this fine letter be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

TO SOLVE GENEVA DEADLOCK FORMULA OFFERED PERMITTING POWERS TO VOID TREATY ON NOTICE.

The writer of the following letter was Governor-General of India, from 1948 to 1950 and one of the leaders in India's struggle for independence.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Those of us who live round about the Pacific Ocean but who are not in the cold war are naturally impatient

over the delay in an agreement being reached at Geneva about the suspension of test explosions.

It seems to us rather odd that we cannot be saved from being poisoned unless the two sides in the cold war agree between themselves. No one has denied the right of the non-involved peoples to be saved from being poisoned. We feel that our rights are being totally ignored in the battle between the two parties.

But this impatience of ours does not bind us to the real difficulties in the situation as between the two sides of the cold conflict. The fears and suspicions of America are genuine. They stand in the way of an agreement being reached on this as on other issues connected with disarmament.

I write this letter in the hope that a formula on the following lines may serve to give sufficient assurance to those who fear and doubt the opposite side, while at the same time it will secure an immediate suspension of the tests:

Let there be a suspension by treaty without any time limit, but let a

proviso be attached that any one of the nuclear powers signing the treaty shall have the right to denounce the treaty, giving a year's notice and publicly explaining the reasons justifying the step.

Those who desire a treaty of suspension for all time ought to be satisfied with such a proviso, because if there are reasons which can stand the test of public scrutiny and world judgment it would be impossible to justify the continuance of such a treaty from the point of view of national security as foreign policies now stand.

Those who are unwilling to agree to indefinite suspension but desire only a year-to-year basis should also be completely satisfied with what I have here suggested.

The principle of suspension having been accepted, any limit of time put on the suspension can only be in the interest of security against fraud.

May I appeal that this question, which affects not only America but the whole world and its health, should be decided justly and properly and not merely on the basis of giving one's self the benefit of all doubts?

MADRAS, INDIA, March 7, 1959.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.



Sotto Voce

A Social and Political Commentary by "Vighneswara" (N. Raghunathan)

SOME PRESS OPINIONS

Sri K. M. Munshi in "The Hindu": "The book reveals a many-sided mind and the style attracts the reader and holds his attention to the very last sentence of each article. Behind all this pungent satire and the withering sarcasm, is the man with a wholesome outlook on vital problems, the man of commonsense, the man who is not prepared to take things at their face value. It is not just the outlook of a sage turned humorist. I have come across few books in India which have such sustained variety and sense associated with literary skill and varied humour."

The Statesman: "When the views are expressed with as much gentle irony and are sharpened by as much scholarship as Vighneswara can train on his writing, then even dissentients cannot but murmur appreciation."

368 pages Price: Rs. 4. Library Edition Rs. 5.

Postage (Re. 1-20 nP.) extra.

B. G. PAUL & CO.,
4, FRANCIS JOSEPH STREET, MADRAS-1

USE DAILY

Neem
TOOTH PASTE

and

ensure sound Teeth
and healthy Gums
throughout life.



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO., LTD.
CALCUTTA 22.

South India Office: 5-149, BROADWAY, MADRAS-1.

NEW CASTES AMONG GRADUATES

By G. RAMANATHAN

It is regrettable that, in imposing Tamil as the medium of instruction in colleges, the Madras Government has committed the mistake of a forward deal. It has guaranteed that those who join the Tamil-medium courses would get preference in appointments under its control. By this one piece of mistaken goodwill it has created a new depressed class among graduates.

Castes die hard, especially in the Indian climate. This new caste of Tamil graduates, created by edict, will die harder. The Tamil degree will be their caste mark and their ticket to the reserved jobs. The reservation, once granted, will stay; it would be impossible to withdraw it or diminish it. On the contrary, it will tend to grow. The cry is already up that the Government has not obtained enough safeguards from the Centre to protect the new caste's share of the All-India Services. But the Government will not be able to expand the number of reserved appointments indefinitely. So, after trying several stop-gap arrangements, the Government would be compelled to restrict the output of Tamil graduates. Thus, the healthy growth of Tamil will

cease even in the field of the humanities, not to speak of its expansion into the sciences and the philosophies. Can any scheme be more self-stultifying?

The reasons behind this precaution are well known. If the Tamil-medium courses were left to the choice of the students, or their parents, nobody would come forward to adopt them. "But we have decided to introduce it. So, let us protect this pet child from competition with its peers." That seems to be the argument. But this protection will turn out to be poison. It will kill the plant before it puts forth any new bud.

A committee has also been appointed to prepare the ground for the change-over to Tamil and to ensure its smooth working. But languages do not grow in that way. A language has a central structure which fulfils all the basic vital functions of social communication, and that is what we mean by a mother-tongue. But it has also several ancillary structures, shooting off from it in different directions and serving different purposes. Every organised department of knowledge has a separate branch allotted unto it. Thus the English used by Englishmen as

their mother-tongue is different from the English used as the language of say, Hydrodynamics. The fact that a language is the mother-tongue of some people is no indication that it is competent to teach them, say, integral calculus. It must have developed a sufficiently strong offshoot to serve as the language of integral calculus before it can claim to do so.

Our languages have yet to produce offshoots over many important departments of knowledge. Expert committees cannot make them put forth new buds. Text-books are not the weapons by which language extends its empire. It is not a creditable feat to make school children and college boys and girls the grinding stone on which we might sharpen our instruments of progress. It is only by means of original thought and work put into a language that new buds grow out of the language and develop into appropriate branches for different departments of knowledge. Translations and lists of technical terms will not do the trick. We hear criticism that a lot of public funds is being wasted by the Central Government for the preparation of technical terms and the award of prizes to the best scientific works in the Indian languages. But, if the futility of developing a language through translations and lists of technical terms has been realised, the money spent on the purpose has been well spent.

It would have been better if the University had decided to introduce the Tamil medium at the post-graduate level in the first instance. There the students and the teachers will have a large mass of reference material in English and their problem will be not only to assimilate a portion of it but to reproduce it in Tamil. The students and teachers at the post-graduate level are more competent to undertake the task of experimenting with Tamil as a medium of expression in various subjects than those at the undergraduate level. Tamil expertise is not required for this purpose, and it may perhaps prove to be an obstruction rather than a help.

RAJAJI'S SOLUTION TO GENEVA DEADLOCK

The United States Congressional RECORD of March 25, 1959 carries the following report of Mr. Wayne Morse's speech in the Senate in which he made a reference to Rajaji's letter in the New York Times of March 16:

RAJAGOPALACHARI'S SOLUTION TO GENEVA DEADLOCK

MR. MORSE: Mr. President, when I was in India in 1957, at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, it was my great honor to meet and confer on two different occasions with a great Indian Leader, Rajagopalachari, who is recognized throughout India as probably the number one philosophical successor to Gandhi.

I am sure the distinguished Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Cooper), now present in the Chamber, shares my high appraisal of Rajagopalachari, when I say he is a man of great influence all over India, but particularly in Madras Province. For many years Rajagopalachari served in the Parliament of Madras in various positions. He is a great humanitarian. For a long time he has been one of the world leaders in calling upon Russia and the Western Powers to bring to an end nuclear testing and, for that matter, to rid their arsenals of nuclear weapons entirely.

Mr. President, there was published in the March 16, 1959 issue of the New York Times a letter to the editor written by Rajagopalachari under the heading "To Solve Geneva Deadlock: Formula Offered permitting powers to Void Treaty on Notice." I ask unanimous consent that this fine letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TO SOLVE GENEVA DEADLOCK FORMULA OFFERED PERMITTING POWERS TO VOID TREATY ON NOTICE.

The writer of the following letter was Governor-General of India, from 1948 to 1950 and one of the leaders in India's struggle for independence.

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Those of us who live round about the Pacific Ocean but who are not in the cold war are naturally impatient

over the delay in an agreement being reached at Geneva about the suspension of test explosions.

It seems to us rather odd that we cannot be saved from being poisoned unless the two sides in the cold war agree between themselves. No one has denied the right of the non-involved peoples to be saved from being poisoned. We feel that our rights are being totally ignored in the battle between the two parties.

But this impatience of ours does not bind us to the real difficulties in the situation as between the two sides of the cold conflict. The fears and suspicions of America are genuine. They stand in the way of an agreement being reached on this as on other issues connected with disarmament.

I write this letter in the hope that a formula on the following lines may serve to give sufficient assurance to those who fear and doubt the opposite side, while at the same time it will secure an immediate suspension of the tests:

Let there be a suspension by treaty without any time limit, but let a

proviso be attached that any one of the nuclear powers signing the treaty shall have the right to denounce the treaty, giving a year's notice and publicly explaining the reasons justifying the step.

Those who desire a treaty of suspension for all time ought to be satisfied with such a proviso, because if there are reasons which can stand the test of public scrutiny and world judgment it would be impossible to justify the continuance of such a treaty from the point of view of national security as foreign policies now stand.

Those who are unwilling to agree to indefinite suspension but desire only a year-to-year basis should also be completely satisfied with what I have here suggested.

The principle of suspension having been accepted, any limit of time put on the suspension can only be in the interest of security against fraud.

May I appeal that this question, which affects not only America but the whole world and its health, should be decided justly and properly and not merely on the basis of giving one's self the benefit of all doubts?

MADRAS, INDIA, March 7, 1959.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.



Sotto Voce

A Social and Political Commentary
by "Vighneswara" (N. Raghunathan)

SOME PRESS OPINIONS

Sri K. M. Munshi in "The Hindu": "The book reveals a many-sided mind and the style attracts the reader and holds his attention to the very last sentence of each article. Behind all this pungent satire and the withering sarcasm, is the man with a wholesome outlook on vital problems, the man of commonsense, the man who is not prepared to take things at their face value. It is not just the outlook of a sage turned humorist. I have come across few books in India which have such sustained variety and sense associated with literary skill and varied humour."

The Statesman: "When the views are expressed with as much gentle irony and are sharpened by as much scholarship as Vighneswara can train on his writing, then even dissentients cannot but murmur appreciation."

368 pages Price: Rs. 4. Library Edition Rs. 5.

Postage (Re. 1-20 nP.) extra.

B. G. PAUL & CO.,
4, FRANCIS JOSEPH STREET, MADRAS-1

USE DAILY

Neem
TOOTH PASTE

and

ensure sound Teeth
and healthy Gums
throughout life.



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO., LTD.
CALCUTTA 29.

South India Office: 5-149, BROADWAY, MADRAS - 1.

THE HINDI QUESTION

The following appeal has been presented to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha.

We are making this appeal to the Parliament, with anxiety as well as with hope. What is at stake is not the introduction of one language in place of another as the official language of the Indian Union. Rather, it is the unity of the country, which is in grave danger of being destroyed by the unimaginative imposition of the will of a dominant group. This is not a political or party issue, but a national issue in the fullest sense of the word.

The major points of the case have been argued for and against for quite a considerable time now. We feel that the repercussions of a change-over of the official language of the Union Government from English to Hindi will create a crisis of the first order. Politically, it leads to the mother tongue of a section of the people being forced on the rest of India; for, the Central Government, whose functions have now multiplied a hundredfold, has a heavy impact on the lives of all the people of the country. It places those to whom Hindi is the mother tongue in a position of permanent advantage, in respect of every opening in the administrative services. Psychologically, and arising out of the consequences mentioned above, it will definitely hinder the emotional integration among the numerous peoples of India, which all of us desire to bring into being.

It has often been repeated, but is nevertheless not fully appreciated, that the opposition to Hindi is not to its being learnt in other parts of India where it is not the language of the people, but only to its proposed imposition as the administrative language of the Indian Union.

It is sometimes argued that the difficulties involved in replacing English by Hindi as the Union language of India are only "transitional". It is necessary to make it perfectly clear that this is not the case, that even if all non-Hindi people could be brought to learn Hindi, they would con-

tinue indefinitely to be just as much disadvantaged relatively to those others who have been born to Hindi as the latter, for instance, would have been at a permanent disadvantage relatively to Bengali or Tamil-speaking people, even after learning one of these languages, had Bengali or Tamil been chosen as the sole Union language of this country.

During the years of British rule, the peoples of India achieved a certain measure of unity and emotional integration in response to the call for political freedom. Since the attainment of independence, however, the centrifugal tendencies of an earlier age have been getting ascendancy. A considerable measure of centralisation is inherent in a Welfare State with a planned economy; the use of the Central power to bring about an equitable adjustment of benefits to the numerous and unequally developed regions of the country is a task of great delicacy, and calls for the exercise of immense political wisdom. In these circumstances, any new move, which places one part of India in a position of permanent advantage, is the surest incentive for increasing the existing differences, jealousies and suspicions.

Assurances, that Hindi will not be introduced against the will of the non-Hindi people, have no value in the present atmosphere of justifiable distrust. While on the one hand Parliament is seized of the matter, on the other every kind of administrative pressure is being brought to bear on the public and Government servants alike. The Post Office and the Radio are being used as vehicles of Hindi propaganda where it is not understood. Hindi classes are being held in Central Government Offices in all parts of India. Several complaints are being received from Government employees that they are being passed over for promotions for not passing the Hindi tests. It would appear that the Central Government Departments have no intention of wait-

ing even for Parliament to take a decision on this question.

It is easy to destroy unity, but difficult to build it up. No facade of apparent unity which is fabricated against the will of large masses of the people will make for real unity. It will be foolish and short-sighted to brush aside the protests from Madras and Bengal and the Punjab as the stray expressions of a minor discontent. The resolutions passed at the Madras and Calcutta conventions, and the comments of the Press of these two States, bear testimony to the strength of the feeling against the introduction of Hindi as the official language of the Indian Union. It is a people's opposition in every sense of the word. It will be political folly to ignore it by resort to arithmetical jugglery.

There is no use in fixing a more distant date line. That will only become a direction to propagate Hindi with redoubled efforts among an unwilling people. The situation will then worsen and not improve.

We, therefore, press for the continuance of the status quo, that is to ask for the continuance of English as the official language of the Union and the abandonment of all measures to replace it by Hindi.

We urge that the subject be given the claim and unbiased attention of the legislators of this land.

(Sd.) C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
" MIRZA ISMAIL
" M. R. JAYAKAR
" C. P. RAMASWAMY AYYAR
" S. E. RANGANATHAN
" DR. SUNITI CHATTERJEE
" ANANDA SHANKAR RAY
" SATYAJIT ROY
" DR. D. D. KARVE
" LAKKARAJU SUBBARAO
" MASTER TARA SINGH
" NARESH CH. SENGUPTA
" NARENDRA NATH LAW
" MULK RAJ ANAND
" M. RUTHNASWAMY
" O. C. GANGULY
" N. MADHAVA RAO
" P. KODANDA RAO
" D. N. GUNDAPPA
" VIVEKANANDA MUKHERJI
" A. SUBBIAH
" KAZI ABDUL WADUD.

May 23, 1953

CINEMA

SHANTARAM'S GESTURE TO JOURNALISTS

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: It is not usual for Producer-director V. Shantaram to invite journalists to watch shooting. When some journalists visited his set last week, his first comment was: "There is nothing new about shooting. You must have seen it hundred times. It is the same thing". Yet, watching Shantaram work was an experience, and when he agreed to let the journalists hear his two songs from 'Navrang', he almost created a new precedent.

On the same day some of the film journalists were invited to watch the shooting of a 'Quavali' in Vishwabharati Films' 'Barsaat Ki Raat'. The 'Quavali' is a competition between the female singers and the male singers and this time the fair sex represented by Shyama wins. Watching Shyama reciting the 'Quavali' one was reminded of the fact that thirteen years ago Shyama came into limelight after rendering a quavali in 'Zeenat'. Later the journalists watched some songs written by Sahir and tuned by Roshan on the screen. The title song impressed the journalists best.

Next day a couple of journalists went to Chandivali to watch Raj Kapoor and Meena Kumari act in K. A. Abbas's 'Char Dil Char Rahen'. It was also an experience to watch de-glamourised Raj attired as a typical 'Ahir' and Meena Kumari, with her dark make-up for the role of a 'Chamara', enacting a love scene against the rustic village background.

But the journalists would have been more happy to be called at Mahabaleshwar, for instance, where several films including where Sadashiv Chittra's 'Didi', B. R. Films' 'Dhool Ke Phool', were being shot. For, it would have given them an opportunity to escape the sweltering heat of the plains. Last year the journalists

had invitations for Kashmir where they had an opportunity to watch the shooting of 'Kan-kaaya'. This year also Meena Kumari and Kamal Amrohi with their unit have gone to Kashmir for the out-door shooting of 'Dil Apna Preet Parayee', while Dev Anand, Waheeda Rehman and Navketan for unit have gone to Ootacamund for the out-door shooting of Vijay Anand's 'Kala Bazaar'.

As a rule the journalists are not keen to watch shooting which Shantaram rightly pointed out is a dull routine. Indeed, if watching a film is a thrilling experience, watching a film in making is one of the dullest experiences. Yet, every day several people in Bombay are eager to see the 'shooting'.

Shooting on out-door locations may present many technical problems, and may be a trying experience to artists; but it gives an entirely new note even to familiar yarns as is evident in Shakti Samanta's new film 'Insan Jaag Utha'.

Shakti Samanta who began his career as a maker of crime thrillers has again chosen an essentially crime story but given it a new twist and social purport in his new ambitious offering, most of which has been shot at Nagarjuna dam near Hyderabad. The location shots are brilliantly exploited and almost provide the third dimension to the tale of the conversion of an educated youth who got himself mixed up with smugglers and was sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

After the jail term, he goes in search of gold, which he had hidden under a tree in a desert. The den under a new dam has brought about a complete change in the place. When he finds the tree in a house of a beautiful girl,

he leaves the search of gold and pursues the girl, falls in love with her, reveals his past to her and takes a job at the dam. When he saves the life of an engineer working there, he gets promotion. But the only time we see him working on a crane is when he puts his girl friend in the crane and sings a song to her. The romance punctuated with comedy and music is pointless and halts the progress of a rather thin plot. The duel with a contractor and his henchmen who want to take away the gold provides a climax.

In the welter of romance and crime drama, the social purport underlined in the conversion of the hero gets secondary importance. And the locations do not become an integral part of the story which has nothing to do with the normal life of workers engaged in the building up of new India.

Sunil Dutt has the most important role in the picture and he plays it with proper gusto. But Madhubala scores over him in the role of an illiterate peasant girl speaking in 'Purabi' dialect. Minoo Mumtaz, Manju, Madan Puri, Kundan, Shyam Kumar and Krishnakant turn in stereotyped portrayals. S. D. Burman's music is in keeping with his established style and the theme song 'Mehnat Kash Insan Jaag Utha' written beautifully by Shalendra is the highlight of the picture. Shakti Samanta's direction is very enterprising; if only he gets rid of the crime phobia, he would be able to make a really worthwhile film. 'Insan Jaag Utha' is a good beginning in that direction.



TOMATO SOUP
Mix in Hot Water and Drink

PEPPER WATER
(MULAGU-TANNI)
Paste & Powder
Mix in Hot Water & Drink

Now available at:
INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CO., LTD.,
Opp. High Court - Madras-1.

Editor : Khasa Subba Rao

Vol. III. No. 47

MADRAS, MAY 30, 1959

1959 15 Naye Paise

MAKING THE PLANS PAY

With two more years for the completion of the Second Five-Year Plan, there is already hectic activity over the nature and size of the Third Plan. That the growth of national income, even under planning, is not taking place along pre-determined lines is evident from the figures for 1956-57 and 1957-58 published recently. Agriculture is still the Achilles' heel of Indian economy. With characteristic optimism, the Prime Minister called for a 40 per cent increase in agricultural production during the Second Plan period. It now looks as if we shall be extremely lucky if we achieved at least a 20 per cent increase. Actually in 1957-58, over-all agricultural production declined in value by about Rs. 300 crores over the previous year and the Union Minister for Food made the appalling disclosure that we narrowly escaped a repetition of the Bengal famine. Despite fifteen years of grow-more-food campaign and enormous expenditure on irrigation, more fertilisers, better seeds, etc., the yield of food crops in India remains the lowest in the world. The Ford Foundation team has stated in its report that only about 12 per cent of the land under irrigation has more than one irrigated crop grown per year. The team is convinced that agricultural output can be increased by intelligent efforts to make better use of the available water "than by constructing large-scale irrigation projects which take years to de-

velop". The truth is that, so far, our planning has proceeded on the basis that mere expenditure on development schemes will automatically result in increases in production. The Planning Commission and the various Ministries have been more intent upon securing that the budgeted rate of public expenditure was kept up than upon ensuring that the money spent was yielding an adequate return: with the result that after a big project like the Tungabhadra Dam is completed, for years the water remains unutilised and there is no real extension of irrigation under the project. Unless at every stage expenditure is intimately related to the results achieved, all that we shall be achieving from larger and larger outlays on plans will be a vast proliferation of the bureaucracy and mounting inflation.

The scale and scope of the Third Plan must be determined primarily from this point of view. To achieve the maximum increase in production with minimum expenditure of capital should be our major aim. The Ford Foundation team has indicated how this is possible with regard to increase in food production. In many cases, the spread of knowledge about improved agricultural practices, including more rational use of water, suitable preparation of land and seed and scientific application of fertilisers, will bring about a striking increase in yields without any significant increase in the capital employed at present.

And considering the paucity of capital, we need a similar approach in other spheres as well. Much is said about economy in government, but little is done really to bring down administrative expenditure or, what is even more important, to ensure that the country gets an adequate return for its public expenditure. The reports of the Public Accounts Committees are a constant reminder of the numerous ways in which public moneys have been squandered because of lack of foresight or a sufficient sense of responsibility on the part of senior officials and Ministers who have to take decisions on major projects. The story revealed in a recent report about how the Finance Ministry's decision to start a new silver refinery for the recovery of silver from the quaternary coins issued during the war has cost the country several lakhs of rupees, while the refinery is yet to be put into commission, shows how major decisions are taken casually and with what criminal indifference public moneys are handled.

From the experience of the past ten years, public opinion must be critical towards any grandiose plans which call for an enormous increase in public expenditure in the name of planning and Socialism. Already from hints available from Delhi the planners seem to be thinking of a Rs. 11,000-crore plan, involving fresh taxation to the tune of Rs. 2,000 crores

(Continued on Page 4)

SANKAR BRAND

PORTLAND CEMENT

THE INDIA CEMENTS LTD.
FACTORY: SANKARNAGAR, REGD. OFFICE: MADRAS-1

Sold and Distributed by:

THE CEMENT MARKETING COMPANY OF INDIA PRIVATE LIMITED

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING, A MENACE TO FREE PEASANT ECONOMY

By PROFESSOR N. G. RANGA

Whenever joint co-operative farms come to be organised, primary importance would inevitably come to be given to labour contributions and not to land contribution and the services contributed by members would come to be evaluated more on the basis of their labour contribution than on that of land contributed. So, the continuation of the recognition of *pattas* of our peasants would not amount to very much. Once such a co-operative farm comes to be organised, it becomes practically impossible for any of its members to withdraw his land from the farm even if such a right were to be conceded in law in the beginning, because when almost all the land in a village comes to be incorporated in such farms the few peasants who would like to retain their own self-employment would come to be discriminated against in various ways. This has been truly demonstrated by the experience of Soviet peasantry.

It is easy to say that there is not going to be any coercion in making peasants go into joint farms, but it is not so easy to help peasants to remain self-employed and continue to cultivate their own lands in a self-reliant manner when the whole of the State machinery is geared to encouraging joint co-operative farms by all kinds of subsidies, favours and concessions. Who would bother about the higher production achieved by such self-reliant, self-employed peasants, when the general atmosphere generated by the propaganda of the press, the radio and other governmental agencies puts the premia not on production, but on co-operative or collective centralisation of agricultural activities?

Why are our planners so impatient to start their campaign in favour of joint co-operative farming? Why do they not recog-

nise that it is putting the cart before the horse to raise this campaign long before its comparative success over peasant family economy is demonstrated? Why have they chosen such an unscientific attitude as to exalt their fancy into a mission and their nostrum into a national campaign? Could it be possible that our planners are afraid of our free peasants utilising more and more of their increasing agricultural produce for their home consumption and thus gradually raise their nutritional standards? Are our planners also as anxious as the planners in Soviet lands and industrialists in capitalist countries to feed, clothe, shod and house the urban industrial masses at the cost of the starving peasant masses?

We wish to know as to why our planners are so mad after their national campaign to popularise joint co-operative farming long before its higher productivity is demonstrated. They seem to claim that it will be conducive to higher production per acre. But that has not been demonstrated anywhere either in India or abroad. Both Tito and Gomulka complained of the fall in production totally and per acre after the co-operativisation of Yugoslavian and Polish agriculture respectively. Hence, their decision to give freedom to their peasants to leave the co-operative farms and hence also the abandonment by more than 75% of peasants of the co-operatives.

Let there be no doubt as to what our planners wish to achieve. They will not stop at experimenting with co-operative farming. They will not be reconciled to the co-existence of peasant farm economy and co-operative farming and to the free and healthy competition as between these two agrarian economies. They want to emulate not

even the Soviet Russian and South East European Communist evolution of co-existence of both these economies but the commune-oriented Chinese system of agrarian economy, in which the Government and national leadership will mobilise all their resources, coercive, persuasive and mobwise, to drive masses of peasants into the collectives, to be named in India as joint farms, co-operative farms and State farms. They want to degrade all in the villages to the parlous position of wage slavery.

Our planners also claim that it would help our peasants to achieve larger incomes and higher standard of living. But they have not so far demonstrated how it could be achieved when actually so many of them would be put out of employment because of rationalisation that will inevitably be coming in the wake of co-operativisation and in the absence of any alternative employment. The total quantum of employment cannot be increased through co-operativisation even if in certain cases it does not cause unemployment.

If we are to judge from the working of the present tens of thousands of co-operative societies of all types in different parts of India, joint co-operative farms would create endless problems of disputes over elections, financial irregularities, mismanagement, frictions in dealing with labour, crop planning and final allocation of incomes in cash and kind. Every such dispute will invite the unwelcome, fearful, and disruptive governmental interference and its ammunition of groupism, casteism and nepotism. Besides, joint co-operative farming will superimpose the costly concomitant of large-scale management, that is overhead charges. Therefore, joint co-operative farming would only give rise to costly and painful problems, lead to loss of incentives for better and bigger activity and result in higher production costs, lower aggregate yields and unsocial and disruptive mutual relations among agriculturists and managements. It will

(Continued on page 15)

FREE VERSUS HIRED SCIENCE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

It is fourteen years now since the United States exploded the first A-bomb over Japan with deadly effect and six years have passed after the first H-bomb was exploded by America by way of test for use in war. Since then there has been grave anxiety throughout the world. A great big cloud of unspeakable dread has been hanging over mankind these many years. The cloud is not just melancholy poetic imagery but carries Strontium 90 and Carbon 14 which spell inevitable disease and death and deformity for generations.

Free science on the one hand and hired science on the other have been issuing statements about the effects of the fall-out, the one explaining the great danger of it, and the other minimising it as far as scientific jargon can do it.

The battle still continues but the issue can be reduced to simple terms for the common man. Apart from the unreliability of hired evidence, there is this plain question: when something is so dangerous as the free scientists of great eminence have prognosticated, should governments be given the benefit of the doubt as we do with criminals in law courts? Should not the benefit of doubt be given to mankind? Should the nuclear powers be allowed to go on adding danger to danger, simply because it is not conclusively and quantitatively established that each instalment of danger is a substantial addition? There can be only one answer to this, that the benefit of the doubt should be given to the world and mankind and that civilization should be saved from probable disaster.

The National Academy of Sciences of the U.S.A. published their report in 1956, according to which all radiation, no matter how slight, was harmful genetically—that is, would cause deformity in future generations. It said that relatively small doses might

be *physiologically*, that is directly and to the present generation, harmful, but that the amount of radiation in 1956 was too small to cause physiological as distinguished from genetical damage.

Physiological effects are diseases caused by the radioactive poison such as leukemia and other dreadful forms of illness. Genetical effects are the mutations caused on the regenerative cells resulting in deformed children and grandchildren. The hired scientists have been doing their best to minimise the physiological danger and to ignore the genetical danger. The biologists have been protesting.

U.S., Russia and Britain have up to now exploded by way of tests more than 200 A and H bombs and these powers are programming to explode more bombs unless an agreement is reached on the cessation of these tests.

The hired scientists ignore the inescapable genetic effects and concentrate on underlining the ratio of 'natural' radiation to what was so far produced by test explosions and maintain that the latter is much less than the former and therefore it is unreasonable to ban the explosions which are necessary to develop new weapons. Their arguments are all based on what is statistically obtained as 'world averages'.

In March last America was much disturbed to learn that these "world averages" were misleading and that concentrated doses, much above the world average, might descend on particular areas and cause very heavy damage that bore no relation to what was academically worked out on the 'world average' basis. A series of government reports were released by the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy which indicated that more fall-out for some reason descended on the U.S. than had been calculated. This information alarmed the good people of America. It

had been long known that the Japanese area suffered terribly from the effects of the drifting down of radio-active fall-out. But much more interest was evoked on this point of erratic concentration when it was found that the U.S. itself had a larger share of it than the world average. A further enquiry was therefore ordered, resulting in what has been called a "reassuring" report, again stressing the small ratio of fall-out radiation to radiation from other causes.

A very recent report from Bonn said that radio-activity in West German rain water was found to be sixty times the maximum permissible concentration for drinking water. Water from the Rhine was nearly twice above the safety figure set by the European atomic agency.

It is forgotten or ignored that the addition of even small amounts of avoidable radiation to that received from natural sources can be physiologically dangerous to individuals. And it remains uncontradicted that all radiation small or big is genetically harmful and there is no question of a tolerance threshold at all there. The American National Academy's clear verdict given three years ago stands unrefuted, that all radiation is *genetically* harmful—that is, future generations will suffer as a result of these test explosions. This aspect is ignored in the 'reassuring' statements of hired scientists.

All conferences organized to discuss this situation so far have been "dialogues of the deaf" as so aptly described by some one. Every delegate goes with a rigid mandate that blocks the ear. The dialogues will become real when the nations *not involved* in the cold war but who are as much concerned in the question of the dissemination of poison as any of the belligerents, also join in the discussion. But so far international energy in this direction has been conspicuous by its absence.

The health of the world is the real issue but that issue is pushed out by the issues of security and mistrust as between the cold war blocs.

SIDELIGHTS ::

Some weeks ago, when Sri Ramnath Goenka called on me to enquire about my health, he said he had decided to close down his Madras newspapers. I did not take him seriously then, but later events have shown that he was most serious. He said there were only three reasons to induce one to run a newspaper—profit, prestige and patriotic service—and none of these inducements held good now.

The Indian Express, Dinamani, and Andhra Prabha had been built up with prodigious effort running over two to three decades, and each in its class they had reached the very summit of success and popularity. To destroy wilfully the grand result of so many years of hard striving, throwing out of employment some eight hundred persons, is a feat of unimaginable difficulty for any man. There is no knowing whether, left to himself, Sri Goenka would have stuck to his declared intention, or resiled at the last minute, appalled by the spectre of consequences, and the toll of misery blighting the lives of ever so many entitled to his care and consideration. But his employees chose this, of all times, to strike work! The strike precipitated the closure of the papers and made it easier for Goenka to go forward with his original plan. No strike could have been more suicidally timed.

One cannot think of the victims of this grave crisis in the newspaper world without deep emotion. The shadow of the tram strike still casts its gloom over the city, saddening all who have not learnt to get over its tragic recollections. This, in spite of the fact that manual workers are rather advantageously placed in the matter of employment. When they lose one job, they can easily get another, and the period of enforced idleness is not ordinarily likely to last long. In the case of journalists it is quite a different story.

Journalism is fast ceasing to be an open profession with free admission for new entrants. The over-privileged, legal status of journalists, compared to other employees in the same office, like clerks, has made employers nervous, and they are not eager, when vacancies arise, to fill them promptly. They prefer to wait till some relative or other hopeful aspirant, proven reliable and safe, is trained to fit the vacancy. The outlook is bleak indeed for intending or ousted journalists lacking the power of influence or kinship for securing employment or reinstatement in the newspaper industry.

Whatever their grievances, let them not cut their own throats by rash or ill-considered action that might throw them into a condition worse than the one they rebel against. Undoubtedly there is much in Sri Goenka's newspaper empire calling for drastic reform. The scales of the lower grade employees are too low and those of top men are too lavish. There is no fair recognition of what is due to duration of service. Favour is conferred without relation to merit or character. A very esteemed correspondent of mine held in high honour in his country informs me that one of Sri Goenka's top-ranking executives who attended an important conference was drunk most of the time and was an object of disgust and derision to the elite in the locality!

A firm demand on the part of journalists for the righting of these and similar wrongs is just and proper. But they do not advance their cause by wild and unruly slogan-shouting not befitting educated persons, or making a nuisance of themselves to the whole neighbourhood. Others who do not feel drawn into their quarrel are entitled to go on with their work. To act as though the opponent can be subdued with intimidation tactics will only establish them in the public eye as hectic

and intemperate, and it will not shed credit on the profession in which they belong.

The hope that Government will come to their rescue is illusory. Even if the Government can force a closed newspaper to re-open, it cannot create the drive, energy and enthusiasm essential for running it successfully. Let it not be forgotten that when a man of grit, stamina, resourcefulness and determination like Goenka, and one too who has given so many of the best years of his life to the building up of newspapers, is disheartened, or driven by whatever cause, to the point of deciding to close some of his papers, there will not be many others in the country left with a reasonable chance of survival. It is ominous that as many as 160 newspapers had to close down in India last year.

I hope therefore that the parties concerned will come to terms with dignity and a sense of justice, keeping the Government out of the fray. Government intervention has been the curse of newspaper morale.

SAKA

Making the Plans Pay

(Continued from Page 1)

over the Third Plan period. The brazenness with which the public are asked to be prepared "to tighten their belts" further, while the multiplication of highly paid jobs in the Secretariat goes on merrily, is astonishing. It has been officially admitted that the bulk of Rs. 900 crores of additional tax revenue raised (and to be raised) during the Second Five-Year Plan period has been spent on non-development schemes. This means that all this expenditure has made no contribution to increasing the productive resources of the country. Without a serious economy drive and a close scrutiny of the effectiveness and value of the development expenditure incurred in the past few years, it would be unwise to embark on an inflated Plan calling for heavy additional burdens on the people.

CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS IN U.P.

A LESSON FOR OTHER PROVINCES

By S. K. RAU

U.P.'s experiments in land reforms have a significant lesson for other provinces. They provide a fine example of 'legislate in haste and repent at leisure'. After doing away with the zemindari, which by itself was a gigantic feat, the State Government launched what is known as consolidation of holdings scheme. Where there are small, uneconomic and scattered holdings, the utility and efficacy of consolidation are very well known and there is no difference of opinion. U.P. was the premier State in India which tried to bring about consolidation through legislation. The legislation passed in 1939 empowered the Government to go ahead with consolidation operations if two-thirds of the tenure holders in any area made a request to the authorities for consolidating their holdings. The requisite number of tenure holders did come forward in six districts, but the authorities could not make much headway. Then came the war, and the Act became a dead letter.

Mr. Charan Singh who piloted the Zemindari Abolition Bill of U.P. in the legislature and who is an expert in land problems, became the architect of the consolidation scheme. Based on the success of the experiment in Punjab he brought forth a Bill in 1953 making consolidation compulsory. But no legislation of U.P. had such a chequered career as this Consolidation of Holdings Act. Within eight months of the passage of the Act, a comprehensive amending Bill was introduced in the legislature. A law can be amended as many times as necessary to suit the changing times, but a characteristic of the consolidation law of U.P. is that each amended legislation conceded to a new category of tenure holders what it had denied earlier. When once the consolidation operations were closed in a particular area, the

amended law could not be reinforced, so that the tenure holders were denied the benefits of the new provisions in the law.

With a view to taking public opinion into consideration in the matter of enforcement of consolidation, the principal Act made provision for the constitution of what are known as consolidation committees, but when the committees began to object to the way in which the work was being carried out, the Act was immediately amended empowering the Government to dissolve the committees and reconstitute them. During the discussion on the Governor's address to the legislature in 1955 even Congress back-benchers protested against the Act and demanded its repeal. The issue was raised at the Congress legislature party meeting. Some members plainly told the Government that the Congress stock had gone down considerably as a result of the scheme. But the Minister concerned, Mr. Charan Singh, was so thoroughly convinced of the efficacy of the scheme that he remained adamant.

The law as passed in 1953 did not permit mutual amalgamation or exchange of plots and gave supreme authority to the consolidation officers to do the job themselves. Two years later, after the scheme had come into force in several districts, the Act was amended to confer the right of mutual exchange. No wonder the tenure holders developed a feeling that a right that was denied to them had now been conferred on others.

The amount of public opposition to the scheme could be easily judged from a subsequent amendment to the law in 1955 which gave the consolidation officers the right to put "person or persons including the land management committee to whom the 'chaks' or land had been allotted in

actual physical possession". This is a strange way of enforcing consolidation. What a sad commentary on the theory that it has conferred the greatest benefit on the cultivator!

Another factor that contributed to the bitterness against the scheme was that for a period of four years since the commencement of the Act land was being taken away from tenure holders for utilisation in common purposes like construction of roads, schools, parks, because consolidation, in the strict sense of the term, does not merely mean re-allocation of the plots but a comprehensive development. Whatever the common purpose for which land was taken away, every tenure holder is not so charitable as to gift away his land. The Act did not provide for payment of compensation and the High Court in a judgment ruled that it was against the spirit of the Constitution and the law had to be amended accordingly. Of course an amendment to the Act gave retrospective effect for payment of compensation, but it left the feeling that the Government were out to deprive the tenure holders of their legitimate right and that the High Court had to intervene to set it right.

After six years of working of the Act Revenue Minister Mr. Charan Singh realised that consolidation would not succeed unless it was based on soil fertility, irrigation facilities and actual yield from the land and the law was accordingly amended authorising the officers concerned to take all these factors into consideration. Although this was an improvement the tenure holders in the districts where the operations had been closed could not be benefitted by it. Their land had already been consolidated without taking into consideration the most vital factors like irrigation facilities and the actual yield.

Up to the end of March 1959 consolidation operations have been completed in 6,835 villages. If the scheme is to be extended to the rest of the districts, the amended law in all fairness should apply to the areas where the operations had been closed, which means re-opening the issue again.

"Why this fancy dress,
Ram Gopal?"

BINNY - a great name in textiles

***Testing defects in processing**
To guarantee that the yarns BINNY'S produce are uniform in strength and appearance, processing defects are continuously checked and remedied at every stage of their manufacture. That is why BINNY'S are able to supply quality fabrics to their customers.

BINNY'S manufacture nearly 90 million yards of cloth every year. Here are some of the varieties they make:
Shirts - Khaki Drills - Bleached & Dyed Drills - Towels - Anticrease Suitings - Tussore - Union Fabrics - Silk Sarees - Rugs - etc etc

**The Buckingham & Carnatic Company Limited
The Bangalore Woollen, Cotton & Silk Mills Company Limited
Managing Agents: Binny & Co. (Madras) Ltd.**

KERALA COUNSEL

By POTHAN JOSEPH

In the school-dispute following the Kerala Education Act, there is the threat of a lock-out by managers in the first week of June, but before any amateurish derring-do, I venture to counsel partisans not to be misguided by mammoth-demonstrations. Reports say that the leader of the Nair Service Society Mannath Padmanabhan is proceeding from place to place, thousands thronging to have a *darshan* of him and listen to his words of condemnation, nearly one lakh of people being his normal audience. In a way he (now 82 years old) is a counterpart of Periyar Ramaswami Naicker who keeps thousands spell-bound as he proclaims his right of freedom and burns maps into the bargain. The Nair leader who has won the fortuitous support of Christians in the campaign declares that in his plan of direct action he intends to be non-violent; as if anybody on earth, whether in Geneva or Trivandrum, would say that peace is not the supreme aim. Even Chou-en-lai as he smashes Tibetan heads explains to the world that he is just "pacifying" the country for the good of the Mongoloid masses. There is thus no novelty in the assurance that no breach of the peace is intended. The danger is that some untoward incident might spark off a conflagration. It is feared that the next World War might start not with any formal ultimatum but in the wake of some mad man or

neurotic nihilist dropping a few bombs on some world capital or secret nuclear installation.

The holding of vast demonstrations in academic centres and also on the country side of Kerala might give the illusion that the Government in power would readily succumb. I wonder if any of them have ever seen a mile-long *morcha* of the Sikhs when they are aroused by a clarion-call from Master Tara Singh who wants to save his mother-tongue against the inroad of Hindi or to promote the creation of a Punjab Subah as a safeguard against Bhayya imperialism. It is a most impressive sight; men, women and children in sacred, warlike vestments move forward, sword in hand, chanting. As a disciplined race they are sure to keep their steps knowing exactly how horses and elephants and camels solemnly keep the pace. At long distances, they move, in impressive array, huge pictures of their Gurus and other heroes of Akali history, not to mention the Grantha Sahib, held in high elevation. At the Amritsar Congress the procession of Sikhs demanding redress of grievances eclipsed the All India Congress march of volunteers, delegates and miscellaneous visitors, though the latter was in no way a second class parade. Still Pandit Jawaharlal winced at the formidable appearance of potential martyrs awaiting the bid of Master Tara Singh to protect the Shiromani tradition of the faith.

In other words, work has to start afresh which will involve an expenditure of nearly four crores of rupees to the State exchequer, and the Centre has refused to bear the cost. Is it worthwhile incurring this expenditure? One of the reasons for the Congress debacle in the last elections is the way consolidation has progressed in the State. The greatest lesson that the U.P. experiment has taught is that consolidation by compulsion has failed. Will compulsory co-operative farming succeed?

Now let us turn our eyes away from the warlike pageantry when it came to the proposal recently of Master Tara Singh that there should be a march or *morcha* to New Delhi so that the Government would be duly impressed with the earnestness and martyr-like passion of the Sikhs to lay down their lives rather than let down Master Tara Singh.

Overnight the whole of India heard that Master Tara Singh was ordered to sit at home, a species of house-custody, which the vene-

rable leader, true to his word, non-violently obeyed; and all the plans of a majestic demonstration vanished into thin air. It is not as if the Sikhs were cowards, but at moments of high tension there are always catalytic elements that precipitate disorganisation. This trait of psychology is of universal experience. When Sulaiman the Magnificent died, his Generals decided on continuing the march towards Vienna taking care to maintain the body on the seat of the royal horse so that thousands of soldiers, unaware of the fact of calamity, could forge ahead like doubly-inspired heroes.

In the Kerala context, the new Home Minister Mr. C. Achuta Menon has remarked that he would not resort to detention, but at the same time he has dropped the hint that in case of police failure, the Kerala Government may seek the Army's assistance. No one should blink the fact that inner counsel regarding Kerala is tendered to the Prime Minister by no less a person than Defence Minister V. K. Krishna Menon and it is difficult for me to picture him as a kind of carpet-bag-carrier for the Nair-Samaj patriarch.

Biographies and Memoirs

	Rs.	nP.
<i>Personalities and Powers</i> by Sir Lewis Namier	12	19
<i>Sir James Jeans: A biography</i> by E. A. Milne	18	37
<i>Fulness of Days: An Autobiography</i> by the Earl of Halifax	20	31
<i>Sir John Moore: A biography</i> by Carola Oman	34	12
<i>The Last Years of Henry J. Wood</i> by Jessie Wood	10	19
<i>Ernest Bevin: Portrait of a Great Englishman</i> by Francis Williams	17	06
<i>Bismark: The Man and Statesman</i> by A. J. P. Taylor	14	62
<i>The Gigli Memoirs</i> translated into English by Darina Silone	17	06

K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A, Royapettah High Road,
Mylapore, Madras-4

AZAD'S BOOK "INDIA WINS FREEDOM"—THE TRUTH

By V. P. MENON

I have read Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's book "India Wins Freedom", very carefully, and checked and rechecked many of his statements with the documents at my disposal. In some of them he is wrong on facts, and in others it is clear that his prejudices got the better of his judgment.

Maulana Azad played a prominent part in our national affairs for many years; he was a remarkable personality for whom all who knew him, including myself, had deep respect. His book will therefore have great authority, and it is important that his errors should not go without correction. Many of his misleading statements concern another great personality, Sardar Patel, who if he had been alive would no doubt have made his own contribution to the historical record. As he is no longer with us, I feel that I owe it to him and to the public to give the truth on these matters.

As an instance of bias I may mention Maulana Azad's reference to the inclusion of Mr. C. H. Bhabha in the Executive Council in 1946. He states that he pressed for the inclusion of a Parsi, and the choice was left to Sardar Patel, who suggested Mr. Bhabha. But later, he says, the Congress leaders discovered that Mr. Bhabha was a friend of Sardar Patel's son, and could not be regarded as a leader or even a true representative of the Parsi community. The selection proved wrong, and he later dropped out of the Government.

This passage is evidently meant to suggest that there was something improper in Sardar Patel's choice of Mr. Bhabha.

When Mr. Bhabha's name was suggested for inclusion in the Interim Government, Lord Wavell consulted the Governor of Bombay about his status and record. The Governor of Bombay replied that, with his family and business background, Bhabha would be a

good choice. He comes from an old and respected Parsi family, and though a young man he had risen to high positions in business. He also had a good record of civic service. He did good work in the Government. He was Member in charge of the Commerce Department in the Interim Government. Later he held the portfolio of Works, Mines and Power and after the transfer of power went back again to the Ministry of Commerce. He resigned in April 1948 owing to domestic and business reasons.

The most distressing passages in the book concern the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. Maulana Azad says that this was made possible by the negligence of the Government, and in particular of Sardar Patel, who was Home Minister. He described at length Sardar Patel's difference of opinion with Gandhiji on the fast only a few weeks before, and says, "So long as Gandhiji was alive Patel's anger against him remained." The account as a whole clearly implies that Sardar Patel neglected to protect Gandhiji because of his anger.

The subject was discussed in the Constituent Assembly (6th February 1943), and the precautions taken by Government were explained. Before the bomb explosion on the 20th January, the guard at Birla House consisted of one head constable and four constables. After the bomb explosion a total of 29 policemen, in uniform and plain clothes, were posted round Birla House and the meeting-place, and they were instructed to stop all doubtful characters. Also more than 20 troops patrolled the compound.

In addition the police asked for power to search all strangers entering the compound or the prayer-meeting. Despite repeated requests by Sardar Patel and others, Gandhiji absolutely refused to agree to this. He said that in the prayer-meetings he was under

the protection of God, and he could not allow himself to be protected by armed men. Searching was therefore impossible, but only searching could have prevented the attack.

As for prevention of the crime by apprehension of the conspirators, there was not enough time. The first warning was the bomb explosion just ten days before the murder. Prompted by this, a man who knew something of what was going on gave information in Bombay, which was passed on to Delhi by about the 24th January. This left less than a week in which to find the whereabouts of unknown and watchful men who were moving from place to place. The police started at once on their track.

We can be wise after the event, but then nobody realised that the next six days would be crucial. Many men were detained before the murder, but it was an impossible task to apprehend every member of a widespread conspiracy within such a short time.

Prejudice is manifested just as clearly in the Maulana's account of the disturbances in Delhi after partition. He depicts Sardar Patel as showing indifference when Muslims were reported murdered, and assuring Gandhiji that Pandit Nehru's complaints were exaggerated and incomprehensible to him. Maulana Azad says that the senior officials in Delhi showed weakness or hostility to Muslims, and were divided into two groups, one looking up to Patel and the other to Pandit Nehru and himself, with the result that administration suffered and the Muslims in Delhi were not sufficiently protected. He says that Patel had some rusty kitchen knives, iron spikes, etc., brought to Government House to convince visitors that the Muslims in Delhi were arming to capture the city!

From the beginning of the trouble right up to the time when law and order was safe once more, I was closely associated with what was done to restore peace. When the situation in the Capital showed signs of deterioration, I requested Lord Mountbatten, who was then in Simla, to come down to Delhi, and he

did so the next day. After discussion with the Prime Minister and Sardar Patel he took charge of the movement of population and the Delhi situation. He set up a Central Committee of Cabinet Ministers and others, with himself as Chairman. When the Delhi

situation deteriorated further, H. M. Patel, then Cabinet Secretary, and myself urged the Central Committee to constitute an Emergency Committee for Delhi. This was agreed to, and Mr. C. H. Bhabha was selected as the Chairman of the Delhi Com-

mittee, with H. M. Patel as Vice-Chairman, with authority to co-opt anyone who would be useful to the Committee. Every day a report on the Delhi situation was made to the Central Committee by Bhabha or H. M. Patel, and orders were taken from the Cen-



A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing
-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER

SEEING IS BELIEVING: Shankar is obviously delighted with the gleaming white shirt that Sita has washed. And look at the pile of clothes, sheets and towels washed white and bright—all with such a little SUNLIGHT! SUNLIGHT's rich, abundant lather washes so thoroughly and draws out every scrap of dirt without any beating! Prove it for yourself—try it today!

SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT

S.267-X52

A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEVER LIMITED

tral Committee. During this period the Chief Commissioner and Deputy Chief Commissioner of Delhi, whom Maulana refers to so disparagingly, were acting under the specific orders of the Delhi Emergency Committee.

I was a member of the Central Committee and worked with the Delhi Emergency Committee. If there had been any report of improper treatment of Muslims I should have known it from Mountbatten himself or some British member of his staff, who if anything were pro-Muslim. Sardar was most anxious to restore law and order with the minimum sacrifice of life, and if truth is to be told, we sacrificed many Hindu and Sikh lives in protecting Muslims.

It is a fact that some rusty knives, etc. were placed in the Map Room for public inspection, but this exhibition was not arranged by Sardar Patel. It was arranged in order to ridicule the theory that there was a Muslim plan to seize power in Delhi. If Sardar Patel had wished to do anything of the kind, he had more impressive evidence at his disposal. But he refrained from using it in order to avoid further aggravation of the communal situation.

It is wrong to attribute anti-Muslim bias to Sardar. He not only had to deal with Muslims. He had on his hands an excited refugee population whose numbers were increasing day by day. If you want to win people over to your side you must 'seem to wear the same fetters' as Voltaire said. This attitude has been misrepre-

sented. When he opposed the suggestion to put a ban on the wearing of kirpans by Sikhs in Delhi, he was acting on sheer common sense. This would have become a big religious issue with the Sikhs. Tens of thousands of Sikhs would have descended on Delhi. With the slender forces at the Government's command it would have been impossible to cope with such a situation. It was by Sardar's intervention that Muslim convoys to Pakistan were allowed to pass through Amritsar. It was in order to protect the Meos, who are Muslims, that he detained the Maharaja of Alwar and his Dewan in Delhi, and took over the administration of both Alwar and Bharatpur.

The account in this book of Gandhiji's fast in January 1948 is also unjust and untrue. Maulana Azad says it was "in a sense directed against the attitude of Sardar Patel, and Patel knew that this was so." It is not true in any sense. The fast was intended to change the attitude of the public and the Government towards the Muslims. But it is true that Sardar Patel disapproved of the fast. Gandhiji of course took his usual idealistic view that whatever Pakistan and the Indian Muslim might do, India and the Hindus must be above reproach. In addition he was influenced by the pro-Muslim atmosphere in Government circles, and he allowed himself to be unduly moved by individual grievances brought to him by Muslim friends, who in the circumstances of those days naturally had plenty to complain about. Sardar thought that in the situation a fast would mislead world opinion and make people everywhere think that the Hindus and Sikhs were to blame for the communal disaster. In the calmer atmosphere of today we can see that he was right.

Sardar Patel had a long talk with Gandhiji on the day of the assassination. He told me afterwards that in that talk all their differences of opinion were cleared away.

Maulana Azad's memory betrays him not only where communal or personal issues arise but also on some important political ques-

tions of a neutral character. Thus he makes an unnecessary mystery of the change in Cripps's position during the negotiations with himself as Congress President in 1942. The facts are well known. Cripps was overruled from London.

The account of the genesis of Partition contains serious errors of fact, as well as faulty judgment. Thus it says that the failure of the Cabinet Mission plan was due solely to a tactical mistake committed by Pandit Nehru. Both the Congress and the League at first accepted the plan, but then a few days after the A.I.C.C. meeting in which it had been approved, Pandit Nehru made a statement in a press conference that the Congress representatives in the Constituent Assembly would be free to change the plan. Jinnah at once issued a statement claiming that this amounted to repudiation of the plan by the Congress President, and accordingly he repudiated it on behalf of the League.

This account omits to notice that when in turn the Congress Working Committee repudiated Pandit Nehru's statement and reiterated its acceptance of the plan, the League did not go back to its previous position. Maulana Azad also omits to mention that the League members were allowed to enter the Executive Council on condition that the League would accept the Cabinet Mission plan. Wavell pressed Jinnah several times to do so, but on one pretext or another he avoided it.

Maulana attaches undue importance to the unhappy history of the Interim Government. This was first formed by the Congress alone, and then two months later the League entered it. Wavell suggested that one important department, preferably the Home Department, should be given to the principal League leader. But Sardar Patel held the Home portfolio and therefore strongly opposed this suggestion. Maulana goes on to say that Liaquat Ali Khan was therefore given the Finance Department, that he made use of its powers to sabotage the work of all the departments under Congress Ministers, and that the consequent friction was the main cause of Partition.

There was a very weighty reason behind Sardar's refusal to give up the Home portfolio. At that time, especially in northern India, law and order had reached the breaking point. The League was responsible for this situation. To hand over to a League leader the Home portfolio, which is supposed to control law and order throughout India, would have resulted in certain disaster.

The relations between the Congress and the League in the Cabinet were certainly anything but happy. According to the Maulana, the deadlock in the Cabinet irritated Sardar Patel acutely, and led him to accept Mountbatten's suggestion that the best way out was partition. "It must be placed on record," says Maulana Azad, "that the man in India who first fell for Mountbatten's idea was Sardar Patel." Patel was instrumental in persuading Gandhiji, and thus the Congress was won over.

This story contains a whole series of errors. Sardar was never enamoured of the Cabinet Mission plan. It provided a minimal centre dealing with only three subjects—Defence, External Affairs and Communications—and gave all other subjects to the units, with residuary powers to them. Added to this, there was a crazy proposal of provinces opting for optional subjects. Now even if the Muslim majority provinces had accepted a list of optional subjects in common with the other provinces, we should have had a government of three tiers—one at the Central level, one at the level of the optional subjects, and the third at the provincial level. It does not require much imagination to see the friction a scheme like that would have generated. But the League had other plans. They would not have come in for common optional subjects, and if they had insisted that there should be common subjects for Muslim-majority provinces, what would have been the situation then? It would have been the beginning of a province-wise Pakistan.

Now let us see what Maulana himself had in mind as a way of

avoiding partition but satisfying the League. He supported a federal constitution with three subjects and fully autonomous units; he would give the units the right of secession; he proposed parity between the two communities in the Central legislature and Central executive; there should be a convention by which in the initial period the head of the federation would be Hindu and Muslim by turns. Comment is superfluous.

Maulana seems to forget that Gandhiji had accepted partition in his conversation with Jinnah in 1944, when he put forward Rajaji's formula. In fact it was accepted Congress policy that it would not think in terms of coercing Muslim-majority areas to stay in India if they clearly wished to secede.

It is not true that Mountbatten took up the idea of partition and set about to win over the Congress leaders to his opinion. Mountbatten's original plan was to hand over power to provinces, leaving them to form a new Central Government. During the consideration of this plan, which I opposed, I suggested to Sardar a plan of separating the Muslim-majority areas, transfer of power to two successor States, India and Pakistan, and acceptance by India of the position of a dominion.

The communal tension, which was mounting steadily, the practical unworkability of the Cabinet Mission plan, the Muslims' insistence on their claim to be a nation, and the day-to-day friction in the Cabinet, all induced Sardar to accept the alternative plan suggested by me. While Mountbatten was in Simla, the Cabinet approval of his plan of demission of power was received from London. The plan was shown to Pandit Nehru, and he reacted vehemently against it. This made Mountbatten fall back on my alternative plan. It is not true to say that up to this stage Mountbatten had faced the actual problems of partition.

He had a meeting in Simla with Nehru to consider the alternative plan, and the latter said he would not commit himself till he saw it in draft. A draft was produced in the evening, and Nehru tentative-

ly approved of it, subject to the agreement of his colleagues. This subsequently was known as the June 3 plan, under which the British Government demitted power to the two dominions.

The facts are as stated above. Readers can judge for themselves whether the country would have prospered under the Cabinet Mission plan, which Maulana still considered the best solution. It was not due to irritation and frustration alone in the Interim Government that the Congress agreed to partition. It was for far more weighty reasons. I am not one of those who believe that if we had accepted the Cabinet Mission plan the communal passion would have died down in a few years. But suppose they had died down. Even then we should have been left with an extremely loose federation, all limbs and no head, and the progress that we have achieved since 1947 would not have been possible. In a nut shell, the Muslims and Hindus were competing for power, and the fight would never have died down until the Muslims had either gained their objective or been decisively defeated. By partition we killed once and for all the claim that the Muslims in India were a nation.

SWARAJYA

(Published every Saturday)

77, LLOYDS ROAD, MADRAS-14

PHONE: 86640 & 85251

Single Copy: 15 Naya Paise

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

(Including Postage)

In India: Annual: Rs. 7.50.

Half-year: Rs. 4.00.



TOMATO SOUP

Mix in Hot Water and Drink

PEPPER WATER

(MULAGU-TANNI)

Paste & Powder

Mix in Hot Water & Drink

Now available at:

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CO., LTD.,

Opp. High Court - Madras-1.

INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,
K.C.S.I., D.C.L. (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business transacted efficiently and quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits which may be ascertained on application.

S. Krishnaswami,
Secretary.

All India Dental Association research shows 92% OF SCHOOL CHILDREN EXAMINED HAD GUM TROUBLES!

Guard
your children's
gums and teeth
with Gibbs SR

—the only toothpaste
containing
Sodium Ricinoleate
...used by dentists
to combat and
prevent gum troubles

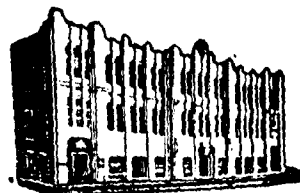
That distinctive 'SR'
taste tells you the
Sodium Ricinoleate
is actively protecting
your teeth and gums.



MADE IN INDIA BY HINDUSTAN TOILET LIMITED FOR G. & W. GIBBS LTD., LONDON

GSR 127-x32

THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"
NORTH BEACH ROAD,
MADRAS-1.

23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole
of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND
SINGAPORE.

CAPITAL

Authorised Capital Rs	1,00,00,000
Issued and Sub- scribed Capital	72,00,000
Paid-up Capital	66,38,990
Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium)	99,61,883
Deposits as on 31-12-'58	40,93,17,330
Total Working Funds	50,12,19,816

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.
R. SUNDARAM IYER.
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA
MUDALIAR.
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.
K. BALASUBRAMANIAM IYER.
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA
CHETTIAR.
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.
RAMDAS PURUSHOTTAM DAS.

ALL TYPES OF
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING
FOREIGN EXCHANGE
TRANSACTED.

London Agents:
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents:
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,
SECRETARY.

May 30, 1959

CINEMA

IMPORT OF EXPOSED FILMS; GOVERNMENT'S NEW POLICY

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: The Government of India has announced the new import policy for the import of exposed films during the period of April-December 1959. According to this policy the established importers will be granted licences to import a quota of 10 per cent general and 10 per cent soft, i.e., 20 per cent of the total quota. On the face of it, this policy imposes a drastic cut on imports. But one hopes that, as in the past, the Government would allow import of films on a 'barter' basis from countries like the Soviet Union and the Hollywood film importers also would be allowed to import additional quota, provided the money earned on them is not transmitted in foreign exchange and is retained here. According to a film weekly report, the Government is reported to have asked the foreign distributors to retain 87½ per cent of their earnings in India and utilize the same in co-production or expenses in some other form in India.

As the film is a medium of art, culture and education — though several Hollywood films have no such claim and exert the wrong influence — on principle there should be no ban on import of films, not only Hollywood films but films from any country. In principle, in the United States at the moment there is no ban on foreign films, though thanks to the business monopoly, it is very difficult for foreign films to get screening outside art theatres in U.S.A. In India also, till the restrictions on foreign exchange came into force, there was absolute freedom to import films from any country and screen them provided of course they were passed by our censors.

But now that the foreign exchange difficulties have put on curbs on the import of foreign films, the best policy would be to encourage the barter system. Al-

ready, the Soviet Union which has imported about a score of films from India during the last Five years have started implementing it. The Soviet Union has signed agreements for exchange of films with both U.S.A. and U.K. Even the Indian films are now bought by the Soviet Union on a reciprocal basis. Thus, for instance, 'Mother India' is bought in exchange for 'The Cranes Are Flying'. Under this policy, there is no drain on our depleted foreign exchange. Not only that our pictures have a good chance of getting a foreign market. And the revenue earned from the exploitation of Soviet pictures in India would benefit Indian producers.

The Hollywood producers who depend today for more than half of their revenue on the foreign market would not agree to a similar policy. They would rather agree to reduce the quota and retain their earnings in India to be utilized for location shooting than exchange their films for Indian films. They are not in favour of even co-production. Instead they would like to invest their earnings in building theatres in India as was revealed by Shri J. C. Jain in his talk on the Hollywood film industry. As there is shortage of theatres, even this move would benefit the Indian industry. In any case, let the blocked earnings be spent in a manner that will benefit not only the foreign distributors but the Indian producers as well.

With the restrictions on foreign exchange, it is imperative that our import policy should be linked with the export of Indian films abroad. For such a policy would help in popularizing Indian films all over the world. In future at least one hopes that the newly formed Export Promotion Council will have a greater say in determining the policy on the import of foreign exposed films.

Anupam Chitra's second offering 'Santana' is reminiscent of their first picture 'Talaq' in many ways. Not only the author and the star pair are common, but it appears as if both the pictures have been shot on the same sets and even the same locations. Even the story follows the same pattern. The first half of the picture follows the boy-meets-girl formula in the Mukerji tradition and the second half deals with domestic trouble in the life of a married couple. While in 'Talaq' the heroine's father caused all the trouble, in 'Santana', it is the hero's father who causes estrangement. The heroine's mother and sister also contribute to the squabbles. Of course, in the end, the things are smoothed but the main problem raised remains unanswered.

'Santana' is the story of a watch-maker Jagannath who lost his wife Kamla and decided not to marry again. He showered all his affection on his teen-aged son Mohan. Mohan grew up into a fine artiste. He met Shobha, the daughter of a rich miser. They got married. Mohan's devotion to his father and insistence that Shobha should be all attention to him caused friction when Jagannath fell ill and Shobha went to her mother.

The wife who was pregnant and the husband quarrelled and she stayed with her mother until Jagannath brought her back. In the climax when Shobha was ill and felt that if the tower clock stopped functioning she would die, Jagannath risked his life to keep the clock moving. And his gesture proved effective, thanks to the efforts of eminent doctors. In the original version, Jagannath died; but in the revised version he lives and forgives repentant Shobha for the sake of a perfect happy ending.

The triangle drama between the father, son and his wife could have been more effective had the author stuck to reality and made the father's character also more human and not put all the blame on the daughter-in-law. Also if the treatment had been light instead of melodramatic, the picture would have been more effective. The symbol of the clock is far-

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ASTUTE KERALA C. M.

fetched and the climax becomes rather unreal. Yet, basically the story is true to life and the conflict it tackles is also part of our life. The boy-meets-girl situations and other domestic incidents in lighter vein are brilliantly written and for a newcomer, director Jyoti Swaroop has done a neat job of direction.

Among the performers David and Manorama as the heroine's parents give the best performances. Nazir Hushain is excellent when he is not melodramatic. Rajendra Kumar acts better than Kamini Kadam, though both of them make a lovable couple. The newcomer Rita Roy fails to impress. Competently made, the lyrics by Hasrat and the musical score by Dattaram are of the usual variety. Unfortunately for them, but for the lullaby which, as sung by Rafi, seems rather odd, there is no good song situation.

'Santaa' ends with a good moral for all 'in-laws'.

Vasant Chowdhary, the renowned Bengalee star, was in Bombay last week to work in his first Hindi picture, Bimal Roy's social satire 'Parakh'. He is playing the lead opposite newcomer Sadhana. The journalists who met him during his first visit to Bombay were impressed by his 'sober, candid and unostentatious' attitude. They were happy to find that he did not suffer from provincial pride or false ego about art and stardom.

Born and brought up in Nagpur, after graduation he went to Calcutta to try his luck and got his first break in New Theatres' bilingual version 'Yatrik'. It is surprising that with such fluent diction, no Bombay producer had thought of importing him before. By now he has appeared in over twenty Bengalee films including Debaki Bose's 'Sree Krishna Chaitanya'. His latest picture 'Deep Jaley Jai' directed by Asit Sen with Suchitra Sen in the lead has proved a big hit.

He answered many questions about Bengalee films and the Bengalee stage with candid objectivity. Apropos the failure of the so-called serious and purposeful Hindi pictures in Calcutta, he said

Sir,—The astute Mr. Nambudripad has manoeuvred the Kerala Congress into a very awkward and absurd position, in relation to the Education Bill and rules thereunder. The rule regarding prohibition of students participating in political agitations, has been framed, I surmise, with the hope that Kerala Congressmen, with their foolish opposition to everything, will fight against, and then, the Government, as a sort of concession to the opposition view will agree to the amendment; it is a deliberate trap set by Mr. Nambudripad and local Congressmen have walked into it. It would have been better if the local Congressmen were more wary, instead of being blinded by pettiness and immediate and illusory gains; or at least, one would expect the High Command to guide the Kerala Congress. Now, what is the posi-

tion? Congress itself stands for student participation in political agitations. It forgot the oft-repeated statements of Congress leaders from Sri Nehru downwards, that student discipline is on the increase. Sri Nehru has even stated that a certain political party, meaning of course the Communist party, is behind those agitations; so, what follows? The Congress leaders themselves stood in the way of imposing a ban on student participation in political agitations. What a fine and welcome situation for Communists for propaganda in the whole of India.

that in this respect the audiences prefer Bengalee pictures which make no compromises and they prefer Hindi pictures for sheer entertainment. He was all praise for Satyajit Roy's 'Apar Sansar', which he ranked best among the trilogy.

Vasant Chowdhary's debut in Bombay ensures success for him; and consequently some succour to Bombay producers who are hit hard by star-shortage.

Rajendra Kumar and Kumkum are starred in Mehboob's picture about a child and a dog, under production.

A.V.M. is producing three pictures in Hindi; (i) starring Raj Kapoor, (ii) starring Jagdeep and Nanda and directed by Krishna-Panju, and (iii) in partnership with Nageshwar Rao who will star opposite Mala Sinha. Out of these, the second and third have gone on sets.

Bimal Roy's next Hindi picture 'Usne Kaha Tha' will be directed by his assistant Moni Chatterji and star Sunil Dutt and Nanda.

tion? Congress itself stands for student participation in political agitations. It forgot the oft-repeated statements of Congress leaders from Sri Nehru downwards, that student discipline is on the increase. Sri Nehru has even stated that a certain political party, meaning of course the Communist party, is behind those agitations; so, what follows? The Congress leaders themselves stood in the way of imposing a ban on student participation in political agitations. What a fine and welcome situation for Communists for propaganda in the whole of India.

AVASARALA RAMA RAO

ROAD ACCIDENTS

Sir,—The recent discussion at the Legislative Council meeting at Ootacamund on the road problems of Madras and the increased incidence of accidents was highly revealing. The speech of the veteran, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar, setting out the various defects and shortcomings that were mainly responsible for the increasing number of road accidents in our State, is very real and the general public are greatly indebted to him for this. In spite of the alarming rate of increase of motor accidents, the Government's apathy is very surprising. Even the Hon'ble Minister seemed to have taken the debate very lightly and his remark 'After purchasing cars for Rs. 30,000 and Rs. 40,000 there was no use of driving them at a speed of 20 to 30 miles, in this case, they could very well revert to the bullock cart civilisation' is very provoking. One wonders whether when the Congress party is talking of the socialistic pattern of society, a privileged few, who could afford luxury cars of the type mentioned by the Hon'ble Minister must necessarily drive faster, oblivious of the safety of thousands of pedestrians and users of slow-moving vehicles. It is very surprising that, instead of trying to restrict the speed and reckless and

May 30, 1959

burdensome and freedom-killing than the erstwhile zamindars.

Why do we want Socialism? Surely, it is not to lose whatever freedom our producers have come to achieve through ages of revolutionary striving against so many systems of exploitation but to increase the area of that freedom. We want Socialism so as to be freed from all engines of exploitation to lead a peaceful life in creative and constructive social endeavour and to have opportunities to enjoy maximum felicity in fruitful co-operative efforts within one's family companionship. Socialism cannot be desired, nor has it been desired by the Socialist sages of the world for imposing regulations, controls and managerialism upon those toilers who make constructive contribution to the production and social well-being of society and from whom there can be no threat to the freedom and happiness of any other section of society. How could, therefore, the present efforts of our planners be reconciled to Socialism, when what they scheme to do against our peasantry could only subvert their free economy and rob them of their economic independence?

CHAKRAPANI

CINEMAS AND RADIO

Sir,—Apart from books and newspapers, cinemas and radio influence the moral and mental outlook of a person. In most of the pictures, the main plot is almost the same—X falls in an unapproved love with Y and unnatural sequences follow, giving rise to passion-songs. Some of the radio film songs and plays in Tamil and Telugu (I am acquainted only with these two languages) are almost of this type. With such surroundings, it is no wonder that Romeos and Juliets are on the increase in a country noted for its high and noble standard of life.

A picture or a radio play should aim at setting high standards in life and should be such that it could be seen or heard without compunction by a parent with all his children, both married and unmarried, by his side.

Y. RAMASWAMAYYA

Madras

Co-operative Farming, A Menace to Free Peasant Economy

(Continued from page 2)

also give a further fillip to the growth of a "new class" of bosses, supervisors, directors, planners, auditors and accountants who will prove to be more

burdensome and freedom-killing than the erstwhile zamindars.

Let our peasants take heed that there can now be no doubt, thanks to the Nagpur thesis, that our policy-makers are out to pursue their anti-peasant, anti-self-employment plans. They want us all to become the politico-economic slaves of their Soviet-oriented Socialism.

Our policy-makers and their press and protagonists are following the familiar Soviet method of attacking their critics as the champions of vested interests. Let us remind them that the great majority of our kisans and kalakars earn much less than the lakhs of upper subordinate clerks who are in the employ of Government and that they do not enjoy so much social immunity from economic blizzards as the industrial proletariat.

Today the presidents and members of village panchayats, block parishads and co-operative societies and licensees under the controls have come to be the most powerful elements in rural life. Large sections of them are being converted by Government into a new vested interest, endowed with its power and influence. They are the political and economic offspring of our planned economy. What with the officers, experts, V.L. workers of NES and the executive secretaries, supervisors, maistris, etc., of co-operative farms and officers of village panchayats, two-million strong agents of the Government are soon to feast upon our rural economy. The latest AICC deliberations indicate how this new move can be utilised for political advantage. So, these planners and rulers are fast coming to be the leaders of this new vested interest and they want to enlarge their powers by encroaching upon our freedoms. It is we who are out to fight this new vested interest and who want equal social justice. Whoever comes forward to fight this new and dangerous vested interest of unparalleled power and exploitation, places himself in the vanguard of Socialist construction and democratic freedoms.

The Prime Minister has repeatedly been saying that this programme for co-operative farming adopted at Nagpur has come to be accepted by the nation. Surely, this statement is unwarranted, in view of the widespread protests voiced by the major section of the press and by numerous mammoth gatherings of peasants. Such questions ought never be raised by any responsible party in mid-term after the general election. I am convinced that if there were a general election now, the nation will certainly repudiate this Congress drive towards co-operative farming. — Excerpts from Professor Ranga's booklet, "Storm Bursts on the Peasantry", published by the Indian Peasant Institute, Nidubrolu.

Edited and Published by KHASA SUBBA RAU at 77 Lloyds Road, Madras-14.

Printed by T. K. VENKATESAN at THE JUPITER PRESS PRIVATE LTD., 109-C, Mount Road, Teynampet, Madras-18.

Releasing IN JUNE!



PONNALURI BROS'
DAIVABALAM

ABOUT HALF IN COLOUR

FOLKLORE



DIRECTION
VASANTHA KUMARA REDDY



CHAMRIA
Release

134

SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 48

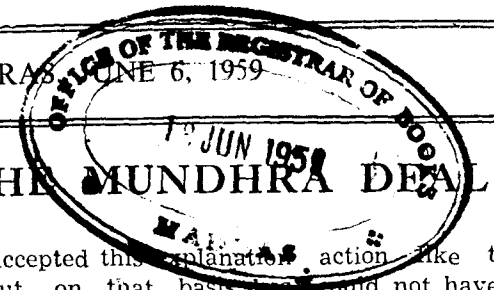
MADRAS JUNE 6, 1959

15 Naye Paise

LESSON OF THE MUNDHRA DEAL

The saddest part of the whole series of events relating to the L.I.C. deal with Mr. Mundhra, culminating in the Government's resolution on the Union Public Service Commission report, is that the public are left with a feeling that the full truth has not been uncovered and that justice has not been done. The exit of the four principal figures in the drama from the scene of their operations—some with a taint or a censure and one with an apparently clean bill of health—cannot by itself be regarded as a satisfactory end to a sorry episode. The Vivian Bose Board as well as the Government resolution has held that the Minister's responsibility for the transaction was minimal. This undoubtedly is the case so far as the Mundhra deal is concerned. But, as is clear from the disclosures from the Vivian Bose report, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari was responsible for encouraging the use of the funds of the Life Insurance Corporation to support stock exchange prices and it was this policy which enabled his Principal Finance Secretary to find an excuse for the extraordinary procedure of relieving a reckless speculator from financial difficulties of his own creation by the use of L.I.C. funds. While both the Chagla Commission and the Vivian Bose Board rejected the theory of the "Mundhra drag" on the Calcutta market as a valid reason for entering into what Mr. Pant described as "this most disreputable deal", the U.P.S.C. has

not only accepted this explanation as valid but, on that basis, has completely exonerated Mr. Patel. The U.P.S.C.'s rejection of the Vivian Bose Board's finding that the motive for the deal should have been some sort of *quid pro quo* for the donations which Mr. Mundhra made to the Congress party chest has come in handy for the Government. It is certainly strange that the Board did not pursue this enquiry further and left the motive for helping Mr. Mundhra a matter for guess. Of the two principal officers of the L.I.C. connected with the episode, Mr. Kamath is clearly a misfit and the 'censure' which the Government propose to award is adequate to serve the ends of justice. Mr. Vaidyanathan who emerges from all the three reports as the most culpable among all the actors in the drama, is the one person, who by virtue of his past background and experience, should have stood up for the interests of the L.I.C. and ensured the absolute safety and maximum profitability of its investments. His failure to do so, for whatever reason, makes him primarily responsible for the loss which the L.I.C. has suffered, apart from other unworthy aspects of the deal. What next? Some clear lessons for the future must be drawn from the Mundhra affair. It is obvious from the Vivian Bose Board's report that if the statutory procedures governing L.I.C. investments laid down in the L.I.C. Act had been adhered to, a trans-



action like the Mundhra deal could not have been put through. It may be that these procedures are unduly dilatory and that often speed and informality are necessary to get things done. But speedy action cannot be an excuse for reckless disposal of large public funds. In the Mundhra deal it was not so much the haste with which it was put through as the obvious neglect of duty on the part of the officials concerned that has been responsible for the loss. There should be a fuller study of the relations that should exist between Ministers and autonomous corporations so that the sense of responsibility of the chiefs of the corporations is not undermined by constant interference by Ministers or their departmental secretaries. So far as the L.I.C. is concerned, Parliament might also consider whether it is not necessary to have a separate Minister for Insurance to be in sole charge of the policies and conduct of the L.I.C. Life Insurance is an enormous business, with ramifications as nationwide as the railways. If we have a separate Minister responsible for the Railways, there is an equally valid case for having a Minister for Insurance, who could be made responsible not only for life insurance but also for other programmes of social security that are now in operation or may be adopted in the future. The administration of such Acts as the Provident Funds Act and the Employees' State Insurance Act could be entrusted to him.

THE THREAT TO AGRICULTURE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Megalomania violated our planning. The inherent errors are showing themselves in heavy and distressing measure. Nehru sees India

'standing on the top of golden hours. And human nature seeming born again'.

But some of us standing with our feet on the ground see differently. We see bankruptcy in the horizon and the sorry picture of Bharat as a chronic beggar before the Western nations. We are distressed. Large dreams are no consolation for present calamity.

The most urgent single problem of the day is the deficit in food production, the basic necessity of any vast population. The compulsory transfer of land from the large owners to cultivators who have to begin with debt and the switch-over from individual interest to multiple ownership and multiple management through a new bureaucracy with subsidies and interest-free loans, and looking up to Government for solution at every juncture—all these will lead to an immediate fall in production at a time when we can ill afford any fall and are actually wanting a considerable increase at once.

The plans have accentuated the rise in prices all round before starting to give expected returns. The policy of acquisition of land to satisfy the policy of multiple ownership will add to the inflation: because, unless the intention is to expropriate the present owners and discarding the principles enunciated in the Constitution, money will have to be issued to meet the demand for compensation, either from Nasik or by bonds which will add to the inflation. We cannot have a big policy of converting land into money without this consequence. If this is also accompanied by a fall in food production we can imagine the resulting rise in prices.

State interference is definitely to be deprecated in the field of

agriculture which is essentially an industry depending on intimate personal interest. The legitimate function of the State and the only sane policy in this field would be to create and stimulate those natural forces which would automatically result in increased personal interest and increased attention. Direct governmental or bureaucratic activity can never produce what can be produced only by the stimulation of natural human urges. Much can certainly be done by stimulation of natural forces, but instead we have a dogmatic policy of State interference in full swing. The interference will damage the delicate and sensitive roots of this not very paying industry so far maintained by force of tradition and the pressure of poverty.

The present owners of land, big or small, ask for no subsidy and the good prices that foodgrains are now fetching act as an incentive. But now the atmosphere of total uncertainty created by Government policies and forecasts of future legislation have destroyed all interest in agriculture among those who otherwise would have greatly helped.

Nothing can be more foolish than the attempt to do State trading in foodgrains. There is no justification for the exaggerated fears about hoarding and cornering; because we have such a large body of people engaged and eager to share and compete in the business of wholesale and retail trade. This competition is ample security for the consumer. The bulky nature of the commodity and its vulnerability to deterioration and attacks of moths and rodents prevent hoarding. Free competition is not only the best but the most efficient safeguard for the consumer.

Before we plant industries that could absorb a large mass of people, it is wrong to extinguish self-employment and quiet distribution of income which the retail trade does.

Interference with competition will increase the very evils we seek to prevent. If we watch the prices in the free market we can see how vigilant and sensible and how just the people are who are engaged in the big as well as the small business of the distribution of commodities produced in our country. It is a crime to seek to extinguish the retail shopmen. State trading will put ever so many people out of employment who are doing the work of distribution on the most frugal terms.

We read daily astronomical figures of money required to be raised in order to relieve unemployment. Taxation will lead to retrenchment in all producing and distributing centres. Taxation will be digging a bigger pit to fill up smaller pits.

Sri Sripati Chandrasekhar has contributed an interesting article which has appeared in the *New York Times* of May 17 about how Mao is waging war against the family in China. These stories, true or false, about China had little interest to us. But now that the Government of India is on the same road, these surveys of China fill us with fear. We must protect the Farm and the Family against the totalitarian inroads of the State. An opposition to the present Government based on this policy of Farm-and-Family-Protection is essential. The Farm and the Family are the institutions that hold the freedom of the citizen. To imagine that India can be administered as a family can be, and that a Socialistic secular bureaucracy can take the place of the parent or the peasant or of the moral sense of people is pure illusion. From out of that illusion will issue the greatest danger to democracy, 'Socialism' based on force, 'welfare' based on compulsion instead of on religion and morality, happiness based on material instead of on spiritual values.

We cannot be certain of living the next minute. But we are not content with even a million plans.

—KURAL.

WIDELIGHTS ::

I do not fear even God," said Prime Minister at Ootacand the other day. "God is he," said Mahatma Gandhi who made Jawaharlal his political heir. Even to many pious men, actual vision of God is an unrea-dream, an aspiration unfulfilled.

But even as a concept intellectually postulated, though not seen or felt in experience, God is morally valuable to man, as no untruth or falsehood can pass muster before the omniscient, omnipotent power traditionally attributed to divinity in all religions. One cannot cheat God with pretences or false propaganda. In the sacred sanctuary of the spirit sanctified by belief in God, propagandist aids to personal or party credit do not avail, cooked evidence is useless, not only deeds but even intentions, the very thoughts themselves, become transparent and crystal-clear and cannot be hidden or glossed over. There is no escape from self-analysing humility and from the ever-vigilant urge of the human conscience to weigh thought, word, and deed in the scales of right and wrong, for any believer in God. Perhaps this is what Rajaji meant when he spoke of Religion as our greatest policeman.

In a democratic system of government votes count as a means to power. Often people do not bestow their votes on the ablest or most qualified. Elections seethe with mal-practices and we frequently see undesirable persons elevated by means of the poll to high positions in the legislature and in the government. It will be a bad day for any democracy if the gift of catching votes, which may be sustained by superficial qualities, should lead one to sovereign power without the counteracting checks and balances that come from high character and the introspective objectivity of religious discipline.

As popularity is measured, the P.M. is undoubtedly the most popular man in India today. He is

the glamorous Prince Charming of an idolising public. He is "uncle" — "Chacha" — to the nation's children. He is the most consummate electioneering campaigner in the country. All these advantages have made him the most powerful man in our midst, with no competing or opposing force to question his authority.

Yet he is not content. Since he assumed office he has been unceasingly acquiring more and more of power for his government. Even the Moguls, who revelled in the enjoyment of power as an ecstatic luxury, had not so much power in their time as he wields now. In the process of combining economic power with political power, the livelihoods of people have been brought under official grip. Independent callings provided by a large multiplicity of employing agencies have been destroyed, and in their place we have monolithic, monopolistic State organisations invading trade, commerce and business. The attack on freedom of living has been deadly. People capable of earning an income without the favour of Government or the grace of some bureaucrat are diminishing in number day by day. Though we have a government called national, the area of individual freedom open to the Indian citizen is much less today than when the British left.

"Socialism" has served the Prime Minister in good stead in his relentless pursuit of power. He is thrilled by the contemplation of himself as a daring and intrepid spirit engaged on a "high adventure, one of the greatest adventures, an adventure of 400 million people marching ahead." Others not susceptible to the intoxication of power and its hallucinations see the Nehru adventure in Socialism and in government in more sombre and less pleasing colours. Here are some questions bluntly put for the Prime Minister's attention by Sri M. A. Sreenivasan, a hard-headed leader of

the business community, not given to doctrinaire delusions, and with much good work to his credit:

Many doubts and questions haunt the minds today not only of the small minority of thinking men and women but also of the masses of common folk in the towns and the villages.

Uppermost in the minds of millions is the question: "How is it that over a decade of uninterrupted rule by the successors of the Father of the Nation has brought no relief or succour to us in our hardships; that slums are spreading, and food and clothing getting scarcer and dearer, that the rupee steadily buys less and less every year, that the spectres of insecurity and unemployment still stalk the land while, at the same time, we have ten Ministers to each one there was before, and offices and officials have multiplied and proliferated, and the Government has been collecting and spending, not lakhs, but hundreds of crores of rupees every year?"

People also ask: "Why is life being made so different for us all round? Did Mahatmaji and our nation's heroes win freedom for our country only to make it not a Welfare State, but a Welfare State Jungle of controls, taboos and thorny restrictions, and stifling enactments that encroach upon and swallow up our rights and properties? Surely, it could never have been their purpose to take away from each of us our means of honest and independent livelihood in our own shops and fields and offices and industries and appoint an army of party men and Government officials to do what we are doing."

Mr. M. R. Masani also said at Bangalore last week that "certain

	TOMATO SOUP
	Mix in Hot Water and Drink
	PEPPER WATER
	(MULAGU-TANNI) Paste & Powder Mix in Hot Water & Drink
Now available at:	
INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CO., LTD.,	
Opp. High Court	Madras-1.

trends were being set in motion that caused concern and the most frightening amongst them was the growing concentration of economic and political power in a few hands". Those who heard him had glowing accounts to give of the power of his argument and the vigour of his presentation. But Mr. Nehru at Ooty dismissed what Mr. Masani said as "not of much importance"! Apparently in the Nehru vocabulary, agreement with him means importance, and disagreement the reverse of it. Of Rajaji the Prime Minister says: "I am carefully trying to understand what Rajaji says from time to time about these current problems. I regret that I have been unable to understand what he says or the logic of it or the reason behind it." The intellectual plight of any adult, let alone a Prime Minister, not able to understand what Rajaji says is scarcely an enviable one. Rajaji is the acknowledged master of precision, logic and clarity in speech and writing, and the classic simplicity of his presentation of any subject is such that even children have no difficulty in understanding him. If the P. M. is unable to comprehend what practically every literate in the country (and even illiterates who care to listen) are able to grasp with ease, it is a phenomenon that has to be ascribed perhaps only to the befogging effect of excessive, undisputed and prolonged power carried to the point of indigestion.

As there is no temporal authority anywhere in the country to match that of the Prime Minister, there seems no hope for him of a return to balance and the understanding of what everyone else understands, except through the introspective humility that can come (especially for the too powerful) through divine grace alone, though for the moment the P. M. avows no belief in it. It is through the bureaucrats that the Nehru power is exercised and the co-operatives he talks so much about will be run. People are heartily sick of bureaucrats and have no wish to pass on to them what they can do themselves.



THE SPRIGHTLY SPARROW

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

"The moment the sun appears all the stars run away and hide" said Kamali.

Ramu replied, "No, Kamali. The stars become invisible in the much brighter light of the sun".

"No, no, that's wrong," repeated Kamali. "What Aunt told me must be right".

"Well, well, Aunt told you a story, but my teacher told me the truth," replied Ramu.

"Then do you mean to say that Auntie lied to me?" questioned Kamali.

"No, it's not a lie, just a story," said Ramu.

"What do you mean by a story?" questioned the girl.

"A story runs like this: 'Once upon a time there was a king and he had a daughter and so on and so forth'. That's how folks say it."

"Then they are all lies?" asked Kamali.

"No, Kamali! Falsehood is fraud. But there is no fraud in a fable, only fun. It is interesting to listen to," explained Ramu.

"Then, please tell me a story, but mind you no lies—do you understand?"

He began, "There lived in a town a girl called Kamali".

"You are cheating. You do not know how to tell a story. I shall go to Auntie," said Kamali and tried to run away. "No, no, stop. I shall tell you a real story," said Ramu.

"Long, long ago, there lived a king in a far-away land. He had a son. One day the prince rode into town on his horse. He was accompanied by a servant."

"And then?"

"He saw a dust-bin on the

way. On top of the bin sat a sparrow".

"H'm".

"That sparrow wore a cap on its head".

"Where did the bird get the cap from?" asked Kamali.

"There was an old piece of cloth inside the dust-bin. It got a small cap made out of it".

"Then?"

"On seeing the sparrow the prince laughed."

"Why do you laugh?"

"I have a cap. Hast thou one?" said the sparrow and sang tossing its head about".

"Then?"

"The prince grew angry. 'Snatch that cap from the sparrow', he ordered his man. The servant took the cap from the sparrow and handed it over to the prince."

"How sad!"

"A chap who hadn't any, Took the cap from it. Fie—fie on sonny,

This becomes you not a bit' sang the sparrow."

"Give the cap back to it" said the prince and the servant returned its cap to the sparrow.

"He was scared of me. He returned my cap. What sort of prince is he?" said the sparrow and flew away."

"The prince got wild with fury. He spurred his horse in an attempt to catch the sparrow but the bird flew high above him."

"The servant ran and caught hold of the horse in time, otherwise the prince would have fallen off its back".

"The sparrow was very clever," said Kamali.

"Will you marry this prince?" asked Ramu.

"Certainly not", she replied.

they threaten, are doomed to fail, and fail miserably.

SAKA

This is why the service co-operatives under State direction, with the further bureaucratisation

CONAN DOYLE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

From my bald memory of college days I can testify that we started reading Conan Doyle whilst the prototype of Sherlock Holmes was still alive in Edinburgh. Dr. T. M. Nair enabled me to read my first detective story and he knew Dr Bells who had a rare habit of drawing inferences and making conjectures about the movement of his friends. Detective fiction is today a monumental trade from crime stories for children to romantic violence for adults who read the text and relish later confirmation in talkie-shows. Sherlock Holmes the author's creation is likely to eclipse Conan Doyle. Nearly ten years ago there was a Sherlock Holmes Exhibition on the Embankment putting in array the adventures of that fictitious personality in the company of Dr. Watson between whom there had been a Johnson-Boswell relationship. The classical status achieved by Sherlock Holmes in public imagination is indeed a tribute to his creator and the demand of readers was so keen that Conan Doyle had to arrange *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*.

In those days the scope of crime was comparatively nominal. There were no motor-squads, nor any noiseless revolvers as in the days of descendants like Peter Cheyney and Agatha Christie when new weapons of conspiracy became available. With Sherlock Holmes even police dogs could not be summoned and Scotland Yard suffered from similar handicaps in the chase of culprits. Sherlock Holmes played the violin to stimulate the spirit and he was an authority on the subject of tobacco-ash but in his rivalry with Inspector Lestrade, neither seems to have been guided by finger prints. Sherlock Holmes had his Irregulars of Baker Street, consisting of a squad of boys to serve as scouts and eliminate false trails but he himself was an individualist in the analysis of Plots. Dr. Watson is his foil and the expression, "Elementary, my dear Watson, elementary", has become a common-

place in English literature. One feels sorry for Dr. Watson who had evidently been sacrificing his general practice for acting as satellite to the great detective. As a story-teller Conan Doyle is fascinating but I have asked live detectives what they thought about the clues upon which Sherlock Holmes acted. Their factual opinion is that it is all huey and that such tracing of crime has no correspondence with actual life or the records of the police in any part of the world.

Greater than Sherlock Holmes was his brother Mycroft Holmes who appears occasionally but he was a mathematician doomed to wage battle with professors. This

POPULAR POLITICIAN AND ABLE ADMINISTRATOR

TRIBUTES TO K. BHASHYAM

Here are two tributes of appreciation, out of several received, of the late K. Bhashyam:

Sri Bhashyam touched life at many points. He was a successful lawyer, a popular politician, an able administrator, an earnest social worker, a sincere co-operator, and an eminent educationist. He was, above all, an unsullied patriot and a great gentleman. He was intensely religious, and his approach to men and matters was invariably philosophical. That was the secret of his success in every walk of life.

He gave of his best to the legal profession. We find two types of advocacy, as was pointed out by the late Dr. M. R. Jayakar: the persuasive and the tornado types, flourishing side by side. Sri Bhashyam combined the best in each and possessed in full what may be described as a court manner.

As President of the Advocates' Association in Madras, he conducted himself with wisdom, dignity and independence. Soon after the Second World War came to an

character was designed to lend variety. Crime fiction has developed since the days of Conan Doyle. The same can be said of Science Fiction which had contemporary birth thanks to the imagination of H. G. Wells who visualised the War of the Worlds and the Descent of Inhabitants from the Moon. This motif has also been developed and there are staggering pictures in Vista Vision of inter-planetary adventures. Towards the end of his life, Conan Doyle was known as a propagandist of "Spiritualism". He believed in communications with Ghosts beyond the Grave and some of his experiences of spooks were patently unscientific. Nevertheless it is fitting that at his centenary Conan Doyle should be particularly remembered in India for his vast powers of intellectual entertainment.

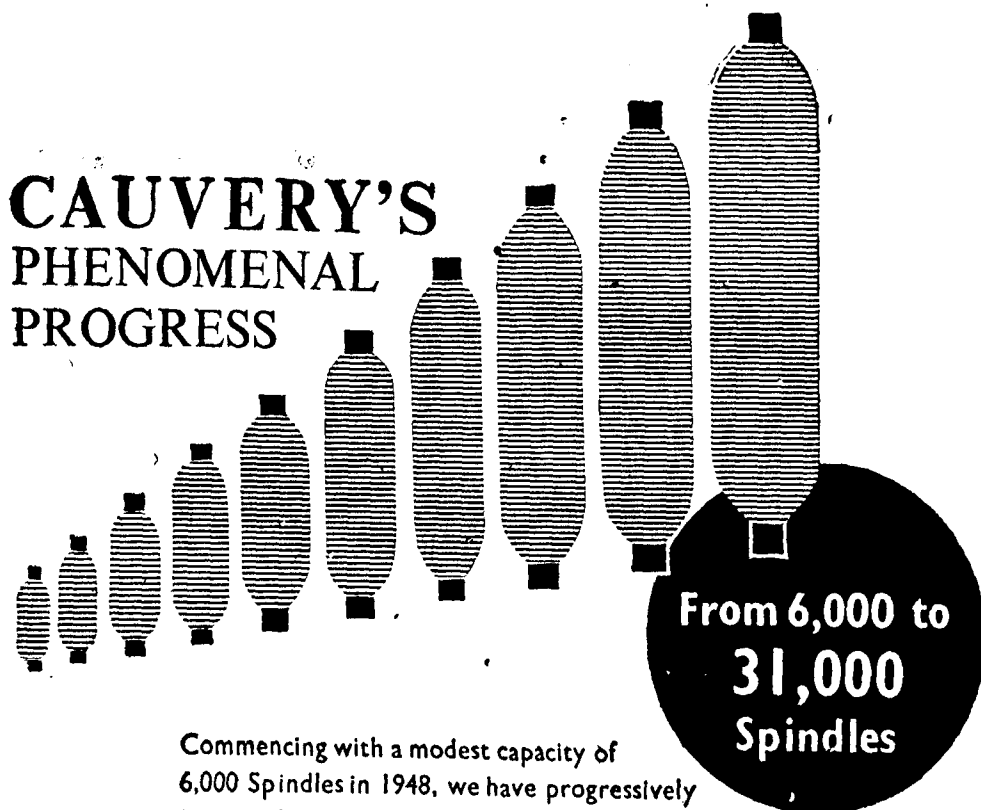
end, he unreservedly placed his services at the disposal of the Defence Committee organised by the late Dr. Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer to rescue the members of the Indian National Army (raised by Netaji Subash Chandra Bose) who were imprisoned in Malaya. As a political sufferer, he had a soft corner for his colleagues in the national struggle. He was imprisoned more than once for offering *Satyagraha* and was also the victim of a severe lathi charge. Before he joined the Congress he was active in the Home Rule agitation of Dr. Annie Besant. He was a nationalist to the core, and parochial considerations never weighed with him.

Mr. Bhashyam died full of years and honours. He was an invaluable link between the older and the younger generations.

P. RAJESWARA RAO

The passing away of Sri K. Bhashyam has created a void in

CAUVERY'S PHENOMENAL PROGRESS



Commencing with a modest capacity of 6,000 Spindles in 1948, we have progressively increased our Spindleage to 31,000 today. Besides, we have installed machinery for the production of cheese, cone and doubling yarns. We are now in a position not only to meet the requirements of Handloom but also of the Powerloom and Hosiery Industry. All this has been made possible because of the constant control exercised at all levels of production to maintain highest quality and thus creating increased demand.



CAUVERY SPINNING & WEAVING MILLS LTD.

Managing Agents:

M/S. UNITED INDUSTRIES (PUDUKKOTTAI) PRIVATE LTD.
Mills: VELLANUR, CAUVERYNAGAR P. O.

Registered Office:

3rd FLOOR, INDIAN CHAMBER BUILDINGS, MADRAS-1.
Phone: 21396 - Madras
Phone: 7 - Pudukkottai
Telegrams: "CAUVERIS"
Madras & Pudukkottai.

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING, A PHASE IN COMMUNISM

By S. HIRIANNAIYA

The main land reform on which the Congress party has set its heart and which is rightly causing concern in the country is what is mildly termed "co-operative farming". This means that all the land in the country will have to be cultivated not by individuals but by special co-operative societies to whom the land will have to be made over for cultivation. It is my firm conviction that this scheme is but a phase in the process of leading the country to economic Communism.

By the fourth amendment of the Constitution our justiciable right to property was taken away. Next, the Prime Minister made an

the legal profession and in politics which is difficult to fill. He was a conformist without being bigoted, orthodox without being fanatic, learned without being pedantic. As a lawyer he was noted for thorough study, quick grasp and masterly presentation of his case. His interests were varied. He also shone as an author and his book on Negotiable Instruments was frequently referred to by members of the Bench and the Bar alike.

His stewardship of the Law portfolio in the Prakasam Ministry was memorable for the introduction of the system of separation of the judiciary from the executive. His career throughout was noted for its high standard of probity. He was a strict disciplinarian, a hard taskmaster but a liberal paymaster. He held strong views on several matters and stuck to them at all costs.

He was an eloquent speaker and an engaging conversationalist, convincing those who differed from him. He was of a pious and charitable disposition and patronised many a noble cause. His outstanding contribution to the co-operative movement is his monument.

G. RANGA RATHNAM

announcement that all banks should be nationalised, with the result that bank shares crashed and hundreds and thousands of persons lost heavily on their capital investments. Then, with the tremendous expansion of the public sector in industry which of course was desirable, within limits, a heavy burden of taxation was imposed on the private sector until finally in the Krishnamachari budget of 1957-58, private industry was practically made a risky, if not a losing proposition. Private property, credit and industry having thus been disposed of, Government turned their attention to trading. Sugar and cement came in handy and were taken out of private hands and have become a source of profit to the Government and now they have decided to take over private trading in food grains also—a decision which is fraught with the gravest consequences to the country. So property, credit, industry and trade have all gone and only land remains and this is to be taken over by enforcing co-operative farming.

Thus the private citizen, whether he is a land owner, shop keeper, industrialist or banker, becomes a mere wage earner under concerns which belong to the Government or to co-operative societies run under the direction of the Government. Then the Law Minister was sent out of the Cabinet though he had been there for over a century. This mistake taught a bitter lesson and the Minister had to be taken back. The ruling party also tried to control the flow of foreign news into the country, but owing to strong opposition they had to give it up for the present. Is it not clear from all this that we are heading towards Communistic regimentation? However much co-operative farming may be camouflaged under different names and disguises it is, in essence, nothing but collectivisation

of land. In any of our villages, on the average there will be 200 to 300 land holdings and 90 per cent of them are below 10 acres and the majority of them again below five acres. Nevertheless, our people are so rooted to the soil that they will not part with it. If you take the land away from the ryot, that is, his right to cultivate it, what is there to induce him to remain in the village? He cannot even keep his cattle because he cannot graze them on his land any more. Once a year he will receive the value of the produce of his share of the land and with it he will go to the nearest town and spend it there. Though the small extent of land owned by him does not give him employment throughout the year, it fixes him permanently in the village and enables him to lead a social life filling the leisure hours with subsidiary occupations. One can imagine the magnitude of this evil, if it is realised that the social and economic life of the 6,00,000 villages which dot the country will be rudely disturbed and shaken. Ryots will be torn from their lands and with nothing else to do will begin to trek aimlessly and will become easy prey to agitators of various ideological hues and thus a danger to the political stability of the country.

The time-honoured dictum that a prosperous peasantry is the backbone of the nation holds good even today. "Let us not," as a recent American writer has put it, "reduce the proud land owners of yesterday to the status of an agrarian proletariat of tomorrow."

INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,
K.C.S.I., D.C.L. (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business
transacted efficiently and
quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits
which may be ascertained on
application.

S. Krishnaswami,
Secretary.

CONCERN OVER RUINOUS OFFICIAL PROGRAMMES

APPEAL TO RAJAJI TO SPEARHEAD OPPOSITION

Rajaji's reported intention of abstaining from controversial politics has aroused grave concern. Some of the letters received urging the need for his continuing guidance in the present critical situation in the country, are published below:

I hope that the recent reports about your putting a self-denying ordinance on yourself as regards controversial themes is an exaggeration or will be only partially observed. When India, and beyond India the world, can have the benefit of your richly stocked and quick sharp mind and of your vast experience of men and affairs, why should you keep silence, while the fools, the self-advertisers, the self-confident iconoclasts and the short-sighted politicians are left free to delude the people and the age?

From a letter to Rajaji by
AN EMINENT PERSON WHO
MUST REMAIN ANONYMOUS
(ii)

Rajaji's reported decision to quit controversies raises important fundamental issues. In modern democracies where ill thought out and hastily implemented policies are sought to be justified in the name of reform the voice of reason and moderation is of paramount importance.

In Indian democracy at present the Congress party has all the political power with practically no opposition at all. Power tends to corrupt and absolute power tends to corrupt absolutely. This dictum of Lord Acton is being proved to the hilt in India today. The Prime Minister's whims and fancies are being adopted as the basis for action even by people whom one would expect to be better informed. The whole economic machinery and the Planning Commission seem to be merely rubber-stamping the Prime Minister's hasty ideas of development and reform. Parliament, thanks to the steam roller tactics of the Congress, has ceased to represent

intelligent public opinion on even vital matters like the language question. The whole country is being dragged on to chaos as a result of unthinking obedience to the Prime Minister.

If we want India to be a really free, stable and good democracy we should cultivate the habit of independent and fearless thinking. We must have the courage to say No, even to exalted persons in matters of policy if we happen to disagree with them.

It is exactly in this context that we were all glad that we have a man like Rajaji so ably championing reason and good sense keeping only the country's welfare at heart. We were all happy that this man whose intellectual eminence and integrity of character were above question, gave fearless expression to his considered opinions on matters of vital importance to us. His opinions, well thought out and formed on unquestionable facts and on the wisdom of his unique experience, gave us courage and showed us the true democratic spirit for the good of the nation. At such a time as this comes the report of his intention to avoid controversies. How sad this is!

The Congress people and the Prime Minister, having drunk power deeply, may show irritation at Rajaji's arguments. The irritated mind loses its balance and indulges in a lot of melodramatic nonsense. When one is not able to meet argument with argument, one ends up with a lot of meaningless heat and danger. The Prime Minister is a monumental example of a man grown older but not wiser. No wonder he frets and fumes at many of Rajaji's unanswerable arguments.

If the Prime Minister's anger and his party members' subservience to him are small matters not affecting the national interests, then one may not have to seriously worry about them. But this is not the case. Their ill-thought out programmes, if they are allowed to go unchallenged and unchecked, will lead us all to ruin. In the circumstances in which India is placed today, each one of us has a duty to perform, and I humbly submit to Rajaji that his withdrawal from public controversies will amount to his desisting from performing his duty.

Irrespective of other people's misunderstanding or irritation it is his right and duty to the nation to express his deliberate opinions on national questions. And, after all, was Rajaji not the victim of misunderstanding almost all through his political career. That did not deter him then, must it deter him now?

K. S. RAMAMURTHY

(iii)

It may have seemed that Rajaji is fighting a lone battle for the good of the country, but it is now evident that he has the full support and sympathy of the intelligentsia. The country is passing through such a critical period in its history that no patriotic citizen can afford to lean back complacently and watch it go astray. In the absence of an effective opposition party, there is no doubt that Rajaji in the shape of a one-man opposition is doing splendid work. It is good that a towering personality like Rajaji with a fine record of service is able to view dispassionately the acts of the Government. It is indeed a blessing that we have at least one man of that stature to make us think seriously and deeply about matters which vitally affect the progress of the country. I am sure that if Nehru was not in office, he would have himself criticised some of the policies of the Government. Rajaji's voice should rather be a clarion call to all right-thinking people.

VINATA PAI

Mangalore

(iv)
The letters published in SWARAJYA expressing deep concern at the reported decision of Rajaji to abstain from participation in controversial public issues are indicative of the high esteem in which he is held by enlightened people in India and abroad.

Rajaji's selfless sacrifice in the cause of Indian freedom and his manifold services to the nation have endeared him to people everywhere. Even his bitterest critics have conceded his rare courage of conviction, his unassailable integrity and his essentially intellectual and rational approach to the solution of many complex national and international problems. It has been the priceless good fortune of independent India to have in her service a band of tried and trusted public servants, many of whom are presently associated with the governance of the

The flawless complexion of a film star for YOU!

Lovely film stars like Padmini know that a woman's loveliness depends on a flawless complexion. Padmini says, 'I use pure, white LUX TOILET SOAP to keep my complexion soft and clear.' Why not fragrant LUX for your complexion? And remember, LUX is such a pleasure at bath-time.

Pure, white
**LUX
TOILET
SOAP**

THE BEAUTY SOAP
OF THE FILM STARS

A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEVER LTD.



LTS. 601-XS2

THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"
NORTH BEACH ROAD,
MADRAS-1.

23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole
of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND
SINGAPORE.

CAPITAL

Authorised Capital Rs	1,00,00,000
Issued and Subscribed Capital	72,00,000
Paid-up Capital	66,38,990
Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium)	99,61,883
Deposits as on 31-12-58	40,93,17,330
Total Working Funds	50,12,19,816

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.
R. SUNDARAM IYER.
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA
MUDALIAR.
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.
K. BALASUBRAMANIAM IYER.
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA
CHETTIAR.
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.
RAMDAS PURUSHOTTAM DAS.

ALL TYPES OF
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING
FOREIGN EXCHANGE
TRANSACTED.

London Agents:
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents:
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,
SECRETARY.

TRIBUTE TO VIGNESWARA

A. I. R. REVIEW OF "SOTTO VOCE"

We publish below A.I.R.'s review of Vighneswara's 'Sotto Voce'. The reviewer is Professor S. Ramaswami of the Presidency College, Madras :

Those who have followed Vighneswara's weekly column in Khasa Subba Rau's *Swatantra*, can scarcely fail to perceive that Gandhi and Vighneswara draw their sustenance from the same fundamental sources of inspiration and have the same basic values. Vighneswara is a living testimony that even amid all the apparent dominance of the so-called popular press, responsible journalism is a power and a power not lightly to be challenged or ignored. But Vighneswara is more than a journalist. He is an authentic example of the ageless continuity and quenchless vitality of the culture of this ancient land. The book under review is a first selection of Vighneswara's weekly musings. It is sub-titled "A Social and Political Commentary" and covers the period from 1946-48. It is what it purports to be, a social and political commentary. But it is more. It is a rich and astonishingly complete vindication of the role of the hero as journa-

country, while others, like Rajaji and Vinobhaji, are serving it even better outside the pale of governmental authority.

Lord Acton described power as a corrupting influence. Often, the only protection available to the people at large against the vagaries and tyranny of numbers and democratic majorities is the existence of an enlightened and effective opposition informed and inspired by the ideal of altruistic service. Rajaji was chosen by destiny to play a significant role in the history of this country many decades ago. There can be no opposition in India worth the name without all those qualities of head and heart which Rajaji alone can bring to bear on it. He must be its spearhead.

DR. P. V. GOPAL
Hyderabad

list. Here we have a mind of rare power at work, a mind tremulously and sensitively alive to every significant aspect of the vast passing show of life in India with its incredibly unstable and shifting perspectives and its steadily weakening sensibilities and capturing it and giving it form and life in terms of words. And what words they are! They show at once the complete and consummate master of the English language and its literature and the complete cultured India, an authentic and even aggressive conservative of the incalculably precious values and riches of the oldest civilized way of life known to the world. The range of his learning seems incredibly wide covering the recondite mysteries of the most ancient and the most modernist of modern literatures and the simplest folklore and traditions of village India. The compelling homeliness of some of the writing herein recalls the great Paramahansa, Bhagwan Sri Ramakrishna. The crushing denunciation of the silly sophistries and petty political nostrums of semi-literate village mischief-mongers turned overnight into men in authority, of the numerous palpable and predictable horrors of adult suffrage democracy recalls alternatively Juvenal and Old Testament prophets. And the unhastening sureness, as of a natural force, with which the implicit meaning of some apparently trivial event is set forth recalls the Upanishadic seer using the seed of the Nyagrodha tree for instruction in the ultimate wisdom of the spirit. There is a fine blend of detachment, of informality, of brooding meditateness and breezy argumentativeness, or ironic humour and tender imaginative sensibility in all Vighneswara's writing. Of course, he is much more grave than gay and his irony sometimes scalds.

Let me salute Vighneswara for the vigour and verve, the incisive clarity and power and the matchless, even memorable intellectual

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

THE GREATEST SHOW ON EARTH

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

In the lustrous spring air, on the shores of lake Geneva the foreign ministers of Great Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union have been debating about peace for the last four weeks. Their meetings take place in the Palais des Nations which was built for the League of Nations—that first, fruitless experiment in international co-operation for peace. This building, indeed a monument for the disappointed hopes of another generation, is now, by a strange irony of history, the focus of world attention and the hope of all good men.

The heavyweights and the lightweights, the tightrope walkers, the jugglers and the comedians of international politics moved into this diplomatic arena on May 11 and have since then held the attention of the world. The star performers of the diplomatic circus are: (1) Andrei Gromyko of the Soviet Union, (2) Christian Herter of the U.S., (3) Selwyn Lloyd of Great Britain, and (4) Couve de Murville of France. These able men are supported by a cast of about 1,000 lesser men.

Fish and Fowl

Every twist and turn, every groan and growl of these diplomats is reported by an army of about 1,200 newsmen from 56

integrity of all his writing. You may call him a diehard. Culture, as rich and vital as Vighneswara's, indeed dies hard. How rich almost every page of this work is with life and vitality, with memorable thought and matchless phrasing. Vighneswara is now a well established essential institution in our midst. He is a continuously active, fearless one-man opposition to the farces and frauds, to the shams and stupidities and to the innumerable vagaries of our political and social life.

countries, including 155 from the U.S. and a mere 5 from the Soviet Union. Among the things we have been told by the pressmen is that the most informally-dressed diplomat in Geneva is Christian Herter, while the best-dressed, by consensus, is Andrei Gromyko. We have also been informed that 14 of the chauffeurs in the parking place outside the conference building get almost as much attention as do the foreign ministers, and they are the young British women in smart green uniforms who drive the British delegation around Geneva. It has been reported too—perhaps for the benefit of the future historian!—that one evening Herter gave Gromyko a drink and a dinner of fish, chicken and strawberries.

These and a thousand similar little facts about the conference have been very meticulously reported, but no one seems to know for certain what really goes on in Geneva off-stage. Even about the purpose of the conference there are two views. According to the West the conference is called to discuss (1) the status of Berlin, (2) the re-unification of Germany, and (3) European security. Under the Soviet interpretation the purpose is (1) to discuss plans for a peace treaty with East and West Germany, and (2) to prepare for a summit conference of heads of governments.

The West Proposes

The West's package plan to solve German and Berlin problems calls for a four-phase programme aimed at unifying Berlin first and then Germany by free elections and creating conditions for European security. Free elections would be held in East and West Berlin and the city would be ruled until unification by a council subject to four-power authority and would become eventually the capital of united Germany.

A committee of East and West Germans in which the East German minority would have veto power, would draft electoral law and country-wide elections would be held within 2½ years. Until then the four powers would retain right of stationing troops in Germany. A peace treaty would be signed after Germany is united.

The U.S. and the Soviets would cut armed strength to 2½ million men each and agree to negotiate further cuts. Inspection system against surprise attacks would be set up and East German and other East European countries would renounce producing chemical, bacteriological and nuclear weapons as has West Germany. Ceiling on armed forces would be created in an agreed European zone.

The East Disposes

The Soviet Union has rejected the plan and stoutly objects to the entire concept of linking Berlin, re-unification and security and says that a peace treaty is the exclusive concern of the German people.

Russia demands the immediate signing of a peace treaty on the basis of Germany's partition into

TAMIL

VALMIKI RAMAYANA CHURUKKAM

In easy elegant Tamil prose adapted from the Tamil prose translation of Valmiki Ramayana by Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastriar—7 kandams—451 pages. A book for every Tamil home and school library.

REDUCED PRICE Rs. 2

Postage Re. 1 extra

K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A, Royapettah High Road,

MYLAPORE, :: MADRAS-4.

two States, and the creation of a free city of West Berlin. She wants West Germany to be neutralised along with East Germany. As a first step Russia calls for the liquidation of the Western occupation of West Berlin, and favours a new regime in which the city's freedom will be guaranteed by Soviet and East German governments. Finally, she calls for both the withdrawal of all armed forces within their national borders and for a de-nuclearised zone in Europe.

The most lively issue for both sides is the future of Berlin and last week the Soviet Union offered three alternative plans for Berlin: (1) withdrawal of Western troops from West Berlin, (2) addition of token Soviet force to the Western garrisons, and (3) a neutral force in Berlin under the U.N. The West is unable to accept any of these and is working on a new plan.

The Basic Conflict

Behind the welter of all these plans and verbiage is the basic conflict between Western and Soviet postures in Europe. The West, particularly the U.S. and

West Germany, believes that its entire defence system in Europe would be weakened if the Soviet demands are accepted. The Soviet Union wants the *status quo* in Europe to be solidified, with West Berlin as a free city and with the division of Germany formally recognized by the West. Moscow also wants to prevent the establishment of missile bases in Europe and the arming of West Germany or other West European countries with nuclear weapons.

The immediate concern of the Russians is to create a situation in West Berlin whereby the city will no longer be what the Russians call a 'hotbed of espionage and sabotage against the Socialist countries' and what the West calls a 'free world show window inside communist Europe'. In fact, the West was forced to go to Geneva because of the Russian threat that they might unilaterally sign a peace treaty with East Germans and hand over to them control of the access routes to West Berlin, an enclave 110 miles inside communist territory. Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Premier is using Berlin as a lever to bring the Western powers to a

summit conference and he seems to be winning.

What goes on in Geneva now is only a picnic at the foothills—a picnic in which, between formal sessions, the diplomats lunch and dine on the edge of the lovely lake of Geneva and try to lubricate their political differences with good food and wine. The formal sessions are, as the French have said, *la dialogue de sourds* (the dialogue of the deaf) in which each side talks without listening to the other. Although the Russians attach little importance to the picnic, they seem to be enjoying it most because differences among the Western allies amuse them.

The Gaullist *Paris-Presse* ran a banner headline a few days ago, asking: 'What game are the English playing with K?'—K meaning Khrushchev. In Washington initial curiosity has given way to indifference, boredom and even confusion. In Moscow last week *Pravda* headlined its report of the foreign ministers' conference: "An Experiment in Goodwill".

Meanwhile the rest of the world waits and hopes—rather amused.

June 6, 1959

CINEMA

FILM DIVISION'S STAR PRODUCTIONS

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: The Films Division is not much in the news these days, though it is making some really good films, some of which I had an opportunity to see at a preview last week.

The first picture shown was Bhavnagari's 'Radhakrishna', which won the President's gold medal. This two-reeler short in colour recounts the immortal tale of Radha and Krishna in beautiful paintings in typical Indian style. The paintings, devoid of any modern influence, are rich and colourful and reveal Indian art at its best. Beautifully done by Pahari artistes, they seem as much to vibrate with life as the sculptures do in another two-reeler short, 'Konarak'. A friend of mine who had visited the famous Sun temple of Orissa, found the picture made by Hari Das Gupta even more effective than the original. For, many things that he had missed when he visited the temple were most beautifully and vividly presented in celluloid.

From Konarak to Koyna is a jump of seven countries. The short on 'Koyna' gives us a glimpse of the new India in the making. As the picture shows only the work in progress, it does not give us the glimpse of the huge hydraulic power dam that Koyna will become; but it does give us an idea of the dynamic spirit and colossal work in progress.

The international edition of A. Bhaskar Rao's 'Dharti-ki-Jhankar' is a better version than the original. It is more crisp and pointed and has a better selection of dances. These authentic folk dances, photographed in all their rich colours, also reveal the grand cultural heritage of our country. Indeed, the paintings of 'Radhakrishna', the sculpture of 'Konarak' and the folk dances of 'Dharti Ki Jhankar' reveal Indian art and culture in a pure,

authentic and most beautiful form. And but for the Films Division, we would have had no opportunity to behold this treasure of our art and culture, which we can exhibit with pride abroad and which we can see to educate ourselves.

The latest newsreel was also remarkable for the fact that though it features several Ministers as usual, only one Minister's name was mentioned. This shifting of emphasis would go a long way in making the newsreels more interesting. It was also interesting to behold events from the Soviet Union and the United States together in the foreign news—they revealed our 'non-alignment' policy.

While paying tribute to the public sector, one is happy to acclaim a motion picture produced by private enterprise. More than

any documentary, the human and dramatic presentation of the story of the untouchable girl as presented by producer-director Bimal Roy in his latest picture 'Sujata' would prove both touching and effective.

The picture does not tackle the problem of untouchability as such. It presents in purely human terms the conflict arising in the family of a Brahmin officer who is forced to give shelter to Sujata, an orphan, an untouchable girl. The officer and his wife grow emotionally attached to the girl; but they are not bold enough to accept her as their own, nor are they callous enough to drive her out. So though they shower all their affection on their own daughter Rama and educate her, they are unable to get rid of Sujata who becomes a member of their family.

It is when she grows up and finds that she is not their daughter, but 'just like a daughter' and is in fact an 'Achyut' girl that she feels the difference between herself and Rama. When Adhir, an eligible youth, grandson of Giribala, an old orthodox friend, is introduced to the family, he falls in love with

Your goods have a ready market in South East Asia

EXPORT NOW

INDIA produces the very commodities which the South East Asian countries need—jute, textiles, tea, handlooms, handicrafts, cycles, sewing machines and many other manufactured goods. Export them now—they'll buy them.

The INDIAN OVERSEAS BANK LIMITED has made a special study of this important, growing market. Our network of overseas branches, agents and correspondents are at your service for on-the-spot advice.

THE INDIAN OVERSEAS BANK LIMITED, Madras

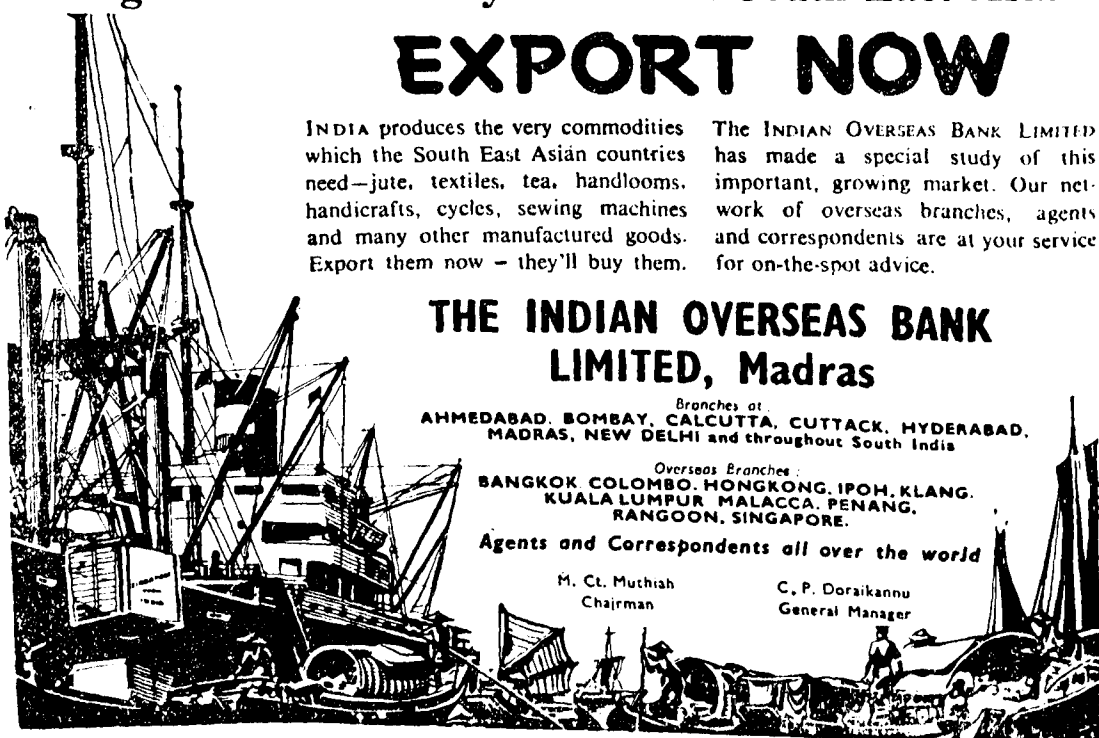
Branches at: AHMEDABAD, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, CUTTACK, HYDERABAD, MADRAS, NEW DELHI and throughout South India

Overseas Branches: BANGKOK, COLOMBO, HONGKONG, IPOH, KLANG, KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA, PENANG, RANGOON, SINGAPORE.

Agents and Correspondents all over the world

M. Ct. Muthiah
Chairman

C. P. Dorakannu
General Manager



Quick,
soothing
relief
from pain



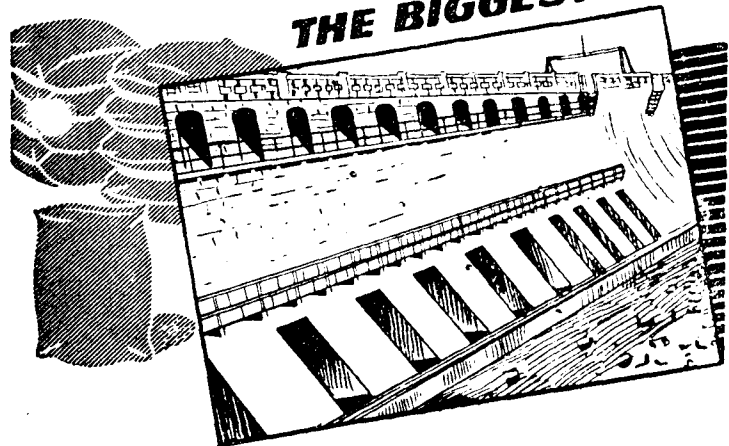
The gentle touch of
AMRUTANJANA,
Conqueror of Pain,
quickly relieves
throbbing aches
and pains.

AMRUTANJANA



AMRUTANJANA LTD.,
Madras-4.
Also at Bombay-1,
Calcutta-7.

SOLID STRENGTH AND STABILITY *Behind* THE BIGGEST DAMS



DURGA BRAND
PORTLAND CEMENT

Manufactured by

THE ANDHRA CEMENT CO., LTD.

Reg. Office: 337 THAMBU CHETTY ST. MADRAS-1

Factory Office: VIJAYAWADA - 2

Managing Agents:

THE ANDHRA ENGINEERING COMPANY
(Private) LTD.

RAJAHMUNDRY.

Sujata, who renounces her life for the sake of Rama rather than be accused of ingratitude. The conversion of the foster parents after the contrived blood-transfusion climax provides the most touching scene of the film, when they accept Sujata as their own daughter and marry her to Adhir.

In fact, there are many touching moments in the film which is noteworthy for restraint, dignity and sensitive and poetic direction.

Without introducing any villain, the picture, through human and lifelike characterization, succeeds in driving home the principle of equality. Bimal Roy has exploited his brilliant craftsmanship and has cleverly used nature to accentuate the emotional impact of the story. The dialogue by Paul Mahendra is both pointed and effective and provides many solid arguments against untouchability. The powerful story by Subhodh Gosh is transcribed into an equally moving screenplay whose only fault is that it is rather long-winded.

Nutan as Sujata gives a most convincing performance winning our sympathy and respect. Sunil Dutt is aptly restrained and effective as Adhir, Shashikala as Rama is appropriately superficial. Tarun Bose and Subodhana as the foster parents give excellent portrayals and Lalita Pawar as Adhir's grandmother who surrenders to his love is superb in the last scene. Shobha as younger Sujata gives a memorable portrayal. Among the rest, Asit Sen as the 'Pundit' contributes a brilliant cameo.

The background music by S. D. Burman is superb and all the lyrics except Rama's birthday song are tuned beautifully. The last song sung by Talat is beautifully written by Majrooh. Superbly mounted, 'Sujata' is undoubtedly Bimal Roy's most moving offering to-date.

Bimal Roy has hit the headlines again with 'Sujata' which both as a work of art and as a socially significant film ranks among the best pictures ever produced. If it proves a success at the box-office, it will explode many myths that are responsible

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

RAJAJI SHOULD LEAD CONSERVATIVE PARTY

Sir,—The series of articles in your excellent weekly regarding the necessity for a conservative party in the country have set me and people like me of the educated classes, thinking. My own idea is that it is no use just writing about the theoretical necessity for such a party, but that leaders of Rajaji's calibre must step out to lead it. No one can deny that the Indian National Congress has to have an opposition, and that of a type that is the opposite of the pseudo-socialistic pattern, and if only there can be a leader of an all-India grade, like Rajaji, we can mobilise opposition parties like the I.N.D.C. and the Jan Sangh and form a conservative opposition. Every one knows that Sri Rajaji's health will not allow him to be physically active in going round the districts for organising the party. If only he will let us know that he will lend his moral support and give directions, off and on, he will certainly find a host of men willing to work honestly and untiringly for the new party. Let Rajaji take to this service as early as possible, so that we can shape a good oppo-

sition party during the time of the next general elections.

R. KALAMEGHAM
Tiruchirapalli

CONTRACEPTIVES

Sir,—I feel I must emphatically protest against the letter that Shrimathi Santha Rungachary has written in your issue dated April 25. I must protest against her irreverent letter defending roadside Juliets (!) and point out that Rajaji doesn't need her tutoring about the psychology of sex. Rajaji's statement was not only quite fair but a pure fact, plain and simple.

It is a pity that she fails to understand what a master of English prose Rajaji is. She ought to know that "distribution" can only mean "division" amongst several and that the word does not carry any philological extension of meaning regarding the cost of the thing distributed — which, in the present case, is being recovered from the patients.

On reading her letter I cannot help feeling that Prof. Karve and others should take their hats off to her for her asto-

for the continued reliance on cliches and tradition in motion picture making.

Bimal Roy has, though younger than Shantaram and Mehboob, made equally significant contribution to the film art. Born in Dacca, he began his film career as an assistant cinematographer to Nitin Bose and cranked independently many of Barua's pictures including 'Devdas'. In 1945 he made his first picture 'Udayar Pathe' which created a sensation in Bengal. Its Hindi version 'Hamrahi' established him as a progressive film-maker. After making 'Anjagarh' and 'Pehla Admi' for New Theatres and 'Maa', a melodrama, for Bombay Talkies, he became a producer and made 'Do Bigha Zamin',

which won international laurels. He also transcribed to the screen Saratbabu's 'Parineeta', 'Biraj Bahu' and 'Devdas', out of which 'Parineeta' won the maximum acclaim.

But in 'Sujata', according to those who have followed his career critically, Bimal Roy has excelled himself and revealed his directorial genius at its best. Critics have already forecast that 'Sujata' will win many awards.

Shri V. K. Krishna Menon performed the muhurat of Bimal Roy Productions' 'Usne Kaha Tha' on Friday 29th at Mohan Studios. Directed by Moni Chatterji, the picture, based on a war story, stars Sunil Dutt, Nanda, Naaz.

nishing discovery of the reasons for indiscipline among the young!

Sponsors of the "liberation" movement may now gladly promote "free and unmotivated friendliness among boys and girls" and leave it all to contraceptives!

Madurai. S. SESHADRI

ADULTERATED FOODSTUFFS

Sir,—I was rather puzzled when a dealer in coffee powder of this place imported twelve bags of date seed powder from a very distant place. Further enquiries revealed that date seed powder is being mixed freely in coffee powder and this stuff is marketed as "pure coffee powder". The high price of gram dhall and gram dall flour has prompted many a merchant of this place to import pea dhall, flour it and mix it with gram dhall powder. White oil is mixed with coconut oil, vanaspati is mixed with ghee. Of course water is liberally added to milk. Even after paying high prices one gets only impure and adulterated foodstuffs. Municipalities and Government maintain large sanitary and health staff. Don't these people know about the foul practices of the dealers or do they keep a blind eye?

Kakinada S. V. KRISHNA RAO

TEST FOR LEGISLATORS

Sir,—Here is a passage from Bernard Shaw's book "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism" which I am sure will be read with interest by my fellow-readers of SWARAJYA:

"If democracy is not to ruin us, we must at all cost find some trustworthy method of testing the qualifications of candidates before we allow them to seek election. When we have done that we may have great trouble in persuading the right people to come forward. We may even be driven to compel them; those who fully understand how heavy are the responsibilities of government and how exhausting its labours, are the least likely to shoulder them voluntarily."

QUIDNUNC

Edited and Published by KHASA SUBBA RAU at 77 Lloyds Road, Madras-14

Printed by T. K. VENKATESAN at THE JUPITER PRESS PRIVATE LTD., 109-C, Mount Road, Teynampet, Madras-18.

Regd. No. M 6779

Releasing **5th** June

MADRAS WELLINGTON * MAHARANI MAHALAKSHMI
and all over
TAMILNAD

N.V. PRASAD
DATTI



PRASADS

SARADA'S

KALAIVANAN

Direction... P. PULLAIAH B.A. Dialogues... SRIDHAR... producer... V. M. S. S. S.

135

SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subbaiah 1954

Vol. III. No. 49

MADRAS, JUNE 13, 1954

15 Naye Paise

CONFLICT IN KERALA

The situation that has developed in Kerala as a result of the Government's announcement of its new educational policy calls for calm thinking on the part of every one who is interested in the maintenance of democracy as a political creed and the democratic method as a civilised procedure. It is not a question of the policy of any particular party that needs consideration, but the machinery that has to be used for placing a policy before the people and securing political power and forming an administration on that basis.

The Kerala Government have passed an Education Act. It is quite possible that the Act affects the rights of private schools. A section of the people are therefore against it. What is their remedy? In a democracy they have to go to the people and convince them of their case and seek to throw out the present Government from power. They are also entitled to show their resentment by holding protest meetings. But the question is whether they can use the opportunity to openly indulge in "direct action" in order to avowedly paralyse the working of the Act; and to go further and proclaim that they intend to get the present Government out. This is possible only by a kind of civil war against the established Government and its repercussions on law and order are bound to be very grave. The Government have anyhow to maintain order in the State and even this elementary function promises to breed trouble in Kerala.

It is surprising that the Congress, instead of repudiating any such move categorically, has fallen into the temptation of avenging the Deviculam debacle, in this undemocratic way, by saying that individual Congressmen may take part in the movement against the Act. In what movement does the Congress want its followers to take part? For the Catholics and the Nair Sangam have made no secret of their determination to by-pass the procedures of democracy.

Unless the Congress comes out with a denial of any intention to sabotage democracy, it will be difficult for it to say that it is not motivated by the desire to somehow get the Communists out. In other words, it is acquiescing in the promotion of disorder so that it may use that very disorder to introduce President's rule. This is crude, even as political tactics.

The rest of India have also to seriously consider how the Congress administrations will react to a move on the part of the Communist and trade union oppositions in their States to follow the same methods that the opposition in Kerala is now trying to follow.

The Constitution is a Union pattern, that is, the States are completely autonomous in their field and the field in which the Centre rules is clearly defined. This pattern of jurisdiction is however very substantially confused and altered by reason of the centralised Congress party being in power at the Centre and exercising unitary control over all the Congress-ruled States. The test for democracy and loyalty to the Constitution has however arrived in Kerala where the party in power in the State is not Congress, and the latter stands defeated at the polls.

The most straightforward course for the Congress in Kerala is to rebuild its strength and take up the challenge at the next elections. It is not an instance of loyalty to the Constitution for the Congress to take to passive resistance or civil disobedience in the interval between one election and another after being defeated at the polls. One may be sure that had Gandhiji been available he would have advised the Congressmen to hold their souls in patience and win if they can at the next elections. Nothing unalterable can take place in the interval for justifying direct action without awaiting the next elections.

Any illegal act of the Government could be tested in the courts over which the Supreme Court of India has appellate authority. Political action should be limited to efforts to win the next election in a parliamentary way if any party loses its position at the polls. It would be a threat to democracy to set an example for direct action in the interval. The Communists and trade unions will not be slow to take the same wrong line in other States if the Congress in Kerala sets a bad example.

THE NUCLEAR AGE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

In a leading article last week the *Indian Express* roundly exposed the fallacy of justifying error and opposing wise counsel in the name of the atomic age. The nuclear weapons have posed, it is true, a problem before the human race as a whole, but sputniks and space flights are an absolute irrelevance in our problems of national welfare. To refer to them is only to confuse and confound the public.

The "burning lust of ambition for great things" misleads men and fallacies take the place of reason. Leaving aside the irrelevance of quoting the atom and the sputnik in support of an internal policy of expropriation, I again revert to the remarkable fact that the jurists of the world have not taken up seriously the question of the illegality of any government in the world deliberately fouling the world's atmosphere. What right has any nation to do this? Its difficulties with its own enemy nations can never justify a public nuisance and a dangerous programme of defence leading to world damage and serious danger to the future generations of all mankind. 2,700 West German intellectuals including Niemöller, a U-Boat commander, will soon present a memorandum to the Foreign Ministers in Geneva which says:

"The world must know that the word of the still ruling Chancellor Dr. Konrad Adenauer is no longer the word of the German people. It is the clearly expressed opinion of the majority of the German people that atomic armament does not benefit German or European security but sharpens international tension. The world is united in the demand that there must not be an atomic war."

Science and scientific reports have now lost freedom and are bound up with "diplomatic reasons" and secrecy—and where the matter is not a petty discovery of commercial value but one affect-

ing the health of vast masses of people—this deterioration in the status of freedom of knowledge and information is a disastrous development in civilization. A news item wired from Rome (June 5) says that radio-activity in the air, water and plants in Italy increased by 20 times during 1957-58 as a result of atomic explosions according to published figures. The world is recklessly lulled to apathy on the strength of the grossest of fallacies that each addition is by itself small compared to natural radio-activity—a fallacy on the basis of which we could prove that ant-hills do not exist at all in the world, in as much as each ant can but carry an infinitesimal quantity of clay up. But we have seen ant-hills with our own eyes rising to the height of trees. It seems as if this mischief will not be stopped until a calamity of big

dimensions visits one or other of the nuclear powers by a sudden concentration of undeterminable natural forces. It is sinful to wish for such a thing. But it appears reason will not dawn until such an event happens.

The disaster to mankind that is steadily mounting like compound interest on debt is far more of a relevant subject for thought and international action than just furnishing vague exhilaration over the advance of science and the achievements of some nations in sending up trajectories to previously inconceivable heights, an exhilaration that serves only to confuse one's mind when dealing with national affairs on quite a different plane. "The thermometer has shot up to 113° F. Suffolk has scored 458 runs with only 3 wickets down. Why do you keep singing *Kalyani* instead of *Arabi* as I want?" It is just this kind of irrelevance that is being indulged in by those who refer to the sputnik age when dealing with questions of increased food production in our farms.

Predatory Democracy

While publicizing their various plans and projects our Government today swears by the noble object of the amelioration of the condition of the poor; it says that the present crisis in the country is due to poverty. This however is not true. We know it for a fact that our countrymen today are better fed, better clothed and better housed than were our forefathers. The present crisis therefore is not economic. It is really a crisis of morality. Our moral and civic senses have decayed and, with the evergrowing authority of the Government, they are decaying further day by day. The Indian people are being driven, not led. The democracy we have is predatory and not fraternal in character. Never before in the long history of India have we had so much government, so many laws and such legions of officials to implement and execute them. Never before have we had so much legalised coer-

cion in the name of good government and so much sabotage of governmental authority in forms overt and covert. And never before perhaps have the leaders and teachers of this country suffered from such a chaotic confusion in their minds.

This state of affairs is in the nature of a moral vacuum. Our nation's heritage is being wasted in a most profligate manner and we are being forced to adopt Western ways in the fields of industry, technology and politics. The atmosphere of India today seethes with intolerance. Our Government being professedly secular grants religious liberty to all. It says that it is wrong to be intolerant in providing for the religious needs of the people, but it does not hesitate to be intolerant while making provision for their so-called economic welfare. It is determined to destroy the age-old ideals of familism and

(Continued on Page 15)

SIDELIGHTS ::

When, thirteen years ago, I started an English weekly, I requested Rajaji to suggest a name for it. He sent me a piece of paper on which was inscribed on one side in capital letters, just one word, SWATANTRA. On the other side there was a note, "This is the name of your journal".

Rajaji also wrote the editorial in the first issue of SWATANTRA. He concluded it with this paragraph:

"The problem of Swaraj has two aspects, the problem of attaining it and that of how we shall organise and shape life under it. The former, despite all the difficulties, is a certainty and a fairly near one in point of time. It is the latter aspect that now requires the greatest attention and wise preparation. Without adequate plans for ordering national life we shall have nothing under Swaraj that will bring happiness to the people or relieve their suffering. The days are gone when life could be allowed to take care of itself and the joy of political emancipation might by itself satisfy the soul. On how we shall organise the production and distribution of food and clothing on an adequate scale and according to a territorially well-ordered scheme, depends the essential foundation for national happiness."

We owe the joy of political emancipation to the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The task of organising our life under freedom has fallen to Pandit Nehru. He had in the beginning the assistance of Sardar Patel. The Sardar was as level-headed as the Pandit was impetuous. He was a conservative force within the Cabinet and gave ballast to the administration. In those days the Prime Minister had not everything his own way. There was a perpetual clash of wills between Nehru and Patel and to resolve it and make the government run smooth, the skill and wisdom of Rajaji were in constant requisition. Nehru with his idealistic approach, Patel with his sturdy practical realism and Rajaji with his caution and prophetic vision or consequences, contributed to the ruling party a unique combination of comple-

mentary talents. It had the advantage of a maximum potential for progressive change, subject to the very minimum of waste traceable to haste and rash departures from the sustaining security of inherited traditions.

Sardar's death is now revealed to be the greatest misfortune that India suffered in the Swaraj era. It released Pandit Nehru from a balancing authority which his volatile temperament badly needed for his own and others' safety. Thereafter it was as if the ship of State was committed in a rudderless condition to a fateful voyage exposed to every turbulent gale that blew. Power possessed him more than he possessed it, and he was rushed headlong by it into a paralysing speed which he desperately mistook for progress.

Nehru Socialism came into full swing after Sardar Patel's death. Its attack on property has been relentless. While the creation of wealth is advertised as its objective those who in their own case have succeeded in attaining some measure of affluence are heavily penalised. Many profitable enterprises have been converted into State ownership. The livelihoods of people are being brought under State control so that the number of independent citizens capable of offering resistance to oppressive official policies is daily diminishing. Government adventure into trade means the supplanting of traders and their substitution with bureaucrats in Government employ. State trading is itself an oppression. It is reported that last year the State Trading Corporation made a profit of 105 per cent!

Socialism has meant more power for the Government and less freedom for citizens. What we witness is a colossal enslavement process for the sake of making the party in power permanently irreplaceable. While Gandhi got the nation freedom, Nehru has progressed far in taking away the individual's

freedom. The need for emancipation of the individual from the Moloch of a government insatiably greedy and thirsty for power is more urgent today than of the whole country from foreign rule in Gandhi's time.

Old terms like rightists and leftists and Congress leaders' attacks on their critics as champions of vested interests have no meaning now. The Congress has become the greatest vested interest in the country, and others pale into nothingness before it. Congress propaganda about Socialism is itself the process of feeding the Congress vested interest. It is not educative but indoctrinating. As Rajaji once explained, "education helps men to reach the truth whereas indoctrination chains men's minds and leads them to what has been fixed for them as the goal by the power that for the time being controls the State".

In the second of the two aspects of the problem of Swaraj, organising and shaping life, the Nehru stewardship is leading to suppression of the individual. The Swatantra party seeks to save us from this disaster. It is conservative in the sense that it seeks to conserve the freedom we have won. Rajaji's service as the leader of the Swatantra party is the greatest and most difficult that any son of India can render the motherland today, and in its historical significance it is even greater than the winning of freedom, as it means nothing less than making that freedom survive by conserving it for the individuals that compose the nation.

SAKA

Appeal for Funds

The movement for a new Party adumbrated at the recent meeting in Madras involves considerable preliminary effort and expenditure. The response to the idea has been very gratifying. I request that all those who feel the sponsors of this movement are doing the right thing may send such monetary contributions as they may be pleased to make to: Shri B. V. Narayana Reddi, 19, Race Course Road, Bangalore-1.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

It chipped away at the stone and jeered at the people. After some time it died, still chained. Years later other 'white monks' came to Jogjakarta and read what the first one had chipped on the rock: "Laugh at your stupidity, but don't laugh at the misfortunes of a poor man." The one who died in chains was the first white man to reach Indonesia. He had also written on the rock "so moves the world" to form a circle. The square block on which he wrote still stands in Jogjakarta.

The white sea 'monkies' who came after him conquered the whole of Indonesia. They established a powerful empire and ruled over the Javanese for nearly 300 years, till the tide of Asian nationalism compelled them to quit in 1945. While this tidal wave of hyper-sensitive nationalism swept away the whites, it is also germinated seeds of political insecurity.

Redtape

As a climax to a decade of ugly politics, last week the Indonesian army chief ordered all political activities to be suspended—a bad commentary on the political life of this troubled land. Unsettled conditions have made this nation of 85.5 million people living in 3,000 islands undergo severe political and economic strain. Production has not kept pace with national needs, and recurrent budget deficits and foreign exchange shortages have brought severe inflation. Corruption, in-

Four Parties

In the general elections held in September 1955 four major political parties had emerged, controlling 78 per cent of the total votes. The Nationalist Party of President Sukarno polled 22.3, the Majjumi 20.9, the Nahadatal Ulama 13.4, and the Communist Party 16.4 per cent respectively. No stable government could be formed and successive cabinet shake-ups led President Sukarno to invent what has come to be known as "guided democracy." Ignoring the parliament, he named in mid-1957 members of a cabinet headed by Dr. Karthawidjojo Djuanda and appointed a national advisory council of Communist and non-Communist members to propose the main lines of government policy. The present cabinet of Dr. Djuanda has thus no sanction from the parliament to serve and is extra-parliamentary.

In the provincial elections of 1957 the Communists had emerged as the largest single political party in Java where three-fourths of Indonesia's population live. President Sukarno had earlier returned from a long tour of the Soviet Union and China and he maintained that the Communists were a major force in the land and must be part of the regime. The Communist party became a strong advocate of Sukarno's 'guided democracy' and said that the time was not ripe for the establishment of people's democracy in Indonesia.

Army Steps In

The continued polarisation of the country into Communist and non-Communist camps went on.

In 1958 the non-Communists including Muslim nationalists in Sumatra and other outer islands revolted. President Sukarno had to depend on the army to put down the rebellion, and he was obliged to give wide powers to the army commanders. The defeat of the rebels raised the prestige of the army and by the end of 1958 General Nasution, army chief of staff, had become a powerful force in Indonesian politics. Gen. Nasution was no friend of the Communists and many of his officers were American-trained. This fact together with other internal and international developments seemed to have brought about a change in President Sukarno. He seemed to move away from the left.

Sukarno modified his idea of guided democracy and in February 1959 announced his intention to reform the parliament before the next general elections scheduled to be held in September 1960. Under his new plan there would be a Presidential form of cabinet, and a parliament composed of 'functional' as well as political representatives, with 35 seats reserved for the army. This new plan, called "democracy with leadership", would see a sharp increase in the political power of President Sukarno and the army.

The chief losers would be the Communists. The young secretary-general of the Communist party, Dipa Nausoutara Aidit had said in Moscow last January that Indonesian Communists would deliver 8 million votes if elections "were held tomorrow". He hoped that with the help of 15 lakhs of Communist members and half a dozen well-knit mass organisations he could ride to power legally and easily. But Sukarno's new plan and the army's emergence as a force has upset his plans.

The restrictions imposed last week on political life are too severe and will not solve the ills that beset this rich land. We hope that when Sukarno gets back to Indonesia this week after his long foreign tour, he would apply a fresh mind to the problems facing Indonesia.

SWARAJYA

A Photographer's Diary

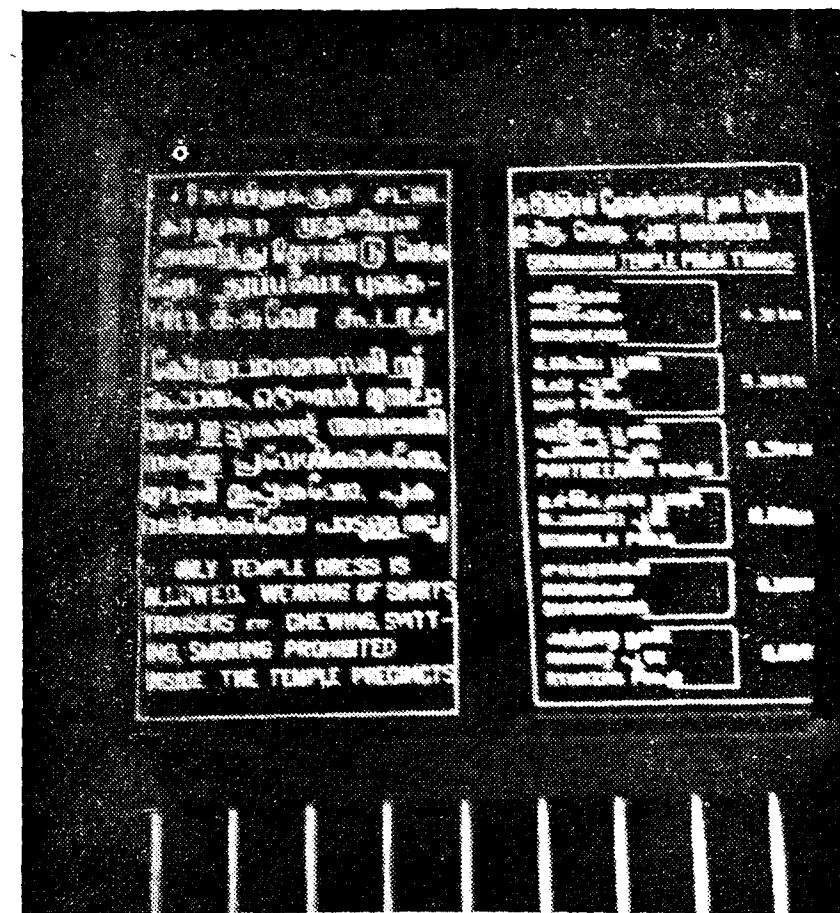
By M. KRISHNAN

A PRAYER TO THE STHANA-
MOORTHY AT SUCHINDRAM

Late last month, when I called on you to pay my respects in person, and, incidentally, to have a look at the carvings in your ancient shrine, I was firmly refused admission by a small, dark, middle-aged man who is one of your minions, whether or not you know him.

This unofficial guardian of your gateway was polite, but very firm. He pointed to my trousers and shirt, and then to the notice board—“Wearing of shirts, trousers etc., chewing, spitting, smoking prohibited inside the temple precincts”. He made it clear that he himself had no authority to stop me, but there was this notice, which I could scrutinise and even photograph if I liked (not much of a concession in that dismal lighting—though no camera could pass your sacred portals except by special permission of your major domo, whoever he is.) and there, over there, beside the gateway, was a large, truculent-looking policeman who would, of a certainty, stop me. And he would have me know that when no less a personage than the President of India, Shri Rajendra Prasad, visited your shrine, he had complied with the requirements of the notice on the board, removed his shirt, and worn “temple dress”, which consists of a dhoti and nothing else. He said that very casually, in a tone full of implications, in a tone which asked, without uttered words, if what was good enough for the First Citizen of India wasn't good enough for a measly camera-lugging journalist like me. This man added,

Furthermore, this man added, All India Radio had recorded the musical tinkle of each pillar in your much-pillared hall, and that when they worked in the temple A.I.R.'s technicians had also worn "temple dress", or, rather undress. A distinct climb down from Rajendra Prasad, and a descent



almost to my own level, but I knew just what that man meant, I knew every last little undertone of smug satisfaction and sanctimonious delight in his voice, for you see, dear God, I myself have been this man, this unofficial guardian of your portals, in my time.

Yes, I have had to play many roles in my time, even as you have, only, in point of sheer pettiness and variety of minor duty doubt if even you have my experience. Artist, munsiff, magistrate, publicity assistant, schoolmaster, every breed of secretary including, for two whole days, the Secretary of a Mahila Samaj—I have been them all, and what is more I have been a sort of door-keeper at shrines too. I remember conducting a British Resident round one of the abodes of your son, the shrine of Shri Karthikswami at Komaraswami Betta in Sandur, where no one may enter with a scrap of leather on his person, save his own living hide. And after that Resident had laid aside

his shoes and, somewhat reluctantly, his wallet, and was almost in the entranceway, I whispered to him "How about your belt, Colonel?", and in confusion and haste he took it off, and I remember what an unholy delight I took in his discomfiture as he went around the temple self-consciously holding up his trousers with one hand all the time. And another time, in 1948, at another shrine at which, too, no leather was permitted, I first courteously requested three trespassing policemen to remove their much-leathered selves from the precincts, and when they refused to do so, threw them bodily out, boot, belt and all, for which act of duty to God a newspaper in far-away Madras, which had no knowledge of the unassailable rectitude of my action, called me a 'goondah'.

So when this door-keeper of yours, small, smug and middle-aged, mildly informed me that I could not enter your shrine unless I underwent a metamorphosis and

"Pratap, isn't that shirt too big for you?"

"MUMMY says my clothes get torn so fast that this is all I can have."

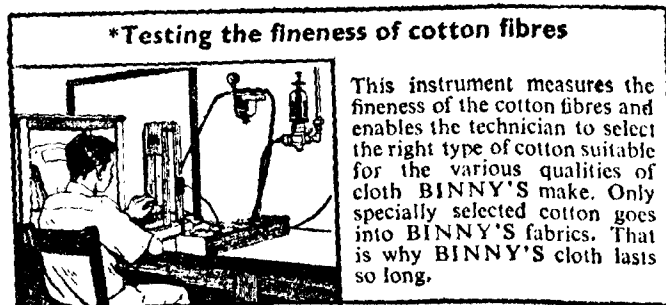
"Poor lad! Ask your mummy to buy BINNY'S cloth. BINNY'S Quality Control* their production."

"Quality Control? Can you tell me what that means, uncle?"

"If you go to a textile mill, you will see machines that turn cotton into cloth work at terrific speeds and often small defects which we cannot see with our naked eyes get into the cloth. Cloth that contains these defects gets torn easily. At BINNY'S they have a special department which is continuously looking out for these defects and preventing them from getting into the cloth. That's why their cloth lasts so long."

"Thanks a lot, uncle. I must ask mummy to buy BINNY'S cloth straightaway."

BINNY
a great name
in textiles



*Testing the fineness of cotton fibres

This instrument measures the fineness of the cotton fibres and enables the technician to select the right type of cotton suitable for the various qualities of cloth BINNY'S make. Only specially selected cotton goes into BINNY'S fabrics. That is why BINNY'S cloth lasts so long.

THE BUCKINGHAM & CARNATIC COMPANY LIMITED
THE BANGALORE WOOLLEN, COTTON & SILK MILLS COMPANY LIMITED
Managing Agents: BINNY & CO. (MADRAS) LTD.

BY 5354



HIS TRENDS OF SPEECH

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The metaphors that fascinate the mind of Prime Minister Nehru are worth noticing when we watch the fervour of his Nagpur evangel. In the twelve years John Bunyan, a pious Puritanical zealot, spent in the Bedford Jail, he wrote two books. The first was *Pilgrim's Progress*, the second *Holy War*, both allegories meant to boost the morale of the faithful.

The outline of *Pilgrim's Progress* is the story of Christian as a pilgrim wending his way to the City of God. There are manifold dangers on the trackless route, hills, valleys, giants, fiends awaiting the pilgrim: but the hero sticks to his path overcoming fear by faith. The construction of *Holy War* is of a different design. The plot pertains to the battle of life waged by a man of faith against multifarious elements of evil nature to win salvation through the Cross. The entire figure of speech symbolizing

was attired in "temple dress", I retired defeated, having no dhoti. And, to be candid, I retired in disappointment, too.

However, my disappointment was in you, not in your servant's conduct. Having read of you in the classics, having listened to many tales of your reckless generosity and disdain for material wealth, I could not help feeling a pang of regret that at Suchindram you should so belie your name.

Celestial beggar, why these nobby airs? Why this weak-kneed concession to prudery, this bourgeois insistence on affluent respectability and a dhoti? I pray to you to have the strength to redeem your true self, and, rejoicing in the power of your reclaimed integrity, command your grovelling minions to admit no one to your presence till he had divested his person of the last vestige of mundane pomp and estate. Both Rajendra Prasad and I could pray at your shrine then.

the drama relates to the soul.

Exactly these two concepts characterize the mind of Jawaharlal Nehru in his latter-day expositions of Economics. Since he speaks *extempore* without restrictive notes on paper, his words run ahead of any ideas meticulously sorted out for a particular occasion. His analogies relate to militarist notions, non-violent of course. Not a trace of compulsion would he tolerate, as a Gandhian adept. Nevertheless, the nation is bidden to remember that food-production is now on a war-footing. The Kharif propaganda is a trumpet-call to 400 millions ready to be in armour against enemies like hunger, food-shortages, exchange-deficits. Nor should the campaign against illiteracy, groupism, linguism and other fissiparous tendencies allowed to abate. The tactics of fighting malaria will be geared on a comprehensive scale, and people are asked to bestir themselves out of sloth, working hard night and day to scatter the forces of phantom fear that keep old fogeys of a past century shivering over the noise of encounters ahead. The strategy of the Third Five Year of Planning should be understood by the envisagement of physical targets within the contemplated framework although the sinews of war (in plain language, money) does not exist. Here comes indomitable courage so well exemplified by the discipline of the Light Brigade at Balaclava. Someone might have blundered, but no one was dismayed. So charged the Six Hundred. The picture of enamouring heroism is behind the impassioned outcry of Panditji when he tells spineless compatriots that it is better to go wrong than do nothing.

The metaphor of being on the march has a particular grip on the popular mind. In the saga of the freedom-struggle we had episodes of Mahatmaj's Dandi march, his serene march on foot to Champaran, his passive resistance march in South Africa; also

his march in Noakhali. Some fond disciples say that had he been alive he would now have been on the march to Karachi. Vinoba Bhave has marched to Kashmir, whilst Tara Singh is always ready for a morcha at short notice. The graphic sense of moving forward in array always roused Jawaharlal Nehru who is pathologically allergic to dawdling or to any of the slower processes of life favoured by Nature.

Compare planning to the growth of a tree from the seed-bed. He won't stand for it. If it shot up like Jack's Beanstalk, the vision would be enthralling, but Jawaharlal has the instincts of a speed-king: the patience of the horticulturist and the landscape-artist is not in him. There is no kick of the mighty adventure. Nor has he ever compared progress by planning to the growth of a river which from trickling start and the ingathering of many tributaries develops into a mighty majestic sweep, flowing at last into the sea. He is likely to be transfixed by the sight of the Niagara Falls rather than the imperceptible tide of the Mississippi. The echo of the rapids found no response with King Solomon who shook his head as he uttered one of his wise-cracks: "All the rivers run into the sea, but the sea is not full."

The imageries that appeal to Jawaharlal Nehru's mind are significant. If, as a lad, he had been sent to report the Hare-and-Tortoise Race, he would have kept pace with the Hare but he would not have paused for a nap. He would have been ten miles ahead of the winning post, thanks to his incapacity for rest, whilst the actual race was being judged at the chalk-line in favour of the tortoise, as being champion by at least a neck. As actual observer Jawaharlal might have demanded the cancellation of the event "on the ground of unequal contest, since tortoises have a longish, mobile neck while rabbits are no good when it comes to such a tame dog-like distinction as the wearing of a collar."

FUTILITY OF CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

By B. G. RAO, I. C. S. (Retd.)

Addressing a seminar of Members of Parliament on co-operative farming, the Prime Minister is reported to have said: "Whether the peasant would accept it or not would depend on what the results of co-operative farming are. This would be the final test for the peasant. If the results are good, he will certainly accept it". The results of the experiments already made in India and in other countries are, presumably, not known to the Prime Minister.

At the end of the First Plan period there were about one thousand co-operative farming societies in various States. Admittedly most of them have failed to achieve their object of genuine co-operative farming. In the Second Five Year Plan no target was fixed for the number of co-operative farms to be started. Targets were not formulated for over a year after the Plan commenced and, when fixed, the progress in their realisation has been halting. The figure to be aimed at is 3,000 co-operative farming societies, possibly including the 1,000 existing ones. Of these latter, only about 300 are "joint" farming societies even in name. In regard to them the Second Plan framers observe that "large-sized societies claim the first attention on the part of the staffs of co-operative and agricultural departments and extension workers. The higher the proportion among these societies which are enabled to succeed, the greater will be the incentive to others to form co-operative farming societies". These hopes do not appear to have materialised and today there has been little progress from the stage reached at the end of the First Five Year Plan and we are now right in the middle of the Second Five Year Plan.

The Government of Uttar Pradesh had a very searching analysis made of two of the oldest co-operative farms in that State.

The results of this study are a warning against large scale attempts at organising joint farming societies. It was found that compared to individually owned and cultivated farms the co-operatives showed a lower standard of management, a falling production, lower gross income and net earnings, while there was economy in bullock power, employment for all members of the families within the co-operative, saving in interest charges, economy in marketing cost and availability of cheaper credit. But the fundamental defect in the entire scheme was a complete lack of the spirit of co-operation. One of the special features which the study brings out is that "it was not the farmer's own inquisitiveness, either spontaneous or born out of educative propaganda and preparation, but the usual official initiative, persuasion and zeal that led to the establishment of these co-operative farms".

Soon after the U.P. Government's study of the working of the co-operative farming societies, the Planning Commission itself asked its programme evaluation organisation to make a study of a number of selected co-operative farming societies. The published report indicates a few outstanding features of co-operative farming: first, it is still in an experimental stage, secondly, the field of experimentation is complex and difficult; thirdly, the success of the experiment depends upon the availability of a single individual who is not merely competent but sincere, sympathetic and able to command the confidence of the members; fourthly, the experiments do not hold out the hope of rapid success in this field even with a small number of societies receiving the attention of a large number of persons in the Government departments concerned, and, lastly, the genuine co-operative spirit has still got to be generated even in the matter of

service co-operatives, let alone joint farming societies. The main objective with which most of them have been organised is to obtain land from the Government for their members to be cultivated separately after the land has been got hold of. A few of them have other but limited objectives such as obtaining financial assistance from various quarters.

Dr. Otto Schiller, Professor of Agricultural Economics, Stuttgart-Hohenheim University who studied the conditions in India, says that co-operative farms exist in the non-Communist world—some of them much older than the Kolkhoz system in Soviet Russia, as, for instance, in Mexico, Israel, Italy, U.S.A. and even in England and Germany and nowhere have the existing co-operative farms encouraged or induced other farms to follow their example. He shows that under normal economic and psychological conditions and without outside help, co-operative farming has not proved its superiority as compared with individual farming. Dr. Schiller has even doubted whether the advantages of large-scale operation can be brought to the small cultivator unless he gives up his independence and merges his holdings with others to make a big managerial unit.

Even in those regions of the world where rural co-operation has been a success in matters like credit, supplies and marketing, it has failed to lead to what we have proclaimed to be our ultimate—or is it penultimate?—goal. The Communist regime in Yugoslavia has had to admit its failure even though it used what to us would be undemocratic methods and worked in conditions more favourable than ours. The percentage of population dependent upon agriculture in Yugoslavia in 1948 was 70.6 compared to 69.16 in our country. The problem of small holdings was as much theirs as ours: 30.1 per cent of their holdings were below 5 acres and 39.3 per cent between 5 acres and 12.5 acres. There was, however, one significant differ-

ence. Co-operation (not joint farming) was much more widely spread there than here. Assuming an average of one member per household, 57.6 per cent of peasant households were represented in the co-operatives as long ago as 1939 compared to 23.6 per cent in our country in 1957. The years

1950, 1952 and 1953 were of severe drought in that country and the Yugoslav Government had a ready excuse at hand to cover up its failure. But it had the good sense to modify and ultimately abandon this crusade for joint farming.

One of the main virtues claimed

for co-operative farming is that it will lead to increased production, the small size of the holdings in our country preventing any substantial increase in production. Last year was published a report of a delegation to China and Japan to study co-operative farming in those two countries. In its report

For YOU -
the *Glowing Complexion*
of a film star!

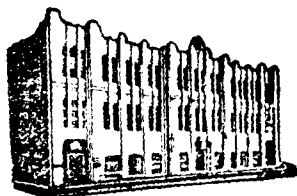
A truly lovely complexion like M. N. Rajam's can work wonders for *your* beauty, too. Why not ask lovely M. N. Rajam for her complexion secret? 'It's regular care,' she says, 'with pure, white LUX TOILET SOAP. It is such a mild, fragrant soap!' Let LUX bring a glowing loveliness to *your* complexion. Start LUX-care today!

Pure, white
LUX TOILET SOAP
THE BEAUTY SOAP OF THE FILM STARS

A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEVER LTD.,

LTS. 11-XS2

THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"
NORTH BEACH ROAD,
MADRAS-1.

23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole
of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND
SINGAPORE.

CAPITAL

Authorised Capital Rs	1,00,00,000
Issued and Subscribed Capital	" 72,00,000
Paid-up Capital	" 66,38,990
Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium)	" 99,61,883
Deposits as on 31-12-58	" 40,93,17,330
Total Working Funds	" 1,01,21,98,16

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
K. K. VENKATACHALAM.
R. SUNDARAM IYER.
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA
MUDALIAR.
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA
CHETTIAR.
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.
RAMDAS PURUSHOTTAM DAS.

ALL TYPES OF
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING
FOREIGN EXCHANGE
TRANSACTED.

London Agents:
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents:
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,
SECRETARY.

the delegation had to concede that even though the average holding in Japan in 1951 was two acres compared to 7.5 acres in India, the average production per acre in Japan was not merely higher than in India but higher than in most of the countries in the world including China.

Co-operative farming has for long fascinated the Government, the political parties and a few theoreticians in this country because it promises a solution to many problems like low agricultural production, fragmentation and dispersal of holdings, paucity of rural credit, enforcement of a minimum price level, difficulties in rationalising farming practices, etc. The much advertised "leap forward" of China has impressed the Prime Minister and he is naturally anxious that we also should solve our food problem by the quickest methods. China introduced co-operative farming as a first step in this direction. We therefore could profit by China's experience. China, however, did so through means which could by no stretch of imagination, be considered voluntary or democratic.

The First Five Year Plan made an ominous reference to 'voluntary' and 'compulsory' co-operatives. The Second Five Year Plan also refers to "programme for promoting and assisting voluntary co-operative farming societies". In other words, the word "co-operation" which in India at any rate has always implied a complete dissociation from any pressure seems to be interpreted now as being capable of compulsion. If that is so naturally our entire approach to the problem has to undergo a fundamental change. I fear, however, that we are in danger of heading for this change. Fertilizers, for instance, will be distributed through service co-operatives, which are going to be the stepping stones to farming co-operatives. The service co-operative can refuse to supply fertilizer to the farmer unless he promises to join the farming co-operative. There are other means of ensuring that the recalcitrant who desires to stay out of the farming co-

operative is made to realise this error well before the farming co-operative is formed.

What then is or should be the position in regard to co-operative farming? Are we to go ahead with the schemes knowing full well that they are likely to end in failure and disillusionment? Is the Central Government to force the State Governments against their own conclusions based on hard experience? Here is a matter on which data are available to justify a reversal of policy. Flexibility need not be a mere convenient slogan. Flexibility should be based on experience and changes in circumstances. I would urge that the Government of India and the State Governments should examine the subject of co-operation without passion apart from the theories and philosophies of persons whose recent association with the co-operative field has been through books and files alone. This is not a field where the Centre can prescribe a time-table, insist on patterns and impose its will or rather the will of one or two individuals on an unwilling and unconvinced country.

We do not know the real views of the various State Governments. Apparently, before the Nagpur session of the Congress, few of them were enthusiastic for co-operative farming. If the Centre desires to issue instructions or directives it can do so after it has proved to itself and to others that its instructions are based on practical experience. The Centre has, under its own control, territories where it can experiment in various fields and pass on the accumulated experience and wisdom to the States. Co-operative farming is a field where it should be possible for the Central Government or the Planning Commission to carry on those experiments. In a State like Manipur where tribal land is commonly owned it should be possible to go ahead with the experiments in specially favourable conditions. It is only proper that the Central Government should try doing these things itself in the first instance.

June 13, 1959

ASSESSMENT OF DULLES

By Dr. P. G. KRISHNAYYA

Those of us who often disagreed with John Foster Dulles cannot, of course, honour him now by pretending to withdraw our dissents. We have grave reservations about Mr. Dulles' place in history. Perhaps he will be vindicated to a degree that will confound his critics. Perhaps it will simply be said of him that he was a fallible man groping with problems to which there were no simple answers.

But certainly it will be said of him that he served his country long and loyally, giving a measure of devotion to his post, rarely equalled in high places. In a sense we cannot ask more of any man, whether we deem him to have been largely right or frequently wrong.

The Secretary of State is an arduous but not impossible job if there is on hand a President who has both the desire to do his own job and the essential political popularity needed to do it. Truman had the will but, after 1950, not the popularity. Eisenhower has the popularity but not the will.

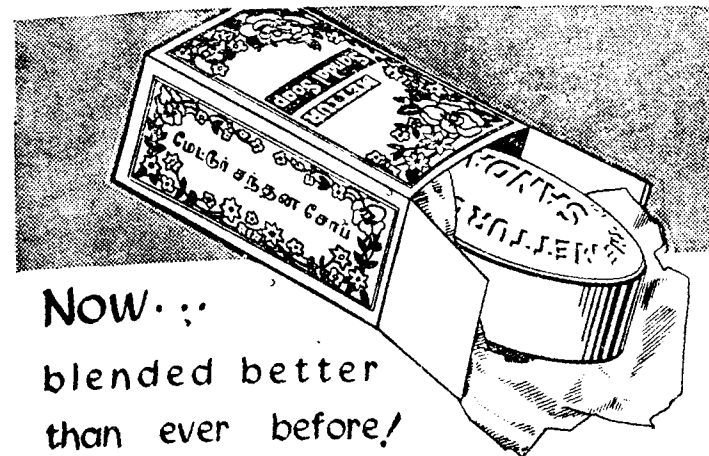
Under these circumstances the country may count itself fortunate that it had two such self-confident work horses as Acheson and Dulles ready successively to assume extraordinary burdens. Herter, a man of softer clay, has no enviable future.

While he was highly sensitive to currents of opinion and concerned over criticism of his policies in an age of conformity, Dulles was not a Conformist. He was never the hail-fellow-well-met, enthusiastic glad-hander. There was nothing in his personality of the slick Madison Avenue approach.

In April 1952 John Foster Dulles lunched in Paris with General Eisenhower, who listened to his views on foreign policy and urged him to write a book. Dulles said he had no time. The next day he flew home and George Brett, head of Macmillan, persuaded him to write the book work-

ing with a team of secretaries. Two months later Dulles returned to Paris and again lunched with Eisenhower, who asked "Have you thought about that book?" "Yes," said Dulles, handing him the volume, "thought about it, wrote it and here it is."

Norman Thomas once said: "John Foster Dulles is so sensitive to all reactions that he even answers letters from me." When Diego Rivera painted a mural about the Guatemala revolution, Dulles was portrayed as one of the villains. Mrs. Rivera later sent Dulles a photograph of that mural and explained to friends: "Mr. Dulles likes the way he looks in this mural and has asked for a copy." At Geneva Dul-



Now...
blended better
than ever before!

METTUR
SANDAL SOAP



Always a bewitching blend of real, honest - to - goodness, sandal perfume and what it takes to make a truly mild soap, METTUR SANDAL is today a very much better... purer soap. For that "overall sandal feeling," use METTUR SANDAL SOAP.

THE METTUR CHEMICAL & INDUSTRIAL CORPN., LIMITED
Mettur Dam R. S. Salem Dt.
Managing Agents:
SESHASAYEE BROS. PRIVATE LIMITED

les was so firm in his resolve not to recognize Red China that he made sure his eyes never met Chou En Lai's.

European Instructor of Dalai Lama tells of Tibet

To satisfy the enormous interest Americans are evincing on the Dalai Lama, all sources are being tapped. One such is Heinrich Harrer, author of "Seven Years in Tibet". He is an Austrian who was interned in India during World War II. He escaped, and made his way to Lhasa, where he became a friend of the Dalai Lama. He fled to Tibet before the Chinese Communists eight years ago. He says:

"Outsiders tend to love or hate Tibet, in either case with passion. There is no middle course. They arrive with rather stereotyped preconceptions about the country, most of them false. They think of Tibet—a vast and varied country the size of Texas, California and Louisiana combined—as 'the roof of the world'. They imagine the country inhospitably rugged and the climate unbearably cold the year round. They learn, instead, that large areas of Tibet enjoy a climate no more rigorous than Austria's or Switzerland's. Other parts of the country are covered with tropical jungle.

"The Tibetan scale of values was impressed on me one day at a party in Lhasa when I told my Tibetan friends of the great news I had just heard on the radio; an airplane of a new type had flown the Atlantic some twenty minutes faster than ever before. They could not share my excitement;

Profiteering through State Trading

The report of the working of the State Trading Corporation for the two years 1956-57 and 1957-58 shows that on a paid-up capital of Rs. 1 crore, it has made a profit of 32% in 1956-57 and 105% in the year 1957-58.

The profit for the year 1956-57 had been arrived at after providing

- (a) Rs. 4 lakhs for bad and doubtful debts,
- (b) Rs. 5 lakhs for contingencies, and
- (c) Rs. 51 lakhs for taxation.

So far as the profit for the second year is concerned, it has been arrived at after providing

- (a) Rs. 1,25,000 for bad and doubtful debts, and
- (b) Rs. 1,21,00,000 as taxation.

In 1957-58 the Scindia Company made a profit of about 14% on its paid-up capital, the Tata Iron & Steel Company 15½ per cent and the Associated Cement Companies 11 per cent.

in fact, they did not say a word.

"On another occasion a European acquaintance was trying to help a Tibetan then on a pilgrimage in India, to look up the arrival time of his train. The Tibetan saw no reason to develop eye-strain consulting the timetable. He insisted on going to the station immediately and alone. 'I will sit down and wait', he explained. 'Some time there will be a train.'

"These people impressed me as the happiest nation in the world, naturally gay and uniformly polite and hospitable. Hospitality, whether in a monastery or a Tibetan home, means butter, tea and a barley menu called tsampa. Tibetans prepare tsampa by heating an iron pan filled with sand and then pouring on the barley corns. When the corns have popped, the mixture of sand and parched barley is put through a fine meshed sieve. The sand runs out and the barley is then ground into meal. Mixed to a paste with yak milk, beer and butter-tea,

tsampa is the foundation of Tibet's national diet.

Butter-tea plays a great part in the lives of all Tibetans, who consider that fifty cups of tea is moderate intake. They make it by boiling an inferior grade of Chinese brick tea for hours in a solution of salt and soda, then churning the mixture with yak butter until it is more solid than liquid. Unfortunately the butter is usually rancid and tends to be full of yak hairs. To the foreign traveller butter-tea is an acquired taste.

"Despite Chinese insistence that Tibet has always been a part of China, Tibetan religion, custom, culture and language are all distinctive, amply sustaining a claim to self-determination and independence. The aloofness that has long made Tibet a land of mystery to the rest of the world was a matter of deliberate policy. Over the centuries, Tibetans learned that the best way to get along with more peaceful neighbours was to keep them at a distance.

"A case in point is the Tibetan attitude toward mining. The country is believed to have rich underground deposits of gold and other precious metals, but mining has been strictly discouraged. The leading monks warned their followers that digging for gold will arouse hostile spirits in the earth and bring down floods or earthquakes in retribution. In fact, mining was discouraged because Tibetan leaders feared the effects of a gold rush from their more powerful neighbours, Russia, China and India, that might have overrun the country.

"Isolation has meant backwardness. In the middle of the twentieth century, Tibetans still find it more convenient to wade through streams than to build bridges and they still use flints to strike fire for the evening meal. Yet for all the lack of amenities, these tough people enjoy life as they know it. Tell them, as Chinese Communist commissars have done, that they are groaning under the dead weight of a medieval system, and they will laugh uproariously.

"Nevertheless, intelligent Tibetans acknowledge the need for reform. But they feel that the

June 13, 1959

overhauling must be done by Tibetans themselves and that changes must be introduced gradually. In a country where distance and time are still measured by the pace of the yak (two miles an hour) they submit that progress cannot be rushed, least of all

by a foreign power.

"The Dalai Lama, no more than a boy in the days when I was his tutor, taught me this lesson: sometimes I became impatient at the slowness of certain projects I was working on. He would say that no one could come to call on

him by jumping 400 feet in one leap to the roof of the Potala, his great palace in Lhasa. The only way of getting there, the Dalai Lama said, was to climb slowly step by step and storey by storey. The Chinese overlords may be learning the same lesson now."



A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing
-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER

SEEING IS BELIEVING: Shankar is obviously delighted with the gleaming white shirt that Sita has washed. And look at the pile of clothes, sheets and towels washed white and bright—all with such a little SUNLIGHT! SUNLIGHT's rich, abundant lather washes so thoroughly and draws out every scrap of dirt without any beating! Prove it for yourself—try it today!

SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT

A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEVER LIMITED

INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,
K.C.S.I., D.C.L. (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business transacted efficiently and quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits which may be ascertained on application.

S. Krishnaswami,
Secretary.

COMPULSORY CO-OPERATION AT ITS WORST

FROM AN ESTEEMED CORRESPONDENT

The Government of Madras are "determined" to make State trading in rice through co-operatives a success at all costs. It looks as though they will stop short of nothing in achieving their ends. What they have set about to do through the T.U.C.S., Madras is highly significant. In the course of casual speeches off and on the floor of the legislature, Ministers told us early this year that the task of "procuring" food-grains in the State has been entrusted to four co-operative societies, one of which is the T.U.C.S. Details were not furnished at any time. Nor do the authorities seem to have thought it necessary to have concrete proposals put forward before the respective general bodies in advance and get their consent after full consideration of all relevant factors. In fact they took these societies for granted and decided to make them carry this baby of State trading in food grains, irrespective of their lack of experience for this kind of work or of any urge on their own part to undertake a task of this kind and magnitude.

Let us look at what they have planned in this respect vis-à-vis the T.U.C.S., Madras. The

T.U.C.S. has more than sixty branches and depots where all kinds of provisions are being sold, including raw rice normally procured from Nellore and gingelly oil extracted in the society's own premises at Royapettah. The total borrowing capacity of the society was only Rs. 30 lakhs. That was the position till February last. The Government have now persuaded the directors to increase this capacity to Rs. 125 lakhs so that they could buy, store and sell the boiled rice being made available to them from the stocks allotted by the Government.

The T.U.C.S. had, during ration days and subsequently whenever approached by the Government, never failed in its duty by the citizens of Madras. It ran a large number of fair price shops on terms agreed to with the Government. This had considerable influence on the open market. On all these occasions the Government used to supply the T.U.C.S. the necessary quantity of rice at Madras. The same practice could have been adopted now, especially as the Government are to get 1,00,000 tons of rice from the Centre and have procured over 86,000 tons themselves. But instead of this they have chosen to add an unnecessary additional debt-burden of Rs. 1 crore on the T.U.C.S. for the privilege of holding the Government's boiled-rice baby.

The rice is in the possession of the Government. It is stored largely in their godowns. Therefore it passes one's understanding why the fiction should be created of boiled rice being procured, transported and stored by the society and distributed through the society's branches and other shops indicated by the Government. If the Government had direct charge of the stock in law as well, possibly their practices and doings would come under the strict scrutiny of the Auditor-

General. For obvious reasons they may dislike it. This transference of responsibility to the T.U.C.S. automatically puts the Auditor-General out of jurisdiction. Incidentally there may be visible and invisible advantages accruing to quite a few in the chain of transactions. Why should the T.U.C.S. be made the instrument for such illegal gains?

Apart from the fact that the Government are bent upon State trading and might desire to impress the Prime Minister with their signal success in linking State trading, food and co-operatives, what are the gains and what are the losses? Is there any overwhelming reason why the T.U.C.S. should be saddled with the responsibility of taking over the entire rice trade of Madras on Government's terms? Without the burden of the one crore additional debt and many other incidental difficulties, it could help the Government effectively in distribution. Its services should have been availed of only for that purpose.

And what does this transfer of responsibility mean in terms of money? The cost of 20,000 tons of rice at the purchasing end is Rs. 98,98,037; handling charges come to Rs. 1,07,154; the godown rent is Rs. 58,004; fumigation charges amount to Rs. 16,332 and shrinkage Rs. 1,49,710; interest charges on the debts at 6% will amount to Rs. 24,000; other charges to Rs. 98,227 and distribution charges to Rs. 2,72,200. The total expenditure thus comes to Rs. 1,08,39,664. The sale proceeds of these 2,72,000 bags at Rs. 40 are expected to yield Rs. 1,09,15,220. So if everything is managed aright the society will be able to get Rs. 75,556 net. There are sales taxes to be paid to Government. It may be argued that a society like the T.U.C.S. should not think merely in terms of profits and losses but extend its help to bring the high prices down. But is this method really necessary?

The Government have never told anybody at any time why rice could not be held on their own account and supplied to the T.U.C.S. at Madras. That will

make for more efficient fixation of responsibility and minimising losses. The set-up planned by the Government and sought to be thrust down the throat of an unwilling T.U.C.S. provides ample scope for considerable fraud. The shrinkage provided for will disappear as a matter of course. Rot in storage, deterioration and other natural losses will be made good by the Government. The natural tendency after this announcement will be to make it out that all these have happened. Haddling charges, distribution charges and additional administrative expenditure will make the price of rice costlier. There will also be more scope for further corruption.

The T.U.C.S., taking all these factors into consideration, refused at the general body meeting held on May 24 to accede to the proposal of the directors made at the instance of the Government to have the borrowing capacity of the society raised from Rs. 62.5 to Rs. 125 lakhs; but it was made clear at the same time by those who voted against the directors' amendment that the T.U.C.S. was prepared to run fair price shops as before on a no-profit no-loss basis if rice was made available to it at Madras on Government account and if it had nothing to do with the so-called procurement operations.

In February last, without placing the whole facts before the general body and telling them of possible increased commitments and without disclosing then or later, details of any agreement arrived at with the Government, the directors had managed to get the borrowing capacity raised from Rs. 31.25 to Rs. 62.5 lakhs. When the full impact of the proposals were known the same general body at its meeting of May 24 refused to raise it further to Rs. 120 lakhs.

The directors and the authorities, instead of bowing to the general body's decision and confirming the commitments to the limits already sanctioned in February, have issued a white paper seeking to bludgeon the general body into submission at an extraordinary meeting called for the

purpose on the 14th instant. Propaganda is being done that the general body had acted without due regard to the needs of the people. It is stated that its refusal to raise the borrowing capacity has created a stalemate making it impossible for boiled rice being released from the godowns. The so-called white paper contains the following significant paragraph at the end:

"In the eyes of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies and Government it would appear that the T.U.C.S. did not play its part fully and successfully even in the initial attempt of State trading, thus jeopardising the future prospects of the society".

The threat implied in this sentence is significant. It is not as if the society freely and voluntarily agreed to do something and went back upon it. It is a diktat. Here is a sample of compulsory co-operation at its worst. Incidentally the entire boiled rice of Madras is sought to be taken away from the hundreds of little shop-keepers. Surely the T.U.C.S. should refuse to be a pawn in the sinister game of power politics pursued by the Government.

NEW BOOKS

	Rs.	nP.
<i>Culture and Society 1780-1950</i> by Raymond Williams	24	37
<i>Wisden's Cricketer's Almanack 1959</i>	13	00
<i>Turgenev's Literary Reminiscences and Autobiographical Fragments</i> with an essay by Edmund Wilson	20	31
<i>The Second World War—Abridged one-volume edition with a new epilogue on the years 1945-47</i> by Winston Churchill	28	44
<i>Settled Out of Court—A new novel</i> by Henry Cecil	11	00
<i>The Northern Light—A new novel</i> by A. J. Cronin	12	19
<i>The People of Hemso—A novel</i> by August Strindberg translated from the Swedish.	12	19
<i>An Outline of Human Relationships</i> by Dr. Eustace Chessier	20	31

K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A, Royapettah High Road,
Mylapore, Madras-4

Predatory Democracy

(Continued from Page 2)

villagism and is replacing them with urbanism and industrialism, thus breeding country-wide unhappiness, insecurity and social strife.

The democracy we have is predatory and therefore nothing short of a denial of democracy. It is a political theocracy which, like any other theocracy, is both dogmatic and unrelenting and therefore, unable to inspire the confidence of the people. Its approach is totalitarian and its methods coercive rather than persuasive. It is wrong to drive men or nations even for their own good. Peace and happiness can never emerge from such violence and coercion, just as light cannot emanate from darkness. We hope the truth of these words would be realised by those on whom, through a combination of circumstances, has now fallen the responsibility of ruling India.

CHIETANA



777 BRAND
FOOD PRODUCTS - MADRAS-15 INDIA

TOMATO SOUP

Mix in Hot Water and Drink

PEPPER WATER

(MULAGU-TANNI)

Paste & Powder

Mix in Hot Water & Drink

Now available at:

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CO., LTD.,

Opp. High Court - Madras-1.

PANDIT D. GOPALACHARIUS



JEEVAMRUTHAM

FOR HEALTH & STRENGTH

AYURVEDASRAMAM
(PRIVATE) LTD.
MADRAS-17.

"Vandematharam"

(A TAMIL WEEKLY)

P. B. 454, MADRAS-7

Editor:

BHIKSHU NIRMALANANDA

A non-party political journal devoted to the discussion of current political affairs.

Subscriptions: Inland Foreign

Annual Rs. 6.00 Rs. 8.00

Half-yearly Rs. 3.50 Rs. 5.00

Single copy Re. 0.15 Re. 0.25

Public patronage solicited

Hercules is more than a cycle... it's a lifetime companion

A HERCULES belongs to the family even though not everyone may ride it. "Shall I bring the medicine for granny?" "Daddy must be tired, shall I bring vegetables from the market?" There are always volunteers ready to run errands where there's a HERCULES. Few things in life are so useful for so long as a HERCULES.

Backed by the experience of people who have made top quality cycles for nearly 50 years the sturdy HERCULES is precision-built in T. I. Cycles' ultra modern factory. Its streamlined beauty, smooth effortless drive make it the finest cycle you can buy today.

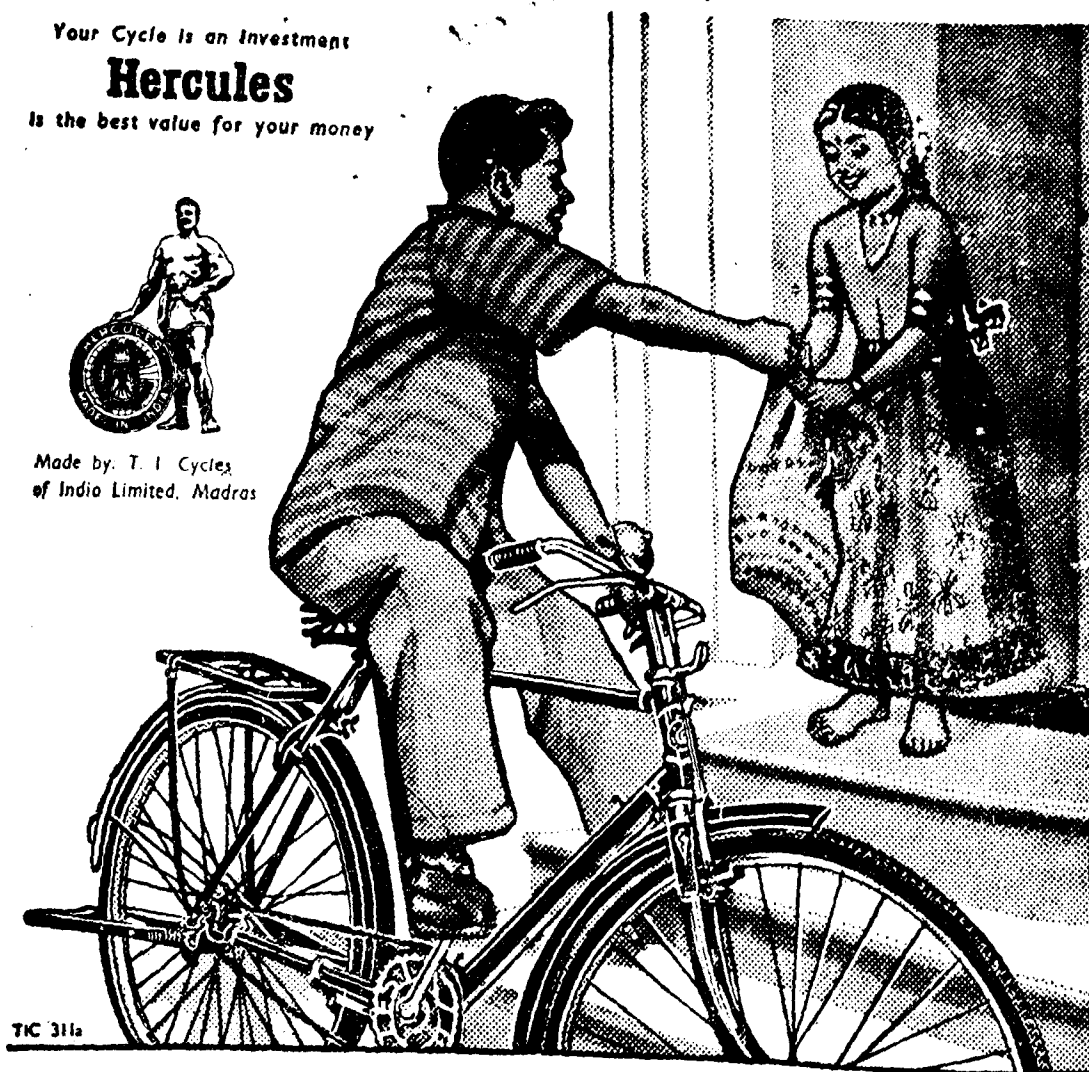
Your Cycle is an Investment

Hercules

is the best value for your money



Made by T. I. Cycles
of India Limited, Madras



TIC 3114

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 50

MADRAS, JUNE 20, 1959

15 Naye Paise

THE KERALA SATYAGRAHA

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

When there is a remedy open according to law and the grievance can be brought under examination and remedied, it was not contemplated by Mahatma Gandhi that Satyagraha might be resorted to. Much less justifiable indeed would it be to resort to Satyagraha to reverse the decision of the electorate as to which party should have the governance of the State for the time being. The Congressmen of Kerala are laying the axe at the root of parliamentary democracy by what they are doing.

Not only by the test of doctrine but even as a matter of expediency the present policy of Congress in respect of the government of Kerala is wholly wrong. A million votes may place a party in power in accordance with the Constitution but twenty thousand men who dislike the decision can create a situation by the methods now employed, under which no government can function without the use of ugly force. And the use of such force will bring in its train passions that will destroy order, and make government impossible.

The slogan of non-violence is irrelevant and serves no purpose in this context. The condition of non-violence is attached to disobedience and non-co-operation where these are the only way open to one who suffers wrong. Where the Constitution or laws provide a remedy, Congress would

not tolerate resorting to Satyagraha and this even in the case of individuals and their grievances. Much stronger would be his objection to parties and groups seeking to seize power resorting to the methods which he reserved for causes which could not be otherwise furthered.

That the Congress organization did not itself accept the responsibility of Satyagraha against the Kerala government shows that they smelt something wrong. In the process, Permitting Congressmen on their own responsibility to do something which the Congress as such could not rightly undertake is an unworthy and unwise evasion. Much better would it be for the Congress to obtain a law from Parliament that where any party other than Congress wins in any general election, the Governor can order a new election after such time as he thinks fit without awaiting a vote

of no confidence or the expiry of the period fixed for a fresh general election according to the Constitution. Such a law could be easily passed with the Congress majority in Parliament. It might be indecent but it would avoid the disorders we now see in Kerala.

This wrong and short-sighted adventure on the part of Kerala Congressmen will have far-reaching evil consequences for the future of parliamentary government in India. Democracy would rest on a feeble foundation if the provisions of the Constitution are to be by-passed by so-called Satyagraha offered by any group that feels strong enough to put sufficient demonstrations in the field. The Constitution contemplates the possibility of peaceful government even on the basis of a majority of one at an election. It would be completely negated by the doctrine now permitted by the Congress and the Congress government at the Centre to shake the foundations of the State government in Kerala.

I do not like the Communist party but this is not the way to deal with them. It is through the Constitution and the Constitution alone that we should deal with them.

The introduction of President's rule now after all that has happened would make it appear to be a trick or conspiracy.

Office of the
SWATANTRA PARTY,
19, Race Course Road,
Bangalore-1

All contributions to be sent to Shri B. V. Narayana Reddy at above address. Sympathisers may register their names and particulars at the same address and at Kalki Office, Madras-10.

THE SWATANTRA PARTY

An important feature in the criticisms of Congress leaders against the Swatantra party is their eagerness to attract the Prime Minister's attention for loyalty, the same sort of psychology which impelled two of our Chief Ministers to nominate Srimathi Indira Gandhi for the Congress Presidentship overlooking her inexperience and the infinitely superior qualifications of ever so many other leaders in the country. When the Andhra Chief Minister Sri Sanjiva Reddi disposes of the Swatantra party as a party of retired men, he makes only one more exhibition of the pitiable fallacy which has made a mess of Congress thinking, the fallacy of coining a label to cover a movement and attempt to pass it off as a substitute for thought. As a matter of fact it is among the young intellectuals who have just graduated from the universities that interest in the new party has been keenest. They are avid with enthusiasm to join it and dedicate themselves to its service. Even assuming, contrary to fact, for the sake of argument, that this is not so, is there any valid reason for cavilling at retired men to disparage a party they are supposed to be interested in? Life and experience have taught so-called retired men what others have yet to learn. They may be regarded as society's most competent mentors. The habit of mind which condemns them outright and even seeks to deny them the citizen's right of participating in

public affairs and political activity, cannot but disgust decent men. It is an assumption of arrogance the more insufferable when it comes from Ministers who ought to be humble, considering how splendid their opportunities have been, and how barren their regimes.

Then there is Sri Dhebar saying that Socialism is bound to prevail in India, whether the Congress or any other party liked it or not. "If the Congress failed to bring Socialism, some other force would do it sooner or later." Here too the name of Socialism is invoked and it is sought to be passed on as a *maha manthram*, as an inevitable something which it is futile to criticise, oppose or resist. It is from this sort of superstitious employment of the Socialist slogan (abandoning direct thinking on the content of policies and programmes) that the Swatantra party seeks to save and rescue the nation.

Socialism in practice has meant an enormous concentration of combined political and economic power in the hands of the Prime Minister and a few of his men. They have appropriated to themselves a stupendous spending capacity. It has become insatiable. Not content with the heaviest taxation ever heard of in our history, they have embarked on the acquisition of vast profitable enterprises built by private initiative and begun to invade trade, commerce and business for making money. A considerable ousting of the sources of independent livelihood in the country has been the result.

All the official accumulation of money has been employed on spectacular projects. A little of it has benefited the people. But much more has been lost in waste. Socialists have taken the spending itself to mean progress. In reality it has been like movement without advance as in the case of a jacked up automobile, with the engine alone running and the wheels moving with terrific speed, the vehicle remaining stationary all the while. Socialism in practice has not brought comfort, hap-

piness, or relief from unemployment to people. It has meant only expropriation of property, heavier tax burdens, higher prices, decreased purchasing power, increasing Government control and regimentation and loss of opportunities for independent livelihood under the shadow of an ever-darkening bureaucratic authority.

After winning liberation from foreign rule, we have lost real freedom, freedom as to way of life and living, and are being regimented into automations under State control. Discarding the slogans, however high-sounding they may be, which have proved so ruinous already, the Swatantra party is pledged to win back for the people this freedom. It does not confound social justice with reckless spending. When there are substantial leakages by means of corruption, waste, extravagance and inefficiency, large spending will mean unconscionable tax and other burdens. This in fact is the state of the country today. More power to government (to tax, trade, appropriate, confiscate, and impose controls and restrictions) will mean, under present conditions, death to the community.

The Swatantra party seeks to introduce more balanced standards of planning by connecting expenditure with positive benefit. Freedom of initiative and activity will lead to enhanced production, the basis of plenty, prosperity and employment. These the party will endeavour to promote. It has no faith in salvation through bureaucratisation. The country has advanced so hopelessly in addiction to propagandised shibboleths that it is a task of herculean difficulty to turn it from trade in make-beliefs back once again to the path of reason and commonsense and respect for truth and reality. This is the task that Rajaji has undertaken. He alone has the courage and fitness to undertake it. Prophets of doom will not deter him since his present mission is not based on any nice calculations of probabilities as to success or defeat. It is an offering to God and the nation as of a duty that must be performed for the good of humanity.

June 20, 1959

SWARAJYA

COUNTING THE BEADS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

When a Christian, Hindu, Muslim or Buddhist counts the beads in his rosary he does not seek to know the number of beads in the string, for he knows it already. He utters the name of God as taught to him and seeks to feel the Divine proximity and realise His presence. He prays for strength and purification.

The alternative to a rosary is not a hankering for labour for worldly wealth or a visit to a steel factory or textile mill but some other form of human effort to realise and remember spiritual values over and above material values and their vanities.

God's form is incomprehensible. He exists but we do not know Him. A name is as good as any mental shape that we give to Him.

These observations may seem superfluous to those who missed reading a part of the Prime Minister's recent speech in Nepal wherein he stressed the need for hard work—which he could have done without giving his high authority to the neglect of prayer or spiritual contemplation and a contemptuous reference to beads and rosaries. Does he not know that the greatest obstacle in national life and national progress today is the fall in moral standards and the widespread diffusion of dishonesty with consequent distrust and therefore failure of mutual co-operation? We have had enough of destructive forces in the moral field. The need of the hour is a revival of integrity and moral values without which even authoritarian schemes will miserably fail. Does the Prime Minister believe that his own sermons can be as effective as the teachings of ancient faiths and the words of holy men and be a substitute for the rosary? The rosary and the counting of beads have made man into the human being that he is. Not all the policemen we can put up in the field can match the strength of religion or be a substitute for it. May the Prime Minister's power and influence be used to raise our

people's nature and not to lower it and reduce them to busy godless serfs, hating and envying one another. It is time the Prime Minister appeals to the people of our land which he seeks to uplift, to repent and lead an honest, compassionate and just life, to give up dishonesty and greed and laziness and be prayerful and lead lives of hard work with God in their hearts so that we may prosper and be happy and value the things of real value.

THE TESTS BAN

A cartoon of the *Daily Express* of London reproduced as top picture in the *New York Times* Weekly Review, puts the case for the urgency of the ban of nuclear tests most incisively. The three nuclear powers sit under the strontium 90 shower saying "there is time", "there is plenty of time" until the drizzle becomes a shower, the shower becomes a flood, and the flood goes over the heads of them three and only then they lift their hands above the water holding slips of paper saying "I agree", "I agree", "I agree". Too late it will be, one day, if they go on in the manner they are now doing.

The quantitative estimates of deadly radio-active fall-out hitherto put before the world public for deluded consumption were on the basis of world averages. The miseries of the world do not fall on the basis of a uniform spread but come down in concentrated form on particular individuals. So also 90 radio-active strontium and radio-active-carbon, deadly poisons, are sent down by the heavens from the stratosphere bank, not uniformly but heavily concentrated, sometimes here, sometimes there, which science cannot foretell and can do nothing for it even if it foresaw. It has been noticed that surveys in Western countries, the latest being one reported from Italy, show very heavy concentration. American scientist Profes-

It appears as if the Prime Minister believes with the Communists that religion is the great opiate that keeps men away from work and it must be discarded. America has not suffered under the opiate. This false proposition has damaged the Communist States. All the difficulties they meet with by way of distrust in international efforts to reach agreements can be traced to the proclaimed denial of God and religion on which the Communists have anchored their ship of State. It would be a pity if our Prime Minister is unable to rid himself of this fear of religion.

sor Linus Pauling, 1954 Nobel Laureate for Chemistry, said on June 10 at Copenhagen we may expect one million cancer cases as a result of radio-activity.

These tests are for making new nuclear weapons which if used will shoot fall-out in terrible measure besides killing those who are intended to be the victims. There are deadly H-bombs in stock with both the inveterate enemy blocs, to destroy the world thrice over. The bombs are alive with the Devil in them and they are lying in wait for the zero hour. These tests are for further advance in the same direction.

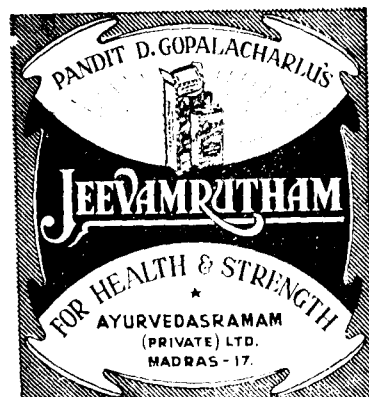
They are a wholly illegitimate attack on the health of the present and future generations of the uninvolved millions, who have not yet written off their rights in favour of the nuclear pugilists.

The International jurists have said a great deal about Hungary and Tibet. But they do not appear to be excited about this attack on the rights of the peaceful people of the world and their children to be born. No one has referred the question to them!

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

Popular forms of government are possible only when individual men can govern their own lives on moral principles and when duty is of more importance than pleasure and justice than material expediency.

FROUDE & CAESAR



SIDELIGHTS ::

Readers of SWARAJYA have been enquiring about the state of my health. One of them has written a touching letter saying that it is inconsiderate on my part not to devote some space in the journal to this subject. I must say that I am now better physically than I ever expected to be. Not only am I able to walk a little with the help of a stick, my eye sight, which I had lost for the purpose of reading, has come back to some extent. After a brief period of virtual stone deafness, I have recovered my hearing too, though not fully.

Some weeks ago I discussed the desirability of my retiring from work on account of my physical disabilities. There has been a spate of correspondence about it. One of the writers, Sri P. P. Chandru of Matunga, Bombay, was forthright in his advice that I should close down SWARAJYA. Under the caption "What Next?" he wrote:

In view of his failing health, Saka has offered three alternatives for the future of SWARAJYA. I would undoubtedly choose the third, viz., close the journal.

Modelled, consciously or unconsciously, on the British *New Statesman*, SWARAJYA lacks the N.S.'s brilliance and the fare it offers to the readers is hardly as wide and varied as that of the N.S. Saka's *Sidelights* cannot hold a candle to Critic's London Diary.

With the current contributors who have been flooding the columns of the journal for over three years, I am sure that it is impossible to improve the standard of the SWARAJYA.

So, better wind it up.

Most of us are addicted to turn down advice when it is uncomplimentary. Anxious as I am not to fall into this pitfall I could have given proper consideration to Sri Chandru's advice and treated it with respect but for the reasons he gave. His reasons spoil his letter. I do not know how many papers in the country can survive if they are to be deemed fit only to close down if their editors cannot hold a candle to Critic of *New*

Statesman's London Diary. The aspersion on this journal's other contributors does not reveal a taste for quality or comprehension of fine writing. I remember an occasion when Critic himself (Kingsley Martin) then on a visit to Madras complimented one of these contributors, after listening to him for half an hour, on his intelligence, wisdom, knowledge and gift of phrasing. He said that in that brief half hour he had learnt more of the journalism of his own country than by his own study over a period of years!

And then who does not know Rajaji? As a thinker, speaker and writer, he is the outstanding genius of the present age. I have listened to Mr. Churchill when he made one of his famous political speeches. There is punch and fighting vigour in the British statesman's oratory, but lacking the oratorical manner, there is more brilliance, simplicity and compelling persuasiveness in Rajaji's speeches. His logic is deadly. He is the world's most accomplished speaker today and among the most incisive, clearest-brained and powerful of its writers and thinkers. Any journal fortunate enough to count him as a frequent contributor can hold the candle to any other in the world, notwithstanding the enchantment that distance lends to the vision and judgment of certain critics who are unable to perceive non-distant merit when it lies under their very noses.

For one Sri Chandru wanting the journal to be closed, there have been a hundred correspondents shocked at the very idea. I must keep to myself the letters of the most generous of these, as their publication would land me in self-advertisement. A few specimens from the more moderately worded letters are given below, but I do so with reluctance, as even these are laudatory; but there is no other way of showing readers' dissent in general from Sri Chandru's contemptuous dispa-

agement. Here are the letters:

From Radha Narayanaswami, Bangalore:

It will be no exaggeration if I state that when I went through *Sidelights* in your issue dated January 10 tears trickled down my eyes and I could not resist the grief in me. If at all there is any journal which gives the readers a clear and accurate picture of events it is only the journal of which your esteemed self is the editor. There are many readers eagerly waiting for the weekly issues. It will only be just and fair if you carry on as best as you can for as long as possible.

From S. Ranganathan, Bombay:

Along with many another reader, I would earnestly request you to be at the helm, so that the prospect of our missing SWARAJYA on Saturdays will never arise. The alternative of winding up SWARAJYA is too dreadful even to be thought of. I am sure you will give full weight, as is your wont, to a request of this kind from your reader-friends whose number must be legion.

From K. Viswanathan, Tiruchirappalli:

I am shocked to know that you are considering whether SWARAJYA may be continued or discontinued. I pray to God to bestow all health on you and let me have the opportunity of reading your articles for a long time.

From G. Nagalingam, Muthupet (Tanjore District):

In this gloomy land that is India, SWARAJYA is the only silver lining.

To close this journal is to cut short the thinking process of the nation.

From R. K. Chari, Matunga, Bombay:

In the three years that your journal has been in existence it has rendered invaluable service in the cause of educating public opinion. In addition, Sri C. Rajagopalachari's articles are veritable nectar to our thoughts.

From Mrs. Saraswathi, New Delhi:

I have not so far missed reading any issue of SWARAJYA. To read your weekly is to enjoy an intellectual treat at a cost which is less than negligible.

Keep on, dear Editor, at your post. Has not a soldier to be at his post of duty till he drops down dead? We had much rather have SWARAJYA with you as its Editor, whatever its imperfections and limitations due to your failing health, which in truth are nil.

(Continued on Page 15)

FAIRPLAY IN PUBLICITY

By POTHAN JOSEPH

With a flourish of the sporting spirit, the Prime Minister professes to welcome the birth of the Swatantra movement adding that it would enliven Indian politics. As for any difference between him and C. R., Pandit Nehru made a facetious reference to the Old Testament and the New Testament which has no particular bearing on the issue of safety and self-respect for the masses even in the evaluation of food output alone. He believes in the economic fables and fallacies of the academic experts surrounding him that productivity will be on the boom after the Nagpur resolution: and to create an atmosphere that scientific chaps are in charge of Kharif propaganda, he reminds the back-numbers that we are living in the Sputnik age. He has no patience with old world cultivators, signature campaigns, local dissidents and even Supreme Court judges who imagine that secret subsidies to the Congress party in terms of sums like Rs. 2½ lakhs are but a flea-bite carrying no expectations in return. He says that the Congress has received more ridiculous amounts anonymously.

Now in the battle that is joined, I have initial fear that the machinery of newspaper-reportage and propaganda is going to be operated very heavily against the Swatantra movement. For example, let me give the experience of June 4 when a casual collection of leaders met in Madras and outlined the plan of the Swatantra party after a speech by Rajaji against Jawaharlal's impetuous scheme of the Socialistic pattern of society under Nagpur idealism. On studying the columns of Calcutta newspapers which carried the vital story of the day, I find that the version of the Madras proceedings was meagre. Our official news agency has for various subtle reasons to be pro-Government in putting over Congress boost. But surely the names of those present could have been given in fairness, con-

sidering the occasion. Care is taken meticulously to publicise that Jaiprakash Narain was present there "only by invitation which impliedly is the reverse of individual association. In India the government of the day and the Congress High Command are one and the same which is a great advantage to the ruling party which reckons six-figure gifts of the Mundhra order as but a trifle in the traffic of altruistic donations. I wish there would be more fairplay in the distribution of news without sycophantic discrimination.

Look at the paraphernalia of publicity for the Prime Minister and his team. What he says provides banner-lines on Page One as a matter of opinion. He may be speaking in Parliament or on some platform (habitual duration of discourse, 90 minutes), but every word goes into print. On the day of his press conference his pithy utterances are usually put forth in the shape of eight different stories scattered all over the pages and reducing even Geneva news into the size of footnotes. Can the new party expect a tithe of such advantages even if the substance of expositions happens to be more weighty and thought-provoking without assertions suitable to the nuclear age and without scoffing brush-offs for critics as a reward of enlivened politics? All the time the radio broadcasts of the day keep tom-toming pro-Congress pronouncements. Editorials, many of them obsequious, extend opinions not necessarily friendly to any new-born party which cannot offer thundering advertisement-allotment of space to sustain interest. Meanwhile, the Ministers at the Centre and in the States are expected to beat the drum of the new Nagpur evangel, a task which they feverishly perform. Sadiq Ali and Shriman Narayan have become eloquent teachers of the gospel. "Field Publicity" and talks through mobile vans represent a big force for convincing farmers

that the Nagpur resolution, if implemented, would result in millennial conditions. Some of the school texts relate to planning and the prestige which India is winning by the promised trebling of harvests. But that is not all.

There is the film as the medium of publicity. Much of the work done by the Films Division is the recording of the speeches and functions of Congress bigwigs (the *ins* as well as the *outs*), and the screen reproduces the story in hundreds of our cinema houses throughout the country. We gaze at pictures of big dams and colossal factories, and the script writers praise the Government for their marvellous and benevolent achievements. There is of course nothing mentioned about the cost of foodstuffs rising by 25% during a week of seminar speeches. Facilities by air, land and sea belong to the ruling party which represents vested interests in the country based on perpetual monopolism for the party. As it is, we cannot expect scruples in propaganda when the main organisations of publicity are in the hands of self-righteous leadership, interested not only in party glorification but in nailing down dissent and protest.

In a truly democratic country like Britain now within distance of a general election, such bias in the instruments of national publicity would be unthinkable. Prudence apart, a high degree of decency would weigh against unequal opportunities in mass-contact. It was remarkable that after the outbreak of the war which the Congress condemned, statements made by Mahatma Gandhi in *Harizan* damping war-efforts, were telegraphed all over as news of the day. What Gandhiji then said was news no doubt, but the idea of a black-out of opinion is really more repugnant to Anglo-American democracy than the control of views in many other lands. The foreign bureaucracy decided in favour of Gandhiji's opinion on various subjects being made known in India, much of which had been unpalatable to the Central Secretariat.

If an equal degree of fairplay were practised in Indian journal-

THE PRIME MINISTER AND HIS CRITICS

By K. S. RAMAMURTHY

Mr. Minoo Masani and folks like him are infinitely less important in their stature compared with the Prime Minister, and this is precisely the reason why they take so much care in expressing their opinions on controversial topics. They take great pains to collect their facts, to check and cross-check them, and to marshal them all into an acceptable proposition. They try to persuade you with reason and logic, and while you can differ from their deductions and question their inferences and interpretations, the facts that constitute their premises are difficult to challenge. The Prime Minister, of course, is so very important that he considers himself happily free from all such hindrances. He can go straight to his audience with a vacuous mind and tell them without a moment's hesitation that acres and acres of land can be brought under cultivation by doing away with those superfluous bunds. His importance is so great indeed that he can speak for hours together on such obvious truisms like the necessity of green manure for higher yield. If all themes fail him there is always that eternal theme of 400

ism the opinions expressed by C. Rajagopalachari on public affairs would be circulated for publication from time to time. C. R. is not a prolix writer just filling space; he is clear and concise, and since he is so stimulating without any vulgar flattery of the Government and the High Command, it would be but fairplay that his countrymen should know what he thinks. When the Prime Minister talks of "politics being enlivened," he should also deem it sportsmanlike to order equal facilities for the Swatantra party through the various media controlled and employed by himself and his team. Then only could he talk of Fairplay in the enlivening of politics.

millions marching on the high road of adventure to the Socialist paradise. People patiently hear him because they know what an important man he is. In India today a man derives his eminence, not by what he says or does, but by the position that he chances to occupy. The Masanis may talk sense all day long but they don't matter, for where do they stand in importance compared to the Prime Minister?

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru can easily afford to say anything and get away with it because of the eminence of his position. Mr. Masani and his friends, not being "very important", cannot afford the luxury of speaking to the multitude a lot of laughable things and escape from the consequences. Their very unimportance forces on them a certain amount of restraint and makes it imperative for them to be rational, persuasive and reasonable. It is therefore no wonder that the Prime Minister's critics show a greater awareness of realities and are better informed than himself. Many of Mr. Nehru's critics might not have stood as champions of freedom in the pre-Independence era. All these things do not matter a bit and the general importance of their views is not at all affected by such considerations. The importance of a particular opinion is to be judged from its validity in a certain set of circumstances. What matters is not who says a thing but what he says. Wisdom is not the monopoly of a few chosen spirits. Instead of dealing with all sensible criticisms fairly, if Mr. Nehru is going to take seriously only the views expressed by a few pre-eminent men, then he really is treating public opinion and democracy in a most contemptuous manner.

How does Mr. Nehru deal with criticisms made of his policies by even persons of eminence? I really do not know if Mr. Nehru

can ever be said to deal with any criticism at all. If Rajaji opposes co-operative farming all that Mr. Nehru does is to refer to Rajaji, in a patronising manner without ever bothering to touch even the fringe of his pointed criticism. The Prime Minister really must make some effort to understand the basis on which others object to some of his policies and try to meet argument with argument. That is the way to make democracy a success. That is the only way by which every one is enabled to see his own errors of thought and judgment.

How I wish it occurs to Mr. Nehru that many things that he says are very much less important than the opinions which Mr. Masani expressed at Bangalore and which Mr. Nehru brushed aside as not being "very important". It is quite an easy thing for any man in his position with a blind crowd following to brush aside all criticisms. That way, however, lies his own doom and the putrefaction of his party.

It is time for the intelligent minority in the Congress to seriously think about the real state of their party today and its future.

Books at Reduced Prices

One lot of 200 volumes of Modern Fiction of John Moore, Stella Mortan, Warwick Deeping and others originally published at 12sh. 6d., 15sh. and 18sh. are offered for Rs. 400/- for the whole lot.

One lot of 17 vols. of Studies in Modern European Literature and Thought edited by Erich Heller priced at 6sh. are offered for Rs. 34 for the whole lot.

Books at Rs. 5/- each originally published at 21sh. and 25sh.

Nanga Parbat by Karl M. Herrli-Koffer

Lightest Africa by Spencer Chapman

14 vols. of the International Library of Sociology and Social Science—Originally published at 12sh. 6d., 15sh., 18sh., 21sh. and 25sh. are offered for Rs. 70/- for the 14 vols.

K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A, Royapettah High Road,

Mylapore, Madras-4

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

THE GREAT DEBATE GOES ON

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

The writers and artists of the Soviet Union are in ferment and a great debate is going on there. It is a debate in fundamentals. How far can freedom of expression go and what is the role of the artist in communist society?

The third all-Union Soviet Writers' Congress which concluded its sessions in Moscow on May 23 brought the debate to a new climax. The Soviet Writers' Union has about 5,000 members belonging to 40 nationalities, and not all those who attended the conference last month were professional writers. Poet Alexei Surkov, general secretary of the Writers' Union had presented to the conference a report entitled: "On the tasks of Soviet literature in communist construction".

Surkov's report was strongly criticised by some writers, including Alexander Tvardovski, an old and revered poet and editor of *Novy Mir*. Tvardovski dismissed the report as "a homage to the inertia of yesterday". There were others who supported it. Thus there are two groups among the writers—the conformists who closely follow the communist party line and non-conformists who believe in freedom and inspiration.

There seemed to be no tendency towards silence on the great issues. In fact many writers spoke with frankness and the opinions they voiced were far from any kind of stereotyped unanimity.

Sky of Sugar

K. Paustovski, a novelist, in an article in the writers' newspaper, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* on May 20 attacked the prejudices and wrong notions of Soviet writers who belonged to the conformist group. He was critical of the sickly sweet ending of stories and of the reluctance of Soviet authors to "write of suffering, the fear of ever alluding sadness, as if all life must go on under a sky of

sweets and sugar, to the accompaniment of the sham and hearty laughter of militant males and females". He added: "It is perhaps that we shout so much and so loudly about truth in literature exactly because we lack it."

New Climate

Many other writers also came forward with their frank and fearless opinions and the great debate among the Russian intellectuals was clearly mirrored in the proceedings of the writers' conference. This debate was begun nearly six years ago, within a fortnight of Stalin's death in March 1953. There have been many ups and downs since then and the pendulum of literary principles has swung widely. The communist party seemed at times to encourage vivid and meaningful literature that did not challenge Russia's communist leadership and system.

The early beginnings of this debate could be traced to the publication of Ilya Ehrenburg's *Thaw* which anticipated a new climate in art and letters in the Soviet Union. Ehrenburg with whom many Indian writers are personally familiar, is one of the most famous Russian novelists and has often in the past been accepted as the high priest of Soviet literature. He glamourised the concept of "emotional self-expression" and said that personal experiences were a more vital influence on the writer's work than the demands of society.

In this long debate there have been climaxes, such as the publication of Vladimir Dudinstev's *Not By Bread Alone*, its condemnation by Nikita Khrushchev and finally a qualified confession of error by the author. Lopatkin, the hero of the novel, who struggled against the Soviet bureaucracy to win approval for a new machine he had invented, was the first non-conformist hero. Many

other similar heroes followed in other novels and all of them cast doubt and aspersion on Soviet achievements.

The restive stirrings among writers and artists were going beyond safe limits. The revolution in Hungary and the role of writers in it, as well as the unrest among Polish intellectuals, made Soviet leaders revise their ideas and in 1957 Nikita Khrushchev made three speeches which amounted to a statement of party line on the arts. He said: "One of the major principles is that Soviet literature and art must be inseparably linked with the policy of the communist party, which constitutes the vital foundation of the Soviet system."

Creative Writing

Then came Boris Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago* and with it the pendulum swung too far out. Pasternak was expelled from the writers' union. The reaction was swift. The pendulum swung back again and *The Yershov Brothers* appeared. The message of this controversial novel is an appeal to the working class to defend Bolshevik principles against writers and artists who had fallen under the influence of the West. Its message became a focal point of debate in writer's and party circles.

The debate still goes on. And the non-conformists seem to be winning. In his speech at the writers' conference last month Khrushchev had no hesitation in supporting the plea for "quality above all in creative writing". The conference was not attended by Ehrenburg because of illness and Pasternak because he was expelled. But these two writers were present in spirit. There are indications that Pasternak will soon be admitted back into the Writers' Union and that a new wave of liberalisation will sweep through the Soviet Union once more. A non-communist has been elected general secretary and once discredited writers are now on the executive.

The air is getting more free—make no mistake, and give the devil its due.

DECLINE OF THE INTELLECTUAL IN INDIA

By V. K. NARASIMHAN

The intellectual in India is facing an acute crisis. The British left India not only divided but also famished. It may be said truly that the single biggest factor which compelled the British to quit India so soon after their victory in World War II was the aftermath of the Bengal Famine with its toll of millions of lives. The far-sighted among British statesmen could see that the Indian milch-cow had run dry and that far from being a productive asset for British imperialism India had become a frightening liability. British rule had created the conditions for a rapid growth of the population without creating the agriculture and industry that could keep the growing millions at a minimum level of human existence. It is not an accident that food deficits have become a more or less permanent feature since 1943 and free India has had to face a formidable problem in feeding its people.

It may seem that India's underdevelopment, if it represented a formidable problem, represented also a great opportunity. Here, it may be thought, are endless opportunities for the intellectuals to give a lead, to think out new ways of solving difficult problems, to participate in organisational tasks and to find spiritual fulfilment in the carrying out of great constructive endeavours. The question we have to answer is, why has this not taken place?

The answer must be sought largely in the changes in the political and economic climate that have been taking place since freedom. In the political field what we find is the emergence of new elements within the Congress and outside which dominate on the basis of power and influence derived from forces very different from those which prevailed before Independence. In pre-Independence India the political-minded intel-

lectual was a power to reckon with. Whether he was in the Congress or other parties he was generally a professional person with a considerable intellectual background and animated by a spirit of service to the country. The majority of political leaders were drawn from the legal profession. Today all this has changed. Adult franchise, bestowed on a community consisting of a vast majority of poor and illiterate people, has thrown up a new leadership which has come to power because of control over the party organisation and because of local caste and communal influence or money power or pure demagoguery. It is true that, at the top in both the Central and State Governments, we find most of the old Congress leaders holding office. But the subtle change that has come over the Congress is reflected in the composition of the Central and local elective bodies of the Congress party. Here we find that the old intellectual leadership has been virtually replaced by new elements which do not have the old intellectual background. The new legislators and political party-men are people who have acquired their influence in recent years by capturing the subordinate political organisations and virtually eliminating the old intellectual group from which the leadership was drawn. This new element is primarily anxious to make a profession of a political career as such and is willing blindly to support whichever political leader is dominant in the State or in the nation as a whole. The result is that high level policies are made by a very few people at the top and are increasingly accepted by the rank and file because there is no intellectual group at the intermediate level which can intelligently discuss policies. The mass electorates created under the new Constitution—electorates running into tens and hundreds of thousands of voters for each seat—means that elections can be fought only by those with an enormous amount of money or by those who are supported by the party machine. Hence people who control the party machine have acquired an enormous power with regard to

June 20, 1959

the selection of candidates for election. The purely intellectual politician who in the past was held in esteem because of his ability to present a case or because of his knowledge of politics and economics is now at a discount.

This new atmosphere, in which the manipulator of the party machine has become all important, has led to a decline of interest among the intellectuals in party politics. A cynicism and indifference to party politics has developed among intellectuals who have come to feel that in any case they are powerless to influence the course of politics.

Another powerful factor which has induced intellectuals to turn either cynical or careerist is the continued inflation that has gone on from the war period. It is well known that the people who are worst hit by inflation and rising prices are the middle classes with fixed incomes. While the industrial workers benefit from compensatory dearness allowances in proportion to the rise in the cost of living, the middle class salaried people have not secured similar benefits on any comparable scale. Deepening economic distress and a growing feeling of political helplessness have produced among the intellectual classes a loss of faith in the values which used to be cherished by them. Such values are a concern for individual freedom, personal integrity, the pursuit of intellectual ideals and a spirit of public service. With a loss of faith in their old idealism the intellectuals either become cynical and do not care what happens to whom, or they develop into careerists. Careerism is in a sense born of cynicism. Once intellectuals generally lose their faith in the higher values, the more ambitious among them are anxious only to further their interests wherever possible regardless of moral scruples and political integrity.

Another factor responsible for the growth of a careerist mentality among a section of intellectuals is the sudden promotion of large numbers of Indians in subordinate positions to high positions in the Central Government after 1947 because of the sudden depar-

ture of a large number of Englishmen who held these posts. Too quick promotions within a short period brought into high positions people who were mentally and otherwise not prepared for them. In addition, the extension of Government activities in the post-1947 period also created high level jobs on a large scale for which there were not enough really capable men. The result was a decline in the quality of recruitment and the presence of large numbers of people in high posts for which they were not really fit. The presence of a large number of sinecures in Government at different high levels has led to general deterioration in the morale of the administrative services and has

induced a mood among most Government servants of careerism. Most officials are constantly concerned more about how to move to the next higher job than about doing justice to the jobs they now hold. Young men from colleges who compete for the various administrative and other services look upon the service solely as a passport to easy earnings and not as an avenue of responsible public service.

What about those who are neither cynical nor careerist? A few of them have undoubtedly been attracted to Communism but a vast majority of them lead routine lives with a deep sense of frustration. They make a hard living either as teachers or as



Your goods have a ready market in South East Asia

EXPORT NOW

INDIA produces the very commodities which the South East Asian countries need—jute, textiles, tea, handlooms, handicrafts, cycles, sewing machines and many other manufactured goods. Export them now—they'll buy them.

THE INDIAN OVERSEAS BANK LIMITED has made a special study of this important, growing market. Our network of overseas branches, agents and correspondents are at your service for on-the-spot advice.

THE INDIAN OVERSEAS BANK LIMITED, MADRAS

Branches at: AHMEDABAD, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, CUTTACK, HYDERABAD, MADRAS, NEW DELHI and throughout South India.
Overseas Branches: BANGKOK, COLOMBO, HONGKONG, IPOH, KLANG, KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA, PENANG, RANGOON, SINGAPORE.

Agents and Correspondents all over the world

M. C. Muthiah Chairman C. P. Doraikannu General Manager

IOB 501

First to
fight colds
since 1893

Three generations of
users have proved that
Amrutanjani brings
quick, comforting
relief from colds.

AMRUTANJAN

AMRUTANJAN LTD.,
Madras-4.
Also at Bombay-1,
and Calcutta-7.

minor employees in Government or private services and show very little interest in social and political life.

The Indian intellectual today feels largely left in the cold. He feels that he does not have an atmosphere for the pursuit of intellectual interests. At a time when the country should be throbbing with intellectual discussion of the most intense kind because of the variety of problems confronting it, we have controversies limited solely to politicians at the top.

A new element, which has affected the performance and integrity of the Indian press, is the growth of trade unionism among journalists which has produced a state of war between journalists and newspaper managements and has induced journalists to seek the patronage of the Government for securing their economic rights. Unless this tendency is checked and the press is able to evolve an internal and autonomous machinery for the settlement of its problems, there is a grave danger of the Indian press losing its independence and declining in its utility as an efficient and independent source of information and comment to the public. Here, again, the role of the intellectuals who produce newspapers is supremely important. Unless they develop a professional conscience and professional ethics and devote serious attention as much to the problems of improving the performance of the press as to the problem of improving their own emoluments and conditions of service, they may find that they have lost their status and position as independent servants of the public.

From the point of view of the contribution of intellectuals in a free society the problem before India today is basically to secure its best minds for its educational institutions and for its press. It cannot be said that the leaders of free India have so far devoted their attention to these serious problems. It is not entirely an accident that in the past few years the evils of indiscipline in universities and colleges have spread to

newspapers. Educational institutions and the press form the twin forces which ultimately determine the intellectual level of a community and the quality and integrity of its political and social institutions.

There is no dearth in India of real intellectual ability. The record of Indian students who have gone abroad and distinguished themselves in competition with their compatriots from other countries shows that the quality of our intellectual material at its best is as high as that in any other country.

Greatest Political Event After Independence

The formation of the Swatantra party is in my opinion the greatest political event in this country after Independence. For several years, I have felt that the existence of a party with a programme different in kind and not merely in degree from that of the Congress was necessary for the success of parliamentary democracy in India and have, in speeches and writings, advocated the formation of a rightist party as against the existing main parties which are all vying with one another in their zeal to kill individual enterprise and individual initiative as well as our cherished social institutions. In an article contributed to the All-India Election Guide for which I was the Chief Editor, published before the last general elections, I said: "At the present day there are only what may be described as leftist and more leftist parties in existence in this country. The nation as a whole is represented as having consented to a reconstruction of society on a Socialist pattern, though it may be said without fear of contradiction that 80 per cent of the people of the land do not know what a Socialist pattern of society is and have no idea of the steps by which that pattern can be reached. The real mind of India has not sufficiently asserted itself. More than one piece of legislation affecting the social life of the Hindus has been passed which we are justi-

fied in saying are totally opposed to the general sense of the mass of the people". Then I added: "The time has come for the saner and juster elements in society to organise themselves; and even if they do not contest the (next) elections, they should educate the electorate in the true principles of democratic government and in the respect due to an individual citizen". At the Madras University Convocation on 18th August 1955, I again said: "India's very philosophy proclaims and upholds the worth and sanctity of the human personality and is against man's wholesale merger in the State. Love of children and family is an inextinguishable instinct with its people. They naturally desire to leave their property to them. ... In a democracy based on adult suffrage, especially where, as in India, most of the electors are illiterate and do not possess the moral awareness, the intellectual capacity or the political experience to think correctly or decide justly, there is always the danger of a revolutionary elite hypnotising the electorate and seizing political power and utilising that power—in the name of planning and public necessity—for party ends, to suppress or ignore opposition groups, sacrifice the interests of the present generation for the financial interests of a future, and unjustly enforce their own imperfect sense of right and wrong and good and bad. It is a profound illusion to think that legitimate powers derived from a vote of the people can be trusted. On the other hand, it is more to be distrusted as while illegitimate power is at least restrained by a fear of popular opposition or upheaval, legitimate power is strong in the support of a partisan majority and can behave with ruthlessness and unchecked insolence. Socialism once let loose has a tendency to underwrite dictatorship and undermine democracy". I therefore most heartily welcome the Swatantra party. Its rapid growth in strength and prestige is assured.

R. V. KRISHNAN

FROM NEHRU BACK TO GANDHI

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

What are the chances of this venture (the Swatantra party) developing into a successful all-India party able to fulfil the role it has assumed of offering a better alternative to current policies and in the end a better alternative to the Congress party government?

As regards the mobilisation of sufficient persons to support the new party at different levels of national life, it may be said that the chances are fair. The country is crying out for a new leadership, new but yet sufficiently continuous with the old for eliciting loyalty on the basis of intelligibility and congeniality. The consent of Rajaji to bless the move and give it his moral support (and even organisational guidance within the limits of energy and health considering his age) has assured the attention of people all over the country, not to speak of Pandit Nehru and his Government.

The party is assured of healthy development so far as the support of agriculturalist and industrial circles is concerned.

What will be its impact on affairs? If successful, how will it affect current policies and make a change in them?

The spirit and meaning of the new party can be accurately hit off with the statement that it is an appeal from Nehru back to Gandhi. The sponsoring figure, viz. Sri Rajaji, highlights this symbolic significance, as he is the most outstanding Gandhian in the opposition, why, even among the Gandhian generation of leaders as a whole. He is a philosopher, an interpreter of the spiritual classics of the country like the Upanishads and the Gita. His literary retelling of the Ramayana and Mahabharata is in the old style of moralisers and teachers reinforcing ethical values through concrete story-telling.

Latterly he has taken to delivering acute criticism of the unwisdom of current Nehru policies and their unsettling effect on

society and state. In fact, Rajaji's move announces that the large ranks of discontented people in many walks of life, industry, agriculture, professions, are no longer content with grumbling and private criticism. They have moved to the next stage of action and the supporting of action. A rallying point has been offered by the group, viz. the Agriculturists' Federation, that persuaded Rajaji to bless their resolution for a new

party to call a halt to the present headlong plunge into totalitarian measures.

The first idea embodied in the draft manifesto (naturally in these circumstances) is a clear expression of opposition to the Socialist pattern of society which has been foisted on the country. Rajaji made it clear that there is no use opposing particular policies on an empirical basis. All the objectionable features of current policies stem from Socialism—nationalisation of industries and trading, the threat to introduce co-operative joint farming as the sole form of agriculture everywhere, the

Choice of millions!

Janta B-2 36" A.C.

Rs.110/only
TAXES EXTRA

Cheapest - Durable - Economical

THE ENGINEERING WORKS OF INDIA PRIVATE LTD.
20, ULTADANGA ROAD, CALCUTTA-4.

Chief Agents for Madras State, Andhra Pradesh & Pondicherry
M/s. GILLANDERS ARBUTHNOT & CO., LTD.,
3, North Beach Road, Madras-1.

Chief Agents for Kerala & Mysore States:
M/s. SOUTH INDIA CORPORATION (PRIVATE) LTD.,
Ernakulam :: Trivandrum :: Bangalore.

CHART

Soviet style of five year plans with their excessive emphasis on heavy industries, their lopsided pattern of development, high taxation, deficit financing and the resulting inflation, the search for endless new avenues for taxation until the private sector is squeezed out for lack of finance, etc.

The manifesto agrees that social justice and welfare are objectives of good government, but differs

decisively from Leftist thinkers in holding that these are best realised by encouraging private initiative and not by the present techniques of Socialism. Gandhi also spoke sometimes in the language of subversion, as when he spoke of bread labour. But he was first and foremost a lover of individual freedom.

The new party therefore repudiates Socialism at the very out-

set inasmuch as it entails ever-growing centralisation of all power, economic, political and cultural, in the hands of the governing group. Though the government might declare that it will function within the limits of democracy and maintain its forms, such as periodical elections and parliaments, the tendencies released by centralisation are bound sooner or later to weaken individual resistance and strengthen the trend to conform to official decisions.

The past twelve years of Nehru rule have taken the country already too far in the direction of totalitarianism. The head and front of the all-pervading offence is therefore the theory of Socialism (in its Communist framework) that has been adopted by the country under the leadership and impulsion of Nehru. No step towards a more realistic policy can be taken until this Socialist and Nehru fever is driven out of the body politic, its nervous system and bloodstream!

The new party distinguishes social justice and welfare from Socialism, and declares that healthier pathways are available to them through better administration of existing institutions without altering the social structure too radically, as by the liquidation of private property.

The manifesto declares frankly that it will restore the Constitution to its original form and abolish the amendment to Article 31 that rendered compensation non-judicial.

Other proposals follow from the central thesis of individual freedom and opposition to Socialism for achieving the social goals of good government and public welfare.

To safeguard against the excesses of individualism in property and private enterprise, Gandhi propounded the doctrine of trusteeship as against the idea of class war. C.R.'s manifesto reiterates this idea of trusteeship to regulate the anarchic tendencies of excessive individualism and *laissez faire*. Of course the idea needs fuller development and clearer appli-

cation in legal and social spheres before its effectiveness can be accepted.

Gandhi is here importing social and ethical factors to control individual predilections by means of a powerful public opinion. Economic life does not function in a moral vacuum. Its doings should and can be modified by motives higher than economic. Where custom is not enough to exercise the needed control, law will have to come in. But it should not supplant private action but only contain it within prescribed channels.

In agriculture the manifesto takes its stand four-square for individual, peasant proprietorship and against the proposed joint co-operative farming, which is sure to develop into collective farming in due course.

Socialism has committed the great blunder of aiming at transforming human nature itself and creating a new mass or social man with no interior, private life of his own but functioning from the outside like a robot. We know where this attempt leads—totalitarian tyranny and the enthronement of things above man, the exaltation of Plan and Production determined by the ruling elite above human freedom and happiness. Government leaves the terra firma of its prescribed duty or dharma of maintaining law and order and affording defence against external aggression, and presumes to transform man himself! It assumes the role of brahma or creative evolution that started with the nebular vapours out of which the solar system arose!

The manifesto declares that the increase in food production can be achieved by the honest administration of well-known facilities like water, fertilisers, good seeds and credit. No change in the social structure of agriculture, such as is being thrust on the country under the name of land reforms, is necessary at all. It is all an "unnecessary hell" (Kipling).

Government should reinforce by its dealings with the people directly and indirectly the moral

ALEXANDER PUSHKIN

By S. T. K.

Born on June 6, 1799 as the son of a nobleman in Moscow, Alexander Pushkin was one of those rare poets who scorned delights to enrich the world's literature and attacked root and branch the insolence of autocratic monarchy to throw succour to those who "lead lives of quiet desperation".

Pushkin began to show interest in literature at an early age, thanks to the efforts of his nurse Adina Rodinovna, a serf, who made him particularly conversant with Russian folk tales and songs. He attended the St. Petersburg Lyceum, an exclusive school for the sons of Russian noblemen, from 1811 to 1817. It was a stirring time. Russia's victorious war against Napoleon known as the Patriotic War had awakened in a progressive section of the nobility, who had been so far content to

live a life of blissful lethargy, a strong desire to emancipate themselves. Their revolutionary ideas found a ready supporter in Pushkin. While in school, he joined the "Green Lamp", a literary society of radicals and made friends with some of the future leaders of the Decembrists—persons who were members of a movement of noblemen imbued with "dangerous" ideas against serfdom and monarchy, which culminated in an armed uprising against Tsarism in December 14, 1825.

His literary genius blossomed simultaneously with political activity. After the publication of his poem *Russian and Ludmila*, which was followed by poems like *Ode to Liberty* and *The Village* his fame spread widely. It made him incur the odium of the Tsarist Government. Banishment to Siberia threatened him, which luckily did not come about owing to the good offices of some of his friends. He was, however, banished, in the spring of 1820, to the south of Russia.

This mild tribulation lasted only four years, for in 1824 he was ordered by Alexander I to live in his parental estate in the village of Mikhailovskoye, put on parole and forbidden to leave it.

From his place of confinement Pushkin was able to watch closely the lives of the simple villagers which set him off on the path of reality, shattering, to use the words of V. Putintsev, "the romantic worship of a hero as an isolated individual".

It was while living in the village that he received the tidings of the revolt of the Decembrists and the cruel punishment meted out to the revolutionaries by the new Tsar Nicholas I. Pushkin shed tears of blood and wrote: "The hanged have been hanged, but hard labour for 120 friends, brothers and comrades—that is horrible." He did not falter about extolling the deeds of the insurgents.

He returned from exile in 1826.

obligations of individuals maintaining contracts scrupulously and setting an example. Taxation should be lowered, sufficient funds should be with individuals for saving and investment. The State should confine itself to a few big industries and leave the pioneer industries and bulk of the industrial sector to private enterprise. Finance should return to the sound principle of borrowing only as much as can be repaid without upsetting normal life.

In a word, the manifesto declares its faith that honest and sound administration can achieve welfare and progress better without plunging the country into a hectic race for catastrophe under the impulsion of socialistic ambitions modelled on alien ideas and practices, and steeped in violence and disregard for the dignity of man. Let progress be tailored to human limitations. This is the authentic voice of Gandhi calling for the abandonment of Nehruism. It shows a better way to welfare, both more practical and more humane, and above all more consistent with freedom.

Courtesy Mysindia.



Material for modern packing, protects your merchandise from moisture and impurities

TRAYOPHANE offers 96 per cent Transparency

PACK IN TRAYOPHANE AND INCREASE YOUR SALES

RAYON TRADERS PRIVATE LIMITED

61, Sembudoss Street, Madras-1
Grams: "CELYARN"
Phone: 21641

BRANCHES:

Phone: 253.
Grams: "CELYARN"
68/416, Main Road, SEVAPET, SALEM.

Phone: 598.
Grams: "CELYARN"
114-A, South Masi Street, MADURAI.

Grams: "RAYONS"
United India Life Building
Avinasi Road, COIMBATORE.

AT-20-5A

But the constant surveillance of the police made his life hard. His poetic powers were, however, in full bloom. His famous realistic novel *Eugene Onegin*, which found its great exponents in Turgenev, Leo Tolstoy, and other great writers, belongs to this period. It is regarded as a landmark in the annals of Russian letters. His miniature tragedies and prose works, says Tolstoy, must be studied and studied by every writer.

No wonder, many writers owe their inspiration to him. "He was not only the great Russian poet of his time," as the eminent Russian critic Belinsky has it, "but a great poet of all peoples and all ages, a European genius, the glory of the world." His was also the voice of liberty against the atrocities of autocracy, and his ideas were

"Like thoughts whose very sweetness yieldeth proof

That they were born for immortality."

INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,
K.C.S.I., D.C.L. (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business transacted efficiently and quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits which may be ascertained on application.

S. Krishnaswami,
Secretary.



TOMATO SOUP

Mix in Hot Water and Drink

PEPPER WATER

(MULAGU-TANNI)
Paste & Powder

Mix in Hot Water & Drink

Now available at:

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CO., LTD.,

Opp. High Court - Madras-1.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE NEW PARTY

Sir,—It will indeed be a red letter day for the citizens of India when the new opposition party engineered by Rajaji is formed at Ahmedabad on 1st August. It is high time such an opposition party takes charge to arrest the reckless doings of the present Government whose motto seems to be—"From him that hath will be taken away and from him that hath not will also be taken away what little he hath."

I have two suggestions to offer. One is that there should be a careful selection of members to the party so that the phony ones won't come into the picture. Secondly, the new party should have an organ of its own. I will even venture to say that it should be *Swarajya* and instead of a weekly, it should be converted into a daily newspaper. At present, the public are hungry for such a newspaper because the present ones appear to be there more to carry advertisements than to voice public opinion.

JINNI CHARI

FALSE SOCIALISM

Sir,—From the Presidency College almost upto the office of the Inspector-General of Police, the Madras beach is foul smelling because of drying of fish on the sands and the whole area is dotted with innumerable huts. People come to the beach from congested localities to have some fresh air and relaxation. But one really feels sorry for having come there after inhaling the foul air. It is false Socialism to allow the fisher-folk to spoil the beach which is a priceless possession to the city of Madras. I would request the authorities to take steps to keep the beach clean, which is more important than making it beautiful.

CITIZEN

T. T. K.'s CONSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

Sir,—The Prime Minister of India is reported to have stated at his press conference (June 10) that the question of Mr. T. T.

Krishnamachari's constitutional responsibility for the investment of over Rs. 14 crores of Life Insurance Corporation funds in Mundhra concerns in June 1957 came up at the moment of his resignation, but "if he had been a Minister today, it would not have arisen". This view, with due respect to the Prime Minister, is based on a fundamental error. The Chagla Commission has found that "the transaction (viz. the investment) was not entered into in accordance with business principles and was also opposed to propriety on several grounds". This finding has been accepted by the Government of India. The acceptance has also been reiterated by the Government in their recent resolution on the disciplinary action against the concerned officers. It is now found, after full investigation, that the improper investment was the direct result of the "advice" given by the Principal Finance Secretary to the Chairman of the L.I.C. as the spokesman and agent of the Government of India. The Government of India are thus, beyond doubt, constitutionally responsible to Parliament and the electorate for the improper investment. How is this responsibility to be worked out? The classical remedy is the resignation of the concerned Minister. The Minister's resignation was thus the logical consequence of the Government of India's constitutional responsibility to Parliament and the electorate for the improper deal of the L.I.C. fund. The finding on the impropriety of the deal stands. The Minister's constitutional responsibility is co-extensive with the finding.

Tirunelveli A. S. KUPPUSWAMI

A Conservative Opposition

Bertrand Russell defines the basic functions of a government as the attainment of justice, security and conservation of the heritage. The movement for advance must come from the

people or individuals. The government checks and promotes. This secures a real and steady advance, as it is a people's initiative based on their necessity and capacity. The reverse is the process when all the measures are initiated by a government, irrespective of whether they suit the people or can be executed by the government machinery. Even a Lysenko would take into account proper conditioning to secure an aim. There can be no real success where the administrative experience is lacking or the human element ignored. The results of the trial and error by the top remain uncriticised and unquestioned. The Russian planning has been a war measure to avoid annihilation and has no correlation to the people's wishes or welfare. A measure is tested by a curve of Indifference where a current sacrifice is equalised to a prospective advantage with a time percentile. This is a Democratic Felicific Calculus. Man does not live by bread alone, and millions of people are under the treatment of psychiatrists in the Land of top living standards. This mad race can only bring about a reaction and counter-revolution and greater misery. This has driven old people from their well-deserved retirement to prevent a national disaster.

JUGAL BEHARI

Sidelights

(Continued from Page 4)

From M. Krishnamurthi, New Delhi:

If you seek the views of your readers regarding the continuance of the journal, the answer indisputably will be a vociferous demand for your continuance.

From D. L. Narasimha Rao, Jaggampeta:

Though physically you may feel weak, your mind is strong and alert. You have spared no pains to establish the best traditions in journalism. It is a treat to go through the pages of *SWARAJYA* every week.

Criticism without malice, a natural style without ostentation, utmost sincerity in thought and expression with faith in truth coupled with a sense of duty and above all courage of conviction have been your chief attributes. It would be a painful affair for all the readers of *SWARAJYA* if you decide to give them a valedictory farewell.

From D. V. Gundappa, Bangalore:

You will not close *SWARAJYA*. You will take assistance. I feel certain assistance will be forthcoming if only you ask for it.

Reading these letters and many others which I have not published shying at their over-generous laudation, I am overwhelmed by the deep affection and appreciation of ever so many readers. There

is no greater happiness than this to a writer. It is clear the journal fulfils a need and I must go on with it. As I stated once before, I am the only member of the editorial staff. The office resources do not permit recruitment of an assistant under the expensive stipulations of the present press law. My condition is so variable that if continuity is to be maintained there should be not only editorial assistance but also relief from business management. My good friend Sri Sadasivam of *Kalki* has out of his abundant goodness undertaken to give me both these much needed reliefs.

From 1st July he will take over and run *SWARAJYA*. I shall continue as Editor for life. How long that life will be I do not know, but it is a great comfort to have kind friends assuring conditions that will enable one to work as long as surviving energy lasts. This arrangement has Rajaji's blessing. It is made from the *Kalki* side in a generous spirit, wholly for my benefit and I hope that I will not fail in worthiness to deserve the proffered succour. In recent months I have left many letters unanswered through sheer disability and helplessness. May I beseech my kind correspondents to forgive?

SAKA

APPEAR PRIVATELY FOR UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS

S. S. L. C., MATRIC, PRE-UNIVERSITY, INTER, B. A., B.Sc., and B. Com.

OF

MADRAS, ANDHRA, UTKAL, BANARAS AND NAGPUR UNIVERSITIES

POSTAL & ORAL

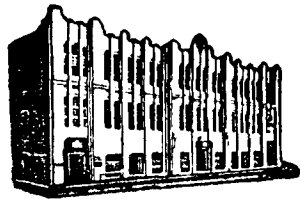
EFFICIENT COACHING — SUCCESS GUARANTEED — CLASSES COMMENCED — JOIN AT-ONCE

BHARATH Tutorial College

1-D, ELDAMS ROAD, ALWARPET, MADRAS-18

Edited and Published by KHASA SUBBA RAU at 77 Lloyds Road, Madras-14.

Printed by T. K. VENKATESAN at THE JUPITER PRESS PRIVATE LTD., 109-C, Mount Road, Teynampet, Madras-18.

THE INDIAN BANK LTD.

(Established : 1907)

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"
NORTH BEACH ROAD,
MADRAS-1.

23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole
of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND
SINGAPORE.

CAPITAL

Authorised Capital Rs	1,00,00,000
Issued and Subscribed Capital	" 72,00,000
Paid-up Capital	" 66,38,990
Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium)	, 99,61,883
Deposits as on 31-12-'58	" 40,93,17,330
Total Working Funds	" 50,12,19,816

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.
R. SUNDARAM IYER.
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA
MUDALIAR.
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA
CHETTIAR.

K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.
RAMDAS PURUSHOTTAM DAS.
**ALL TYPES OF
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING
FOREIGN EXCHANGE
TRANSACTED.**

London Agents:
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents:
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,
SECRETARY.

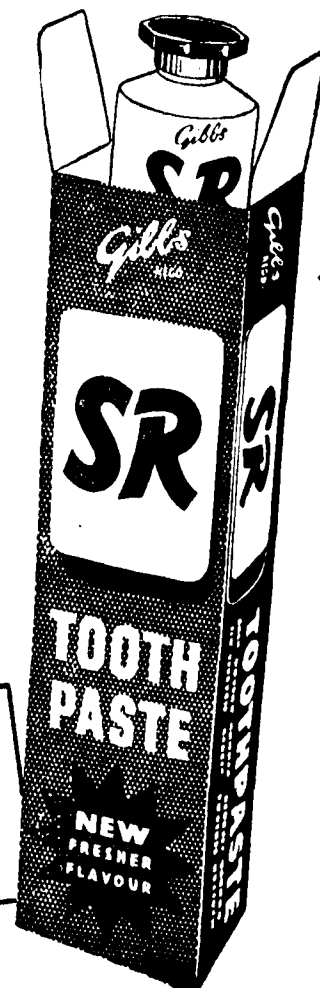
**All India
Dental Association
research shows**

**92% OF
SCHOOL CHILDREN
EXAMINED HAD
GUM TROUBLES!**

**Guard
your children's
gums and teeth
with Gibbs SR**

**—the only toothpaste
containing
Sodium Ricinoleate
...used by dentists
to combat and
prevent gum troubles**

That distinctive 'SR'
taste tells you the
Sodium Ricinoleate
is actively protecting
your teeth and gums.



SWARAJYA

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 51

MADRAS, JUNE 27, 1959

15 Naye Paise

THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER

We owe to the enterprise of a leading Delhi daily the disclosure of the substance of two letters that passed between the President of India and the Prime Minister on vital matters of economic policy. What makes the correspondence particularly significant is their timing, apart from the fact that this appears to be the first occasion when the President has ventured to pinpoint his differences with the Prime Minister over almost the entire field of economic policy. The President under the Indian Constitution holds a position analogous to that of the Crown in England. He is the constitutional head of the Government, which is actually carried on by Ministers collectively responsible to the House of the People. There is, however, this difference and it is one which invests the views and opinions of the Indian President with even greater moral authority than those of a constitutional hereditary monarch. The President of India is elected by the representatives of the people in the State and Union legislatures and in a unique way he symbolises the unity and conscience of the nation. His oath of office enjoins upon him to "protect and defend the Constitution and the law" and to devote himself "to the service and well-being of the people of India". While the conventions of the Constitution require that he should accept the will of Parliament as expressed by the votes of the majority as the will of the

people, he has a duty to advise and to warn the Government whenever he thinks that a particular course of action favoured by the Government is, in his view, likely to prove harmful to the country. It is no violation of the spirit, much less the letter, of the Constitution if he expresses his concern over the courses the Government intend to pursue. The Prime Minister may or may not heed his advice. If Parliament supports the Prime Minister, the President has to submit to the decisions of Parliament. If it is a matter on which he feels very strongly he can resign from the Presidency.

In the present case, while the President's 19-page letter, appears to have covered a wide ground, he seems to have expressed the gravest doubts about the wisdom of State trading in foodgrains and the policy of encouraging co-operative farming. Mr. Nehru, in his reply, is said to have explained that though some rise in prices had occurred following the introduction of State trading, there was no alternative to price control. Regarding co-operative farming, the Prime Minister has indicated that it will come only gradually. There is no need to read into the President-P.M. correspondence signs of an incipient crisis in the relations between them. Much of what the President has said in his letter has been said by other eminent public men in the country, including Rajaji. The President's letter should serve primarily as a warn-

ing to the Prime Minister and to the Congress party that the concern expressed by large sections of people in the country over recent trends in Congress policy is shared by the nation's First Citizen, who has been among the foremost in the struggle for freedom and among the most trusted lieutenants of Gandhiji. Neither the Congress nor the nation can afford to dismiss the President's advice as an unwarranted intrusion. On the contrary, coming as it does on the eve of the preparation of the Third Plan, with all its implications of massive extension of the State's grip over the economy, there is a special appropriateness in the suggestions and the warnings given by the President. Nothing would be more dangerous to Indian democracy than an unconscious drift to Statism because of a failure on the part of people to examine the consequences of State policy and an uncritical acceptance of the decisions of a few men in high authority. The President's warning is really directed against the growing concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a few in the name of planning and the mystical faith in State regulation and ownership. It is essential that for the purpose of clarification of the issues involved, the full text of the correspondence should be published. While the President himself should be kept out of any controversy, the debate on the vital issues raised by him must go on.

SIDELIGHTS ::

My real friendship with Sri Kasturi Srinivasan began seventeen years ago. Its origin was a confession which I then made to him. I was a very severe critic in those days of the innovation of proprietorial assumption of the editorship of newspapers. Criticism, even severe, of the occupants of public positions is a duty cast on the practitioners of journalism as a vocation, but it has its revenges. After hard words are written and printed, the sensitive writer cannot but feel some measure of contrition for the pain inflicted by him on those who had done him no personal wrong. Was it absolutely in the strict line of duty? Or was there something in it of bias, or the passion of re-creation, or sheer vandalistic vainglory and self-righteousness, distinctly in excess of the moral obligation of performing an unpleasant duty? These introspective ruminations, often charged with acute mental distress, become habitual to anyone whose profession is criticism but whose aspiration it is to redeem it from malice or other unworthy motive.

So one day, years ago, under the slinging of conscience I realised that I had let myself go beyond the limit of duty in my cavil against Srinivasan for appointing himself editor of the paper he owned. The point of view was all right, what marred it was over-emphasis and frequent repetition. Just then by chance I came across a passage in Mahatma Gandhi's Autobiography which is perhaps the most moving in all his writing. It was about a confession in writing which as a young man Gandhi made to his father for a sin he had committed. This is how the Mahatma describes the scene:

I handed him the note and sat opposite. He read it through, and pearl-drops trickled down his cheeks, wetting the paper.

Those pearl-drops of love cleansed my heart, and washed my sin away. Only he who has experienced such love can know what it

is. As the hymn says:

Who is smitten with the arrows of love,
Knows its power.

A clean confession, combined with a promise never to commit the sin again, when offered before one who has the right to receive it, is the purest type of repentance. I know that my confession made my father feel absolutely safe about me, and increased his affection for me beyond measure.

I repaired to Srinivasan's house with the book in hand, read out the passage above cited, and sought his forgiveness for the excessive severity of my criticism of him in the paper I was then editing. He was deeply moved and recounted how, reluctantly and against his own inclination, he was forced to assume the post of editor by circumstances that left him no other choice. (Those circumstances need not be narrated here now, as they are not relevant to the topic on hand.)

From this moment on, Srinivasan treated me with unfailing respect and affection. In due course I understood something of the gentleness and refinement of the man. Often I had occasion to go to him seeking his interest and assistance on behalf of someone or other in trouble. Never once did he fail in compliance. His generosity was rendered shyly and secretively as though it was a thing to be ashamed of and hidden. Thirteen years ago, when I started *Swatantra*, without any request from me, without any expectation at all on my part of even the possibility of such a thing, he sent me an offer to print the journal free for six months. I have no doubt he was stirred to compassion by the rashness of my adventure, and knowing my lack of means, he was moved to act in the spirit of a 'trustee' to help me along.

To the business management of *The Hindu* Srinivasan gave undivided attention. He was interested in no other business. His caution in the formulation of

editorial policy did not extend to the business side. Here he was intrepid and enterprising, and took enormous risks in testing out new ideas. With his simplicity, cheerfulness, general accessibility and compassionate outlook, he won the trust and confidence of all who worked for him, and until journalistic traditionism introduced a spirit of strife in the newspaper world, he was a beloved paternal figure in his office full of contentment and happiness. He was not made for authoritarian battle in an atmosphere of ill-will, and the trade union attacks on proprietors as a bad lot, first surprised and then saddened him, broke his mettle and hastened the end.

Modest, kind, benevolent and sagacious, two streams of loyalty were combined in Srinivasan's regime at *The Hindu*. He had unbounded reverence for his father, and it was a point of filial piety with him to spare no effort to live up to the paternal tradition of dignity and detachment. Secondly, the prestige of *The Hindu* was to him the dearest thing on earth. To maintain it, he abstained scrupulously from speculation and wirepulling intrigue. He persevered gallantly in a life-long mission of further enriching his inheritance by building *The Hindu* into a great national newspaper. Various nicknames have been given to *The Hindu* in derogatory stricture over its prudent avoidance of risks and stormy controversies. But never in its long history has it been ever accused of defection from the highest standards of probity and objectivity in the presentation of news. With his example and enterprise in eschewing the second-hand, and organising the service and collection of news into an adventure of global proportions, Srinivasan elevated the whole Indian press out of narrow, parochial ruts and drew it into the main current of world influence. He was our first great pioneer in replacing news piracy with a voyage of discovery and direct investigation to the farthest corners of the world.

(Continued on Page 14)

June 27, 1959

SILENCE IS GOLDEN

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Because one occupies a prominent political position, it does not follow that there should be a spate of statements covering all subjects under the sun. A New Delhi message dated June 12 (D. Day in Kerala) reported that President Indira Gandhi had "no objection to Congressmen sitting round a table with Communists to find a solution of the present situation in Kerala". The passive assent was however denigrated by the subsequent remark: "But I do not hope anything much can come out of it". The P.T.I. report proceeds: "Unless the Communists in Kerala put a stop to violence that had been long going on there and also desist from harassing workers of Opposition parties, there could be no solution". The loaded pronouncement was not particularly necessary: nothing would have been lost by discreet silence, especially when her father the Prime Minister had on the eve of his flight to Nepal the previous day, revamped his Ooty survey of Kerala into a warning against unconstitutional manoeuvres by Opposition parties, including his eschewal of violence which, of course, is common doctrine amongst all parties at fray. Mrs. Gandhi declared at a moment when silence might have been golden, that she "was assured that the school-closure movement in Kerala would be on constitutional lines". For the dazed pupils there is a high degree of doctrinal inculcation, howsoever subconscious, about discipline the fruits of which would be apparent in the next scene of the neo-Sheridan play: "The School for Chaos".

True when Indira Gandhi was unanimously elected Congress President at Nagpur, the Prime Minister disowned sponsorship, his sole anxiety being the state of her health. It was clear that Dhebarji was quitting and none of the likely candidates in office would resign in favour of the "coveted honour". Thus it was that the Chief Minister of Madras

and his chief lieutenant led a stampede in favour of Indira Gandhi, which was followed by universal applause, but it was quite clear that it was not so much the case of leadership by right as the accession to eminence coming as a part of family distinction. In her first interview Mrs. Gandhi maintained that the coincidence of her ancestry would not influence her judgment. Amazingly industrious, she set herself to her task of consolidating Congress power and concretizing the planning vogue. What part she is playing on this world's stage is of importance if only because of the long-time-continuum of office that awaits her. Applying her knowledge of democracy to the case of Kerala, she has been particularly well disposed towards the Communist regime. It is part of the Congress mission to overthrow the "usurpers of Kerala" and it is no easy matter to have it both ways, namely, to remain pledged to the Indian Constitution and again to promote the ouster of the successful party in the State by non-violent means. As the epithet (non-violence) is cherished by all, it would be better if it is eliminated from the controversy.

During war-time negotiations and the two visits in which Stafford Cripps figured, the acknowledgment of statements from our leaders had created a lot of misunderstandings. Gandhiji for his part wrote continuously in the *Harijan*, taking the prospect of conciliation within the formula of Dominionhood for granted, but amongst those next-in-command there was no little eagerness to make pronouncements. Jinnah muzzled his followers and reserved the right of speech for himself as parleys proceeded. According to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Cabinet Mission's Plan, designed to save India from the dire tragedy of Partition, had been wrecked by a lordly interview of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Bombay just when reticence would

have meant solid national service. The story may be briefly told. The Cabinet Mission consisted of Lord Pethick-Lawrence (Secretary of State), the Rt. Hon. A. V. Alexander and Sir Stafford Cripps. After a lot of palaver at the Simla Conference and its sequel — V. P. Menon is the faithful historian of the period—the Cabinet Mission presented a plan for the composition of the Constituent Assembly guaranteeing the unity of India. To make a long story short, the Congress and the League agreed on voting by three sections implicit with safeguards for minorities. Jinnah held his clamour for Pakistan in abeyance, and welcomed the procedure. Jawaharlal then paid an unfortunate visit to Bombay where, free from the Working Committee's curbs, he made a fateful (and unnecessary) statement to the effect that once the Constituent Assembly started, it would be absolutely free to do as it liked, regardless of party-commitments. As Congress President, he in his glamorous contemplation of independence and future achievements in foreign policy, exceeded the letter and spirit of Congress undertakings. Here he unwittingly played into the hands of Jinnah who instantly retorted with a counter-statement to the effect that Congress had violated its pledge and that therefore the Muslim League also repudiated the Cabinet Mission's Plan. *Finis.*

According to the critique of V. P. Menon on the Maulana Saheb's second-hand *Egobiography*, the Congress High Command had subsequently disowned Jawaharlal's Bombay outburst in unequivocal terms. I can't remember that phase, but the mischief had been done and the semblance of backing out of a compromise was fully exploited to the detriment of Congress and the political credit-worthiness of India.

We could, therefore, get on with fewer statements especially when casuistry comes in full blast, and voices are heard in ventriloquist style distinguishing between Congress not joining the Kerala "upsurge" and Congressmen

WHAT SWATANTRA PARTY IS PLEDGED TO DO

By R. V. KRISHNA IYER

Rajaji is an infallible judge of men and affairs, a great patriot ever thinking of the welfare of his motherland, a great parliamentarian and able administrator, and a world spiritual teacher. A man sanctified by suffering and hallowed by sacrifice, one with magnificent achievements in various fields to his credit, Rajaji has no personal axe to grind, and no party interests to safeguard; and like Bhagavan, he can well say "There is nothing in the three worlds for me to work for or to gain. Yet I engage myself in action." If he has now started the Swatantra Party, it is certain that it is for the indisputable good of this country.

Rightly or wrongly, we have chosen the parliamentary form of government as the right type of government for this country. Though in a parliamentary form of government, for the sake of unity, harmony and smoothness of working, the executive is generally chosen from the majority party, yet the real sovereign power in the country—the power to lay down policies, the power of control, criticism and veto, and the grant of supplies—is vested in Parliament which consists not only of a majority party which wields more power, but includes also the Opposition party or parties. Parliamentary government, therefore, means government both by the Government party and the Opposition. That is why in England both the Government and the Opposition are treated as part of the machinery of government, and are called "His Majesty's Government" and "H.M.'s Oppo-

participating in unconstitutional acts "as such". The Congress President is too young to kid the world, and she should be redeemed from the notion that statements are expected from her in *ack-ack* sequence day by day. This is the time to talk less and think more.

sition" respectively. In fact, the leader of the Opposition actually gets a salary which is paid from the Government exchequer. In other words, the Government is carried on by formulation of policies by Government, by official criticism in public of those policies by Opposition, and by decisions arrived at by Parliament after a consideration of the pros and cons. It is obvious that without Opposition and criticism, Government actions are apt to go wrong. If, at any time, with its existing majority in Parliament, the executive is able to obtain a wrong decision in Parliament on an important matter, an appeal can be made to the electorate who can dismiss the Ministry and instal the Opposition in power to enable them to reverse the decision if necessary. This kind of check and counter-check are indispensable for the success of parliamentary government in the long run.

Now, at present, we have no such Opposition in any of our legislatures in this country. We have some groups of members acting in opposition to the Government in the legislatures. But most of them were at one time in the Congress and walked out of it for personal or minor reasons. There is constant talk of their going back to it or being taken back into it. The Congress united with the P.S.P. in Travancore and opposed the Communists. The P.S.P. joined the Communists in Madras and opposed the Congress. Only three days ago, Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh disclosed that at the recent Planning Seminar held at Ootacamund, the Prime Minister opened out his heart and told the Seminar how at one time he was anxious to bring about a coalition of the Congress with the best parties which came close to the Congress programme and to that end suggested co-operation with the P.S.P. which best satisfied that test of affinity. Thus all

these parties are really related parties and not parties in Opposition with programmes differing in kind from those of the Congress, but mere ginger groups which differ from the Congress only in the extent of immediate implementation, or the speed of implementation, of a common programme and which can easily steal one another's clothes and masquerade in stolen clothes. Especially after the Congress adopted a Socialistic pattern of Society as its ideal, it is difficult to differentiate it from other parties which honestly call themselves Socialistic. Even the Communists, for that matter, call themselves Socialists, and the Russian Republic is officially known only as a Socialistic Republic. Thus, there is truly no real opposition of ideologies in the present legislatures, and if parliamentary democracy is to succeed, and our democracy is not to degenerate into mere dictatorship, a real Opposition must be formed.

Already our Prime Minister is so conscious of the strength of his party that he is able to talk of the opposition to the Nagpur resolutions being swept away with a broom stick. That way acts dictatorship, and that is the language of a dictator.

Political science, even with its modern developments, speaks only of three forms of government: monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, though there are variations under each category. Our Government is a democracy and we are all determined that it ought to continue to be a democracy. Even the Congress does not say that we should cease to be a democracy. Socialism itself is not a form of government but a purpose for which a government may work. Socialism is a good word and embodies a noble idea. It is derived from the Latin word *socias* which means a comrade. So long as Socialism is understood as a mere state of comradeship among men and to connote a love-welded society living in peace and friendship, it is an aspiration which has from the beginning of time been the quest of the choicest spirits of this ancient land.

Nobody has a quarrel with this ideal. But if Socialism is understood, as in practice it is understood in the countries in which it is in operation, as the State control of the lives of citizens including their culture, family lives and children's education, the concen-

tration in the hands of State officials of the economic activities of men in the departments of production, distribution and consumption and the conversion of human beings into mere automatons carrying out the behests of the men in authority, we are against

it. The Congress has never defined its brand of Socialistic pattern, but all its actions and resolutions during recent years indubitably point in the direction of Socialism in Socialistic countries. A monarchy or an aristocracy may dabble in Socialism. But a democracy



**A little SUNLIGHT
does a lot of washing**
-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER

SEEING IS BELIEVING: Shankar is obviously delighted with the gleaming white shirt that Sita has washed. And look at the pile of clothes, sheets and towels washed white and bright—all with such a little SUNLIGHT! SUNLIGHT's rich, abundant lather washes so thoroughly and draws out every scrap of dirt without any beating! Prove it for yourself—try it today!

SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT

BOOK REVIEW

INDIAN ECONOMY SINCE INDEPENDENCE

can do so only at its peril. Socialism implies Government control and results in an unlimited increase in the strength and power of a bureaucracy. A democracy cannot afford to do this and retain its own influence. Socialism once let loose has a tendency to underwrite dictatorship and undermine democracy. The question, therefore, before the Indian people today is whether they believe in freedom or in official control; in people governing themselves or in a bureaucracy dictating for them; in people living their own economic, religious, and family life as they have done for thousands of years past, or in a life regimented for them by a revolutionary set of people exercising power over them. The answer to this question can be only one.

In this connection, I should like to refer to one criticism which some persons have levelled against the new Swatantra Party, viz., that it will ally itself with reactionaries and vested interests, that it will act, not as a brake on the ill-considered schemes of the Congress but as an obstacle to the progress of the country, and that in the long run it will act in a manner injurious to the interests of poor people. This kind of criticism is apt to appeal to illiterate and unintelligent people, and must therefore be met and answered. Swatantra is not unlimited licence. Each individual's liberty will be subject to the like liberty of every other individual and will be at its maximum when it is exercised without interfering with the liberty of others. If wealth, birth, religion or any other accident or vested interest comes into conflict with an individual's Swatantra, to that extent, the operation of wealth, etc., will be regulated. Only, our war will be against poverty and not against wealth. This Swatantra movement will be distinctly beneficial to the poor and the disinherited as it will remove the fetters which prevent them from rising to their full heights.

I wish also to correct one other criticism, viz., that this Swatantra Party has not got, or will not get, much support in the country. This is mere wishful thinking. I am

Mr. Venkatasubbiah, who has been long associated with economic research and journalism and who is well known as a close and discerning student of Indian affairs in their economic aspect, has already given us two books, *The Structural Basis of Indian Economy* and *The Foreign Trade of India 1900-1940*. His study of the wider aspects of the trends and developments in contemporary Asia was marked by the publication, not very long ago, of *Asia in the Modern World*. The present work, the latest from his pen, is designed to be a close study of the economic transition in India in the current period of planned economic development, with the attainment of national independence as the starting point of the study. The book is perhaps the first attempt in this field and the Institute of Pacific Relations

INDIAN ECONOMY SINCE INDEPENDENCE: By H. Venkatasubbiah. (Issued by the Institute of Pacific Relations. Published by Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Rs 17.50).

confident that the strength of the party will increase rapidly, and that at the next general elections, it will be a formidable rival to the Congress. The majority of the people in this land may be poor and may deserve to be classified with the 'Have-nots', but they are just and virtuous, and have not become, as some of the persons who are exploiting their poverty think, so lost to their moral sense as to wish for the spoliation of the rich for enriching themselves. On the other hand they only want equal opportunities with any others to grow rich themselves. And that the Swatantra Party, by its very philosophy, is pledged to do. In joining the Swatantra Party the Indian people have nothing to lose except the restraints and controls which bind them and make it impossible for them to feel the glow of independence.

has sponsored it. The wide experience of the author in this field makes him admirably qualified for the study he has undertaken.

The first and second chapters, entitled Independence and Government respectively seek, in the author's words, to define the legal and political framework of the new economic policy. Account is taken of the peaceful character of the transfer of power to Indian hands, but one would have liked to have a clear picture of the economic situation on the eve of Independence, at least in its broad outlines, and in particular of the far-reaching impact of the Second World War on certain aspects of the Indian economic situation. The economic advantage secured by the political integration of the princely States is mentioned but the account of the economic dislocations and muddles and human tragedies wrought by the partition is meagre. It is worth noting, however, that the author takes account of India's foreign policy and its enormous influence on the course and content of plans of economic development. The economic consequences of the foreign policy of India constitute by themselves a separate field of study. The author notes the variety and intricacy of the factors arising out of our foreign policy—that operate in this field, more especially in enlisting financial and technical co-operation from the U.S.A.

Perhaps the best chapters in Mr. Venkatasubbiah's book are those dealing with the evolution and implementation of the industrial policy of the Government during the past ten years. The author sees in this policy the principle of democratic Socialism in action. He agrees that the policy is based on "the acceptance of a mixed economy as the means of economic development". Whether he is right in holding that the

Congress regime in India has "accepted capitalism as a permanent institution" seems doubtful in the light of some of the latest expressions of Congress policy, particularly since the Nagpur Congress. The whole trend of Congress thinking at the moment seems to be that ultimately State enterprise or co-operatives should permeate the whole of the industrial sector, except for a very limited area left for the self-employed. It may be that this is in the somewhat distant future. Mr. Venkatasubbiah is impressed with what has been done, through the creation of special institutions like the Industrial Finance Corporation, the I.C.I.C., the Tariff Commission, etc., to help private industry. He is also impressed by the fact that in the past ten years private industry has not done badly at all in terms of expansion of production and increase in profits. But here, again, the contribution made by mounting war and post-war inflation should not be underrated. The question today is not so much whether private enterprise has progressed in the past ten years but whether it should have a future and the basis on which it should function in a democratic society. The problem also as to how far planning can go in a democratic society without the State becoming a more or less anti-hill polity, has also to be considered. The debate on these issues has received a new edge with the formation of a new party which avowedly seeks to warn the country against the dangers of Socialism and to safeguard as much as possible the rights of individual initiative, enterprise and economic activity in agriculture, industry and trade.

In his preface to the book Mr. Venkatasubbiah has admitted that his survey is by no means comprehensive or exhaustive and that "there are obvious gaps both in scope and treatment". At least one serious gap which has to be remedied in a subsequent edition is the absence of any discussion on the food crisis in India since Independence and the failure of the Government to solve it despite enormous expenditure of funds and the trying out of vari-

ous expedients which have only worsened the situation. The discussion of the land question in chapter III is certainly incomplete without a treatment of the problems of agricultural production and pitifully low yields in India. Another problem which deserves to be dealt with at somewhat greater length is the record of public enterprises in the light of reports of Public Accounts Committees. One doubts whether the author is correct in suggesting that the separation of the finances of commercial enterprises like the railways from the general budget has served no useful purpose. The tendency today is increasingly towards refinement of cost-accounting in industry and it is essential to have a correct idea of the cost of each commercial service or product provided by a State enterprise wherever that is possible. The complete merger of the finances of the State enterprises in the budget of the Union Government would produce financial chaos and make it almost impossible to find out whether each of these enterprises was operating efficiently at all. The author's views on this subject need to be re-examined. The chapters on "Public Finance" and "Planning", coming towards the end of the book, need to be elaborated.

A word of praise is due to the prodigious industry and the careful collation of a vast amount of material that had gone into the production of Mr. Venkatasubbiah's book. It is a significant contribution to the post-independent economic literature on India. —V. K. N.

UDGATRDASANANAM (A Drama in Seven Acts): By Sri Y. Mahalinga Sastri.

The learned author hailing from a long line of learned and cultured ancestors and himself having assimilated ancient culture of this land, has written several small books in the Sanskrit language. The above is a Nataka in seven Acts featuring the exploits of Ravana in Yaksha land. As well

known, Kubera his elder step-brother had been driven away from his ancient kingdom of Lanka, and Ravana established himself as sovereign of that land. After having consolidated Lanka and the surrounding countries, the usual feeling of an ambitious king to become master of other lands animates Ravana and he invades his brother's kingdom in the Himalayas. As usual in such cases, there is a lot of misery and suffering to the people of the land including treasures looted, and people tortured, and women molested — very ably portrayed in this book. In the story the sage Narada comes in and contrives to divert the attention of Ravana who tries to create trouble at Kailasa. While Ravana is attempting to uproot Mount Kailas in his lust for power and in arrogance, he is trapped under the mountain due to the anger of the great God Siva. In that condition Ravana prays to God Siva to save him and finally Siva Himself appears before him and grants boon, and tells him to go back to his Lanka and no more trouble the people who have taken refuge round Kailas, being His Bhaktas. So far, for the story.

The Nataka is well written; but with due deference to the learned author, the reviewer must state that in several places the sentences are too long and hard for the reader. The whole Nataka is of 7 Acts, and is bound to tire the patience of those who would like to be entertained by the drama. Those who attend dramas go for entertainment mostly. As such, the language could have been made simpler and the sentences shorter in many places. The seventh Act in the book consists mostly of suppliant prayers by Ravana which are likely to instil emotional Bhakti in the ordinary reader. On the whole the plot is well-conceived, and neatly executed and the book will amply repay the patience of the reader. The book is prefaced from the pen of the Sri Kamakoti Acharya as well as an English foreword by Sri Sivananda Saraswathi of Rishikesh, who have commended it to the general public.

S. V. S.

IT IS NOT JUST LUCK!

A bumper crop is never obtained, just, by luck. It is the final result of hard labour put in by man and Nature. Nature works round the clock. She nurtures the plant, makes it grow and helps it to build up food materials.

But if this Nature's marvellous task is to be performed, as per schedule, the farmer must see that the vital plant nutrients — **NPK** — are supplied abundantly and in time.

FACT, by manufacturing fertilisers and supplying them to the farmer, makes a significant contribution to the all-important national task of food production.

OUR PRODUCTS

**AMMONIUM
SULPHATE
SUPERPHOSPHATE
ROCK PHOSPHATE
NPK MIXTURES**

OUR OTHER PRODUCTS

**ANHYDROUS
AMMONIA
SULPHURIC ACID
CARBON-DI-OXIDE
AMMONIUM
CHLORIDE**

(All farmers and horticulturists are invited to take advantage of our **FREE ADVISORY SERVICE**)



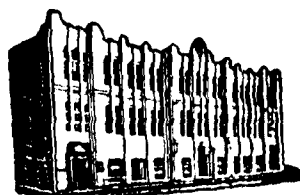
**THE FERTILISERS AND CHEMICALS
TRAVANCORE LTD.,**

UDYOGAMANDAL P.O. KERALA STATE

Managing Agents:

SESHASAYEE BROS. (TRAV.) PRIVATE LTD.

THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

**"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"
NORTH BEACH ROAD,
MADRAS-1.**

23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND
SINGAPORE.

CAPITAL

Authorised Capital	Rs 1,00,00,000
Issued and Subscribed Capital	" 72,00,000
Paid-up Capital	" 66,38,990
Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium)	" 99,61,883
Deposits as on 31-12-'58	" 40,93,17,330
Total Working Funds	" 50,12,19,816

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.
R. SUNDARAM IYER.
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA
MUDALIAR.
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.
L. ALAQUSSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA
CHETTIAR.
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.
RAMDAS PURUSHOTTAM DAS.

**ALL TYPES OF
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING
FOREIGN EXCHANGE
TRANSACTION.**

London Agents:
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents:
**FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK
OF NEW YORK**

**D. P. PARTHASARATHY,
SECRETARY.**

SWATANTRA AND SOCIALISM

By S. Y. KRISHNASWAMY

The words Conservative, Rightist, Traditional, Orthodox, are used as condemnatory in themselves. Giving a dog a bad name is an old trick. Those who oppose the formation of the Swatantra Party have adopted this device.

To the unwary there is a fascination in imagining that progress and fair-play can be achieved only through expropriation, levelling down, and the incursion of the State into every walk of life.

There are two confusions here. One is between means and ends. The other is between wealth as a quantum that exists and wealth as a resource for further production.

Equality is a desirable goal. But the equality required and possible is not an indiscriminate levelling down and the perpetuation of a species of State charity, converting the State into a Mutt, with all its attendant evils, but the intelligent creation of equality of opportunity with sufficient advantages in favour of those who have been placed in an unfortunate position. Equality of opportunity is a just policy.

It may also be postulated as the proper goal of social endeavour that the State has primary responsibilities in respect of food, housing, elementary education and medical care. So also in the realm of production, whether agricultural or industrial (but more so in the former), the State has a responsibility for the provision of all the facilities like credit, easy supply of raw material, marketing help and the like. In all these spheres, the function of the State is to create the opportunities for welfare, progress, and increased production.

State action is not an end in itself. The end is the happiness and prosperity of the citizens. Even the staunchest votaries of State action can only claim that action by the State is a better means for attaining welfare than action by other bodies or by individuals. The aim of the so

called Socialists is thus not State control as an end in itself, but only as a superior means for achieving certain ends. If, therefore, in the 'conditions' of any society, it can be established that these very aims of the Socialists and the Socialistic pattern can be achieved by other less costly and less disturbing means, then, a party that sponsors such a course of action will have more right even to be called Socialistic than one which mistakenly considers that State action and State control are the only and inevitable means for social welfare.

The point may be illustrated both in respect of increased production and of social service. For instance, the aim of agricultural and industrial production is to make goods available to the people in sufficient quantities and at reasonable prices. The experience of this country during the war years and the immediate post-war period of grain control and distribution by the State was that, while corruption increased, controlled goods were not available in sufficient quantities and that an extensive black-market was what kept the country going. It was Rajaji who took the bold step of abolishing food controls at a time when it was felt by practically everyone else in authority that it would be dangerous to do so. The country was none the worse for it; in fact, conditions became better. Thus the Socialist aim of giving adequate and reasonably-priced food stuffs to the people was achieved better under conditions of market competition than through State control. It was not as if the country had achieved self-sufficiency in food grains at the time. It had not done so then; nor has it done so now. What happened was that the market was allowed to operate freely, and the conditions of supply were eased by Government arranging for imports.

Let us turn to the field of education. From time immemorial education and private charity

have gone hand in hand in this country. Both lay and religious funds have been used for promoting education. In certain advanced countries like England, the Government does not directly undertake higher education at all. The same holds true of hospitals also. By the State over-taxing those with surplus incomes and thus drying up sources of personal and institutional charity, it is taking upon itself an impossible task which it can never hope to perform satisfactorily and fully. On the other hand, by inculcating the spirit of trusteeship amongst the well-to-do, as has been happening in this country for as long as one can remember and as all the monuments of past history show, the scope for the creation and maintenance of education and medical facilities is nourished in the proper manner. Here also the point is that the Socialistic aim of both education and medical help is promoted in a very much better way by allowing scope for charity than by the State collaring all the resources of such charity and closing it altogether and gradually killing the very idea of voluntary charity.

We have, therefore, to draw a vital distinction between State action as such, and the ends that such action are intended to promote. There is sufficient experience available to show that in no field is State action and bureau-

BOOKS AT REDUCED PRICES

A large collection of English books on various subjects are offered at reduced prices. All book-lovers are cordially invited to inspect them. No list is available.

K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A, Royapettah High Road,
MYLAPORE, :: MADRAS-4.

It is, therefore, incorrect to say that the new party is either 'rightist' or 'conservative' in any wrong sense of the word. It merely opposes State action as a means for achieving the ends which everyone holds in common. The people of this country should know that distributive justice is an aspect of plenty and not of poverty. Sri Jawaharlal Nehru has frankly admitted this. Nothing is achieved by more persons holding inadequate holdings than at present. But something will be really achieved if more persons grow and get more produce from the land. As Mr. Henry Wallace observed many years ago, what is needed is an increasing share of an increasing total, and not re-distribution of the existing total so as to spread meagreness all round. In this sense the new party has every right to consider itself better from the point of view of social welfare than the pattern now being sponsored through State interference. State-ism is not the only or the best way of achieving welfare and social justice.

S. Krishnaswami,
Secretary.

WE OF THE NILGIRIS

By BHIKKU

There is naivete in the blatancy with which we pay homage to power and wealth. It is a trait—an adaptation to environment—that has its hereditary liaison through at least five generations of sedulous obeisance to great and mighty white sahibs and their mem-sahibs. Might and prestige have passed on to other hands, but the pagan worship of power and purple remains. When

We had at least half-a-dozen of these arches of welcome when our

When the Prime Minister addressed a public meeting in the Race Course there was a heavy stream of visitors to see him. The loud speakers put out the staccato language of Nehruji in English and the smoother rendering of Sri Bhakthavathsalam in Tamil. When Nehruji spoke of the beauty of Nilgiris, there was a general nod of appreciation. When he said that beauty was itself a sufficient attraction and no artificial support was necessary, we looked dubious. Thunder clouds started rumbling occasionally overhead by the time he dealt out the intricacies and eulogies of co-operative farming. We slackened. By the time he got on Rajaji and conferred on his new 'Conservative' partly his sceptic blessing, there was a patter of rain drops. The interest of the crowd was in seeing the great man and in hearing his voice and this was satisfied by this time, and the exit-seeking number was greater than the incoming and soon the gathering thinned out. The claim made by Panditji that the great course that invariably gather around wherever he goes did not come to see his face but came to endorse his words, does not fit in with what was seen at least in Ootacamund. 'Democracy does not preclude the admiration of strong men' and Panditji is a strong man and people here as elsewhere are avid for diversions and circuses. One heretic woman, a vegetable vendor, on her way to the market, however, was heard to say brusquely "What if it be Nera (for Nehru) or Konal (straight or crooked)? Will he help me sell my vegetables?" May be some day when possibly it is too late it will dawn on our chief that we shiver surprised under many of his blasts, not because we like to shiver but because the alternatives have been more Arctic.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

THE STRANGE CASE OF STRAUSS

V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

Gluck and Luce

A more recent flareup was in connection with the appointment of Clare Boothe Luce, wife of

About a month ago President Eisenhower had bitterly complained that 47 major appointments were still awaiting Senate confirmation. The most important among them was that of Lewis Strauss as Secretary for Commerce. It was this controversial nomination that the Senate threw out last week by 49 votes to 46.

Four Reasons

The main reasons for the Democratic opposition to Strauss are four: (1) His action as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission convinced many influential Democrats that he was the

SRI GANESH RAM'S
777
 BRAND
 1000 PRODUCTS - MADRAS - 1 - INDIA

TOMATO SOUP

Mix in Hot Water and Drink

PEPPER WATER
 (MULAGU-TANNI)

Paste & Powder

Mix in Hot Water & Drink

Now available at :

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CO., LTD.,

Opp. High Court - Madras-1.

B. C. G. DAY

type of capitalist mind they oppose in high government office. (2) His testimony at hearings on his nomination demonstrated habitual evasion, distortion, misrepresentation, and downright falsifying of facts—sometimes to protect himself from merited censure. (3) His concept of executive privilege led him to deny to Congress information to which it was constitutionally entitled. (4) And the very personality of the man, his manner, his style of oral and written communication, were offensive.

All these charges are stoutly rejected by his supporters. President Eisenhower called Strauss "a man of the highest type of character" and "one of the finest public servants I have ever known". Strauss is a Jew and some of his friends have even levelled charges of anti-Semitism against Senators. These charges were, however, described by many responsible newspapers as unfounded and deplorable.

Chemistry of Man

Pro-Strauss Time, always interested in simplifying matters, said that "the fight is the result of a blood feud between Lewis Strauss and Clint Anderson, who by the chemistry of personality and the conflict of ideas have come to hate each other." Anderson is the Senator who led the campaign against Strauss.

Strauss who started life as a travelling shoe salesman is today a millionaire and owns a 1,500-acre farm. He has a reputation as a man of war and big bombs. He stands for continued nuclear tests and is supposed to have been responsible for getting the great scientist, Dr. Robert Oppenheimer into trouble.

In not confirming Strauss, the Senate has reaffirmed its constitutional right to reject Presidential choices. James Burnham, a conservative American political philosopher, lamented only the other day that the real trouble with Congress was that it was too weak. There was a danger, he said, that it would be reduced to a commercial rubber stamp, as

In spite of the vast number of vaccinations that have been performed with either fresh liquid or freeze-dried vaccine during the past twenty years, there is no scientific evidence of its true value.

—From memorandum No. 324/BCC dated Nov. 1953, Health Ministry of U.K.

It should also be borne in mind that in New York City between 1924 and 1944 there was a fall in the death-rate from tuberculosis of nearly 95 per cent without the use of B.C.G. vaccine.

—Dr. J. Arthur Myers: Medical Association Volume 146, No. 16, 1951—page 1492.

The waste of money on the B.C.G. inoculation programme has been sought to be justified by speeches and writings afresh. I have said and written enough on the subject. This is only to reiterate my view that this B.C.G. is just quackery with organizational drive and nothing else. We can inoculate lakhs of people because we have power and opportunity and funds and boys can be got at easily enough. But it proves nothing. It gives no benefit. We could utter charms or inoculate with Coom water and claim that all the men have been saved from the various diseases they are not attacked by, as a result of those charms or that inoculation. Those who have not been yet attacked by T.B. have been free, not because of the B.C.G. They would have been so even without the inoculation.

Let me say, as I have said before, that I am in the company

of very eminent doctors when I state that the statistics offered to not prove what is claimed for B.C.G. Because the Government of India have persisted in this waste of money and in this programme of contamination, let no one imagine that anything has been proved, or anything useful has been done. India has been made along with other undeveloped countries a free field for quackery and statistical claims. Inoculation with this bacillus has been so conducted that it proves nothing, except that governments have the facilities to carry on their operations among a docile people who have health enough to resist the artificially introduced contamination. That something is cheaper is by no means proof that it is really of use. A Sakin bullock is cheaper than a Sindhi cow, but if we want milk, we cannot get it from the former. Tuberculosis cannot be eliminated by any amount of B.C.G. inoculation. We must spend on bringing into existence pure air, pure water and good nutrition. Mere cheapness is irrelevant. An obstinate government can triumph over logic and science but truth remains what it was viz., that the way to prevent tuberculosis is through public health activities and nutrition and that the B.C.G. operations only serve to divert attention and cover up the neglect of those real efforts.

C. R.

Sidelights

(Continued from Page 4)

He was goodness incarnate. His virtues shone with the lustre of their own beneficence which could not be dimmed for ever by his self-effacing manner or abhorrence of personal publicity. His influence is more potent than people generally realise, and he was the most respected of India's great newspaper magnates. To many like me his death will mean the disappearance from this planet of a guardian angel.

SARA

CAMPAIGN AGAINST CRIME AND SEX FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: Mrs. Leelawati Munshi's proposed campaign against 'crime and sex' films appears to have gained support even from film luminaries. The opinions published by a local evening daily reveal that while enlightened social workers like Mrs. Ramarao considered it a 'futile agitation' and Mrs. Mithan Lam, a former Sheriff of Bombay, believed that though the objective was laudable it could not be worked out in practice, Kamini Kaushal thinks that "nothing but good will come out of this agitation". She said: "It is sheer cruelty to children to show them adult films produced in essence by juvenile minds. She revealed that her children were not permitted to see all and sundry films, most of which were good neither for children nor adults. She averred that the present-day films are totally untrue to life. She pleaded for plenty of children's films and strict Government control on production. Mr. Bimal Roy, on the other hand, wanted rigid enforcement of censor rules while granting 'A' and 'U' certificates; he also believed that children should be shown the right type of films.

As against this Mrs. Wadia, Honorary Presidency Magistrate, who has to study cases of juvenile delinquency did not blame the films altogether for juvenile crime. She rightly stressed the adverse social conditions as the cause of criminal tendencies. Another social worker Mrs. Desai said that there was a greater need for a campaign against indecent posters and publicity.

These opinions, gathered and published by a local evening daily reveal that the evil influence of films is rather exaggerated and that the Censors are powerful enough to deal with the situation.

As it is, the censors are very strict with crime pictures and also with the exhibition of sex in films. And there is no need for any public campaign as envisaged by Mrs. Munshi. If at all any campaign is necessary it is to remove those social conditions which lead the children to take the wrong road of crime and the lack of sex education which leads to perverse notions. Without tackling the fundamental social and economic causes that lead to 'crime and sex' any attempt to put further curbs on films would not produce any tangible result.

If the energies of social workers like Mrs. Munshi are directed in producing alternative entertainment to children of low-income groups of middle class and workers, they would produce more tangible results and dissuade the children from seeing undesirable movies.

Varma Pictures' 'Main Nashen Main Hoon' has been granted 'Adult' certificate rightly because

it deals with 'crime and sex' both of which are personified in the shapely, scantily clad gold-digger played by Nishi. The purpose of the theme as indicated by the title should have been to depict the evils of drinking almost in the fashion of 'Lost Week End' or the old Agha Hashra Kashmiri plays which depicted the havoc wrought by drinking in a family.

But the story as conceived by Nareesh Saigal and scripted by him in association with Jagdish Kamal and Shivaji Rathod, is more like a routine crime story rather than the conflict of three generations which it states in the beginning. The story revolves round a young law graduate who falls in the trap of a gold-digger vamp, his puritan father who had sworn not to have any truck with his own father and of the grandfather who, having suffered for his indulgence in wine and women wants to save the grandson from a similar fate. In addition there is also an orphan girl brought up in the same house silently loving the hero, though in the entire picture there is not a single tender scene between the two. At the behest of the grandfather, she poses to be a prince and entices the vamp away from the lover only to enrage him into jealousy. In the end the vamp is shot and the grandfather also dies like a true martyr after saving his 'Khandaan'.

USE DAILY



Neem
TOOTH PASTE

and

ensure sound Teeth
and healthy Gums
throughout life.

THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO., LTD.
CALCUTTA 29.

South India Office: 5-149, BROADWAY, MADRAS - 1.

**Quite a striking disguise, Sitaram,
but why hide your handsome features?"**

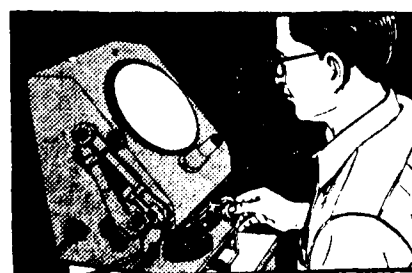
"Shh! This suit, although practically new, looks so disreputable that I would get the sack if the Big Boss recognised me."

"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

— a great name in textiles

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 -
Anticrease Suitings - Tussores - Union Fabrics - Silk Sarees -
Rugs - etc etc



The Buckingham & Carnatic Company Limited
The Bangalore Woollen, Cotton & Silk Mills Company Limited
Managing Agents: Binny & Co. (Madras) Ltd.