

stitutional head of the executive and the real executive powers are vested in the Ministers or the Cabinet."

The same provisions obtain in regard to the Governments of the States; "the Governor or the Rajpramukh, as the case may be, occupies the position of the head of the executive in the State but it is virtually the Council of Ministers in each State that carries on the executive Government."

Thus we have attempted to show that the position of the Governor of a State is like that of the Crown in England—a mere dignified part of the Constitution, the efficient secret being in the Council of Ministers. Therefore, neither by reference to the letters nor to the spirit of the Constitution nor to the authoritative interpretation put by the Supreme Court, we get the principle that the Governor can dismiss his Council of Ministers. As this position is well established and there does not seem to be any other reasonable interpretation, we have not referred to the speeches of Sri K. M. Munshi, (*Constituent Assembly Debates* Vol. VII page 984) of Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyer (page 985-6), of Dr Ambedkar (*ibid* p. 32) of Dr Rajendra Prasad (*ibid* Vol. IX page 988) which support the position that

the President of India is a mere constitutional head. For the same reason, we have not cited the views of learned text-book writers and commentators on this point.

It may be pointed out here that the Governor is appointed by the President and holds his office during the pleasure of the President in accordance with Art. 155 and 156. Any action by the Governor which leads to any suspicion of partiality, unfairness or injustice is a reflection on the President also, who is the head of our Republic.

Therefore, there should have been the reference to the Supreme Court under Art. 143 so that any doubt felt in any quarter might have been removed by a direct pronouncement by the Supreme Court. The refusal to do this bare minimum strongly goes against the Central Government and exposes the political bias against non-Congress Government of West Bengal.

We must remember here that ours being the land of unity among diversities, any impression that the Central Government is not respecting the principles of federation, enshrined in our Constitution and upheld by the Supreme Court in *Atiulari Tea Co. vs. The State of Assam*, (1961) SCR 809 (860) and

Automobiles Transport Co. vs. The State of Rajasthan AIR 1962 S C 1406 (1416) will make the Central Government responsible for the weakening of the integrity of India which is the union of states, and will make it open to the uncharitable remark that the reference to the Supreme Court was avoided by the Central Government simply to avoid an adverse opinion from the highest court to suit its political purposes.

In this background, it is heartening to find that the Constitution has been vindicated, the authoritative pronouncements of the Supreme Court have been respected and the principles of federalism have been appreciated by the Governor of Bihar in his very first radio broadcast on December 7, 1967: "My function in according to my reading of the Constitution is strictly confined to aid, advise and warn the Council of Ministers (*Searchlight*, December 8, 1967). It is most respectfully submitted that this is the latest affirmation of the views expressed above and raises a hope and a belief that the unconstitutional dismissal of the Council of Ministers by the Governor of West Bengal will not be repeated in Bihar. It is earnestly expected that Governors of other States will accept the position as stated above by the Governor of Bihar.

Creative Writing at Cross-Roads

N. V. KRISHNA WARRIOR

THE individual in the society is the subject matter of literature. Its appeal is to the

The author who is the Assistant Editor of well-known Malayalam daily Mathurbhumi, read this paper at a symposium held under the auspices of the Bharatiya Inanpith in New Delhi this month.

individual, and its ultimate aim is the betterment of life.

The individual is unique and unpredictable. Yet the insight of the writer equipped with a deep awareness of the basic facts of psychology may penetrate into the mystery of the individual and portray him in all credibility. Since every individual is unique, the artistic truth about the in-

dividual is nothing but credibility.

The case of the society in which the individual has his being is different. Because of the large numbers of individuals who constitute the society, the progress of the society is predictable. Though complex, the forces that impel the society are understandable, and the goal towards which the society is moving is determina-

ble. Hence the artistic truth about the society is not mere credibility ; it is correspondence to objective facts.

Of course the life of the society, as that of the individual, has different levels, material, intellectual and spiritual. But the flux has a measurable velocity and determinable destination. A correct appreciation of this course is necessary if literature is to become truly significant. And this is the problem of the environment.

Social Realities

I feel that the writers of India in the two decades since independence have generally failed to correctly appreciate the social realities. Of course, there is universal awareness of progressive impoverishing of the masses and consequent erosion of values. But this awareness has not been diverted into fruitful channels of social action. The scramble for power of the corrupt politicians and the dominance of black money have left the creative writers aghast. Some of them have been won over by crumbs of recognition and remuneration. These are lost for ever.

There are others, and these are in the majority, who feel the hopelessness of the situation with acute poignancy. They do not compromise with it. But they feel too impotent to do anything about it. Instead, they speak of alienation, the oppressiveness of the big cities and the absurdity of it all. In some writers this attitude has taken the form of morbid pleasure in obscenity. Escapism with a vengeance !

The Indian society is, as far as I understand it, passive, sullen and bewildered. Instead of feeling alienated, the rural people—and these still form the overwhelming majority are astir with new alignments, and formations of new loyalties. Our problem, excepting in a comparatively small area, is not that of urbanisation, but that of suburbanisation. The whole country, at least in my state of Kerala, is becoming a vast continuous suburb, squalid, impoverished and lacking in amenities like water, food, hous-

ing, transport and what not. It is not the feeling of alienation that dominates the denizens of the suburbia, but the feelings of hatred, anger and impotent rage. The people are ready to riot at the least provocation. Surely these are not alienated, despondent, melancholy people.

And such people have no system of values. The Indian value system, the concept of the *Purusharthas*, is no longer valid. Who cares now for the first and the fourth *Purushartha*, namely, *Dharma* and *Moksha* ? Very little ethical basis is left for the second and the third, namely, *artha* and *Kama*. There is self-interest, of course, but it is mostly unenlightened. And the sex is devoid of spontaneity and asense of health; it is mostly repressed and perverted. We seem to have replaced Vatsyayana by Marquis De Saad !

Pseudo-Spirituality

Nor have we been able to adopt the western value system of success, honour, wealth, power and security. These are possible only in the circumstances of material abundance. Wealth without security, power without honour, is the rule in a scarcity economy such as ours. And these leave a void in the psyche which can be filled by pseudo-spirituality. No wonder that the vogue of fake fakirs and pseudo-saints is on the increase.

True, the intellectual is cut off from the masses and has lost his roots. When he writes, he seems to address himself to people like him, by and large to the lower middle classes. The upper middle classes have no time to spare for Indian writers ; their heads are lost in the dizzy clouds of European-American literature. The so-called explosion of knowledge has left the Indian writers alone. At the most they have been hit by some stray fragments scattering from this explosion, and that too in the wrong place. This distorts their vision and upsets their balance.

During the period of the struggle for independence, nationalism supplied the motive force for creative writing. It was

the frame of reference against which to measure the qualities of creative writing.

In the early years of the Nehru era the hopes of Asian unity and the emergence of an egalitarian society and a secular nation filled the void left by departing nationalism.

These too have vanished, and the void is yet to be filled. Will the re-emergence of nationalism, which in the present circumstances will not be any better than blind chauvinism, fill this void ? Or, will it be a case of local loyalties submerging the idea of the one Indian nation ? Is literature to be made use of as a weapon in the class war and civil strife that seem to be in store for us for long years to come ? Or, is it still capable of supplying fresh inspiration for purposeful action to liquidate social evils and universal despondency that seem to have engulfed us irrevocably ? Will the Indian creative writing realise its mission and rise to the occasion ?

I wish this question to be posed in all its simplicity and directness. The fate of Indian writing as well as the fate of the Indian people largely depend upon how we answer that question.

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