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ROADWAY TIMES

A monthly magazine of views and opinions on topics of current interest

No. 1

JANUARY 1961

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Editorial

CENTRAL AID AND THE ALLOCATION OF MAJOR PROJECTS

In recent times we have become increasingly dependant on outside countries. With the Planning Commissions fully employed, coupled with our desire to improve the per capita income, we are forced to accept loans on a very large scale. The U.S. export-import Bank alone has given us a total of \$ 3740 million (Rs. 1,780 crores) in loans up-to-date. All our national plans including the present one are being financed to a large extent by outside agencies, Governmental or private. Chiefly this credit is given for the import of capital equipment for our industries both in the public and private sectors. Our main benefactor is the United States. With the change of administration, political commentators inform us that we are likely to get an increasing quota of loans from the Kennedy administration.

Now the problem facing us is how to utilise best this influx of money in our country. It seems the dearth of capital is no longer our worry. The question of maximum utilisation of available credit brings us to the problem of the allocation of capital projects in the country.

There is growing dissatisfaction among the states regarding the allocation of major projects in India. Every State complains that it is getting only a fraction of the central aid, much less than what is really due. There are wide accusations that 'politics' play an important role in this chiefly economic problem. In this field, constructive proposals are very scarce and many are the suggestions put forward to effect more equity. It is assumed that co-operation between the central and state Governments in India is closer due to the fact that the centre and states have been mainly under the rule of Congress Governments. Further the necessities of planning have strengthened this relationship and whether there is sufficient co-operation in economic affairs is open to doubt.

If we are aiming at maximum economic progress of the country as a whole, most productive projects must be given preference to the less productive ones without taking into consideration where they are located. Since our natural resources are not evenly distributed there is likely to be a concentration of productive projects in a few states. If the productivity of a project is to be calculated in social terms and not in money, then it can be located anywhere in the country regardless of the most suitable site.

Generally speaking the criterion of efficiency has been taken in locating large projects so far. This has been responsible for a number of charges of inequity. It is believed that the local benefits of a project are greater than its national benefits. The regional disparities in India to-day are quite glaring.

A similar state of affairs existed in western countries also. There the disparities were considerably reduced due to mobility of labour. But in India there are definite social barriers like language, customs and so on restricting free movement of labour from one state to the other.

The main cry of the day is for more equitable distribution of national projects. The question of efficiency should not be given too much emphasis and should be mainly of academic interest to our economists. Differences in the standard of living as well as the density of population should be taken as criteria in the allocation of capital projects. When we have political parties thriving mainly on the question of inequity between regions such as north and south, it would be wiser for the planning commission to have a wider distribution of important projects in the country, without giving too much importance to the concept of efficiency. For an equitable allocation of funds and projects among states, an independent survey must be taken to find out the rate of population growth, standard of living, and also the employment situation. Thus the allocation of loans and projects in our states is a matter of vital importance. A satisfactory and easily workable system can be devised only by an independent and impartial body.

“WITHOUT STRINGS”: NEW MEANING

BY

POTHAN JOSEPH

Before his travel-hops to Rangoon, Djakarta and Tokyo, issuing joint-communiqués *en route* about peace and goodwill besides the settlement of Kashmir affairs, President Ayub Khan delivered a significant speech at Karachi. It was just after his conference with President Nasser and the Shah of Persia where joint-pronouncements had been accented with the Islamic *motif* and at a certain stage he declared that all Afro-Asian countries did not consist of angels above material grab and unholy intentions. Before the Karachi take-off President Ayub Khan stressed the need of security in Asia and no less important, he too proclaimed the obvious: *viz.*, he declared for the hearing of the world that Pakistan would accept aid from any quarter (perhaps even Congo) for the development of his country “if it was without strings attached.”

It is a threadbare repetition of a dictum from India some thirteen years ago when the Prime Minister scorned at the picture of India seeking aid with a begging bowl; when, in reality, nothing could be accepted with strings attached. Pakistan has not had the benefit of continuous leadership in the period, thanks to the kind of zig-zag intrigues that have marked the course of liberated countries throwing away their first fine frenzy for democracy and assuming open totalitarian rule. Attempts at economic reconstruction were feeble compared with India's project of public sectors and socialistic patterns; and the large number of political bosses sent to Coventry for corruption after Ayub Khan's accession indicates conditions of reaction whereas India could boast a superior record, prosecution for fraud being so far as to be restricted to very insignificant myrmidons in the establishment. A feature of Pakistan's change-over after the military dictatorship is the Field Marshal's readiness to collaborate in production with other countries, again as if in imitation of India welcoming foreign aid, without strings of course.

Now that Kennedy has come into power there is eager expectation of foreign aid more in India than in Pakistan where opinion appeared pessimistic on the defeat of Nixon. Indeed many quotations were dug up to establish that Kennedy intended to turn India into a window-dress manifestation of prosperity under American aid, the ultimate aim being to prove that democracy in India could far outstrip Communist

prosperity contrived under Mao's totalitarianism and aggressiveness in Mainland China.

Now in all these prospects, President Ayub Khan will also be found willing to participate without strings. Seeing that we are likely to run abreast in the acceptance of aid programmes without appearance of solicitation, the two neighbouring countries will have to do some “re-thinking” about the liabilities of the formula “without strings” which bind both. In the Karachi Convention of businessmen, spokesmen of managements representing both countries were at one over the principle of the thing without ‘isms.’

When the “without strings” banner was first unfurled the idea was an advertisement of the fact that Independent India would strike her own lines of foreign policy shaking off every vestige of restrictive control in the commonwealth, the Prime Minister being confident of doing things better than during the commitments of the Colonial past. The term “without strings” was repeated until it were itself out into the condition of a shibboleth. But I fear when it comes to the industrial planning and joint-enterprise, the phrase will demand a significance not confined to independence in foreign policy.

We are round the corner when the intrinsic merit of planning with foreign aid will call for joint-investigation before the sight of other people's money as capital. We have, of course, given our word of honour that in twelve years, investments in India at least in the Public Sector, would be in a take-off stage; that is to say through the jargonised certainty of a self-regenerating economy foreign investors would be happy harvesting rich returns. No expropriation as in certain other liberated countries where in the zeal of ideologists there are incidents of a “take-over” character.

Imagine for example that a water-supply sub-committee acting under a department of Oil Research recommends a process for converting Gomati water. The claim is that with its high density, the flow could be converted into solid petroleum. The National Development Council might sanction it and entrepreneurs from Patagonia (continue imagining) are ready to exploit the proposition, the Government of India reserving 51 per cent, with permission to the foreign pioneers to turn their profits into rupees and keep

reinvesting. Could there be any strings attached in such a prospectus of scientific merit and business-equity? Once Pakistan gets the same offer, would it amount to a matter of attaching strings if that country insists on the whole joint going into the private sector restricting the output to Kerosene alone? Can the caveat "without strings" that originally pertained to foreign alignments be construed into a political concept of "independence" in our internal economy?

It would then be a horse of different colour when we talk of being "without strings." The very phrase would prove to be out of place; and there are signs of collaboration becoming inevitable in terms of values as found in modern scientific processes. At an intermediary stage, our spokesman in the fever of defiant independence stormed at the merest suggestion that Indian planning looked "over-ambitious." The Prime Minister passionately retorted that he would brook no interference and that as far as production was concerned for Renascent India the sky alone was the limit. Foreign embassies noticed the sore point and experts from abroad, taking the tip, avoided the question of targets and resource. Reference to "ambition" was bad form, and the thing had to be diplomatically paraphrased.

For instance, when "the Three Wise Men" (industrial specialists from the World Bank) toured India, they dropped hints about financial limitations which was of course countered by assertions about friendly countries coming forward, no matter from which

Camp. Since then, however, in our growing consciousness of scarcity, industrial organisers are encouraged to go shares with foreign investors. In this predicament, the need for tight strings woke us up—in the sense that there is no reference to foreign policy implied in the phrase but only concern for the validity and security of business-propositions. We must reconcile ourselves into new concepts of the ragged slogan.

For example, it will not do for Authority in a liberal mood to say that atomic reactors rather than thermal sources should be stationed in half-a-dozen sites, in addition to Tarapore (Rs. 52 crores invulnerably earmarked); indeed the experts from abroad innocent of any intentions to regulate the foreign affairs of the country would be entitled to say whether such spectacularism to strike wonder in the mind of tourists, is sensible at all in terms of economics and productivity. If they propose alternative course, there would be no point in our getting resentful about strings and springs. International partnership in the New World will continue to be a commonplace practice in the development of international resources as found in Nature and in Science. To that extent we have to revise the previous import of the formula "without strings" as a matter of foreign policy connotation, and now re-interpret it in the language of economics so that there might be even common enterprise between Indian investors and Pakistani investors to earn proportionate dividends—"without strings" in the new sense, forgetting past stringology in the market-place of diplomats.

THE PRESIDENT'S POWERS—A PUBLIC CONCERN

BY

M. RUTHNASWAMY

It was not a casual remark of the President, as the Prime Minister in his Press Conference on December 15th at New Delhi, stated, but a definite suggestion deliberately made by the President of India on the formal occasion of the inauguration of the Law Institute of India when he called upon the members of the Institute to study the question of the powers of the President under the Constitution and in the circumstances of India. He called upon them especially to study the question whether all the conventions, usages, and customs that govern the use of the prerogatives of the Head of the State in England should apply to the use of powers given in the Constitution to the Head of the State of India. And the Prime Minister's opinion that the President in the use of his powers is like the Crown in England is only an opinion, the opinion of an eminent man and therefore entitled to proportional consideration and respect. But this *ipse dixit* cannot dispose of the question. We have not yet reached the stage in political history when it could be said "Nehru locutus est, causa finita est" (Nehru has spoken, the question is settled). When it comes to voting in Parliament he with his serried majority behind him may decide the question in favour of his view. But the question is not yet before Parliament. In the freer forum of public opinion the question may be fought out with the weapon of reason and fact.

It is not all so simple as the Prime Minister made it out to be. He is on strong ground when he says that the trend of opinion in the Constituent Assembly was that the President would conduct himself *vis-a-vis* the Council of Ministers as the Crown in England does. Another strong point of the Prime Minister is that the President has been following the English convention for the past 10 years. But all this cannot settle the question once for all. Supposing there had been a President, not so deferential and complaisant to the Ministry, on some proposal of the Ministry legislative or administrative vetoed it as he had perfect right to under the Constitution what would have happened? For under the Constitution [Section 53 (1)] "the executive power of the Union shall be vested in the President and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with the Constitution" and the Council of Ministers [under Section 74 (1)] are to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions. And in

legislation the President is one Part of the Legislature for under Section 79, "the Parliament of the Union shall consist of the President and two Houses to be known respectively as the Council of State and the House of the People." As the Head of the Executive and as one constituent member of the Legislature he could constitutionally have refused his assent to any legislative or administrative proposal of the Council of Ministers. If the President had done so what would have happened? The Ministry would have resigned and gone to the country to settle the difference between themselves and the President. And if the people by their votes should decide for the Ministry the President could then have achieved two things—delayed action and given an opportunity to the people to decide on the act of administration or legislation submitted to them. For it is assumed that a wise President would differ from the Ministry only on critical, controversial, new issues never before the people till then. And thus the ends of good popular Government would have been served. And one fundamental principle of the Constitution would have been observed—that the President is an integral part of the Executive and the Legislature and is intended by the Constitution to act as such.

For let us not forget that ours is a written Constitution. And a written Constitution is the fundamental law of the land. "Certainly all these who have framed written Constitutions contemplate" says Chief Justice Marshall in *Marbury v. Madison*, "framing the paramount and fundamental law of the land." And in another case *Gibbons v. Ogden* that great Chief Justice of the U.S.A. who gave authoritative and acceptable interpretations to the infant Constitution of the U.S.A., said "a written Constitution which contains an enumeration of powers must be understood to have employed words in their natural sense." And the words of the Constitution of India giving executive and legislative power to the President contemplate that the President shall be an effective member of the Executive and of the Legislature subject to the overriding authority of the people.

As against the words of a written Constitution customs and usages cannot be quoted especially when they are imported from outside and which arose in circumstances peculiar to the incidents of English history, some of them being accidents, like the ignorance of English

of the foreign kings of England in the 18th century, the incompetence of the kings of the early 19th century, the youth of Queen Victoria who ascended the throne when she was 18 years of age. Although the reference is to usages of war the opinion of Justice Davis in *Ex Parte Milligin* (1866) would apply to the theory that English customs and usages should govern the exercise by the President of his powers when he said "it can serve no useful purpose to enquire what these laws and usages are, where they originated, where found, and on whom they operate; they can never be applied to citizens in States which have upheld the authority of the Government and where the courts are open and their process unobstructed."

Although we must agree with the Prime Minister that the makers of our Constitution did not contemplate creating a President of India on the model of the President of the U.S.A. there is much in the history of the development of the powers of the President of the U.S.A. that gives us reason to contemplate a similar development here. The fathers of the Constitution, says D. W. Brogan, "may have intended to make the President a much reduced version of George III, of a Stadtholder for a limited time of years, but they created an office in which the possibilities of growth in power and dignity were unequalled by any organ of the new system." Similarly as the Prime Minister contends the makers of our Constitution may have wanted to create a President in the image and likeness of the English sovereign. But the terms they used in describing the President's powers provide for the development of his powers. The "executive power" given to the President by the Constitution is a vague and therefore comprehensive term and just as in the U.S.A. a meaning, a developing meaning may be given to it by the action of the President more than by legislation or decision of the Supreme Court. And the Supreme Court in India may as in the U.S.A. by its doctrine of "political cases" keep its hands off presidential use of the prerogative. And in India as in the U.S.A. there is the oath of the President to allow him to use his powers in the highest interests of the country which may be higher than what a party Government may think they are. The oath which the President of India has to take on entering office runs to the effect that "he will faithfully execute the office of President (or discharge the functions of President) of India and will to the best of his ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution and the law and that he will devote himself to the service and well being of the people of India."

It is the Constitution pure and simple that he has to defend, not the Constitution as modified by English conventions and usages. If the makers of the Constitution had wanted to bring in the influence of English

conventions and usages on the Presidential exercise of his powers and prerogatives, why did they not do as they did in another section of the Constitution in regard to another matter. In Section 105, in regard to the powers and privileges of each House of Parliament and of its members and committees it provided that "they shall be such as may from time to time be defined by Parliament by law and until so defined shall be those of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom." Why was not a similar provision made in regard to the President's exercise of his powers? And it will be noted that the powers and privileges of the English Parliament which are mostly results of convention and usage are to be made by law of Parliament in India. And if our Constitution is to be governed by customs, conventions, and usages they must be made in India. Customs and Usages are not matters of export and import.

If it is difficult not impossible as ours is a written Constitution, after 13 years of presidential adherence to the Prime Minister's interpretation of the position and Powers of the President to get away from it in regard to normal legislation and administration there are certain extraordinary powers conferred by the Constitution on the President which by no stretch of constitutional interpretation can be governed by English convention and usage because such powers are unknown to the English Constitution. These are the powers of legislation by ordinance (Section 123) and the so-called emergency powers (Sections 352-358) granted to the President by the Constitution of India. These powers are to be used at his discretion, as according to the constitution the President must be satisfied that circumstances warrant the use of these powers, the Ordinance-issuing power when it is necessary to take immediate action, the Emergency power when he is satisfied that a grave emergency exists threatening the external or internal security of the country or any part of the country. Discretion is a personal matter, it may not be exercised at the dictation or even the suggestion of the Prime Minister and his Council. And supposing the grave emergency is caused by the action or inaction of the Central Government itself is he to await the advice of the Prime Minister and his Council. It would be the *reductio ad absurdum* of the Emergency powers Sections. There is still another power of the President unknown to and unused by the English sovereign since James I's time. It is that given by Section 143 (1) which enables him to consult the Supreme Court if at any time it appears to the President that a question of law or fact has arisen or is likely to arise which is of such a nature and of such public importance that it is expedient to obtain advice of the

Supreme Court upon it. I have always deplored this section and the right it gives to the President as such consultations may compromise the independence and impartiality of the Supreme Court for such opinions may have been revised by it when actual particular cases involving such law or fact come before it for actual judgment. "A Court of Law as the great French jurist Seguer (1768-1844) said in reply to a request for advice from the Government of the day, renders decrees not services in the exercise of this power the President is expected to use his discretion." But on this matter also he has been seeking and following the advice of the Council of Ministers and India saw the other day the sad spectacle of a leading citizen of India receiving a reply to a petition to the President praying him to seek the advice of the Supreme Court on the constitutional validity of a Bill on ceilings, on land-holdings not from the President's office headed by a senior member of the Indian Civil Service and to whom the advice of the Attorney-General was available, but from a Ministry of the Government of India.

All these extraordinary powers of the President were taken from the Government of India Act of 1935, the last constitutional act of the British period which had assigned these powers to the Governor-General and the Governors of British India. If the makers of our Constitution took these powers from the British it was for a very good reason. They were called for by the circumstances of India which in the view of the constitution-makers still persisted—the imperfect political unification of the country, the prevalence of different levels of civilisation and culture denoted by the large groups of depressed classes, aboriginal tribes, of permanent religious and social minorities, of large States forming a federalist union. These extraordinary powers were given to the President to enable him to defend order and security against the forces of disruption, to defend minorities against the majority, to protect the rights of the States guaranteed by the Consultation. He could not always do this defensive service in deference to a Council of Ministers which may conceivably be the party to be resisted in the President's defensive action. The party in power at the Centre may not be the party in power in one or more of the States. And the

Government at the Centre may fall a victim to the temptation, open to all Governments of abusing the power of a majority. The President therefore in the exercise of the defensive powers given to him must use his own mind and discretion.

And finally the clinching consideration for a differentiation between the position and powers of the English sovereign and the position and powers of the Indian President is that the former is a hereditary Head of State while the latter is an elected Head of State. The source of power of the Prime Minister and his Council of Ministers and of the President is election by the people. It is indirect in either case but with this superiority in favour of the President that he is elected by the vote of the legislature of the whole country while the Prime Minister owes his position to the votes of a single constituency in a single State. The President therefore stands forth as the representative of the States of the Union and with the powers granted to him by the laws of the Constitution and by the oath he has taken as defender of the Constitution and the rights and liberties of the people guaranteed by the Constitution. He must therefore like the President of the U.S.A. exercise all his powers freely with no conventions depriving him, or part of his, powers granted by the law. In taking his oath to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution the President in the words used by Brogan in regard to the President of the U.S.A. ought "to be less binding himself to observe constitutional limitations on his powers than answering with a decided affirmative the charge given him when "we the people of India in our Constituent Assembly on the twenty-sixth day of November 1949 adopted, executed, and gave to ourselves this Constitution."

However this particular argument of mine may be received, the debate on the question raised by the President, must go on. He raised it deliberately, formally, *coram populo*. The public seized of this question and the Prime Minister has neither the right nor the power to withdraw it from discussion. The debate must go on till the people decide it one way or the other in the manner open to them under the Constitution.

EXPERIMENTER

BY

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

Let me recount the several ways in which
I have been broken by thee into rich
Manifestations through a crowd of shapes...
O great Experimenter ! I have striven
And ever failed to make my swift escapes
Out of thy testings. Strangely hast thou driven
This being from shore to shore like an intense
Fire-boat o'erladen with experience.

I have known the sacrificial pang of grapes
Crushed into purple wine, the pain acute
Of voiceless reeds hollowed and gashed and peeled,
Each one to bear a destiny of flute
Whose secret music thou dost ever bless
With an incessant gift of emptiness.
I have known, too, the fiery martyrdom
To which thou dost subject the incense gum

So wreaths of sweetness may arise and curl
As from some hidden alter in a whirl
Of blue intoxication spiralled high;
And I have known the agony of pearl
When it is winnowed from the water's sweep
And sold in human markets for a price.
Lo, I have known the anguish of the sheep
Red-marked upon the forehead for the sacrifice.

It has been mine to know the downward crash
Of shooting star which, in its sudden fall,
Is heralded in one last golden flash.
In swift response to some ecstatic call.
I have known what it is to heave and break
Like some lone billow on a distant beach
Under a night without one star awake,
Outcasted by the sea and hurled out of its reach.

And lastly, I have known the blows and hacks
On the stout tree beneath the callous axe
Felling it down to a determined note
Struck masterly, since out of it a boat
Shall be constructed which, in sun and rain,
Crown all impervious, shall ride the main
Taking each tide with ease, each curve with grace,
Swifter than any stallion in a race,
Speeded by thee, O Helmsman ! yet not knowing
To what mysterious destination it is going.

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January 1961

TRAVELLER

BY

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

Radiant feet that climb
And, towards high heavens press,
Tireless you are,
Since only unto time
Belongeth weariness,
But you beat to a far
Music of the Timeless
Scaling from star to star.

God is ever unfurled
To a space of stars which burn
Through strange blue interims
Of light strange,—because the world
Has travellers, at each turn
Of road, whose heart-fire dims
The flaming yellow sunrise
On time-lit horizon-rims.

Feet for the road were made
Beyond a shadow of doubt,
And, if they should cease
From travel, their rhythms would fade,
The singing flame go out
Of their tread in its poor decrease,
And the lonely Master of heaven
Would be robbed of His moony peace.

Radiant feet who scale
The difficult rungs of space,
Where are you going? Where?
The firmament is a veil
Hiding the passionless Face
In a million colours of air.
And yet, I am sure that the roadway
Through you has grown aware,

Aware of the Beauty that morns
The jet-black lapse of dark
Between its flame and our sight ;
The stones on the way, and the thorns
Are only meant to mark
Ruddy milestones of light,
Of a light that is while as a Spirit
Drowsed on a crystal height.

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A GREAT ADVENTURE

BY

HON'BLE SRI JUSTICE P. V. RAJAMANNAR

India is on the eve of a great adventure, probably the greatest adventure in her long and chequered history. At no time did the entire people of this huge country as a whole embark on such a large scale adventure. It is an adventure, politically, economically, socially and in every sphere of national life. India has become a sovereign Democratic Republic, a status which it must be confessed India as a whole never possessed before. Even in her greatest days, India did contain several independent political units which were inconsistent with the conception of a single Republic. And this government has never before been 'Democratic' in the generally accepted sense.

It would be a vain endeavour on my part to predict the future course of India's destiny. But there are certain more or less fundamental concepts which are inherent in the term 'adventure' as applicable to civilisation and progress of a nation.

"Adventure is a necessary element in civilisation." Adventure belongs to the essence of civilisation. If we study the history of the world, we will find mankind on an eternal adventure in age after age. Man is always wandering, from the jungles and hills to the plains, from the stone-age to the iron-age and so on; it is a wandering and a wandering with an element of adventure.

Each race tries to perfect a particular kind of civilisation. But then, after some time decadence sets in. Now, what does decadence really mean? It means the prolongation of an outworn civilisation. There is repetition but nothing new. The values of life are slowly ebbing, as it were. There remains only a show of civilisation without its reality. A civilisation goes on living so long as fresh experimentation is possible. But it does not go on living when there is merely repetition, when there is only domination of convention and when there is no adventure.

A race preserves its vigour and vitality so long as it perceives and realises intensely the contrast between what has been and what may be. But when it is content with what has been as the only reality, that is to say, when a race ceases to wander forth in a spirit of adventure, then it is slowly becoming dead. As long as a race loves to harbour a sense of security in the past and is nervous of going beyond the safe past, that is,

when it is afraid of adventure, then the race is in full decay.

When a race is really not dead but is only in a moribund state, that is, when a race has not exhausted its own creative springs of originality, then there is always hope, hope of a new search, of new wandering, a new type of civilisation not entirely unrelated to the past but certainly an adventure into the future.

Before the adventure in search of a new type of civilisation commences, there is a period of intense thinking—nay, even of dreaming. "A new type of civilisation is possible only when thought has run ahead of realisation." There is first the adventure of imagination which anticipates the actual physical adventure. The world dreams of things to come and in due season arouses itself to the realisation of those dreams.

Indeed, all physical adventure, even in cases of individuals, involves an adventure of thought regarding the object of such an adventure. No man sets forth on an adventure in search of an unknown. It may be a gold mine that he is seeking; it may be wild game; it may be new lands. But there is an objective, or aim. Very often—and that is the irony of things—a man sets forth on an adventure seeking a particular thing and eventually ends up by discovering quite a different thing. The classic example is that of Columbus. He dreamt of reaching India and the Far East; that was the object of his adventure; that was his predetermined end. But Columbus never reached either India or China but he discovered America!

Now, there cannot be any zest, any passion, any absorbing interest for adventure unless the object is considered to be worthy of the trouble and toil of adventure.

What is true of an individual is equally true of a people. You cannot expect a people to go forth on an adventure unless they are convinced that they have something worthwhile to realise. It is only the sense of the value of the aim that gives the edge of the spirit of adventure. A really vigorous society often is infused with even extravagant objectives. But the very extravagance is a sign of life. Did not Browning say,

"Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp
Or what's a heaven for."

It is this spirit of adventure that has been finely described as "the Odyssey of the human spirit." The magic and the lure of adventure to a healthy and strong man has been beautifully described by Tennyson in his 'Ulysses'. Ulysses is becoming old but he is still alive and so he says:

"How dull it is to pause, to make an end,
To rust unburnish'd, not to shine in use!
As tho' to breathe were life. Life piled on life
Were all too little, and of one to me
Little remains: but every hour is saved
From that eternal silence, something more,
A bringer of new things.
This gray spirit yearning in desire
To follow knowledge like a sinking star,
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought."

He calls forth his friends to come with him because "Tis not too late to seek a newer world".

I have come across two approaches towards the past; two attitudes, two outlooks. One is to decry it altogether, to say that it is of no value; the other is to glorify it and confirm that it is the best. I think either view is incomplete and suffers from over emphasis. It is true that the purely conservative is fighting against progress which means and implies adventure. Where there is no progress, there is only retrogression. There cannot be a static maintenance of perfection for all time. Dwelling always in the past is a sure sign of decadence. Just as an old dying man fondly lives in the past, likewise an old and dying race tries to live in the past.

But at the same time, cutting oneself away from the past is cutting at the roots of a nation's life. Mere building in the air without solid foundations can only result in castles in the air.

Now, I come to that aspect of the past which is, more often than not, overlooked and certainly rarely given the emphasis it deserves and that is, that a study of the glorious past of our race or of the races of the West reveals the pregnant fact that the glory of that past was really the outcome of the spirit of adventure. Speaking of the European races, the most glorious age in their civilisation was the age of ancient Greeks. No one can deny that the ancient Greeks were adventurous. They were great adventurers, physically, politically, and intellectually. In equal measure, it is true to say that the ancient Indians were great adventurers. It is because most of us are still not adventurous enough, we fail to realise and understand this fact. Take any sphere of human activity, religion, philosophy, science or politics. I cannot imagine greater adventurers than the ancient Indians.

Before going into non-material things let us take commerce. How many of us realise the tremendous adventurous spirit that must have reigned in those ancient days when with very inadequate methods and means of maritime travel and transport then available, our people crossed the oceans and settled in far off lands, carrying our culture, our religion and our social habits and built up with this material a glorious culture of their own which possessed at the same time the salient features of the culture of the motherland. Is not the spread of Buddhism in Ceylon, China, Tibet and other lands a saga of noble adventure?

Imagine what difficulties had to be encountered in those days when people had to found cities, clear forests and make the land yield its fruits, to harness the forces of nature to provide for their material comforts. If they had complacently resigned themselves to their past and lived more or less a nomadic existence, could there have been the great civilisation of the Guptas and Pallavas—the wonders of any age? If they had been satisfied with living in rough hewn caves and in huts of precarious material, would they have been able to create temples which to this day are the most valuable part of our cultural heritage? A book like Dr. Mukerji's History of Maritime activity in Ancient India should convince the most sceptical of the fine spirit of adventure that was an essential element in our past civilisation. We were not then afraid of going forth into unknown seas in search of unknown lands. Take again the intricate system: of law, the complex political machinery and highly involved social structure which the ancients built up. In those days of the past, when there was a living civilisation, people were never content with what already existed. There was always the quest for new things, new influence and new ideas.

And in the realm of Religion and Philosophy I ask with all confidence, was there ever a race of greater adventurers than the ancient Indians? There was no limit to their adventure into the spiritual World. There was no conception which was too daring for them; no problem too obscure for them. The great Rishis who gave the Upanishads to the world, were they not the greatest adventurers known to human history? Take literature or music or fine arts. Is there not a continuous experimentation, a search for new values, new ways of expression, new conception and new technique? From the simple music of the Vedas to the highly intricate Carnatic music, was not the development the result of great adventures? From the small Chaityas and rock-cut shrines to the magnificent Gopuras of South India, do we not travel over long periods of adventure after adventure?

We are the descendants of that ancient race. For heaven's sake, let us not worry ourselves whether Aryans or Dravidians. Shall we content ourselves to abandon that spirit of adventure which truly made our past so glorious and content ourselves with merely counting the coins earned by our forefathers?

We shall not now fail; we shall not falter. What we now want is the spirit of political adventure of Chandragupta and Asoka, the spirit of economic adventure of the pioneers of our civilisation and the early colonisers of greater India. We want the spirit of spiritual adventure of the Upanishads and of Gautama Buddha, the spirit of artistic adventure of the builders of our temples and the master-craftsmen of Ajanta and Ellora. We want the spirit of literary adventure of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti. We want all these to help us on our great adventure.

Adventure is for the adventurous. There are certain traits of character which are absolutely essential for successful adventure. First comes vision. There can be no adventure without vision, and without adventure, civilisation falls into decay. Hence the saying "Where there is no vision, the nation perisheth." Then comes fearlessness, courage (dhairyam), discipline, endurance and steadfastness. Langour shall not be in our heart; weakness shall not be in our word; weariness shall not be on our brow. There will be difficulties, obstacles, impediments and disappointments but we shall not abandon the adventure on that account.

India has started on a great adventure and she shall march onwards without turning back.

"Tamasōma jyōtirgamaya."

ACCIDENT IN HISTORY—"BRITISH INDIA"

BY

CHIDAMBARAM S. RAMANUJAM

It may not be popular to accept the theory that the British adventure in India was without the decided view to obtain territorial conquests, much less to establish an Empire. An opposite judgment shaped by passion, is not uncommon and the issue is given forth as an historical fact. But it cannot be disputed that history, that sets patriotism before truth, becomes bad and it is bad patriotism that desires such unjustifiable results.

A close study of the gradual growth of the British power in India, reveals that the establishment of their supremacy was not the result of a definite policy of aggression, nor of territorial ambition, but of accidents of circumstances and of the political situation of India during those times.

Sir Thomas Roe, the first British Ambassador in India, formulated a purely mercantile and unaggressive policy. But in the last part of the seventeenth century, the company adopted a new policy. It regarded itself "in the condition of a Sovereign State in India," and desired the President and Council to establish a "policy of civil and unitary power and create and secure such a large revenue as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded sure English dominion in India..." But the policy proved unsuccessful. Chittagong, which they desired to take, could not be taken, and as a result of the failure, they were forced to evacuate Bengal. However, peace was obtained with the Moghal and the Company promised to behave themselves.

This clearly explains that the company, no doubt, desired to establish some territorial conquest. A vague design is conspicuous, but it was formed too early for realisation. After this failure the company never again adopted such a design and it must be acknowledged in fairness that it tried its best to remain a purely commercial body. But in spite of such a policy, the company grew to be the supreme power in India.

In the Carnatic, the company tried in 1749, to interfere in the succession question to the Tanjore throne but had to agree to a peace without realising their object. They obtained possession of Devikhottai, but not without loss of face and prestige. But the subsequent chaos in political condition of the Carnatic compelled them to embark upon the policy of supporting Mohamed Ali. This was mainly due to their fear and jealousy of the French who supported Chanda Sahib. With the establishment of Mohamed Ali as the Nawab of

Arcot, they ousted the French out of the Carnatic and gradually became the supreme power in the South.

In Bengal, the attack of Siraj-ud-daula upon Calcutta forced the hands of the British. Their power in Bengal had become too great for any Sovereign to ignore. Clive joined the conspiracy, against the Nawab with a view to "benefit our employers both by present and future advantage, open a greater currency than ever to business and to keep the French totally out of the dominions." Even after the victory, when he expressed his desire to Pitt, to take advantage of the opportunity for further acquisitions, he failed not to observe that "so large a sovereignty may possibly be too extensive for a mercantile company." He himself soon abandoned the idea. The absurd system of Dual Government, which is in itself an evidence of the company's unwillingness to be an Imperial Power, was the result. The architect of this system, Clive, had clearly said that "if ideas of conquest were to be the rule of our conduct I foresee that we should by necessity be led from acquisition to acquisition until we had the whole Empire up in arms against us. Nothing but extreme necessity ought to induce us to extend our ideas of territorial acquisition."

The great Pro-consul, Warren Hastings entertained an idea of the company as an important power in India. Even his policy was "to extend the influence of the British nation to every part of India not too remote, without enlarging the circle of their defence or involving them in hazardous or indefinite engagements and to accept of the allegiance of such of our neighbours as will sure to be enlisted." It is true that the Treaty of Benares, concluded with the Nawab of Oudh, anticipated the many treaties of subsidiary alliance that brought Indian States within the British control. Hastings gave the company a political character which it did not possess before. But yet, it cannot be mistaken that his policy was without the influence of the political situation.

The Pitts India Act clearly declared that "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion of India are measures repugnant to the wish, honour and the policy of the nation and it shall not be lawful—either to declare war or to commence hostilities or to enter into any treaty for making war against any of the country powers or states in India." The policy of non-intervention was adhered to by Shore and

Cornwallis. But however sincere, such a policy proved unsuitable to the then political condition of India. The Nizam was practically reduced to a vassal of the Marathas. The war with Tipu and the annexation of a part of his dominions, both of which were unavoidable steps the British had to adopt, exposed the failure of the non-intervention policy.

The policy adopted by Wellesley is said to have been inspired by the ambition of making the British Power permanent in India. But by the end of the eighteenth century, their power had become such that extension of their dominions was inevitable. To maintain a balance of power was impossible. The perpetual unrest in the conditions of the states and their encroachment upon one another compelled the British, if they desired to stay as a power, to exploit the situation to their advantage. The French influence had suddenly come into favour in many of the courts. So Wellesley's policy could be termed as one of offensive defence.

The conquest of Sind marks the last stage. It is the only British acquisition in India that was not necessitated by circumstances. It was an act of open aggression.

Lord Hardinge, after the first Sikh War, adopted a policy of 'experimental forbearance' with regard to Punjab. But soon Dalhousie asserted the experiment a failure and annexed the Punjab. Here also, it will be noticed that but for the favourable circumstances, Dalhousie would not have succeeded. The Sikh rebellion, probably was most welcome to him.

The Company excepting once in the Seventeenth Century, had no aggressive spirit. They seemed to have dreaded extension and conquest. But the policy of non-intervention was again and again violated and new territories were acquired. It was only the case of a strong centralised power that could not maintain a stationery boundary among loosely organised people, constantly at war with one another.

The gradual extension of the British Empire in India was brought about by considerations of convenience, collateral advantage, as well as by accident and caprice and by the political situation of India. Well can we agree with Professor Seeley, when he says that "Nothing great that has ever been done by Englishmen was done so unintentionally, so accidentally, as the conquest of India."

GANDHI AND TOLSTOI

An interesting Madras episode

BY

TITUS VARGHESE

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the death of Count Leo Tolstoi was recently celebrated throughout the world and it was certainly a fitting tribute to the memory of that world famous thinker and writer. In this connection it will be interesting to recall an episode in the history of the city of Madras connected with him and Mahatma Gandhi. This took place about forty-five years ago when M. K. Gandhi—he was not called Mahatma at that time—came on a visit to Madras. His noble and selfless work in South Africa for the cause of his fellow-countrymen, his remarkable passive resistance movement to achieve his aims, etc., had already made his name well known throughout India. Indians in South Africa in those days had to suffer many grave disabilities from their white rulers and Gandhi had to leave off his lucrative legal practice and take up the leadership of the Indian community in their struggle for the redress of their grievances. The great work of Gandhi had captured public imagination and by the year 1915 it had reached its climax. He decided to come to India at that time soon after the First World War started to stir up public opinion in this country on behalf of the suffering Indians in Natal and Transvaal and other states of the S.A. federation. It was in Bombay and Gujarat that Gandhi's work had a special appeal; still even in other places, especially in Madras much interest was evinced. Hence from Bombay Gandhi came over to Madras about the end of 1915 or early in 1916. He had visited Madras once before, in October 1896, and he has specially referred to that visit and stay in Madras in his autobiography. This was probably his second visit to Madras and on this occasion Gandhi had a special invitation from Mrs. Whitehead, wife of the then Bishop of Madras, Dr. Henry Whitehead. Mrs. Whitehead who was a dynamic personality was greatly interested in social service and doing much work in that direction under the auspices of the social service league, an organization founded by her with the support of several eminent Indians like the late S. Srinivasa Iyengar. Mrs. Whitehead had asked Gandhi to give some talks on the various aspects of social service at a conference consisting mainly of Christians. Some of the leading politicians of Madras who were then under the leadership of Mrs. Annie Besant did not care very much to honour

Gandhi at that time. Still he was invited to address more than one public meeting. Those of us who saw and heard him at that time remember him, well clad in his typical Marwari dress with a large many-folded turban to match. His simpler dress with the white 'Gandhi Cap' was adopted only later. So also he was speaking everywhere in English and did not insist on Hindi.

The first public meeting he addressed was to be in the Anderson Hall of the old Madras Christian College in George Town, but the audience was so large that it had to be held in the open air outside. Bishop and Mrs. Whitehead were mainly in charge of it. On another occasion, probably the following day, he spoke at a public meeting in the Madras Y.M.C.A. on the subject of Passive Resistance and how it worked in South Africa. The meeting was held in the Y.M.C.A. auditorium which in those days was on the ground floor of the building now occupied by restaurants and shops. The chairman of this meeting was the Hon. Rev. G. Pittendrigh, M.A., the chief professor of English in the Madras Christian College at that time. He was also the member representing the university in the Madras Legislative Council and the Vice-President of the Madras Y.M.C.A. It is a well known fact that the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the Young Men's Christian Association are far from being young. At this crowded meeting Gandhiji spoke at length about the theory of passive resistance, later known as Satyagraha and how it was practised in S. Africa. The audience consisting of students as well as non-students were greatly impressed. The President Rev. Pittendrigh in his concluding remarks spoke praising Gandhi and compared him to Tolstoi. The speeches were duly reported in the local dailies which in those days were the *Madras Mail*, the *Hindu* and the *New India*. To the editor of the *Madras Mail*, Mr. Pittendrigh's comparing Gandhi with Tolstoi was silly and impertinent because in his opinion it was an insult done to the great Russian thinker and writer. So in his editorial comments on the Y.M.C.A. meeting, he criticised Mr. Pittendrigh for his remark which, he said revealed a deplorable lack of sense of proportion! The editor who was a typical European club member of the time

believing in race superiority and imperialism did not have any idea of the modest, unattractive man whom the professor put on a level of equality with Tolstoi. Little did he dream that this impractical visionary and agitator from South Africa was destined within a few years to be the one great national leader of India and the main architect of her political independence. Rev. Pittendrigh who, like most other Europeans of the time, had to be in the good books of this very influential Anglo-Indian daily did send to the paper an explanation which however was rather sarcastic. He said somewhat like this in his reply. "It is true that I compared Gandhi with Tolstoi, but it does not mean that I consider them as equals. To give an example, suppose I say that when I read a leading article in the Madras Mail it reminded me of the London Times; this does not mean that I consider the Mail to be on an equal footing with the Times, admirable though the Mail may be." Thus poor old Pittendrigh wriggled out of the situation. After all though he praised Gandhi at the public meeting even he could not then predict the future of Gandhi and of this country.

Now several decades later we are in a position to recognise the fact that Gandhi is greater than Tolstoi. As a man of letters Tolstoi is greater, but in the sum total of actual achievements Gandhi surpasses him

easily. Tolstoi by his writings prepared the ground for a political and social revolution in Russia. Gandhi on the other hand was really able to achieve the political independence of India as well as her social and economic regeneration. The analogy between the two great worthies is worth pursuing. Both these men had a high moral tone coupled with an intense patriotism. Both were men of ideas and vision, but Gandhi was more practical than Tolstoi. Both believed in non-violence and soul-force and hated war though Tolstoi had served in the Crimean war as a soldier and Gandhi in Boer war as an ambulance officer.

Rabindranath Tagore who knew Gandhi well and who is believed to be the first man to give the title of 'Mahatma' to him said on one occasion to another great thinker and writer Romain Rolland that Gandhi was greater than Tolstoi. That great English statesman and lawyer Sir Stafford Cripps says thus of Gandhi: "I know of no other man of any time who so forcefully and convincingly demonstrated the power of spirit over material things." Tolstoi himself had heard about Gandhi's noble work in South Africa and he used to read the 'Indian opinion' a journal published by Gandhi. He also wrote a nice letter to Gandhi, a little before his death in 1910 expressing his appreciation for the noble ideals and services of Gandhi.

Inside India

AN ECONOMIC COMMENTARY

BY

PROF. K. VASUDEVAN

Stock Taking

We have ushered in the New Year—the year of grace 1961. It is customary to draw the balance sheet of our achievement during the year 1960 and derive either solace or spoil in advance about our anticipations which may or may not fructify in the new year. But there are some who point out that a year is too short a period in the life of a nation struggling to lift itself by its bootstraps and any evaluation will come out as a dismal record and will leave a bad impression affecting our morale. This claim is substantially true, and just as it will be difficult to isolate a dot in a continuous line, so also it will be difficult to segregate the happenings in the national economy in a year and award marks for them. Economic development is a continuous process and what all we can attempt is to find out whether we are journeying towards our goal without much distraction or deviation. This attitude will be more worthwhile and hence we should examine certain aspects of our economic development which may further our efforts in realising our goal.

Rostow on Growth

For the past one year or so in discussions on economic growth we would have met with the two words, 'Take Off', which we owe to Prof. W. W. Rostow. Prof. Rostow is a distinguished professor of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and in 1958 delivered a series of lectures at Cambridge. These lectures which were published, were widely noticed and commented upon and was styled by the London Economist, a 'non-communist manifesto'. Why should we bother about the musings of an academic economist when we are trying to follow our own economic development? The answer to this question can be found if we turn the pages of the draft outline of our Third Five-Year Plan. The fundamental question that is posed to-day concerns the mechanism of our plan. It is frequently asked how long are we to tighten our belts. By all means some sacrifice is necessary when we aim at a fast rate of economic development. But if sacrifice is expected from us without any time limit it is but right if we argue, let us live in the present and leave our successors to take care of themselves. No verbal jugglery, no appeal to sentimental soft stuff like patriotism, glory of motherland,

will spark off our enthusiasm. In other words, if it could be shown that our acceptance of a certain amount of discomfort in our living, for a measurable time will unleash greater energy in quickening the pace of economic development then everyone will be prepared to accept and contribute his share of sacrifice. In current discussion this has been put in an economic language and the question is posed whether India has reached the take-off stage and within a short period whether there will be 'self-sustaining growth.' This philosophy of 'take-off' which in course of time will blossom forth into 'self-sustaining growth' has passed beyond the stage of the musings of an economic pundit and has been made the immediate objective of our plan. The draft outline of the Third Five-Year Plan observed that 'a principal aim of the Third Plan is to secure a marked advance towards self-sustaining growth'. It is well if we briefly notice the main thesis of Prof. Rostow.

Prof. Rostow explained that 'take-off' is a shorthand expression which refers to the development confined to a period of two or three decades, in which the economy, and the society of which it is part, transform themselves, so that economic growth becomes, more or less automatic. He points out that such periods, could be located in the history of many of the economically progressive countries. This take-off period is marked by an increase in the rate of investment, from about 5% to 10% or more of the net national product. This period also requires the development of one or more substantial manufacturing sectors. Thirdly it is marked by political and institutional framework being transformed to such an extent as to maintain the momentum in the economic development.

Prof. Rostow participating in a discussion of economic development under the auspices of the society for International Development, U.S.A., summarized his main thesis as follows. He held that economic growth is dependant upon the performance of society as a whole. He laid down seven propositions. The key to economic development depends on the capacity to utilize the latest technical developments. Secondly before a traditional country, i.e., a backward country can utilise the latest developments in the field of technology, it must undergo a series of far reaching changes,

which would affect the whole complex psychological, political, social and economic attitudes of the population. Thirdly a country desiring a quick economic change must have intense nationalist feeling and must thirst to drink the fruits of modern research. This will be of special interest to us for we have not been able to bring the weight of sustained zeal to carry on the Plan. If only we could realize the unity of the country and more than that have an emotional content to the feeling of unity, it will be the most important energising factor which will make our effort at planning, live. Fourthly, the economic take-off is based on the application of modern techniques to a relatively limited number of sectors. Prof. Rostow points out that though our object is rapid industrialisation, the necessary initial condition for the take-off is simultaneous changes in three non-industrial sectors: agriculture, social overheads, including the build up of human capital and the foreign exchange earning sector. Fifthly, in the economic development, which will be greatly helped by changes in certain conditions referred above the Government of the country is expected to play a strategic role. This requisite has been proved by the experience of both U.S. and Canada. It therefore means that political leadership must be sound and one that could give a lead correctly utilising the national impulses in a society. Sixthly, there are no readymade blueprints that will help a country in putting through a programme of economic planning. Different societies will respond to different types of leads and the key question is whether society has arrived at a stage where it responds to impulses generated in any sector. Much also depends on the available supply of entrepreneurs and technicians. Lastly, the backward countries have one great advantage because they have the choice of a large pool of technology. This Prof. Rostow points out presents the low-income countries with both their greatest problem and their greatest possibility. Further because of effective public health measures the population in the backward countries are increasing by leaps and bounds. The improvement in the communications has improved the consumption standards, and it is disconcerting to find that the consumption of the people in the backward countries, threatening to go up ahead of economic progress with the result that capacity to save has been impaired.

It is not as if the analysis of Prof. Rostow, is without its critics. In the words of Prof. Bertil Ohlin, there is 'fuzziness' about the take-off concept. In the absence of clearer definitions of the criteria by which one could judge the stage of the take-off, from the situation of preconditions, it becomes impossible to draw the features of the take-off precisely. Another criticism which must be noticed, is that the analysis of Prof. Rostow

is not of much use as a basis of economic policy. But in spite of these weighty criticisms, it cannot be denied that as usual with us we have been influenced by Prof. Rostow's thesis and we are searching to find out whether India has not reached the take-off stage.

India and the Take-off

According to Prof. Rostow, India with Argentina, Turkey, and China may be regarded as passing through the take-off period now. This verdict is heartening indeed, and if it proves true the Third Five-Year Plan will be a crucial one and we have to endure only for a short duration, a period within our generation to see India staging a 'leap-forward' in the picturesque phrase made familiar by the 'Chinese comrades' when describing their 'mighty achievement'. But the observation of Prof. Rostow should be assessed in the light of current economic developments. There are several criteria which should be applied to find out whether India has arrived at the take-off stage. One runs in terms of what is called 'investment criteria' which refers to the investment rates which will help the increase in the production of things and services which will more than compensate the increase in the population. In other words, our saving which will be used as investment with a view to produce things which our growing population requires should be sufficient without leading to the lowering of the standard of living. We are now investing 10 to 11% of our national income. Our population increases at the rate of 2% per annum. One important aspect is concerned with the acceleration of the economic development and from this point of view it is held by many economists that the investment of about 10% of our national income is not sufficient.

There is also the other problem connected with the investment, and that is savings of the community in India. Without going into the details and relying on the findings of experts, we can take it that the current rate of savings does not appear to have crossed the 8% level. It is stated that due to the 'explosion of population' which takes place in the initial period of economic development, a much more concerted effort is required to increase the amount of saving. It is pointed out considering other relevant factors, that "India seems to be doing pretty well in so far as the qualitative transformation for the 'take-off' is concerned." The take-off stage is expected to last for 25 years from the First Plan period and with a view to tide over this crucial period we have to increase the savings which will cover very nearly half of every increment in income.

Realistic Planning

At the end of every Five-Year Plan period we hear the rumblings of the criticism of the protagonists of

realistic planning. These people hold that planning in India to be fruitful should be realistic in the sense that it must take into consideration the availability of resources both internal and external and should not be governed by dogmas which have long become outworn. One of the most important spokesmen of this group is Mr. A. D. Shroff. He is not only versed in the economic lore, but has steered big ventures with great success and what is more he is one of those who speak with a purpose. He is not given to frills in his speeches nor is he given to inventing arguments to present a case neatly dressed for direct consumption by a gullible public. When criticisms emanates from Mr. A. D. Shroff it deserves the greatest consideration both from the public and from the planners in our country. Recently in his article which appeared in the 'Commerce' November issue, he presented the case for realistic planning and it deserves some consideration. He criticises socialism and observes, 'fortunately, all over the world, there is rethinking on socialism. Socialism today is like a battered ship without rudder and engine but gifted with mutinous crew disputing with the captain and among itself as to the captaincy of the vessel which they can neither control nor direct.' He has also referred to the fact that socialism means either the outright expropriation or steady deprivation of all private property from individuals. He points out that Socialism means hostility to private enterprise in any form and its replacement by state planning of a comprehensive character. While the above criticisms are valid to a certain extent we have to take note of the fact that socialism like any other principles relating to social sciences has undergone a change not because its adherents indulged in some mental exercise, but because of hard realities. For example many adherents of socialism today will not subscribe to a programme of nationalisation. They will not vote for the state ownership of all means of production. Certainly they will not ask for elimination of private enterprise. Of late there has been much confusion about socialism. In one quarter it is held that Indian Socialism has already laid the foundation for communism in India. On the other hand an American economist Prof. J. K. Galbraith referring to India observed that 'indeed, it is one of the world's least controlled or 'planned' economies . . . India has, in fact super-imposed a smallish socialized sector atop what, no doubt is the world's greatest example of functioning anarchy.' It has become the fashion of late, to bemoan the so called increase of the public sector and use the term 'socialist' to condemn anyone with whom we disagree. It is our duty to understand not only the changes brought about in Socialist ideas and practices, but also to understand the nature of the ideology behind the Indian

plan. Mr. Shroff is certainly correct on his own ground when he condemns socialism by quoting Mr. Ivor Thomas and Lord Keynes. But he must also take into consideration the changing face of socialism. The present day socialists in England (it is relevant to cite England because our socialist thinking is to a large extent influenced by socialist practice in that country) will certainly remark that 'Socialism is not only about equality, but it is also and even more fundamentally, about freedom', which means not only political freedom but also economic freedom, not only freedom of the few, but the freedom of the many. One is tempted to quote from the book, 'Twentieth Century Socialism' a socialist union study published by the Penguin Books. The following few lines will help us: 'the keynote of socialist realism has always been its emphasis on the transformation of the economic system . . . a socialist economy is a mixed economy, part private, part public, and mixed in all aspects . . . the reason why a socialist requires a private sector is because socialists place a value on individual freedom . . . the private sector of a socialist economy is not there merely in sufferance, to be tolerated only on grounds of political expediency with the sword of Damocles hanging over it in perpetual threat. . . . On the contrary, it has a legitimate and indeed a necessary function to perform . . . if this is to be the important function of the private factor then it cannot be hamstrung by a whole network of legislative and administrative restrictions . . . government intervention is required, not to deprive people of their right to take decisions and accept responsibilities, but to alter the distribution of power so that the balance is maintained and no private interest is privileged'. One wishes people who criticise socialism in season and out of season to consider the above quotation from the current thinking of socialists. One also wishes for a change from Prof. Hayek and Prof. Ludwig Von Mises. Some of our friends should understand the current trends in socialist ideas, and refrain from ferreting out the fossilised ideas of few intellectuals who seem to treat great problems touching our lives as mere academic problems, for which neat solutions can be found based on pet beliefs. Nothing is gained by ignoring the real problem and giving a colouring to the genuine intentions of state intervention. We all want to preserve individual freedom, and without it our life will have no meaning. But this can be done only if a very large number understand the contents of freedom and strive to get them in a co-operative way. In this process various groups in a state have a part to play. Controversies nurtured on the basis of class conflict or on the basis of private and public sectors are indications that some pressure groups are working in the community,

and democracy, would not flourish in that foul atmosphere.

Mr. A. D. Shroff rightly pointed out some of the manifestations of state functions which have not done useful work. He cites the State Trading Corporation in India especially with its cement deal where the institution collected a sizeable profit to which it has no claim at all. The Estimates Committee, constituted by the Indian Parliament pointed out with much force that 'it is most inappropriate that in addition to the considerable revenue raised by levy of high excise duty, Government should have taken advantage of its monopoly in raising substantial additional revenues by fixing high prices for cement? About 'realistic planning' Mr. Shroff has the following to say: 'If comprehensive planning is unsuited to India, what is the alternative, it may be asked. The alternative is realistic planning. Such planning reckons that every individual and group of individuals in society have got plans of their own. It seeks to co-ordinate the plans in a direction meant to lead the country to rapid and large scale economic development. Thus, the initiative and enterprise of the individuals is harnessed, while their liberties are preserved and utilised for furthering economic development.' This is a very clear statement indeed but some of us would have few doubts about this type of 'plan' if we may call it a plan at all. The crucial question is how to co-ordinate the individual plans to give a symphonic shape. What will be the machinery which will do the co-ordinating work? Will there be a willing co-operation among individuals producing the same product and how will competition be preserved among the producers which is necessary to preserve the sovereignty of the consumer. These are all some of the points which may emerge when one considers the excellent analysis of the concept of realistic planning.

There is one aspect of planning in India which deserves greater attention. This relates to the fundamental question as to who should plan. Sometime back there was some discussion with regard to the propriety of the Prime Minister being the chairman of the Indian Planning Commission. It was pointed out that if the Planning Commission were to consist of the Prime Minister and some of the union cabinet ministers, the deliberations and decisions will not be the outcome of an independent body, but more or less will be a command performance. There is much truth in this criticism. If the planning commission should function efficiently it must be an autonomous body with clearly defined powers and its relation with the union cabinet must also be made explicit. As it is, under the plea, that we are having a democratic planning there is nebulous criticism

from all and sundry. To make the discussion more worthwhile and a decision more workable, the planning body must be small, well knit, and must be charged with the primary task of suggesting the framework of the plan, pointing out all the economic implications of the plan. The decision must be taken by the cabinet, and certainly it will be a political decision, but will have the benefit of being an informed one. The endless discussion now being carried on by democratic assemblies has only caused dissatisfaction with these bodies. As Prof. Hayek pointed out, Parliaments come to be regarded as ineffective 'talking shops' unable or incompetent to carry out the tasks for which they have been chosen. Again he points out that the conviction grows that if efficient planning is to be done, the direction must be 'taken out of politics' and placed in the hands of experts, permanent officials or independent autonomous bodies. Years ago, Sidney and Beatrice Webb complained of the 'increased incapacity of the House of Commons to cope with its work' and one wonders whether the newly established democratic institutions are free from this drawback.

Post office Socialism

Most of the top ranking economists of international reputation can be classified as Keynesians, who explained, interpreted, and applied the ideas of the late Lord Keynes. They get their lustre by being associated with the name of Keynes. But there is one exception and that is Prof. Galbraith of America, who has established his reputation, not because he interpreted Keynes, but because he struck an original path in interpreting recent economic events and also because he pricked the bubble of conventional wisdom. He was invited by the Indian Government to study our effort in planning and recently when he visited India a second time he has produced a small report giving his views and suggestion for the improvement of the plan. He modestly claims that his main object in putting his views in writing is 'to provoke decision not answer questions.'

In his note on the 'Rationale of Indian Economic Organisation' submitted to the Indian Government, he pointed out that "India has a kind of 'post office Socialism' which is out of date and which is working far less well than it should and must." He noticed good deal of general improvement but in the undertakings in the public sector, there is a legitimate criticism voiced forth by competent executives who feel too much is concentrated in Delhi, killing timely initiative and in its place substituting local frustration. Prof. Galbraith has a good deal to say about the organisation of undertakings in the public sector. According to him, it is wrong to treat the public sector as a monolithic entity.

There are three parts of the public sector concerning the initiation, operation with its attendant problems and spontaneous development. These parts require different doses of ministerial initiative and supervision. While in the initiation sector, a considerable measure of ministerial initiative and supervision may be necessary—in the operation, expansion and financing sector, ministerial supervision and intervention just shrink

to the minimum. These observations we are sure, will have their imprints on the public policy yet to come regarding the management of public undertakings. It presumes that our ministers are capable of accepting certain limitations on their powers, which remains to be seen. Many will agree with the proposition that Government institutions should not be treated as kiosks for personal publicity.

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BROADWAY TIMES

21

MEN AND MATTERS

BY

C. H. V. PATHY

'Ring out the old ; ring in the new', said the famous poet Tennyson.

The year 1960 has been shot to the ashes and we are entering another crisis-laden period when the lights of the world are going out one after the other. As our Prime Minister said the other day, 1960 was a bad year in the post-war era. Even after the reeking shambles of the last world war, the continent of Europe has not switched on to normalcy. Swords have not been converted into plough shares. No doubt there is the facade of prosperity all over, particularly in Germany, but deep down beneath surface appearances, we hear the throb of war drums.

In Germany, where Berlin's Mayor will try to unseat Chancellor Adenauer next fall, the major challenge is still Krushchev's threat to reopen the Berlin crisis in April this year.

The spotlight of the world has swung on Africa. For that continent, 1960 was the year which finally dismantled the old empires. The foundation has been laid for a new series of Federations. But Colonialism is fighting its last ditch battle.

The garish violence which sears the danger spot at Congo may any time flare up into a full-blooded civil war.

The world today is considerably bigger than the western society. The polarised struggle between Communism and non-Communism is such that it is impossible that the West face the two great Communist Empires alone without the close kind of partnership for the common good of the great non-Communist countries of Asia and Africa.

No nation can act alone in the world today. Isolation is no longer a sensible possibility. The common problem that we are all facing, whether in the Atlantic, in Africa, in the United States, in South America, in India is a single universal problem, namely, how to live together on the same planet instead of destroying each other with the weapons of war now in the hands of some major powers.

In that illustrious book, "CRY THE BELOVED COUNTRY", Alan Paton of South Africa wrote : "Who knows how we shall fashion a land of peace where black outnumbers white so greatly ?" He adds : "For we fear not only the loss of our possessions, but the loss of our superiority, and the loss of our whiteness."

In these pregnant words, lie the roots of the tense struggle we are witnessing. The black majority is up in arms against the repressive policies of the white minority.

The rumbles of the volcano in Algeria and Congo are growing more ominous every day. Outside the periphery of the struggle where the prestige of the United Nations is at stake, the world watches with alarm the growing threat of an eruption that would spew racial violence and light the fuse for the third world war.

A few months ago, in the United Nations, the Security Council voted to deplore South Africa's race policies and to ask the Secretary General Hammarskjöld to consult the South African Government on arrangements to uphold the principles of the U.N. Charter.

But what do we find today ?

Not only the authority but also the personnel of the bastions of peace are attacked. *A state of undeclared war prevails in Congo.*

In the past, South Africa has ignored numerous U.N. appeals against her racial policies. Belgium will not be cowed down by sentimental appeals. Krishna Menon said the other day that that country is massing troops to perpetuate its Empire.

The situation in Congo is riddled with complexities. The authority and the prestige of the United Nations are under a severe test. NATO and the western alliance are involved because of the role of a major western ally, Belgium, in the Congo. The Soviet Union which is bitterly opposed to the western powers threatens to take unilateral action. We are heading for a showdown which will bring down the edifice of peace and will have strong repercussions on the east-west struggle for the allegiance of the uncommitted people of Africa and Asia.

At the time of independence there were 2,000 Belgian troops in the Congo. Under a treaty, never formally ratified, they were stationed at two specific bases pending their ultimate withdrawal from Congo. Within hours of independence, there were a series of violent eruptions. The 25,000 Congolese Army mutinied against their continued direction by White Belgian officers. They attacked white civilians, looted their homes. The entire life of Congo was paralysed.

I do not want to tire the readers with the day-to-day developments which are reported in the Press. Suffice

it to say that the Security Council's appeal to Belgium to withdraw her forces has fallen on deaf ears. The western powers for their part are in a different position. Belgium is a NATO ally and Washington is closely associated with Brussels. Hammarskjöld has called the presence of Belgian troops in the Congo a source of internal and international tension.

As for the Russians, the Congo dispute has presented Moscow with a number of propaganda opportunities and it has not neglected any of them. Moscow's repeated threats to intervene are obviously designed to further its role as a champion of Congolese freedom and unity and to convince the other Africans that Russia is the one nation to which they can turn for support against Imperialists.

As I finalise this dispatch, the Congo cauldron continues to simmer. The directive of the United Nations continues to be defied by Belgium which apparently envisages a showdown in which the big powers of the world would be involved. A pocket war between the contending parties fighting for the control of Congo would certainly light the fuse for a third war which would destroy the world and bring about misery to millions. It has always been the practice of the big powers to wage war in other people's soil and this time, Africa is going to be the battlefield for the trial of strength. There cannot be two lions in the same jungle and before long, it will be either the western nations or Russia that sit on the summit of the world.

Algeria :

Another danger spot is Algeria. Here, the French Prime Minister seems to be fighting a losing battle. In the eyes of most observers, Algiers used to be a far off desert where Foreign Legion types defended Beau Geste forts against Kowing Arabs on camels. In November last year, however, Americans who have a stake in every corner of the world were beginning to realise that Algeria could easily become another Korea. France is already at war there, the Arab and African nations are being sucked in. Moscow and Peking have cast their eyes, reaching toward Algeria.

The United Nations was seized of the situation a few weeks back. Its General Assembly opened a debate on Afro-Asian demands for U.N. intervention in Algeria on December 5 last year. Just before that De Gaulle was planning to fly to Algeria to try his hand for cease fire. But there were anti-De Gaulle rioting on a large scale. The French President rushed in reinforcements. His deputy, Paul Delouvrier flew in from Paris and announced that De Gaulle had no intention of abandoning millions of Europeans in Algeria. "The army is staying," he said, "to win the battle of self-determination."

On December 9, De Gaulle flew into Algeria and was greeted with banners and slogans, "De Gaulle Go Back." De Gaulle is agreeable to a referendum, but the terms are to be fixed by France. These terms are not acceptable to the sons of the soil.

For a solution of the problem, De Gaulle will have to allow the Algerians to make their own choice about the future of their country.

Laos :

Watch Laos, another focal point of unrest. The three-sided civil war that is being waged there has taken a turn for the worse. The kingdom's neutralist, Prince Phouma who has been dickering with Communists announced a few days back that he is agreeable to bring the Communists into a coalition Government. But he is not in control of the situation. His sudden departure in the middle of December to Cambodia is an admission of his failure to persuade the State department to leave Laos along. In despair he wrote to the U.N. Secretary-General to persuade U.S. and Thailand to cease meddling in Laotian affairs. That does not seem to have produced any effect.

Fierce battles are raging there now. If SEATO intervenes, the Reds are not going to keep quiet. There will be another trial of strength here. Russian arms are reported to be pouring in.

Pakistan :

Pakistan completed two years of Marshal Ayub Khan's rule in October last.

During the period he has been at the helm, he has brought about a remarkable change. He is very popular both with the classes as well as the masses. He has the Army behind him.

His biggest job is to uproot corruption, put an end to instability and work up the economy of that country. He has succeeded to a great extent. U.S. is his best friend.

When Pandit Nehru, our Prime Minister flew to Karachi a fund of good will generated. That has in a large measure been dissipated by some unbalanced statements.

Ayub Khan has been hoping to get Kashmir of late and says that Kashmir belonged to Pakistan.

This question continues to be unresolved.

Ayub Khan has also been touring many Asian countries and establishing personal contacts.

He has not so far acceded to the request of our Prime Minister to visit India.

Nepal :

The 40-year old King Mahendra of Nepal provided a political surprise by deposing his Cabinet and becoming the virtual dictator of his country.

He first ascended the throne in 1955 and has been doing a lot of travelling. To his capital flew missions from Russia, U. S. and China. In the first general elections held in that country, the people chose B. K. Koirala as the Chief Minister.

The King who recently concluded a visit to western countries brought an abrupt halt to the experiment. Koirala and his colleagues were arrested and Parliament dissolved.

Koirala hit back saying that the King had failed to maintain law and order.

A helicopter was hastily requisitioned from a U.S. aid project and sent out to drop leaflets to spread the news of revolt in the remotest villages.

This dramatic coup has provided sharp reactions. One of the severest critics of the Government, called it a pocket revolution.

Abortive Coup :

An abortive attempt was made in Ethiopia to overthrow the 69-year old ruler of that country, bearded Haile Selassie.

At the time when the cables of the world were humming with the success of the usurper, the Emperor was away on a visit to Brazil. If the coup had been crowned with success, the ruler would have been none other than Prince Asfa Wossen, Haile Selassie's eldest son.

The Emperor heard the news of his overthrow in a hotel in Sao Paulo, Brazil. He cancelled all his engagements and hastened home.

The revolt was led by three men, R.A.S. MRU, a politician interesting himself in land reform, Gen. Mulugeta Bulli, an admirer of Nasser and Brig-General Mengitsu.

Under the Army Chief's Command 3,000 Imperial Guardsmen had served the palace; the Radio station and some key installations in Addis Ababa. Thereafter Mengitsu pushed Prince Asfa to the mike and handed him the proclamation of a nation in revolt.

Fortunately for the Emperor, Asmara, the second biggest city in Addis Ababa was governed by his son-in-law Genl. Abije Abedo.

The Emperor embarked on a bold policy in dealing with the rebels. He scattered leaflets from the air, asking the people to be quiet.

Then he took control of the situation and asked persons who loved truth and democracy to support the new religion.

The cauldron is still simmering. But the Emperor seems to be safe.

Over 5,000 arrests have been made so far.

Elections in Uganda

Readiness for the forthcoming elections to be held in Uganda to be held early this year, 1,330,778 persons have registered as voters.

In the kingdom of Uganda, where the Kabaka (King) had ordered that a boycott be enforced and that no one should register as voter, only 35,288 have so far registered out of a possible electorate of 800,000.

The Supervisor of Elections stated a few days back that the overall figures for the country were eminently satisfactory and showed a considerable increase on the registrations for the year 1958. He was convinced that if all people in Uganda had been able to exercise their free choice in the matter of registering, and had they not been intimidated, many thousands would have registered.

During the registration period, 3 cases of intimidation have been reported to the Protectorate police. It has not been possible to bring many of these cases to court since often the witnesses were reluctant to give evidence because they were governed by fear.

Man of the Year

In spite of the vicious campaign of calumny carried on against him and his administration by the Swatantra party leaders, Pandit Nehru continues to be the top-ranking statesman of the world. His recent trip to the United States and his passionate plea for a world where peace would reign supreme was applauded even by those who do not worship in his ideological shrine.

He is one of the most impersonal persons in the world. He has no axe to grind. He loves this country with an intense and passionate love. He is more than an individual; he is a symbol of Indian nationalism.

These are qualities that he has achieved after years of self-discipline over a nature that was originally impulsive, high-spirited and individualistic. He is one of the few public figures who is honoured by both the East and the West, because masses of people see in him a new type of individual, a natural synthesis of the old and the new worlds. He is a global-minded man, who is waging a global peace campaign.

His career is modern. He did sciences, especially chemistry at Cambridge, read law at the Inner Temple, became Mayor of his home town, Allahabad, was twice elected President of the Congress, and has written many of his great documents, as Jefferson did for the American revolution.

In his salad days he took part in peasant and trade

union activities and arbitrated labour-industry disputes for giant Indian firms like the Tata Steel Works. All this he did in between repeated prison terms which have dissipated a dozen years of his crowded life. The prime task of his career before he became Prime Minister, the Chairmanship of the All-India National Planning Committee was cut off by the war and renewed imprisonment.

He is a towering literary giant. His "Glimpses of World History" may well serve as a text book for this country. He has also made deep studies of military strategy, the techniques of revolution and national and international economic planning.

Nehru's unbroken allegiance to Mahatma Gandhi was one of the strongest factors in his political career. Countless British attempts to separate them by balancing one against the other all failed. The saint before he died named him as his political heir.

When the British quit India he automatically strode into power as Prime Minister and continues to be at the helm. Whichever party wins the next election, Nehru would continue to be at the head.

His public career, the purity of his outlook and the probity of his motives are assets. His career has developed without fear, without reproach and without appeasement. His autobiography and other books like "Toward Freedom", "China, Spain and War", "Letters to Indira", "The Unity of India" are read by men and women all over the world.

* * *

Col. Nasser

Egypt has become the focal point of world attention at the moment because she occupies a strategically important position in the global set-up. A land of fabulous wealth, its history is closely linked up with that of River Nile whose waters irrigate millions of acres. Even in the Middle Ages Egypt was mentioned in history because the avenger of Brutus and Cassius, Mark Antony was lured by the charms of Queen Cleopatra.

The spotlight of attention was suddenly swung on this country when its fabulous ruler, King Farouk, was forced to abdicate. The abdication took place eight years ago.

At first, the ruling party set up a civilian as Prime Minister but he did not last long and Neguib strode into power. Closely associated with him was Col. Nasser the son of a post office clerk who at the formative age of 17, developed revolutionary tendencies. Neguib and Nasser soon parted company. A plot was hatched to assassinate Nasser in October, 1954. Fortunately it failed.

Soon after, Nasser stepped into power. The history of Egypt for the last twelve years is the biography of Nasser.

In student days, he was associated with organising riots. At one time, it was his ambition to become a lawyer but the soldier in him made him choose army for a career.

In 1938, he served for a while in Sudan and fought in Israel. He took a leading part in organising the Free Officers' Committee composed of some 400 youths.

In an incredibly short time, Nasser has attained for his country a position of great importance. He freed Egypt from foreign domination and destroyed the last vestige of feudalism. He contributed greatly for the success of the Bandung Conference. He foiled all attempts to dissolve Arab unity. He took a firm stand against military pacts.

Under his initiative, desert lands were reclaimed and industry and agriculture developed.

The first week of July 1956, was the crown and culmination of Nasser's great career. Speaking for two hours to the assembled crowds at Cairo, he stated: "Our policy is frank. We shall co-operate with anybody or any country ready to co-operate with us to build our country economically and in all fields. We shall not tolerate being a zone of influence for anyone."

He added: "We must become strong so that Arabism's lands from Morocco to Baghdad will be for Arabs and not for occupiers or exploiters, so that we can retrieve for the people of Palestine their right to freedom."

Nasser signalled that great day by ending martial law, lifting Press censorship and freeing 2,000 political prisoners.

Nasser was duly elected as the President of Egypt. There was none to contest this title. His powers are very great. No candidate can run for the Assembly except those selected personally by the President.

There are many problems both in the domestic and foreign spheres which will demand his attention.

According to John Gunther, one curse of Egypt is illiteracy. More than 75 per cent of the population cannot read or write. As such, education is the Government's most pressing problem.

Egypt has in blue print, grandiose schemes for development. She requires foreign assistance both in finance and in personnel. Both the United States and Russia are wooing Nasser.

On the eve of his assumption of power, Shepilov, the Foreign Minister of U.S.S.R. was present at Cairo. He had high level talks in regard to the construction of Aswan Dam. It is a pity that Britain has withdrawn

financial help for this work. Germany has promised plants for the erection of factories for paper, jute, beet sugar and motor tyres.

Nasser has to play a delicate role in regard to foreign help. He would not seek foreign aid with strings attached to it.

Revolutions have a habit of eating their own creators. But some survive. Nasser is one of them.

A tall, gracefully built man with penetrating eyes and a big nose, he is a devout Moslem of exemplary personal habits. He is utterly unselfish. He does not want a single thing for himself. No words can describe him better than his own. He said the other day at Cairo: "You will be asked your opinion of General Abdel Nasser. I want to tell you something. General Abdel Nasser will never deceive or mislead you. I shall work more for the interest of the weak than for the strong."

Of late Nasser has added to his political stature. Three years back he was elected as the first President of the United Arab Republic. He visited India for the second time last year. He also attended the last meeting of the United Nations where he played a great part in pedalling for peace. Our Prime Minister on his way back to India from attending the United Nations meeting halted at Cairo where he met Nasser.

With Africa simmering with unrest, the attention of the whole world will be rivetted on Egypt which occupies a pivotal position in the global set-up.

World's first Woman Prime Minister

Ceylon, the island paradise, has created world history in the past year. It has for the first time in its annals a woman as Prime Minister. She is none other than Mrs. Bandaranaike.

Forty six years of age, mother of three children, at first sight she creates the impression of being the last woman you expect to find in politics.

About 16 months back, she was a political innocent. At that time her greatest ambition was to become a grandmother but tragedy intervened.

Last September, her popular husband, Bandaranaike was shot dead at point blank range as he made obeisance to a Buddhist monk.

Twenty-four hours later, Srimati Srimavo put on the white saree of mourning and made a solemn vow to herself that she would dedicate her life to carry on the work of her husband.

The first act of this courageous woman was to plead for tolerance towards the Buddhist monks in Ceylon despite their part in their husband's murder. Soon she became the torch bearer of Freedom Socialist party.

She had been campaigning for the SLFP at every election meeting. She established a reputation as a hard hitting and fluent speaker in Sinhalese. At a

particular meeting where almost the entire audience consisted of women she broke down and sobbed. The audience sat through, many of them in tears.

During the election in Ceylon in April last, her party won 46 seats and was the strongest single group in opposition benches.

Born into a wealthy feudal family of strongly Conservative landowners in up country Ceylon, Srimavo was educated in a Convent School in Colombo. She caught the freedom urge even in her twenties, adopting the traditional Sinhalese dress and customs.

When 26, she caused a sensation by marrying the man of her choice—very unusual in the Orient. Though he himself stemmed from an aristocratic family, Bandaranaike was a degree less to her in the social set-up. Their marriage helped to break down some of the social barriers of Ceylon.

In the place of fickleness usually associated with women, Mrs. Bandaranaike has shown exemplary courage and determination. This was in evidence in the selection of her colleagues.

She is the sixth Prime Minister of Ceylon after independence. Her party secured 75 out of 151 elected seats and will be supported by eight other elected members and six nominated members. This will give her an absolute majority in the House of Representative.

Curiously enough, she herself is not a member of the House. She can however, be the pilot at the helm for four months whereafter she will have to contest a bye-election. One of the party members may resign in her favour. She can also be selected by the Lower House or appointed by the Governor-General. The first act she did after being sworn in as Prime Minister was to pay homage to Buddha at one of Colombo's famous temples.

Our Prime Minister has hailed the new leader of Ceylon.

She will play for safety for sometimes, following a policy of mild socialism with emphasis on social welfare. She has stated that she would accord the highest priority to the question of Indian settlers in Ceylon. She has also re-affirmed her faith in non-alignment in the sphere of foreign affairs.

Judging by the good Press that she has received both in Asia and Europe, it looks as though she will run the full circle of Prime Ministership and bring about stability to the island which she rules.

Phizo

The Naga rebel leader, Phizo, has been given the status of a British subject on the basis of his Indian citizenship. It will be recalled that he slipped to England and made a demand for a separate Nagaland.

He stated that he would take the issue to the United Nations.

India Government took no steps to get him repatriated. There is no repatriation agreement between the two countries.

At the moment there is no indication that Phizo would care to return to Assam. The political climate of Great Britain seems to agree with him. He is aided in his efforts by some missionaries in Great Britain.

The Press

One of the major obituaries in the newspaper world in Great Britain is the merging of *News Chronicle* with *Daily Mail*. I have already referred to this in last month's news chronicle of mine. But the subject has a significance which warrants mention again.

The financing of newspapers is such that a newspaper must be able to gear its production costs to what it can earn in pennies from its own particular readership and in pounds from the advertisers who wish to interest that readership, be it large or small. Failure, if it comes, is as likely to come from not being able to discern, to serve, even to create, an identifiable body of readers as from any other kind of inadequacy. This does not mean that the readership must be a group that advertisers are willing to woo. It also means that the newspapers have a responsibility, to themselves as to those whose money they wish to attract, to find and distinguish their readership very accurately and to order their finance accordingly.

The fate of *News Chronicle* and the *Star*, following as it did the ending of the *Sunday Empire News*, is not the end of the story of the British Press. A new, serious Sunday paper to challenge the *Sunday Times* and the *Observer*, and possibly other papers among the popular papers besides, is in preparation already to come out in February—the *Sunday Telegraph*. It has good auguries and is attracting, by all accounts, a formidable staff.

The prosperous era in Indian newspaperdom is also gone. Our Press was in doldrums but the inter-war years came to their rescue. The Government took enormous space for advertisement and paid for them heavily. They also allowed Editors belonging to *All India Newspapers Editors' Conference* free ride in trains to attend their periodical meetings.

The saddest phenomenon was the capture of the Indian Press by some top-ranking industrialists. Among them mention must be made of Mr. G. D. Birla, Mr. Dalmia and Mr. Goenka.

They exploit their position as proprietors to enhance their business prospects. All these Marwari millionaires own a chain of newspapers both in the English language as well as in vernaculars. They manipulate

a combined circulation and parade it before the advertisers. In spite of the Press Commission's report chain newspapers are expanding.

This trend also tends to adversely affect the existing news agencies. The press barons are planning their own news service, which will be linked up with foreign news services. Thus, we will get, only news coloured by propaganda. Against these agencies, the individual impartial reporter who wrote for particular newspapers has no chance to compete.

Of late, some Indian working journalists have banded themselves together to prospect new ventures on a co-operative basis. But it must be said frankly that their efforts have not been very successful. For one thing, the finances that they have been able to raise are inadequate from a long-range point of view. Again, there is internal disharmony among themselves. *Newsday* in Bombay, started with a big flourish of drums by Mr. Hariharan, former Editor of "Free Press Journal" has fallen on bad times. Nor is the local "Daily Dispatch" making much headway. You cannot maintain a newspaper by requesting for doles nor will veterans who have made a name as Editors come and handle these babies as editors. One cannot expect a Pothan Joseph or Sardar Panikkar to serve on a three-digit monthly salary. Panikkar gets as much as twenty guineas for one article he contributes to a foreign journal and Pothan is making nearly two thousand rupees as a freelancer from Bangalore. Moreover, working journalists in the retired list would not agree to "donate" articles to see the glamour of their bylines.

Newspaper, like other industries is big business and requires big funds. The only territory in the Indian Union where there is scope for a good English daily is Kerala. And there flourish big capitalists who can raise lakhs. Who will bell the cat?

Food Outlook

India has been a net importer of foodgrains for many years prior to 1942 when the food situation became a focal point of public attention.

Between 1930 and 1942, normally about a million tons of rice used to be imported and about 500,000/600,000 tons of other foodgrains exported. These imports and exports varied from year to year. Imports consisted of cheaper varieties of rice and export of better quality foodgrains including certain types of wheat and flour.

Since 1942, numerous efforts have been made to solve the food situation. Large scale imports of foodgrains were not possible during the war years particularly due to the fall of Burma. The situation continued to deteriorate to the extent of a serious famine in Bengal in 1944-45 and several hundred thousand people died of starvation when the prices had risen to

unprecedented heights. By stages, complete control of procurement, storage and distribution of rice was assumed in practically all the major deficit areas in the country, and in a greater or lesser measure in the surplus areas. The price control and control of foodgrains movement was stringently maintained. Thus prices of wheat in Punjab were kept at the level of Rs. 8 to 10 a maund and Rs. 12 to 15 a maund for rice.

A number of efforts were made in regard to import and distribution of wheat particularly, and to some extent of rice also. A number of committees such as Foodgrains Price Control Committee, Price Boards, etc., were formulated from time to time. No continuity of policy was however maintained.

The price structure in the country from year to year was allowed to fluctuate, prices rising and falling, depending upon the exigencies of the situation.

It may be of interest to note that the Food Administration cost the country Rs. 10 crores during 1951 apart from the subsidy of Rs. 44.6 crores and the public has every right to be assured that this top heavy expenditure is not a total waste.

Full-scale rationing and procurement had their own defects. There is no rough and ready formula which can be straight away applied to the needs of the farmer on the one hand, productivity of his land from year to year on the other hand and the net surplus that might be roped in by means of compulsion or levy. It was thus that the system of levy neither proved effective nor remunerative and was thoroughly unpopular. The moment this proposition is conceded, a stage of procurement which is remote from the farmer depending upon the remoteness in the shape of primary Mandi, secondary Mandi, etc. arises. Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that no human ingenuity can possibly gauge the net surplus of a producer and a surplus may become a deficit for reasons of social and other nature. Unless therefore there is fluidity in availability and distribution, it can well create a serious situation of starvation to the producer or leave him surplus foodgrains which would not be available for sale until probably the next season.

The gravity of the problem can be envisaged from the fact that a few pounds or some maunds of extra storage can make all the difference in the deficit or surplus in the country. Our net deficit has never been more than 5 to 6% or at most 7% of our total production. Shortage in foodgrains is unlike shortage in other commodities. A marginal shortage can create situations of sky-rocketing in prices. A man must eat what he can afford to eat and what his stomach needs and he will pay any price to satisfy his primary need. Therefore, any scheme for solution of the food problem has to be sought at the root of it—increased

production—and not in controls which can be only temporary palliatives depending upon actual production, net availability, expected imports and the total requirements. The two must be balanced and sufficient surplus left over.

The bold experiment of the late Mr. Ahmed Kidwai brought forward an era of three years of comfortable existence to the people. Prices went down to economic levels. Right type of qualities of foodgrains became available and the distributive machinery functioned in proper gear. The bad monsoon of 1957, however, again created a situation. Production fell by as much as 6 million tons, net imports meeting the balance requirements. Added to that was the division of the country in several zones which in some cases was ill-conceived and in others, where political pressures predominated, created a situation of plenty in one area and shortage in another just nearby, variations in the prices between the zones being as much as Rs. 7 to 8 per maund. Measures taken to combat the food problem were not of a long-term nature. Sales of rice and wheat in fair price shops at comparatively low levels in certain area and at higher levels in other created a new type of market of its own, a market for those who could afford to buy and nothing for others.

Now, after 16 years of all sorts of experimentation from one extreme to the other, we are faced with statements from Ministers, Central and State, all and sundry, saying in turn and out of turn, from abuse to persuasion, from threats to complete State trading in foodgrains.

FILMS

Ida Lupino, the actress and her husband Howard Duff have separated—for the second time since their marriage in 1951.

They parted in 1953 but were reconciled a month later. A spokesman for Howard Duff stated recently: "They are both trying to work out their differences."

The only novel of playwright Tennessee Williams is being adapted to the screen with the start in Great Britain's Elstree Studios of the shooting of "The Reamn Spring of Mrs. Stone."

Vivien Leigh stars her first film role for five years as Karen Stone, a not too successful actress who gives up her career to become infatuated with a succession of young gigolos in Rome.

Originally written in 1937, but not published until 1950, the novel lends itself to bright screen fare. The film is being shot in colour and wide screen and is being produced by Louis de Rechement who originated the famous "March of Time" series.

SMILE-A-WHILE

1. All made clear.—A woman missionary in China was taking tea with a mandarin's eight wives. The Chinese women examined her clothing, her hair, her teeth, and so on, but her feet especially amazed them.

"Why," cried one, "you can walk and run as well as a man!"

"Yes, to be sure," said the missionary.

"Can you ride a horse and swim too?"

"Yes."

"Then you must be as strong as a man!"

"I am!"

"And you wouldn't let a man beat you—not even if he was your husband, would you?"

Indeed I wouldn't the missionary said.

The mandarin's eight wives looked at one another, nodding their heads. Then the oldest said softly: "Now I understand why the foreign devil never has more than one wife. He is afraid!"

2. Confusing—Bystander: "Look at that youngster—the one with cropped hair, the cigarette, and trousers. Is it a boy or a girl?"

War worker: "It's a girl, she's my daughter."

Bystander: "My dear sir, do forgive me. I would never have been so outspoken if I'd known you were her father."

War worker: "I'm not—I'm her mother."

3. Not in the book.—It was at a big camp meeting, and hats had been passed round to receive the collection. The preacher rose and said, "Let us sing while the hats are coming in."

The pianist, after some fumbling with the pages turned to him and said: "I can't find it."

"Eh?" said the preacher, not understanding.

"That song 'While the Hats Are Coming In,' it isn't in my book," said the pianist.

4. Wonder why?—A woman walked into a store and said to the clerk: "I want a small, narrow comb, about so long, for a slightly bald man with celluloid teeth."

5. Money...Phooey!—If a man runs after money, he's moneymad; if he keeps it, he's a capitalist, if he spends it, he's a playboy; if he doesn't get it, he's a

ne'er-do-well; if he doesn't try to get it, he lacks ambition; and if he accumulates it after a lifetime of hard work, people call him a fool who never got anything out of life.

6. Change of trade.—A young woman who had recently acquired a large fortune invited Paderewski to give a private concert at her home. Her knowledge of music was by no means as large as her recently acquired wealth.

Commending on one of his selections, she exclaimed, "What a beautiful piece! Who composed it?"

"Beethoven, Madam," was the reply.

"Ah, yes," she said knowingly, "and is he now composing?"

"No," replied Paderewski gravely, "he is decomposing."

7. Touched him.—The hostess at a large party, rather proud of her voice, rendered "Carry Me Back to Old Virginie," in a rich and throaty tremolo. She was touched to notice a distinguished, white-haired man bow his head and weep quietly as the last notes floated over the room.

As soon as she could she went over to him and said, "Pardon me, but are you a Virginian?"

"No, madam," said the elderly man, brushing away a tear, "I am a musician."

8. Recipe.—A grandfather gives this counsel to a grandson for living to a ripe old age: "Worry less, play more. Ride less, walk more. Frown less, smile more. Drink less, breathe more. Eat less, chew more. Waste less, save more. Preach less, do more. Go less, rest more."

9. In the class room.—A teacher was trying to give her pupils an illustration of the word "perseverance."

"What is it," she asked, "that carries a man along rough roads and up hills and down through jungles and swamps and raging torrents?"

"There was silence, and then Tommy, whose father was a motor dealer, spoke up "Please, Miss," he said, "there ain't no such car."

10. The Lord is my policeman, I should worry.—On the East Side in New York the teacher in a mission school was trying to explain the twenty-third psalm, but none of the children had ever seen sheep or heard

of a shepherd. So she likened the shepherd to the traffic policeman who helped them across the street. This was an illustration they understood. The next Sunday she asked them if they understood about the shepherd. And one little girl excitedly threw up her hand, and the teacher said, "Tell me, Jennie."

"The Lord is my policeman, I should worry."

11. Why be polite, anyway?—Every seat was occupied when a group of women got in. The conductor noticed a man whom he thought was asleep.

"Wake up?" shouted the conductor.

"I wasn't asleep," said the passenger.

"Not asleep! Then what did you have your eyes closed for?"

"It was because of the crowded condition of the car," explained the passenger. "I hate to see the women standing."

12. Politics no sin.—In the "Old Country" an Irishman informed his confessor that he had killed two policemen. He waited a moment, and, as no comment was made, he repeated the information in a louder tone. Still there was no remark on the part of the priest, so he raised his voice a little higher and asked, "Are ye deaf, Father?"

"I am not," came the answer. "I'm waiting for you to stop talking politics and start confessing your sins."

13. In the wild West.—Tom: "My father was a great western politician in his day."

Bill: "What did he run for?"

Tom: "The border."

14. Two sides.—There are political parties in this country, not because there are two sides to every question, but because there are two sides to every office—outside and inside.

15. Good use for them.—The minister answered the doorbell. "Excuse me for interrupting you, sir," said the caller, "but I am collecting for the poor. Do you happen to have any old clothes?"

"Yes," answered the minister.

"Would you be willing to give them to me? I can assure you that they will be put to a worthy use."

"No, I cannot give them to you."

"What do you do with them?"

"Each night I brush them carefully, fold them, and hang them over a chair. Each morning I put them on again."

16. Evidence of poverty.—A school examination included the question: "Were the kings of Israel rich or poor?"

One boy answered: "I guess they were poor, because the Bible says they slept with their fathers. If they'd been rich they would have had beds of their own."

17. Medical opinion.—Samuel F. B. Morse was an eminent painter before he invented telegraphy. He painted a scene showing a man in death-agony once, and asked a physician friend to examine it.

"Well!" Morse inquired after the doctor had scrutinized the picture. "What's your opinion?"

The physician removed his spectacles, turned to Morse and commented: "Malaria!"

18. Self-praise.—Benjamin Franklin was once present at a meeting of a literary society in Paris. Not understanding French well, but wanting to appear polite, he decided to applaud when he should see a woman of his acquaintance do so. After the reading was over his little boy said to him, "But grandpapa, you always applauded, and louder than others, when they were praising you."

A Short Story

SPARE PARTS FOR VENUS

BY

DR. S. P. ADINARAYAN

She was undoubtedly a beauty and by an unanimous vote of the family it was decided to call her Venus. The unanimity was however achieved only after considerable controversy. Mrs. Ram still cherishing at heart the embers of a dying nationalism, was keen on giving an Indian name. Mr. Ram—a pseudo-classicist (most things about him were rather pseudo)—insisted on going to Greece. The children—Mohan and Maya, both on the verge of adolescence—following a more modern tradition would fain hitch the name wagon to a film star. Mr. Ram stuck to his guns and for once almost miraculously his voice prevailed. Opposition was withdrawn from all sides so completely and suddenly that he nearly collapsed with the shock of unfamiliar victory. The christening ceremony which took place in front of the house was both simple and solemn. A bottle of petrol was broken (figuratively actually a tin was opened) and the contents poured carefully into the tank. For she was a car.

Having given in, in the matter of nomenclature, Mrs. Ram was now thirsting for battle, eager for victories on other fronts. Hardly had the fumes of petrol died down than she entered the fray. "I have been married to you for nearly twenty years and you have never called me Venus even once."

"But this is a second-hand car my dear and you were not a widow when I married you."

"But he has called you plenty of bad names though" said her son, getting ready to drive "so don't feel altogether neglected, mother dear."

"Everybody says that I am beautiful"

"Popular opinion is notoriously unreliable" cautioned her husband "in matters like these always believe what the mirror tells you"

"I know that you do not think I am pretty"

"I never said so. On the contrary I am prepared to concede that by candle light, from a distance with a certain amount of aid from . . ."

"Mother don't you think that you should go up" said the daughter seeking to pour oil over troubled waters "or less you may be late for your appointment. You take such a long time to dress and get ready."

"There is much to do" said her brother. He held a spanner in his hand. "This car may also take a long time to get started."

"She is beautiful but she will not go". Casting a malevolent look at Venus Mrs. Ram went inside.

"Once she gets going there is no stopping" mused Mr. Ram aloud. "Where does your mother want to go?" he asked his daughter.

"To the Dentist."

"She was there only last week. Does she want a new set of false teeth to match her sari. Is that the latest fashion?"

"The set that she got is not fitting her properly. She has some trouble in talking."

"I had not noticed it"

The young mechanic tinkered with the car in traditional style. The bonnet was lifted reverently and the interior investigated minutely. Thrice the bonnet fell on his head but his ardour was unabated. "Keep going" encouraged his father, after nearly half an hour had elapsed, "victory will come to you unexpectedly." These were prophetic words. Hardly had he stopped talking when there was a terrific roar and the engine leapt into life.

"Mother, come quickly, the car has started" shouted Maya.

"Coming in a minute, I am not deaf"

"But you are slow. For Heaven's sake hurry up Ma. If by ill luck the engine stops, it may not start again"

Fifteen minutes later Mrs. Ram appeared on the verandha resplendent and panting for breath. "Sorry for the delay" she apologised "I mislaid my hair"

"Was't it on her head all the time" asked the perplexed husband of his daughter.

"She means the supplementary stuff which she always hides somewhere and later forgets where"

"Why does she hide it at all"

"Because nobody is supposed to know that she is using it though everybody does."

"A kind of polite fiction" said Mohan and pressed the accelerator. The car bucked and reared and

suddenly shot forward. They were off but the unexpected motion precipitated Mrs. Ram violently forward. Her head collided with that of the head of the family who was sitting on the front seat and in the resulting melee her glasses fell down. "Not much damage done" she said, picking it up "only a pebble has fallen out. On our way back from the Dentist we must stop at the Optician for a minute."

"First halt on our way back is the Garage" said her son "this car needs a new battery immediately. The present one is badly run down."

"That reminds me, my tonic is nearly over. After the Optician the Chemist and then to the Moore Market for a spot of shopping."

"Anything else?" asked her husband, vigorously massaging his head. He did not like the idea of stopping and starting the car five times in an evening. Even with a new battery, it would be tempting Providence.

However there was no difficulty in stopping the car at the Dentist. In fact it stopped of its own accord—a hundred yards before the destination. "What a long time your mother is taking" complained Mr. Ram to his children after the party had been sitting in the car for nearly an hour "I hope that she has not run away with Doctor."

"Good idea" laughed his son "no more Dentist's bills for her and their children shall have white teeth."

"Mother is past the age of child-bearing" said Maya "with precocious biological insight."

"One never can tell" mused Mr. Ram as his wife loomed into view.

"Sorry children for making you wait so long but that Dentist can certainly talk the hind legs off a donkey."

"I trust that your legs are all right dear. Hop in and let us get going." Such Optimism was almost an invitation to Nemesis.

"I wish that this wretched car would start as easily as it stops" said Mohan wiping his brow after he had used the crank for the fifth time. Earlier the self-starter had behaved in a most unselfish way. Now the motor refused to be coaxed even by manual effort. "There is nothing else to do, we must all get down and push—at least Dad and I will do so while the women will make a negative contribution by getting out."

A new battery did have a salutary effect on Venus. From the moment that it was installed starting and stopping ceased to be a problem. But new danger developed suddenly from an unexpected quarter. This was at the fag end of the expedition. The shopping at the Moore Market was over and the party was getting ready to go home when Mrs. Ram announced her intention to drive.

This knocked the wind out of the rest of the family completely. Mrs. Ram's driving was picturesque, lively and imaginative at the best of times but now with the shades of night falling fast, in a temperamental car, with uncertain glasses—the Optician was not able to fit in the pebble immediately and had given an accommodation pair till the original was ready—the thing took on a positively murtherous aspect. Maya was the first to regain consciousness and at once registered a strong protest. "Mother I implore you to do nothing rash. Do pause to think of the consequences of this fell deed that you propose to execute. What will be our fate if something happens to father?"

"The Insurance money. Ram I hope you had not forgotten to send this month's premium."

"I am not thinking of myself" replied her husband "I am ready to die but Woman, consider your children,—so young, so gay, so carefree, on the threshold of life—smashed to bits"

"They are not made of porcelain. What nonsense is all this? I have been driving for the last fifteen years and you are all alive still."

"But nervous wrecks" said Mohan "Mother do not take this desperate step."

"I shall drive this car now even if it is the last thing that I shall do in this life"

"Most probably it would be" remarked her husband "Farewell my children, we shall meet Where do people who die in a car accident meet again?"

"At the Ford Foundation in Detroit" said Mohan.

"In the second drawer of my wardrobe, underneath my under-wear, you will find a paper containing a list of all my debts. Mohan, Maya and you my dear wife, share this equally between you."

"No need for a written list" replied his wife "I know them all and some more that you do not know."

"You should see that you make a substantial contribution towards their acquirement."

We tend to exaggerate evil in anticipation. Things when they do happen, are never as bad as we feared or as good as we hoped that they would be. Reality always falls short of expectation. This is one of Nature's safety devices to keep up the balance of life. The drive back home was certainly not a joy-ride but neither was it a complete night-mare. Incidents there were in plenty—a dog lost its life and the seventh one of a cat was placed on a precarious footing. A policeman scampered to safety and a lorry driver used some forceful language. Untroubled by these flee-bites Mrs. Ram drove on with grim determination. She stopped over the steering-wheel and peered into the illuminated darkness in front with myopic but courageous vision.

The knowledge that she had not renewed her driving licence lend speed to her resolution. The needle of the speed-o-meter 'leapt up to forty. Inside the car the atmosphere was electric and the silence eloquent only to be broken by the wailing of the electric horn which the driver kept tooting at regular intervals. When the last turning that led to their house was taken, a faint ray of hope began to rise in Mr. Ram's agitated breast. "It looks as though we are going to live" he said. And then it happened.

A little boy from a way-side cottage suddenly darted out in front of the car. "Look out Mother" shouted Mohan who was now sitting by her side. Mrs. Ram swerved widely to avoid hitting the child and then rammed on the brake—a second too late. The car hit a telegraph post. Its front was badly smashed but the human cargo was safe—more or less. Mrs. Ram got out unhurt though badly shaken, Mohan had a cut lip, Mr. Ram a bump on his head and Maya a bleeding nose. A crowd of fifty strong had immediately collected on the spot, as it usually does on these occasions. The accident was being discussed by them from every possible point of view.

"This is what comes of women leaving their place in the kitchen" said one.

"Their cooking has deteriorated but their driving has not improved" complained another.

"Give me a bullock-cart for safety" remarked a third.

"But what about speed?" asked a fourth.

"Slow and steady wins the race" observed a fifth, with a penchant for proverbs.

A smartly dressed young-man in a magnificent Chev. came driving along. Seeing the crowd he stopped his vehicle and got out. "Your car is a wreck" he informed Mr. Ram emphasising the obvious.

"Misfortunes never come singly" said Mrs. Ram "in the confusion that followed the accident, somebody stole a small pocket that I had on the back seat."

"What was in it Madam?" asked the stranger.

"Well some powder, lip-stick, cold-cream and a bottle of scent."

BIRTH OF NATYASAstra

BY

CHANDRALEKHA

According to tradition, and Natyasastra, Siva is the creator of dance, as also the first dancer. There are numerous evidences of this fact in our ancient sculpture and archæology. An urge to dance must have been as old as human emotions, and must have belonged even to pre-historic times. In the excavations of Mohenjodaro civilisation, the sculptured figure of a dancer, and a seal with a figure of Siva have been found. From these it may be inferred that dance must have existed in India for more than five thousand years. There are many theories amongst the savants about the origin of Natyasastra, the earliest extent work on the subject of drama and dance. It is considered to belong to the second or the third century A.D. or even earlier. Natyasastra gives an interesting story about its origin.

It says that once upon a time when Jambudwipa was inhabited by Devas, Danavas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Rakshasas and many other sects of people, the world was in a very wretched state, teeming with vice and drunkenness and evil and wickedness and intrigue and strife. The conditions were dangerous and the world was going towards crisis and disaster. The gods grew anxious. Then they went to Brahma and requested him to create some pastime for them, something colourful and instructive, combining both the visible and the audible; at the same time, both accessible to and understood by all alike—such a medium through which it would be possible to counteract the existing evil and establish righteousness.

Brahma thought over this request, and after much contemplation, drawing one particular aspect from each of the four Vedas, created the fifth One. From Rigveda he derived language; from Yajurveda action; from Samaveda music; and *rasa* from Atharvaveda. This new Veda thus created was called Natyaveda—art of Drama. It consisted of Pathya (the literary aspect); abhinaya (act of communication) gana (song) and *rasa* (bliss or ecstasy). Then Brahma summoned Indra, King of gods and asked him to persuade the gods to perform it. But Indra said to Brahma that he felt that the gods were not either fit or worthy to perform it, since they would not be able to either concentrate or comprehend fully the essence of this new knowledge nor be able to present it with precision. Only those who were well-versed in the four Vedas were in a position to grasp the full extent of its meaning.

Brahma saw the wisdom of Indra's statement. He summoned Sage Bharata, master of the four Vedas, and said to him: "O learned Sage! I have created a fifth Veda, the Natya; which I enjoin you, along with your sons, to learn and perform."

Bharata, forthwith, learnt it from Brahma. After learning it, he asked Brahma as to what he should do with his new knowledge—this new art. Brahma asked Bharata to present it before the people—and a certain day, a day of the Festival of the Flag, *dhwajamaha*, was fixed for its first performance.

Accordingly Bharata performed one of the ten types of plays expounded in the Natyasastra and this first play was Amritamanthana—churning of the nectar from the ocean.

After that Brahma with Bharata went to the Himalaya. There Bharata staged this new creation before Siva. Siva and all those who witnessed the performance were mightily pleased. Then Siva offered to teach Bharata the art of dance, *nritta*, which he had created and which he was the first to dance.

Thus Natyasastra, a combination of the art of drama—*natya* and the art of dance—*nritta*, came into existence.

The theme of Amritamanthana is that of a fight between Devas and Danavas over the nectar found from the churning of the ocean, resulting in a victory of the Devas who, through the help of Vishnu, disguised as Mohini, a girl of extraordinary beauty, who turned the heads of Danavas and secured the nectar for the Devas.

When Bharata performed this play, the Danavas were naturally irate, and began to create obstacles during the play. They complained to Brahma that the play was a dire insult to them, and it was unfair of Brahma to have allowed the staging of it. Brahma explained to the Danavas that the sentiments of the play did not apply to them in particular. He then explained to them the true nature and the meaning of *natya*. He said: Natya is created as a guide to the whole world and to all human beings to realise the good and the evil. It is an experience of the world, of joy and of sorrow conveyed through *abhinaya*. Full of ideas and emotions of many kinds, and based on different situations, it is created to be a representation of the behaviour and action of people of different

types; great, ordinary and low—*uttama*, *madhyama* and *adhama*. It is an instructive recreation, imparting goodness, happiness and bliss. It is a revelation of truth to all alike; to kings and beggars; to the great and the small; to good people and bad people; to householders and *sanyasins*.

What an all-embracing, noble and abiding vision!

K. M. Varma, an outstanding scholar of Natyasastra, holds this daring and unorthodox view about the origin of Natya:

"Natya does not originate in religion and is not meant to serve religious purposes, however much it may take the names of the gods including Brahma, Siva and so on: utterly destructive conditions brought it forth. It is meant to serve the world from evils, through correctly focussing light on everything. Even its connection with *dhwajamaha* does not prove its relation with religion. Its origin and purpose, too, is secular and not religious."



Personality Sketch

QUEEN ELIZABETH II

BY

KASHYAPA

Students of British history and Constitution have never ceased to wonder at the development and preservation of the institution of Monarchy. Practically alone in the entire civilised world, England has maintained the Royal Symbol, while its government has fluctuated from the hands of diehard Tories to those of near Left Socialists. Rajendra Prasad-like doubts as to their powers have never assailed the minds of British sovereigns in recent times—Charles I practically lost the battle of the Divine Right of Kings for himself and his posterity. Small disputes over affairs of the heart have not spared Buckingham palace and we have the incident of Edward VIII as a permanent tribute which even Royalty had to pay at the altar of Love. But by and large, it has been smooth sailing for the Throne, and a succession of rulers have endeared themselves to their nation and the world by their greatness of conduct, and gentleness of spirit. Queen Elizabeth II who with her Royal Consort, the Duke of Edinburgh is expected to visit our country ere long, has all the grace of her ancestors and all the good wishes of her people. We welcome her with the sincerity that becomes the unique occasion, for she is no ordinary ruling Queen of another country; she is the Head of the British Commonwealth, and might conceivably have been, besides, our Empress, had things moved slower in 1947.

The Queen bears the name of one, who made such an impression on the affairs of the world in her time, that the very Era came to be known and understood as the Elizabethan Era. In Art and Literature, in Politics and Social life, that was a period never to be forgotten. The second Elizabeth now reigns over England at a time no less significant, perhaps even more crucial. The wounds of the Second World War had hardly healed, and the scars were still very fresh, when on February 6th, 1952, she came to the throne. The "cold war" between differing concepts was at its most freezing minimum temperature, and this deadly bottling up of increasing hatreds was giving room for such consternation among the ranks of intellectuals all over the world. Today in 1961, after nine years, that danger if not wholly averted is nevertheless much

receded—and who can say that in her own unostentatious and quiet way, the Queen is not responsible for the prospects for Peace brightening? I am aware that this may seem a needless compliment to a constitutional sovereign, but I do feel that certain individuals have certain effects—some beneficial, others otherwise. 1952 was so crucial a year, that a person of a different type—may I say, of another wave-length—might have easily made matters worse? This is not superstition or astrology, but observation. Some people *do* have an aura of good about them, and others of evil. Elizabeth II must have a really great and good nature, I deduce, from the fact that the world has improved since her accession to the Throne of one of the Great Powers.

History records that when the first Queen Elizabeth at the tender age of twenty-five, learned of her succession to the Throne, she was sitting in the Great Park at Hatfield. After conferring with the great Cecil, she came to London in a few days. Four centuries later, when Elizabeth II heard of her father's death, she was in a dark tropical forest of Central Africa. She was back in London in twenty four hours! Between these two events, to quote Lord Simon, "the whole pageant of Britain overseas has unfolded, beginning with the first settlements in Virginia, until the jurisdiction of the British Crown had spread in every part of the globe". (I would substitute the word "influence" for "jurisdiction", and "way of life" to the "Crown," to make that a perfect statement.) But before parting with Simon, his tribute to the new Queen must be read. Speaking of the meeting of Accession Council on the eventful day he says: "The Young Queen then made her entrance, read her aptly phrased speech in clear and quiet tones, and went through the formal business with a calm dignity and gracious charm, that touched me deeply. Her slight figure and gentle manner seemed almost girlish, but you felt she knew exactly what to do, and was doing it with the same composure and courtesy her grand-father always showed at meetings of the Sovereign in Council . . ." This brief but meaningful eulogy by so senior and eminent a Statesman as

Lord Simon needs no commentary, and I respectfully quote him on this occasion.

* * *

That the times of the second Elizabeth will restore the calm atmosphere of which one has read is a legitimate hope. If precedent is of any value in history, we have the times of our grandfathers and great grandfathers. It was the period of our fathers that shook the world. Changes and progress were so rapid that the world could not but quake in its impact. There must be a limit to everything, and I am one of those who think that in a decade, the world will settle down. Values will alter; modes of life will change; quiet usefulness will replace useless and febrile activity. If that historical cycle were to complete itself, there

must be a restoration of older values. Atoms harnessed to household purposes, science diverted to a total conquest of disease and suffering, intellects attuned to creative work, philosophers being bred where warlords were, these and such like are the scenes that I would like to see in my late forties. Was such a hope and prayer implicit in the famous words of Winston Churchill when, in Parliament, he announced the death of George VI and Accession of Elizabeth II, words which ring constantly in my ears thanks to a good friend's memory for famous passages?

"I whose youth was spent in the august and tranquil glories of the Victorian Era, may well feel a thrill when I invoke the national anthem and prayer GOD SAVE THE QUEEN."

ON BEING PIMPLED—IN LIGHTER VEIN

BY

JOHN VERGIS

Pimples are very interesting phenomena. They usually appear on the face in and out of place and out of time too. They have no knowledge of human geography; nor do they obey the natural climate. Some appear on the nose, some on the eyelids, some on the upper lip under cover of the moustache, some on the scalp, some on and in the ear and some dangerous ones on various strategic points on the face and elsewhere. They appear in the hot summer and the cold winter; bright Spring accord them a warm welcome; but the 'season of mellowed fruitfulness' is the best for them.

Some of them are mere excrescence and hence sources of perpetual irritation. Some others, in the considered opinion of certain judges of facial beauty enhance the appeal of the faces they adorn. Though as beauty-spots they have attracted the attention of a few people, their unwanted visitation is often looked upon with considerable misgivings. Except those on plump cheeks—and that too on certain lucky faces—pimples are as a rule nothing but a curse.

Even pimples are partial to women. They are, from a man's point of view of course, kind to female faces. There they attack only rarely and very often the attack turns to be a blessing in disguise, for the appeal of the faces increases. It is heard—rather overheard—from female quarters that some ladies crave for pimples. Though there may be some exaggeration in it, it is an exaggeration of a vital truth.

These reddish-yellowish-whitish bubbles usually appear on fourteen-to-fifteen-year-old faces and sometimes they linger for years together. Physiologists and doctors do not attach great significance to this phenomenon of bubbling. They dismiss the question most off-handedly by suggesting that more fruits and better-balanced diet will extirpate these coons on the face. But tell-tale stories in common currency attribute them to the coming of maturity. Some mythologists in class-rooms bring in Cupid in their animated discussions on pimples. Though the part played by that

blind boy in the 'pimpling' of faces may be disputed by those who approach the problem scientifically, myths and legends have their significance no less than science. Bachelors up to the age of twenty-five usually carry these valuable possessions on their otherwise shrunken faces and very often elicit the mocking commiseration of many an onlooker. There is a superstition that after marriage pimples fade into the limbo of the past, never to rise again. But many a standing example of married 'pimple-holders' proves the hollowness of such a popular belief.

These naughty little urchins are at the height of their mischief in the morning when one faces the mirror for having a shave. Each one of them bears a sign board "Caution: Drive slowly. Little children playing on the road." Sometimes untoward incidents occur: some little ones get injured; some are smashed under the wheel never to rise again; some offer stubborn resistance. Those in the last category are to be coaxed, cajoled and wheeled. Stop your car (razor), pet them with your softest fingers; (if your own fingers are not sufficiently soft, borrow those of your wife if she is nearby and willing to help) and with a gentle patting on and around the spot, carry on your drive. If you unwisely get into a struggle with them, be sure they will incur unexpected medical expenses for you and the doctor may have to drive his operation-knife on your face.

But the most astonishing thing about the phenomenon of primples is that it is universal. It can occur not only on the face but all over the body. (In such cases, the definition of 'pimple' given in "The Learner's Dictionary" holds good). This is dangerous and hence to be carefully studied. These out-of-the way visitations have not only no beauty-value, but are also sources of perpetual exasperation.

Now wonder if pimples happen to be a usual topic for introducing an informal and useful talk with strangers.

SPORTS IN BRIEF

BY OUR SPORTS COMMENTATOR

The recent Indo-Pakistan Test matches have attracted great attention. Pakistan beat India in the Olympic hockey contest at Rome and is grooming its sportsmen with exemplary care.

One cricketer who has almost become a legend at Karachi is Hanif Mohammad, who made his bow in Test cricket at the age of 16. For the last eight years, he has continued to be the mainstay of Pakistan's batting. In the very first match of Pakistan's Test tour, he scored a century. His main forte is his impregnable defence. In variety of strokes many may excel him. He has the wizardry of Bradman, a quick eye and uncanny anticipation. Other qualities are his quick judgment and fine temperament.

Once in a marathon Test encounter he occupied the crease for 16 hours and 11 minutes. When he began that epic knock, Pakistan team was trailing no fewer than 473 runs behind West Indies in the first innings, and yet as he went on batting, the huge deficit was wiped out.

Over at Karachi, they call him "The Little Master". He has bagged many centuries and double centuries. In Pakistan's tour of England in 1954, on a wet wicket, he collected 1,623 runs, heading the average in the Tests. Since then he has played many a match for his State.

Hanif is not robust of build but wristy and willowy. He executes his strokes with dainty dexterity. In the Bombay Test he scored over a century. He is one of the world's best cricket players. Pakistan should be proud of him. He has put that country on the sporting map of the world.

Indo-Pakistan Test Cricket Matches :

Indo-Pakistan Test matches have attracted attention. At the moment of writing this dispatch two matches have been played, the first at Bombay and the second at Kanpur. Both have resulted in draws. At the Bombay match, despite a slashed finger, the visiting hero Hanif Mohammad made a century. But what excited the audience most was the thrilling knock by Desai who created a record in ninth wicket performance. He carried the home team from a 59-deficit to a small first innings lead. Nana Joshi kept the other side up.

At Kanpur too where Pakistan won the toss made a fine recovery after an initial bad start. India replied with a fine innings lead. Umrigar scored over a century and eclipsed the record of Hanif. At the rate at which things are proceeding, it looks as though the rest of

the matches would also be inconclusive. Both the teams are very cautious in their approach and both lack bowlers of sting.

Sports Goods :

There has been a serious recession in the export trade of sports goods from Pakistan. In Sialkot, the sports goods industry centre, export trade has fallen by about 80 per cent during the last four months. Many of the Sialkot exporters are not able to meet their commitments to foreign clients in full. Items on which the exporters felt they could make huge profits are readily exported, but those where the margin of profit is meagre, are not being exported.

Another factor that has contributed much to the present recession is the reported under-selling by a large number of exporters. In a bid to oust their rivals from the market, some of them under-quote up to 20 per cent of the market price, and then make up the losses through the vouchers issued by the State Bank of Pakistan as reward for their export trade. Sports goods manufacturers fear further cuts in exports as Japan is said to be dumping these goods in markets previously held by Pakistan.

Cricket Hero :

David Allen, England and Gloucestershire off-spin bowler has been awarded the English Cricket Writers' Club "Young Cricketer of the Year Trophy" for the year 1960. The trophy is awarded to the player considered to be the outstanding young cricketer in performance and promise.

Fast Bowler :

Ian Meccckiff, the Australian fast bowler with the controversial action passed his first test under the new experimental rule when the Australian cricket season opened at Melbourne recently. He bowled in an inter-district match under the watchful eyes of Australia's Test match umpire, Ron Wright and another top umpire in Jack Sheehan. Neither questioned his action nor called him for dragging, but Meccckiff did not bowl full out in 12 overs. He did not take a wicket and had 46 runs knocked off him.

By reaching one thousand runs in Tests at Brisbane a few days ago Norman O'Neill entered the upper bracket of Australian batsmen. He passed this milestone in his 14th Test match. He is the sixth Australian

since the world war to top 1,000 runs in fewer than fifteen matches.

Bradman holds the all-round record with eight Tests. Next are Vice-Captain Neil Harvey who did it in ten Tests and Arthur Morris who did it in twelve.

Tennis Ranking :

Samsher Singh, Honorary Secretary of the All-India Lawn Tennis Association has announced the ranking for the current year. The rankings are : Men's Single : R. Krishnan, Premjit Lal, Naresh Kumar, J. Mukherjee, Akhtar Ali and V. R. Balasubramaniam.

Boys' Junior Singles : Mukherjee, S. P. Misra, V. Dhawan, G. Banerjee, R. Venkatesan and J. Dehiya.

India won the rubber match against Ceylon in the women's hockey series against Ceylon, beating the latter by one goal to nil in the fourth Test at Bhopal recently.

Wrestling Champion :

Italian-born Tony Magnifico has only one hand, but he has become bantam weight amateur wrestling champion of Australia. He has a fair chance of representing Australia at the British Commonwealth Games at Perth in 1962 and also at the Olympic games at Tokyo in 1964.

Derby Winner Dead :

"Hyperion", winner of the 1933 Derby died recently at Lord Derby's Newmarket stud. He won the 1933 Derby in the fastest recorded time upto then. He won nine of his 13 races.

He went to stud in 1934 and sired the winners of 74 races worth over £ 564,000 in Britain alone.

Water Weight Boxing :

Benny Kid Paret (Cuba) retained the world water-weight boxing title at New York recently when he earned a unanimous points decision against Federico Thompson of Argentina over 15 bruising rounds. Both fighters stood toe to toe throughout the contest and traded blows. Thompson lost because Paret was able to weather his heaviest punches.

Hugh Nelson, the 44-year old international long-distance walker smashed the world's and British 24-hour track walking record by covering 135 miles 21 yards in 24 hours at Walton-on-Thames recently. Nelson is an aircraft engineer.

Italy's star amateur player Nicola Pietrangali, walked out of the courts in Melbourne over a dispute concerning the use of a picked shoes, and refused to play a match in Sydney because he was tired.

Jesse Owens :

Jesse Owens, the famous American Olympic champion will soon get the four gold medals he won at the Berlin Olympic games in 1936—25 years ago. Owens who had then won the 100 metres, 200 metres, long jump and 4 × 100 metres relay Gold medals lent them to the American Olympic Committee for an exhibition. The medals disappeared during the Exhibition and were never recovered. The President of the West German Olympic Committee however had ordered the medals to be reacted.

This has been done. Owens is still the champion in long jump. He jumped 8.13 metres—a performance which he achieved in 1935.

Book Reviews

The Look of Leaders

Two outstanding book of pictures of two great men of the present decade have been published by the United States. The first concerns Churchill and is captioned "Churchill—The Walk with Destiny". The second one is a pictorial representation of the career of Roosevelt and is titled: "The Human Side of F. D. R."

The striking similarities between the careers of these great leaders are notable. Winston started life as the First Lord of Admiralty on Armada day in 1912 and Roosevelt as Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1913. Both are seen aboard ships with rigging in the background. Later, you see each of them in a leather helmet with goggles high on their foreheads. Both had the sea in common and many a time F.D.R. used to address his friend as "formal naval person."

Of the two books, Roosevelt is better edited. There is more text, painstakingly culled from the mould of material. Also there are more pictures of the American President talking to the people of his nation, man to man. Most of the Churchill pictures show him alone, or with close associates and Mrs. Churchill.

Power and Diplomacy—Dean Acheson

The writings of important public figures have to be judged in terms of more criteria than the works of those who never occupied such high positions. The views of men in high places have value *per se* as

revealing the official position. If such men are out of office, as is the case with Acheson, their works have to be evaluated in terms of three criteria; as new revelations regarding events which took place when the person occupied the office or may not have a significant following and on the basis of intrinsic value of the work.

Acheson's latest book does not offer any new revelations regarding the important events which took place during the time that he occupied high positions with his Government. In some instances he makes statements, particularly with China and Korea in order to justify his policies. There is however nothing new in these justifications.

In so far as he is a spokesman of the late Democratic government in the U.S. his views have some insignificance. He lists three major current trends in world affairs with which a sounder policy has to cope—the emergence of the United States and the Soviet Union to positions of power, nuclear weapons as instruments of unlimited violence and the Afro-Asian revolution against alien control. The policy to control these developments includes concentration on the importance of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, opposition to the neutralisation of Germany and avoidance of overwhelming dependence on massive retaliation. These views are trenchantly expressed. But the book says very little that has not been said before.

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BETWEEN THE STATES FOR CAPITAL
PROJECTS

J. M. HEALEY, B.Sc. (Econ.) Hons. Lond.

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PROF. K. VASUDEVAN

MEN AND MATTERS

C. H. V. PATHY

PERSONALITY SKETCH

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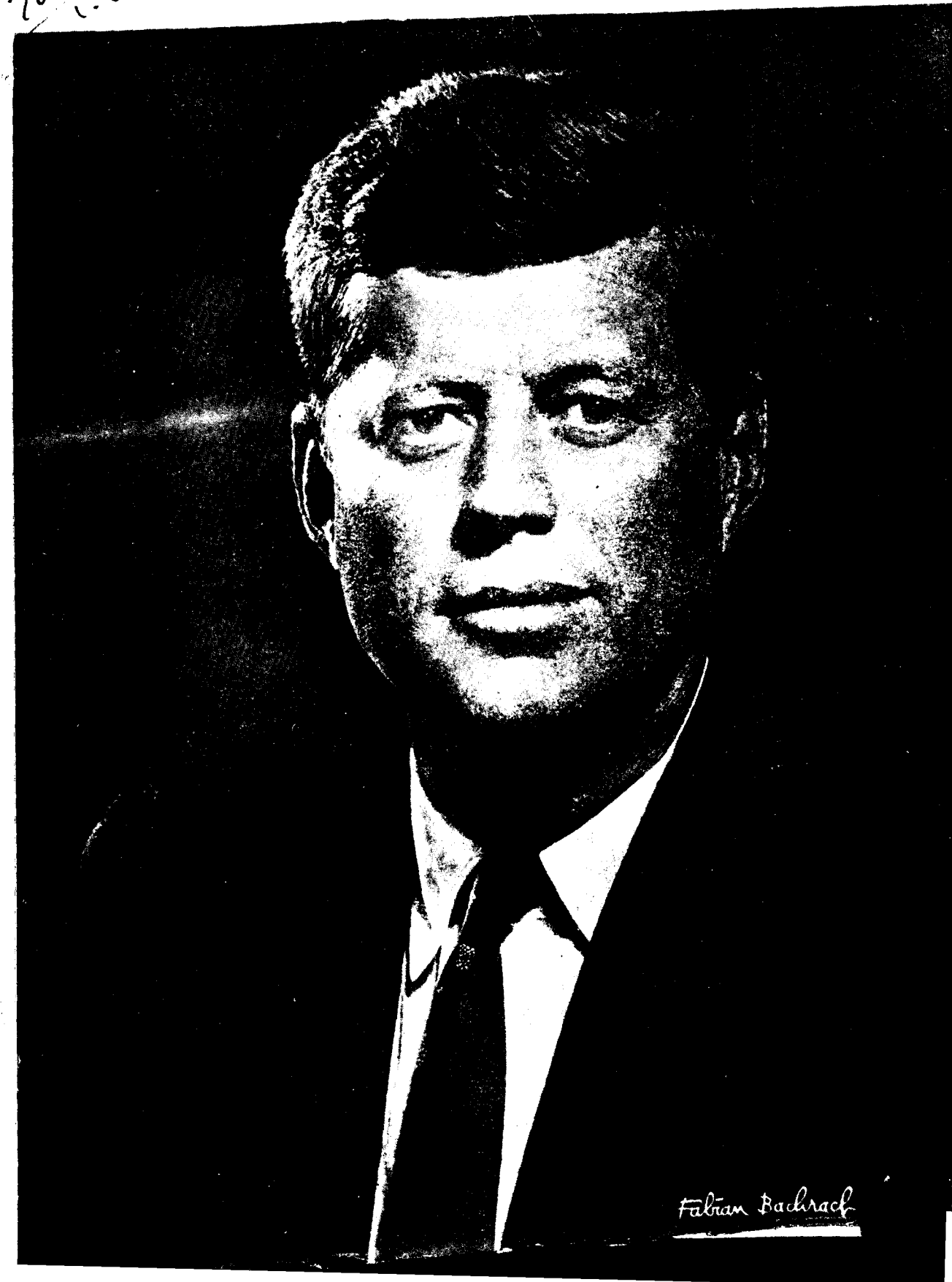


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Editorial

OUR MARCH ISSUE

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MEN AND MATTERS: *C. H. V. Pathy*

INSIDE INDIA—

AN ECONOMIC COMMENTARY: *Prof. K. Vasudevan*

**AS USUAL KASHYAPA'S PERSONALITY SKETCH AND POTHAN
JOSEPH'S ARTICLE WILL BE INCLUDED IN ADDITION TO OUR
SPORTS IN BRIEF AND BOOK REVIEWS.**

GREAT EXPECTATIONS

Planning as a definite scheme for accomplishing a purpose seems to have taken a different meaning in the context of our National Planning. Development programmes are being drawn up on an unprecedented scale. As for the individual so also for a nation it is nothing but futile day dreaming to have grandiose plans of improvement without adequate material and technical backing; in other words have we the means to achieve our goal? The National Development Council was careful enough to increase the proposed outlay on the Third Plan from Rs. 10,200 crores to Rs. 11,500 crores. But instead of making a perfect plan on paper, we wonder whether they had given any thought as how to raise this enormous sum. Have they taken into consideration the actual resources realisable from within the country as well as that could be expected from outside nations? It has become a mania for our "experts at planning" to put phenomenal figures in the foreign aid column. These figures particularly are dependent on decisions taken by outside parties and any definite fixation on that account can be a little far fetched and can be termed only as great expectations. When there is a deficiency in our foreign aid fixed by our planners the whole mechanisms, the perfect economic models, will remain on paper as figments of riotous imagination and wishful thinking.

Impressing the masses with colossal blueprints have become customary in our planning era. But do the originators of these vast paper plans realise that mere promises of bigger plans will hardly win more votes, in the absence of any evidence that the promises are likely to be realised? With the general elections due next year, possibly the chief ruling party in India, think, that they can stabilise or even strengthen their position by presenting fabulous schemes of improvement.

Even the initial draft plan with Rs. 10,200 crores requires enormous foreign help and also expects us to save a larger percentage of our income, to be mobilised and put to use by the planning experts. Still, the outlay on the Third Plan was enhanced to Rs. 11,500 crores hoping that some one will help us out when the time comes. Can you call this realistic planning? With greater accent on socialistic ideas, the plan hopes to invest the greater part of the outlay on the public sector. It is likely that we may witness the familiar technique of deficit financing with its attendant inflationary pressures on the economy. The requirement of a foreign aid programme of over a billion dollars a year is surely not a modest amount to expect. Without creating further disincentives to entrepreneurs, it is difficult to see how Rs. 1,650 crores can be realised through additional taxation. The continuous expansion of the Bureaucratic machinery and the expenditure on defence are certainly increasing the non-plan expenditure. This will take away a considerable slice of our tax revenues. As they are, the existing plants find it difficult to import

components and raw materials they need to run them to capacity. This difficulty is likely to increase with the inclusion of further projects, as the foreign exchange allocation of plants is far from satisfactory. Planning becomes a wasteful process if new plans are set up while the existing ones are kept below their full capacity. In the public sector, the shortage of coal was responsible in the last few months for keeping steel, fertilizer and many other plants partly idle. While at the Council meeting the Minister for steel, mines and fuel blamed the coal shortage due to the failure of adequate railway transport and the Railway Minister in his turn put the blame on unplanned movement. But the failure to fulfil its part of the plan to increase the output of coal lay interestingly enough, with the public sector. The National Development Council seemed to have ignored also the problems of idle industrial capacity and unemployment.

It is not just enough to mobilise internal and external resources to be pumped into the national economy. If the non-plan expenditure and the prices are not kept in check, they will crush the initiative in both the private and public sectors. Under these circumstances, our National Planners should have been a little more realistic in drawing up their blueprints to further our progress.

PRAYERS AT THE PRECIPICE

BY

POTHAN JOSEPH

The International Conference of War Resisters held at Madura marks a milestone in the struggle of Pacifists to eliminate appeals to arms in the settlement of international disputes. The problem of peace always bristled with difficulties, and if the Madura session did not register any great advance in the formulation of remedies it does not mean that world panic could be allowed to continue permanently conditioning our existence.

The right of private defence has never been denied, and when it comes to collective defence we have the genesis of war. According to authorities, the best form of defence is attack; that is to say to launch an offensive rather than give the initiative to the opponent.

Before we proceed further, let me recall an interview which Prime Minister Nehru gave to the press in Bangalore on 18th January 1960. I quote his exact words when he spoke of Kashmir; "When the invasion of Kashmir took place, we approached Mahatma Gandhi in some distress of mind asking him what we were to do. He said 'Use armed force'. I was surprised that the apostle of non-violence should have recommended armed force in the light of past counsel.

The fact of the matter is that even Mahatma Gandhi could not furnish a consistent pattern of total *ahimsa* a fact that is by no means to his discredit but which merely illustrates the multifarious limitations of the doctrine. When Mahatma Gandhi was in South Africa he won war medals for organising an ambulance corps. Next, during the First World War he enlisted recruits for the army from Kaira and Dhulia not to form any medical unit but actually to fight at the front killing Germans. He had long ago attained moral maturity. In World War II, he advised Englishmen to lay down arms and let Hitler have his way. These fluctuations reflect bafflement in the pursuit of satyagraha, the weapon he has bequeathed for the peace of the world.

A No-War Declaration between two countries unaccompanied by the discarding of arms can never solve an issue and when a dispute appears intractable, two opponents would never expose themselves to hazards even though they are pacifists. The

Quakers form a sect pledged never to fight in battlefields but the snag is that spectators with humanitarian instincts cannot watch the tragedy of the wounded with folded hands. What follows?

They form ambulance units or join the Red Cross staff, but concurrently they are releasing an equivalent number of civilians conscripted to wear the uniform. The consequence is that it is a process of displacement although the conscientious objector is functioning as the Good Samaritan. Worse still, the mechanics of war have completely changed in the Hydrogen Bomb era and the emission of the death-ray from a distance. The infantry on the march never sees the enemy and the instruments of fight include bacteriological and chemical warfare which the Big Powers keep in reserve. What can the War Resister do?

If the Madura Conference had no specific answers, champions of peace-at-any-cost like Rev. Michael Scott cannot be blamed. When we are told that disarmament should be under inspection, how could one be sure of the potential enemy and could be happy to disclose his preparations and secret equipment? The practice of guile would be presumed, even in the formula of limiting armaments to so-called conventional weapons which ever since the invention of gunpowder made for unequal struggles with fire-power as the determinant in place of personal valour with the sword.

Recently Bertrand Russell and Rev. Michael Scott issued a manifesto against the armament race, their cogent plea being that if nations did not disarm in the nuclear age mankind is in danger of annihilation. Whoever denies it? Certainly the average Britisher has a double cause for apprehension. He realises that Britain is but a small island open to the early blasts of the Continental enemy obliterating her. Call it selfishness after four centuries of superior might enjoyed by Britain, but she is today a fifth-rate Power and safeguards never before known have to be installed. Last November London witnessed the spectacle of forty thousand people protesting in what was called Aldermaston March. A demonstration on that scale had no peace-time precedent. Their one

(Continued on page 11)

TRAINING IN JOURNALISM

BY

NILKAN PERUMAL

In the profession of Journalism in India, we have really first-rate men. Their grasp of the essentials is amazing, their work bears evidence of mental excellence, their editorials are thought-provoking and pungent, also pregnant with rich expressions of distinguished opinion. With all that, why is it that we have no newspaper in this country, having a flowing circulation of at least one lakh of copies, while in America and England there are papers with even five million? Why is it that most of our newspapers are so dull, poor in get-up and badly printed? More, why is it that a newspaper reader often finds himself out of tune with his daily paper? The answer to all these queries could be found in the single fact that in ninety-nine out of a hundred instances, our journalists are not scientifically trained for the profession. The journalist, I believe, requires as thorough a technical training for his work as the lawyer or doctor does for his profession.

Modern Journalism is seventy-five per cent *technical* and only twenty-five per cent an artistic literary pursuit. The trouble with Indian journalism is that it is in the main, *non-technical*. The outlook of those who run our papers still continues to be that journalism thrives merely on well written editorials and politicians' special articles on their pet political or economic subjects, written out in the usual heavy cumbersome Victorian-English Style! It does not seem to be realized that a real and popular newspaper is intended for the masses. Our papers still continue to be published for the high-school or college-educated people, in the main. Of course, Vernacular newspapers have their own fine standards with some success; still, they too do not very much touch or mould mass opinion, on account of their blindly following, in many ways, the pattern of the English newspaper.

The panacea for such ills being sought out by few Indian Universities, these days, by providing certain types of academic education in journalism for aspiring young pupils. How far the journalistic courses prescribed in those Universities are helpful, I can't say with any amount of confidence. I have not come across any outstanding product of any of these journalism schools in India. Still, it is good that a beginning had been made by some of our more ambitious seats of learning and it would be interesting to

watch how they function and develop in the years to come.

Nearly three decades ago, I went through a course of study in journalism in an American University and people here have asked me whether the training that I had, was really useful? In answering that question I have carefully weighed both sides; and I feel that while a school does not make a journalist, it certainly shapes and equips him. Even in the United States, educationists engaged in running schools of journalism attached to some Universities continue to have divided opinions on the utility or otherwise of providing prior training in Journalism. But in the main, the bulk of popular opinion in that country is, these schools of journalism are very necessary for the technical equipment of even a good writer—equipment which he may have to otherwise laboriously gather in an actual newspaper office for many years.

Years ago, a youngman in New York wrote to the Registrar of the Columbia University saying that he wished to take up a correspondence course in poetry about which the University had widely advertised. The lad said that he had ambitions to become a poet like Tennyson, Byron, or Wordsworth! His letter was not at all answered, because the University's correspondence-course in poetry could not transform a man made of common-clay into an eminent poet! What the University had offered was imparting a knowledge of, and an appreciation for the best English poetry.

No University training in Journalism could make a common man without an original passion for the profession into great editors like Dana, Deleane or C. P. Scott, whatever the excellence of the University training be! On the other hand, what in effect the journalism-course provided a student was to teach him some of the essential technicalities of the profession and allow him to grow his own way mentally, either to reach the top or to remain at the bottom, since there was room enough for both the choices! That is the modest aim of the schools of journalism in America, if I do actually understand it correctly.

The schools of journalism in America admit students with a strong high-school background in English and general knowledge. The courses are imparted to them for four years before they graduate. The Journalism student, like any other University student,

has to put up anything from sixteen to twenty hours of class work in a week. Of that period, he has to cover at least twelve hours in studies of journalism. The subjects taught include, for the first year, prose-writing, elements of the short-story, magazine article writing, proof correction, professional ethics, typography and the like. As auxiliary course of study, one has to take up the elements of philosophy, economics, logic and at least one foreign language. In the second year, one learns a bit of "sub-editing" which the American calls "copy reading", leader-writing and the like while one has to continue the auxiliary courses on other subjects as well, as in the first year. There are further courses of studies in Advertising, News-Photography, Printing, Process Work, Business Management and Circulation Methods. Besides, there are special courses in Foreign Correspondence, News Agency work, Newspaper Finance and allied subjects.

Students in a school of journalism with a real passion for the studies can easily finish all these courses of study within a period of four years and it is being done by several American young men and women who go in for such studies. The result is that when a lad gets out of the University and gets into a newspaper office, he proves himself so thorough with his professional knowledge that he could write a leading article with as such ease as he could run the Rotary-printing machine in the Press or repair it, if anything went wrong with the plant. Or perhaps, if the manager of the paper did not turn up for work one day, he could even straightaway devote an hour or two at his table and look to the management of the paper, because he knows what it is! That is, complete equipment for one in the profession. I look forward to the day when our school of journalism in India would provide similar all-round training facilities for our young men! Good writing is a matter of individual acquisition, but the practical and technical side of it can be and must be taught.

Of the many schools of journalism in America there are only about half a dozen or so of them which provide the actual laboratory experience for the students in this field. It is done by the schools of journalism themselves, *running their daily or weekly newspapers, the work on them being carried out by students themselves, actually learning the craft in the class rooms*. A brilliant student is chosen as the Editor and the less meritorious ones according to their equipments and abilities fill in other positions on such papers. Of course, a student editor and his colleagues run the papers, only in close consultation and collaboration with the professors in the University,

so that their supervision helps them in a way to steer clear of all pitfalls in the actual production of the paper. I have very carefully examined some of these papers, the products of student-journalism. Some of them are quite as good as any paper run by professional journalists. What I stress is that training in journalism must be given in and through running journals.

In the last decade, a serious controversy arose in some of the leading American papers as to whether they should continue to run these schools or close them down. One of those at that time who wielded a rather vitriolic pen and pleaded for the wholesome abolition of the "Journalism Schools" was a gifted New York newspaper man called Stanley Walker. He filled the important position of *News-Editor* on the staff of the New York *Herald-Tribune*. Walker wrote a very stinging article in the *American Mercury*, the influential magazine, in those days brilliantly edited by the great American critic H. L. Mencken, who is now no more. Walker said that the hordes of journalists regularly streaming out of the schools of journalism were spoiling a *beautiful art*! If only they were normally educated in the ordinary college-courses like English literature, geography, history, foreign language, or even bee-keeping, they would have proved a much better lot fitted for a journalistic calling, he said. When this article appeared in 1931, it set me thinking as to the utility or otherwise of these schools of journalism.

Now in America, there is a great teacher of Journalism by name Dr. Frank Luther Mott, who has been engaged in equipping youngmen to blossom forth as 'gentlemen of the press' for the last thirty-five years. Dr. Mott is at present Director of the School of Journalism in the University of Missouri which is said to be the best institution for this particular professional study. He had been my professor too in Iowa, twenty-five years ago, and having known him so well, I put to him the straight question whether after turning out so many youngmen as journalists through the regular University schools, he really believed in his heart of hearts that such a training was really essential? He wrote back in reply:

"I believe that schools of Journalism are extremely useful to students who want to get into the field of work. Otherwise, I should not be engaged in education for Journalism. It is indeed the opinion of most progressive and thoughtful newspaper men that schools of journalism are contributing much to the proper preparation of journalists."

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Dr. Mott also informed me that the American Society of Newspaper Editors had a committee on schools of journalism for several years now and that Committee was working very closely with the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism. The Committee's Annual Reports for the last few years had been very sympathetic, and in their proceedings published annually under the title of "problems of journalism", the reader found many expressions of opinion on the part of leading American editors favourably to the work done in America's better schools of Journalism.

Then, what of the views of a hard hitting man like Stanley Walker? His views were important of course because he was a recognised authority in American Journalism two and a half decades ago. Dr. Mott answered me even that query.

"Of course there are old-timers who think that because they themselves had no formal training in a University, the old trial and error hit or miss method of training journalists in the newspaper shop is better, but that opinion is gradually dying out. Mr. Walker who is a younger man and especially prides himself on being hard-boiled and who lives to make rather exaggerated statements for the sake of effect, classifies himself with those old-timers. I doubt if he really believes one half of what he says! He is a good man in the city room, but he is certainly not a very philosophic observer. One of the things for which most good observers in America gave the schools some credit is the gradual increase of the distinctly professional attitude towards journalism on the part of workers for the press. That is something that comes from a study of the history and ethics of the profession as distinguished from its *technical practice*".

Dr. Mott's views are clear and they affirm his deep-rooted faith in the utility of these schools of journalism. But then, I had further doubts. Could not a journalist get on in journalism without much formal specialized professional education? Yes, Mr. Mott thought even there, one had a chance, of course. But "it is a very slow and painful business" he said. The veteran teacher of journalism in America was really convinced that sound background in the Liberal Arts form an essential part to a journalist's proper equipment. Certainly, these were even more important than the comparatively small technical education that the schools of journalism gave, he thought! But the technical education really helped!

I asked Dr. Mott whether he had known of any particular case where any raw youth, without any background of high education or scholarship had ever made good as a journalist anywhere, somehow! Yes, he had known an instance about which he enlightened me.

"I could give you the example of one very crude and raw boy from the country who came to see me at my home one afternoon about the possibility of his entering the school of journalism, and who simply by hard and consistent work attained the coveted editorship of a daily newspaper in later years. He was entirely his own making plus our little help".

Now, I have given you a small discussion on how the schools of journalism are viewed in America and worked. Now, what of India? Do we propose to have some of them and if so, on what lines? Indeed, no thinking journalist could ignore the need for having such schools in this country and experienced journalists know that the sooner they come, it is better for the profession. But then, the question must be considered in all its aspects, and I am doubtful whether we shall be very successful in seeing them come in the right way in the very near future. My doubts are based first of all on the issue whether we could absorb all the trained men in the profession once these schools begin to turn out graduates by hundreds, year after year, as they do in America. For that, we need a bigger and more efficient Press in this country.

The newspaper, as it is in India, is something which we have copied on the Western model. So, will be the case with the schools of journalism. But then, do present conditions in the Indian newspaper world really tally with what they are in the States? What is the actual state of the Press in India today? I do not want to go into details, but suffice it to say that we have not done enough in this country to endow the profession with the dignity, freedom, and the free scope for unlimited artistic work. We have, of course done much, but much yet remains to be done.

In a country like the United States of America where schools of journalism flourish, the problem is different from what we really face right now here, if we start such schools. There, the editors insist on trained journalists only and we should be sure of such a condition here also before we go ahead with it.

Granting that our Universities establish a *diploma* or *degree* course in journalism, they must, in that

case, run an experimental newspaper also, on which students can receive practical training. This is most important. The cost of all these would be something to be gravely reckoned. But, what is worth doing is worth doing thoroughly. On the top of all is the question, whether we shall not be guilty of persuading innocent young men to come and take training in journalism for two or three years and then leave them uncared for the future? Furthermore, we should see that our *Fourth Estate* reached its pinnacle of power in this country so to provide room for all the trained personnel our Universities might be sending out.

Journalism is not merely brilliant writing, it is not even meticulous editing! There is need for proper training in the fine arts of effective news-gathering, special correspondence interviewing, a knowledge of the process work in the studio, selection of illustrations to make the pages carry pictures of topical and other interests, and an adequate understanding of the Press, its capacity to print what is being sent on, and a thousand other items. The more you think of these odd items, the more manifest the complexities of the profession become. To marshal all these details in mind and then think whether we could after all, start several schools of journalism at a stretch, is to get in to a first rate dilemma. These arguments, of course, do not at all rule out of the need for journalistic training institutions. What I am trying to emphasise here is the fact that we should take stock of all the facts before we start on an ambitious real College of Journalism.

I learn that there is a school of this kind attached to the Punjab University; but we do not know much about its working; nor its usefulness to the profession, as a whole, in the Punjab. It would be fine if some light could be forthcoming about it. Even so, the Universities of Madras and Calcutta, have *diploma courses* in journalism, but we hardly hear anything much about it all!

I know of the case of a few Indian youths who have been trained in journalism both in England and the United States, but I do not see them playing any prominent part in the profession in this country. If any of these foreign-trained youngmen are attached to any newspaper, they must be just occupying positions of no importance whatsoever, I fear. I just quote this fact, merely to show that the trained journalist has not been taken particular note of by our Press Barons so far, more than the man who has been through the mill, putting in years of experience, like the Government Servant. I have my own doubts whether our Press lords truly understand the scope and functions of newspapers correctly. I also doubt whether they are really men with ambitions to make their papers attain the *million copies-mark* in their circulation figures, and a real power in the land.

The first step in the direction of increased circulation and influence for their papers, would be to select young men to do research work to find out *public taste*, the needs of the newspaper reader, mass psychology, the problems facing the editor in his relations with the reader, so on and so forth. Nothing on these lines has ever been attempted in India. I might be perhaps wrong, but then, it is my honest view that our newspaper-owners are an easily contented lot, satisfied with the profits they reap from their papers year after year as they would from any other industry, and so, allow the profession to grow by itself, if it does at all, themselves not caring two hoots to adopt any scientific methods of far reaching significance which would effect real improvement all round. So long as this sort of contentment prevails, I hardly think that there is any chance for the papers to register any phenomenal progress. And, so long as such an improvement is delayed, so long we may also have to wait in our plans to produce journalists through specialized training in our Universities!

HOW SHOULD MONEY BE ALLOCATED BETWEEN THE STATES FOR CAPITAL PROJECTS?

BY

J. M. HEALEY B.S.C. (ECON.) HONS. (LOND.)

*"In vain the critics angry barking
Seems no painful inch to gain.
Far off, the back room boys are working
And things get settled—in the main"* (D. H. Robertson).

Things do get settled in the main, but how things are settled by the backroom planning boys is a matter of considerable doubt and dissatisfaction in India, these days. Each state believes that it is getting less than its fair share of central aid and projects; economists believe that no objective standards are used to allocate this money and there are accusations that it is all a matter of political pressure, influence and bargaining. Criticism has been voluminous but constructive proposals very scarce, for what is the standard according to which money should be allocated to the states for capital projects?

It must be admitted that if maximum economic progress of the nation as a whole is to be achieved 'efficiency' must be the criterion for allocating capital funds. Those projects which are most 'productive' should be chosen first and the less productive ones later, regardless of which state they are located in. But there are two drawbacks with such a criterion. First, natural resources of coal, ore, water, etc. are unequally distributed between the states and so the most productive projects tend to be concentrated in a few states, which may not be the poorest states. Besides, rapid industrial development is easier where some development of transport, industrial facilities, labour market, etc. has already taken place, thus perpetuating the imbalance of investment. Further if the productivity of a project is to be measured in social terms and not in money then a case can be made out for its location almost anywhere in the country.

To a certain extent the criterion of efficiency has been followed in the location of central projects so far (e.g. Steel plants) but it has given rise to charges of inequity because it is generally believed that the local benefits of a project are greater than its national benefits. But these local benefits should not be exaggerated. The stimulation to economic expansion provided by a steel plant and the improvement in food supply that follows from a multipurpose project are not confined to their region of location. It is also worth remembering that in the case of the three steel

projects which cost over 400 crores, the permanent employment of skilled and unskilled workers will only be 17,000 and in the case of Bhilai only 30% of these will be drawn from local areas.

Nevertheless inequality of regional development cannot be ignored. There seems to be a law of economic progress that economic growth cannot proceed evenly or uniformly but only unequally, especially in the early stages. Southern U.S.A lagged behind the north, Quebec behind the rest of Canada and South Italy behind the north and there may be something inherent in the growth process which precludes the possibility of even development of all regions; which may even frustrate deliberate policy for balanced growth.

There is in any case no reason to believe that differences in the average standard of living of the Indian states are abnormal. If unofficial estimates are to be trusted the regional disparities in India to-day are no greater than they were in the U.S.A. in 1929. These differences in the U.S.A. have evened out considerably in recent years as people from the low wage areas of the south have moved north and as industry has moved south to the low wage areas. In India however 90% of industrial labour movement is *within* regions and the social and linguistic barriers to movement are greater than in the U.S.A.

The main demand these days is for 'equity' and not efficiency in the allocation of capital between the regions. But what does equity mean? Some would say that central loans should be allocated according to the population of the respective states. If we look at the figures for net central loans to the states 1957-58 to 1959-60 the distribution does not seem grossly unfair on this score. The four southern states with 26% of the population received 20% of the total loans. Central projects are not included in this of course.

But is population a suitable index of equity anyway? Differences in average standard of living in the different states would seem to be a better guide.

Unofficial estimates suggested that states such as West Bengal, Punjab, and Bombay have the highest and Mysore, Orissa and Bihar the lowest *per capita* incomes. Central aid, however, has not solely favoured the wealthiest states and Orissa has the highest central aid per head of all the states in the last few years. Even this criterion has its defects. No official, accurate estimates of differences in regional standards of living have yet been made, and if they were made and used—they would no doubt become a source of great suspicion. Differences in population growth would also have to be taken into consideration, for a state like Bombay with a higher existing standard of living than Orissa has a much higher rate of population growth.

A third criterion has been suggested—the principle that central aid for state projects should be in proportion to the amount of finance raised by the states themselves. Mr. K. Santhanam has suggested that

"probably the best method would be for the Central Government to determine its scale of assistance independently of the states contributions and ask the States.....to take the consequences of any failure to provide (their quotas) by cutting down their plan expenditures." This proposal should stimulate greater State responsibility in initiating schemes, increase regional enthusiasm for savings and perhaps reduce inter-state jealousies. But it must be admitted that the poorer states might find it difficult to raise funds as easily as wealthier states and this would again raise the thorny issue of equity, for some kind of "means test" for states would again be necessary.

The critics continue to bark but the evolution of a workable system for the allocation of funds between states remains one of the utmost difficulty. More constructive thought on this matter is certainly necessary.

(Continued from page 5)

demand was that Great Britain should keep out of the nuclear race and put an end to all ICBM hardware.

They also shouted that no atomic base should be ceded to the NATO Club.

The Tory party in power is in a bad jam when the point is logically expounded.

Meanwhile the business and mission of International War Resisters cannot make much progress by propaganda with a negative content. In place of the fear-complex there should be superior motivations for any advance in the cause of peace and disarmament. Nervous tension prevails in every intelligent individual.

No one is sure when some act of lunacy or just accident might start explosions, and many people would confess to dreams about the end of the world. The nightmare keeps us on edge even during waking hours.

The Madura Conference represented a magnificent rally of War Resisters, but it is not their fault if the essential question-mark about human survival continues to wrack the mind. They are good and prayerful folk: so genuine is their concern that even unbelievers in Providence are with them in sympathetic sobs.

MEN AND MATTERS

BY

C. H. V. PATHY

Tumultuous Welcome to Queen Elizabeth

Queen Elizabeth of Great Britain is the first of the reigning monarchs to come to a free India. Her visit is symbolic of the deep tie of affection that subsists between our country and our former rulers.

Over a million people lined the streets of New Delhi under a warm winter sun to give the biggest welcome ever to a visiting dignitary. The Queen was accompanied by her consort, Prince Philip. The special plane by which they winged their way touched the runway at Palam Airport at 11 a.m. on January 21 — a day sacred in the Indian calendar.

Dressed in an ice blue satin coat, a matching dress and a tulle hat, the Queen who was received by the President of the Indian Republic, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Prime Minister Nehru, Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and other V. I. Ps. sat in an open Mercedes Benz car on Dr. Prasad's right, acknowledging the cheers of the people with a radiant smile and a wave of a white-gloved hand.

They drove through miles of cheer thrills, all the way down to Rashtrapathi Bhavan. Crowds were the thickest around Delhi's shopping centre, Connaught Place which was decorated with paper flowers and welcome posters. They burst into loud applause as the Queen's car rolled along, closely followed by the Cadillac carrying the Duke and Nehru. A motorcade of 30 other cars followed, with Press buses in the rear.

Thousands had arrived from all over the country to get a glimpse of British Royalty. They maintained perfect order. They were in good humour and seemed conscious of the dignity of the occasion.

The tone of the capital's welcome was set by a brief speech read by the President at the airport, first in Hindi and then in English. He said: "We welcome you today not only as the head of the oldest Democracy in the world but also as the head of a great Commonwealth." "The President referred to the 200 years of close Indo-British relationship — an association which had left an abiding influence 'on our minds and our institutions'."

The Queen read out her reply — brief and informal — in a clear tone, saying that she was

thrilled to be in India for the first time, and she and her husband looked forward to their programme with the greatest pleasure.

Newspaper editors and correspondents, drawn from all parts of the world had an opportunity of meeting Royalty at close quarters within hours of their arrival at the capital.

The occasion was a Press reception arranged at the famed Durbar Hall of Rashtrapathi Bhavan. About 135 newsmen and photographers were presented to Her Majesty and Prince Philip by the British High Commissioner, Sir Paul Gore-Booth and Mrs. Pandit, the Indian High Commissioner in Great Britain. The function was informal and the Queen and the Prince moved about, throwing a smile here and cracking a joke there. The Queen talked on a wide variety of subjects, from the weather to cricket. She was also a gracious listener and her sense of humour was conspicuous. She appeared fresh and relaxed despite the long journey.

The Duke in his turn recalled his previous visit to India and there were many pleasantries as he moved from group to group.

The Queen stood in front of a throne in which is now placed a beautiful statue of Lord Buddha which has the following inscription:

Wisdom resteth in the heart of him
That hath understanding.

Her Majesty was a picture of both grace and understanding.

A heavy three-week programme have been fixed for the Royal Visitors who will spend forty crowded hours in our city. They would sample our school boys at the Corporation Stadium, visit the Integrated Factory, would be accorded a reception at the University Hall and our Governor, Shri Bishnuram Medhi would give an after-dinner reception, followed by a dance recital at which would participate Vyjayanthimala, Kamala Laxman, Padmini and Ragini.

They would take off to Bangalore from here.

A day after her arrival at the capital, the Queen landed in the heart of spectacular India, in the pink

city of Jaipur to be the guest of the polo prince, the Maharaja of that place. The fabulous capital of Rajasthan gave her a rousing reception. Colour was the dominant note of the welcome. In harmony with her surroundings, Her Majesty too was dressed in pink. The Governor of Rajasthan sat next to her in his immaculate achkan.

The invitees to the air port cheered as the plane landed. The Queen reviewed a Guard of Honour, provided by the red-turbaned Sikh Regiment. Later, the Queen spent a few minutes talking to British residents at Jaipur.

Along the drive from the airport to Raj Bhavan, were grey groups of Bhils, smiling women with children in their arms, waving school going kids and men of Rajputana in their mountaneous turbans. A romantic touch to the welcome was lent by the famed fortress of Jaipur, sung about in the ballads of Rajasthan.

Following the Queen's Cadillac was a second car of the same brand, carrying the Duke, the Governor's wife and the State Chief Minister.

In the evening, the Maharaja of Jaipur, one of the most travelled princes of India held a Durbar at the city palace which covers a sixth of Jaipur's area. The Queen later drove from the Maharaja's palace to the city palace amidst tumultuous enthusiasm.

At the luncheon given by the Governor in honour of the Queen, 75 guests sat to a mixed fare of Rajasthan food, such as roast chicken and pulav. At the reception given by the Maharaja of Jaipur were present the V.I.Ps. of the place as well as Ministers of the Rajasthan Cabinet.

The visit began on January 21. While at Jaipur, the Royal party went tiger-hunting. The Maharaja led a party of one hundred hunters and drum-beaters accompanying the Royal visitor converged at a hunting lodge which has been specially put up.

The Queen's first engagement was a visit to the shrine of Mahatma Gandhi at Raj Ghat in Delhi. She placed a floral wreath on the platform where he was cremated in 1948.

On January 26, Indian Republic Day, she drove through Delhi with President Rajendra Prasad in a State coach to the saluting base at India Gate.

There she and the President took the salute.

The visit will last twenty days. Later, the Queen will fly to Teheran.

A full-scale studio for a live broadcast has been set up in one of the State rooms in Rashtrapathi Bhavan to enable the Queen to address the Indian people over A. I. R. at the conclusion of the visit.

A civic reception was accorded to Her Majesty at Delhi on January 28. It was televised by the All-India Radio.

The luxurious Dwaraka suite of Rashtrapathi Bhavan where a dozen crowned and uncrowned heads of States have stayed was specially renovated for the Queen. The bed-room has been furnished in western style while the sitting room breathes an Indian air.

A record player, encased in black lacquer and a selection of recorded Indian and western music has been kept in the suite for the entertainment of the Royal couple.

The bookshelves in the rooms contain the works of Mahatma Gandhi, President Prasad, Prime Minister Nehru, Rabindranath Tagore and Dr. S Radhakrishnan besides some current fiction and writings on current affairs by Indian and foreign authors.

The Queen will attend two races, one at Calcutta and the other at Bombay.

Queen's Madras Programme

The Queen who is expected here on February 19 has a crowded programme arranged for her. Eight thousand men of the State constabulary will man the 19-mile route that she will take in a one-hour round of the city, in the evening of February 19.

Officers and men of the Police Force in mofussil areas would be drafted to the city to regulate traffic and control the crowds that would line up to have a glimpse of Royalty.

According to reports, all available accommodation in city hotels have been reserved for the duration of the Queen's visit.

Meenambakam airport would be sealed when the Queen arrives. Admission to the airport would be restricted to V. I. Ps. and pressmen.

The Queen will have tea with our Chief Minister Sri Kamaraj at Rajaji Hall.

The Governor in his turn would give an after dinner reception which will be delighted by a Bharat Natyam recital at which Kamala Laxman, Vyjayanthimala and the Travancore Sisters, Padmini and Ragini would figure.

Padmini told me that she would give a 15-minute performance of the Kathakali item "Bhagavat Gita."

Congress Session

With the advent of Independence, the Congress has ceased to be a movement. At the moment it is only a party. But it is the best organised and the most vocal with a large following in the country. Despite the vehement opposition that it has encountered from several quarters, it continues to be the leading party in the country and not a single opposition leader can come anywhere within hailing distance of Prime Minister Nehru.

It is against this background that one has to view the happenings at Bhavanagar where the last Congress session was held.

President N. Sanjeeva Reddy made three vital suggestions for meeting the threat to national unity and administrative stability posed by different forms of factionalism. In a 7,000-word address at the 66th plenary session of the Congress, he said that in the absence of unified action and unreserved acceptance of agreed decisions, "we have simply to go to pieces". He suggested that the Five Zonal Councils should be activated and clothed with statutory powers to make them live institutions of authority, capable of deciding day-to-day issues and implementing their decisions. At the same time, he added, if appropriate administrative machinery were created, it would perhaps offer a solution to the disruptive tendencies in the country.

The Congress session was dull and disappointing. Its highlight was the several speeches made by Nehru, urging the need for national unity and build a modernised society. On each occasion that he referred to the international situation he sounded a note of anxiety. He observed that events at Laos and in Congo were alarming and contained the seeds of a global conflagration.

Though simplicity was the keynote of all the arrangements, 20 lakhs were spent on laying a township.

It looks as though there would not be an annual session of the Congress next year because it is election eve. The Congress adopted the manifesto with which its candidates would fight the elections.

More than the business part of the session, the one event which aroused a great deal of interest was the election of seven Congress members to the Working Committee. Srimati Indira Gandhi topped the poll and young leaders were preferred to veterans. The veterans however came in through nomination by the President.

Ten-year Limit to Office

Mr. N. Sanjeeva Reddy, the Congress President burst a miniature bomb at the Congress session when

he suggested that Ministers with ten-year term of office should retire and give place to younger blood. This was a revolutionary idea, originally conceived by Mr. Hanumanthayya of Madras. If it were to be enforced by the Congress High Command we would see the exit of several Ministers in the Centre as well as the States where superannuated Ministers cling on to power and make the fullest use of their position.

It is very doubtful whether this idea would be enforced. At a recent Press Conference, when an inquisitive newsman asked the Prime Minister's reaction to the suggestion he parried the question. Barring one or two Deputy Ministers at the Centre who have offered to resign voluntarily, others are sitting tight till death comes to their rescue.

The biggest mistake which the present Congress leadership made was not to groom young men for posts of responsibility. Thus, those who were chosen for big jobs created the impression of indispensability. Even votes of censure left them cold. It is only the Prime Minister who can give the lead in the matter of enforcing the ten-year term of office. There is a growing impression that he prefers age to youth.

Will Nehru Retire ?

Prime Minister Nehru's statement to the correspondent of a London newspaper that he wants to retire has a profound significance. This is not the first time that he has spoken that way. Long ago, he told the Congress party at a meeting that he wants to get away from it all, but he was asked by all his friends and followers to stay in office. So he bowed down to their decision. This time too, much will depend on what advice the party gives him.

One is led to ask the question whether this is the Prime Minister's reaction to the recent observation of the Congress President that those in power should retire after ten years. Nehru has been at the helm for more than a decade. He functioned as Prime Minister even before the partition of the country. He continues there. At this critical juncture when the country is faced with a menacing international situation, and the internal economy of India is going to pieces, his advice and guidance would be invaluable. We cannot afford to think of an India without Nehru as leader.

But, if perchance he insists on quitting, the question would arise, after Nehru who? It is a very difficult question to answer. Sri Morarji Desai is tipped as a possible successor. But he has not the mass following of Jawaharlal, nor is he very popular with a few of his Ministerial colleagues. One of the men mentioned is Sri Jagjivan Ram. He is the scheduled

class leader with a great deal of following. He is quite young and very ambitious. If he chooses to play his cards properly, it will be he that would inherit the mantle of power.

King Saud

King Saud of Arabia has resumed his personal rule. It has taken him a long time to do so. In March 1958, when he delegated power to his brother, Crown Prince Emir Feisal, the country's reserves of billions and foreign exchange for its paper currency was only about 14 per cent. With the maintenance of the Royal family alone taxing more than 17 per cent of the revenues, it was a question of retrenching expenditure to make Saudi Arabia a viable State. Emir Feisal's policy served to raise the currency reserves from 24 million dollars in the summer of 1958 to 186 million dollars by the end of December 1959. The devaluation of the Saudi riyal was part of Emir Feisal's policy in repairing the economy of the country. But in June last year, Emir Feisal had arranged to go to Europe for medical treatment and had nominated another brother to act as Prime Minister, the differences with King Saud came to the forefront. The council of members of the Royal family who had originally forced King Saud into delegating authority to Emir Feisal, was hesitant about invoking popular participation to support his policy.

It was no wonder that King Saud was cultivating influential circles to stage a come back. He has succeeded but his restoration to power does not mean that he can rule as an autocrat. The forces of democratisation are at work in his country and he would have to toe the line to the new trends. Otherwise, he would be swept from power.

Eisenhower

In the United States, the Eisenhower Era has come to an end and the new President, Kennedy has taken over the reins of administration. No other President in this century was so popular as Ike. Had the constitution permitted and had he been willing, he would certainly have been elected for a third term. He had been President during dangerous years and had to face many complex problems. As a harmoniser and consolidator he left the imprint of his mighty mind on the home front. During his tenure of the White House, American economy has expanded in many ways.

His biggest achievement was in the sphere of foreign policy. Though the United States and Russia have drifted apart, he had a lively and constant awareness of the role that his country had to play in the world at large. He saw to it that the under-developed

countries in Asia should be given aid. India too received its due share. Despite differences of opinion on many matters, a personal bond of friendship exists between India's Nehru and Eisenhower of the United States.

The State of our Nation

The surrender of power by the British which took place finally in August, 1947 began as early as 1919. At the outset India was given partial self-government in what were then known as provinces. At the end, the country became sovereign independent. Progress was punctuated by periodic explosion when nationalism organized resistance to the Government which led to repression on a large scale. This led to new concessions by the ruling power.

The new India that emerged, free from the shackles of western domination had to face many crucial problems. The demand of the Moslems for a separate homeland was conceded but here the matter did not end. Partition was followed by riots in the former north-west India and thousands were killed. Millions of Hindus had to flee their ancestral homes; similarly Moslems from India also took the road to Pakistan.

Though by and large, the looming refugee problem has been solved, the question of evacuee property is still there. The Congress party was voted to power. The new India was dedicated to one proposition that it was possible to govern the country, reform the abuses of society and modernize it economically by means of a Government which is not authoritarian, which operated according to law.

At the doorstep of our freedom, the architect of Swaraj was assassinated. Sardar Patel, the masterful organiser of the Congress also died soon after. The older generation of Congress leaders were ageing, and one by one passed into the background. And as they faded more and more light was focussed on Nehru. He became an individual dwarfing the party. By his personality he captivated the country. There is none as yet to succeed him on the political throne of the country. It will take many more years for the Nehru era to end.

In his own way, Nehru is tackling our problems. But of late, the Congress party has been fast losing ground. Though other parties were contending for supremacy even from 1947, we have to take note at the moment of the emergence of the Swatantra party led by the elder statesman, C. Rajagopalachari. Around his banner have gathered many who were disgusted with the programme and policy of the ruling party. But political punters forecast that the Congress party which came on the top in the first two general

elections held in India would again come on the top in the 1962 election also.

Our country has never been self-contained in the matter of food production and we were importing large quantities of rice from Burma when the British ruled the country. The birth of Pakistan added to our difficulties because we were denied the rice of Sindh and the wheat which the Punjab used to produce. Though measures have been taken to step up production, the country is still in deficit and recently, the Central Food Minister, Mr. S. K. Patil had to go to the United States to persuade the Eisenhower administration to come to our rescue. His mission was crowned with success, and we are getting wheat from U.S. at the rate of one shipment per day.

New India received a tremendous industrial spurt. Steel production has been intensified almost fivefold, new cement factories have been put up, the country is criss-crossed with dams. For these developments large quantities of foreign exchange were needed and the nation has been drained of all the foreign reserves we had in 1947. Because India still continues to be a backward country, the western powers as well as Russia are competing in giving us aid. Two Five-Year plans have been concluded and the blueprint for the Third Five-Year plan has been published.

The most menacing problem at the moment is the growth of linguism. It all started with the cry of the Andhras for a new State. It was conceded with reluctance by the Prime Minister; then came the turn of the Maharastrians and the Gujaratis who too clamoured for linguistic States; at the beginning, Nehru frowned upon these demands; ultimately he had to give in. Now from distant Punjab comes the cry of the Akhalis for a State for themselves. They are fighting for it tooth and nail. Nagas too have been successful to get a slice of land to themselves. These are symptomatic and the great work in integration initiated and carried to fruition by Sardar Patel is gradually getting reversed. Unless we get over this tendency, the Balkanisation of the country would be complete and inter-State jealousies would grow day-by-day. Even now we find surplus food areas not willing to give what they could to deficit States. There is even the battle for the waters of the river.

Though there could be no ignoring of the shadows over free India, the heart of the nation is still sound. Poverty, hatred, anxiety, disease—these have to disappear. To-day though the focus of world attention has been turned to Africa, the liberated people in all the Asian countries feel a sense of

belonging to a great fraternity of nations. Nehru has oftentimes urged the nations of the West to recognise how fast Asia is growing. New Delhi received a shock when a few years back the new Chinese regime restored its authority over Tibet. China's land lust is becoming more pronounced every day. They have gobbled up thousands of square miles near about the Himalayas. Because of this we have to build up the defences of our country, and defence budget consumes a large part of our taxation. Despite tensions all round, Nehru is resolved not to get entangled in the struggle between great powers. The neutralist and pacifist instincts have been reinforced by the legacy left by the Mahatma. If a third war breaks out India would be dragged in, and India government has to see to it that our country does not become a battle ground. Therefore, it is not enough to stand alone, we have to take an active part to prevent a war. Our representatives have been waging the crusade for peace through the United Nations. At this hour of crisis, it is the bounden duty of every patriot to strengthen the hands of Nehru, instead of trying to pull down his leadership.

U. S., India and Pakistan

The prestige of the United States is definitely on the wane. It remains to be seen whether the newly elected President Kennedy would be able to pull the chestnuts from the fire. That country faced its greatest post-war opportunities for constructive leadership towards peace not in Europe but in Asia. The Truman administration had no Asian policy at all, except with respect with China and Japan. Its policy was disastrously wrong. Its policy in Japan awaits the verdict of history. The Eisenhower administration pursued a fatally wrong policy throughout Asia. It pampered Pakistan at the expense of India. Its great error of omission was its failure to utilize the decade in which U. S. alone had the ability to supply economic aid to newly independent Asian nations.

The world now faces a strong and resurgent China with its creed of Communism. If perchance China is able to get the secret of nuclear weapons, she will embark on war, whatever be the results. The success or failure of India in emerging from the Asian revolution as a democracy will probably determine whether or not Asia will eventually fall under Communist influence. As a part of India's impoverished masses are brought into employment, their increased ability to buy food has caused food price to rise at a fantastic rate. The crux of India's problem is how to produce more food and how to derive at least some capital from increased agricultural production. The latter involves a reform of our country's archaic system of taxation,

some degree of food rationing and governmental price control.

One of the main obstacles to the success of India's Five Year plans is the increased military expenditure which she has felt herself called to incur as the result of U. S. rearming Pakistan. It lies within Kennedy's power to eliminate this obstacle.

A Journalist's Life

At this moment Ceylonese Press is very much in the news. The Government has been trying to regiment public opinion. So, many would read with interest the biography of a former Ceylon journalist which has been recently published. It is the product of a former Ceylon Journalist, Herbert A. J. Hulugalle and is titled "The Life and Times of D. R. Wijewardene". He was the first Ceylonese to create a popular press. He started his career as a newspaper proprietor because he had a burning desire to play his part in the struggle of political freedom. Having no experience of journalism or business management, he was running an enormous risk of financial ruin. In fact, he succeeded and left a fortune at the time of his death.

At the outset, he managed to secure the control of *Dinamina*, a Sinhalese daily, and then in 1918, started the *Ceylon Daily News*. He also bought the *Ceylon Observer* in 1923 and subsequently acquired other newspapers.

Wijewardene, says the author made his most important contribution to the welfare of Ceylon through newspapers, but it was no business success or acquisition of power which held him to the career into which he drifted.

The book gives a vivid account of the newspaper magnate's early life, his education, the people who had led Ceylon Reform Movement which led to self-government and the part played by Wijewardene in the fight for freedom. It gives vivid pen pictures of the men who worked with him to create and establish his newspapers.

The author was the editor of two of his principal papers and was associated with his boss for three decades. The book, therefore, is written with authority and inside knowledge of one who made a great impression both in the politics and journalism of that island paradise.

Shepherd Hotel

President Nasser has taken over the world famous Shepherd Hotel at Cairo. It is the latest Egyptian move against Belgian interests. This hotel was burned

down in the anti-British riots of 1952 and replaced by a luxury hotel on the banks of the Nile.

Crowds at Cairo danced in the streets as Nasser also seized three more Belgian - finance firms one of which also owned the Semiramis Hotel.

The Belgian Ambassador tried unsuccessfully to contact the Egyptian Foreign Minister.

Music

From January 6 to January 9, the death anniversary of the famous composer and the father of Carnatic music, Thygaraja was celebrated with enthusiasm at Thiruvayur, eight miles from Tanjore. Here the great composer's samadhi stands on the banks of the River Cauveri.

This year, as usual, this place became the Mecca of musicians and music-lovers.

Renowned artistes such as Ariyakudi Ramanuja Aiyangar, Maharajapuram Viswanathan, Srimathi D. K. Pattammal and others gave concerts which were relayed by the All-India Radio.

Thygaraja was an ardent devotee of Sri Rama, in whose praise he has composed as many as 24,000 kirtans of which nearly 700 compositions are available. His songs with their intense religious fervour bear testimony to his unrivalled supremacy as a composer, who combined beauty with simplicity.

He had no craving for wordly honours and lived a simple, dedicated life, spending his entire time in prayer and meditation. Hearing of his eminence as a singer, a South Indian ruler once requested him to sing a song in his praise and promised several gifts. While rejecting the offer, he composed a song which conveyed the meaning that riches would not give him happiness as would communion with Sri Rama. The tongue which sang in praise of a God would not defile itself by singing of the glory of an ordinary mortal.

Kathakali Revival

President Rajendra Prasad likened Indian art to a garland consisting of a number of beads, each having its own lustre and beauty, but all through them running a chord which binds them together.

This remark was made while inaugurating an international centre of Kathakali at new Delhi. The Centre would work for the revival and promotion of this art in its pure and traditional form.

Earlier, while welcoming the President Mr. K. M. Panikkar, President of the Centre said that the greatness and unique character of Indian culture depended on its encouragement and assimilation

of regional cultures. In the capital they should have adequate representation of the different regional variations of Indian cultural life so that the life of the capital should mirror and reflect the cultural traditions of different regions. The Kathakali Centre was a modest attempt in this direction.

Silver Jubilee of Kalakshetra

Damodar Gardens, Adyar, where is situated the illustrious institution known as *Kalakshetra* leapt into the headlines of newspapers in the last week of last year. The occasion was the Silver Jubilee of that cultural centre.

Spearheading the organization and planning the whole series of dramatics and *Kathakali* was Srimathi Rukmini Devi, just back after a triumphal world tour.

In the quarter century of its existence, the *Kalakshetra* has not only trained up a number of artistes who have made their mark in many parts of the world; it has also stepped up the Indian renaissance of letters.

The two things in life without which the Madras can never get on in life—Carnatic music and Bharat Natyam—are taught here with meticulous care under the personal guidance of Sri Vasudeva-charya and Srimathi Rukmini Devi.

Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was a daily visitor to the dance dramas depicting the life of Sri Rama in a novel style and Rajaji too gave a certificate of merit to the actors and the guiding genius behind them.

At the diminutive thatched theatre put up at the *Kalakshetra*, one felt that one was not in a theatre of modern concept but in a temple. The programme of the day was started with invocation and the scenic effects combined beauty with simplicity.

The programme which stretched through nearly a fortnight attracted many foreign visitors.

Obituary

HILTON BROWN—The death occurred on November 17 at a Nursing Home in Kenya of Mr. Hilton Brown, the well-known writer.

He was born in Great Britain in May 1890 and

graduated from the University of St. Andrews, with first class honours in classics. He was the Editor of "College Echoes", the University magazine. He also captained the University Hockey Eleven.

After passing the I. C. S. examination, Mr. Brown came to India in 1913 and saw service in many districts of Madras. In 1928, he became Secretary to local self-government in Madras. He was a prolific writer and a frequent contributor to "Punch". He also wrote short stories and got them published in Madras newspapers. He was an adept in writing light verse. Many of his novels with Indian background were published in Great Britain.

From 1938 to 1945, he was on the staff of the B. B. C. He was an indefatigable traveller and a keen mountaineer.

In 1913 he married Margaret Gordon and the couple took a special liking for the Nilgiris. They settled down in Kotagiri after Mr. Brown's retirement.

In August last year, his health showed signs of decline and he and his wife moved to Kenya where he died.

He is survived by his two sons. Both of them were at his bedside when he breathed his last.

Films :

The Government of India in consultation with the Indian Film industry, has decided to hold an International Film Festival in October-November. It will be inaugurated in New Delhi and later moved to Calcutta, Bombay and Madras; Films will be screened for about a week in five or six cinema houses at each of these places.

The festival will be non-competitive. Each country will be entitled to enter two feature films and two shorts produced or released on or after January 1, 1960. The Government also proposes to invite two delegates from each participating country as its guests, and it is expected that one or two will be well-known artistes.

The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting has set up a special Directorate in this connection.

Inside India

AN ECONOMIC COMMENTARY

BY

PROF. K. VASUDEVAN

Man of the month

The Union Budget will be presented to the Indian Parliament on the last day of February 1961. Ever since the Indian plan was launched the budget of the Government of India, began to assume a great deal of importance and during the month of February many people will indulge in wishful thinking. The hero of the month in the House of Parliament will be Sri Morarji Desai and by his unique position as the steward of the nation's finances, he occupies a key position in the planning set up. Many would be scanning the wrinkles on his face to fathom the secret of the coming budget. Already there had been some kite flying. For sometime now, it has been made out that the direct taxation has reached the red line and further encroachment will mean killing the goose that laid the golden egg. Further it has been said that if at all further taxation is contemplated, it must only be in terms of indirect taxation. Based on this line of thought, the Finance Minister is expected to look askance on direct taxes and touch lightly on indirect taxes—the former to please the private sector and the latter to please the low income group who must be humoured in view of the coming election. But such neat argument may not come true in view of the revised draft Third plan which has been pushed up to Rs. 8,000 crores though this figure has been qualified with the prefix, 'physical target'. It is true that this revision came as a result of the united front presented by the representatives of the various states during the meeting of the National Development Council in the middle of last month. These representatives pointed out that further revision of the target of the state's plans will not be advisable for whether we like it or not, the Indian Plan has become the election manifesto of the ruling party.

Given the size of the Plan, it follows that an attempt should be made to find the resources to give a fair start to the Third plan. It has become axiomatic by now that every effort should be made to collect a sizable amount by way of taxation. It is also reported that Morarji Desai told a closed meeting that fresh taxation is inevitable. One guess is that the Finance Minister will not bank on direct taxes, but may tinker with it. He may turn to indirect taxes, which can be exploited

without much opposition from the vocal section of the public. There is also the possibility of some new taxation in the form of a tax on the basis of imputed income or wealth of persons who hold big plots of land especially in the urban area. The discussion on this subject is somewhat nebulous, but it has found influential supporters. It is argued that tax evasion has lead to a variety of 'wealth holding' and persons who are converting their hidden money into property which must reach the surface, must be made to pay. There is no denying the fact that there is widespread tax evasion. This question need not always be tackled on an ethical basis. Tax evasion may be due to high rates of taxation and the tax evaders must be made to unload their fugitive wealth not by holding a threat which further makes the problem more intractable, but as has been suggested by issuing a new kind of loan bearing a small rate of interest which will be represented by bearer bonds. This suggestion deserves serious consideration.

There is another aspect of the budget which requires some attention. When Mr. Deshmukh was Finance Minister, he suggested that there must be greater co-ordination between the finances of the states and the union finance. This could be brought about by having a conference of state finance ministers and the union finance minister, with a view to explore the resources available for the Union Government and the states. If the state finance ministers could have some indication of the money available to them, they can budget more realistically. Further the states in India always disclaim any responsibility in the matter of price policy. Though the price policy should be the concern of the Union Government and its agencies like the Reserve Bank of India, the states should know what part they have to play in making the price policy effective. If the centre in India pursues an anti-inflationary policy and at the same time if the states go in for increased public expenditure, this will defeat the policy of the centre. Mr. Deshmukh's suggestion therefore is an important one and if there is a high level conference of the persons in charge of the finances of the states as well as the union, well in advance of the last quarter of the financial year, it will give a new tone to the budgets in India.

Finance Commission

The Finance Commission has started its work from the middle of January. This body which begins to function once in five years is intended to lay the principles on which the Central Government will help the State Governments financially. The work of the Finance Commission will be judged from the angle namely how far it has been able to give a direction and inject the necessary corrective to the financial relations between the Centre and the States. Its recommendations with regard to the allocation of a portion of central revenues to the States will be eagerly awaited. At the same time the fact that the structure of federal finance in India is undergoing a radical change should make us, assess the future of the Finance Commission. After the commencement of the Five-Year Plan, the tendency for the states to look up to the centre for financial help has made the financial framework of India more and more unitary. It is the centre which has assumed the role of a super financier and as such it scrutinises the expenditure on the plans of the various states, and in a way gives a direction to the states' plans themselves. With this development in mind some economic analysts have questioned the utility of the Finance Commission, for they feel there is not much independent work for it to do because the framework of the states' finance is in a way predetermined. It is therefore said that the work done by the Commission may be very well done by the Planning Commission, or by the National Development Council. While it is true the advent of planning in India has imparted a rigidity to the state finances, an impartial body is necessary to report periodically on the steps to be taken to aid the states to carry on their developmental activity.

Third Five-Year Plan

The draft of the Third Five-Year Plan was published last June and ever since that date it has been before the public and the press for a discussion with a view to shape the Third plan realistically. How far the public opinion has moulded the framework of the Third plan, it will be very difficult to say. Some of the criticisms are old but sound, and the planners have met the arguments with dialectical skill. The time has come when the Indian plan should not be treated as the blueprint for economic development prepared by the ruling party, but an all-out effort to make the life of the millions of poverty-stricken people of our country more tolerable. A generous use of economic terminology has been summoned to paint the expected results of the plan. Frequently we have lulled ourselves by saying that the standard of living of the masses should be increased, without stopping to define what we mean by the slippery term 'standard of living'. It has also become

the fashion to say that we cannot wait for the slow tempo of economic development and we must telescope within the lifetime of a generation the achievements of progressive countries like America. These are fine sentiments, but it won't turn out to be true. Some of the basic questions relating to planning have not been answered or have been by-passed. The major objective of any plan is to utilise our meagre resources intelligently, so that we can provide ourselves with things which are essential to our lives and later to provide ourselves with material requisites which will make our life an enriched one. In translating this objective we have to face a number of difficulties and it will not be wise on our part to ignore fundamental issues. While the First and the Second plans have created new industries and provided with employment opportunities to many more compared to the pre-plan period, it has brought new problems which almost threaten to sabotage our effort. We are plagued with inflation and a certain complacency has been tolerated about this dangerous disease which is making our planned effort less worthwhile. While the plans have added many new people to the income earning group, the inflation has diluted the value of their income. The miserable plight of the middle-class in this country, which will erelong be wiped out, cannot be told leisurely in terms of economic terminology. In this context we must take all precautions to see that the Five-Year Plans are not tools invented by sadists to bring planned misery. We have not built in to our plan a technique to stabilise the prices with the result, though we have realised the targets set for our plans financially, we have failed to realise the physical targets. The same mistake has been committed once again when we find that the final draft of the Third Five-Year Plan speaks of the inclusion of physical programmes costing Rs. 8,000 crores in the Third Plan subject for the present, to the financial ceiling of Rs. 7,500 crores which represents the latest estimate of possible resources. In other words if we are lucky to conscript sufficient resources, we may spend Rs. 8,000. But this newer version of the draft Third plan has failed to see that inflation will as usual claim its pound of flesh, with the result even though we may spend Rs. 8,000 on the Third plan, in terms of actual physical achievements it will be worth only Rs. 7,500 crores as estimated at the commencement of the Third plan. This has been brought quite clear by a consideration of what has happened in the period relating to the Second Five-Year Plan. A recent study had shown that even though we may reach the outlay of Rs. 4,500 crores in the public sector, we are not certain whether we can reach the physical targets set for the Second plan. As long as we tolerate inflation and accept the slogan that inflation is inevitable and

so long as we are satisfied in hopping from one crisis to another on the food front, our plans will remain a grand exercise in self-deception. We have also from time to time explained our failure to achieve the aims of the plan by either pointing out that we are weighed heavily with a galloping population or because we are adopting the democratic process in our plan. When inflation stalks the land, it will distort the results of the plan and throw up a new class of people who will capture the fruits of the plan and climb up the band wagon.

About inflation much has been said already and what is important is to fix the measures which will not only arrest a further rise in prices, but also take away the lever which gives a push steadily to the prices. The first suggestion relates to the elimination of 'deficit financing' from the list of resources available to the planners for financing the plan. In this connection it was the fashion till sometime back to discuss, whether deficit financing was inflationary or not in a developing economy. Later the contents of the discussion was changed into one of finding the safe level of deficit financing. But fortunately today we have realised that to rely on deficit financing even though the amount is small, is to court disaster, but the habit has made the planners, mention this item in the draft of the Third Plan. The draft observes as follows: 'The scope for deficit financing in the Third plan is very limited. There is no precise way of estimating the safe limits of deficit financing'. Having stated thus, it would have been a sign of wisdom, if the item had been dropped, but the draft further observes, that the amount of budgetary deficits that could be considered permissible for the Third plan period is taken at Rs. 550 crores. 'Having made this statement perhaps as an afterthought, the draft added, it must be emphasised however that decisions regarding deficit financing have to be taken in the light of the economic situation as it emerges from time to time. A great deal depends on how far production increases, specially in agriculture and how effectively inflationary trends are held in check. It is somewhat strange that having realised the harmful effects of deficit financing the planners have not summoned sufficient courage to eliminate the item altogether. It therefore deserves all our emphasis to point out that if we want to stamp out inflation the first step is to do away with deficit financing.

Secondly, sufficient attention has not been paid to the level of public expenditure. Ever since the planning era began, the attitude to public expenditure has changed. It is true that under certain circumstances if we increase the public expenditure on particular items, it will be employment creating. This view is based on the theory

and practice of public finance in the Western countries. But to copy it wholesale and apply it to our economy will be unwise. Somehow under the plans the expenditure budgeted for has been treated as the target to be attained, and thus a squandermania has seized the public authorities. If we have to halt the inflationary pressure, we must accept a ceiling on public expenditure and the public authorities will have to announce that a limit to the public expenditure will be observed and the level of public expenditure will be firmly linked to the availability of resources.

Thirdly inflation is also due to the attitude of certain people in the business world who feel that they are entitled to increased profits. It will very difficult to convince them that, their action is unsocial. Only the public opinion among the business community must restrict the cupidity of unscrupulous businessmen. Much could be done by the chambers of commerce, but perhaps they are reluctant because they lack the leadership. Unless some self-restraint is practised the business community will be inviting the interference of the state and thus the freedom to trade will be restricted.

Democratic Capitalism

Frequently in discussion of the nature of capitalism in the West especially in America, it is pointed out that it is changing its contents and this can be observed by the number of shareholders in the Joint-stock companies in that country. In recent years the shareholders of the companies have increased which shows that the age of small investor has arrived. In this context it is pointed out that the theory of the existence of giant monopolies managed by tycoons, is the peculiar product of the fertile imagination of economists. The recent developments in the West therefore indicate that the theory of exploitation has become out-moded and a safe period for small investor can be predicted. It is said that if a country wants to develop it must find the resources predominantly within its frontiers and this can be done by creating an interest in medium income group.

In India the echo to this development has been heard in the form of a suggestion which advocates that in the state undertakings, a portion of the capital should be offered to small investors. This suggestion is seriously being considered at the highest level. As early as 1955, the Estimates Committee had expressed the view that where the Government enterprises were organised in the form of limited companies at least 25% of the total capital investment in such companies should be made available for the public in order to ensure active public interest and cooperation in their

management through such participation by the public in the ownership of those companies. At first the Government did not accept this suggestion for they held that the scheme may not be sufficiently attractive to the public. Again the Estimates Committee held that participation by the public in the share capital of public undertakings would help towards their efficient functioning, because of the direct vigil that would be exercised by the shareholders and would also promote a feeling of direct partnership of the public in the running of these undertakings. How far the public who become shareholders will effectively participate in the public undertakings will be difficult to say. But these trends point to the fact that there is a growing awareness among the small investor, and small businessmen which indicates that they are interested in taking the responsibility in the productive activity of the country. We can throw out one or two suggestions on this subject. From the point of view of increasing the job opportunities and keeping down the cost of economic development, it has been recognised that we must concentrate more and more on small industries. We have today Industrial Estates started by the states which are doing very well in the various parts of the country.

But this has not provided opportunities for many who are eager to participate in productive activity of the nation. So it is worth considering whether the state cannot itself start small industries and after setting these on their feet, could lease them out to a group of financiers who can put small capital, and who can claim the capacity to run these small industries. Under proper supervision and guidance these small industrialists will learn the art of management and later provided they are sufficiently enterprising they can start their own units. Especially there are many youngmen with good technical qualification, who do not know how to begin new ventures and they could be encouraged to plan small industries under proper advice regarding the particular type of products for which markets exist. It is a common observation that many technically educated persons are assigned routine jobs in many factories and this can be remedied only when they are given the opportunities to start their own ventures and the best method is for the state to start small industries, farm out these to young persons with initiative and ambition. One will be surprised at the potentiality of the small units when they are run by knowledgeable people.

SMILE-A-WHILE

1. Keeping his distance—The story is told of Winston Churchill, shortly after he left the Conservative side in the House of Commons years ago. He was asked to take a certain young woman into the dining room. While she clung to his arm as they descended, she looked coyly at him and remarked with the frankness and audacity of youth: "Mr. Churchill, there are two things about you I dislike very much."

"And what are they?"

"Your new politics and your moustache."

He looked deep into her eyes for a moment and then replied with a lofty air. "My dear, pray do not disturb yourself. You are not likely to come in contact with either."

2. Boomerang—A Wall Street Broker fell in love with an actress and for some time lavishly bestowed his affections upon her. Deciding to marry her he prudently put a private detective on the job of looking into her antecedents in order to guard himself against any rash mistake. In due time the report was received from his agent. It read: "Miss Blank enjoys an excellent reputation. Her past is spotless. Her associates have been of the highest character. The only breath of scandal is that in recent months she has been much seen in company of a business man of doubtful reputation."

3. The Lord knew—John Bunyan, while in Bedford jail, was called upon by a Quaker desirous of making a convert of him.

"Friend John," said he, "I come to thee with a message from the Lord; and after having searched for thee in all the prisons in England, I am glad I have found thee at last."

"If the Lord has sent you," answered Bunyan, "you need not have had so much pains to find me out, for the Lord knows I have been here for twelve years."

4. Boner—The Sunday-school teacher frequently gets answers that bring smiles in the most serious moments of instruction. Here are a few:

An epistle is the wife of an apostle.

The prodigal son wasted his substance in riotous loving.

To be struck by lightning is an act of God under suspicious circumstances.

Who killed Abel. Answer: I don't know; I just moved here yesterday.

What do you know of the Last Supper? Answer: I was away for that; I had the measles.

The darkey's hour is just before dawn. This is a famous African proverb.

Bacteria is the back entrance to a cafeteria.
When your arms go stiff, paradise has set in.
A teetotaler is a man you never see drinking.

5. To relieve the monotony—Mother was teaching Mary Jane, aged five the Lord's Prayer by having her repeat each short sentence as mother said it. Mary Jane was learning nicely the first week of her lesson.

The second week when mother came to the sentence "Give us this day our daily bread", Mary Jane hesitated slightly, looked up at her mother and said, "Mother, I want a peanut sandwich this time."

6. The tone was suspicious—A merchant took out a fire-insurance policy and the same day his store and contents burned to the ground. The insurance company suspected fraud, but couldn't prove anything. It had to content itself with writing the following letter: "Dear Sir: you took out an insurance policy at 10 a.m., and your fire did not break out until 3.30 p.m. Will you kindly explain the delay?"

7. Time to spare—A retired colonel advertised for a manservant, and an Irishman came after the job.

"What I want," explained the colonel, "is a useful man—one who can cook, drive a motor, look after a pair of horses, clean boots and windows, feed poultry, milk the cow, and do a little painting and paper-hanging."

"Excuse me, sor," said the applicant, "but what kind of soil have ye here?"

"Soil?" snapped the colonel. "What's that got to do with it?"

"Well, I thought if it was clay I might make brick in me spare time."

8. Be patient, please—The conductor of a London bus had had a harassing day. First of all, it was raining. Troublesome old women, irritating old men, and other bus pests had all combined to do their worst. It was getting late in the afternoon when an American tourist boarded the bus.

"Say, conductor," he exclaimed, "I want your St. Paul's Cathedral."

"Oh, all right", replied the conductor somewhat curtly.

"I say," repeated the American in a louder tone, "I want your St. Paul's Cathedral—and I want it quick."

"Don't worry, guv'nor," retorted the new thoroughly fed-up conductor, "I'm gettin' it wrapped up for you."



Personality Sketch

PRESIDENT KENNEDY

BY

KASHYAPA

That is a democracy in which can happen the unexpected. No one can imagine Adolf Hitler losing at the polls, or Joe Stalin failing to get a majority. But one has seen Winston Churchill, after leading his country to victory, step down from office. In its own way, the presidential election in the United States this year has re-established this character of a true democracy. I do not mean to say that Nixon was a sure bet and Kennedy's success an electoral fluke; but he did not possess any of the normal qualifications for that high office. The best summary of these usual qualities expected of the President, have been listed in Burns' Book on the President. The author points out that Kennedy was not a Governor, of a large State or a Cabinet officer or a General. Kennedy was not a Protestant. He was not a long time party-leader. He did not personify any great national issue. He was not the champion of any one group or philosophy. He was not in his fifties or sixties. If these accepted tests were applied, Nixon should have been the choice of the nation. But the genius of democracy is visible when it preferred a Senator hardly one term in the legislature, and a Catholic just passed his 40th year and an independent democrat! Various political observers have given various reasons for the Nation's preference. I am unable to subscribe to any of these as they are essentially the product of *post-facto* intellectualism. The real reason, if reason should be found, is in what I have already described, namely, the essential quality of a true democracy to be able to do something collectively, which would have seemed most improbable if tested on the individuals making up the nation!

Kennedy has a nice broad grin and the hundreds of photographs of the President that have appeared in the Press during the past few months, show that it is his great asset. He has also become the cartoonist's delight with his shock of hair on the forehead and his wide grin. During the Presidential election campaign, Kennedy's appearances on the television stood him in good stead. It has been remarked that he was able to do the interview without being camera-shy, whereas

Nixon did not fare so well. This much is clear: Kennedy has a distinctly *personal* appeal to the Nation. It was this endearing personality that captivated the voters' hearts. In one sense, his sway on the American people, should it grow, and get even more secure, would be analagous to the hold of Pandit Nehru on the Indian masses. In both these cases, it is the *individual's* qualities that matter.

There are some who still believe that the responsibilities of the high office of the U.S. President may prove a little too heavy for Kennedy's shoulders. I cannot agree. What international politics needs most today is a *fresh* approach. Not that the old approach was wrong or bad, but just that the world was tired of it. If Kennedy succeeds in establishing a lasting peace in the world, he would have more than justified the nation's choice. Equally on the national front, he has his problems and his speeches sufficiently indicate that he is alive to these vital issues and intends doing something serious about them.

Kennedy's references in one of his earliest speeches after assuming office, to India and Nehru, reveal that he may prove to be a good friend of this country. From out of this friendship, much good may come to both the nations. For, the combined effect of the personalities of Nehru and Kennedy may bring off the trick and frowns which may fade eventually from the faces of belligerent nations. It is difficult to keep frowning if the other man keeps smiling. If Kennedy manages to keep his grin fixed, no matter what comes, he will eventually succeed in establishing what the world today most requires, namely, a sense of security.

It is too early to judge Kennedy, but it is time to wish him well and hope for the sake of humanity, that he makes a success of his success.

February 1961

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SPORTS IN BRIEF

OUR SPORTS COMMENTATOR

Test Matches

The current series of Test Matches between India and Pakistan have been dismal and disappointing. In all the four Cricket Matches, it has been proved fairly well that neither Pakistan nor India has bowlers capable of taking wickets on a good batting pitch. It seemed that either side was indifferent about winning a match. They were complacent and derived satisfaction in amassing 'worthless' so-called first innings prestige lead. Either the time of play must be extended or such dreary, time and money wasting, matches must be stopped.

This idea of playing for safety should be avoided by the respective captains. Both teams have made it abundantly clear that victory is something which the opposing team should hand over to them as a gift.

What is the point in nearly 50,000 people wasting countless man-hours in watching these so-called 'Tests'. One wonders whether it is not better to shelve these Test Matches for a while till the teams are really prepared to 'play the game'. The present series, after four meetings, it must be admitted, is a complete wash-out. The Board of Control for Cricket in India would do well in considering a proposal which is current in several quarters. That is, the Australian and the West Indies teams should be invited to play their next Test series in India. That would, certainly show our players the right spirit in which cricket should be played, while the spectators will get real value for their time and money.

Sir William Piggot-Brown

A young man who spends many evenings watching television in a cottage in the sleepy Berkshire village of Aston Tirrold in Great Britain has one ambition—to be Britain's top amateur jockey. He is Sir William Piggot-Brown.

This 19-year old Baronet gets up at six o'clock in the morning to ride out with the horses from nearby stables. When he returns from the gallops—after going out with two separate strings—he gets about grooming his own and other horses, and later returns to give a hand at evening stables.

If single-mindedness can do the trick, Sir William who has ridden ten winners (including point-to-points) may soon be crowning the supremacy of Gay Kindersely and Bob Mc Creery.

Slight, fair and unassuming, his mild appearance hides an iron determination to succeed.

Krishnan Unbeaten

Though apparently much below his old form, Ramanathan Krishnan has been going from success to success in almost all the tennis tournaments held in up-country cities and towns. He annexed the National Championship once again at Calcutta. In the final, he was pitted against Carlos Fernandez, the Australian

player, and won comfortably. He has been winning in other places too.

But in the National Championship doubles encounter, he and partner Naresh Kumar had a shock when they were beaten by young Premjit Lal and Jai Deep Mukherjee. Krishnan and his partner had been champions for seven years. In the final set, the doubles veterans tried to stage a come back but it was of no avail. However, 34 games had to be played before the victory went over to the young pair. Krishnan dropped his services in the thirty-third game which proved to be the turning point.

New Record

Dinshaw Irani, a Poona College student recently bettered the Asian record set up by Parduman Singh in the shot put event by $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, in the Poona-Bombay dual athletics, organised by the Maharashtra Amateur Athletic Association, Poona. He put the shot about fifty feet $\frac{1}{4}$ inch, thus also improving on his own State and Parduman Singh's National records by one foot, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches and one foot, 2 inches respectively.

Bengal Sportsman

Representatives of most of the States Sports Associations and leading sports organisations of Calcutta resolved recently to request the Calcutta Corporation to name a street after the late S. K. Basu *alias* Bishu Babu, one of the best known personalities in West Bengal and India.

Basu, whose multifarious activities in sports associations in West Bengal and in the All-India sphere would take columns to narrate.

Proposals to donate sports trophies in his name and start a training centre to perpetuate his memory were among the other suggestions.

New Racing Car

A new racing car is being built for Donald Campbell who last summer made an attempt on the land speed record. In this new *BLUEBIRD*, Campbell would make a further attempt at Bonneville Salt Flats in Utah, United States, next September.

The new car would be similar in all essentials to the *BLUEBIRD* which crashed at 365 miles per hour last September when Campbell had a miraculous escape.

1966 Commonwealth Games

India, Scotland, West Indies and Rhodesia are competing for the honour of staging the 1966 Commonwealth Games.

At the moment, Scotland is confident of being awarded the distinction, with Edinburgh acting as host city. It will be 1962 before the contesting countries know which of their number is successful, but already Edinburgh municipal authorities are sketching out plans. These will make provision for an athletic arena, a cycling arena and a world class swimming pool, constructed at a total cost of £773,000.

Book Reviews

A STUDY OF NEHRU

BY

RAFIQ ZAKARIA

A "Times of India Publication"

Books on Nehru are numerous and yet the best one is his own Autobiography. A few years later may be, Srimati Indira Gandhi who has been intimately associated with her father for so many years may write another arresting study of the first Prime Minister of Free India.

In the struggle for Independence, Jawaharlal's place is next only to Gandhiji's. After the attainment of freedom his has been the most decisive role, both in our internal affairs as well as our foreign policy. He has inspired our plans for economic development. To him belongs the credit of making the dry bones in India instinct with life. There have not been wanting harping critics who have characterised him as a man of moods whose temperamental approach to looming questions have resulted in the stock of our country going down abroad. They also point out that his economic policies have resulted in the present inflation.

But when all is said and done, the credit side is, much bigger than the debit side. The author of the present volume has made it clear in his preface that this is not a volume of felicitations. It is a compilation from the pen of 62 persons who have known him and who occupy leading positions in several spheres in India. Judgments are inevitably varied but the overall picture that emerges is that of a man who is noble even in his failings. The volume is floodlit with several episodes. For instance, Srimati Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, one of the contributors narrates how Nehru once spoke roughly to Gandhiji, and when she asked the Mahatma why he tolerated such a show of temper, the saint replied: "I never mind his temper, because I know that there is no untruth in it. With all his anger and intolerance, he is what his name signifies—a Jawahar, that is a jewel".

A major portion of the book deals with Nehru's foreign policy and even those who are harsh in their judgments admit that he has steered the best course possible under the circumstances.

The pitfalls in our Five-Year Plans are highlighted

and both Ashok Mehta and Mr. A. D. Shroff have come out with outspoken views that the plan structure is ill-suited to the economy of the country.

His Cabinet colleague Lal Bahadur Shastri writes a very arresting sketch. They have known each other for years. Shastri narrates how Nehru irritated by the indiscipline of a noisy crowd at Mirzapur all of a sudden jumped down from the platform, landed on the people and went on moving over their heads from one place to another, asking them to keep quiet.

The author deals about the biographical aspect of Nehru's crowded life.

The book is finely got up and delightfully printed. It ought to adorn every library in the country. A number of illustrations and cartoons by Laxman add lustre to the publication which is priced at Rs. 15.

KAMARAJ SPEAKS : (PUDIYA SAMUDAYAM)

Chief Minister Kamaraj of Madras is known as the strong silent man. But even he has to speak. Till of late his speeches were almost monosyllabic. Currently he has been speaking a lot. This is due to the fact that he has to counter the campaign of enemies of the Congress. He has also to dot the Is and cross the Ts of the Congress ideology. His speeches are meant not for the intellectuals but to the masses who love him because he is one of them. He does not beat about the bush but goes straight to the kernel of a question.

His speeches in Tamil have been brought into book form. Wading through the pages we find that he speaks of the community projects, the Third Five-Year Plan, work in the villages and the revolution brought about by khadi. Politically, he replies to the criticism levelled against the Congress by the D.M.K.

His references to Mahatma Gandhi are very emotional. One must congratulate the publisher for collecting the speeches of one of the tallest man in the Congress hierarchy. They will provide the ammunition for Congress campaign in the next general elections.

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BRITAIN TODAY

The British Information Office has just released its annual publication, *Britain—An Official Handbook*. Replete with facts and studded with statistics, it affords a vivid picture of men and things over there. Despite the terrific effect of war, Britain has turned the corner and is basking in prosperity. Two out of three families have a vacuum cleaner and a television set. One in three has a washing machine and one in eight a refrigerator. Only one per cent of the families have resident domestic servants. This is due to the fact that modern gadgets have it easy to run a house without resorting to servants.

Men work from 42 to 46 hours per week and enjoy their Sundays. He gambles in a modest way in racing and in football pools. He drinks moderately in public houses and attends the movies occasionally.

B.B.C. broadcasts are very popular. Higher income bracket intellectuals disdain television as their parents did the cinema.

New dwellings continue to grow up and slums are shrinking day-by-day. The standard of living enjoyed by consumers has risen sharply.

This book is a must for libraries and newspaper offices. It is elegantly printed and well got up.

Business Management

Edited by V. A. KURIAN

AND

Published by EFFICIENCY AIDS PRIVATE LTD.,
40, General Patters Road,
Madras-2.

The inaugural issue of this bi-monthly came out last month. The primary object of this magazine is to "promote and foster scientific management in business houses and industrial organisations in India". It has on its advisory board a variety of consultants to

A MEDICAL MISSIONARY

Dr. Ida Scudder, who died a few months back was an illustrious medical missionary who did outstanding work for the sick and the suffering in this country. Her life story has recently been published by Dr. Dorothy Clarke, wife of a Church Minister.

The author has taken enormous pains to collect the formidable *data* concerning the subject of her book. She has also presented them with skill.

Ida first came to India to see her father. She had a rare experience on the first day of her stay in this country. A Brahmin, a Mudaliar and a Muslim each appealed to her to help in the delivery of their respective babies. Then and there she decided that she would take to medical work. Though the book makes sad reading, we see how this heroic woman helped to establish a women's medical college, a nursing unit and did wonderful work in the villages. She was a woman charged with a self-chosen mission. She fought ignorance and superstition with exemplary courage and heroism. No wonder she left the imprint of her great personality in the history of South India where she spent many years of her working life.

The book is published by Hodder and Stoughton and is priced 21 *shillings*. It is bound to have a good sale both in this country and abroad.

deal with the various problems that are facing the modern executive.

The format is well got up and has an impressive front cover. If the Publishers maintain the quality which they have shown in the first number, *Business Management* is sure to catch up.

Madras City Improvement Trust

Administration Report, 1959-60

This report gives a clear view of the work of the C.I.T. in Madras. Captain D. Gnanaolivu, the Chairman deserves congratulations on the excellent direction he has given to the work of C.I.T. for nearly 6 years.

The C.I.T. has increased its activities by leaps and bounds in the last five years. The budget for 1959-60 shows a rise of more than 1½ crores of rupees which is explanatory of the heavy investment and the consequent responsibility of the Trust Board.

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Editorial

MEND AND NOT END THE UNITED NATIONS

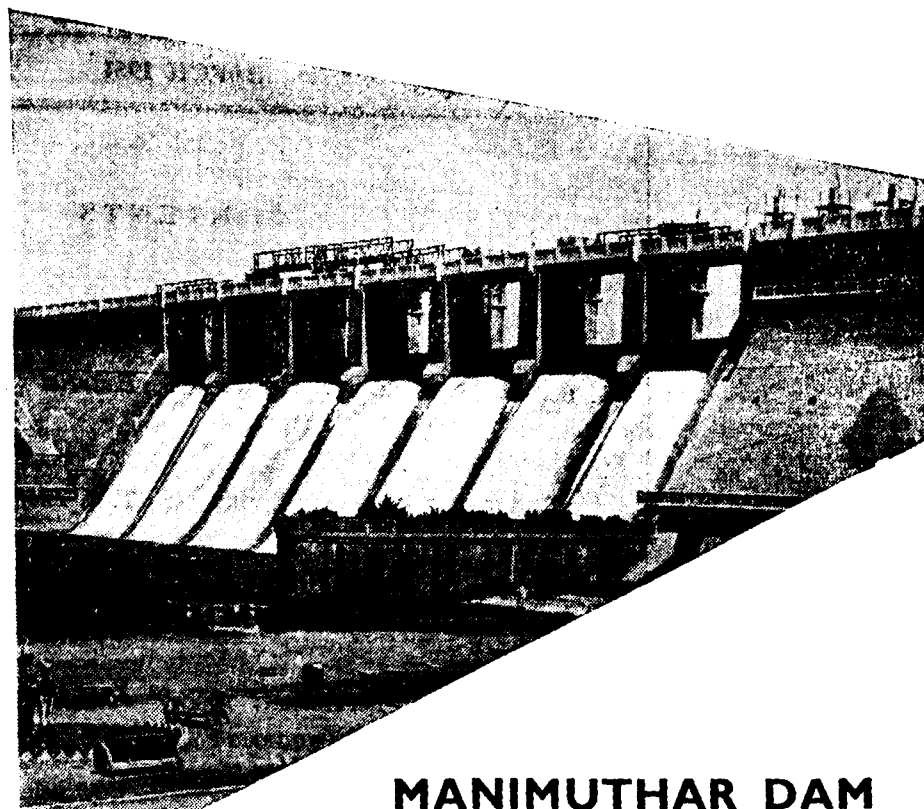
There is no denying the fact that the United Nations is an imperfect body. It is natural that it is so because of its inevitable constitution and due to the fact that the majority of the member States are Sovereign bodies. In a world of mounting armaments and Cold War, for the survival of International peace and for the security of the human race, only an International Organisation like the U. N. could help.

Almost every member State has at one time or another found itself displeased with the decision of the U. N.—Britain over the Suez episode, France over Algeria, India over Kashmir, the U. S. A. over Lebanon and so on. But we note, so to speak, a perpetual suspicion existing on the part of the Soviet Union and its allies towards this International Organisation. The Soviet Union has been accusing the post of the Secretary-General since the outbreak of the Korean War when Mr. Trygve Lie was the Secretary-General. They vetoed the re-election of Mr. Lie accusing him of covering up American aggression in Korea. Recently, too, they have been challenging the bona fides of Mr. Hammarskjöld, the U. N. Secretary-General. In his place a triumvirate is suggested by them. This suggestion however is unacceptable by a good number of members including India.

Article 97 of the U. N. Charter lays down that the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council, where a candidate can be vetoed by any one of the five permanent members. It is assumed that the Secretary-General should resign, the moment he loses the confidence of any one of the permanent members even if he retains the confidence of the majority in the General Assembly. The Soviet Union has urged the resignation of Mr. Hammarskjöld since according to them, he has blundered in the Congo. But the Secretary-General remains adamant and refuses to accede to the demand of the Soviet Union. He is supported by a good many of the members. But this situation goes against the very letter of the provision in the U. N. Charter which we cited earlier.

Mr. Hammarskjöld knows that as the chief executive of the dis-united Nations his is a thoroughly thankless job. And this will become more difficult in the face of Soviet non-cooperation. Whether the uncommitted Nations would rally to his support as they did in September last was uncertain to ascertain. But recently a Soviet motion to sack Mr. Hammarskjöld was defeated in the United Nations. Some countries in Africa and Asia may blame the U. N. force, however indirectly, for the treacherous murder of Mr. Lumumba and his two associates. The U. N. expedition in the Congo it is true, in some phases of its operation failed to get the support of sober international opinion.

From the very constitution of the United Nations, as an association of independent States grouped together voluntarily with moral force as the chief



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guiding factor, one wonders whether this International "get-together" can effectively bring out a solution in difficult situations. Though lately we find that a mandate for the use of force in case of need, is given to the Secretary-General in certain instances, the efficacy and the likely consequences of such a measure is yet to be fully proved. The chief defence for retaining the United Nations is that it is the only instrument men has set up to safeguard their future, the failure of which may involve the fate of mankind.

In the event of a failure of this International Organisation the chief sufferers will be the small Nations that are coming up. It looks as though the floor of the U. N. is the place, perhaps the only place where they have the world's ear and where through their votes they can exert influence on the Big Powers. As President Kennedy remarked "the smallest country in the U. N. has the same vote in the General Assembly as the Soviet Union and the United States." Hence these small countries would be reluctant to see the United Nations fragmented and impaired of its usefulness. For, U. N. disasters whether in Congo or elsewhere are likely to be "death blows" to these small and independent Nations. It is not a choice between East and West, between ideologies and economic theories. If a free world should survive the U. N. however little its influence may be, should survive too.

As we implied earlier, any voluntary organisation is most likely to suffer in taking effective measures in times of need. Accusing the U. N. as a whole, obstructing its operations as an Organisation is not only a grave political error but a definite obstruction in the way of International peace. To save the world from a state of International Cold War the member Nations should put in all their effort to mend or improve the U. N. instead trying to end or destroy it.

THE BANNING OF BOOKS

BY

T. K. THOMAS

The banning of books is by no means part of past history. The cause of freedom for books has won many victories, but books continue to be banned even today. The acrimonious controversies that were carried on over books like *Doctor Zhivago*, *Lolita* are fresh in our memories. The recent Penguin edition of the unexpurgated *Lady Chatterley's Lover* gave rise to a good deal of discussion, and it also led to yet another significant triumph for the freedom of publication.

Why are books banned? There are many reasons, and it is not easy to classify them. But it would appear that in the main books are banned on the grounds of religion, politics and morality. Orthodoxy in these fields is always safe, and conformity is always convenient. Censorship is the punishment for dissent; it expresses the fear that the established order of things is being threatened.

What is striking about the banning of literary books is the fact that it is often the result of completely irrelevant considerations. Literature is a transcript of life in terms of art, and there are legitimate questions that can be asked of a literary work. Does it picture life with a certain degree of fairness? Does it satisfy the conditions of art? Is it, in short, literature or trash? And these are the questions that seldom get asked.

Long before Bacon equated knowledge with power people had recognised the power of knowledge. And they were suspicious of all new knowledge. They stoned the prophets and burned their books. When knowledge was transmitted through the medium of imagination it became doubly dangerous. Accepted notions of morality and the familiar gods of daily worship have always been the symbols of security. The imaginative interpretations of life which found their expression in literary writings very often tended to disturb this security. Thus when Plato dismissed Poets from his ideal republic he was doing the logical thing, within the framework of the values which he had then adopted. And when he suggested expurgating Homer for inexperienced readers he accepted the idea that underlies the modern legend, 'For Adults Only'.

Among the books that have suffered most from man's intellectual and emotional intolerance are the Bible and the Koran. The Bible was for many

centuries the exclusive monopoly of the churchmen. The early translations of the Bible were often clandestine and subjected to severe inquisition. The English translation by Tyndale had to be published in Europe as the English clergy were uncompromisingly opposed to it. Perhaps the first printed book to be banned in England was Tyndale's New Testament, 6,000 copies of which, smuggled into the country from the continent, were publicly burned by the authorities. A proclamation issued by Queen Mary in 1555 commanded "that no manner of persons presume to bring into this realm any mss., books, papers, etc. in the name of Martin Luther, John Calvin, Miles Coverdale, Erasmus, Tyndale, etc. or any like books containing false doctrines against the Catholic faith."

The cause of Biblical translation has by no means won complete victory. Emotional barriers are still evident in our day. The Revised Standard Version has been attacked by many literalist groups among the Christians. There are scholastic scruples too, but one should not talk airily of such high matters.

It is perhaps understandable why Dante's *The Divine Comedy* and Boccaccio's *Decameron* were at one time confined to the 'bonfire of the vanities'. *The Divine Comedy* has to do with heaven and hell, and in dealing with such religious prerogatives it is easy to slide into heresy. *The Decameron* on the other hand, was unmitigatedly secular, and could easily be construed as anti-religious. It was banned in many western countries till our own times; it is still considered obscene and condemned in some places.

But even authors like Shakespeare have not been spared. *King Lear* could not be performed in England for a period; it was feared that it would draw the attention of people to George III who was said to be insane. In certain places in the United States *The Merchant of Venice* was excluded from the school syllabus as the Jews objected to the characterization of Shylock.

The word *Bowlerize*, which is synonymous with *expurgate*, comes from the name of a well-meaning gentleman called Thomas Bowdler. He published the *Family Shakespeare* in 1818, in which he had cut out such words and expressions as could not be read aloud in the family.

Shakespearian editors have not yet come to terms with the Elizabethan brand of obscenity in which Shakespeare excelled, and we still have a good many 'grand-motherly editions'. This is singularly embarrassing for the poor teacher. As we have a number of editions which contain the full text, the teacher is often asked to explain the inconvenient bits that are not in the innocuous editions.

A good deal of intolerance is the result of a profound lack of humour. When Daniel Defoe published a pamphlet entitled *The Shortest Way with Dissenters*, the Church took him seriously at first. Defoe himself was a dissenter, and his suggestion was that all dissenters should be summarily put to death. When it was realised that his object was to ridicule religious intolerance, he was himself subjected to it; he was fined, imprisoned and pilloried. Samuel Richardson's *Pamela or Virtue Rewarded*, according to many critics the first English novel in the modern sense, was eminently popular, but even this insufferably moral book was banned in Italy.

Lewis Carroll's famous book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was banned in one of the Chinese provinces because in it animals had used human language! *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* was banned in Russia; it was supposed to encourage belief in occultism. A few years ago the communists in East Berlin banned the Mickey Mouse Comics; they had discovered that Mickey was an anti-communist.

It would appear that the charge of obscenity is not so widely and so narrowly applied to literary works in our day as it used to be. There is greater discrimination evident in the judgements that have appeared during the last decade. There is also a new quality of humour. Thus an American judge declared that Kathleen Winsor's *Forever Amber* was soporific rather than aphrodisiac; '...while the novel was conducive

to sleep, it was not conducive to a desire to sleep with a member of the opposite sex.'

One of the most notorious instances of the persecution of books was in connection with James Joyce's *Ulysses*. It was published in book form in 1922, and immediately banned in Great Britain, Ireland, Canada and the United States. One of the judges who tried the case against *Ulysses* in America described it as 'a sincere and serious attempt to devise a new literary method for the observation and description of mankind.' He concluded that 'whilst in many places the effect of *Ulysses* on the reader undoubtedly is somewhat emetic, nowhere does it tend to be an aphrodisiac'. The book, condemned and suppressed for a long time, is now on the prescribed list for students of literature in a good many universities.

The British Obscene Publications Act of 1959 marked a significant improvement in the official attitude towards publications. A whole book cannot now be condemned because of the presence of one or more 'obscene' passages. To justify action the publication 'taken as a whole' should 'tend to deprave and corrupt'. The Act also makes provisions for the publisher to defend his case with expert evidence. It was this more enlightened approach that made it possible for Penguin Books to win the case in favour of *Lady Chatterley*.

This recent trial of D. H. Lawrence's famous book was truly historical. Among the witnesses who came forward to defend the book were eminent men of letters like Cecil Day Lewis, E. M. Forster, Walter Allen and Rebecca West. A Roman Catholic lawyer declared that he would recommend the book to all Catholic clergymen. According to the Bishop of Woolwich all Christians should read it.

Lady Chatterley has arrived, at last. And the four-letter word is fast becoming a purely descriptive term.

150 YEARS: A SPECTACULAR RECORD

BY

POTHAN JOSEPH

My emotional chords twanged as I watched the briefest ceremony in Her Majesty's schedule of public engagements when Queen Elizabeth visited Bangalore. The motorcade halted in front of the Bible Society where she received a copy of scriptures in Hindi and departed after a reverential bow.

That it was the Hindi translation of the Bible must gratify the highest in the land, and when Dr. Rajendra Prasad accompanied Queen Elizabeth for worship in the Church of Redemption, a special hymn rendered in Hindi was sung by the choir to his pleasure. He is profoundly moved by anything that "enriches". Hindi, and it is the cause of Hindi and its promotion that weigh with him in his bid for a third term of office besides higher motivations in the urge for continuing a life of patriotic dedication. His proposal before the Law Institute to ascertain the powers of the President was not unconnected with his passion to put over Hindi into an invulnerable status whilst the Prime Minister is committed to the pledge that there must be no scurvy attempts to thrust Hindi into non-Hindi speaking regions without unimpeachable proofs of welcome.

The Bible contains classical phrases and quaint idioms not easy to translate and the Hindi rendering cannot be up to the Raghuvir standard of synthetic precision that would win the approval of the Big Three who are pledged to the universalisation of Hindi, namely, Rajen Babu, Tandonji and Seth Govind Das.

What graced the accents of thanksgiving to the Queen's halt of five minutes at the porch of the Bible Society in Bangalore was the circumstance that the day completed the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the Institution in India. Great organisations spring from small beginning under dynamic and devoted leadership. On February 21, a small band of Christians met a hundred and fifty years ago at Fort Williams College in Calcutta. They were at one in thinking that the Christian scriptures should be rendered into Indian languages and distributed without any commercial calculations. The Bible consists of sixty-six books, thirty-nine composing the Old Testament and twenty-seven the New Testament. Christians and Hebrews regard the Old Testament as sacred historical document, but it is the New Testament that carries the dynamic message of the Gospels and the Epistles; hence we find the New Testament issued as

a separate volume, whereas the Old Testament has hardly any independent circulation.

The Bible Society of Calcutta was drafted as an Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. There is a facile theory that in the expansion of Western Powers there was a predesigned sequence, the Missionary coming first, the Trader next and the Ruler at last; or in other words the Bible, the Ledger and the Sword. I always held that the thesis is unhistorical.

The early propagators of Western religion were individual evangelists who under the stimulus of faith ventured into uncharted land and sea without any protection. St. Thomas and St. Xavier, for example, were spurred by zeal into perilous journeys; and missionaries of that type never dreamt of paving the way for merchants to follow. As for Western administrators benefiting by the labours of missionaries as forerunners, the fact is that early rulers regarded their presence as a nuisance. For instance, Ziegenbalg, the pioneer Protestant missionary, landed at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar in 1706. Far from welcoming the messenger of peace, the Danish Governor subjected him to savage treatment hoping the moralist would clear out. Still he persevered, translated the Gospels and secured a primitive printing press, out of bounds; under the stress of much suffering, he distributed his translation into an Indian language defiant of the scourge of wordly authority. When in 1793 the "Cobbler Missionary", William Carey, arrived in Serampore, he learnt nearly thirty languages and his companion Martin published the Bible in Urdu, long, long, before Hindi stirred in its gestation as a comprehensive medium with all its modern sub-dialects. President Prasad's speech is Bhojpuri Hindi.

I admit that after the All-India consolidation following the end of the East India Company and Queen Victoria's assumption of power, there was an interregnum when the Bishop used to be as influential as the British Resident, and that Christian converts had the benefit of certain favours. Incidentally, there is no reproach about Christians being converts, because there was no Christianity when Jesus Christ was born, and even the first Christians were but Jewish converts who preceded millions proselytised throughout the centuries, offering themselves for baptism. An Auxiliary society was founded in Ceylon (1812) a second in Bombay (1813) and a third in Madras (1820).

Again, without any pre-planning, Bangalore became the Headquarters so that it was particularly fitting that the Queen (who is the Head of the Established Church) should alight on the anniversary day for a few minutes under an arch of welcome and carry with her a significant memento in the shape of the Scriptures in Hindi.

The text of the Bible was virtually unavailable to the common folk until the Reformation signalled the tide of diverse translations. Of the amount of silent scholarship that went into these labours of love, there can be no estimate. The Bible Societies of the world have so far sponsored the whole volume into 219 languages, the new Testament into 271 additional tongues, and other books of the Bible into a further list of 661 varieties of speech—total 1151 languages. Within India, the full Bible is available in 26 Indian languages, the New Testament in another 30 languages. If we visualise the quiet unadvertised progress of 150 years, we should judge it as a stupendous feat without the incentive of profit. Healthy books of literature are stocked in the depots extending the beneficence of the movement.

It is not that only bureaus and committees of translation consisting of foreign missionaries and local Christians alone collaborated. Many Pandits and munshis and maulvies volunteered to place their

erudition at the disposal of colleagues for the performance of a common task. In Madras itself the career of the Bible Society would be found, from generation to generation, linked with the names of self-effacing missionaries engrossed in the dedicated purpose of spreading the Gospel. If we meditate on the drama of small beginnings and grand results in the story of mankind, we shall feel humbled before the record of the illustrious obscure. Genius can only spark off the beginnings but it takes continuous labour to achieve progress from success to success. In the last message of Christ on earth he bade his disciples to go and preach the Gospels unto the ends of the earth. That was the germ of the idea that flowered in the creation of many missions without mundane recompense. Nor are the effects of an isolated character since study provokes thought and controversy which furnishes the atmosphere of true education and the ethics of democracy in liberated countries. Hospitals, prisons, libraries, hotels, universities and other clearing houses of the world's great modern traffic are served by the many pious societies that have come to exist. As far as India is concerned the work of 150 years must be considered spectacular and worthy of the brief but solemn ceremony rightly associated with royalty in transit. At the end of 150 years, the collective personality of the Bible Society could be envisaged as saying: "Lord, thy pound hath gained ten pounds."

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I, MATHEW CHERIAN, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

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HOARDING—IMPEDIMENT TO ECONOMIC PROGRESS?

BY

J. M. HEALEY

In countries like India there is a large amount of hoarding of gold, silver, jewellery and money. It is commonly assumed that this social practice is "irrational and backward" and that it impedes the economic progress of the country by reducing savings. Are these assumptions correct or fallacious?

It must be said, first of all, that the villager is being very sensible or rational when he puts his savings into hoards of precious metals. A recent observer of the social scene in Orissa has shown that the possession of valuable ornaments and jewellery not only pleases the womenfolk but constitutes a very good "store of value". To put savings into purchases of metals is better than keeping cash for cash depreciates in value when prices rise and in any case there is less temptation to casual spending of hoards of jewellery than hoards of notes. It may often be more sensible to keep hoards of precious metals rather than invest in a bank or post office if prices rise early at a very fast rate. For example, if prices rise annually at 5% (which they have done on the average during the last few years) and the bank pays 4% interest, then the value of a person's invested savings actually declines. The price of precious metals, on the other hand, is likely to rise with the general rise in prices so there is little danger of loss of value. Investment of savings in hoards may also be preferable to buying land, especially for poor people, since gold and silver can be sold in smaller quantities than land when time of need arises. There are standard weights and measures for these metals and their value is more predictable than the value of land which can often only be sold within the narrow village market. But metals have wide markets outside the village and the seller—especially one known to be in need—can avoid the possibility of local exploitation when selling up.

Is the villager then, such a "non-economic" man in following this traditional custom as we sometimes glibly assume?

This brings us to the second objection—that hoarding reduces the volume of savings and capital formation. Here again there is a lot of misunderstanding. This can be seen more clearly if we distinguish between

two types of hoarding—hoarding of cash and hoarding of precious metals.

The individual who hoards cash does not, by definition, spend it on the present enjoyment of commodities. He is therefore performing an act of saving. Hoarding involves saving. How then can this impede the economic progress of the country? The usual answer is that this saving is not made available to the right people to use for the construction of capital goods—e.g. factories, roads, bridges, tools, canals, etc. This is true as far as it goes. But hoarding is not an insuperable obstacle in this respect when the Government is taking an active part in economic development. If the Government can estimate the current hoarding of cash by the people, it can create an equivalent amount of money and use it for capital projects without any dangerous effects. Of course it may be difficult to make an accurate estimate of cash hoarding and changes in cash hoarding but it is possible to do so. We can put this in another way. A certain scale of investment in the public sector is possible because people hoard cash. If there were a sudden decline in peoples hoarding and an increase in their spending on scarce commodities there would be a certain rise in prices.

The other type of hoarding is the hoarding of durable commodities like precious metals. To hoard jewellery however also involves an individual act of saving. Can this be bad for the economic progress of the country?

The total stock of precious metals in a country like India does not change much from year to year. Few resources are spent on mining them or turning them into ornaments. Hence this type of hoarding cannot seriously reduce the resources available for capital formation. In fact the purchase and sale of precious metals mainly involves the transfer of this more or less fixed stock of metals between different members of the country. When the general desire to buy and hold gold increases, then the price of gold rises but there will be little effect on output in the country. Hoarding of gold can have no direct bad effects on capital formation but it may have some indirect effects.

(Carried over to page 15)

SMILE-A-WHILE

1. Not helping a bit.—A woman, after giving a census reporter all the necessary information regarding the family, names, ages, sex, was asked by the enumerator what the political faith of the family was.

She replied, "It is decidedly mixed. I am a Republican, my husband is a Democrat, the baby is Wet, the cow is Dry, and the Dog is a Socialist."

"Why, Madam, why do you say your dog is a Socialist?"

"Because he does nothing but sit around all day and howl."

2. Precocious.—Two soldiers were eagerly reading letters from home. Suddenly Bill gave a shout.

"Strike me pink!" he exclaimed. "My son's got three feet."

"Chuckit!" retorted Tom. "Tain't possible."

"It's true," said Bill. "See what the missus says 'ere."

He handed the letter to Tom, who read: "You won't know little Johnny now. He's grown another foot."

3. Obeying orders.—A colonel who had been promoted to general gave a banquet to his regiment.

Addressing himself to the soldiers he said: "Fall upon the food without pity—treat it as if it were the enemy."

At the end of the banquet he observed a sergeant hiding two bottles of wine.

"What are you doing?" asked the colonel.

"Obeying orders, sir. In war when you don't kill the enemy you take them prisoner."

4. Sometimes true.—The American institution of the banquet has been described by a well-known after-dinner speaker as "an affair where a speaker first eats a lot of food he doesn't want and then proceeds to talk about something he doesn't understand to a lot of people who don't want to hear him."

5. Blunt.—Joseph Chamberlain was the guest of honour at a dinner in an important city. The mayor

presided and when coffee was being served he leaned over and touched Chamberlain, saying, "Shall we let the people enjoy themselves a little longer, or had we better have your speech now?"

6. Definition.—A Specialist is one who has his patients trained to become ill only during his office hours. A general practitioner is likely to be called off the golf course, or even at night.

7. Offer accepted.—For years the wife of a Scot, wealthy but stingy, had pestered him for a trip to far-off California, where they had relatives. Finally he consented that she makes the trip.

Shortly after arriving on the Pacific Coast she became the victim of a tragic accident and was drowned. A relative thereupon sent the following cable to her husband: "Wife drowned in accident here to-day. Body recovered, adhering to which was specimen of very rare fish for which the Biological Society has offered ten thousand dollars. Wire instruction."

The Aberdonian replied, "Accept offer and reset bait."

8. The way the Lord looks at it.—A man went into a pawnbroker's shop and asked for a loan. The proprietor offered to make the loan but would charge 9 per cent interest. The customer objected to such a high rate.

"Nine per cent," said he, "is usurious; it is not right nor lawful rate. Don't you know the Lord is looking down on such questionable transactions as this?"

"Very well, my friend," said the proprietor, "but when the Lord looks down on a 9 it looks like a 6."

9. Score one for Ireland.—An English tourist who was telling an Irish peasant about the immense size of the British Empire said, "Well, Pat, and do you know that the sun never sets on the King's dominion?"

"No, your honour," replied Pat.

"Well, such is the case," went on the tourist. "But do you know the reason why?"

Pat immediately answered, "I suppose it is because Heaven is afraid to trust an Englishman in the dark."

10. A quick and merry maiden.—It was at a fashionable London dinner, where brilliant guests made merry amid the sumptuous luxury of their titled host. The table was lighted by myriads of tall candles which cast flickering shadows on the faces of the brilliant company.

Next to the bishop sat a young girl, noted even among these blase' folk as one well versed in repartee. She provoked gales of laughter from her reverend partner throughout the dinner. It so happened that during the fish course the bishop chanced to spill some salt. Gracefully he took a pinch of it in his long tapering fingers, tossed it over his left shoulder with some petty badinage. Unfortunately some of the salt chanced to slip down the maiden's back. Thereupon she, with a roguish smile, wagged her finger at the bishop and remarked: "Aha! Bishop, you can't catch me that way."

11. Quite at home.—Somewhat sarcastic was the clergyman who paused and addressed a man coming into church after the sermon had begun: "Glad to see you, sir, come in; always glad to see those here late who can't come early." And decidedly self-possessed was the man thus addressed, in the presence of an astonished congregation, as he responded: "Thank you. Would you favour me with the text?"

12. Some egg.—A middle-aged bachelor was in a restaurant at breakfast, when he noticed this inscription on the egg: "To whom it may concern: Should this meet the eye of some young man who desires to marry a farmer's daughter, eighteen years of age, kindly communicate with, Sparta, N. J."

After reading this the man made haste to write to the girl, offering marriage, and in a few days received this note: "Your note came too late. I am married now and have four children."

13. Apt illustration.—"What is the difference," a young wife asked her husband, "between direct and indirect taxation?"

"The difference," he said, "is the same as the difference between asking me for money and going through my pockets while I'm asleep."

14. Sure guarantee of financial ability.—"So you want to marry my daughter? What is your financial standing?"

"Well, sir, I've figured out every exemption possible; I've had the best legal advice that money would secure; I've done everything I could to dodge it—and I still find that I cannot escape paying an income tax."

"Take her. She's yours."

15. He would like to be full of it.—A teacher said to her class, "Words ending in 'ous' means 'full of', as joyous means full of joy, and vigorous means full of vigor. Now give an example of such a word."

One young fellow piped up, "Pious!"

16. Has his number.—An instructor was teaching a class an intensified course. Realizing that the boys were beginning to show the strain of constant study he decided to ease the situation with a rather point-less question: "If a chair has four legs, is painted white, and rolls on casters, how old am I?"

The surprised students sat dumb-founded. Then the most backward member of the class supplied the answer: fortyfour.

It was the instructor's turn to be amazed. "That's correct," he said, "but how did you know?"

The student supplied the second answer, "My brother is twenty-two and he is only half crazy."

AN ECONOMIC COMMENTARY

BY

PROF. K. VASUDEVAN

Month of Budgets

Last month the Finance Ministers of the States as well as the Union Government in India performed the traditional task of presenting their budgets. Usually their performance used to be received with mixed feeling but this year, their budgets were a tame affair, clearly indicating that political factors must have their sway and for the moment the budgetary needs of the public authorities should take a back seat. We should not forget that next year is the 'election year' and the custodians of the public finances must have been told by their party bosses that they must submerge their personalities and should not expose their parties to uncomfortable criticisms of their opponents. Starting with the Railway Budget and ending with the Madras Budget we have a set pattern of uncovered deficits and no fresh taxation. This is a laudable performance from one point of view, that is from the point of perfect understanding on the line to be adopted. While therefore for the time being we have been spared a fresh burden of taxation and we are enjoying some shade, we will be exposed to the full blast of taxation when the political fortunes of various parties would have become clear next year. Whatever changes there may be in the party pattern of the country, one thing is certain and that is the party in power in various States and in the Centre will freely use the magic wand of taxation. As an American once said there are two things which are certain in this world and that is death and taxation.

Railway Budget

The presentation of the Railway Budget heralds the budgetary season in India and it also indicated the shape of other budgets to come. Before the railway budget was presented this year, there were some pronouncements of the Deputy Minister for Railways, which prepared us to expect a surprise which meant that fresh levy may be there.

But when the budget was presented in the Parliament, it turned out to be a harmless budget which read more like an essay on the performance of the railways during the second plan period. What marked the budget as an important one, which applies equally to other budgets, is the fact that this is the last year of the second

plan period and we are ushering in the third plan. The budget revealed that the railways have done a good job in the second plan period. Of course the crowding in our railways is there, and those days when passengers, temporarily lived comfortably with their kith and kin and chattels in trains are gone for ever. We need not bemoan this state of affairs. Taking the number of conferences held, seminars staged and touring commissions it is a remarkable feat that the personnel adorning these bodies are transported by our railways and deposited at their destinations without much damage. When we talk of passenger traffic in our country strictly it is passengers and freight for we do not believe in travelling light and arm ourselves for all contingencies with a generous load of luggage.

The second plan allotment to the railways was Rs. 1,121.5 crores and in the first four years of the Plan, 75% of this amount has been spent. The balance is expected to be spent in the coming year. It is pointed out that our railways should be congratulated and that refers to the need of foreign exchange in the Plan, relating to the railways. The foreign exchange component of the Plan has been brought down from Rs. 425 crores as originally estimated to Rs. 385 crores. This has made the planners reduce the foreign exchange component of the Third Plan to Rs. 186 crores. This trend reflects a creditable performance and we would wish that this example is followed by other efforts both in the private and public sectors.

Some figures relating to the railway finance as revealed in the budget will be interesting. The passenger earnings contributed by the upper classes is Rs. 15.4 crores and that contributed by the third class passengers is Rs. 115.6 crores. These are expected to be Rs. 17.1 crores and 128.4 crores respectively in 1961-62. If we take in to consideration the 'ticketless travel' railways should get at least 25% more revenue on passenger earnings from the third class travellers. Just like the tax evasion this problem will be with us for a long time to come. Running of the railways is costing more now thanks to increased Pay load and the increased cost of coal. The ordinary working expenses was Rs. 290 crores in 1959-60 and is expected to increase to Rs. 332.53 crores in 1961-62.

The increased working expenses and the Plan expenditure relating to railways will result in the increase in passenger and freight rates are long, which contingency has been avoided in the present budget.

Fruits of Planning

The benefits of the Indian Plan have been viewed from various angles. But one point of view is coming out in bold relief which it is believed will give a direction to our planned effort. This relates to the development of the various regions in the country and their rate of development. Recent studies about the regional economic development in the country have shown that generally speaking the southern region has not registered the same quantum of development as the other regions of the country. This uneven development of the country became apparent even during the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan and in the draft of the Third Plan this question of the uneven development of the regions has been taken note of and we find the draft observing as follows: 'Balanced development of different parts of the country and the stress on extending the benefits of development to the more backward regions are part of the accepted policy of Government as outlined in the Second Five-Year Plan and the Industrial Policy Resolution of April 1956. These objectives were to be realised primarily through implementation of the programmes embodied in the Plan. From time to time, however additional programmes are added to States' plans which are earmarked for areas with special problems. This observation shows that the planners are aware of the disparity in the economic growth of the various regions. While this fact, from the point of planning has introduced a new approach to the technique of planning, unfortunately it has started a controversy which is being carried wholly in political terms. We have become familiar by now the charge that the South is being neglected and unless an agitational attitude is developed, the southern region will drag slowly in the rear of the caravan in economic progress. An extreme argument has been developed which holds that the South must cut away from the rest of the country and this will enable the region to progress rapidly. It will not be difficult to demonstrate that the demand for complete autonomy will not work economically.

The discussing about the uneven development of the regions in the country reminds us of a similar discussion carried on in Italy for over fifty years. It is pointed out by G. A. Longo, Deputy Editor, *Il Gironale D'Italia*, Rome in an article in the *London Financial Times*, the 1960's opened in Italy with a vigorous resumption of the time-honoured debate on the economic relation-

ship between the North and the South, reinforced by two commemorative events—the Tenth Anniversary of the 'Fund for the South' and the centenary of the national unity. The technique of human reasoning is the same all over the world. The problem of the South in Italy, it is said involves so many centuries—old states of mind, ancient and modern myths and human anxieties that it is difficult for current questions to be consistently examined in the calm light which is essential if any political or economic benefit is to be the result. This observation made about Italy has equal force when we consider the problem of the South in India. In our discussion about the disparity in the economic development of different regions in India, we frequently take the States as units of economic planning which distorts the real picture. This was pointed out by the draft on Third Plan, which pointed out, 'regional development is often thought in terms of States'. This tendency to identify States with 'regions' is natural, the draft continues, because planning by State Governments has an important role and the programmes included in the plans of States and implemented by them have a close bearing on the levels of living of the people. This type of approach while helping the States' planners, in devoting attention to the distressed areas in their own states should not make them indulge in a comparison with other states and thus accusing the centre as favouring certain areas. One should not forget Planning is an integrated attempt at economic development and if a region is prosperous it should not be taken that its prosperity will stop at the frontiers of that State. Of course this pre-supposes that in a federation like ours, there is pride in national unity and readiness to help the less prosperous by the well to do unit in a federation. Sometimes we are painfully reminded that if the planning should make rapid progress, we must think in terms of national unity and provide the proper political atmosphere, free from state rivalries and personal animosities.

Wheat Rupees

Recently the American Wheat Utilisation Mission, it is reported, whose report formed the basis of the 17 million-ton food deal negotiated between India and the United States last year, administered a mild warning that if the supply of wheat on concessional terms is not accompanied by non-food resources which will help India's economic development, the wheat-grant that is being given by the American Government will prove a help that hinders the receiver. We are familiar by now by that cryptic nomenclature for the American Aid—P.L. 480. The P.L. 480 stands for the U.S. Public Law 480—Agricultural Trade Development

and Assistance Act, 1954, whose object was to supply U.S. surplus stocks of wheat and some other agricultural commodities to those under-developed countries who are faced with the shortage of food and raw materials which impede the economic developments of these countries.

Under P.L. 480 India and U.S.A. have entered into a number of agreements—the first agreement was signed in August 1956 and the last in May 1960. There are some features of these agreements which has helped India and at the same time they have created difficulties. Under the Wheat Loan Agreement, India need not make an immediate payment in dollars but only in rupees. These amounts will be with the State Bank or the Reserve Bank of India, to the credit of the American Government. The amount standing to the credit of the American Government will be partly utilised for the U.S. Embassy's expenditure in India and the rest is to be given either to the Government of India as grant or loan or to the private sector as loan. About 80% of the total is likely to be utilised for development purposes in the public sector and the private. On the surface this American help is a great boon to India which is being plagued periodically with food famine and when at a time she is concentrating on economic development, she has to use her foreign balances to import food. This in turn will have the effect of slowing the progress of the plans. In these circumstances it was thought that the wheat-loan will be of great help. But some analysts see in this arrangement a menace to the agricultural economy. It is argued that the pouring in of wheat depresses the price of foodgrains internally produced and this 'squeezes the growers of foodgrains'. While we appeal to the growers of the foodgrains to produce more to make India self-sufficient in food, no incentive is provided to do so. The poor grower seeing the price of raw materials rise, tries to switch over to the cash crops. It is estimated that a shift of 5% of land and resources away from food crops may cause a loss in production of about three million tons of foodgrain a year. But there are some who find in this, the welcome hand of fate and foresee a time when enough food will be produced on less land and some of the lands on which foodgrains were produced will be converted to grow raw materials for our industries. But this presumes that there will be greater productivity on land.

When first the American help was announced, the Government spokesmen welcomed it, and held that this offered a convenient and an effective method of mopping up the extra quantity of money which is doing a lot of mischief pushing up the prices. It was

thought that it was an effective weapon to fight inflation. But these amounts which are temporarily, impounded to the credit of the American Government, appear when these funds are released for financing the projects under the plan. So the net effect is, the amount of money in circulation cannot fall appreciably over a period of time, so long these moneys at least a major part is intended to be spent. In fact the cumulative spending of money in a project area, which was once an area where barter economy was prevalent, skyrocketed the prices and injected the virus inflation in certain areas which were immune from inflation. Thus the American philanthropy created a new problem. We have to understand the findings and recommendations of the American Wheat Utilisation Mission against this background. The Mission held that there must be a specific line of action based on prior consultation, understanding between the donor and the recipient and any project should not be sponsored because funds were available and somehow they should be spent. We must have a list of projects awaiting implementation and these must be taken up as and when the 'wheat money' is made available. We can be sure that we have not heard the last of the controversy about the P.L. 480.

Counting Heads

We are now staging perhaps the biggest census in the world. It is pointed out that the present census has great importance because it coincides exactly with a decade of planning for economic development of the country. In a country with very nearly mass illiteracy, the census operations present stupendous difficulties. But in spite of the obstacle, the present census is expected to help planning by collecting data of major importance.

Census in the modern sense commenced from 1872. From 1881 onward the census operations were modelled on British lines. Since that year we have census operations every ten years. The present census is expected to provide us with data to assess the growth rate of population in the country. Demographers differ as regards the rate of increase in population. The census of 1951 revealed that the population was growing at a rate of about 12.4 per thousand per annum. But there is some guess work regarding the present rate of growth; some hold that the growth rate is as low as 1.5%, whereas others place it at 3%. How vital it is to correctly estimate the rate of growth of population from the point of view of planning will be clear when we note the assumption and the reality about the population projection in the report of the Five-Year Plan II. In the Second Plan it was assumed

the total increase in population will be 138 million, but later on this figure had to be revised to 206 million. A growing population is both an advantage and a curse. It will be an advantage if we marry the population with the other resources in the country to produce more wealth. But the real problem is to tackle the transitory problem of managing with a population, which is too large at a particular period, taking the food and other necessities of life available for that level of population. The problem is one of converting a state of over-population into one of optimum population.

Battle of the Clothes

For the past few years we have been subsidising the handloom cloth by a levy on the mill cloth. One argument for this method of propping up the handloom industry was the contention that millions depend on it for their living and if it is exposed to uneven competition from the mill industry, it will be driven to the wall. and this would mean starving many thousands without

any hope of setting them on their feet again. But the people in the mill industry pose the question how long this artificial respiration will be administered, to make the handloom industry self-sustaining. But the answer cannot be found so easily. Another new factor has appeared in this controversy and that is the powerloom sector, which is castigated as an interloper by the mill industry. In this controversy, the consumer must come into the picture. If we are going to subsidise the handloom industry without knowing the time limit, it will be a case prolonging the existence of an uneconomic sector in our national economy. The argument that the handloom industry feeds many thousands of people is there, but we should not shut our eyes to the real cost involved in this process and it may be ultimately that the handloom will become the poor relation of the mill industry. In view of this it has been urged that the economics of the handloom industry should be gone into thoroughly. As in many things, we are apt to import a lot of prejudice and sentiment in this controversy also.

(Continued from page 9)

For example if the price of gold within India is much higher than the price of gold in other countries there may be much smuggling of gold into India. This smuggling has been estimated at about 34 crores of rupees annually, in the post-Independence period. Such smuggling of precious metals from outside the country must involve the country in a loss of foreign exchange which could have been used for importing goods vital for the economic development of the country. Further, speculation in precious metals may give much larger profits than the establishment of a new industrial factory so that the economic progress of the country is impeded in this way also. But it is probable that the profitability of speculation in real estate and land is an even more serious distraction to industrial investment than speculation in metals.

There is, however, another way of looking at the matter. If in some way, the Government can get hold of peoples stocks of precious metals (e.g., by the issue of savings certificates in exchange) this

will not increase domestic savings. But it will constitute a valuable source of foreign exchange since gold can be easily converted into dollars, marks or sterling. This foreign exchange can be used for financing imports of machinery for economic development and so is equivalent to foreign investment without the interest or profits running out of the country. The existing stock of gold and silver in India has been estimated about Rs. 2,900 crores so that even partial mobilization of this amount by the Government would provide much valuable foreign exchange for economic development. One might go so far as to say that in the light of present needs, the traditional habit of hoarding precious metals which has built up this accumulation over past years, was a particularly fortunate one. It is a tradition for which we can be more grateful than contemptuous. But only provided we can now persuade people to part with their hoards in the national interest. And that, of course, is easier said than done!

MEN AND MATTERS

BY

C. H. V. PATHY

There is something of Thomas Hardy's "Tests" about the life of Patrice Lumumba, one-time Premier of Congo, whose star-crossed life ended when a hail of bullets were aimed at him at point-blank range by his political enemies.

His two nationalistic colleagues shared the same fate.

This dastardly crime has stepped up the pace of the cold and has been condemned by the entire civilised world as the most ghastly international crime in contemporary history. To every member of the Afro-Asian Family, this outrage has come with the terrific effect of an atom bomb.

Even from western quarters, one hears hysterical protestations.

Adlai Stevenson was halfway through his first major address to the United Nations Security Council, when he posed the plain question: Can the United Nations survive?

At that point, a flying wedge of some 30 Negroes overpowered two blue-uniformed guards and stormed through the entrance of the packed public gallery. Joined by 30 others planted throughout the audience, the demonstrators shrieked; "Lumumba, Lumumba". They rained curses at Stevenson and Dag Hammarskjöld.

"Why don't you help us," screamed one woman at a Negro U.N. guard. She added; "You know they murdered Lumumba."

In every capital in the world, the Belgian Chancellery was stormed. There were demonstrations in Delhi, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. In the last mentioned city, the Belgian Embassy office was almost wrecked by foreign nationals who were later rounded up by the police.

In the Moscow demonstration, 6,000 foreign students and Moscow workers shouted anti-Belgian slogans. Belgian Embassy building lay in shambles. African nationalist leaders in London blamed the West and the United Nations for the murder of Lumumba.

Lumumba who literally immolated himself at the altar of a principle was born in the Congo province of Kasai, and was a member of the Batetela tribe.

He was 36.

Employed as a postman, then later as a business executive, he founded the "National Congolese Movement" in December 1958, after his return from the Conference of Accra, which he attended as an observer. In October 1959, he took part in the campaign supported by the movement which resulted in his arrest.

He was sentenced in January 1960, but immediately pardoned. He thereafter attended a Round Table Conference in Brussels which was to decide and give independence to the Congo in June 1960. With the coming of independence, Lumumba became the first Prime Minister of the State.

His premiership was marked by riots and the breaking of diplomatic relations with Belgium. From July 25, 1960, to August 27 Lumumba toured Europe and the United States, seeking aid for the newly independent Congo. Upon his return home, he and President Kasavubu toured the country, securing temporary calm in the new State. He attempted to make Katanga, which had proclaimed its independence, return to a centralised and unified Congo Republic. On September 6, after falling out with President Kasavubu, Lumumba was dismissed as Premier, and was interned for nearly two months in his Leopoldville residence. He managed to escape from his heavily guarded residence on December 2, 1960, but was recaptured a few days later. He was then brought back to Leopoldville and jailed in Thysville and finally transferred to Katanga prison on January 18, 1960.

He rose to power on a platform of unity for a country split into scores of disunited tribes. He was a persuasive, rather than a fiery speaker.

During last year's election campaign—in which his party, the Nationalist Congolese Movement, organised on a non-tribal basis, gained 27 per cent of the total votes—he toured the Stanleyville region. During the campaign, the MNC emerged as one of best organised and toughest parties. It appealed mainly to workers of all classes, and Mr. Lumumba was the only leader who wanted a Congo United under a strong Central Government.

His political rivals most of whom he far outmanoeuvred immediately prior to independence, largely favoured some federal form of Government. The MNC scored a decisive victory in the elections—their

nearest rivals, Mr. Kasavubu's party, receiving only 10 per cent of the votes. On June 21, 1960, the Belgians asked him to form the Central Government.

After Independence, Lumumba's actions in the rapidly deepening Congo crisis have risen to grave concern at home and abroad. His attack on Belgian rule in the presence of King Baudouin at the Independence ceremony surprised many, as did his appeal for direct Soviet aid.

Lumumba married one of the girls who lived in his home neighbourhood. It is believed that she escaped from Leopoldville before he himself tried to reach his stronghold last November. He was arrested before he could get to Stanleyville. When he evaded the troops of Gen. Mobutu who was guarding his house at Leopoldville on November 27, he stated that he was going not as fugitive, but for the funeral of his infant child.

He is survived by his wife, two sons and a daughter.

Few recent events have provided the Soviet with such a talking point against the West as the murder of Patrice Lumumba. But tactically, they have overplayed this crime as Khrushchev overplayed the fury of the U.S. spy plane last spring.

There are very few people in the West who have not utterly revolted by the murder of the former Prime Minister of Congo.

Presently, Moscow's target of attack is Dag, Secretary of the United Nations who is more sinned against than sinning. He has become Russia's chief stumbling block in the United Nations and must hence be removed. But this plea which was canvassed vigorously among the neutral nations has not cut much ice. Our Prime Minister refuses to walk into the Russian lobby. Moscow's attack has also swung round Adlai Stevenson, who for years was being praised in Moscow Press as the most sincerely peace-loving of all Americans. He has suddenly become none worse than his cold war predecessor Cabot Lodge.

The violence of the Russian campaign makes it look as though there might be others besides the Albanians and the Chinese, who are not keen on talks and relaxation of tension between the United States and the U.S.S.R.

Reprisals

The martyrdom of Lumumba has slumped the stock of the United Nations. From Cairo to Tokyo, there are cries to put down its shutters. A dead man, lying in an unmarked grave has hurled the biggest challenge to its existence. Two years ago, the very name of

Lumumba was not heard of. Today, he has become a symbol.

His murder has been played up in prose and pictures all the world over. He literally gambled with his life. There was magical spell about him which thrilled thousands who heard him.

He lacked any serious ideology, and often appeared to lack commonsense. His own Army overthrew him. His enemies ranging from President Kasavubu to the Belgian King, jailed him, beat him up and finally killed him. The United Nations, which tried to keep the peace without taking sides, was deeply involved in the crisis.

His murder will not go unavenged. Tribal oaths have been sworn and the flames of violence have begun to flicker and burn across the Congo. I Kasai, a Belgian and Portuguese, drinking together in a cave, were overheard joking about Lumumba's death. A Congolese shot them both. In Kivu, rebel soldiers belonging to the forces of pro-Communist Antoine Gizenga arrested 25 whites, beat them severely, then turned them loose. In Leopoldville, seven followers of President Kasavubu were knifed in the dark by Lumumbists. In Bukavu, soldiers invaded a convent and molested the inmates.

Our Prime Minister made the memorable remark the other day that Congo's former Prime Minister was "infinitely more powerful than Mr. Lumumba alive."

Popular reaction to the cold-blooded assassination of one of the most colourful personalities that post-war world threw up has been one of indignation.

From London to Jakarta and from Moscow to Colombo, everyone who felt even a glimmering of the spark of patriotism has denounced this dark deed.

There must be a hidden hand behind this crime and Belgian "colonialism" has been held primarily responsible for the murder which shook the world.

Naturally it got reflected in the deliberations of the United Nations Assembly.

In our own country, the Congress has put on record its horror and indignation. The resolution passed by the Security Council at the initiative of Liberia, Ceylon and the United Arab Republic is characterised by the same revulsion.

The resolution not only calls for the withdrawal of Belgian military and para-military personnel and investigation of the circumstances of the murder of Lumumba but also urges reorganisation of the Congolese army as well as the reconvening of the Congolese Parliament.

It is easy to pass strongly-worded resolutions. But is it possible to carry them into effect?

The Katanga Government, headed by the diehard Tshombe has violently reacted to the Security Council's resolution.

It has ordered full-scale mobilisation in its belief that the U.N. has declared war against it. There is no doubt that the Security Council's resolution authorises the U.N. to use force "as a last resort" to compel compliance. If force has to be resorted to, it will create a new precedent. It will be the beginning of an international military force which can stop aggression anywhere. It will be capable of use against any country, be it Russia, be it United States, be it Pakistan. It will make the United Nations the nucleus of a world government. Every war-hungry nation will realise that aggression will not pay.

OBITUARY

Dr. V. S. Krishna

The death occurred at Delhi in the month under review of Dr. V. S. Krishna, Chairman of the University Grants Commission. He was attending a meeting presided over by Dr. K. L. Shrimali, Union Education Minister. Soon after the meeting began, Dr. Krishna had a heart attack. A doctor was immediately called but Dr. Krishna died before medical aid could be rendered.

His sudden end came as a shock to not only his friends and admirers but the whole country. In him India not only lost an eminent educationist but a thorough gentleman. He had dedicated his life for the cause of education. After completing his higher studies at Oxford and Vienna, he began his association with the Andhra University, taking up an appointment as Professor of Economics. Later, he was appointed as Registrar. Since 1949, he had been the Vice-Chancellor. He was also President of the Inter-Universities Board in 1937. He was the author of a book, "International Economic Co-operation".

He was 58 at the time of his death. He is survived by his wife and daughter.

Srimati Lochani

Feminine invasion of the Fourth Estate in India continues unabated. In Bombay, women conduct more than one journal and they do better than men. In Madras city, a few society women have taken to journalism as a pastime. Srimati Shana Rangachari who was a fertile free-lancer has migrated to Delhi and the gap left by her exit is now filled by sophisticated

Lochani Viswanathan, a graduate of the Bombay University who has all the ingredients of a successful journalist. The few articles that she has so far written are delightful reading. She is a feature writer to the newly established "Torch" and sampling cine stars seems to be her major hobby at the moment.

She met Padmini at Meenambakkam airport and had a topping interview with her. She subsequently met Kamala Lakshmanan and Raj Kapoor and Vyjayanthimala at the sets and got background material for an article.

Stemming from a middle class family, daughter of an officer in Andhra State, Lochani is married. She drives her own car, has a phone in her study room and is studying music. Her efforts to get into the editorial staff of a leading English daily however did not prove successful. She has made a resolve to stay but as a freelance writer.

Kamala's tour

Proceeding on a two-month tour of Europe is the illustrious danseuse Kamala Lakshman. She told me that her tour will be confined to countries in Europe though she had more than one invitation to visit the United States.

Kamala had been to England before. She danced before the Queen while the latter was in Madras. She will give Bharat Natyam performances in Rome, Paris, London, Berlin and Moscow. Accompanying her in her present tour are her sister Radha, her mother and her dance teacher Ramiah Pillai.

Kamala is the foremost exponent of Bharat Natyam and the Government of India conferred on her a signal honour of making a colour documentary against a background of Tanjore and Chidambaram.

She has also acted in a few films.

Soviet advice to India

It is learnt that the Soviet Union has now joined other advanced countries in advising India to be cautious about its programme of building nuclear power stations. In his talks with the Planning Commission recently, the Soviet Deputy Premier, Mr. Kosygin is reported to have stated that his country was having second thoughts about the economics of nuclear power, and that no new power station was being planned in Russia. He is believed to have said that but for the fact that the third nuclear power station in the U.S.S.R. had already been inaugurated, the Soviet Government would probably have abandoned it.

The Royal tour

Queen Elizabeth whose triumphal tour of India has concluded has acquired for the Royal collection an Indian painting entitled Backyard Feast by Biswanath Mukherjee. The work is one of 74 paintings which were selected from a total of 1,000 entries for the Lalit Kala Akademi's National Exhibition this year.

A former Principal of a College for Fine Arts, artist Mukherjee is at present Deputy Director of the Government Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity.

The Films Division of the Government of India are producing a colour documentary film on the current visit to India of H.M. Queen Elizabeth II and the Duke of Edinburgh. The documentary will be in two edited versions, one about 4,000 feet in length and the other about 2,000 feet.

The documentary will cover vividly both the phases of the Royal party's visit to India: January 21 to February 1 and February 16 to March 2, 1961, when the Royal party is scheduled to leave for Teheran. The documentary will be in Eastman colour.

In addition, the Queen's visit is also being covered in the weekly newsreels of the Films Division.

U.N. and Congo

The latest decision of the United Nations to use international force to resolve the Congo deadlock is one of the most momentous one ever taken. United Nations' African Godchild that was once the British Congo is now a sad, sick, four-headed monster, shaking itself senseless in a mad St. Vitus's dance.

Patrice Lumumba, the Republic's First Premier has been murdered. This brutal outrage has produced world-wide repercussions.

"Dag" is now faced with four armies, four Governments and two currencies. There are no courts of law, fewer schools, fewer hospitals and no imports of essential goods.

Men and women are tortured in police courts or polished off by the Firing Squad. Hundreds are dying of starvation. There is civil war, famine and pestilence. There is corruption too.

Some of the returned Belgians, paid by Brussels, do their best to sabotage U.N. advisers to make their own positions indispensable.

U.N. men, Congolese and members of Dag's Conciliation Commission from the Afro-Asian Groups, are trying to find a solution for the present tangle. All are agreed that as long as there is an East-West split in the United Nations, the Congo problem is almost

insoluble. There is no doubt that there MUST be a return to Parliamentary Government.

The only vestige of constitutional Government remaining in the Congo is President Kasavubu, who to the dismay of the United Nations, has played little or no part in directing events since chaos came with independence.

China on War Path

China is still brandishing the big stick against India. There has been no relaxation of tensions; on the other hand the cold war is intensifying. Our Government has reinforced its military stations near the border and is attempting to bolster up the three tiny States of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, which lie high in the mountainous region near China. The recent visit of the Maharaja of Bhutan to India has a profound political significance. But far more drastic steps are needed to stem aggression. Already, Pakistan and China are getting closer and both are hostile to India. Those who had nursed the feeling that the recent visit of Nehru to Karachi had cemented the bonds of Indo-Pakistan relationship have now been disillusioned. The line-up of China and Pakistan is the biggest menace to the security of our country. International opinion must be tutored to the view that India should not be made a pawn in the chessboard of power politics.

Kerala

In Kerala, the most politically minded of Indian States, where a coalition of the Indian National Congress, the Praja Socialist party and the Moslem League was got together for the purpose of defeating the Communist regime, the coalition seems to be facing rough weather. Praja Socialist leader Pattom Thanu Pillai refuses to discard his party label. So single-minded is he that at times he is prone to neglect his temperamental party and even ride roughshod over the feelings of the coalition's major partner—the Congress party whose spokesman is Shankar.

There is no question of the present Ministry been thrown out of power but inter-ministerial friction must be ended. Mannom Padmanabhan is lending his hand to set matters right but even he has not been able to compose the differences between Pillai and his colleagues.

In Travancore State, Pillai's hold is great, but in Cochin and Malabar, he is still carefully watched. Apart from this, Pillai's task is not rendered easier by the plethora of ex-Communist Forums which want him to take the same ruthless measures—and in the same ways—against the Communists that the Com-

munists did against the democratic parties. His able Deputy, P. T. Chako has gained popularity for the coalition by his anti-corruption measures and by the manner in which he is trying to give the younger element a chance inside the party. But this displeases the party's old guard, the Brahmin section, which is twisting and turning in an endeavour to regain command of the Kerala Pradesh State Congress Committee.

That the stock of the coalition has slumped of late is evident from the success of the Communist Party candidate in the by-election at Parli in Malabar, rendered necessary by the death of Dr. A. R. Menon, a former Minister who died a few months back.

Whatever the relationship between the allied parties, the Ministry's second birthday on February 22, seemed to have inspired kind thoughts. It was widely acknowledged that the Ministry's record was noteworthy, although some of its acts were unwelcome to large sections. It has granted relief to certain classes of tenants and cultivators excluded from the previous Communist Ministry's legislation.

It has established more agricultural service co-operative societies and given further aid to farmers for land improvement. Teachers' emoluments have been enhanced; minimum wages have been fixed and begun to be paid, for 100,000 workers in the cashewnut industry. A most welcome feature has been the increased co-operation between officials and trade organisations in the prevention of irregularities that brought one traditional industry or another into disrepute in foreign markets.

There is saying that the people will get the Government they deserve. Kerala right from its birth has been a problem province because the people over there are by tradition and educational upbringing fiercely independent. They insist on making up their own minds instead of being drilled and regimented into a particular grove of thought.

As India's third general election slowly approaches what most Indians seem to want is not an ostensible anti-Communism, which is negative, but an opportunity to rededicate themselves positively to the ways of democracy. This is not such an easy task as all the democratic parties are in varying stages of disrepair, because top leadership is aging and more and more clinging to outworn clinches. At the moment Indian thinking is in a dangerous state of insatiability. On the surface, much is as usual, but just beneath it is an unrest and impatience such as this country has never known before.

Lord Home in India

Important consequences are expected to follow Lord Home's visit to the Indian capital for talks with the Prime Minister.

Though the ostensible purpose of the British Foreign Secretary's visit is that he will be accompanying Queen Elizabeth on her journey to India, political observers are of the view that there is more in it than a jaunt to India.

The impression prevails in New Delhi that the British attitude towards Congo is one of shielding Belgium from the blame of bringing about the present crisis. This feeling has been further deepened by British abstention in the United Nations Assembly over the Afro-Asian demand for the arrest and punishment of those responsible for the murder of Lumumba.

Mobutu must climb down

Colonel Joseph Mobutu's Young College of Commissioners, who have been running the country, cannot be anything more than a sort of permanent civil service. Before there can be a return to Parliamentary system the drunken brutal armed mobs that call themselves armies must be disarmed. Until this happens, new elections the country so desperately needs will be impossible.

The U.N.O. has no mandate to disarm the country. The move to get such a mandate would certainly be blocked by one of the big powers. So we are left where we are.

To dodge around the question of disarmament, there is now increasing talk of a neutral zone around Leopoldville. In such a zone, it is said, elections could be held and Members of Parliament would be in a position to live and work in peace, and protected by the U.N. armed forces.

The United Nations have no power or authority to assemble Parliament in the Congo. Mobutu believes in his Commissioners, not M.P.s. He will have to climb down.

Expel South Africa

Demand for the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth was voiced by Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, leader of the South African Indian National Congress who visited this country recently.

In a talk with me at Madras he said that on no account should Mr. Verwood, the South African Premier, be allowed to sit at the next Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

He characterised the proposed Republic of South Africa as nothing but a Fascist Republic, because the non-whites who constitute 80 per cent of the population, would have no rights whatsoever in the proposed Republic. He pleads for a fully Democratic Government under which equal rights and opportunities would be allowed to all sectors of the population.

The three-member delegation of which Dr. Dadoo was the head had talks with our Prime Minister at New Delhi. The delegation has left for Malaya.

Cuba crisis

Last year, the significance of the Castro revolution for both Cuba and the western hemisphere emerged with clarity. It was reflected in an extraordinary exchange in the United Nations Assembly.

"Do not touch Cuba" said Russia. "Do not touch us", retorted the United States.

Cuba itself, two years after Castro strode to power is virtually an authoritarian State. Free Press and other organs of opposition have been crushed, lands expropriated, industries nationalised. U.S. has broken off diplomatic ties with that country. Communists are reported to be shipping arms to Castro. Castro's ultimate ambition seems to be to turn the Andes into the Sierra Maestra. Many of the Governments which are his targets hesitate to move against him. It remains to be seen how Kennedy will face one of his thorniest problems. At the moment he is preoccupied with the more immediate problems of manning his administrative team and of making a smooth start with the Congress.

Prison for Dalmia

Committed to prison on a two-year term is Seth Ramakrishna Dalmia, one of the wayward geniuses of this country.

I had the good fortune of running him to earth at Karachi where he had come to establish a cement factory. He struck me as a simple man. He told me that he managed to live on Rs. 30 per month. Later, when I went to his house unannounced, I saw four hefty Bhayyas massaging his thin body.

"Is this service free?" I asked. He burst into laughter.

At Delhi which he later made his home, he used to have weekly Press Conferences at which the main theme of discussion was protection to cows. A Karachi daily used to play up his pranks in the front page with banner headlines. Cool drinks used to be a speciality at these weekly meets.

He acquired the anæmic *News Chronicle* and tried to

pour into its pallid arteries the vitalising blood of a new life. He succeeded in bagging Shankar and Krupanidhi from *Hindustan Times* and made J. N. Shani the editor. E. Narayanan of *Link* was the chief assistant editor. But after a fitful career, the *Chronicle* petered out.

Once when I asked him the motive behind his campaign for cows and all that, he replied: "I have no political ambitions to cover up by the cow. I have not been able to put on this role long because of the Defence of India Rules. I am the staunchest Congressman walking on the surface of the earth."

"How many times have you been to jail?" barged in the irreverent P. D. Sharma.

Pat came the answer: "I did not go to jail because Rajendra Prasad required my services. He requested me not to court imprisonment because I supplied all Satyagraha campaigners of the Congress with money and with plenty of it."

He added: "Even when I was broke, I used my influence to borrow money from friends to help the Congress movement. That is why Rajendra Prasad felt that my courting prison might directly result in the Satyagraha campaign petering out."

"How much have you paid so far," asked another inquisitive newsman.

His brother Jayadaya came to his rescue. "Who are you to ask? You are not an auditor."

"Who are you to question me?" retorted the journalist.

Ramakrishna Dalmia said, "He is my brother."

Dalmia acquired Jinnah's posh Delhi house for a sum of three lakhs.

He also prospected for One World. Once he went over to the United States and made a bid to buy "New York Times."

"How much does this television machinery cost?" he asked when he was televised. "I want to take it home to India," he said amidst laughter.

When he was arrested a few years back and taken to jail, he held four gold images, in his hand.

He has written a brief autobiography. Therein he says that he married many a time and felt that according to present-day ideals, as one holding an important position in the eyes of the public, he had set a noble example.

Pant's Health

Much concern is felt all over the country at the bad state of health of India's Home Minister, Sri Gobind Vallabh Pant. He has been waging a heroic

fight against death and at the moment of filing this despatch, he seems to have rallied a bit.

For a number of years, he has been a sickman. Once he was lathi-charged by the police at Lucknow at the time of the boycott of the Simon Commission, and even today, he carries the scars of the wound he received then. He never recovered from the thrombosis which attacked him a few months back. Physical ailment never deterred the Home Minister from attending to his day-to-day duties and he was always present in Parliament.

Even if he fully recovers it is doubtful whether he can continue to function in office and some slight changes in the Ministry are inevitable. Most probably, Mr. Morarji Desai will handle the Home portfolio and may be our C. Subramaniam would be drafted to Delhi to take over finance.

* * * Prime Minister Nehru would be proceeding to London shortly to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and the absence of Pant at this critical juncture would be felt very much. The recent Ministerial crash in Orissa would have received the personal attention of Pandit Pant had he been well. Now, the Home Ministry officials are handling the situation. Meanwhile, Mrs. Violet Alva, the Deputy Home Minister who had gone abroad has come back.

New Bible

The year 1961 which will mark the 350th anniversary of the publication of the King James version of the Bible will also see the birth of a completely new translation, titled "The New English Bible," the New Testament portion of which will be published in the United States by Oxford University Press, and in England by Cambridge University Press on March 14 this year.

* * * Ernest Hemingway's group of short stories about his youthful hero Nick Adams will be made into a motion picture by 20th Century Fox under the title "Adventures of a Young Man". A. E. Hotchner, who has, done most of the television adaptations of Hemingway's works will write the screen play.

* * * Work has commenced on a 3,500-ton floating fish factory for the Caspian Sea at the ship-building yards of Corodetes, near Gorky on the Volga. The ship will have a length of 85 and a beam of 18 metres. With the exception of floating docks, the Soviet Union has never built a reinforced concrete vessel of such magnitude.

The yards will start building another five ships of this type shortly.

Macmillan in Trouble

Harold Macmillan, wealthy publisher's son who is now the Prime Minister of Great Britain seems to be having a tough time. He is a leader who combines a cynical understanding of affairs with a gambler's instinct and a heart-warming loyalty to his colleagues. His hero is that romantic character Disraeli. In case he steps down from power, one of these likely to succeed him on the political throne is "Rab" Butler, a man of action with a first-rate intellect. Butler is an intellectual, indecisive at critical moments, unable afterwards to resist the temptation to prove himself right. Both Macmillan and Butler saw that the Suez adventure was going wrong. But whereas Rab withered the Cabinet, Harold backed the Premier, Sir Anthony Eden, until failure was certain—and so got the succession.

Rab remains permanent Number 2—indispensable but always passed over in favour of someone who conceals his cleverness more skilfully.

Newsman in Capital

One of the most arresting newsmen in the journalistic landscape of the capital is Sri K. Subbaroyan, special representative of the Express Group of newspapers. He is just on the verge of fifty but has been in the profession for well over thirty years.

He is a self-made man in the typical sense of the word. His early education was received in his home town Salem and he made his way to Madras where for a while he was in the Ramakrishna Mission School.

Early in life, round about sixteen he developed a passion for journalism. He received his baptism from the illustrious Editor of HINDU, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar. He started work in a Tamil newspaper office in Madras. In 1932, the late Mr. S. Sadanand Editor, of *FREE PRESS JOURNAL* whistled for him and he took the road to Bombay. There Subbaroyan exhibited his talents.

Thanks to a chance contact with K. Rama Rao who was the Executive Editor of *FREE JOURNAL*, Subbaroyan received a call from Karachi where Rama Rao's brother the late K. Punniiah was at the helm of the leading English daily newspaper, "*SIND OBSERVER*". He stayed but in Karachi where he functioned as chief-sub-editor of "*SIND OBSERVER*".

Mr. K. Gopalaswamy of *TIMES OF INDIA* spirited away from *SIND OBSERVER* and made him the staff correspondent of his paper. Subbaroyan did outstanding work in his new sphere.

He stayed at Karachi for more than a year after the partition of the country at great personal risk.

But when the climate became very inhospitable he left the capital of Pakistan. His next job was in Delhi where he stepped into the shoes of D. R. Mankekar, who was functioning as special representative of *TIMES OF INDIA*. He continued in that capacity till about four years back when he resigned from *Times* to join the Express Group as special representative at Delhi. He continues there.

He has visited many foreign countries including Japan, Great Britain, Russia and Germany.

While on the staff of "*Sind Observer*", Subbaroyan was also Karachi correspondent of *HINDU* of Madras. He was also attached to *STATESMAN* for a spell.

He is a keen newspaperman and works diligently. He has top flight contacts in the capital and knows how to keep a secret. He has quick grasp and sound judgment.

As a sub-editor he made his mark. Both K. Rama Rao and Kasturi Sreenivasan have testified to his outstanding work.

Subbaroyan is married to Srimati Lakshmi, M.A., and has two children.

India's Foremost Geologist

At the German Ambassador's residence in New Delhi a few days ago, Dr. D. N. Wadia, India's foremost geologist, was presented with the Leopold-von-Buch plaque, an award conferred on him last year by the German Geological Society, Hanover.

The plaque, which bears the name of the greatest German geologist and founder of the Society, is awarded in recognition of outstanding contributions to geological studies. It was delivered to Dr. Wadia by Professor A. Bentz, Chairman of the German Geological Society, who was on a brief visit to India for discussions with the Union Government on questions of geological research.

In handing over the plaque and a document regarding the award, Professor Bentz spoke of the enormous and valuable work done by Dr. Wadia in the field of geological studies, and added that "Geology of India," a monumental work by Dr. Wadia had opened the eyes of geologists all over the world to the vast field of geological studies in this country.

Dr. Wadia thanked the German Geological Society for the Award and Professor Bentz for having found it convenient to present the plaque to him personally. He added that as a young geologist many years ago he had heard of Leopold-von-Buch as an old and famous geologist, and he was very happy to receive an honour bearing his name.

Now 78 years old, Dr. Wadia joined the Geological Survey of India in 1921 and became Superintending Geologist a few years later. A devoted research worker, he is known for valuable studies regarding the geology of the Himalayan region. He founded the Indian Bureau of Mines and was its first Director. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of England and an honorary member of the Geological Society of the United States.

Films

Mehboob's film "Mother India" will soon be screened in London. It is now several years since the picture became available in Great Britain but there have been repeated delays in putting it out. At one time, even after some initial publicity had been given, it began to look as if it would never reach the screens in England.

Now Columbia, nursing it all the time, have given it a trade show. They are considering its London presentation. The company feels that the heightened interest in India occasioned by the Queen's visit may make this a favourable time to push this film.

Personality Sketch

DAG HAMMARSKJOELD

BY

KASHYAPA

There are some people whose names create in our minds visions about their personality and their prowess, which later prove to be so far removed from actuality that one realises the fallacious nature of the name test. Equally appearances themselves are notorious for their decept, which accounts for the "All that glitters is not gold" formula. Thus names rarely justify appearances, and appearances rarely reflect personalities. What I know about the United Nations Secretary-General is his name, and I am never sure about the spelling and (through photographs) his appearance. Both proving no indices of the personality of this world famous man, my observations in this sketch are more valuable as Kashyapa's writing, than as any authoritative or intimate delineation of Dag's character. *Quod Erat Demonstratum.*

Peace-makers have been listed in the Holy Bible along with the poor, the mourners, the meek, the hungry, the merciful and the pure—as those who have a large credit balance on the other side of life. This implies that they have a pretty bad going on this side of it. In these days who cares for the meek or the pure? We know the verse :

It raineth more on the just than on the unjust fellow,

For the unjust hath stolen the just's umbrella. That is what happens to the just, and the peace-makers are in the same boat. If someone manages to succeed in his role as a peace-maker even to a little extent then, to that extent, he deserves a hand. The U.N. Secretary-General has been labouring against odds and he is doing as well as one can.

Hammarskjöld hails from Scandinavia which gave us Greta Garbo and Ingrid Bergman, to say nothing of Ingemar Johansson and Alfred Nobel. The icy cold of his native land has probably accustomed the Secretary-General to withstand better the full blast

of the cold war for he is doing far better than his predecessor who came from the Equatorial Philippines. Dag is represented so differently by differing nations that his real personality cannot be ascertained, without appearing to take sides. Is he the Villain of the Congo as some quarters think, or is he its desperate Saviour as believed by others? Is he a 'tool of the Imperialists' as castigated from behind the curtain, or is he a struggling peacemaker? I pose these questions for I cannot answer them. All that Kashyapa likes to say on this subject is, Pandit Nehru is right and Panditji has been a great diplomat in this business.

I happen to know how difficult it is to get conducted even a Panchayat meeting or a Municipal Council meeting as the quarrels arising there eventually lead to the High Court in writ proceedings. So I can sympathise with one who is not answerable to just nine members but to nearly four score nations, each with an Ego as big as the Cosmic Egg. As a wag remarked, council meetings generally do one business which is not on the agenda, namely, QUARRELS! The U.N. has been no exception to this and Dag's thankless job of trying to behave like the old man with the Ass, deserves our sympathy. Whether others could do his job better or not is an academic question for there are few who will be able to do his job at all, leave alone better or worse.

To end with a Limerick,

There was a Hammarskjöld called Dag,
Who tried to keep up the U.N. Flag,
He got for his pains, many kicks,
And himself kicked against the pricks,
But curiously his enthusiasm didn't sag!

SPORTS IN BRIEF

OUR SPORTS COMMENTATOR

India's ace sprinter, Milkha Singh will shortly resign from the Indian Army. According to informed sources, he has already sent his resignation.

It had been known that Milkha had, for some time past, been seriously thinking of leaving the Army. He had informally requested the authorities that he should be released.

It is now certain that he will not participate in the 1964 Olympics. He seems determined to hang up his spikes, a desire expressed by him on his return from Rome.

According to one source, he has been offered a lucrative job by the Punjab Government. The Punjab Government has plans to open two sports schools in the State, one for boys and one for girls, to serve as nurseries for future sportsmen and sportswomen. It is understood that Milkha Singh has been offered the job of head of the athletic department in the school for boys.

The National Hockey Tournament

The 26th National Hockey Championship has commenced at the Police Ground at Begumpet with a match between Hyderabad, the hosts and Orissa. This was followed by a match between Andhra and Kerala. This is the third time the National championship is being staged at Secunderabad. The police ground where the matches are being played was recently converted into a turf ground. The semi-finals and the finals of the All India Police Hockey tournament were held there early this month. Since then a lot of effort has gone into making the turf as ideal as possible.

The State Governor Mr. Bhimsen Sachar inaugurated the championship.

Tributes to Mr. Tata

Eloquent tributes were paid to the services rendered by Mr. N. H. Tata, the outgoing President of the Bombay Provincial Hockey Association for over a decade at a dinner got up in his honour at the Cricket Club of India towards the end of February.

Mr. J. C. Jain said that Mr. Tata rendered singular services not only in Bombay but also to the Indian Hockey when he was the President for a number of years.

Press Conference

Pakistan will play host to nearly 100 editors and their wives, drawn from all parts of the Commonwealth

when they meet at Lahore at the end of October at the Ninth Commonwealth Press Conference. There are 21 countries represented at the Commonwealth Press Union. The delegates who will at the outset assemble at Karachi, will also visit Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore and Dacca.

Decline in Boxing

The world-wide decline of professional boxing is highlighted by that brilliant American writer, W. C. Heinz, in a recent edition of "Saturday Evening Post". He writes thus :

"Once there were more than 400 fight clubs in the United States, last year there were fewer than forty that ran one boxing show or more. In 1956, the gross rate receipts from boxing in the United States were approximately 14 million dollars. In 1959, the figure was 4,100,500 dollars. In 1945, exactly 547,500 people paid £1,464,285 to attend 43 boxing shows in Madison Square Garden. In 1959, there was a total of only 59,558 paying £123,699 at 24 shows."

A new indoor sports track is to be built in the Los Angeles arena by a Finnish firm of contractors. The track is to be made of spruce and pine, constructed under Finnish supervision by Finnish labour.

The World Fair to be held in New York will get space-age publicity. The exhibition is to be launched with a colour telecast of the opening by President Kennedy, sent round the world by signals bounced off an orbiting satellite, specially launched for the purpose. Some 70 lakhs of visitors are expected during its two-year run.

Modern pentathlon world championship will take place in Moscow from August 19 to 23. This decision was taken at a meeting of the Organisational Committee of this world championship.

The new date for the competitions was fixed at the request of the leadership of the International Union of Modern Pentathlon.

It is expected that 60 pentathlomen from twenty countries will take part in the Moscow championship. The field will include such strong pentathlon countries as the United States and Hungary.

Book Reviews

THE EASTERN ECONOMIST ANNUAL NUMBER 1961

Edited by E. P. W. Da COSTA

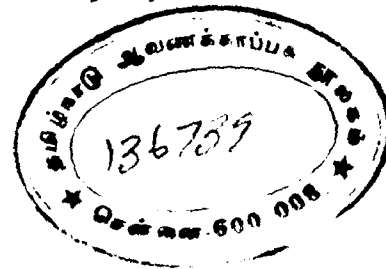
Laborious hours have gone into the preparation of this format. It is chiefly devoted to a Comparative Study of the American and Indian economies. The publishers have taken enormous effort in giving a number of details regarding these two countries and have succeeded in showing the inter-dependability of the American and Indian economies. The economic and cultural reviews are particularly worth noting. A Series of Statistical data are given to supplement the contents of a good number of well produced articles. A large section is devoted to reviewing the state of the Indian Union and some of the articles deal at length with the progress of the various sectors of Agriculture and Industry in India.

This annual number is indeed a useful addition to your library and the editor deserves praise in showing dexterity in the selection of articles of quality.

Have you a library ?

The first consignment of cheap books published in Great Britain under a Government-backed scheme is now on its way to India. There has been a glut of books in the post-war period and the United States is now competing with reputed firms like Penguins to mass produce books. Most of them are loaded with sex and the cover page contains pictures in colour of alluring women, against a seductive background.

As against this, India is very poor on the production side. We have yet to develop the reading habit. Those who have done so prefer to join a library rather than have a collection of books at home. Barring Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari who has a gorgeous collection of books on all subject, there is none in the city who can say with confidence that he has some notable books.



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