

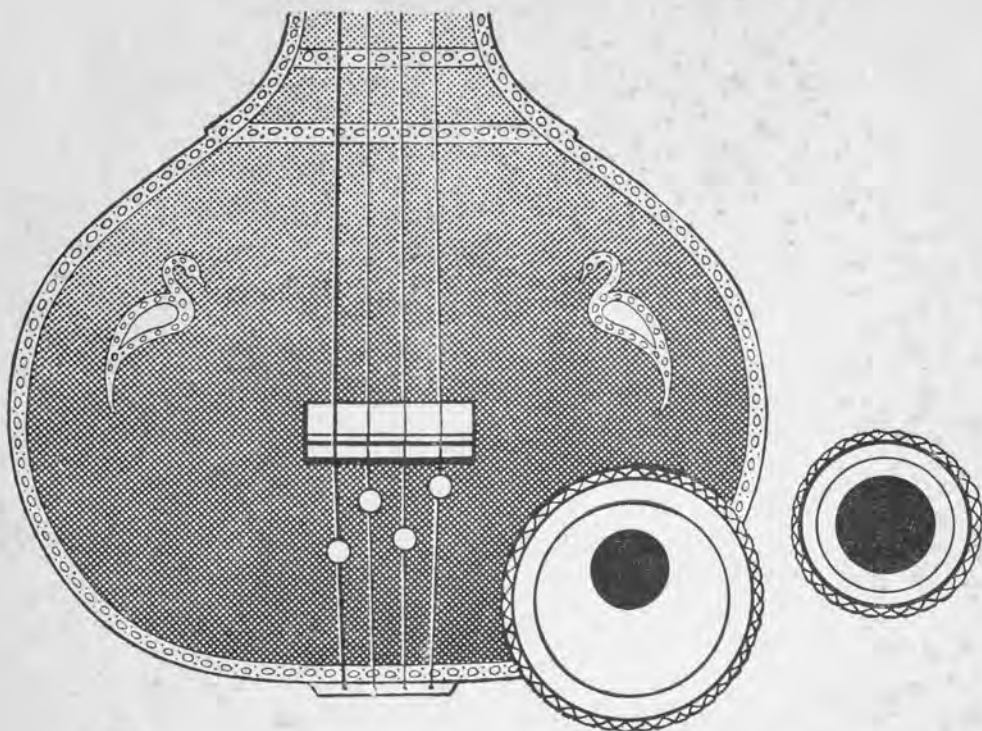
QUEST

third year of publication

a bi-monthly of arts and ideas

edited by: NISSIM EZEKIEL

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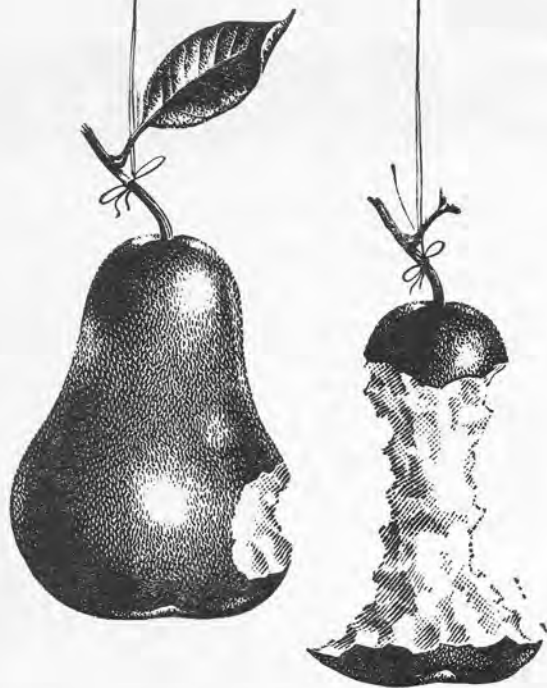


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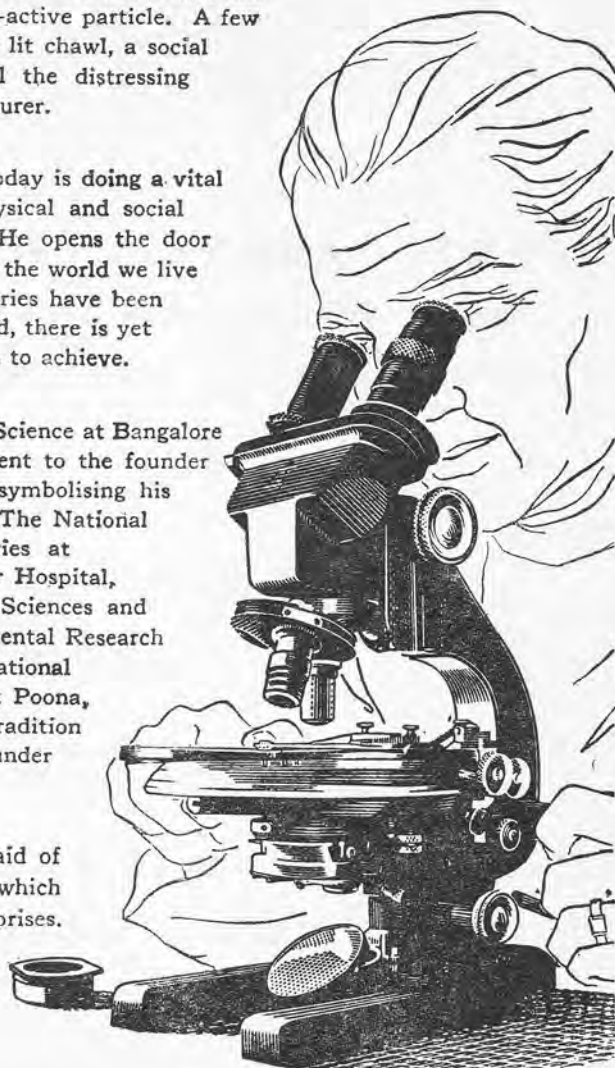
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Advisory Editors: NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI
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a bi-monthly of arts and ideas
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Prof. M. K. HALDAR

what shall we celebrate?

1857 and Indian nationalism

ON the 16th of August this year we witnessed a nation-wide state-sponsored jubilation over the centenary of the *revolution* of 1857 against foreign rule in India, popularly known as the Sepoy Mutiny. A plethora of books and articles on the subject have already appeared in the market and the public have been served with conflicting and, at times, even confusing, views on the character of the uprising. Statues of different leaders of this uprising have been unveiled in different places. And we have also heard the interesting story that the statue of Nana Sahib at Bithur unveiled by a U.P. Minister does not bear any resemblance to the Peshwa, that it is, as a matter of fact, the statue of one Ayodhya Prasad who used to supply the requirements of the English army. (A photograph of the Memorial was published in *QUEST*, Vol. III No. 1 opposite page 41—*Editor*.)

The uprising of 1857 was almost neglected by us in the national struggles that

came later, and did not provide inspiration to any subsequent movement for independence except that of the extremists of Maharashtra led by Savarkar and others. The voice of Savarkar cried in the wilderness. The Indian National Congress seems to have been completely oblivious of the existence of the uprising till the declaration of the first Education Minister of free India to the effect that 'no objective history of the struggle had yet been written'. That being the case it was natural for the Government of India to get an objective history of the struggle written. In December, 1952 the Ministry of Education of the Union Government of India appointed a Board of Editors 'in connection with the compilation of the History of Freedom Movement in India' and Dr. Majumdar was eventually appointed to 'the post of the whole-time Director of its office'. But soon troubles began.

The views of Dr. Majumdar and those of

the Secretary clashed. According to the Secretary, 'in 1857 an organised attempt was made by the natural leaders of India to combine themselves into a single command with the sole object of driving out the British power from India in order that a single, unified, politically free and sovereign state may be established. That attempt was conscious and deliberate.'¹ Dr. Majumdar thought that 'Nothing but the strongest positive evidence should lead us to believe that the sepoys changed almost overnight into patriotic Indians who risked their position and prospect, and even lives, merely for the sake of their country. No such evidence is, however, forthcoming.'² Dr. Majumdar had to relinquish his office. 'Two volumes of draft, extending over more than 800 pages (approximately),' were prepared by Dr. Majumdar and now he has little hope that the draft prepared by him is going to be 'officially published, at least in the near future.'³

IF the above story is true, it is to be viewed with alarm by every freedom-loving individual. If the Government of India really interferes with the work of the academicians and want that academic pursuits should follow their dictates, there is every reason to be apprehensive of the bleak outcome, as we have already witnessed elsewhere, an orgy of brain-washing and thought-control amidst anathemas and excommunications. However, the Government of India eventually commissioned Dr. S. N. Sen, in early 1955, to produce a volume on the Revolt of 1857. Dr. Sen has been able to complete the volume within the stipulated time. Many other books, including the one by the neo-nationalists of India (communists), are already in the market.

One of the most debated points in the

whole plethora of publications and meetings is whether the 1857 uprising can be called a national one or not. No one has as yet claimed that in 1857 we had any concept of nationalism in India. In the absence of a concept of nationalism, the question of a national revolt does not arise. Yet it has been maintained by some historians, our *national* leaders, and the communists, that it was the first great *patriotic* upsurge to free ourselves from the yoke of foreign domination. That the causes of the upsurge were variegated has been acknowledged by all. But whether any patriotic feeling actuated the Sepoys and their leaders is doubtful. Tatia Topee, in a letter to Peshwa Nana Sahib written on 31st January 1858, writes: 'The Sepoys boast very much now but in the time of difficulty they will desert us.' In the same letter he further continues, 'I hope that you will be pleased to send... one hundred pieces of cloth which I will distribute among the troops here as an inducement to them to take the field.'⁴ So that was the character of the Sepoys who were fighting a patriotic war! Most of the leaders did not show any better character. Nana Sahib in his *Istiharnamah* to Her Majesty the Queen and others writes: 'You have forgiven the crimes of all Hindoostan and Murderers have been pardoned—it is strange that your Sepoys have killed your women and children and Mummoo Khan and the people of rank of Furruckabad, who truly are Murderers, have been forgiven, and you have written to Jung Bahadur to send the Begum and the Rajas to their own country under his guarantee. It is surprising that I who have joined the rebels from helplessness have not been forgiven.' And Bala Rao, his brother, petitions the English: 'I was necessitated to act according to my brother's orders.... I am guiltless and this will be found on enquiry. If you send a reply, I will come to you, and relate every thing'.

Leaders who did not eventually seek the forgiveness of the English rulers were very few and even these few were actuated by a type of feudal loyalty characteristic of the age. As an example of such loyalty we quote extracts from a letter written by Mahommed Hussun Khan to Kyrooddeen. 'Just as you and all the other employs of Government hope to attain worldly advantage and also prosperity in the world to come by fighting determinedly as in a Jihad, on the side of the English Government, so I also consider it ennobling and sure to benefit me now and hereafter to fight and die in the tenets of my creed and in the cause of my illustrious sovereign.... We servants and dependents of the King of Oude consider it essential to our prosperity in both worlds to display devotion in protecting the Kingdom and opposing the efforts of invaders who seek to gain a footing in it.... If the Queen in merciful consideration of the condition of the inhabitants of Hindoostan, and to close the doors of slaughter, or in mere justice, restore Oude to the King, we will all cease fighting and slaying and revert to our allegiance to Her Majesty and her officers, disturbances will then cease in India and all will be peace.'

Thus we do not find any patriotic feeling among the Mutineers unless we call feudal loyalty 'patriotic feeling'. Indeed, Dr. Sen's observations here are significant. 'The English Government had imperceptibly effected a social revolution. They had removed some of the disabilities of women, they had tried to establish the equality of men in the eye of law, they had attempted to improve the lot of peasants and the serf. The Mutiny leaders would have set the clock back, they would have done away with the new reforms with the new order, when a commoner could not expect equal justice with the noble, when the tenants were at the mercy of the talukdars, and when theft was punished with muti-

lation. In short, they wanted a counter-revolution.⁵ Zaka Ullah, one of the members of the Delhi renaissance, who witnessed in his youth the horrible carnage of the Mutiny, said to C. F. Andrews: 'Remember, in my young days, I had to pass through the Mutiny. Would the Mutiny ever have been at all if there had been universal education? What was it that the mutineers fed themselves with, and fed the common people with also, both Hindu and Mussalman alike? Superstition, blind superstition.'⁶

THE educated community regarded itself on the side of law and order and condemned the rising in unambiguous terms. The educated community was rightly apprehensive of the outcome of the counter-revolution which the Mutineers wanted to effect. Rajnarayan Bose, one of the pioneers of Indian nationalism and the grandfather of Sri Aurobindo, writes in his autobiography that he had removed his family to a safer place as the Sepoys were against widow marriage and as his family was one of the first families to accept a widow as a wife of one of its members. Beyond doubt, there was, in some people, a feeling for defending the indigenous way of living. But that feeling was nothing but the raving of a moribund *feudal way of life* in its dying stage and was never the preponderant motivating force. 'The new law and the legal procedure not only brought into existence an indignant class of men to whom general anarchy and lawlessness offered a chance of retrieving what belonged to them of right (for so they thought), but the resulting impoverishment was construed to be part of a deliberate policy calculated to further the proselytising activities of the missionary.'⁷ So much so that even purely humanitarian and educational programmes instituted by

the Englishmen, sometimes with the help of the indigenous educated public, were looked upon with suspicion as covert attempts to challenge the religious orthodoxy of India. Maulana Azad, in the Preface to the Government of India publication, has rightly observed that 'Indian national character sunk very low. The leaders of the revolt could never agree. They were mutually jealous and continually intrigued against one another. They seemed to have little regard for the effects of such disagreements on the common cause. In fact, these personal jealousies and intrigues were largely responsible for the Indian defeat.'⁸

THE horrible deeds perpetrated by the Mutineers and the English soldiers alike forms an important feature of the Mutiny. One can only lament over that tremendous waste of man in the words of Gibbon. 'The single combats of the heroes of history or fable amuse our fancy and engage our affections: the skilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a necessary though pernicious science. But, in the uniform and odious pictures of a general assault, all is blood, and horror, and confusion;....' And, further, 'When..... passions may be indulged without control, small, alas! is the difference between civilised and savage men.' Dr. Majumdar writes, that 'Indeed some of the acts were of so brutal a nature, that one writer has described it as a contest between two savage races, capable of no thought but that, regardless of all justice or mercy, their enemies should be exterminated.'⁹ A hundred years after that horrible carnage, we cannot possibly recall the agonies that the people of those days suffered. Perhaps there is no need to recall those ghastly days except as a bad dream.

The above being the case, we tend to agree with what Dr. Sen has said about

the character of the 1857 uprising. 'No moral issues were involved in the war of 1857.'¹⁰ How on earth can we then call it 'a great uprising', 'a national revolt', and a 'patriotic war', unless we introduce a radical change in our vocabulary? Do we mean to say that an uprising or *revolt* can be called 'great', 'national', and 'patriotic' even if it has no moral basis? The scholars of history and the public should discuss the divergent views regarding the character of the Mutiny. But why the nation-wide state-sponsored celebration which we have just witnessed? Did our *national* leaders want us to celebrate the fact that in 1857 our 'national character sunk very low'? Did they want us to pay homage to the leaders of the uprising who were actuated by all possible motives except that of patriotism? Did they want us to feel jubilant over the fact that 45,000 English troops defeated an overwhelmingly larger number of Indian Sepoys? Did they want us to lament over the fact that a 'counter-revolution' did not succeed? Did they want us to remember, particularly at this period of history, that anything actuated by hatred against the foreigners can be called 'great'? Did they want us to erect monuments to acts of bravery or cowardice and acts of barbarism perpetrated upon the foreigners? Or did they want us to remember that the foreigners were equally brutal? It seems that our national leaders have forgotten that although each of the liberties which has been won must be defended, the problem of freedom is not only quantitative, but also a qualitative one. We have to preserve and increase not only traditional freedom, but to gain a new kind of freedom, one which will enable us to realize our own individual self, to have faith in this self and in life.

WHILE we were in the midst of the 'blood bath of India', our mind travelled back to a year ago when we were cele-

brating the 2,500th birthday of Lord Buddha, the apostle of non-violence, tolerance and universal brotherhood. We spent lakhs of rupees to celebrate the birthday of one who renounced a kingdom and chose to live a simple life. A peculiar irony struck us at that time. Thus in quick succession we had two *national* celebrations. Perhaps we will have many more. The motive which actuated our national leaders to pay homage to the Buddha, the apostle of peace and non-violence, while our Government was ruthlessly suppressing the Samyukta Maharashtra movement and similar other movements, may be debatable. But there is no gainsaying the fact that we cannot possibly pay homage to the Buddha and the Mutineers at the same time, while declaring from the housetops that we are wedded to the Gandhian way of life. The relation between ends and means was crystal clear to Mahatma Gandhi.

The only rationale that we can find in such celebrations is that our national leaders are making a conscious effort to rouse the nationalist feeling in us. For the purpose of boosting up nationalism, there is no better weapon than that of glorifying the past. The Russians boosted up their forgotten Generals and Czars and declared national holidays for the purpose. That our national leaders and planners have such intentions is apparent from the recent recommendations of the Planning Body for education where they have suggested building up of national and emotional integration among the students. The old cliché that there is no contradiction between nationalism and internationalism may be here uttered as a defence of such activities. Such clichés are nothing new to us. But can any one utter such statements and think that he is pronouncing the gospel truth after we have seen the rise of nationalism in its worst forms, Fascism and Russian Communism?

Our national leaders have been pertur-

bed over the fissiparous tendencies in our country. They have hardly been able to meet the demands of the people. All sorts of disruptive tendencies—the attempts of communists, communalists, neo-nationalists, linguistic nationalists, Hindi maniacs—are affecting this country. This increasing social frustration is leading to a projection which is becoming a source of aggressive nationalism. Instead of being aware of the economic and social fate of our people, our national leaders are consciously thinking of their fate in terms of the nation. The national frustration has become the symbol to which the actual frustration—the social one—has been shifted. That is why our national leaders are trying to boost up national feeling in us. The vast majority of our people has been seized with the feeling of individual insignificance and powerlessness which has provided a fertile ground for the growth of the virus of nationalism.

THE traditional authoritarian attitude and other psychological conditions of the Indian people provides the basis without which nationalism cannot be developed, but any analysis of the whole phenomenon of the growing tendency towards the rise of nationalism in India must deal with the strictly economic and political, as well as with psychological conditions. It is with the purpose of preparing the human basis for the rise of nationalism that our leaders are trying to glorify our past and to discover new greatness in it. Nationalism always accepts falsification of history and the national heritage as its weapon. According to the convenience of the leaders, different periods of history and different personalities from history are glorified. The technique of boosting up the past and declaring national holidays for glorifying and celebrating certain historic events is still

being practised in countries whose record of democratic practices is far from commendable.

In the present context of international conditions, nationalism is bound to be authoritarian in character. The sadistic and the masochistic drives are simultaneously present in the authoritarian character. Sadism aims at unrestricted power over other individuals more or less mixed with destructiveness, while masochism aims at dissolving oneself in an overwhelmingly strong power and participating in its strength and glory. Both these trends are based upon the inability of the isolated individual to stand alone and his craving for a symbiotic relationship that overcomes this isolation and loneliness. This explains why we could celebrate in quick succession two national days—one remembering our aim to dissolve ourselves in an overwhelmingly *strong power*, and the other boosting our tendency to wield unrestricted power over others, mixed with destructiveness.

Our national leaders want us to sacrifice ourselves at the altar of the nation. Self-sacrifice for the nation has been proclaimed as the highest virtue. This call for self-sacrifice easily catches the imagination of many people due to its idealistic character. The self-sacrifice which modern nationalism demands is an end in itself. Such self-sacrifice is the perversion of true sacrifice which presupposes an uncompromising wish for spiritual integrity. True self-sacrifice never loses its tragic quality. The sacrifice which nationalism demands finds the fulfilment of life in its very negation—the complete obliteration of the individuality of the self and its total surrender to a higher power.

The communists have already taken up the slogan of nationalism, as the total surrender of the individual to a *higher* power is the very thing they want. To-day it suits their purpose to talk about sacrificing ourselves for the nation, to-morrow the nation

will be identified with the Party. The communists have found out that their sham internationalism does not sell in the market any more. Especially, in the underdeveloped countries, nationalism is an effective tool in the hands of the communists. Indeed, the communists have already come out with their new thesis of 'revolution'. Anything actuated by hatred—subjective or objective—against the foreigners, is to be boosted up as a national revolution. This is especially true in the underdeveloped countries which are under the influence of the democratic world and which have some democratic traditions. But the same is not true about Hungary. A different theory of revolution will have to be applied there, as the Big Brothers are involved in the affairs of that country, and as anything which militates against the wishes of the Big Brothers is counter-revolutionary. E. M. S. Namboodiripad declared a few months ago that 'The Communist Party was opposed to the Congress as one national force against another—a national force that is growing and extending itself to bigger and bigger sections of the people. . . .'¹¹ It now suits the communists to declare themselves as the champions of nationalism. In order to catch the national imagination they are trying to outdo the Indian Nationalists in their nationalism. So much so that in a recent meeting held in Delhi, Mr. Hiren Mukherjee, the Communist M.P., went to the extent of paying homage to Netaji Subhas Bose whom, the other day, the communists did not hesitate to call 'a hang-man of the Fascists'.

THUS there is a race between our national leaders and the communists to win the imagination of our people by boosting up an antiquated cult—Nationalism. In this fray other sections of our people, like the

communalists and the linguistic feudalists and imperialists, have also taken part and are making confusion worse confounded. Let us ask the people, who are at the helm of affairs in our country, whether nationalism is their aim or not. If that be so let our national leaders declare it openly and let them not talk about the Gandhian way of life and international brotherhood and peace; let them not talk in the same breath, and from the same pulpit, about the greatness of the Buddha and the greatness of Nana Sahib, while affirming their faith in Gandhism. But let us also not forget the prophetic warning of Tagore: '...patriotism is proud of its bulk. It would not acknowledge a difference which was fundamental.... Power lies in number and in ex-

tension.... It talks of unity and forgets that true unity is that of freedom. Uniformity is unity in bondage.'

¹ *The Sepoy Mutiny and Revolt of 1857* by R. C. Majumdar, Calcutta, 1957. p. vi.

² *Ibid.*, p. 234.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ I am grateful to Mr. S. Roy, Assistant Director of the National Archives, New Delhi, for having drawn my attention to this letter which is available only in translations. I must also express my gratitude to the Director, National Archives, New Delhi, for having permitted me to make a copy of it.

⁵ *Eighteen Fifty-Seven* by Surendra Nath Sen, Delhi, 1957. pp. 412-413.

⁶ *Zaka Ullah of Delhi* by C. F. Andrews, Cambridge, 1929, p. 109.

⁷ Sen, p. 35.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xv.

⁹ Majumdar, p. 93.

¹⁰ Sen, p. 413.

¹¹ *New Age*, No. 26, March 24, 1957.

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PROF. A. M. GHOSE

science in modern India

false views, unimposing standards

IN India as in other countries our age has often been characterized as one of science. But we have seldom cared to see the implications of this. In order to appreciate its meaning what is necessary is a clarification of the concept 'science'. At the same time what is equally important is to ascertain the place of science in our national life, particularly against the background of post-independence renaissance. The study of science as a sociological phenomenon will throw light not only on our past history, its successes and failures, but also on our present fashion in thinking. The aim of this article is threefold: first, to see what 'science' means today; secondly, to assess the indifference to it of our thinkers, poets, philosophers and politicians, and, lastly, to show how, due to a wrong perspective, our faith in science has been undermined resulting in a wide-spread chaos, perceptible in our intellectual life in general and our educational policies in particular.

Our acquaintance with the West and her science inspired many of our scholars, in the early 20th century, to trace back the history of the scientific genius of the country to remote antiquity. It was claimed, often loudly, that ancient India was as much acquainted with science and technology as any other ancient country. What these scholars like B. N. Seal, B. K. Sarkar or even P. C. Ray meant to say is difficult to understand today. Science as it is understood in our time was grafted from Europe in the 19th century. The Indian mind never experienced the birth-pangs of either modern science or modern technology. The gulf that exists, if at all there is one, between modern European science and the science of the ancient Greeks is different in nature from the cleavage between the ancient Indian science on the one hand and modern science on the other. In a very real sense, a continuity can be traced in the passage from Greek science to modern

science. But there is no link between ancient Indian science and what is called modern science. This simple fact, which explains the sense of strangeness the modern Indian mind experiences when it comes in contact with the scientific traditions of the past, has to be taken into account today. A casual glance at the history of ideas in our country reveals that science and the scientific way of thinking never enjoyed the prestige which mystics and their ways of thinking did. The distinction between *para* and *apara vidya* drawn by the ancient thinkers clearly shows in what esteem science was held. The world-denying philosophy which shaped the thoughts of the ancients was basically incompatible with the attitude we call scientific. All human pursuits were subordinated to the attainment of *moksa*, the *summum bonum* of life. This emphasis could never have been congenial to the 'pleasurable intellectual curiosity'—to quote Whitehead—which lies at the root of most scientific endeavours. There were craftsmen and technicians but there were none who could be called pure scientists.

THIS brings us to the point we raised about the meaning of 'science'. A formal definition, I fear, will not serve our purpose. What is important to remember here is that pure science and technology are two distinct pursuits. It is the pure scientist who unravels the secrets of nature and discovers its laws, while the technologist is responsible for the design and installation of mechanisms for practical purposes. In certain areas of scientific knowledge the distinction is clear while in others it may not be so; or, in certain periods, as in earlier centuries, the distinction was significant while today, in nuclear physics particularly, it is almost non-existent. What characterises the pure scientist is his devotion to and application of the scientific

method. What then is respected today when a sane person pays homage to science is not only the corpus of knowledge or the skill involved in achieving certain ends, however glorious they may be, but also the way the problems are raised, approached and solved. Conant rightly observes that 'the analogy between the map maker and the scientist is false. A scientific theory is not even the first approximation to a map; it is not a creed; it is a policy—an economical and fruitful guide to action by scientific investigators.' (*Modern Science and Modern Man*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1952, p.57) Elsewhere he says that 'science is not a quest for certainty; it is rather a quest which is successful only to the degree that it is continuous.' (*Science and Common Sense*, Oxford University Press, London, 1951, p. 26).

If science has received meagre attention in academic as well as non-academic circles of our country the reasons are not difficult to find. Our colleges and universities till very recently were mostly monopolized by the upper middle class. A 'gentleman's education' was all that this class cared to receive. The need for a scientific education was not felt because the problems which normally stimulate a scientific mind just did not receive any notice; and when they did, they were left to the 'utilitarians'. Our acute sense of nationalism, keen on fostering a sense of cultural superiority, made us excessively backward-looking. The emphasis naturally lay on the humanities. Our commercial firms, such as they were, were extremely narrow in their outlook and unenterprising in their efforts. The Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore came into existence as late as in 1909. Then, again, the country was not politically free. But above all there was the widely shared distrustful attitude of Indian thinkers towards science. In the sequel I have attempted to show that their philosophies of irrational-

lism, perhaps profound in their own way, are to a great extent responsible for the chaos we find in the general intellectual life of the country.

The attitude of serious Indian journals is not encouraging either. The space devoted to scientific articles and information is not even a fourth of that devoted to humanistic subjects. The dearth of scientific journals to propagate scientific findings, to popularise them and to acquaint educated lay men with current scientific and technological problems is another fact to be greatly regretted. The technical difficulties of scientific subjects are no doubt partly responsible for the lay man's indifference to science; yet it could not be denied that scientists have an important role to play in revising the entire educational system and integrating the teaching of science with the general educational programme. Scientific knowledge, unfortunately, has ceased to be a part of our general culture. The literature of today in our country has scarcely any contact with the picture of the world science has drawn. Science-fictioners are an unknown species in our literature. This drifting away of scientific and Platonic cultures from each other has always been unhealthy for both.

Our technological institutes, in their own way, are serving an useful purpose. Yet, the need for advanced research has not been felt widely. Out of 1,369 students studying in the Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur, for example, only 43 are engaged in post-graduate research. The Government should do everything possible to attract a larger number of boys and girls for choosing careers in science and technology. All its exhortations will ultimately be fruitless unless our education, from the primary level upwards, is given a new direction.

Much has been said against popularization. Scientific knowledge, it is contended, ceases to be scientific when it is populariz-

ed. That is certainly true when specialization is overwhelmingly neglected. But there are stages in the growth of the human mind when popularized knowledge is the only nourishing victual. The need for popularization can hardly be over-emphasized in a country like ours. The view that specialization constitutes the essential feature of contemporary science has been aptly described by Philipp Frank as 'debatable'. 'Recent advances in science,' says Dr. Frank, 'have increasingly revealed unifying traits connecting the different fields. There exists a very outspoken trend towards unification.' (*Relativity—A Richer Truth*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1951, p 61).

A lack of faith in Science seems to be the one thing which is widely shared by almost all modern Indian thinkers, poets, philosophers and politicians. Speaking generally, it could be said that this belief in the ultimate powerlessness of science is derived from an age-old Indian anti-intellectualism. If science means reliance on the sense-given facts and their analysis with a view to arriving at certain tentative generalizations, then the spirit of the ancient philosophy of the Upanishads, the usual source of inspiration in India, is decidedly anti-scientific. If anything has been repeatedly disparaged in the Upanishads it is reliance on the human senses and on the intellect. On the other hand, the Upanishads, have always extolled knowledge derived from sources other than the human senses. When a modern Indian thinker accords a higher or more important status to intuition there is unmistakably a reiteration of the old Upanishadic dogma. It is the nature of intellect to dissect, analyse and classify, while reality is indivisibly one; hence intuition, the faculty which grasps without dissection or analysis, is alone reliable. The truth to be comprehended is

too rich to be 'known' by the finite intellect; it is wisdom and so must be 'lived' by the entire man. Two quotations will illustrate my argument:

Sri Aurobindo: 'It (reason) cuts the whole into segments and can select one segment of the whole as if it were the entire reality.... When we come to the experience of the spiritual which is itself the whole or contains the whole in itself, our mind carries there too its segmenting reason and the definitions necessary to a finite cognition; it cuts a line of section between the infinite and the finite, the spirit and its phenomena or manifestations, and dubs those as real and these as unreal. But an original and ultimate consciousness embracing all the terms of existence in single integral view would see the whole in its spiritual essential reality and the phenomenon as a phenomenon or manifestation of that reality.' (*The Life Divine*, The Greystone Press, New York, 1949, p 424).

Tagore: 'The details of reality must be studied in their differences by Science, but it can never know the character of the grand unity of relationship pervading it, which can only be realized immediately by the human spirit.' (*The Religion of Man*, George Allen & Unwin, 3rd Impr. London, 1949, p 102.)

The view that science is ultimately fruitless can often be traced back to the belief that it has empowered man with destructive weapons or has at best conferred certain physical comforts. What man seeks or ought to seek is infinitely richer than anything that science can offer. I quote again:

Sri Aurobindo: '...we can construct nothing which goes beyond our nature; imperfect, we cannot construct perfection, however wonderful may seem to us the machinery our mental ingenuity invents, however externally effective. Ignorant, we cannot construct a system of entirely true and fruitful self-knowledge or world-knowledge; our science itself is a construc-

tion, a mass of formulas and devices; masterful in knowledge of processes and in the creation of apt machinery, but ignorant of the foundations of our being and of world-being, it cannot perfect our nature and therefore cannot perfect our life.' (*The Life Divine*, p. 917).

What Sri Aurobindo says about the inability of science to perfect our life seems to be a reply, irrelevant today, to an assertion made by Condorcet. He wrote in 1794 that 'human perfectibility is in reality infinite; that the progress of this perfectibility henceforth independent of any power that might wish to stop it, has no other limit than the duration of the globe upon which nature has placed us.' Modern scientists are more modest in this respect.

Radhakrishnan: 'Our boundless ability in mastering our material environment is of infinitely less importance to us than our relations with ourselves and our fellow-men. The possession of reason is not a guarantee of our humanity. To become truly human, we need something more than reason.' (*East and West: Some Reflections* George Allen & Unwin, London, 1955, p. 119.)

MANY passages could be quoted from the writings of Tagore, Sri Aurobindo and Radhakrishnan, to name the more prominent of the modern Indian thinkers, where the limitations of science and its methods have been pointed out. An exhaustive critique of modern Indian anti-intellectualism is not the purpose of the article, though a detailed discussion of the origin, nature and development of this philosophy would be surely rewarding.

Among other reasons which account for the birth of the philosophy of anti-intellectualism in modern times in India one is undoubtedly an exaggerated sense of self-righteousness, a result of the contact with the 'aggressive' West. Western world-views,

particularly political beliefs, of the 19th century, easily antagonized the educated Indian's attitude towards almost everything that came from the West. The glorification of the past was the positive aspect of that sense of discontent. The past was glorified because it nurtured a civilization that was 'spiritual'. The philosophy of anti-intellectualism, with its own aesthetic appeal, gratified the sense of (spiritual) superiority which the self-conscious and educated Indian was keen on cultivating. The West was doomed to decay because she was wedded to Reason and devoted to 'materialistic' science. Reality was richer than anything science and 'finite human reason' could ever aspire to unravel. Ancient Indian wisdom held the key to Reality because she possessed the art of transcending the limitations imposed by man's finite mind.

In the West the philosophy of anti-intellectualism was not always a product of a sense of despair. Originally an offshoot of Romanticism it was subsequently strengthened by the findings of modern psychology. In India, on the other hand, this philosophy grew out of a sense of frustration. It emerged from a state of profound bewilderment caused by technological backwardness, political subjugation and cultural sterility. It was readily accepted also because it echoed the ancient and cryptic intuitionism of the past. The significant point to be taken into account here is that none of the anti-intellectualists in our country had any training in science. Many European and American anti-intellectualists or intuitionists had not only received training in science, they were themselves scientists. Those who spoke of the limitations of science were men of science adequately acquainted with its tools as well as its findings. In other words, the spirit of anti-intellectualism in the West was authentic in its own way.

Sri Aurobindo writes: 'For mind itself is

not enough; even its largest play of intelligence creates only a qualified half-light. A surface mental knowledge of the physical universe is a still more imperfect guide. . . . Even the truth of physical things cannot be entirely known, nor can the right use of our material existence be discovered by physical Science and an outward knowledge alone or made possible by the mastery of physical and mechanical processes alone.' (*The Life Divine*, p. 652) Similarly Radhakrishnan asserts: 'The ultimate structure of the universe is not known to science.' (*An Idealist View of Life*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 2nd. ed., 1951; p. 224). The problem before us is how far the epistemology advanced by the anti-intellectualists is valid and, secondly, what are the grounds for saying that science and its methods are incompetent to unravel the mysteries of nature. Whether the theory of knowledge is satisfactory or not is a characteristic philosophical problem that has been discussed by many able thinkers, ancient and modern. If the answer has not been found it is perhaps because there is no answer. The findings of the finite human intellect have always had to be revised and shows that the human mind is an unreliable guide. This kind of argument ignores the simple fact of the insatiable nature of human curiosity. Man's quest being endless there cannot possibly be a final reply; the tendency to find out an irrefutable answer, valid for all times, should be discouraged.

KARL R. Popper, the author of *The Open Society and its Enemies* has said that 'A theory which is not refutable by any conceivable event is non-scientific. Irrefutability is not a virtue of a theory (as people often think) but a vice!' (*British Philosophy in the Mid-Century* edited by C. A. Mace, George Allen & Unwin, London,

1957, p. 159). Secondly, one is very much disappointed when one seeks to gather the arguments advanced for saying that science is ultimately blind. The only argument that is repeatedly put forth is that science knows by analysis while Reality refuses to be analysed. A simple objection to that is, how does the intuitionist know that science is vitiated by such limitations? His knowledge of science and how it works being borrowed and inadequate cannot be relied upon. If, however, he repeats what some scientists have said about the limitations of science it may be stated that there are other scientists who hold an entirely different view and thus in the last analysis the problem is wholly scientific. For the speculative thinker, therefore, this is a *terra incognita*.

In our country the philosophy of anti-intellectualism gains additional strength from another source. If we are not ordinarily impressed by science it is because we mistakenly identify science with the race for gadgets. The devotion of a true scientist, a seeker of truth, is rarely to be found in our country; our unimposing standards in fundamental research, in the pure and exact sciences, have certainly contributed to this facile irrationalism. Such a philosophy apart from being theoretically unsound is practically pernicious in so far as it undermines the faith in thinking itself and gives rise to claptrap mysticism. The confusion is best reflected in our educational policies.

Our lack of earnestness in handling our educational policies and programmes can very largely be traced back to our ignorance of the role of science in modern life. Modern science has not only provided us with new sources of power, it has invalidated many of our old notions about time, space and causality, but what have we done to educate our boys and girls in this matter, who in another two or three decades will become responsible citizens? If ours is an age of atomic energy what

have we decided to do about the education of our future generations? The confusion we see today around us is rooted in the oversimplified assertion: science is the saviour of mankind. The quarrel is between those who believe in it and those who do not. There are those blind worshippers of science (in the sense of technology) who think that all our evils are rooted in our apathy towards technology and technological education. On the other hand, we have the poets, visionaries and speculative thinkers who fear that science and technology, by their emphasis on the mechanistic aspect of existence, slight the 'spirit' of man, make an automaton of him. In order to save mankind from ruinous 'materialism' the study of physical sciences ought to be relegated to the background.

BOTH these views are false in being oblivious of the real nature of science, scientific and technological education and, what has been called the scientific attitude. About the task of science Max Planck once said: 'I had always looked upon the search for the absolute as the noblest and most worth while task of science.' (*A Scientific Autobiography and Other Papers*, tr. by Frank Gaynor, Williams & Norgate, London, 1950, p.46). One of the significant contributions of science to human civilization is its method which as Professor Henry Mehlberg says 'consists essentially of a set of procedures enabling one to ascertain, by appropriately combining observation and logical processing, whether some particular solution is correct, regardless of the way the proponent of the solution got hold of it. This fact also shows why there could not possibly exist limits inherent in the range of science and explains why any problem which is solvable at all, must be solvable in principle by the method of science'. (*Science and Freedom—The Proceedings of the Hamburg Conference con-*

vened by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, Secker and Warburg, London, 1955; p. 127-28) Scientific education, then, is a training in the art of interrogating Nature and understanding and recording Nature's replies.

The advocates of technical education should do well to remember that technology today cannot remain isolated from pure science or even from a country's foreign policy. The neglect of pure science will sooner or later sap the technological vitality of a country. And science today is no more considered antithetical to the humanities or social studies. Scientists all over the world are becoming increasingly aware of the interrelation between science and the wider issues of life; they are realising the necessity of studying science as an important branch of human civilization.

The problem of integrating the humanities with the study of science certainly calls

for cautious and serious thinking. The problem assumes a complex shape when we take into account not only the specialized nature of scientific studies, the rich, variegated and rapid output of scientific investigations but also our comparative backwardness. Our standards of scholarship in the humanities are equally unimposing. The inclusion of some courses in history, philosophy or literature is not likely to be taken seriously by the average student of science. The incorporation of 'general science' in the curricula of those who are engaged in the study of the humanities is unlikely to enrich their minds for similar reasons. In short, what is necessary is something more than a 'mere mechanical mixture', to quote Whitehead again. How this integration is to be achieved is an extremely pertinent question but we in this country do not seem to attach much importance to the problem.

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INDIAN SUMMER (SHORT STORY)
by T. Ramanathan
winner of Encounter's recent short story competition for Asian and African Writers

English Education

Translated from the Tamil of Subramanya Bharathi by 'Andal'

Translator's Note:

The awakening of interest in the old classics of the Tamils in the last two decades of the nineteenth century led to a movement towards significant modern expression in Tamil. To this movement, the most influential of modern Tamil poets, Subramanya Bharathi (1882 to 1921) brought a passionate vigour and an uncompromising attitude. Bharathi's prose and verse, often of a topical nature, reflect the temper of a people and of their times. The literary renaissance in Tamil draws its inspiration and direction from Subramanya Bharathi.

In this free rendering of a poem by Bharathi, I have attempted to preserve the poet's exaggerated, chauvinistic sense of grievance. It is a characteristic Bharathi poem and forms a part of his Autobiography in verse. It is of significance because it expresses a widespread and persistent revolt of the typical Indian mind against the alienation caused by the English system of education. Though not a constructive revolt, as expressed in this poem, it is nevertheless of value as an indication of India's profound need ever since she came under foreign rule, to find her own soul.

And then my father sent me to school
in Nellai.

My poor father, he wished me well,
but he sent me to an English school
in Nellai.

It was like placing
a bundle of grass before
the cub of a lion;

It was like dedicating a Brahmin boy
to the weighing and
selling of meat.

My father sent me to study
in an English school.

Was I to become one of those crafty servile beings,
waggers of tails, imbeciles,
not interested in living but in earning
a living,
flatterers of those in office,
lickers of spittle?

I am in love with the virgin,
but my father he dedicated me
to the embrace of the hag
Prosperity.

He wished me well but he put me to
an English school.

What do they teach you in English schools?
They "learn" you the manipulation of numbers
for all of 12 years
but they do not teach you to look up
at the stars and name the numberless
bright ones.

They "learn" you a thousand lines of poetry
 but not the single theme of a poet.
 They teach you all the lessons of economics
 but not the harm done to the country
 by a false economy.
 They teach you all the sciences, but the art of living
 escapes them for ever.

A poet named Kamban was alive among us.
 Kalidasa composed his great poems.
 The stars in their courses were measured by Bhaskara.
 Panini fathered the inescapable rules of natural grammar.
 Shankara measured the truth and found it wanting
 and added to it.
 Great King Chera's younger brother turned ascetic
 and sang an epic of the anklet.
 Valluvar the divine laid down the rules of human conduct.
 The great lines of Kings, the Pandyas and Cholas,
 Were willing to give away the world
 as a gift.
 Asoka was a flaming pillar of righteousness
 and ruled the world till it suffered a surfeit of happiness.
 Blessed by legendary heroism, Shivaji fought the aliens
 who came to rule.

But these are not the lessons
 taught in English schools.
 Those who go to English schools are ignorant
 of things like these.
 They know not the old glories of India.
 They heed not the present degradation.
 My heart it hurts and burns when I think
 of the English school.

But my poor father was innocent. In his ignorance
 he put me to an English school,
 wishing me well.
 He cast me into the pit called modern education,
 the pit from which it is indeed hard to get out.
 What indeed can English education give us?
 Illusions born of evil,
 doubt in all things,
 Indifference to things of import,
 a love of endless argumentation,
 falsehoods,
 these are the net results of English education.

The Brahmin who taught me and the foreign white man who taught me,
 they vied with each other in teaching me
 false things.
 I can tell them this now—
 I wasted my time sitting at their feet,
 listening to them.
 The net result of my being put to English school
 at Nellai
 was:
 That it cost my father a round thousand rupees
 and did me harm in ten thousand ways.
 I had to unlearn a thousand wrong things
 I had learnt in the English school.
 I am ready to swear
 If necessary in forty thousand temples
 That I did not profit by English education.
 But I was saved from total destruction in my mind
 by the grace of the Mother,
 by virtue of my own past merits
 I escaped the total darkness of spirit
 that is the true result of English education.
 I escaped to serve the Motherland.

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DIETMAR
ROTHERMUND

the rebirth of Germany

and its relation to India

IT is certain that Europe will be lost if there is no way to help India....' These are the words of Prof. Carlo Schmid who might one day be Germany's Minister of Foreign Affairs if the Opposition becomes the Government at Bonn. What is it that makes a German politician so keenly aware of the importance of the fate of India? First of all it is Germany's own experience of the meaning of poverty and despair—the experience of restoring a country where every fourth was a refugee and every fifth house was destroyed—and all at the doors of the Communist empire. But in addition it is the feeling for the responsibilities and possibilities of a new Germany that has become the third economic power after the United States and the Soviet Union, a Germany that identifies itself strongly with Europe but also sees in India one of its most important future economic and political partners.

From this point of view the story of Germany's rebirth which is known as the 'German Miracle' are interesting for India as they are for Europe. The 'German Miracle' started with a paradox. Not a success, not a great new idea was the starting point, but a great loss, the cataclysm that ended the criminal Nazi war and left Germany beaten and destroyed beyond doubt, a splintered country with 12 millions of refugees and expellees pouring from East to West into an overpopulated area, into cities that looked like stony deserts with weeds already covering the hills of brick and concrete, a country near starvation and without hope. Point zero was almost reached. This was the great chance for a new beginning unburdened by prejudices, hidden reproaches and inner obstruction as it was after the end of the first world war. That war had ended in an atmosphere of suspicion as to who was responsible for the

humiliation of Germany. Futile hostility was smouldering close under the surface. No government could win real support and there was even no loyalty to the new political system—a presidential democracy. The party-system was not embraced as a healthy means of securing political balance. The Anglo-saxon way of thinking in terms of alternative governments did not suit the German craving for perfection, unity and order, and thus 'party' was often associated only with indecent struggle, dirty machinations and unpatriotic hunting for patronage and influence. This feeling among great masses of the population was encouraged by the behaviour of many splinter parties, and by abuse of the plebiscite—one of the most dangerous devices of politics.

The educated elite very often withdrew from the political scene or did not shy away from ridiculing the new democracy, clinging obstinately to the illusions of the shortlived empire of the Gilded Age that was founded in 1871 and vanished in 1918, an empire the happy years of which had nourished the sentimental values of this older generation. But worse than the sentimental hangover was the new cult of existentialism which grew up in the ranks of Germany's distinguished poets and thinkers who had become so bored with the vain-glorious emotions of the time as well as with the petty struggles around them that they would rather bend to a dictator because at last under him they would find authority of some kind.

As a German writer put it after the war: 'We scratched at the door of nothingness and when it opened we were stricken with awe.' The great humiliation of the second world war left no doubt and no ambiguities. It swept away the intellectual cocetterie, but it also left millions of Germans in shame and confusion, because they had invested all their untutored hope and enthusiasm in an obviously reckless regime. The young generation that had grown up with

the fake values imposed by a well organized Nazi propaganda machinery was severely hit by the disaster. Many of those who are now about 30 years old are therefore deeply entrenched in a scepticism that sometimes turns into practical materialism and sometimes matures into a taciturn realism. Most of these people between the ages of 20 and 30 do not believe in any ideology and are very critical about values like patriotism, the Christian Occident and national power, which enthused their fathers. But not only this young generation—the people as a whole are still suffering from a repressed disillusionment, and the great majority of them, now extremely sober, shun all radicalism and all ready solutions and drown their disillusion in hard work.

SOME years ago a spellbound humiliated people sat on the brim of an abyss and began to work with fierce determination. Most of their cities had been almost destroyed and their factories completely dismantled—the greater therefore the challenge for a modern rebuilding. The workers, united in a new German Labour Union, did not protest for years against exorbitant re-investment rates (up to 25%) which diminished their share of profits. Every year new housing for about half a million families was built. But to a great extent the visible rebirth was only material. People could work again but they could not yet sing again. There were few new poets and the 130 theatres all over Germany rarely performed a new German play. They went back to the classics or dedicated themselves to the interpretation of the progress that had been made on the stages of other countries, mainly in America during the time when Germany had been cut off from outside cultural influences.

Nevertheless there are fields where Germany excels again. It is still one of the greatest book-publishing countries: abs-

tract painting has made quick progress and modern music, often going back to the great times of Baroque music in its influences, is doing well. The tasks of reconstruction provoked many a rash and unsatisfactory architectural design but also gave birth to a number of exciting solutions in single buildings as well as in city-planning. The educational system, backbone of conservatism in good and bad, was one of the few spiritual things that survived even this war—it is still largely an elementary system, compulsory for all children from 6 to 14 years of age. Most children obtain a fairly good apprenticeship education after their school years. This makes them highly skilled and very well paid workers, through trade schools and good masters. Only 10% leave this primary school system at the age of 10 years and succeed in getting admission into the state secondary schools which lead them in 9 years up to the *Abitur* (about the equivalent of the B.A. degree). This qualifies them for entering one of the 26 universities and technological institutes, which grant a diploma after about 3 or 4 years and a doctor's degree after about 5 years of intensive study.

The secondary system has high requirements—mostly three languages, among them Latin, are compulsory, mathematics up to calculus, etc. The universities are in their course requirements very free; it is the student's own responsibility to get the best out of the excellent instruction provided. Because of the high level of its academic instruction Germany is again a centre for foreign students. The Persians, who traditionally studied in Germany, are now joined by more and more Indian students, who have discovered that Germany is as good a place as England for their academic years, and for some of them perhaps a better one, depending on their subject. In this field there will be closer cooperation between India and Germany in the future and there are plans in Ger-

many to give a whole Technological University to India. Many of the Indian students in Germany make use of the possibility of combining academic studies with practical training in the German industry which is very eager to help Indian students. And as one out of nine Germans speaks English more or less fluently, even the language barrier is not difficult to overcome. The careful selectivity and high standards of German secondary and university education still rest on the old idea of a state-trained elite which grows up, qualified and chosen according to intelligence and academic achievements, to carry on the tradition and the administration of the state. To-day a great number of students attends university only to get an economics degree for entering business and industry as early as possible.

THIS elite-career offered in former times high rewards in status, influence and also in money. Today only the reward in status has remained; the professor is still a demigod, but the real 'elite' is an undefined clique of managers and organizers who control the relations between industry, labour unions, politics and the market. In this sense as in many others Germany has been rapidly Americanized. Because of this fact the academic elite, which is not at all and has never been exclusive, save according to intellectual qualities, recruits itself mostly from those parts of the population which still live in the veneration of status and academic achievement, and those are the poorest in the country: the little clerks, the railroad and post office executives, and the white-collar employees. 50% of the German students come from these families, and only 5% from worker-families. These latter when one or two sons are already earning money are rather well off, often own a small house, a motor-cycle and other symbols of modern civilization and, on

Sundays, are as well or even better dressed than their bosses. But there is scarcely a sense of long-range investment, as is the education of a son, or even any other feeling that they have material resources. Two political upsets, two total inflations of the currency in the last four decades, have robbed them of any confidence whatsoever in the stability of elites, investments, ideas and hopes.

In what way now has politics been organized in this reborn Germany? Many factors have played an important role in this field. The great cultural diversity of Germany has been organized in a new federal way, giving much autonomy to the different states; Germany has been divided between the East and the West; and of course there is the all-pervasive 'cold war'. Let us examine these influences along the lines of the three major political parties which will play the determinant roles in the future of Germany.

THE party in government, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), is the youngest and biggest party and represents most strikingly what has happened to Germany after the war. There are several factors which made this party, which has neither a real party-programme in the old sense nor a really working party-machinery, into one of the most powerful and stable parties in Europe. The history of the party and the development it represents begins already in the Middle Ages, although it was born just after the war. Its greatest gain was the loss of the North German Prussian tradition, the isolation of Western Germany, the elimination of Berlin, which had emerged as the centre of Germany during the last 150 years and represented a manifold Middle-European tradition, dominated by Protestantism in which there was no room for the ideas and influences of the self-conscious and vivid Catholics of the

Rhineland and even less for the slow and homely Catholics of the South.

Prussia and its Berlin had not been part of the Holy Roman Empire and it had developed, as had its Southern counterpart Austria, into the undefined areas of the East, Austria building a multi-national monarchy, Prussia a very efficient modern state with North German settlers who had moved towards the East since the early Middle Ages. The same Prussia after cunningly outwitting Austria and France and controlling the balance of power in Europe under Bismark has appeared as the centre of national unity which was finally superimposed by Northern propagators and politicians on Southern states. These Southern states were clinging to their old traditions, one of them, Bavaria, with a dynasty that is second only to the Tenno in Japan in age and continuity.

This 'upstart' Berlin gained power and respect but not the undivided love of all the people. The Catholics organized a small but active party in the old parliament, but could never put their ideas across and next to the Social Democrats, who nourished hatred against the old empire for quite different reasons, the Catholics had the most cause to feel frustrated. The political fate of these Catholics was not much changed after the first world war, when the Social Democrats came into power. Berlin still remained the centre—the majority of the German people was still Protestant and there were no other possibilities to fear. The second world war changed this situation completely. A new state emerged by chance, the Federal Republic of Germany, separated from Berlin by miles of Communist territory and deprived of some major Protestant states. The new state had an even balance of Protestants and Catholics. As a result of the war and of common resistance against Hitler by all genuinely Christian people, the petty struggles of denominations had vanished before the

common experience of persecution by un-Christian forces. Jesuits, Protestant noblemen, Socialists had died side by side from the hands of Hitler's hangmen. Common martyrs make a way for cooperation. Therefore the new party—Christian Democratic Union—was founded by old Catholic politicians together with politicians who had been members of the "Confessing Church" (a Protestant resistance organization in the Nazi time).

Both Catholic and Protestant voters backed the new party in two elections, 1949 and 1953. Naturally the Catholics got the upper hand in the control of the party and the transfer of the capital to Bonn, the old episcopal university town, a centre of the Catholic Rhineland, is only an outward symbol of this development.

Catholicism had an administrative machinery, political traditions and a universal philosophy, Thomism. Protestantism as such had none of these assets. Therefore the vigour of Catholic secular leaders had a great impact on non-Catholics, too. Neither the false pretensions of Communism nor the shallow melancholy of existentialism could arouse the attention of the Germans. They are too near to the actual practice of Eastern Communism and see its foul play to be so naive as to sympathize with the Western Communism of France or Italy; which is still rehashing the slogans of the French Revolution. And as far as 'existentialism' is concerned, mere poverty and material conflicts did not lead Germans to become reflective after this war, a fact which might explain their long literary and philosophical silence.

An old time Rhineland Catholic, former Lord Mayor of Cologne, the archbishop's city, emerged as the great leader of this more or less Catholic party, substituting all programmes and guarantees: Konrad Adenauer, a good administrator as well as a shrewd and stubborn politician. This aged, sober authoritative man became for

most of the Germans a symbol of stability and undisturbed reconstruction, for many intellectuals of course also a symbol of unimaginative restoration. His greatest achievement was that he could instill this feeling of sober stability not only in the German people but also in the Americans, who soon regarded him and his Germany as their continental stronghold and therefore contributed greatly to the rebuilding of Germany. His ability however was chiefly occupied in foreign affairs; the interior situation was improved by the so called social market economy of his daring and capable minister of economics, Prof. Ludwig Erhard, who could brush away all demands for social reform by an ever-increasing national wealth, gained in an unorthodox fashion by a start of almost complete mutual indebtedness—the private capital market having been crushed by two inflations.

Adenauer became popular because of his unflinching reliance on the Western Allies and his propagation of a United Europe the campaign for which was in full swing when the parallel parties to the German CDU, Italy's Democrazia Cristiana under De Gasperi, and France's Mouvement Republicain Populaire with Schumann leading it were in power. This of course made the idea of a United Europe suspect among anti-clerical movements in all countries, which were apt to fear a 'black (Catholic) Europe'. As the poet Heinrich Heine predicted over a hundred years ago, there will be a time when party-lines are more important than national borders in Europe. There are some recent proofs for this.

THE greatest problem of Adenauer and his party is of course German reunification, which challenges the very existence of the party in two ways: if the party does not achieve reunification, which is regarded by

the majority of the voters as Germany's major political problem the party is likely to be abandoned by more and more voters; and if it does achieve reunification a new alignment of forces within German politics will be the result, and the CDU of today might be lost among new party developments. The 17 million people of East Germany are largely Protestants. The denationalization of industry will be a tough problem. The inner difficulties with the expellees from areas behind the Oder-Neisse line which are now under Polish administration and would not be included in a reunification together with the exterior relations with the neighbour Poland are a further difficulty which will loom large as soon as the surface problem of reunification is solved. Confronted with this situation, a party and its leaders are bound to have ambivalent feelings towards reunification.

The second largest party—the Social Democrats (SPD)—are in a better position concerning the latest question and reunification is the strongest plank in their platform. But they have great difficulties with their party-tradition of the last four decades. They are suffering from their greatest strength, the party-machinery which strengthens their arms and legs at the same time stifles their brains. The party has not yet found an adequate way to revive its social philosophy and to adjust itself to the modern situation, nor has it found the courage to reorganize its party structure in giving its intellectuals more scope to model the profile of the party. The controller of the apparatus is bound to be in command and the intelligent politician is often condemned to feel an outsider in his own party. With regard to party-discipline, of course, the tradition was helpful. The Social Democrats were the first to suffer from Nazi persecution and that has helped them to keep their party-consciousness. Their greatest impediment after the second world war was that they tried to behave in a strictly nationalis-

tic way, partly because they were in opposition and had to oppose Adenauer's Western Alliance policy, partly because they were still suffering from the spell of having been dubbed the 'fulfillment-party' after the first world war, when they were in power and had to comply with the paragraphs of the unfortunate treaty of Versailles.

This attitude of the SPD took away the chances for a bi-partisan foreign policy, which consequently led to continued strife on foreign policy issues, one party stealing away the issues of the other in the rat race for the voter's approval. Despite these difficulties, the SPD has a number of promising young representatives, a firm hold on a number of industrial districts, and on the German Labour Union, and a vast number of potential voters behind the iron curtain. The many problems of interior reform, beginning with social insurance and pensions up to the organisation of labour in a new society are a genuine field of work for this party, and if it is true that genuine problems are the real capital of a party, then this party is for the future very rich indeed.

THESE burning problems and vivid election campaigns, with discussions on foreign affairs, have made the German voter very conscious of international relations, a fact which might be relevant to the future relations with India and the Near East. This new awareness brings the voters in large numbers to the polls (about 85%). Of those votes the CDU controls about 45%, the SPD follows with about 35%. Therefore the third party, the Free Democrats (FDP) which controls about 10% of the votes is very important because it will probably decide who gets into power by agreeing to join one of the two big parties in a coalition.

The Free Democrats who still try to define themselves by the old and vague

term 'liberalism' are a middle class party of very diverse sources. There are the left liberals, who would be Socialist if they did not hate Marxism, on the one side, and there are the rich industrialists on the other. There are outspoken internationalists and there is a rightist group of nationalists and conservatives. On the whole the party would plead for private enterprise and a more independent foreign policy, a bit more open to negotiations with the East and not too many commitments to the West. The FDP had been in coalition with the CDU for more than six years. Their cordial relations changed a bit in the second parliamentary period after the elections of 1953, since the CDU had almost the absolute majority and could hold government with some tiny conservative splinter parties even if the FDP would not remain loyal to the coalition. In the last years younger forces in the party and its erratic and impulsive chief Thomas Dehler spurned the clerical influences, the stubborn foreign policy and the authoritarian behaviour of Adenauer. Another point was the voting legislation. As a small party the FDP feared to be trapped by a proposed bill which would eventually lead to a two-party system. Therefore the FDP, after some struggle, broke off from the coalition and split over the issue, the right wing under Vice-Chancellor Blucher remaining in government.

The party is now reorganized and has elected a new leader, Reinhold Meier, a decided enemy of Adenauer on foreign policy issues, who had been in coalition with the SPD while he was president of one of the German states.

Apart from these special issues there is one general trend which is most hopeful in German politics: the high interest and discipline during elections, the complete disappearance of radical elements and splinter parties, the interest in the parliamentary system which was first discovered when the

radio stations broadcast whole sessions after having been persuaded to by the Speaker of the House, and though they thought their audience would be disgusted it turned out that they had a greater and more persistent audience than ever for these debates.

THE dream of the German voter is a reunited Germany, quickly raised to the standard of living in Western Germany, which is higher than ever before the war, a Germany free from political pressure which all West Germans know too well from past experience and present reports of their relatives behind the iron curtain, and a Germany at peace with its Eastern neighbours. More and more people think in terms of a Neutral Belt Middle Europe, including Germany and the Soviet satellites of today, which are now more of an internal threat than faithful allies to the Soviet empire. After the examples of Hungary and Poland, Russia would certainly welcome any opportunity to get rid of the obligation to control these areas, if this would not imply a loss of face and prestige. The Russians are well aware of the accumulated hatred of Polish, East-German, Hungarian and other satellite peoples against Soviet domination, and they are also aware of their automatic obligation to put down any rebellion with brute force whether they like it or not and whether it scatters their military strength or not, because any unplanned and unannounced loosening of the imperial grip would shatter the concept of the empire. A big Neutral Belt including the satellites would be a planned loosening of the grip which could be disguised as a Soviet achievement, because it would be a depreciation of NATO, therefore more likely to be successful.

Germany's role in this Neutral Belt would be very important. German commer-

cial connections with the Eastern European states were very good in former times. Even if there would be only a limited time of guaranteed and successful maintenance of the Neutral Belt, the peoples of this area could gain new self-confidence by following a free development and raising their standard of living.

After this period a real integration of Europe would be much easier, including also a Britain that is now reducing its transoceanic engagements and is slowly descending to the new role of a European among Europeans, by getting rid of an old glory that had already turned into ponderous illusions.

This sense of self-confidence and reliance on one's own achievements which should be instilled in the present satellites is also necessary in India and the Middle East. We started out with a German statement that Europe would be lost if there is no

way to help India. This sense of interdependence, which shows us national elections and Neutral Belts only as parts of a greater pattern, tells us too that our finest plans and hopes can be in vain if we forget about the role of poverty and despair in this world. Germany which should have and might have learnt from its own sufferings and errors should now have the ambition to encourage the self-confidence of other peoples by helping in their achievements, offering them its best assets: academic instruction, technical precision, profundity of research and, gained by its own suffering, political moderation. In its relations with India, Germany can not only contribute in instruction and training, but also in capital loans and investments. The days of the balance of power have passed long ago. Our problem is the equilibrium of welfare, and this implies an equilibrium of knowledge, self-esteem and hopes.

R. RAMANI

Indo-Soviet cultural relations

a survey, 1947-57

WHEN India's first parliament, elected on universal franchise under the Constitution framed after independence, met early in 1952 with a sizeable group of Communists in the opposition, the Congress Government faced a sustained attack on its banning of the display of Moscow publications in railway bookstalls. The Railway Board had prohibited the sale of 'tendentious literature' following the armed Communist insurrection of 1949 in Telangana. The action was taken on the advice of the Home Ministry, which wished to discourage the distribution of Marxist classics and propaganda journals at give-away prices.

Though the Communists condemned it at the time as a violation of the fundamental freedom of information, they cannot now regard the ban as having been wholly disadvantageous, since it limited the circulation of the polemical material, thoroughly offensive to nationalist sentiment, which

emanated in those days from Moscow. Soviet comments on India till the end of 1952 were based on the analysis of the freedom gained by the country in August 1947 as a sham, and of Nehru as a lackey of British imperialism. As confessed by A. M. Dyakov and I. M. Reyaner in a recent article in *Soviet Eastern Studies* (*Sovetskoye Vostokovedeniye*, No. 5, 1956): 'Until 1952 the assertion prevailed in the Soviet press that since India, on receiving dominion status in 1947 as the result of an agreement between the English Government and the main bourgeois and bourgeois-landowner parties of India, was divided into two States—India and Pakistan—and since England retained a considerable economic interest in India, therefore in essence almost nothing had changed, and India had changed only from a colony into a semi-colony of England. The status obtained by India was described as purely formal.... The authors

of the present article also permitted themselves to make such dogmatic mistakes?

Typical of the Soviet press reports on India during those five years of virtual non-recognition of Indian independence, despite the stationing of a Soviet ambassador in New Delhi, was the following in *Izvestia* of June 20, 1951, quoting a radio message from first mate Ivan Semyonovich Trikov of the Soviet ship *Krasnodar*: 'We are happy to report that the responsible assignment of delivering grain to the starving population of India has been honourably fulfilled It was with touching warmth that representatives of the Indian public and the people of the city met us in Bombay In India the remains of a deceased person are not buried but burnt on a pyre. Recently there were frequent instances of starving people coming to the place where corpses are cremated, sitting down near the pyre and resignedly awaiting their end. Eye-witness accounts tell of people who had prepared themselves for death summoning up their remaining strength and leaving the sinister pyres when they learnt of the arrival of the Soviet grain ships. The working people of India understand full well who brought their country to starvation. One frequently hears curses there against the Anglo-American imperialists and their flunkys. The common people, on whose shoulders the chief burden of the economic calamities has fallen, value especially highly the Soviet Union's assistance. More than once we had occasion to hear in Bombay the dear beloved name of the leader, best friend and teacher of working people the world over—Comrade Stalin—pronounced with profound gratitude and thankfulness.'

All this was about the delivery of 100,000 tons of Soviet wheat in barter for Indian jute and other commodities. The then food Minister, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, disclosed later that the price paid for Russian wheat in the 1951 barter deal was more than for

American wheat secured under the two-million-ton Indo-U.S. food loan agreement of the same year.

The *Izvestia* report, as well as some articles in a similar strain which had appeared in the Soviet press, were reproduced by *Thought*, a Delhi weekly, and caused widespread revulsion. The effect would have been doubtless equally unfavourable to Russia had there been any wide circulation of the Soviet magazine *Isskustvo* which, early in 1954, featured the work of three Russian artists who visited India and immortalised among other subjects the Communist heroes of the Telangana rebellion, and the stevedore's daughter who typified 'under-nourished children suffering under the capitalist regime of Nehru.'

THE Indian Ministry of Information makes available to press correspondents in the capital almost daily a survey of 'India in the World Press,' but the newspapers of no Communist country other than Yugoslavia are covered. It was again thanks to the enterprise of *Thought* that the public came to know, late in 1954, how the people of the Soviet Union were taught to regard Mahatma Gandhi. The journal reproduced these extracts from the latest edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia:

'Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948): Author of the reactionary teachings of Gandhism, hailing from the Baniya caste which engaged in trade and usury. In South Africa, Gandhi sabotaged unity between Indians and Negroes in the struggle for liberation, and in 1906 he actively helped British imperialism by organising and leading an Indian sanitary unit which served the British army in its invasion in the land of the Zulus, destroying them with fire and sword. His role in the movement for national liberation reflected the betrayal of the Indian middle classes and the liberal landowners in general. They made a com-

mon bloc with the imperialists against the people, in whom they saw the main enemy. When the popular movement appeared to become a revolutionary one, Gandhi betrayed the people and helped the imperialists to suppress the revolt. He acted the same way during the revolutionary upsurge of 1929-32. In his private life Gandhi aped the ascetics. He pretended in a demagogic way to be a supporter of Indian independence and an enemy of the British. Gandhism is the ideological weapon of the upper middle class, which is in close contact with the feudal landowners and the usurers. It widely exploits religious prejudices and the Hindu dogma about the unconditional subordination of the lower to the upper class, and also the dogma about the 'sinfulness' of any attempt to change the present hierarchy of castes which, they allege, has been established by the will of God. The reactionary bloc of the bourgeois and the feudal landowners uses Gandhism in its aim to disarm the masses ideologically. Propagating the theory of Gandhism, the Indian capitalists and landowners widely apply a policy of terror directed against the popular masses.'

Outraged Gandhians, including biographer D. G. Tendulkar, wrote to newspapers demanding that Russia rectify these distortions. Some produced further quotations of derogatory Soviet comments on other respected Indian personalities including Nehru, Jayaprakash Narayan and Subhas Bose. The Indian Government drew the attention of the Soviet Embassy to the offending passage in the Encyclopaedia. But officials of the External Affairs ministry, trained to handle Russia gingerly, deplored a newspaper description of this as a 'protest.'

The railway ban apart, Indian Communists were free, even during the insurrectionary phase of their activity till the death of Stalin, to disseminate locally produced as well as imported literature. Propagand-

ist organisations such as the Peace Council and the Progressive Writers' Association carried on their work unhampered. A few Communists were denied passports to Russia and Eastern Europe, with no apparent rationale since the top leaders including Ajoy Ghose, the Party secretary, were allowed to travel freely. But there was no denial of passports to those members of the ruling Congress party and individuals prominent in public life who were moved by sentiment or the lure of free foreign travel to participate in peace congresses abroad. Pro-Soviet propaganda gained by the participation of two prominent non-Communists in the East Berlin meeting of the World Peace Council in 1952: Sucheta Kripalani (though she then belonged to the Praja Socialist Party which disavowed the Communist peace movement), and J. C. Kumarappa, an associate of Gandhi. Both acquiesced in the resolution which condemned the United Nations for 'illegal intervention into the internal conflict in Korea' and repeated the Communist charges of germ warfare.

THE pro-Soviet propaganda by Indian Communists was supplemented by numerous pamphlets on life in Russia and on current international controversies issued by *Tass* in New Delhi. In addition, *Tass* brought out and widely distributed an illustrated fortnightly journal, *Soviet Land*, in English and in four important Indian languages: Hindi, Urdu, Bengali and Telugu.

Till 1953, however, the Soviet propaganda drive in India remained an essentially partisan manifestation, which gained only limited appeal outside the Communist following. The Congress Party periodically advised members to keep aloof from Communist front organisations, though no disciplinary action was taken against those who ignored the advice. While such Congressmen, usually of less than the second

rank, and individuals like Sucheta Kripalani and Kumarappa, did lend respectability to Soviet propaganda in the eyes of some, they lost respect themselves in the eyes of others.

A series of developments during 1953 transformed the character of Indo-Soviet relations. Following Stalin's death and the signing of the Korean armistice, in the negotiation of which India played an important part as a sympathetic interpreter of the Communist belligerents' mind, Moscow—with Indian Communists following suit—ceased regarding Nehru as an imperialist stooge and for the first time acknowledged the reality of India's independence. The Indo-Soviet trade agreement was signed in December, and it was accompanied by an offer of Soviet technical assistance.

The Indian Government, which had shown great restraint in face of the provocative abuse heaped on it by Moscow for five years, readily accepted the new Soviet professions of respect and friendship. Nehru, who had tried to convince Russia of his goodwill and non-alignment with the Western block only to find his *bona fides* rudely questioned, was able now to demonstrate that he wanted the country open-mindedly to learn as much from the Communist world—consistently with the preservation of the democratic system—as from the Western countries with which India had developed cultural links over more than a century.

It was no longer necessary for Moscow to entice non-Communists to visit and speak well of Russia; the Indian Government itself sponsored a host of goodwill delegations. Visitors from Russia, to whom the locally suspect Indo-Soviet Friendship Society used to play the host, were now welcomed with open arms by the Government. Moscow fully utilised for its purposes the Indian Government's attitude of receptivity to the lessons of Communist economic and educational achievement. Soviet propa-

ganda developed during 1954 into a drive of national dimensions and appeal. Among the factors which enabled it to become more effective in India than in any other non-Communist country were Soviet economic aid which, though it started late, directly promoted the industrial development for which all educated Indians yearn, and the common opposition of the two countries, albeit for different reasons, to the military alliances sponsored by the West. During the triumphal tour of India by Bulganin and Khrushchev in the winter of 1955, millions of people were taught by Congress leaders as well as Communists to chant the slogan, *Hindi-Roosi Bhai Bhai*. ('Indians and Russians are brothers') The tide of pro-Soviet emotion ran high till last November, when the events in Hungary diminished the goodwill enjoyed by Russia.

AS many as five delegations, directly sponsored or approved by the Government, visited Russia in 1954: a troupe of dancers and musicians led by India's woman Deputy Health Minister; a delegation of university teachers and students; a women's delegation; a group of private industrialists; and a mixed team of official and non-official agricultural economists. In 1955 a parliamentary delegation was led by the Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. Last year a second cultural delegation was led by the Deputy Minister for External Affairs; the Soviet educational system was studied in detail by a second delegation of teachers headed by Prof. Humayun Kabir, former secretary of the Indian Education Ministry; and a large group of film artists and producers were received by the Soviet film industry, which screened several Indian films in Moscow, Leningrad and Baku in honour of the visitors.

Except for the private industrialists who pronounced that Soviet plant and machi-

nery were mere copies of Western originals, the public has generally heard from these visitors only high praise of Soviet accomplishments and assurances of the Soviet people's friendly feelings towards India. Some went rapturous, like Violet Alva, Congress M.P. (now Deputy Home Minister) and a member of the women's delegation, who said on return: 'Joy of life is complete in Russia, unlike frustration and fear in other countries.'

The agricultural team, led by the Economic Adviser to the Indian Food Ministry, submitted a comprehensive report on the Soviet economy, including critical observations on the standard of living and income disparities in Russia. But the report was withheld from the press despite requests following the publication of a summary in one newspaper. The team's observations, quoted by *Indian Express*, included the following: 'The prices of most of the essential goods are very high in Russia. Officially one rouble is equal to 19 annas, but looking at the prices in India and in Russia we do not think we can put the real value at anywhere more than four annas.... We found more formality in a Russian official's life, and a greater emphasis on order of precedence in Russia, than in most of the Western democracies.... It is an illusion to think that there is equality of income in Russia. We found that there is considerable inequality, at least so far as earned income goes. A housemaid in Russia gets about 400 roubles... a schoolmaster 900 to 1,100 roubles.... a skilled worker in an automobile factory 1,000 to 1,500 roubles... a factory manager 6,000 to 10,000 roubles... an Academician 10,000 roubles and a Cabinet Minister upto 25,000 roubles. The inequality will appear to be even greater when one considers that the maximum rate of income tax in Russia is only 13%, whereas in our country it is over 80%.'

The treatment of this report as a confidential document is an example of the way

civil servants exercise their discretion in matters affecting relations with Russia. Nehru's policy towards Russia has been a delicate and difficult tight-rope walk between admiration and generous goodwill, on the one hand, and unspoken fear and occasional cautious criticism, on the other. The expression of this policy comes naturally and with grace only to the Prime Minister himself and to his sole intimate consultant on foreign affairs, Krishna Menon. Others, from Ministers and ambassadors to officials, rarely attempt the feat, having found it safe not to criticise Russia at all. Nehru himself was not perturbed when the leakage was brought to his notice by frightened officials, and is said to have pointed out that the report was not such as should be withheld on the ground of public interest if a member of Parliament asked for it to be placed on the table. But no M.P. happened to raise the question. Another example of the cautious attitude of officials may be cited. When in the course of a speech in Moscow last January, K. P. S. Menon, the career diplomat accredited to Russia, greeted the correction of the earlier Soviet attitude towards Gandhi—'I mention this not as a complaint but to illustrate the way in which misunderstanding can be cleared up by goodwill'—he felt impelled to add that some Indian writers 'equally misunderstood life in the Soviet Union' till the visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev 'swept away' the wrong impressions.

BESIDES Government-sponsored and non-official delegations, individual travel to Russia has also increased with the inauguration of a tourist travel service last October. This promises to win Russia many new admirers. Among the first party of tourists was *Cassius*, a columnist of the *Hindustan Standard* who is popular among the intelligentsia and has been a torment for India's 'progressive' writers. This is how he

recorded his first impressions for *Moscow News*, as reproduced in his own column: 'From Delhi we came to Kabul, where we did some sight-seeing in an American bus. I happened to sit with my back to the driver, and for no reason at all I proceeded to read the small writing on the fire extinguisher on my right. It was made in the U.S.S.R. Nothing very wonderful; it was like any other fire extinguisher, but I kept wondering. My American friends—and I am not being sarcastic, for I have many good American friends—had told me that the Soviet Union was bent upon setting the world on fire...

'What, no seat belts? That is what I muttered to myself when I began to settle down, for the first time in my life, in Aero-flot's Ilyushin 14. The aircraft took off beautifully, and nobody was the worse without a seat belt. Air journeys make me introspective, and I asked myself whether there were not many more kinds of belts I had unnecessarily tied myself with. Is it possible that, in life in India and the Western democracies, there are many things which we mistakenly consider to be essential—like that seat belt in an aeroplane? Without necessarily dismissing any of the things I was used to in India, I then prepared myself not to be horrified if I did not see in the Soviet Union some of the institutions we have, and value, in our very different system of government in India.'

From the Soviet side, too, there has been a steady stream of visitors exuding goodwill and varying intensities of propaganda. There have been visits by Uzbek folk dancers, Russian ballet artists and a whole circus, which performed in the principal Indian cities; by Soviet film artists, in whose honour a reciprocal Festival of Soviet Films was inaugurated in the capital by the Indian Information Minister and was celebrated also in Bombay and Calcutta; and by a cultural delegation headed by Y. I. Asanenko, Education Minister of the

Russian S.F.S.R. Politics are not always kept out even by the hosts: the president of the Delhi Municipal Committee told Asanenko at a public reception that Indians knew it was due to the Soviet threat of military intervention that the British and French stopped the fighting in Egypt. Even ordinary Soviet tourists receive publicity in the press, both because they are still a novelty and because they visit not only the Taj Mahal but also rural schools and community projects.

INDIA has cultural co-operation agreements with six countries including Poland, but not yet with Russia. This has not stood in the way of the exchange of scholars and other forms of collaboration. A Soviet Indologist, Kompantsev, is engaged on a thesis which the Indian Government proposes to translate on the 'Sepoy Mutiny' of 1857, the interpretation of which has caused lively controversy among Indian historians. Mosfilm Studios is collaborating with Khwaja Ahmed Abbas, a fellow-travelling writer and film producer of Bombay, in the production of a commercial film, *Pardesi* (Foreigner), featuring the travelogue of Afanasi Nikitin, the 15th century Russian traveller who spent three years in India. The Hindi version of the film, whose cast includes six of the most popular Indian stars besides Oleg Streezhenov in the title role, is expected to be released shortly.

Though Moscow publications with the exception of a pictorial monthly are still barred from railway bookstalls, the buses of the State-owned Delhi Transport Service now carry large advertisements exhorting people to read Soviet books. *Tass* has increased the number of editions of *Soviet Land* to ten by bringing out the 40-page fortnightly journal in five more Indian languages: Tamil, Malayalam, Punjabi, Marathi and Oriya. It is now more lavishly illustrated, and offers 100-lesson courses in Russian. *Tass* claims a total paid circu-

lation of about 200,000 for all editions of the journal, which is priced As. 3.

Soviet organisations are also now running sizeable advertising campaigns in the Indian press, covering books to tractors, and some newspapers have brought out supplements devoted to the Soviet Union when an adequate proportion of space is taken by Soviet advertisers. It remains to be seen whether this will come to have any effect on editorial policy. The *Hindustan Standard* does not appear to have suffered for coming out with an editorial entitled 'As like as two peas', condemning Soviet intervention in Hungary as strongly as the Anglo-French attack on Egypt, on the very day last November when it issued a mammoth Soviet supplement. On the other hand, Soviet advertisements in *Indian Express* stopped after the publication of the cartoon, *Let's go wash our hands in the Canal*. These were the memorable words which the newspaper's cartoonist put into the mouth of Khrushchev as he pulled Bulganin away from the bloody scene of the murder of Hungarian nationalism.

Editorials and cartoons so strongly critical of Russia had never before appeared in Indian newspapers. Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party adversely affected the morale of Indian Communists and fellow-travellers, but strengthened the confidence of others in the liberalisation of the Soviet regime and, consequently, in the strengthening of Indo-Soviet friendship. Hungary, on the other hand, was a blow to the hopes stirred by Soviet acceptance of the *Panch Shila* principles of non-interference and peaceful co-existence. It strengthened the element of fear in the always ambivalent Indian attitude to Russia, which had been overlaid earlier by confidence in the inevitable mellowing of Moscow's crusading zeal.

With every passing month, however, the

Indian intelligentsia is more and more accepting the explanation that the brutal suppression of the nationalist movement in Hungary was due solely to Russia's concern for security following the West Asian crisis. Nationalist opinion, moreover, has been immensely gratified by the support extended to India on the Kashmir issue by Russia, alone among the great Powers. There is no apparent difference between Nehru's and Moscow's interpretation of any attempt to reopen the question of Kashmir's accession to India as an attempt by the Western Powers to re-establish the imperialist hold on the sub-continent. In this context, Soviet propaganda has largely succeeded in diverting the attention of Indians from Eastern Europe by playing on anti-Western sentiment.

AT the six-day conference of Asian writers in New Delhi last December, organised at the initiative of Indian Communist writers but attended in strength also by others who are conscious of the threat of Communist penetration, the delegates from the Soviet Asian republics, like those from China, Mongolia, North Korea and North Viet Nam, concentrated their fire on Western colonialism for having suppressed the national cultures of Asia for centuries. After a protracted debate on the subject of the writer's freedom, the conference decided, in the interest of presenting a unanimous statement of conclusions, not to include the view pressed by an Indian writer that totalitarian societies tend to discourage genuine art and to encourage pseudo-art for propaganda purposes. The delegates accepted the invitation extended by the Uzbek poetess, Zulfia, to hold the next conference of Asian writers at Tashkent. To the Sixth World Festival of Youth which was celebrated at Moscow in July-August India contributed a large contingent including prominent film stars and dancers.

Not noticed in detail in this survey, but important as an indirect cultural influence, is the impact of the Soviet example and ideas on India's economic planning. Passionately aspiring to rapid industrialisation, Indian economists and intellectuals have turned to the Russian example though they are aware that a democratic society cannot have recourse to the means of capital accumulation open to a Communist State as to early capitalism in the West. Though the Indian Government embarked on planning as early as in 1951, it was only

in 1954 that the assistance of Soviet economists was sought. The Second Five-Year Plan, which was reluctantly accepted at Nehru's insistence by some sceptical members of the Planning Commission, was heavily influenced by the foreign Marxist economists (including Academician D. T. Degtyer and Dr. M. I. Rubinstein from Russia) who were assembled at the Calcutta Statistical Institute by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, a pro-Soviet statistician who wields great influence through his friendship with the Prime Minister.

LIAISON WITH THE LORD

That witch Illusion is my mother-in-law,
the reeling world her decrepit husband;
three fiery cousins keep
a tiger-vigil on all that's me;
and I am wedded to my unwilling past:

no god, this my husband.

But soft,
I love Someone in secret.
My mind is my maid,
she is love's mystic beast of burden
carrying me to Him, and Him to me.
Inviolably lovely
is my Lord Chennamallikarjuna,
and I'll let Him cuckold at once
this dolt, my Past, my husband.

—From the Kannada of Akkamahadevi, twelfth century woman-mystic.

A. K. RAMANUJAN

Note: The 'three cousins' are perhaps the three 'gunas' the three-fold modes of nature; and 'Karma' is rendered here as 'the unwilling past.'

EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION OF INDIA

by PROF. D. R. GADGIL

The subject and length of this article were suggested to the author for a symposium QUEST had intended to publish. It is now offered to our readers as a discussion article. Views on the subject, taking Professor Gadgil's arguments as a starting point, are invited.

I TAKE it that 'emotional integration' does not denote a state of mind brought about temporarily by slogan-mongering or propaganda campaigns but a lasting sense of cohesiveness based on recognition of common values, tradition and interests. In India this can be achieved only through an intelligent long term national policy. I set out in brief below, my concept of what is involved in this policy and the proper approach towards its implementation.

The vast majority of the Indian people are Hindus, among whom the primary social grouping is on the basis of caste. The caste groups among Hindus function within certain regional boundaries. There are, properly speaking, no all-India castes. Small sub-castes may be confined to very small areas but the large caste groups are found spread over a relatively wide region whose limits are usually coterminous with the linguistic region. Hindu society may thus be said to be composed of groups of speakers of the major languages stratified into castes and sub-castes. In this context, the concept of regional society forms an over-all framework within which the castes function.

Social bonds and feelings are based on frequent communication and common interests and ways of life. Birth, occupation, wealth, rank, etc. can form the basis only of a stratified society. If the objective is to create an open society which disregards caste, class or religion the only possible basis is that of the neighbourhood and the local area. In my opinion, the largest area basis on which a meaningful attempt to create such a society can be made in India is that of the linguistic region. The smallest

of such regions, outside the big Hindi block, namely Assam and Kerala, have populations larger than those of Portugal or Sweden and the largest, Andhra, has a population larger than that of Spain.

The extent of the area over which a comparatively well-knit society can be created is dependent on ease of communication and degree of mobility. The coverage of a large area in a predominantly agricultural society is relatively more difficult than in a highly industrialised society and relatively less difficult in a new colony than in an area of old societies with long continuous histories. In the colonies of the Europeans, elements from various European countries have been fused together, while the separateness, even in modern times of, what in comparison with Indian States appear to be, small units such as Finland, the Scandinavian or Benelux countries, has been fully and vigorously maintained. Even in the colonies, real fusion has been possible only where deliberate attempts were made to obliterate the older linguistic and cultural identification and to postulate the creation of a new culture. Where this has not happened, as with the French in Canada or with the Dutch and the English in South Africa, there is marked separateness of regional linguistic societies. Therefore, the concept of a single Indian society in the sense in which English society or French society can be said to be unified is obviously impracticable, even if it were desirable.

It is undesirable because, as in the case of the colonial societies, such homogeneity could be achieved only by the deliberate suppression of existing diversity which is

the result of a long history of separate developments. The deliberately chosen federal form of the Indian constitution, the enumeration of all the major languages in the schedule to the constitution and the history of the formation and reorganisation of provinces and states for the last fifty years, all support this view.

On this basis integration appears as a two-fold process. The first is that of the formation of the primary regional societies and secondly that of the creation of a feeling of solidarity, of unity in diversity, among members of the different primary regional societies. The principal difficulty in the formation of regional societies is that of caste. The problem of the elimination of caste has usually two important aspects. The first is the removal of the barrier between the Brahmins, Banias and other so-called 'advanced' castes on the one hand and the middle peasant communities on the other; the second is a similar process as between rural peasant society and the untouchable castes. In a number of regions the issue is further complicated by the presence of protestant or other groups outside the strict Hindu fold, as that of the Lingayats in Karnatak or the Sikhs in the Punjab.

These problems by themselves are difficult enough; however, to them have to be added two important sets of problems at two different levels. The first is that of the scheduled tribes. These are usually not fully integrated within the Hindu societies of their regions. To bring this integration about without upsetting their lives or disrupting their economies is one of the most important and yet delicate tasks that we confront. At the other level is the integration, with regional societies, of a number of non-Hindu minorities. The caste structure of Hindu society has, in the past, made it easy for a non-Hindu minority, whether local or immigrant, to find a place in the total framework while retaining its individuality. During British rule, the

degree of integration that had been thus achieved was significantly lessened because of foreign rule and the deliberate encouragement to minorities by the British to emphasize their separateness. The process of fresh integration, in these cases, is specially difficult where the minorities consist mainly of immigrant urban, trading or professional elements. With rural and local communities the difficulty created by difference of faith need not be found more difficult than that created by caste.

No special obstacles arise in the process of intensifying the feeling of solidarity as between members of the various regional societies. No elements among Hindus and most others have extra-national or supra-national ties and all these elements have shared, since historical times, common developments in religious life and in intellectual and artistic activity, in spite of linguistic diversity. With increasing integration of economic life and ease of communication the sense of a common heritage and shared development should grow. The growth could be helped greatly by an intelligent national policy, especially in the fields of education and culture. However, it is necessary, in this context, to solve satisfactorily and speedily two outstanding problems. Firstly, that of the building up of the language of the Union simultaneously with development of regional languages, and secondly that of the lessening of regional disparities through and in the process of economic development.

Even this summary statement makes clear that the problem we face is very much larger and more complex than that faced by any other country. Is it beyond our capacity to solve, and what are the forces that make for and against its peaceful and satisfactory solution?

The greatest obstacle in the way of a satisfactory solution is the amazing lack of understanding on the part of those in highest authority in the country. This has been

underlined by the manner in which the reorganisation of States has been brought about; what should have been recognized as the most proper and satisfactory basis of the process has been accepted only under compulsion of popular sentiment. And even now there is no evidence of a clearer appreciation of the structure of Indian society and its appropriate evolution. Unfortunately, the Prime Minister himself appears unclear. Many of his utterances and actions and in particular his persistent stand about the disintegration of Hyderabad indicate that his subconscious thinking is rooted in a North-Indian, predominantly Muslim, feudal, aristocratic past. It is therefore difficult to expect that in his pronouncements he would discriminate between the caste, the community, the religion and the region as bases of social groupings.

A second disquieting feature of the existing situation is what might be called the 'Nehru Cult'. This consists in spreading the impression, especially among foreign observers and members of the minorities, that the minorities are safe in India only as long as Pandit Nehru is in power. Those who make the allegation conveniently forget the historical fact that in no large society in the world, except perhaps the Chinese, was there in evidence, till at least the 19th century, a tradition of such hospitality and tolerance as in India and that the existence of the minorities in India today is entirely owing to this tradition. A particularly bad manifestation has been the recent, inspired propaganda that if Muslims in Kashmir are allowed to join Pakistan the lives of Indian Muslims will not be safe.

Without entering into the merits of the Kashmir dispute, it is safe to assert that if a partition of Kashmir on the Hindu-Muslim basis is found necessary, there will be not the slightest trouble in India, as long as the matter is explained in advance to the people and they are assured that proper arrangements are made for a fair exchange of the populations and for the safety of life and property of the non-Muslims. The 'Cult' is dangerous because it indicates

that there exists among certain very powerful circles in the country, ignorance of our history and traditions, distrust of our masses and a readiness to libel the whole nation. No integration, emotional or otherwise, of the Indian people could be achieved while such attitudes prevail.

The third adverse factor is the attitude of important elements in big business, among high ranking officials and among professionals and intellectuals in the largest cities, particularly Delhi and Bombay. To these, Indian integration means merely the integration of the top strata; it is integration in terms of interests and areas of influence for those on top, leaving even their own private operations and lives at the level of the sub-caste, the community or the clique. Any idea of identification with the masses is anathema to these 'select' at the top. Their attitude towards the people may most favourably be described as that towards 'wards'. The view of the S.R.C. that half of the officials serving in the State must come from outside that State represents this view of regional societies and their relation to the 'Elite'.

This view and the present position of the different elements among the top strata is bound to be challenged by the emergence of conscious, regional societies. In that event, slowly but inevitably, the balance will tilt in favour of the countryside and the poorer classes; their interests will begin to receive attention and they will obtain a greater share of political power and of the national product. Decentralisation and egalitarianism will tend to become realities. It is natural therefore that all those whose interests lie in continuance of concentration of economic power, overwhelming influence of urban, particularly metropolitan, centres and centralisation of administration should oppose developments in the direction of the approach set out above.

What are the factors that could be set out on the credit side? Firstly and, in the long run, overwhelmingly, the most important factor is the age-long Indian tradition itself. From its ancient Hindu, Buddhist,

Jain parallel developments through the comprehensive outlook of the Bhakti saints to, say, Ram Mohan Roy, Tilak and Gandhi, it has left such a deep impress on our masses that whatever their occasional lapses, a peaceful 'live and let live' way out of our difficulties seems most likely to evolve. In favour of this view may be noted the rapidity with which normal conditions were re-established after the great strain of the partition and the comparative ease with which they have been maintained in spite of grave provocations and continuous pressures, such as that of refugees in East India.

The second favourable factor is the evidence of some decline in the importance of the caste and community factor in many regions. It is true that this is not happening over all regions and the pace is not rapid enough, almost anywhere. The most important and striking recent example of the ability of our masses to transcend caste and communal differences on a vital issue is seen in some notable results in the last elections in Maharashtra. The election in West Khandesh of a Parsi lawyer from Bombay, hardly known in the constituency, as against a highly respected and politically influential Brahmin lawyer who had spent his life in the district, or the election in Ratnagiri of a person belonging to an old immigrant trading community as against a Maratha of very high prestige are undoubtedly remarkable. Equally remarkable was the election in North Ahmednagar of a Mahar from Bombay as against a local high ranking Maratha from peasant stock and with large connections throughout the district. These results were never expected by even the most optimistic.

It is sometimes said that these results show a mixed trend because they also exhibit the triumph of regionalism as against an all-India view. Such an interpretation of the happening is totally wrong. No question of regional interest as against all-India interest was involved. It was a protest against being singled out for differential treatment and a protest against those in authority and not against the

country or against national interests. To confuse the country with those who wield political power in it at any particular time is an old trick of the authoritarians.

Apart from these manifestations in the political field, my personal experience in social and economic work, especially co-operative work among peasants, gives me ground for hope. I have found that the bulk of our people when confronted with real problems prove educable and with experience of affairs tend almost naturally to take a progressively wide view. Of course, this happens only if you take them into confidence and treat them as equals.

Lastly, as a proof that the Indian tradition is alive and may soon become vigorous I would point to the life and work of Vinobaji during the last ten years. Here is one who in his life and philosophy attempts, as much as one human being can, a conscious and comprehensive combination of the realism and humanism of the Buddha, the logic and intellectualism of Shankaracharya and the mysticism and latent radicalism of the Bhakti saints. He lives Indian integration through actual contact with villagers in all parts of India and talking to them, as far as possible, in their own language against their own cultural background. He is, inevitably, a decentraliser and an egalitarian; but he is also the most potent force in the creation of a genuine modern all-India ideology and an all-India common platform; he is also more actively insistent than anybody else in the participation of all in the creation of an all-India vehicle of linguistic communication.

As set out above, what I consider to be the adverse elements are seen to be in seats of political power or wielding great economic influence. What I consider to be the favourable elements are either in opposition or weak or disregarded by those in authority. Even so I am hopeful for the future; my optimism stems from the judgment that all the adverse elements should, in the main, prove to be transitory, while the favourable elements are parts of our permanent heritage and are bound to exert a continuous long term influence.

TEMPORAL POWER

Political Notes by

S. NATARAJAN

The intricacies of 'non-involvement' are beginning to be felt in India. To all but the Government—and it would seem to many in the Government as well—the irony of extending felicitations to Malaya on her political independence while turning a blind eye to events in Hungary has become apparent. Press comments have ranged from the sharply critical to the painfully casual over India's official stand. The disingenuous attitude which brushes aside the U.N. report as 'one-sided,' has not even the merit of being face-saving. But no one has yet come round to asking, What is the other side? Mr. Nehru has generously absolved the U.N. Committee of any guilt for the inadequacy without explaining how the facts that eluded the Committee have come to his knowledge. But significant in a tragic way is the place he has taken for India in this co-existential world. In his foreign policy speech in the Rajya Sabha, he declared:

'There were at present at play in Eastern Europe all kinds of liberalising and democratising forces. A great deal of progress had been made in these countries. Left to themselves, and helped a little, they would go further, but if they were restricted and condemned these forces might be hindered and stopped from making any further progress.'

To many in India—of whom some have been staunch friends of the Soviet Union—the intervention in Hungary has been a rude awakening. To many more—and not in India alone—the Prime Minister's refusal to be awakened has been a greater shock.

A vigorous shake of the bag and Syria is drawn into the Soviet orbit. Syrian leaders, it is insisted, are not Communists. They have no need to be. We are being trained not only to co-existential thinking but even to compartmentalised judging. Considerations of not aggravating tensions have not restrained Government spokesmen in India from using the Syrian tragedy to illustrate the grand thesis against arms pacts. The Prime Minister who described Syria and West Asia as 'one of the most explosive spots in the world,' pleaded that the Soviet Union should not be 'ignored' in West Asia, 'where she is geographically sitting.'

Removed as we are from the realities of grow-

ing tension, the shrill accents of the references to Kashmir and Goa in the speeches of Mr. Nehru and Mr. Krishna Menon convey the sense of oppressive urgency. Hitherto, there has been a philosophic reliance on the healing touch of time. Now the note is one of sharp denunciation, suggesting early resolution. Mr. Krishna Menon has even thought fit to rebuke the Indian press for its failure to express national sentiment with the necessary vigour, forgetting that the Government itself has required restraint in comment. As the press has not been slow to point out in return, the technique of ranting through the press and cooing through the Government is alien to democracy. Even Mr. Menon's undisguised admiration for the Pakistan press has failed to spread hysteria among Indian newspapers. But it has certainly raised questions in many minds as to what is happening in New Delhi. The mood of confidence that was so evident in the cold war period, is apparently giving way with the gathering heat.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad timed his visit to the South well. It saved the August 15-16 celebrations in Kerala from degenerating into a people's democracy display. And there is no doubt that the President was accorded a warm reception. But it was baffling to hear his enthusiastic reference to events in Kerala as a demonstration in co-existence. Dr. Prasad is the President of the Republic, and therefore above party politics. But, even so, there was no reason for showering compliments where none was due. To uphold the uneasy tolerance existing between the Congress and the Communists in India as an example to the rest of the world is most unwise. Even Mr. Krishna Menon was provoked to protest, during his visit there, at the insinuation that the Congress Government was inferior to 'a people's democracy.'

Two other Ministers of the Union have been quite outspoken about their dislike and distrust of the Communists. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari roundly charged them with obstructing the Second Five-Year Plan; and Mr. S. K. Patil told pressmen at Singapore that the present position in Kerala was not stable, in a manner which clearly showed that he did not think stabilisation as things are desirable. Mr. Krishnamachari's single-minded devotion to the Plan has impressed his countrymen to the point of alarm, while Mr. Patil's

political services to the Congress Party are unmatched. The facts revealed by these ministerial utterances suggest that co-existence in India is not different from co-existence elsewhere. Now that the 'loyalty' of the Kerala Communists to the Constitution has ceased to impress, people are beginning to appreciate that the technique of unobtrusive consolidation offers the best chances. It is not new by any means and, in the short run, it has not been known to fail. The politician, obsessed by the pursuit of the possible, is often apt to see in situations that which he wishes to see.

The difficulties that the Second Five-Year Plan has come up against, were not unexpected—except by the planners. Awareness is now general but the measures taken to save the foreign exchange situation are not convincing. Where the drain is effected by purchases of heavy machinery, restrictions on consumer goods imports promise little relief, but add to frustration. At the same time, the squeezing out of the middleman as a result of heavy excises and restricted credit has brought on a commercial crisis. For the past two months, words like 'cutting down,' 'pruning' and 're-phasing' have been freely used in connection with the Plan, and as a consequence the official attitude has shifted from the Plan, the whole Plan and nothing but the Plan, to the core of the Plan. Mr. Nehru has complained that irresponsible and unconstructive criticism has created frustration and hopelessness. There has been unconstructive support too, which in its way can be as frustrating. If it is remembered that there is a budget for Plan publicity—and none for Plan criticism—the resulting situation needs serious attention.

Petty economies are proposed from time to time which sound pathetic; taxes are put forward which strike fear into people's minds—not so much because they are heavy but because they are advanced in a threatening fashion; and the mildest criticism is resented. The national weakness is for accumulation rather than for pruning, and it has been fully indulged in our planning. What is really responsible for the frustration is the fact that, while the public is made conscious of the necessity of putting the Plan through, every official move is calculated to impress on us that the money required for it is not available—at least, not on the terms the Government wants. If Rs. 1,000 crores of external aid is wanted, the Government surely ought to go all out to get it. If, on the other

hand, the Government feels that there are other things more important than raising this amount, it is hardly fair to blame the people for not thinking solely of the Plan. It is difficult to understand the logic of a policy which combines the uttering of speeches like those of the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister on foreign aid. Evidently the Government of India, or an important section in it, feels that it is doing America a good turn when it takes its dollars. Since it is more blessed to give than to receive, the donor is the beneficiary!

There is one direction at any rate in which the Plan's exacting needs have made themselves felt—in the matter of the nation's wage bill. In August as the threatened strike of government servants drew near, the Government averted the crisis by conceding the demand for a pay commission which was virtually committed in advance to grant increases in wages. It was interesting to note the Prime Minister's euphemistic reference in his radio appeal on August 5 to the wide gap between conditions in industry and commerce and conditions in government service. The principle of giving workers a share in management, observed Mr. Nehru, had advanced considerably so far as private enterprise was concerned. In government service, it was very different.

The past ten years have been a period of rapid strides in workers' wages, emoluments and working conditions in private enterprise. Mostly this has arisen out of the Government's labour policy implemented by labour and industrial court's decisions. Much of it was necessary so far as bringing up the less progressive employers to a desirable level went. Owing to inexperience, however, the tribunals failed to observe one essential caution: instead of relating wage increase and bonus to prevailing conditions, they linked them up to 'capacity to pay.' And in judging capacity, it was not the industrialist's viewpoint which prevailed. Healthy growth required that proposals should be put forward on the basis of wages, scales and practices obtaining in well-established, well-conducted units, thus ensuring orderly progress.

What *has* happened is that the burdens on such units have increased inordinately. The results are being felt—in government service where the mounting wages of private industry and rising prices have begun to exert pressure. The wheels of the Five-Year Plan are thus dragging in the sodden

ground of official wages. If wages are stepped up, the cost of the Plan soars; if wages are held steady, discontented officials hold up work as well. If the first step towards resolving a problem is to realise that the problem exists, then the Government of India may be congratulated on having at last taken that step. The immediate consequences will be—or rather should be—a more realistic appreciation of the question of wages and industry. But the intriguing question is how long will it take for this realisation to permeate the rank and file—members of Parliament, members of State Assemblies and the Congress Party.

The session of Parliament which has just ended, gives us a clue to this—and it is far from cheering. In a session where the Opposition parties seemed particularly weak, the proceedings were enlivened by the activities of Congress members. As New Delhi correspondents of national newspapers have remarked, it was the subject of nationalisation of industries which raised the greatest interest and discussion, and has left the deepest impression. This hardly indicates a realistic attitude, particularly when the Government is itself in economic difficulties. It has already too many commitments in the matter of nationalisation to indulge in the illusion that a nationalised unit of industry does not need to run at a profit—even that it must as a matter of decency run at a loss.

Logic, I know, plays a small part in politics. But it cannot be wholly ignored. On the strength of the First Five-Year Plan performance and the strains and stresses of the present situation, the Government would be wise to consider seriously how it can reduce its commitments and make private enterprise share a greater part of the burden than it is doing at present. In the First Plan period, private enterprise more than fulfilled its targets. But an imbalance exists in the Second Plan because, against the record, a heavier burden has been placed on the public sector which fared less well.

The environment that we live in, prevents people from applying their minds to questions. We are governed by the slogans that we ourselves have raised. Otherwise, it would have been seen long ere now that what is needed is not extra doses of nationalisation but a considered programme of divesting of State ownership. A mixed economy has meaning so long as the State steps in to launch essential industries where private enterprise holds back and watches closely to see how private enterprise can be brought in to take over, realising public resources for fresh expansion. The session of Parliament just ended is an index to the distance we have yet to travel to reach this stage

in our thinking, though events have more than overtaken us.

* * *

The dominance of political ideas to the exclusion of economic realities in the world today is also responsible for confused thinking on external assistance. To give a nation monetary assistance in order to 'save it from Communism' is the worst form of aid. Not to put too fine a point to it, it is very little short of a bribe, however prettily one might dress it up. And it has the additional drawback that it prevents the giving country from looking closely into the economic condition of the recipient. It is certainly not the gift which blesses him that gives and him that takes. I am not one of those—and they are many—who believe that what we are frantically bidding for now, American aid, could have been secured months earlier by a timely word from the Indian Prime Minister to the American President. That the Prime Minister has said much in the intervening period to add to the psychological resistance of Americans to aid to India, does not mean necessarily that he withheld the request then knowing it would be granted.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari during his visit to the United States will have a difficult situation to meet. And it is reasonable to assume that he is prepared to answer questions relating less to politics than to hard economic facts concerning the position of private enterprise. The Finance Minister has not shown great patience in talking to industrialists and merchants in his own country. But the U.S.A. is the one country today where faith in private enterprise is the common feature of all thinking, in the unions as strongly as in commerce and industry; just as India appears to be the one country where even in business one finds a certain sneaking belief in the power and virtue of the government.

Indians latterly have not been markedly successful in putting their ideas across, because for one thing they seem to confuse fervour with argument and for another they tend too readily to assume that those who don't understand, won't understand from perversity and mischief. (Mr. Dulles, it must be said, goes a long way to help such suspicions even with individuals and nations that are less prone to them. But, alas, it is not possible to get round Mr. Dulles.) Mr. Krishnamachari will be doubtless asked about his fiscal innovations, the Wealth Tax and the Expenditure Tax. Not about their threatening to impoverish the rich,

which has been the centre of hopes and fears in India, but about their effect on the economy of the country. More important than the arguments about the value of the concessions to corporation finance are the facts of the situation. For a country which is bent on rapid industrialisation and where ostentatious spending is roundly denounced from the public platform, the symptom of falling prices in equities and rising prices in bullion suggests something seriously wrong. It certainly conveys the impression that to the Indian who has money to put by and the desire to put it by, investment is less attractive than hoarding. Since this cannot be ascribed to original sin, the reasons have to be sought in official policy.

* * *

The Official Language Commission has done a bit of tight-rope walking in rather a clumsy manner. Its report answers none of the questions it was supposed to answer. What it has done is to restate the case for Hindi which is quite superfluous. We have it on the authority of the Government and the Commission that Hindi requires 300,000 new terms to equip it for modern use—a task from which lesser men might well quail. So far we have averaged some 20,000 terms a year, and it is expected to step up the pace to 50,000 annually almost at once. The Commission obviously believes in doing things the hard way, because nowhere does it tell its readers that the average Indian can manage very well on 2 per cent of this colossal figure. But it is accommodating in that it concedes much to regional languages, even tolerating them as media of examination for the Union public service in the remote future. For the present it contemplates two languages—Hindi for the Hindi-speaking candidates and

English for the others. Press comments have drawn attention to the possibility of this situation resulting in a kind of bilingualism, which is exactly what the Commission seeks desperately to avoid.

If current controversies are any indication—and if they are not, I should like to know what is—the quarrel is not between Hindi and English but between Hindi and the regional languages. And, though it might appear paradoxical, the cause of Hindi can best be served by allowing English to continue without too many jolts and jars. Before we have a Union language, we must make sure that the Union is secure and sound. English has been and still is the biggest single uniting force in the country. For Hindi to take its place, much work will have to be done—not on public platforms. It is a superficial view which hopes that two weak bonds can do as good work as one strong one; for any hasty Hindi-izing move will necessarily result in weakening English before Hindi has the strength to bear the strains of a Union language. I am lost in admiration of those who think in terms of international contacts and windows on the world. But only confusion results when they enter into the discussion of our Union language.

* * *

'Senator Williams,' observes the *Economist*, 'is affronted and perturbed to discover that the Bureau of Internal Revenue is allowing corporations to write off as expenses for tax purposes bribes paid to foreign government officials since these are regarded as the ordinary and necessary costs of doing business abroad.' Foreign government officials who must feel equally 'affronted and perturbed,' would like to know how secret are the secrets of the Bureau of Internal Revenue.



SIR LAURENCE OLIVIER and VIVIEN LEIGH in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* at the Sarah Bernhardt Theatre, Paris (see page 49).



ELENA ZARESCHI and VITTORIA GASSMAN in the leading roles of Alfieri's *Orestes*, an outstanding production of the Theatre of the Nations' first season in Paris (see page 49). The play was directed by VITTORIA GASSMAN



JEAN VILAR, LUCIENNE LE MARCHAND and SIMONE BOUCHATEAU in Pirandello's *Henry IV* at the Festival d'Avignon, 1957. (See René Tavernier's account on page 49 of the theatre

variety

theatre

cinema

dance

The Theatre In France 1957

THE most important event of the 1957 theatrical season was, without a doubt, the founding of the Theatre of the Nations, whereby Paris became for several weeks the world capital of the art of the drama. The Theatre of the Nations owes its birth to the First International Theatre Festival, which was initiated in 1954 by A. M. Julien, director of the Sarah Bernhardt Theatre. This Festival, in which thirteen countries participated, was repeated the following year, this time with troupes from twenty countries, including the splendid National Theatre of Athens (with the tragedienne Katina Paxinou and her husband Alexis Minotis), the Peking Opera, which scored an amazing triumph, and the Berliner Ensemble. These two festivals revealed to the French public the varied talent and theatrical skill of Bertold Brecht.

In 1956, theatrical performances, in the strict sense of the term, were supplemented by operas, concerts and recitals. Thus, music and the dance took their places beside the art of the drama. 1957 witnessed the realization of the wish expressed two years earlier by twenty-three countries that

a theatre be created in which all the nations of the world might come and perform in their own languages. Thus, this year, sixteen troupes, acting in nine languages, gave a total of almost one hundred performances which were attended by about a hundred thousand spectators. Lectures and discussions by various stage directors, public readings in French of works not easily understood, and very complete programme-notes enabled the audiences, which included many students, to get more out of this international gathering.

We are obliged to say that the musical and dance events were very disappointing and that what most attracted the large audiences, whose eagerness and enthusiasm were quite astonishing in a city where the public is readily blasé, was the unforgettable series of performances from March to July in which Sir Laurence Olivier, Vittorio Gassman, Erwin Piscator, Jean-Louis Barrault, Helene Weigel and others presented such works as Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, Bert Brecht's *Galileo* and Eugene O'Neill's *A Long Day's Journey into Night*.

Nor must we fail to mention the Theatre of Tokio, which revealed the extra-

ordinary and, to us Westerners, highly mysterious beauty of the Japanese *No* plays, the Habimah Theatre of Tel Aviv, which played Robinson Jeffers' *Medea* and Anski's *Dibbuk*, and the performance by a Czech group of *The Intelligent Little Fox*, a graceful and lively musical comedy.

This year's conquering hero was, beyond question, Sir Laurence Olivier. He dominated the international scene with his lofty bearing, his handsome, noble face, and his far-ranging voice, now winning, now splendidly thundering. He showed himself a master of all tones, all registers. One recalls him as Henry the Fifth, making the rounds with his lantern of the silent English camp on the eve of the Battle of Agincourt; one sees him as the anguished but undaunted Hamlet, meditating on the battlements of Elsinore; one sees again, in the mind's eye, the amazing, misshapen figure of Richard the Third and hears the fiendish dialectic of that metallic voice. There is not a play of Shakespeare in which Sir Laurence fails to display his matchless skill. And his utter mastery was demonstrated in *Titus Andronicus*, all the more so in that to perform so extravagant a work before a foreign audience required extreme boldness.

Despite the great beauties of detail scattered here and there throughout this drama, or rather melodrama, this play remains one of its author's poorest works. (There is even doubt as to whether Shakespeare really wrote it.) It is crammed so full of crime, rape and murder that it borders on the improbable and, at times, seems almost a burlesque of the Elizabethan theatre. Yet, Peter Brook's direction and the performances of the actors of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre informed this mad tragedy with a kind of surrealist quality by emphasizing its wild grandeur. Vivien Leigh as Lavinia with her tongue torn out and her arms cut off, tottering about the stage, enveloped in pale,

blood-stained muslin, was one of the most touching images of this outstanding production.

Jean-Louis Barrault presented Paul Claudel's *Partage de Midi* (*Divide of Noon*). This play, which the author refused for so long to allow to be performed, probably because it reflected so intensely his own inner drama, is one of the most significant, if not the most accessible, works of the greatest of modern French playwrights. Brecht's *Galileo*, on the other hand, generally disappointed those who admire—at times too readily—this very protean writer who is probably more of a technician of the theatre than an inventor. Helene Weigel, Brecht's widow, presented a Galileo who has become a conformist out of a liking for peace, a sceptical scientist ready to sacrifice his faith: 'Unhappy is the country that needs heroes.' All in all, the play is verbose, static and too long.

Eugene O'Neill's *A Long Day's Journey into Night*, a four-hour marathon, covers a day in the life of the Tyrone family. The father, an embittered matinee idol, his two sons, one of them tubercular and the other tormented by his own emptiness, drive each other to drink while the mother, who is even more neurotic, and a drug addict to boot, keeps displaying to her family the spectacle of her disintegration and is forever recalling the time of her youth, when she was happy. Thus, the hours go by in a kind of jagged conversation in which the trivial merges with the monstrous. This mercilessly cruel play, which is said to be autobiographical, was splendidly acted by Frederic March, Florence Eldridge, Jason Robards and Bradford Dillmann.

Among the outstanding productions of the Theatre of the Nations' first season was Alfieri's *Orestes*, directed by Vittorio Gassman, who also played the leading role. Alfieri used the eternal story of the Atrides to write a modern romantic tragedy. The play, which was published in 1783, on the

eve of the French Revolution, shows a Klytemnestra torn between love of her accomplice and love of her children. Aegisthus has sacrificed everything to win power, and at the end it takes a revolt of the people of Argos to deliver Orestes, who is a prisoner. As for Orestes, he is a forerunner of Chateaubriand's René and presages the 'romantic agony.' Driven by vengeance, though misled by it, he kills his mother by error.

This original conception of the tragedy, which employs a style both grandiose and abstract, is realized by Gassman with exceptional skill. Aided by a very talented cast and bold stage-sets, he plays the role of obsessed avenger with striking soberness and power. The beauty of his voice and gestures and his imposing presence aroused the enthusiasm of an audience that might easily have been put off by this pre-romantic tragedy.

Apart from the Theatre of the Nations, to whose return next year we are looking forward, the outstanding events of the Paris season were performances of plays by Eugene Ionesco and Samuel Beckett who, particularly the former, are, along with Jean Genet, whose new play, *The Balcony*, will be directed by Peter Brook, the most original of contemporary French playwrights.

Mention should also be made of the summer drama festivals in the French provinces. This flowering of artistic activity makes our country the richest in theatrical performances during the vacation period. This unusual attempt at decentralization becomes more and more important every year.

Though the Festival of Avignon is already a classic event, it keeps attracting increasingly large crowds. This year's audience admired Jean Vilar and the company of the Théâtre National Populaire in Pirandello's *Henry the Fourth*, Beaumarchais' *Marriage of Figaro* and T. S. Eliot's

Murder in the Cathedral. A setting of extraordinary beauty—the Castle of the Popes, with its high, sombre, naked walls, the garden of Notre Dame du Dom overlooking the Rhone, and the Mediterranean countryside—enhances the talent of Vilar, one of the outstanding, if not the outstanding men of the theatre that we have.

The inner court and the handsome gardens of another medieval castle, that of Angers, played host to Albert Camus' *Caligula* and Lope de Vega's enchanting *Knight of Olmedo*. In Lyons at the Roman theatre that was discovered only fifteen years ago and that opens out on the Fourvière hillside, opposite a vast panorama that stretches from the Saône and the Rhone to the white peaks of the Alps, Jean-Louis Barrault and his company gave *Hamlet* (a terribly intellectual, almost hysterical Hamlet, quite different from Sir Laurence Olivier's) and Molière's delightful comedy, *Amphitryon*. The fantastic setting of the citadel of Carcassonne served as a theatre this year for the first time when Jean Deschamps and his players performed an adaptation of the *Song of Roland*, the most famous epic poem of our high middle ages.

The picturesque town of Sarlet, in Dordogne, also had its festival, which was under the direction of Maurice Jacquemont. Here, too, Molière (*Georges Dandin*) and Shakespeare (*Hamlet*) were in the limelight. At Bellac, the tireless Barrault dedicated his production to the memory and works of Jean Giraudoux, the region's illustrious son.

In addition to these dramatic festivals, which are too numerous to list here, mention should be made of the great art, musical and dance festivals such as those of Aix-en-Provence—which has become the French Salzburg—Besançon, Strasbourg, Aix-les-Bains (dance only) and Menton.

Obviously, summertime in France offers a wide choice of artistic events, which testify to a revival of provincial life and

also to a very live faith in the theatre, for the most varied tendencies have free play there. Ideological drama, poetic drama, realistic drama, symbolic drama, theatres without sets and with sets, the intimate theatre, and the open-air theatre (which restores the sense of grandeur to audience and actors alike) all have an opportunity to show what they can do. It is to be hoped that this activity will continue to spread in the coming years. RENE TAVERNIER

Instead of a Review

I don't know if you were serious about the Ambar Charkha Exhibition, but I have just been to see it. There is very little to it. A few charkhas on a platform in the middle like a boxing ring, being worked by dowdy types. The walls all around are covered with placards of statistics and things all askew. Impossible to decide whether the angles are deliberate or not. Large framed pronouncements of Pt. Nehru, etc., ungrammatical and misspelt. Also praise of the charkha framed in large letters. Sample: 'Due to the introduction of Ambar Charkha scheme in Bombay, Ambar Khadi will cost lower than the cost of Khadi from the traditional charkha due to improved method of spinning and reduction of weaving charges due to better yarn.' Dreary and arid, not worth the trouble of comment. S.T.

(Exhibition entitled *Ambar Charkha for Full Employment* organised by the Ambar section of the Bombay suburban District Village Industries Association.

Shishon-ki-Khilone

THE auditorium was plunged into a pitchy darkness for long minutes before the curtain went up. At last a small, dramatic flicker appeared in a corner of the stage, and focussed on the hero's ini-

tiating soliloquy. Between every scene the audience was thrown into the same stifling darkness, no doubt in order to create a mood of greater receptiveness to the drama. On the stage itself the gloomy circumstances of the heroine's life were reflected in sad and subdued lighting throughout the play. In one scene the lights on the stage actually went off altogether because the hero had not paid the electricity bill; and the action went on in darkness until a box of matches was found. Very seldom can the production of a full length play have been more economical in electricity charges.

The drama in Tennessee Williams' play takes place, as many readers will recall, not in any external action but in the mind of the crippled heroine. The whole weight of the drama is borne by just four characters; and even of the four, the young man who accomplishes the change in the girl's attitude appears in only one scene. There are no incidental characters, no servants or buffoons to divert the audience and relieve the actors. The whole action takes place in the family's one squalid all-purpose room. Except for a little tidying up when the new man friend is expected, the set does not change.

The first three-fourths of the action is simply a building up of the situation—an elaborate preparation for the last part, which is the emotional climax, the redemption, the message. Just as, in a cowboy film, the audience comes ready and determined to be thrilled, so here too, the audience was ready, willing and eager to be moved. But even if they succeeded in willing themselves to be carried along with the acting, the repeated false moves discouraged them for good. They gave up, and went home with their emotions intact.

The truth was of course that the play needed greater talent and experience than could be mustered for a Hindi presentation, Shaukat Azmi, who played the

mother, was good enough to carry the others along to a great extent. Siwani's performance as the son was loose but on the whole not incompetent. It was the two young people, Meera and Raj, who had the really difficult parts. They had fewer speaking lines than the other two. Their job was to communicate their personalities to the audience and then to convey the effect that one evening's contact with each other had had on both. It was a job which would have taxed the resources of much more mature actors.

The plot of *The Glass Menagerie* of Tennessee Williams is a story which could have happened in any country. Rifat Shamin has translated it into an excellent version of the national language, neither aggressively Sanskritized nor too lyrically Persianized. The play has also been adapted freely to suit an Indian background. And yet, for some reason which it is difficult to analyse accurately, the story sits uneasily on its Indian setting. Is it because it is strange to hear an Indian mother boasting about her for-

mer conquests to her children? Is it because no middle class Indian mother would wait for her daughter to be 27 years old before she started thinking of getting her married; and when she did set about arranging it, she would go about it through relatives and friends instead of begging her son to bring home a friend—any friend—for dinner?

Across the passage of so many years, it seems to me that the most successful translation-adaptation of a European play in Hindi was the production of Gogol's '*Inspector*' which was staged in Bombay about fifteen years ago. The Hindi version of Anouilh's *Antigone* presented some months ago was a brave experiment. There was no attempt to adapt the play. The Hindi language was used instead of French as the vehicle of expression. The result was a play about ancient Greece, performed in modern European dress, spoken in Hindi. It is difficult to imagine a greater flouting of the 'Unities'. Yet the result had an integrity which has not been achieved by *Shishon-ki Khilone*.

LAEEQ FUTEHALLY

WIDE AWAKE

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book reviews

THE RED FORT

by James Leasor

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN LITERATURE

(Sahitya Akademi anthology)

THE MARCH OF A CONSPIRACY

by Gopal Mittal

ESSAYS ON FREEDOM AND POWER

by Lord Acton

THE BULLETIN OF THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIETY

CURRENT INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

by D. N. Pritt and Danial Latifi

THE PEN IN EXILE

by Paul Tabori

THE RED FORT by James Leasor (Warner Laurie, 21 sh.)

MOST authors, in dealing with the events of 1857—variously described according to one's predilections—have supported one or the other of two main theses which have been advanced: (a) that it was a full fledged revolt or War of Independence; or (b) that it was a mutiny of discontented troops, which later received a varying amount of support from the general populace and the displaced rulers. The first thesis, however, must always be considered essentially unrealistic, since it must be remembered that no revolution can start as a well-knit whole. Unless it succeeds in capturing the seat of power, and consolidating and exercising its authority, even for a time, it must remain a sporadic uprising or a series of sporadic uprisings, whatever be the aims and the intentions of those concerned.

Mr. Leasor, fortunately, avoids all unnecessary controversy by confining himself to a description of the campaign for Delhi, giving us, as far as possible, a strictly factual and objective account of the events which took place in and around the city. In the preliminary chapters, he has tried to give a background of the conditions which obtained in the army at the time and the causes of the discontent that prevailed among the troops, although he does not imply that it was a sepoy mutiny alone.

The author has evidently spent a great deal of time on an exhaustive study of the various memoirs and despatches dealing with this campaign, and he displays a knowledge of detail which must have involved extensive cross checking of references. His descriptions read almost like the day to day despatches of an on-the-spot war correspondent, and his obvious familiarity with the characters of the various

officers and commanders involved is quite remarkable.

Though he has tried to be strictly objective in his reporting, I feel that the picture which emerges of General Wilson may be rather less than fair. The author feels it necessary to offer an apology for Wilson's conduct and hesitations which, to my mind, casts an unjustified reflection on the General's abilities. I feel that the valuable rôle he played in restraining his officers, and vetoing some of their more daring schemes which would almost certainly have led to disaster, has not been sufficiently appreciated. What he must be blamed for is the bad staff work, the innumerable delays, and the utter lack of co-ordination at the time of going into action, which cost so many valuable lives.

The British were badly led and staffed; it was a common experience for a unit to be stranded in an exposed position without relief and without orders. Artillery and ammunition were in short supply; sanitation was non-existent and disease was rife. How then could they succeed in assaulting successfully a fortress which was strong, was held by far superior numbers and which had unlimited supplies of ammunition? Though tenacity and individual gallantry were great, Mr. Leasor is at pains to point out that these qualities were present on both sides in this conflict. The answer can only be found in the still greater disorganisation and the complete absence of a unified command or anything resembling a central, co-ordinating staff organisation in the Fort. While this was appreciated by many of the old soldiers in the fort, they were not in a position to do anything about it.

Mr. Leasor has not attempted to give us a history of the Mutiny. He has given us instead a description of the siege and capture of the Red Fort by the British. The book is an account of the activities of the British Army written for their compatriots.

It has little to say about the Indians, apart from what may be necessary to fill in the picture. Even had he wished to do so, it would have been difficult for him to get any detailed information about them. None of them lived to write their memoirs.

ASHOKA NANAVATY

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN LITERATURE (Sahitya Akademi, Rs. 2/8)

PUBLISHED on behalf of the Sahitya Akademi by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, this book deserves a warm welcome. Printing and format are good, very good for the low price of Rs. 2/8/- which must be well below cost. Fifteen chapters on the major languages of India (including English) and a brief foreword by Dr. Radhakrishnan make up the three hundred pages of the book. The foreword emphasises the unity of outlook that is revealed in the literary record of so many different languages, but I find myself more interested in the diversity of content.

Nearly every writer follows the general pattern of dealing briefly with origins and surveying rapidly the growth of the literature in his language before, in keeping with the title of the book, dwelling on modern trends. It is clear that the fifteen writers have been left fairly free to shape their material in their own way and express their opinions with candour and freedom. This is as it should be, the Sahitya Akademi claims merely to provide a forum and the fifteen essays form a symposium.

I shall frankly admit that several of these chapters were completely new country for me. One such was the survey of Oriya literature (by Mayadhar Mansinha) which drew my sympathy and at the same time brought home to me my complete ignorance. It is a chapter that compels attention by its brief and lucid presentation of Oriya literature.

Sanskrit was another revelation. The writer of the chapter, V. Raghavan, stresses the continuity of creative activity in Sanskrit and, by the sheer weight of evidence, dispels many of our doubts of its capacity to be a vehicle of expression for contemporary life and thought. However, zeal appears to outrun discretion when the writer of Sanskrit makes this rather damaging admission: 'The Sanskritists are putting forth a heroic effort to keep their language alive.'

The chapter on Indian writing in English is of special interest for more than one reason. In forthright language K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar expresses his dissatisfaction with things as they are: "Chalo Delhi!" is the clarion-call of the new careerism that is the rage in India today; and self-deception has assumed vast national dimensions.' The universities stand accused, 'being largely controlled by small men who have no use for independent thinking or creative values.' But denunciation is not the writer's forte. His chapter is an able exposition of the range of Indian writing in English, within the narrow limits of a single chapter of eighteen pages. There are one or two omissions of younger writers who might have found a place, and there might have been some mention of the periodicals in English that have had some influence on thought and feeling. The writer's presentation of his material with its division into five periods is helpful and gives the reader a clear historical picture; at the same time individuality is not sacrificed, as it well could be in a general survey.

Though several surveys afford a wealth of material, their writers are not equally at home in the English language and some lack the gift of presentation or of discrimination. I consider S. H. Vatsyayan's survey of Hindi literature the best on several counts. I like his manner, the force of his convictions, his ability to guide and to stimulate, the clarity of his understanding,

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AT ALL BOOKSELLERS OR
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and lastly I admire the final paragraph that reveals his sincerity and integrity as a writer. M. V. Rajadhyaksha (on Marathi), V. K. Gokak (on Kannada) and to a lesser degree Mansukhlal Jhaveri (on Gujarati) deserve special mention. They write with authority and at times with distinction. I would single out the concluding section of V. K. Gokak's Kannada literature for the admirable manner in which it rounds off the survey, leaving the reader in possession of something tangible and satisfying.

Having expressed appreciation, I think I must call attention to certain shortcomings that are inevitable in a symposium of this kind where there is no general editor or editorial board to set norms. Some of the writing can only be described as 'woolly'. Certain styles are ornate, and clichés and superlatives abound. Uncritical admiration of second-rate writers is not infrequent. It becomes difficult to see the wood for the trees, whenever a survey tends to enume-

rate a host of writers. I think in any subsequent edition, and I hope the demand will call for it, a different policy might be adopted. The Sahitya Akademi should appoint an editorial board to provide guidance, to prune and to give balance and proportion to what must otherwise remain an uneven book. Room might be found in the new version for a few chapters on the interaction of different languages and literatures. For the western reader a glossary of terms and phrases would prove a useful addition. Minor errors in the Index could be corrected: for instance I could not find 'Vallathol' for a moment as the alphabetical order is a little out of joint at p. 298. On p. 200 there are puzzling references to the 'present ruler of Cochin' and to 'modern Jaipur, its ruling house.' It looks as if parts of an earlier essay have not been carefully revised.

R. CHOKSI

THE MARCH OF A CONSPIRACY by
Gopal Mittal (National Academy, Delhi.)

EVER since Max Eastman wrote his *Artist in Uniform* (1954), a number of western writers have attempted to portray, through the medium of biographical essays and fiction, the environment in which a writer in a communist society has to live and work. Their main emphasis has been on the lack of freedom in selecting one's theme and of developing one's own craft in a communist society. The luxury of choice of theme and craft could not be allowed to writers on the ground that they were an integral part of that agency which was to bring about vast social and economic changes.

To the best of my knowledge Mr. Gopal Mittal's *The March of a Conspiracy* is the first serious attempt by an Indian writer to throw some light on this subject. In his book, by inadvertence or design, Mr. Mittal has cast his net a little too wide. One of his

minor theses, however, seems to stand out as a definite contribution to literature concerning the state of writers in communist countries. This thesis concerns the attempt of those writers who in the beginning welcomed communism and subsequently tried their hand at the evaluation of the achievements of the regime in the field of literature, personal freedom, social well-being, etc. Such writers came into conflict with the party's hitherto undisputed claim to represent the conscience of the community.

In this connection it is interesting to note that such writers have not been spared by the regime whether during the period of 'thaw', 'freeze' or 'pre-freeze'. The primitive response of the regime to the boldness of the writers makes one phase indistinguishable from another. Nevertheless, the conflict between the writers and the party reaches its climax during the period of the 'thaw'. The period of the 'thaw' may be said to be a period which is characterized by an unusual boldness on the part of writers irrespective of the risk of punishment.

Mr. Mittal builds up his thesis with the help of his familiarity with the conditions of writers in China, the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. In China during the 'Yenan days', Wang Shih-Wei, the author of the celebrated work *The Wild Lily Flower*, came into conflict with the party for candidly expressing his views on the communist Yenan. Wang Shih-Wei had been an ardent party worker and had translated the works of Marx and Lenin into Chinese. He went to Yenan with the hope of finding a communist paradise but was disillusioned. He incurred the wrath of party leaders by giving expression to his disillusionment. And after that he was not heard of any more. In Czechoslovakia, Fantisak Hallas, who was the Director General of the State Publishing House was given a state funeral when he died. But when his writings evaluating the achieve-

ments of the regime came to be discovered he was posthumously condemned. Finally in the Soviet Union, Ehrenburg and Dudintsev expressed through the characters in *The Thaw* and *Not by Bread Alone* respectively, the darker side of Soviet life.

Extreme punishment to a writer of Ehrenburg's stature was out of the question. Consequently, the party restricted the much demanded second edition of *The Thaw* from two hundred and fifty thousand copies to forty-five thousand copies. So far as Dudintsev is concerned he made clever use of the personality cult as the background to his novel. This confounded the party bosses. The only fault they could accuse him of was that he had failed to conform to the canons of 'socialist realism'. Meanwhile the reviewers and University students praised this novel in spite of the party's condemnation of it. At this stage nobody can say what will happen to Dudintsev.

Mr. Mittal, I believe, is rather uncharitable to Ehrenburg and his belated frankness about the state of affairs in the Soviet Union. Since the punishment given to the author of *The Thaw* was much less than that which is normally given in such cases, Mr. Mittal hastens to conclude that *The Thaw* was a prearranged performance. I am in disagreement with this view. That the rigidity of the regime must now thaw down a little may be the product of Ehrenburg's wishful thinking. Nevertheless, one cannot help noticing the element of sincerity behind it. *The Thaw* is in fact a piece of self-confession for having neglected so much. The hero, Koroteyev's soliloquy may be cited in support of this view:

'We have taken a lot of trouble over the one half of the human being, but the other half is neglected. The result is that one half of the house is a slum. I remember that article of Gorky's I read long ago, while I was still at school; he said we need our own soviet humanism. The word has been

forgotten, the task is still to be done. In those days it was only a presentiment, now it is time we tackled it.'

(*The Thaw*, p.153)

Even after the condemnation of *The Thaw* Ehrenburg has done some writing which is not very much to the liking of the party. He defied the canons of 'socialist realism' by favourably reviewing Marine Tsvetaeva's romantic poems. He even defended Dudintsev's claim to expose the darker side of Soviet life.

The existing relationship between the writers and the party cannot be understood except against the background of a tragic dilemma in which communist regimes are caught. The dilemma is that of either letting the writers pursue their spontaneous activity and thereby help the state to combat the alarming decline in the cultural standards of the people or of making use of them in order to spread the 'spirit' of communism which is at present confined to a negligible section of the people.

The cultural vacuum created by Zhdanov is now facing its own nemesis. A considerable section of the Soviet youth is now trying to live up to the styles popularised by cheap western movies and magazines. Every town in Russia has now its own *stilyagi* known in the west as teddy-boys. There is nothing in the indigenous culture which attracts them. Together with this there is a growing criticism of the Russian as well as western writers, of the continually falling standards of Russian arts and letters. The rulers of the regime are not totally insensitive to criticism of this kind. And while they contemplate 'what should be done', the social and economic scene presents them with much greater problems than the cultural one. Recently, Mr. Edward Crankshaw pointed out in his admirable work, *Russia without Stalin* (1956), that contrary to widespread belief, it is not the 'form' of communism which has been established in Russia but that its 'spirit'

survives among the anonymous communists who are mostly on the lower rungs of the party ladder.

Mr. Mittal has produced an informative book but he has very nearly destroyed the structural harmony of his work by initially devoting himself to the writers. He has written about the activities of the P.W.A. with a tremendous sense of alarm which he wants to share with his readers. But the cursory and acrimonious treatment of the P.W.A. does not help him to carry conviction. I hope Mr. Mittal with his familiarity with the recent developments in Hindi and Urdu literature will tell us more about it in a dispassionate manner.

A. H. SOMJEE

ESSAYS ON FREEDOM AND POWER by
Lord Acton (Thames & Hudson, 12s. 6d.)

IT is nearly a century since many of the essays included in this volume first appeared in print. Though the theme may vary, Acton's concern for liberty and his uncompromising moral sense permeate each essay and impart unity to writings spread over a period of nearly forty years. Of the nine essays selected here, four—*The History of Freedom in Antiquity* (1877), *The History of Freedom in Christianity* (1877), *The Protestant Theory of Persecution* (1862), and *The Background of the French Revolution* (1895)—are studies in history proper. Four more—*Nationality* (1862), *Political Causes of the American Revolution* (1861), *Conflicts with Rome* (1864), and *The Vatican Council* (1870)—deal with events or developments to which Acton himself was a witness. The remaining essay, *Inaugural Lecture on the study of History* (1895), elucidates the principles of modern historiography. The book ends with one of Acton's letters to Creighton and the latter's reply to it.

Acton defines liberty as 'the assurance that every man shall be protected in doing

what he believes to be his duty against the influence of authority and majorities, custom and opinion.' The outward signs of liberty are 'representation, the extinction of slavery, the region of opinion, and the like; better still, . . . the security of the weaker groups and the liberty of conscience, which, effectually secured, secures the rest', with 'achieved liberty is the one ethical result that rests on converging and combined conditions of advancing civilization'.

Since liberty is incompatible with absolutism, the great and broad distinction between governments is, according to Acton, not that of the one, the few or the many, but of the constitutional and the absolute. Prior to Christianity, popular governments had existed in Western Europe, but there had been no limited government acknowledging any authority external to itself. It was the great contribution of Christianity to give to the civil power, under the protection of conscience, a sacredness it had never enjoyed and bonds it had never admitted. When Christ admonished men to 'render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's'—those words spoken on his last visit to the temple three days before his death—were the repudiation of absolutism and the inauguration of freedom.

Later, when Europe lay prostrate under barbarian rule, the clergy supplied the means of conducting the new governments and taught that power ought to be conferred by election. In the days of the Conquest, when the Normans destroyed the liberties of England, the only influence capable of resisting the feudal hierarchy was the ecclesiastical one. To that conflict between the Church and the State we owe the rise of civil liberty. For although liberty was not their end, it was the means by which the temporal and the spiritual power called the nations to their aid. Out of this conflict emerged, with the sanction of religion, the maxim *Vox populi*

Vox Dei, which was later to become strong enough to resist both Church and State.

Lest it should be thought that Acton welcomes the deification of the majority, he emphasizes the fact that 'government by the whole people, being the government of the most numerous and most powerful class, is an evil of the same nature as unmixed monarchy, and requires, for nearly the same reasons, institutions that shall protect it against itself, and shall uphold the permanent reign of law against arbitrary revolution of opinion.' For it is this maxim, *Vox populi Vox Dei* that according to Acton, was responsible for what appeared to him as the disintegration of the American Union due to the abolitionist policy of the North, and again as the sanction behind the French Revolution. Revolutions however are not conducive to the growth of freedom, since resistance to tyranny implies no 'faculty of constructing a legal government in its place.'

That Acton, the great apostle of liberty, should see in the abolitionist movement nothing more than cupidity 'adorned with the appearance of philanthropy' is, at first sight, incomprehensible to the secular democrat. Nor is it his concern for the union that sets him against the evangelical fervour of men like Lincoln. For Acton it is 'as impossible to sympathise on religious grounds with the categorical prohibition of slavery as, on political grounds, with the opinions of the abolitionists.' He argues that 'if men were free by virtue of their being formed after the image of God, the proportion in which they realised that image would be the measure of their freedom.' And that is why St. Paul advised the Christian slave to remain content with his condition.

This paradox of one of the greatest liberals of the nineteenth century supporting slavery can be understood if one remembers that Acton was a liberal *Catholic*, not a liberal rationalist. His conception of free-

dom was essentially religious (note the emphasis on duty in his definition of liberty quoted earlier) in which the individual *per se* did not have much significance. Secondly, his conception of the Church is also equally metaphysical. To Acton, the Universal Church has a platonic existence, and is distinct from the historical Church composed of the Roman Pontiff and his ecclesiastical entourage. This fact explains the paradox of Acton's scathing criticism of the intolerance, arrogance and unscrupulous opportunism of the Holy See in securing the approval of the doctrine of papal infallibility. For instance, describing the way in which the Vatican Council functioned, Acton writes: '.....bishops were threatened with imprisonment and in some cases were deliberately subjected to physical discomfort; ...the whole set of papal privileges....was tossed into the battle, and fifteen empty cardinal's hats dangled over many more vacillating heads.'As to the bishops, 'they approved what they were called on to reform, and solemnly blessed with their lips what their hearts knew to be accursed.' And yet, unlike his friend and onetime master Dolinger, Acton did not leave the Roman Church when the Vatican Council finally approved of the infallibility doctrine. He did not think he was being inconsistent. For, like General Charles de Gaulle in the case of France, Acton believed that the corruption of the historical, concrete manifestation was no blemish on the ideal reality.

Elsewhere, when religion is not directly involved, Acton's analysis is brilliant, often prophetic, as in the essay on *Nationality*. This remarkable study of a process which, when Acton wrote, had yet to reach its peak, is worthy of being prescribed as compulsory reading for all who swear by nationalism of any type. Equally prophetic is his condemnation of those who would tamper with the integrity of the moral code in the name of the compulsions of the en-

vironment. For 'if we debase the currency for the sake of genius, or success, or rank, or reputation, we may debase it for the sake of a man's influence, of his religion, of his party, of the good cause which prospers by his credit and suffers by his discredit. Then history ceases to be... the upholder of that moral standard which the powers of earth and religion itself tend constantly to depress. It serves where it ought to reign; and it serves the worst cause better than the purest.' His insistence on the inflexible integrity of the moral code made Acton suffer from a terrible feeling of loneliness and ineffectiveness. Democrats who are tempted to praise the spirit when they cannot defend the deed may well pause and think of Acton before yielding to the soothing sound of *Vox populi Vox Dei*.

A. B. SHAH

Shorter reviews

THE BULLETIN OF THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIETY, Vol. IV No. 1.

Frequently and advisedly our countrymen have been told not to mix politics with religion. The exhortations have been all to the good because the influence of India's religions on her politics has by-and-large been parochial and anti-intellectual. But this experience—the communal problem—is no reason for maintaining that religious and political persuasions can nowhere overlap. In fact, the ethical tenets integral to the great religions have a bearing on the means and ends of political endeavour. Thus, religions are bound in intellectual honesty to pronounce on their political environs.

In our own times, if not in our own land, Maritain, Niebuhr and others have established a tradition of scholarship on the interaction of politics and religion. *The Bulletin of the Christian Institute for the Study of Society*, Bangalore, is in that tradition even if it is not of the same standard

in erudition. One might also remark that, the *Bulletin* being one of the few vehicles for the social thought of India's Christians, it is disappointing that the main contribution to the present issue should come from a foreigner. But if it is accepted that, notable exceptions notwithstanding, our Christians have long had their heads in the sand politically, then praiseworthy are those—such as the sponsors of the *Bulletin*—who would teach their co-religionists to hold up their heads in a changing India.

PRATAP CHATTERJEE

CURRENT INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

by D. N. Pritt and Danial Latifi (Current Book House, Rs. 2/8)

This pamphlet strings together a few articles on the Middle East, Hungary and nuclear weapons. International issues are by their nature very complex. But the learned authors have been gifted with an ability to divide the world into the faithful and the heretics. It is not surprising that they miss the delicate shades and subtle nuances of intricate situations. Mr. Latifi, in the course of an article on the Middle East says 'As the poet Iqbal has said, "the worshippers of darkness are oppressed by the gleam of dawn"'. It is apparent who the worshippers of darkness are to Stalin prize-winner Pritt and Mr. Latifi.

Of particular interest are the two apologies for the ruthless Soviet intervention in Hungary. The illegal nature of the intervention and the breaches of the Treaty of Peace with Hungary of 1947, the USSR-Hungarian Treaty of 1948, The Geneva Convention of 1949, are glossed over by arguments that verge on sophistry. Mr. Pritt tries to give a 'legal' analysis with reference to 'fascists' and the 'white terror'. The Soviet intervention is justified on several specious grounds like articles 4 and 5 of the Warsaw Pact of 1955 (I wonder if Mr. Pritt has read the text lately), the request of the Hungarian Government, Article 53

of the United Nations Charter. The crowning argument is the doctrine of 'Salus Populi Suprema Lex'. I hope Mr. Khrushchev in his adherence to such legal principles does not extend the benevolent doctrine to other neighbours. Mr. Latifi's defence is equally feeble. Along with lip-sympathy he attributes all Hungary's miseries to Mr. Nagy's 'contempt for solemn treaty obligations.'

It is curious that Shri Rajagopalachari has contributed a foreword to this pamphlet. I am sure his views on nuclear weapons would receive publicity without his having to write the foreword to a book containing opinions which he disavows.

ASHOK DESAI

THE PEN IN EXILE by Paul Tabori (International P.E.N. Centre, 9s. 6d.)

The story of the musician who becomes deaf, or the artist who loses his sight has been not unfamiliar down the ages. To these a new tragic figure has been added in recent times—the writer who has lost his power to communicate because he can only speak in an alien language. He has been forced to leave his country, and since it was the language of his country which provided him with the tools of his trade as well as his audience or customers, he is bereft at once of his art, his vocation, and his livelihood.

It is difficult to realize fully the plight of the writer who finds suddenly that there

is no one left for whom to write. The younger men might set themselves to writing in a foreign language. But many of the elder ones must go through the frustration and agony of having to accept the fact that there is no prospect of exercising their gifts. In giving them the chance to appear before a new public, the P.E.N. performs a service to the writers as well as for a large circle of readers. The new anthology which it has recently published contains poems, essays, articles and stories by writers in exile translated into English from nearly every European language. One finds in it works by Hungarians, Poles, Austrians, Latvians, Estonians, Germans, an Albanian and even a Chinese.

Most of the writing is, understandably enough, extremely subjective; and much of it deals with the circumstances in those countries where so many of the finest intellects have had to flee—not from a foreign invader, but from their own Governments, in order to be able to stay alive. And the only way they may now do their duty to their own people is to see that the rest of the world does not forget their plight.

I cry with all my people's lungs and lips
A terrible, unbearable disease

Has struck our land—a blight of
gallow-trees,

A plague of deadly fear that sears and
grips.....'

(Maria Under)

L.F.

OUR REVIEWERS

R. Choksi. Formerly Professor of English Literature, Wilson College, Bombay.

A. H. Somjee. Reader in Political Science at M. S. University of Baroda.

Ashoka Nanavaty. Practises as a Pathologist in Bombay. Interested in Politics, Literature and Music.

A. B. Shah. Professor of Mathematics at Fergusson College, Poona.

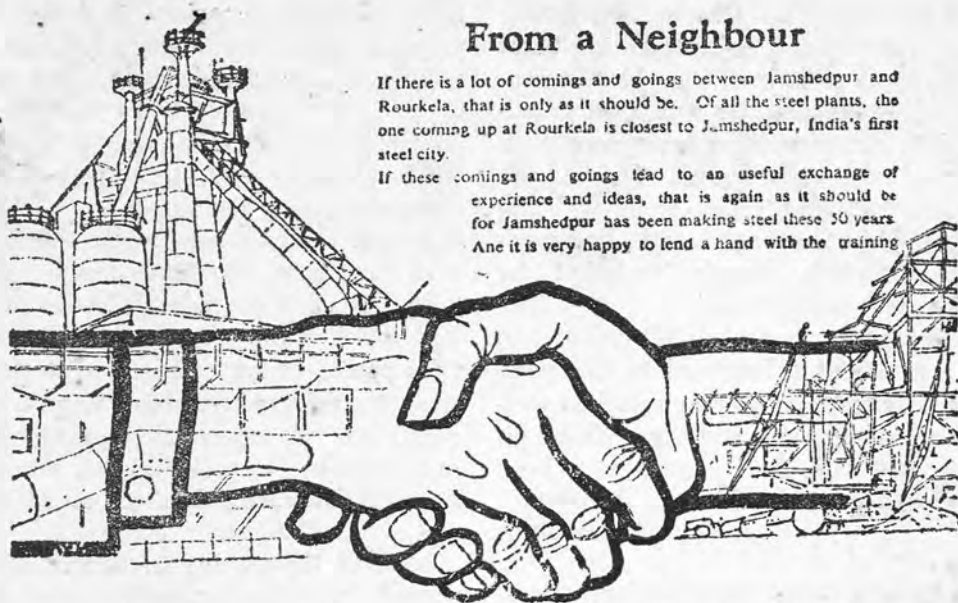
Pratap Chatterjee. Keen student of current politics. Secretary of the Science Discussion Group, Bombay.

Ashok Desai. Advocate of the Bombay High Court.

From a Neighbour

If there is a lot of comings and goings between Jamshedpur and Rourkela, that is only as it should be. Of all the steel plants, the one coming up at Rourkela is closest to Jamshedpur, India's first steel city.

If these comings and goings lead to an useful exchange of experience and ideas, that is again as it should be for Jamshedpur has been making steel these 50 years. And it is very happy to lend a hand with the training



Good Wishes to Rourkela

of engineers and technicians for Rourkela. There are nearly 150 of them at Jamshedpur—from key personnel to artisans.

Strengthening these ties of friendship are the surprisingly large number of old Jamshedpur faces that one sees at Rourkela. To them and their colleagues, Jamshedpur sends neighbourly greetings and good wishes.

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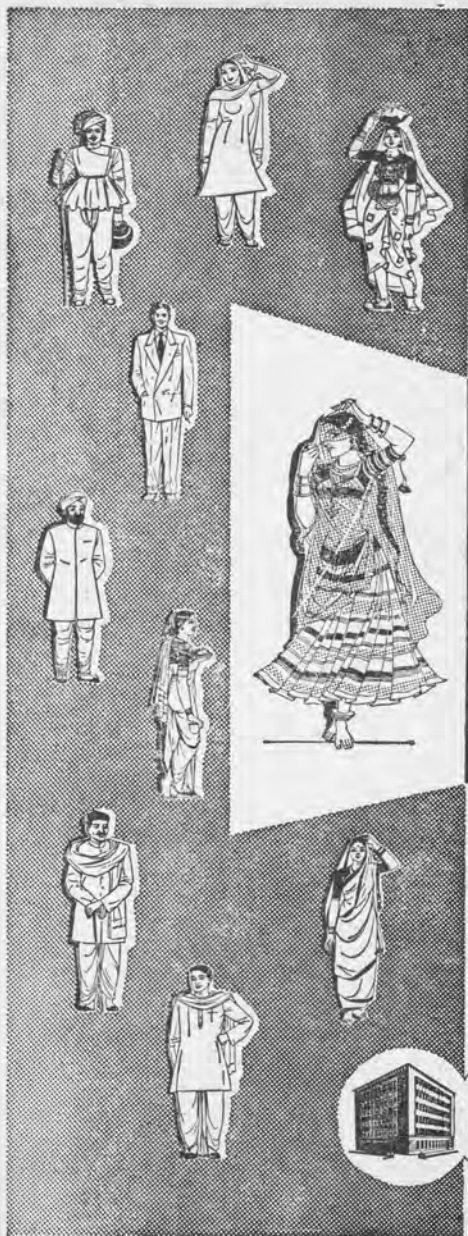
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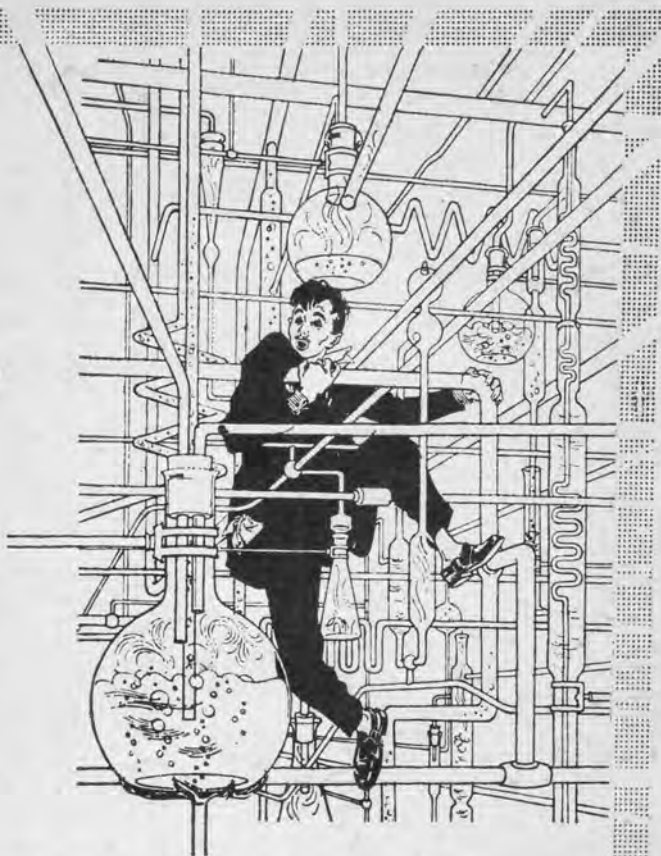
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Many motorists may have wondered, seeing the rather technical look of some petrol advertisements, just what it's all about. Perhaps, blinded by science they even wonder whether there is very much in it after all.



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The latest, and most important since tetraethyl, is I.C.A.—the ignition control

additive—which, incorporating tricresyl phosphate, was developed by Shell Research to overcome problems of power loss through engine deposits. These deposits interfere with normal firing of the mixture, particularly in high compression engines, and were a serious brake on engine design. I.C.A. has proved the complete answer. It is a triumph of fundamental research as far removed as can be from an advertising ‘stunt’. It is by products such as SHELL and B.O.C. petrol with I.C.A., available at Burmah-Shell sales points, that motoring becomes better, smoother and more economical.

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