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THE GOD WITHIN YOU

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां
हृदयेऽर्जुन तिष्ठति ।

says the Gita Acharya to Arjuna. "Appeal with every hope to the Deity who resides in everyone's heart," he continues, "put your trust in Me: I shall help you to overcome every obstacle." Here is the doctrine of the Gita in regard to conscience and in regard to mutual understanding and persuasion. Appeal to the Deity who resides in everyone's heart and who by his *maaya* controls all the movements of men as marionettes on the machine are controlled.

The God in everyone's heart, some call by the name Conscience. The voice of what they call Conscience is really the voice of God within. Conscience intervenes whenever one proposes to take a wrong step. It is not merely a passing doubt that arises in one's own mind. It is the voice of God who intervenes to save and to which one should listen in preference to the counsels of desire, hatred or anger. Call Him by any name, God is necessary for life and is within you like the blood in your veins. Call Him by the name of Conscience if you like, but He is there speaking from your heart in spite of yourself.

"God who sleeps on the great ocean, God who resides and receives the worship of devotees on the hill of Venkatadri. He is within you. Know this for certain, dear heart," says the Alwar in a Tamil song. He tells us that the

God of every form of worship is in our own hearts ever helping us.

Conscience is not a phenomenon of schizophrenia or split personality but is God whispering to save us. Let us listen to Him as Socrates did in Athens and as Gandhi did in our own country, in our own age.

Listen to the Deity in your heart who speaks to you when you need Him. Appeal to the God in your brother's heart when you wish to change his ways. Let us do both these if we wish to save our country from the fast deterioration of character that has set in. Let us do these, too, if we desire peace on earth.

The Pope has specially appealed to the rulers who have undertaken to guide the material affairs of nations. The Queen of Britain too has spoken great words on Christmas Day. These two beautiful messages are full of wisdom and love, and it is a privilege to repeat them here:

"Our thoughts finally turn to those who hold in their hands the temporal destiny of peoples and on whom depend in such large measure the maintenance and progress of peace on earth. We mentioned in our Christmas message (three days ago) how great is their responsibility before God. It is also great before men, because the judgment of history will be severe for those who will not have done everything possible to remove

the scourge of war from mankind. It is for this reason that we pray that the gentle splendour of the Christmas night may illumine them too—they, above all—and that the star of Bethlehem may guide them on the paths of peace."—Pope John's message.

Queen Elizabeth of Great Britain gave the following noble message on Christmas Day:

*It came upon a midnight clear,
Oh hush the noise, ye men of strife,
And hear the angels sing.*

"The words of this old carol mean even more today than when they were first written. We can only dispel the clouds of anxiety by the patient and determined efforts of us all. It cannot be done by condemning the past or contracting out of the present. Every year, at this time, the whole Christian world celebrates the birth of the Founder of our Faith. It is traditionally the time for family reunions, present-giving and children's parties. A welcome escape, in fact, from the harsh realities of this troubled world, and it is just in times like these, times of tensions and anxieties, that the simple story and message of Christmas is most relevant. The story is of a poor man and his wife, who took refuge at night in a stable, where a child was born and laid in the manger. Nothing very spectacular, and yet the event was greeted with triumphant song—"Glory to God in the highest, and

on earth peace, goodwill towards men". For that child was to show that there is nothing in heaven and earth that cannot be achieved by faith and by love and service to one's neighbour. Christmas may be a Christian festival, but its message goes out to all men, and it is echoed by all men of understanding and goodwill everywhere.

"During this last year I have been able to visit many countries, some were members of the Commonwealth and some were not. In all of them I was shown a genuine kindness and affection which touched me deeply and showed, I think, that the British people are looked upon as friends in many parts of the world. In Asia and in Africa we were made aware of the great volume of goodwill and friendship that exists between all the varied peoples who profess different faiths and who make up our Commonwealth family. To them their Christian brethren send a message of hope and encouragement this Christmas.

"It goes also to the quiet people who fight prejudice by example, who stick to standards and ideals in face of persecution, who make real sacrifices in order to help and serve their neighbours.

"It is natural that the younger generation should lose patience with their elders, for their seeming failure to bring some order and security to the world. But things will not get any better if young people express themselves by indifference or by revulsion against what they regard as an out of date order of things. The world desperately needs their vigour, their determination and their service to their fellow men. The opportunities are there and the reward is the satisfaction of truly unselfish work. To both young and old, I send my very best wishes and, as the carol says, may we all hear the angels sing in the coming year."

I have heard some good people say "we must one day take Pakistan and make India whole again". These people are not imperialists but deluded men. The

only way to take Pakistan is to build up an empire of goodwill and friendship. Pakistan may govern herself and India may govern herself. But friendship can make a bigger India of both. Look at Britain. She really retains India although she has withdrawn from government. When Queen Elizabeth went round India, did we not see that she moved among us as if she were our own Queen as much as of Britain? Was it not visibly demonstrated that India was still with Britain and Britain was still with us? There are more British men employed in India today and more British business

carried on here than ever before 1947. Therefore, the real annexation of Pakistan consists in the annexation of hearts by the method of friendship. Hatred breeds hatred, love begets love as Buddha has taught. Our Prime Minister has quoted this in the New Year card sent to his friends this year. Let us trust and appeal to the God in every one's heart and Sri Krishna will help us to overcome all impediments. But if we do not do so, as He taught Arjuna to do, we shall ruin ourselves.

अथ चेत्यमहङ्गरात्र
श्रोत्र्यसि विनङ्क्ष्यसि ॥

STUDENT INDISCIPLINE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

In his recent homily-cum-haranguing the Prime Minister told a vast concourse of youth that students must be "ready for leadership". It is exactly this kind of appeal that diverts the attention of students from their legitimate duties in campus. When their elders are busy with politics, students are apt to join any demonstration to prove their alertness and capacity for action. Mr. Nehru said that "India required young men of agility to keep pace with the fast-changing world". Young folk thus addressed at a susceptible age feel bucked up and leaders of youth-festivals and student unions promptly gird up their loins, and a species of early student-leadership is developed.

During the Non-Cooperation Movement, students asked one another what they should do when their parents were being arrested and detained. The analogy occurred to them that just as British students had left off their studies during the First World War to join the colours, it was incumbent upon them to sacrifice their studies and join the movement. And in Mahatma's fourfold programme there was a clause proposing the boycott of government schools and law courts. Anyway the instinct of youth to figure as the soldiers of freedom took root;

and even today those student-heroes, now grown to their role as elders in the Congress, they recall old times when they had defied professors and teachers who correspondingly suffered. Mahatma, however, presumed the consent of parents.

In one instance, a young truant approached him with the confession that he had to rebel against the wishes of his father and join the movement. Mahatma ordered him to leave the ashram. Since the young man was penniless for railfare he was asked to walk back all the way. C. F. Andrews, a poem of pity, secretly gave him money out of his meagre store to buy a ticket home. No doubt the young man was inspired with the idea of student-leadership, of the hour of decision. When students fight for leadership amongst themselves it is a case of "no holds barred". In one of the universities, the youth leader is given concessions in examination marks since he is supposed to be an organizer of the "Student Community". A separate consciousness of leadership in class-rooms is demoralizing to discipline and foments faction-fights outside, to the distraction of authorities.

The Aligarh disorder started with elections to the Student Union without proportional re-

presentation but the business of being early in politics for succession in leadership distracts their minds from legitimate duties.

In Patna where the 67th session of the Congress is to be held, hostels have been evacuated and the Reception Committee is training volunteers including a large number of girl-students, against the wishes of many parents who for one reason or other do not want their daughters to figure very prominently in the mela; but then the answer is that they are being marshalled in their personal capacity.

Recently when the Defence Minister was questioned about the propriety of the Prime Minister and his aides being given special air-transport on stumping tours, Mr. Krishna Menon replied: "The Prime Minister does not cease to be Prime Minister when he goes on non-official duties". What are called non-official duties, it is hardly necessary to define. It is a hollow commundrum like the excuse of the Patna Reception Committee. In the election-campaign when 'volunteers' are required these students, under demagogic exhortation, are bound to sally forth as volunteers. To smother dying embers with dry straw and then run about crying "Fire, Fire" and shouting for buckets of water, seems quixotic.

VOTE FOR THE CONSTITUTION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Congress Party, which is throwing overboard the principle of competition in production, management and distribution, seeks to hang all these by the slender thread of public spirit and faith in the leaders of the State and its constitutional powers of compulsion. The party has thus exchanged the one time-tested and reliable motive-force that looks after quality and vigilantly controls economics and the volume of production, for an untested (and, wherever tested, found inadequate) motive that suits patterns in cloudland but not any scheme of real work in a real world.

Having given up the principle of competition in the field of production and service on the bidding of socialism, the Congress under the leadership of Mr. Nehru (make no mistake of thinking he does not know it) acts on the single strategy of setting up a competition for favours from the ruling party.

Favour a few chosen men, and there will be competition among them all for the same and thus you will get a nation-wide rush for the smiles of the ruling party, and permits and quotas and sanctions for issue of fresh capital and so on. You may not be able to please them all (for that is arithmetic) but every one will hope and stand in a queue; and this is all that is wanted to perpetuate your own rule. Every chief minister (and in this, chief ministers are the real operators for the party) knows the value of this strategy; and Mr. Nehru finds it works, and so he, the great Mr. Nehru, has become the 'yes-man' of this gang of lower level operators. At a certain stage, ambition is reduced, alas, to unconscious and degrading submission to the weapons it employs, and confuses operational success with triumph.

The few favoured have their own parasites and the whole gang thus collected calls itself a political party, and the tricolour flag

with the *dharma chakra* on it is waved on their behalf for *adharma* and profiteering! Those who stand for freedom and fair competition are the enemies of this crowd of permit and quota holders and favour-seekers. No wonder when among these any impulse of long-sight or patriotism shows itself and seeks to help the Swatantra Party, the rest combine to suppress these unwanted symptoms of courage and wisdom.

Short-sight and immediate favours are forces of relatively high potential and can defeat the efforts of wisdom and self-protection, because these have not the heat and urgency of the former. They walk to suicide because some honey is provided on the way. They go licking the honey thinking it will last for ever.

The Swatantra Party is pledged to the guarantee of freedom of occupation and to the protection of property in what is lawfully acquired and held—protection of profession and property in general, and not protection of profession and property for a favoured few which is the instrument of Congress power. The Swatantra Party is pledged to what were solemnly guaranteed in the Constitution and will work for the restoration of those guarantees where, by amendment, these have been taken away.

It is a melancholy paradox that the ruling party uses the most sinister form of competition without a pang of conscience, while it gives up the principle of competition where it is truly beneficial to the nation. It stands unabashed for competition in favours, while it thoughtlessly throws away the most precious and the most essential instrument of good and increasing production, viz., honest competition and the judgment of the market. The nation should reject a party that stands for a scheme of favours and vote for the Constitution.

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THE SWARAJYA, MADRAS-10

CURRENT EVENTS :

As fast as red carpets could be unrolled in welcome, Indian forces fanned out for the occupation of Goa after the signal "Go" to the 17th Division of our army. "Operation Vijaya" did not extend much beyond 24 hours on D-Day. In subsequent political rallies, Defence Minister Menon who had hurried to New York to speak for India against the criticisms of Mr. Adlai Stevenson, and returned after an interview, affirmed that despite the judgment of America, there would be no occasion for the General Assembly to give a verdict on the event if only for the reason that the majority of the Afro-Asian bloc could be trusted to exonerate India from any charge of infringing the UN Charter. The Charter of San Francisco is so elastic of definition that all countries quote its provision as justifying their individual conduct under indictment.

Mr. Stevenson accused India of "invasion", but Mr. Menon trenchantly replied that there was no aggression against Portuguese sovereignty because India had been "aggressed" 450 years ago, sovereignty inherently vesting in India that is Bharat, a clarification evoked by Pakistan's official press-discovery that, as a successor-State to British authority in India, Pakistan has a right of sharing in the undivided inheritance left by Great Britain in the shape of foreign enclaves. The Portuguese regime has succumbed without any show of resistance or retaliation, total casualties not exceed-

ing the number involved in a commonplace air crash or of one-tenth of the fatalities on Christmas Day in the United States. There was a blast of atrocity-stories prefacing the march to Goa, which was on the pattern of a *morcha* in Akali demonstrations. We have succeeded at minimum cost; but as we contemplate the history of Portuguese presence in India a couple of centuries before the advent of Mr. Adlai Stevenson's ancestors in the New World as colonists, there is a touch of romantic justice in the processes of dormant sovereignty being stirred into active authority in the west coast. The frigate *Afonso de Albuquerque* has been shelled and sunk, but the pioneer of the seas named Afonso de Albuquerque had in his time been nearly lost in the storms of the Arabian Sea until the pilots of the Zamorin of Calicut tugged his vessel to the coast to give the Western explorer his first foothold in India. And today in the strategem of Mr. Krishna Menon, Keralites figure in the retrieval of the loss. Mr. Krishna Menon is a dour Malayali. The Military Governor, Kenneth Candeish, is of Kerala descent and Lt. Colonel Cherian at the head of the flag-hoisting brigade in Panjim also belongs to the Malabar coast. Although the incident has been a jar to the conscience of Mr. Adlai Stevenson, there have been a bloc of countries pouring congratulations on India as against the censure of Western countries allied to Portugal. The circumstance of the Soviet President being on the spot to join the applause has highlighted perspective. As for other countries functioning in different focus across the widening spectrum, reactions have varied according to the degree of national colour. There is no need to dwell on the protest that the inevitable had been forced into a pre-election sensation if only for the reason that Portuguese capitulation had always been the intent, regardless of timing. External control is not going

to be a variant of martial law, and it is a relief to be told that troops are being pulled out for strengthening frontiers where potential perils are vastly more real; or in the words of the Prime Minister, the danger to India's integrity is far greater than a hundred Goas put together.

After a hectic week of ticket-issue for Congress candidates by the High Command in New Delhi, the stage is set for the Patna session where the formal manifesto would be endorsed and the list of nominees finalized. The choice of the Prime Minister prevailed in every contest despite professions of detachment as one who is a non-member of the Working Committee, admitted only by special invitation. Both for the Centre and the States there has been no complaint about the dearth of funds. Once the Maharattas won domination in their time, there was no question of chauth being collected as a matter of course; and when the ruling party through its official front in Parliament legalized demand as well as acceptance of funds from private sector concerns (not public sector), rivalry in paying financial tribute to the Congress war-chest was bound to follow, especially in a system of licences and quotas for economic aggrandisement. The practice has become commonplace, big sums being allotted by boards of directors as an insurance-precaution against vindictive sabotage. Absolute power absolutely corrupts.

Absolute power can also absolutely terrify. Here is a quotation from *Link* without comment:

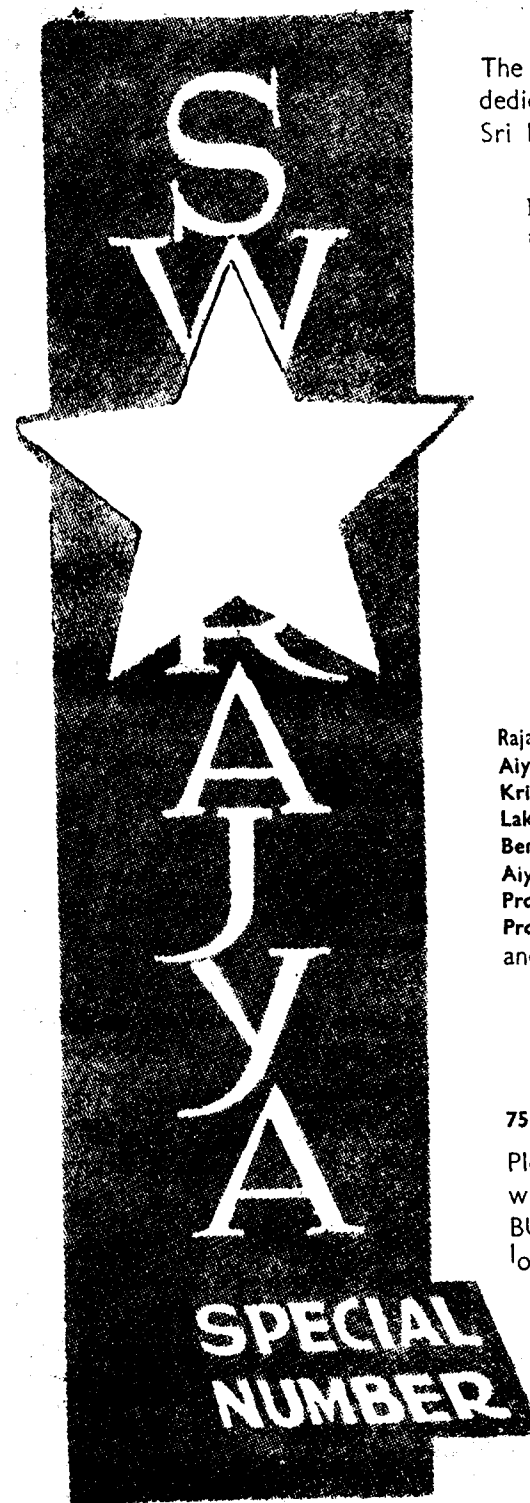
The Congress High Command has been informed that some of the Rajasthan princes are prepared to get their wives and brothers to dissociate themselves from the Swatantra Party, if they are assured that their privy-purses will not be reduced. If such an undertaking is given, some Swatantra candidates may withdraw from the elections.

P.J.

January 6, 1962

SWARAJYA

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The first Special Number of Swarajya dedicated to the hallowed memory of Sri Khasa Subba Rau, its founder editor.

The Swarajya Special Number has been planned to give the reader a broad and critical survey of the progress of our country in various spheres of our national life—social, economical, political, and administrative. The subjects that will be covered in the Special Number will be varied and comprehensive. There will be several articles in the Special Number, written by acknowledged men of eminence in their respective spheres, economists, professors, industrialists, administrators and statesmen. All this will provide a sumptuous fare for the reader. In a word, the Swarajya Special Number will be a worthy guidance and a valuable reference volume.

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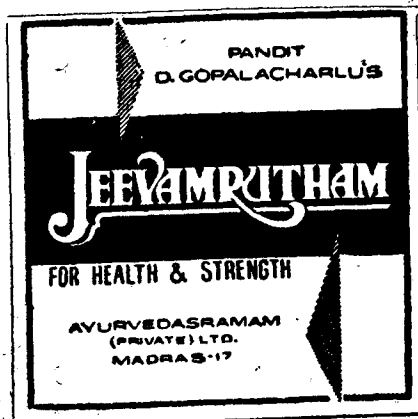
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1962



QUEER ELECTION PROPAGANDA

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Many voices are speaking for the Congress as if the party was all things to all men. Union Minister Malaviya declared at Indore that unless the Congress followed a pattern of 'aggressive socialism' there was no future for the country. "A compromise or marriage between capitalism and socialism will not be conducive and will never bring us nearer to our goal." This is the authentic voice of communism which has no use for the mixed economy which the Congress claims as its pattern of socialism. Unless the stand taken by the Minister is denied by the Congress High Command, the suspicions of the people will be confirmed that the Congress is deceiving the people about its intention to adopt communism.

Another authentic communist voice is that of Mr. Krishna Menon, who repeated the statement he made in the US that "we have never abjured violence against any country when it is in our interest". At Lucknow he added, "Why should we spend half the revenues of the State on the armed forces if not to use them?" Even Khrushchov has not gone so far, because he claims his armed forces are only for defence and retaliation. Mr. Menon's statement not only contradicts the whole philosophy of Mahatmaji and of the Congress but is a challenge to the UN which has banned force as a means of arbi-

trament of rights. If Mr. Menon is not repudiated, he may next advocate the use of our armed forces even against the Indian Government—which he may come to dislike!

At Ahmedabad, Mr. Morarji Desai struck a different note. He said that the Chinese aggression was there because India believed that *Panch sheel* protected her frontiers, that the Congress alone can face the Chinese aggression now, that communists who were beginning to wear the masks of other parties were traitors whom the Congress has now discarded in Kerala and Orissa.

The AICC booklet for elections, on the other hand, tries to make the people believe what they cannot accept. Its sixty questions and answers disclose its own guilty conscience. From the brief summary available to the press, the fatuous nature of the answers should be apparent even to the meanest intelligence. The middle classes, for instance, who are admitted to be suffering "severe economic and social strain" are told that every member of their families should find employment. Just how they can do so, even if they were so disposed, when the Second Plan has aggravated unemployment and the Third Plan envisages further aggravation will not deceive the middle classes.

The ordinary man is told that "it is for him that we have our schemes of development in every field of life". The ordinary man who pays ever-increasing taxes and prices for steel factories, atomic plants, Defence installations, which are producing at more than twice the world prices, will not consider that he has been served by Planned Development.

Other questions arise; first, if congressmen are free from communal and group outlook. The existence of groups in the Congress legislatures and the organization furnishes the answer, which is confirm-

ed by the disputed selections recently made for the elections. Another question is whether socialism will end in the forfeiture of individual liberty. It does not appear necessary to consider the future because controls, including licences, have already destroyed independence both in life and work. Further development of the socialist pattern will leave as much independence to the individual as he has now in Russia and China, with no property except what he can carry on himself. A third question is why the public sector enterprises have proved to be inefficient and wasteful. Theories cannot overcome facts, such as the Estimates and other Government Committees themselves have disclosed; nearly all State enterprises being abandoned or slowed down in U.P. for want of supply and demand. If the public sector could prove its worth, the competition of the private sector with it would not have been barred.

And, lastly, the question arises if the Congress is afflicted by lust for power. It is admitted that this may be true of a limited number of congressmen but that the period of power of the party for 14 years is not exceptional, since in the US parties have been in power for even longer periods. It is forgotten, first, that Mrs. Indira Gandhi was pulled up in Africa for maintaining that democracy could be one-party rule; secondly that American parties in power faced a real Opposition party while the Congress has only satellite parties with which to compete; thirdly, that, even now, the Congress is employing every conceivable means to prevent the coming up of strong Opposition parties in the next legislatures. How many congressmen are afflicted by lust for power is clear from the fact that the ten-year rule devised by the Congress itself has been totally ignored in the selection of candidates for the elections.

Why does not the Congress try to win the elections with its money and power, without making the worse appear the better party?

THE FEATHER IN PRIME MINISTER'S CAP

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Journalists in Delhi—editors, special correspondents and columnists—rushed to the latest Press Conference held by the Prime Minister, betwixt the Christmas and the New Year day, eager to have his comments on the world's reaction on events relating to action in Goa. One missed neither the rose-bud in the buttonhole of his *sherwani* nor the deep furrows in his face. He was in fine fettle—though not in high spirits. He preferred to be rather in a fighting mood, out of the consciousness that he had to fight his way back to the heights from which he was supposed to have fallen. The very idea that he had to appear, as it were, at the bar of history and to rehabilitate himself morally on the international plane, seemed to hurt him deeply. Yet he looked brave and was forthright in utterance, having come prepared to tell the world what he thought of it all.

He could not understand the fuss made over Goa in the West, while in Africa the act was hailed and in India there was country-wide excitement. He would not stand any sermonizing by those who had little right to preach. Of course in our own country Rajaji was critical even on an issue which had an all-party backing! But then, he knew, Rajaji stood on a lone summit—on "a certain mountain peak by himself". And it was thus that the Prime Minister, with all his weight, descended on Rajaji's devoted head:

Nobody understands him nor does he understand anybody. We need not consider him in this connection.

It is 'astounding' (to use one of his own favourite words) that Mr. Nehru should rather have forgotten his own earlier plight. Was he understood? Is he now easily understood? One may recall that some years ago the *New York Times* confessed that "understanding Prime Minister Nehru of India, involves a complicated

exercise in Yoga, beyond the comprehension of most Westerners". Now, however, it is the United Kingdom that does not understand him while the United States does or tries to do.

Half the trouble with Mr. Nehru is that his political realism sometimes vitiates the very atmosphere that his abstract thinking creates. Let us for the minute leave aside the difficult and highly complicated international problems, and take up the simpler political issues nearer home. Months before the elections, it was Mr. Nehru who raised the issue of standards in regard to the selection of Congress candidates to the State legislatures and the Lok Sabha—and also of the need for the purge of doubtful elements in the ranks. Now everyone in the country

ABOLISH LAND REVENUE

—Swatantra Manifesto

knows that it was just tall talk and that nobody at the higher levels in the Congress cared two hoots about the merits of a candidate so long as he promised to win his seat or support the leader of this group or that.

Asked at the Press Conference, whether he made sure that those who were given the party-ticket subscribed to the economic policy of the Congress, Mr. Nehru confessed that he did not simply know who all of them were and could not possibly tell how they got in! It is now common knowledge that Mr. Nehru left this all, not to the Congress President—Mr. Sanjiva Reddy is now tired of his dummy role—nor to the High Command (which exists only in name) but to a 'shadow cabinet' of two—his daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and his 'Hanuman', Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri. Mr. Nehru has perfected the art of managing or manipu-

Our contributors are respectfully requested not to exceed 900 words, in view of the size of SWARAJYA.

lating things through his carefully chosen instruments; the party-machine is so controlled by 'the art of delegation' as to make the Congress President a titular head and a mere cipher.

Resenting the question if there was any connection between the fighting of elections and the liberation of Goa, Mr. Nehru said that he would rather lose a hundred elections than do anything which will tarnish the good name of India—but this alliteration is no more than a rhetorical flourish! He will rather win an election with the most doubtful men available than lose it by insisting on the human quality. And it is just the preparedness to compromise with the proclaimed ideals for political advantage that sometimes shakes men's faith in his moral impregnability.

It is an irony that the credit for any event that should really go to him as the Prime Minister and policy-maker is given to others. According to one astute political commentator, the liberation of Hyderabad from the Razakars was Sardar Patel's victory, that of Kashmir from Sheikh Abdullah's clutches was Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai's, and that of Goa from the Portuguese—well, Mr. Krishna Menon's. But Mr. Nehru has taken complete responsibility for the action in Goa. That he acted in complete collaboration with his Defence Minister is beyond doubt. Between the two how far the Cabinet as such was in the picture, is the question. Not that any Cabinet Minister will not go the whole hog with Mr. Nehru. At a certain seminar held weeks ago, Mr. Morarji Desai spoke of even police action as something against the tenets of Gandhism. Since the deed was done in Goa, he has modulated his voice in harmony with the chorus. Nothing like agreement, as nothing like action, when there is no alternative left!

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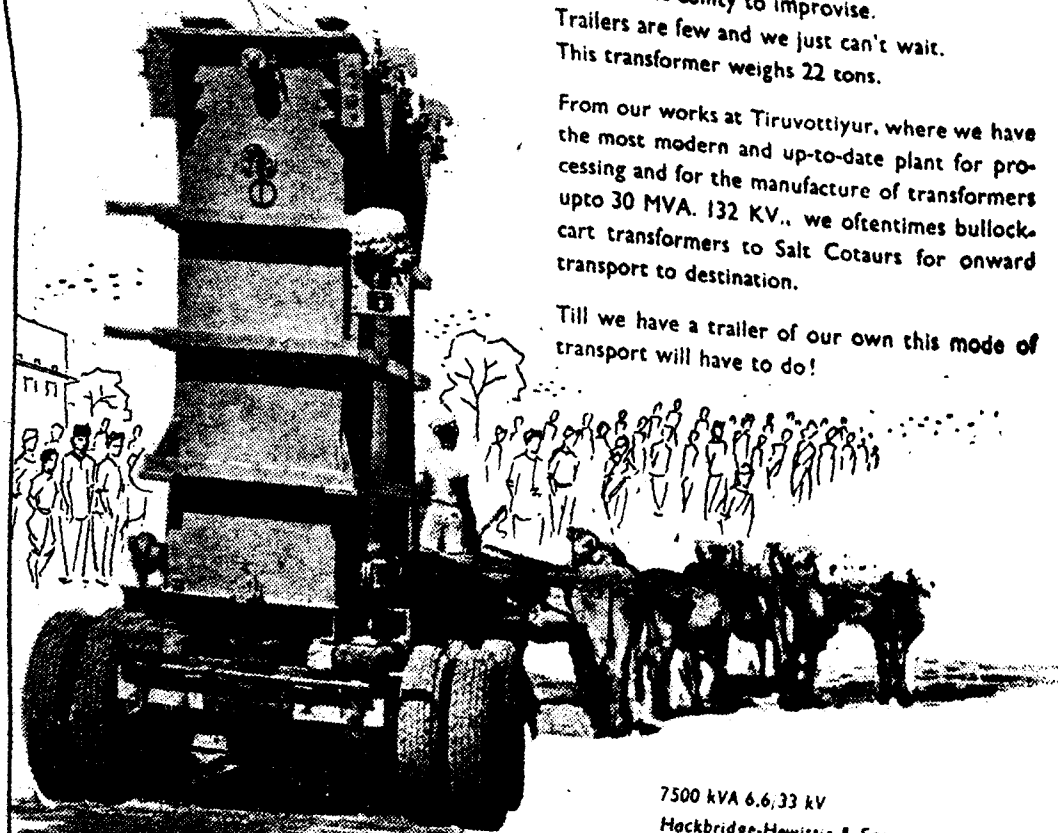
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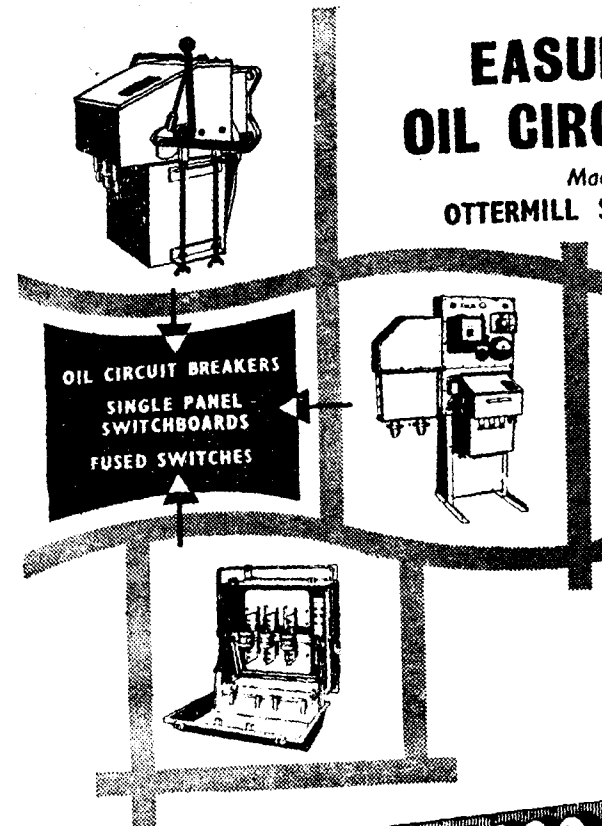
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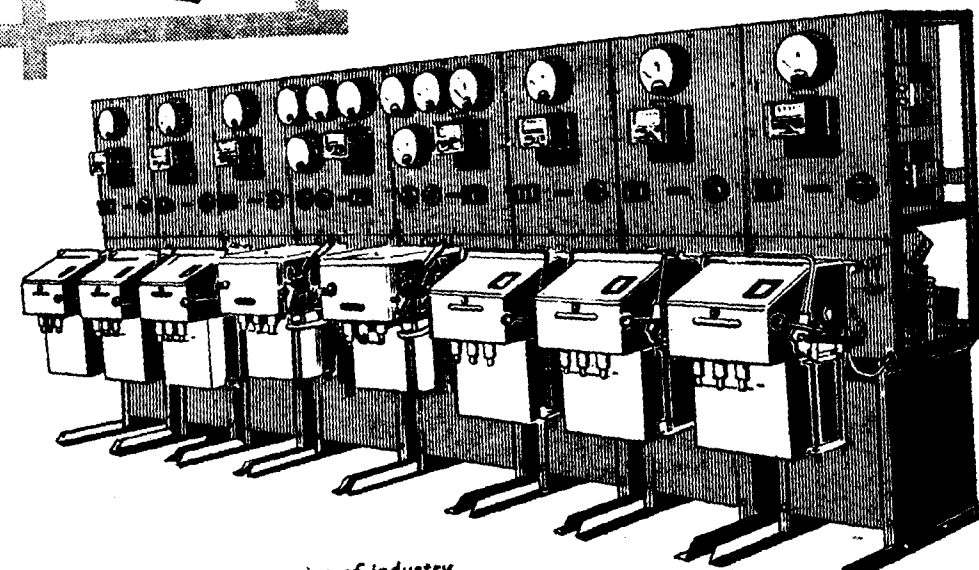
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EP-EO 1

EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN GUJARAT

By THAKORLAL SHRIPATRAI THAKORE

Of all the States of India the Gujarat State is the only one that has imposed a ban on the study of English from standard V. The Gujarat State is also the only State that has imposed a ban on the adoption of any other language as the medium of instruction in university except the mother-tongue, which has led to the ruining of the prospects of Gujarati youths and the advancement of scholarship and learning in higher branches of knowledge. This is due to the political domination and interference of the leaders of the Gujarat Vidyapith. It is very unfortunate that the devout followers of Mahatma Gandhi have suppressed free thinking and free expression of thought, making people outside the State believe that Gujarat does not want English from stand-

ard V and that the State wants to adopt only the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in the University.

This impression is, however, not founded on facts. As the President of the Gujarat State Federation of Secondary Teachers' Associations, I obtained and sent signatures of parents on a mass scale, to the concerned authorities to show that 90 per cent of parents, teachers and headmasters opposed the policy of the Government. I have proved this up to the hilt by sending thousands of petitions of guardians to the Gujarat Government. If anyone wants further proof, I am prepared to give it, if he is prepared to visit with me any ward of the City or a village where there is a secondary school.

But all this has not received attention so far. Therefore I have decided to start an Educational Campaign in Gujarat beginning from this month with a view to bringing pressure on Government to change its policy.

A minority cannot, with its superior political influence, impose its views on the majority; that may be tolerated under dictatorship, not in democracy. The Gujarat Government has flouted the opinion of headmasters, teachers, guardians and world educationists by imposing its own views. As a teacher, I cannot tolerate this political imposition in education and, therefore, I think that it is my paramount duty to challenge it, as a teacher.

This question (of English) should be decided by middle class parents themselves who are the most affected. A high cost of living crushes them and the deficient education in English that their wards get will add to their misery. Their wards cannot get jobs; they cannot compete with young men and women of other States on an equal footing. Middle class parents are thus doubly hit. This is sheer injustice and, as a teacher, I must revolt against it.

I shall tell guardians: "Today it is the question of English; tomorrow another question will crop up in education; the third day, yet another question may come up. If dictatorship were now tolerated, it will be a bad day for education in Gujarat." Dictatorship in education is the greatest crime in democracy. No dictator in the world has put a ban on the study of a language. The prohibitory policy of Gujarat is therefore something unprecedented and unique.

This is the background of my educational campaign. It is very unfortunate that in Gujarat there is no respect for opinions of educated people. Political domination in education is an ill omen that will put democracy in danger. I hope parents will co-operate with me in my humble task of developing democratic traditions in education in Gujarat State.

Dear Reader

The protest over Goa is not a plea for Gandhiji's non-violence, although that may enter by association of ideas into the argument. The armed nations of the world cannot find fault with India for using force in her discretion on any proper occasion.

If Gandhiji agreed to the Indian forces going to defend Kashmir against a sudden and treacherous attack by Pakistan forces, it was because he was told that the Government of India had entered into a treaty with the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir on his accession to the Union, and under the terms of that agreement the Government of India was bound to help Kashmir in her defence against aggression from outside. Gandhiji advised that non-violence could not be decently pleaded in that context and gave his opinion that the Government of India was bound to carry out its promise to help. This has nothing to do with the objection to the Goa action which is based not on any creed of non-violence but on the accepted international policy of abstaining from and discouraging military initiative for achieving national ends, a peace policy always upheld and vigorously advocated by India up till the time of the Goa action.

Mr. Nehru says he does not understand me. I do not think he really does not understand what I write. What he means is that he does not agree but that he cannot or does not wish to give reasons. Whether he is wrong or I am—the question is clouded by nationalist emotion and it is difficult to argue, even as we cannot get a clear reflexion in a mirror covered over with dust—*yathaa aadarso malena (aavrtah)*. The adverse consequences have been quick and obvious; India cannot now with a good conscience or with true power intervene in the UN when trouble is threatened anywhere disturbing world-peace. Her once strong voice must now

remain hushed on issues where formerly it would have been raised with loud and effective emphasis. We have badly injured the tender plant of UN authority over the nations of the world, which is not an institution for promoting nationalism but one on which it is hoped to build up peace on earth in spite of nationalism. I am not speaking in temper but speaking for wisdom to temper hasty emotion.

★

"Your application for sanction for a new capital issue is being delayed. Pay what we asked of you—fifty thousand rupees—and it will be expedited." And it is done accordingly. All this dirty work is done below and Mr. Nehru thinks his hands are clean. This procedure is so widespread and so well known that he cannot be uncognizant of it. What is the meaning of this linking up of collections for the party with orders and permits, and quotas and sanctions in the economy of the country? Must a company pay money to the party in order that it may be allowed to borrow from those who are willing to lend? Is the Congress Party the complete owner of all the wealth and the savings of the nation? Or is it pretended that these two transactions are independent, coming together by sheer accident, the one being a just and fair administrative order, the other being a voluntary donation given out of faith in the programme of the party? This is impossible.

In parliamentary democracy, party is totally different from the State. But in our democracy there is little difference maintained now between Government and the ruling party. Contributions are levied for party funds just like taxes for the State assessed on a composition basis. And these contributions are levied from the big directors of great companies down to the small owner of a single unit public-carrier lorry. How can moral

values or any kind of honesty in public life survive this example of misconduct in the highest quarters?

All these things arise out of an excess of State-power over the economic life of the people. And the press, too, feels compelled to take the line of the ruling party, or at least stray not too far from it. This diagnosis leads to the only remedy, viz., reduction of State-power which is what the Swatantra Party stands for. It is not fair to trace all corruption to the low standard of national character. Much of it is greatly due to the pattern of governance we live under, and this should be altered. The pattern of too much power in the State and too many restrictions on freedom must be altered if we wish to restore the moral standards that prevailed but fifty years ago.

★

"The lurking prejudice against English as the language of our former rulers is altogether misplaced," writes a leading daily. It is gratifying to note this healthy turn in the mind of people who have been mistaking suicidal destruction for patriotism.

"It should be in our interests to cherish the study of English which has become an international language. It is truly the *lingua franca* of the modern world." No truer words were written and no better advice given.

Mr. H. V. Pataskar gave a convocation address recently. He said: "If the States started imparting university education

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through their respective regional languages, the common bond created through English will be weakened if not snapped, and may lead to ideological separation, ultimately resulting in disintegration". These words of a person appointed Governor of a State, who is highly esteemed for his powers of correct judgment, contain grave warning. There is so much talk of integration. It would be wise to avoid doing something that will result in disintegration, even if we do not succeed in discovering tonics for integration. "Each university will be a linguistic island and all will suffer in the long run. Teachers and students will not be able to migrate from one university to another and the cause of education will suffer for lack of a common link between universities in different linguistic areas." This from a daily paper's editorial brings out the evil consequences from the purely educational point of view. But Governor Pataskar has pointed out the graver consequence of ideological separation and disintegration.

It is on the whole gratifying that the protest raised against attacks on English has gained volume and the language chauvinists are losing ground. The numerous Upper India M.A.s whose education present woeful deficiencies will have their countervailing crowd in South India if the advice of the University of Madras is rejected and the pressure of the present Government of Madras prevails. What good is it having a large number of M.A.s just to rival the Hindi M.A.s? The cause of education

and national integration will both suffer.

★
"He had spent a handsome, almost magnificent allowance, and had raised around him such a fine crop of debts as it would be very hard work for any man to mow down; for there is no plant that grows so rapidly when once it has taken root."

Pendennis (Thackeray)

There are some laws that govern individual life which govern also national affairs, although some political scientists would wishfully draw distinctions between national and private economy. I have been crying hoarse that we are pledging India for an impossible quantity of foreign obligations which can be discharged only by the production of an equivalent quantity of exportable commodities which would also be saleable abroad in an increasingly competitive market. I do not see (and no one, in answer to my objections, helps me to see) any possibility of production of such commodities. The inevitable end is bankruptcy on a scale unknown in peace-time. Meanwhile we are complicating our relationship with the foreign Powers from whom we have borrowed and on whose future continuous aid we have 'built' our great Plans for future prosperity. The whole chain is a chain of follies—and by this hangs the Plan. Bankruptcy is not irrelevant to the picture of our destiny. India is sought to be torn off her ancient roots and placed atop of the leaning tower of enormous unrepayable Debt, because it could make a great show high up. No doubt it makes a good show at the height. But we should remember the law of gravity and how greatly the tower leans.

★
Innocent Sri Nijalingappa has expressed his opinion that Goa may go either to Maharashtra or Karnataka according to the wishes of the people of Goa. There is a widely prevalent notion that even administrative issues, like what State (or province, as it used to be called) an area should be attached to, should be settled like

an international issue by a plebiscite. This is an extension of the principle of self-determination to which the people at Delhi (and others too) may not agree. Sri Nehru has already reserved the little French enclave in the South for his Central administration and made it a separate province. He did not hand it over to the district of South Arcot as most people had thought was the natural course. Similarly, now Portuguese Goa has gone under the sway of New Delhi. It seems Portuguese culture and French culture are to be nursed under the care of New Delhi as interesting features of modern India to memorialize history. Sri Nijalingappa's suggestion that the issue is only between Karnataka and Maharashtra is naive. There is a third party involved, viz., New Delhi whose claim carries primacy.

★
Firm resolve appears to have been reached over USA starting a series of nuclear blasts in the Pacific. And Russia will not be behindhand and will continue with her poisonous explosions in the Antarctic. The locations do not make any difference, except to the two countries operating. As far as the world's people are concerned, the atmosphere is one and in constant motion. Whether we are poisoned from the Arctic or from the Pacific, and whether it is Russian poison or USA poison, makes no difference. The American Government instead of organizing against the Russian blasts strong world protest and effective resistance, appears resolved on doubling the crime with UK approval, in pursuit of the "prudent planning" of deterrence. This so-called prudence of competition in producing active poison is far from prudent for the world. India talks of total disarmament, taking, I suppose, the tune from Russia. The more difficult is not the way to deal with the less difficult task. The future is dark.

★
A five-year-old Russian boy has declared that the Communist

Party and the Soviet Government (there is of course no distinction between the two) were the ones who really cared for him and not his parents. Here is a picture for aspirants to communism and State socialism anywhere in the world. Not only God but the Family also must go in order to reach the paradise of material progress. And it is bound to go if we go on as we do. And then what will remain? A nation of workers along with the bullocks and mules and camels on an equal level!

★
A word to lovers of Sanskrit. Sanskrit is the only language to which all India could pay unqualified homage. It was the loving nurse of all the people of India through unnumbered centuries. The ancient tongues of the people in the North and the South, in East and West freely borrowed from it and exchanged all-India thoughts through it. It kept India together in spite of every foreign invasion, foreign armies, foreign religions and foreign cultures. But if we sought now to make classic Sanskrit a spoken all-India tongue and means of communication it would not work. On the other hand, it may declassicize and corrupt Sanskrit. It would do incalculable harm to Sanskrit itself. The attempt would rob the classic language of its character, and create an ugly new prakrit. This would not help but, like an ill-omened child, kill the mother at birth. The great heritage of India, our greatest asset, the maatariswa of all our culture would suffer fatal injury. Let us keep Sanskrit whole in its proper pedestal and let the new bond of union, English, continue to be the uniting, integrating, modern factor and be our great window for scientific and technological knowledge, while at the same time the study of Sanskrit literature may be encouraged greatly in order to guard our culture, our tradition, and our soul. It is the classic literature of Sanskrit, Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, etc., that

will protect our moral standards and maintain unbroken the spiritual ethos of the nation. The classics of Sanskrit and the other languages of India are the tree of life, whose subtle and curative influence will balance and correct

the ills which accompany the tasting of the fruits of the other tree, the tree of material knowledge.

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THE NEW BARBARIANS

By SRIVATSA

The postscript to *The Best English* by Mr. G. H. Vallins contains an argument that lies strangely in such a book. Mr. Vallins asserts that "reading (of literature) is not so important as we like to pretend it is". This is sufficiently startling. But Mr. Vallins himself soon realizes his temerity and qualifies his statement. It is with relief that one finds him taking objection merely to the reading of modern works. "Modernist literature", he says, "has become a cult in which many, though for different reasons, are content to be shown beauties which they cannot see."

This is a statement which deserves to be made with all possible emphasis. It would be foolish and churlish to speak hard words of all modern writings. For, much valuable work is being done in almost every aspect of study and the results laid bare in good, intelligible prose. For example, Mr. Isaac Deutscher's life of Trotsky, *The Prophet Armed*, is not by any means a model of historical literature, but at any rate it engages the reader's attention as much by its orderly treatment of the rather intractable subject as by the inherent interest that attaches to

the great revolutionary. Moreover, new vistas have been opened by fascinating books on astronomy. Above all, there remain writers belonging to the older generation, like Sir Winston Churchill and Sir Arthur Bryant, not to mention Edmund Blunden, who carry the authentic voice with them. But the student of English letters must be pardoned if he draws back from much of modern *belles lettres*. It is satisfying to find Mr. Vallins entering a caveat against that intellectual imposture, as not a little of it may be justly described.

Vers libre and prose which will not submit to the shackles of grammar and even of sense, nowadays pass muster for "high" literature. The principle seems to be to astonish the Philistine. The more startled that creature is made to become, the greater the literature. It is not difficult to understand why the fathers of the literary revolt, for the movement is now of respectable age, should have flouted convention. Change and movement are necessary if literature is not to stagnate. Classicism and romanticism, and their many aspects, have contended for the soul of Eng-

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lish literature at various times in its long history, and there have been many leaders of revolts who were not mealy-mouthed about the pillars of obnoxious orthodoxy. When, towards the end of last century, a revolt arose against the pretty complacency of Tennyson, that was reflected in his mellifluous, too mellifluous it was thought, style it was understandable and even to be welcomed. But that revolt did not run its course, to give place to a counter-revolt. As it happened, the barbarities of the Kaiser's war, the utter destruction of idealism that was its greatest disservice (one may compare Rupert Brooke at its beginning with Siegfried Sassoon at its end), strengthened the protest against what was thought to be comfortable thought and formal expression. It is unlikely that the world will ever return to the Tennysonian prettiness, for it has started the beastliness of man in the face and has not recovered its nerve.

If, however, the revolt has not run its course and disappeared as had most of its predecessors, it has become ortho-

dox and hierophantic in its turn. Its high priests have become panjandrum, the sacred cows of literature. It has become its interest to seek out the obscure and the unintelligible merely because it is obscure and unintelligible and keeps away the great unwashed.

When Mr. James Joyce contrives a new language, the faithful are in ecsta-

sies. When Mr. Ogden Nash writes what he considers to be poetry without capital letters to begin the lines, not to speak of metre and rhyme, they are in transports of delight. There is a delicious comment to make on all these strange goings-on, a sentence from Mr. Somerset Maugham, "Fools can always be found to discover a hidden sense in

them." If, therefore, a humble and reverent student of English literature when it provided sense even when it was being orthodox and formal should confess today that he knows nothing of modern writings except detective novels, he should not be suspected to be a cynic. He is only speaking the truth!

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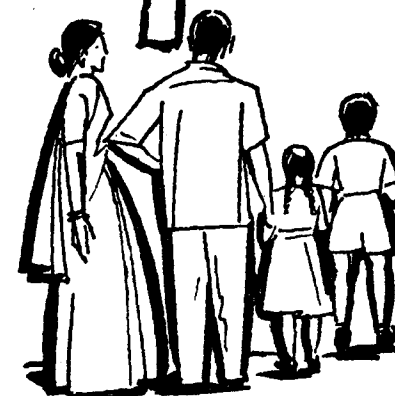
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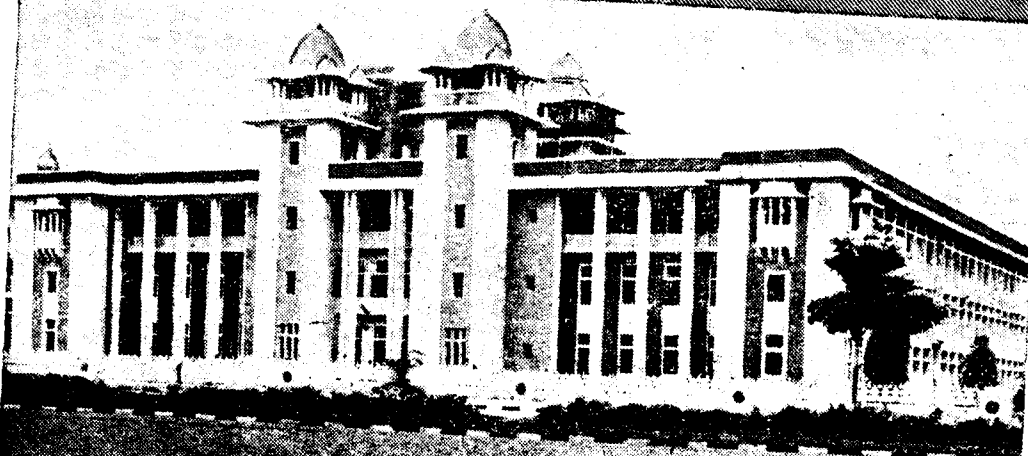
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WE CANNOT GET ROUND NATURAL LAWS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Is a change from capitalist economy to State-capitalism a profitable business for the nation? This is the issue which hides itself under various smoke-screens of emotionalism but which must be firmly held and examined calmly, and answered straight.

The issue being a fundamental one, argument has a tendency to become dogmatic. Those wedded to socialism will not accept the fundamental truth here explained. To ignore the law of human nature is the socialist's obstinate creed.

If we had a marvellous dictator — a truly God-sent man with a mission to help the nation (and not merely to help a party) and secondly, if we had also an exceptionally honest, loyal body of officials, withstanding all corrupt influences and well qualified for the task of business management, and, lastly, if we did not care much whatever may be the form of government, the change from capitalism to State-capitalism could work to advantage.

But instead of such a rare dictator and such a good bureaucracy, we have now to rule over us a political party. All political parties consist more or less of hungry men intent on their own good. They are also likely to become corrupt in addition to being greedy. And instead of a bureaucracy trained for business management we have officials whose incapacity for managing the affairs of production and distribu-

tion has been demonstrated over and over again. The constant contacts between ministers and their staff and their partymen with business bosses and their agents is not conducive to the development of the best character on either side.

State-capitalism will only rob people of their savings, and put them in the hands of spendthrifts. We shall be substituting indifference for the vigilance born of personal interest, substituting the irresponsibility of monopoly for the eager interest that goes with competition and profit motive. We shall be adopting inexperience and mismanagement in place of the efficiency and careful administration associated with capitalist control.

We may ignore the misery of poor people and the middle classes and levy heavy indirect taxes. Taxes and expropriation of savings and other properties can make the required capital for State-capitalism, but the question is whether man-power and capital will prove fruitful in the hands of State officials. Free saving going into capital has the inherent capacity to produce much more than taxes and expropriations handed over to the inefficient management of people who have no interest in the business, beyond the smiles of superiors and the vista of prospective careers based on that approval.

The learned mysteries of political economy cannot make wealth out of poverty or alter the laws that govern human nature. We may mystify ourselves by the jargon of the economy of money in whose grip we are, but natural laws cannot be evaded or overcome by any such mystification.

No amount of proliferation of the bureaucracy can make up for its inherent defects and become a good enough substitute for the owner or the proprietor, who takes his fair share and gives to the State its dues. The present owner-managed economy, which we call capitalist, is not the result of intrigue or greed or conspiracy but has grown out of nature. Inventions and innovations show their defects when tried, and prove the superiority of natural evolution. What the State should and can do is to watch, control and regulate, not go into the business itself thereby depriving itself of its governmental function. Once the State takes over any business, the officials begin to suppress failures and no longer remember the function of government to watch and judge and regulate. It is not profitable for a country of the size of India to hand over the management of production and trade to the State and its officials. There will be vast mismanagement, and there will be no one to control or judge, the party to be controlled having itself become the judge.

"I, CLAUDIUS"

By POTHAN JOSEPH

In a democracy the bounds of freedom are expected to broaden down from precedent to precedent, but in our country, thanks to one-party autocracy, the bounds of freedom keep shrinking from precedent to precedent. Two instances could be quoted from the proceedings of the last lame-duck session of Parliament which met and closed after a series of official pronouncements on the putative success of India's foreign policy, which in sum has resulted in the emergence of unfriendly neighbours and distant *kudos* according to the estimate of the Prime Minister who has been greeted with cheers of welcome in his tours abroad. At the last sitting of the Rajya Sabha we witnessed the staging of a walk-out of dissidents led by Pandit H. N. Kunzru. A disinterested politician of the Gokhale tradition, he may be rated as a conservative upholder of parliamentary practice, quite the last man to get excited and conduct a peripatetic protest. The reason may look trivial for the moment, but there are potentialities of evil precedent when the Chair takes the liberty of altering names and figures pertaining to a previous voting by members of the House. Some congressmen, inattentive or incapable of understanding the purport of a previous debate, had gone into the wrong lobby and recorded their vote. The Deputy Chairman re-edited the proceedings on hearing of the error of judgment on the part of honour-

able members strolling in the wrong direction. (It has now fallen to the lot of Mr. Krishnamurthi Rao to conduct Rajya Sabha proceedings in place of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the substantive Chairman, whose time is engrossed in Palam receptions, and ceremonial functions in honour of the current wave of distinguished visitors to India—which we are advised to take as another proof of India's genius for winning friends abroad at a time of frontier inroads.)

If Pandit Kunzru 'captained' a walk-out, it was in protest against the tendency of Law being made the handmaid of the Executive. He and his colleagues, remonstrating against the growing vogue, might concede that nothing catastrophic has happened by the presiding officer amending the text of proceedings, but with an eye to the future, irrespective of the party in power during democratic fluctuations, he opposed the beginnings of a pernicious infringement of rules.

When speakers in the Rajya Sabha criticized the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution hustled through Parliament, the argument was aired that in the Lok Sabha the innovation had been voted without murmur which, it appears, proved its popularity. Many M.Ps during the last sessions were camping in the Jantar Mantar compound in the hope of getting 'tickets', and there were symptoms of sleeping sickness in the Lower House, but if the Elders were awake, it does not mean that they did not pay due respect to the mute model set by the "House of the People". There never was any mandate from the people at large to enact the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution, a change that permits the election of the President and the Vice-President even before the full returns of the poll from constituencies all over India are brought on record. Let us not ascribe any motives, however

transparent the camouflage in the present context; but here is the simple fact that rights of eventually elected members are not fully respected, because successful individuals might be excluded from the right of running for high distinction, whatever be the predisposition of the ruling party towards the creation of shadow-cabinets and the secret division of the loaves and fishes of office. Law Minister Ashok Sen is not a very convincing exponent in any defence he undertakes of Government-cum-Congress decisions, whether they pertain to the Congo expedition or the Privileges of Parliament against encroachment. Mr. Ashok Sen with more plausibility than precision stood forth arguing that the modification embodied in the Eleventh Amendment did not imply any departure from the spirit of the Constitution adopted fifteen years ago. If such is the case advocated in extenuation of short-cut amendments suitable to the party in power, what need is there for any amendments at all? Is not the spirit already there? For example, the scope of Amendment IV could prove fatal to India's sound economic progress and farming security but an adventitious majority endorsed such an arrogation of power as a matter of course, equivalent to the publication of a *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, clamping down a subversive change. In Pakistan also where there is military rule the assent of Law Ministers, constantly in change, is taken for granted when President Ayub Khan pronounces his decrees announcing radical changes, sometimes even in the context of municipal matters. When the Eleventh Amendment found its way to the Rajya Sabha, many whose lips were not sealed through the disciplinary control of the ruling junta meeting in camera, spoke against its introduction. Pandit Kunzru had again in the venue of the Upper House pointed out the inappropriateness of driving a coach and four through the provisions of the Constitution which had been carefully framed by men of calibre who modelled the

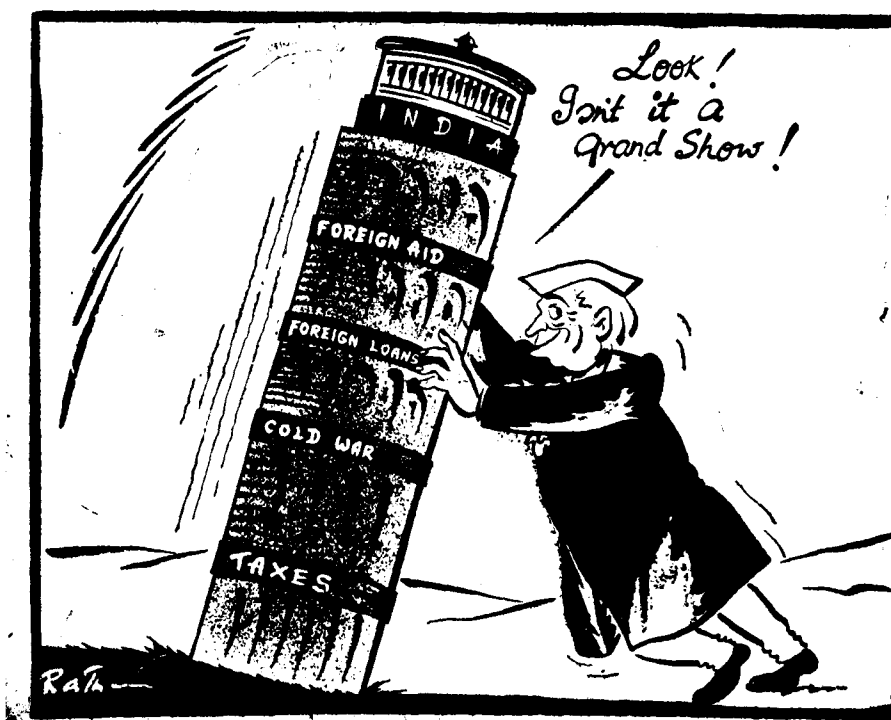
January 13, 1962

top panel of the country's government after the principles governing the functions of the President and the Vice-President in the United States. Of course, there was hardly any need for the Law Minister to carry conviction or even for the Chief Whip to monitor the votes.

Indeed there is a subtle theory propagated that in a country of terrific progress frequent amendments of the Constitution indicate healthy signs of advancement. It resembles the economic heresy that soaring prices constitute a healthy sign of rising productivity, which is nonsense, when a steady currency is indispensable for the "Confidence-Crisis" which gradually debilitates a country's vitality in a mesmeric trance. Without an honest and stable Rupee, we shall not take long to be in the doldrums. Once the Prime Minister nods, it is the law, Constitution or no Constitution, as in the comedy of Gilbert and Sullivan (*Iolanthe*) where the chief actor sings in lofty cocksureness:—

*The Law is the true embodiment
Of everything that is excellent.
It has no kind of fault or flaw,
And I, my Lords, embody the Law!*

The Paisa Tower of Nehru is a wonder, too, like the Leaning Tower of Pisa.



SWARAJYA

ROLE OF THE STATE IN SWATANTRA PATTERN

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

Since the Congress Government under the leadership of Mr. Nehru (not content with the legitimate sphere of government) has taken the whole of life for its jurisdiction under the name of the "socialist pattern" of society, it is expected of any party aspiring to replace it that it should offer a rival pattern covering the whole of society. It will not do to say that in the name of freedom it will leave any sphere of life completely free without at least taking up a definite attitude towards it. So we find that the principles defined by the Swatantra Party cover practically all the subjects dealt with by the Congress-Nehru pattern of society—commerce and industry, agriculture, taxation, planning for development, education (and even religion), party morals, administrative purity, monetary policy, relations between labour and capital, government enterprise, land tenure, property rights, and so on.

The Swatantra Party announces that it will adopt the principle of limited government as against the omni-competence of the Congress Government, leaving the maximum area of social and individual action for individual initiative and enterprise to make the best of.

It is natural, therefore, for critics to ask as to how the Swatantra thinkers propose to reconcile this seeming contradiction between minimum government and universal jurisdiction. The role of the State in the Swatantra pattern of society seems to be as comprehensive and all-inclusive as that in the Nehru-pattern of society. In its anxiety to assure well-being, here and now, to the present generation of citizens, the Swatantra leaders announce that they will adopt measures (if given power by the franchise) to assure food, clothing, homes, education, medicine, and other necessities for all within the means of the common man. To maintain a stable level of the prices of essential goods, the Swatantra Party proposes to control prices, wages and dividends. Surely this is not a sign of minimum government! And this does not look like maintaining a system of free economy either. How is this contradiction resolved?

The 'contradiction' is the result of a confusion in two different uses of the word 'minimum'. We should realize, first of all, that the State is not limited and cannot be limited in its jurisdiction in the sense of field of extension or number of subjects it can deal with. For there is no subject which does not demand its intervention when it is a question of the defence of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—neither religion nor marriage nor culture. Horizontally, therefore, there is no 'spatial' limit to the action of the State in the area of individual and social life. But it does not mean therefrom

(Continued on page 15)

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CURRENT EVENTS ::

Discarding all professions of respect and affection for Rajaji, so effusive at Madurai, Mr. Nehru in his diatribe at the Patna Congress lambasted the founder of the Swatantra Party in anger (the deadly sin he had detected in the old veteran) and proclaimed that it was the revolt of a gang of reactionaries to take the country back to 75 years ago, when Dufferin ruled the country with more courteous language for his speeches. That the P. M. singled out the Swatantra Party to pour vials of wrath is a tribute to the cause of maintaining the Constitution and it must be deemed as encouraging to workers however much abuse of power is being utilized to throw critics into disarray. Further, when Mr. Nehru conceives dislike for a person he falls foul of him consumedly; and C. R. is the latest victim of his aversion in a fairly long list of repudiated friendships for failure to toe the line. The fulminations of totalitarian zest are provoked by the bare right claimed by people to express dissent, instead of crying "Ave Caesar!"

Three days before the opening of the Patna Congress (of which the Union Cabinet Minister Jagajivan Ram was the Reception Committee Chairman), the local Chief Minister, Mr. B. Jha announced that all facilities generously provided by the State Government for the 67th session over an area of one-hundred acres would be available to any non-Congress party for a similar fixture. The purpose of the statement was to repudiate the suggestion that discrimination had been exercised by the Government to the advantage of the ruling party. Since the party knows very well that members of the other fifteen parties officially scheduled to figure in the elections are not likely to make a bee-line to the Congress estate manned by youthful volunteers, the bland invitation savours of mockery. Equally hollow is the

gesture from New Delhi that the broadcasting media allotted for electioneering propaganda over 20 days (between January 27th and February 16th) would be impartially available for all parties, the transmissions being split as "Central and State, 300 minutes each, 15 minutes a day for 20 days." In the relay, it is apparently going to be a "free for all" scramble under a camouflage of equalism which tends to make the AIR available to all parties for beaming election propaganda and the delivery of "uncensored speeches". The intention is to publicize in advance that no charge of invidious privilege 'as such' could be laid at the door of the ruling party handling the entire machine. Thanks are due to such small mercies recorded on paper; and the principle could be claimed of other media of public persuasion ranging from weighty executive pronouncements to cinema-documentaries on the quota-basis for every adult before polling day.

In order to procure an anticipatory certificate of fairplay, the authorities have also proclaimed that ministers would henceforth make no use of official transport for canvassing purposes, all the mobilized jeeps, station-vans and loudspeakers being garaged without a trickle of petrol, lest volunteers attempt to make use of them for the capture of votes. Phoney advertisements that the ruling party has been fair and square in running the elections, and winning a majority, cannot however obscure the merit of the Swatantra proposal that, for a brief interval, the conditions of democracy in India should justify a non-party regime under Presidential rule without any danger of an administrative breakdown as reported by the Defence Minister before troop-entry into Goa. The ruling party would not, however, accept the challenge, preferring to make much of the practice in Britain and America, although in

neither of the two democracies on which we are Constitutionally patterned, there is any parallel like legislation, on the eve of the elections, on the motion of the ruling party by its steamrolling majority authorizing a levy on business-concerns, as against the humble plea of all the other parties in Parliament that such a squeeze should not be erected by the Government for no apparent purpose other than the accumulation of funds, with innocent airs of collection through volunteers to promote the advent of the 'Welfare State'.

The first stage reached by the Sampurnanand Sub-Committee to recommend to the main Integration Body devised for the purpose of emotinal unity, through the medium of education, hoists a pledge for school-recital periodically, and hails the idea of *Jana Gana Mana* being regularly sung by boys and girls in a row. Ceremonial functions in politics and education have a way of becoming hackneyed in the emotional appeals intended. The British Parliament has got its chaplain as a permanent fixture originally projected in the fervour of religion, but when the clergyman leads the assembly, with the hoary ritual of solemn prayers, the members present are not sufficient to render an audible 'Amen'. They take it for granted that all would be well if they turn up a few minutes after the Speaker takes his chair; and whatever emotional integration is possible, happens to be the capital of common goodwill upon which the business of the day is transacted for general profit. Coupled with the proposed innovations to edify children, there are one or two Sunday-school precepts which are not likely to be of a dynamic character.

It is remarkable that with the approach of general elections there is a proliferation of special committees of enquiry. For instance, it has been just announced that in order to determine the quality and content of education suitable for girls, a committee of

ladies in the majority who cannot be called experts in teaching has been announced, nearly 20 in number, to report some novel scheme after peripatetic excursions. The basic assumption is that women are particularly sympathetic and sensitive about the needs of girls in contrast with any appreciation of their problem by "members of the opposite sex". It proceeds from a sentimental fallacy. In the administration of health and hospital-welfare some faddists imagine that women should be in the charge of maternity-wards. Actually there are many prospective mothers in bed who prefer attendance by men well-versed in obstetrics. The fact is that many Indian doctors abroad who build up good practice around places like Birmingham

and Liverpool are welcomed by local patients as skilled gynaecologists. The very premise upon which the new-fangled committee has been chosen is not particularly sound when in these days of co-education, school-marmish ideas of cloistered culture have become obsolete. Under the guidance of men in charge of classes girls need not apprehend any rough treatment during lectures according to proper syllabus. Nor should we forget that there could be ogresses donning gowns who could make life miserable for girl-pupils. If 15 per cent of seats has not been allotted to women-candidates by the High Command but only 8 per cent, women-voters should not entertain any fear that the Congress is unmindful of the interests of "Indian womanhood". P.J.

COMMUNISTS PLAYING FOR POWER

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The exposition in the *Economic Times* of the Communist Party's manifesto by Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the C.P.I., is not only a condemnation of the Congress Government but virtually of the Communist Party as well, as the Congress is but carrying out the communist policies. He is right in saying that 14 years of power has been rarely given to any political party of any of the newly independent countries to implement its programme. He is also right in stating that the per capita income has risen less than in most underdeveloped countries; secondly, that industrial targets, as admitted in the Third Plan, have failed in industries of crucial importance; thirdly, that agriculture is precariously dependent on the monsoons, and the food supply has been maintained by imports of 12 million tons during the last three years; fourthly, that prices have risen by more than 30 per cent during the last five years; and lastly, that the Second Plan has increased unemployment.

The causes for this failure of the economy, according to him, are, first, the inadequacy of tenancy legislation. This legislation had the support, not to speak of inspiration, of the Communist Party. In Kerala where it was wholly according to the ideas of the communists, its consequences are the worst, so many tenants becoming liable to eviction that the Communist Party itself is now engaged in agitating for

amendment of its own legislation! He quotes the Chief Minister of U.P. that ceilings on land had been anticipated by redistribution—forgetting, first, that this by itself was a reduction of inequality, and secondly, that it makes nonsense of his statement that great disparity exists in agricultural incomes.

He maintains that the agricultural worker has lost his income, which is exactly because of the industrial policy supported by Government in favour of urban interests. Similarly the size and disparity of urban incomes is a result of Planning through controls and monopolies, without competition to reduce profits and prices. Otherwise, his condemnation of monopolies is meaningless, because except the Government itself no company or group of companies have any monopoly.

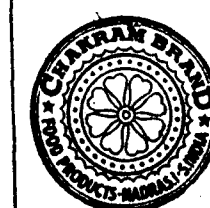
He also blames the taxation policy of the Government, the additional taxes being Rs. 1,025 crores in the Second Plan and estimated at Rs. 1,710 crores in the Third Plan. What he forgets is that this taxation arises from the very communist programme of 'nationalization and State enterprises, which (he promises) the Communist Party will complete. The simple fact has not dawned on him that it is far from socialism to relieve the rich of their investment and to place it through taxes and loans on the common people. There is no addition of wealth in such transfer of wealth, while there is a de-

finite disincentive to save on the part of those who can do so.

Mr. Ghosh objects to foreign investments. Here, again, he is missing the simple fact that in the absence of such investment, the country will have to pay for its industrialization through foreign exchange and loans, which have already reached their limits. He has, however, no objection to the communist type of investment, which so far has been in the smallest proportion and subject to liabilities, like the price of replacements being four times the original cost. He is also in favour of trade with communist countries, which by his own figures take 9 per cent of our exports in return for 4 per cent of our imports, involving on our part a credit to the communist countries. He demands that the price line must be energetically held, though how this can be done consistently with his next proposal of sliding scale of dearness allowances to neutralize price increases, is not explained.

The communist economics are quite simple because the State owns, produces and sells everything. In a mixed economy, even the monopolies created by the State come under the operation of ordinary economics. The tragedy of the communists and the Congress has been to ignore this position, with the result that they have failed in their very basic aim of reducing prices and taxes on one hand and of increasing availabilities and quality, on the other. State enterprises and interferences have disrupted the economy to the benefit of a few monopolists and to the detriment of the people. The State has no doubt acquired power but since it is not producing results, more power will be necessary till the ultimate stage of communism is reached. The communists may be deceiving others and the Congress may be deceiving itself, but both are set on a road which places their power before the interests of the people.

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[This is the text of a speech written out by the representative of one of the Western Powers for the meeting of the UN General Assembly called to consider India's action in Goa but which could not be delivered as that meeting did not come off. By a strange accident it has fallen into my hands and I am giving it publicity if only to show that not all the West is against Mr. Nehru. —M. RUTHINASWAMY]

Mr. President,

I rise to congratulate India on her recent action in Goa by which this 400 years' old possession of Portugal has been added to the dominion of the Indian Union. A question that had embittered the relations between the two countries and had exercised the anxious attention of more than one chancellery in Europe and America has now been determined by the swift, neatly-executed and decisively complete action of the Government and Army of India. What diplomatic negotiations had failed to do in fifteen years, military action was able to effect within 15 hours. It is especially gratifying to my country and Government, and the governments of other Powers occupying the same historical position as we do, that force has been used by India to solve this difficulty which had been baffling her for fifteen long years.

For this use of force and armed might, to solve an international problem, has put India on a par with other Powers that have resorted to this instrument of political action. It has put India into the grand, if not glorious, company of the realistic statesmen of history who cut the Gordian knot of political problems, domestic or international, with the sword—from Alexander the Great down to Hitler. It has won for Mr. Nehru a place in the ranks of *Realpolitiker* like Elizabeth I of England, Louis XIV of France, Frederick II of Prussia, Cavour of Italy, and Bismarck of Prussia. It will make him keep company in history with Sir Anthony Eden who, by his action against Nasser, immediately drew the wrath of Mr. Nehru on his devoted head! He may not be able to estimate, though he would now understand, the degree of satisfaction his acts would have given to the last mentioned English statesman, tinged though by a regret that he had failed while his more fortunate imitator has succeeded. It has saved the faces of the practitioners of gunboat diplomacy which, we thought, had gone out of fashion!

Coming from an apostle of non-violence it may inaugurate the revival of

that kind of diplomacy. It has given faith and self-confidence to the disciples of old Nick of mediaeval Florence. Machiavelli's famous maxim that the end justifies the means receives a new lease of life and respect from Mr. Nehru's hugging of it. In fact, he seems to have followed the instructions of that political sage. "The prince," says Machiavelli, "must imitate the fox and the lion—the lion cannot protect himself from traps and the fox cannot defend himself against wolves; one must therefore be a fox to recognize traps and a lion to fight the wolves". Mr. Nehru has proved himself the lion who has fought and killed the Portuguese wolf in Goa after proving himself the fox in the timing of his action. Mr. Nehru should not resent this comparison, for *The Lion and the Fox* is the very title of a biography by a learned American Professor of Franklin Delano Roosevelt with whom it would be an honour to be bracketed. Incidentally, it may be noticed that in domestic government, too, Mr. Nehru had given up the Gandhian idea of ruling by soul force, in times of disorder and riot, by as readily resorting to police firing on mobs as the British used to do.

This action against Goa would be welcomed by statesmen given to this kind of conduct as they could live at peace with their guilty consciences. Sinful men welcome into their company the coming of a saint who has fallen a victim

to similar temptation. He may not stay long with them, but while he is with them it makes them feel less sinful than if they were all by themselves. Sin shared by a great man who has descended, even for once, from his pinnacle of righteousness seems to cover them with his original white-sheet of innocence—though one corner of it has been stained with the dirt of sin. To us Christians especially, who have been faithless to our Master, the Prince of Peace and gone for centuries in wicked pursuit of war, it is comforting to find Mr. Nehru turning his back on Buddha and Gandhi. But *facilis Avernus descensus*. And may we hope he will continue to give us this comfort and encouragement.

Again, he has flattered us by other imitations of our conduct in the past. We, Western Powers, have almost always taken care to be sure of success in our adventures against other peoples. We have taken care in such cases to proceed against peoples weaker than ourselves. Tired of wars between equals in Europe, we went out of Europe only when we had equipped ourselves with guns and gunpowder, and went to war against Mexicans, Peruvians, Indians of the west and the east, and China and Japan which were all equipped only with swords and axes, and mediaeval armour. Prudent not to try military conclusion with communist China on the northern border, India has set her Army, Navy and Air Force against the small Portuguese army. Western critics may call India a bully to do so making up for inaction against the strong by action against the weak. The "tu quoque" sneer would sound hollow on Western lips. But Europeans would have another compensation. Mr. Nehru seems to have succumbed to the colour-complex in international politics. Africans and Asians he supports always against Europeans

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and Americans. And the soft corner in his heart for Russia comes presumably from his thinking that Russia is Asiatic.

And this action has been preceded also, quite in the Western fashion, by charges of provocation against the weaker Power. Like the wolf against the lamb in the fable and like Philip of Spain against the Netherlands, Louis the XIV against petty Protestant principalities, Napoleon against the Papal States, and Hitler against Poland, Mr. Nehru has complained of the provocative acts of Portugal in Goa and adjoining islands. Hitler went to war with Poland because Poland was contemplating acts of aggression against Germany, and almost anticipating Mr. Krishna Menon's argument that colonialism is "permanent aggression," he had said that the very existence of Poland occupying as it did some old German territory was an affront to Germany. And as for Mr. Nehru's contention that Portugal was practising terrorism and atrocities on Indian soil, did not Hitler accuse Czechoslovakia of atrocities against the Sudetan Germans? What right have we, to point the finger of scorn at Mr. Nehru? Like the accusers of the woman caught in adultery we must disperse with our heads hung down as they did when they were called upon to cast the first stone.

But then you will say that Mr. Nehru has been professing peace and peaceful methods, even on the eve of the Goa proceedings. Is that not hypocrisy? But great men who are also good have before now been accused of hypocrisy, because their acts did not agree with their professions. Gladstone and Disraeli have been called hypocrites, the difference between the two being that Disraeli knew he was one while Mr. Gladstone didn't! Mr. Nehru can rightfully take his place by the side of Gladstone in this respect. And he need not suffer in reputation by this juxtaposition.

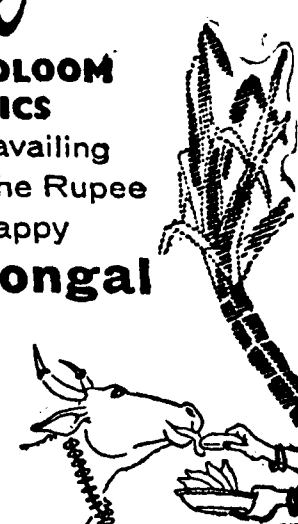
And then finally there is one other thing we must thank the Goa incident for. We shall no longer have to listen to the sermons of Mr. Nehru on peace, the methods of peace, the moral superiority of India under his leadership to the materialistic West. Mr. Stiggins is a comic figure with all his self-righteousness. But Mr. Nehru with that split personality of his may still be tempted to sermonize. He has convinced himself that his Goa action is not force but pure non-violence—at any rate of the synthetic sort—and he may yet speak to us of the virtue of the peaceful approach. He may adjure the West to give up armaments, nuclear tests, preventive wars. But we shall laugh at him.

We shall no longer listen to him with bated breath, or with at least the good-humoured toleration that is due to a good but mistaken man. We shall know him for the double-standard, double-think, double-do man that the Goa business has shown him to be. And knowing him for what he is, we shall know where he stands on any international question and where we should stand with him. We know that he will be neither with the right nor with the wrong but shift from right to wrong and from wrong to right according to the weight, colour, dimensions of the parties concerned.

And so, Mr. President, we should welcome Mr. Nehru's conquest of Goa avenging the honour of India dragged in the dust for centuries by the "permanent aggression" of Portugal. Not only has India's national honour been vindicated but the political education of Mr. Nehru has been completed. He has been brought down from the cloudland of Idealism to the strong rockland of Realism. Cato had to be reminded by Cicero that he was not living in the Republic of Plato but in the sink of Romulus. If Goa has taught Mr. Nehru and India this truth we may not regret the passing of Goa the Golden from the Empire of Portugal into the Republic of India.

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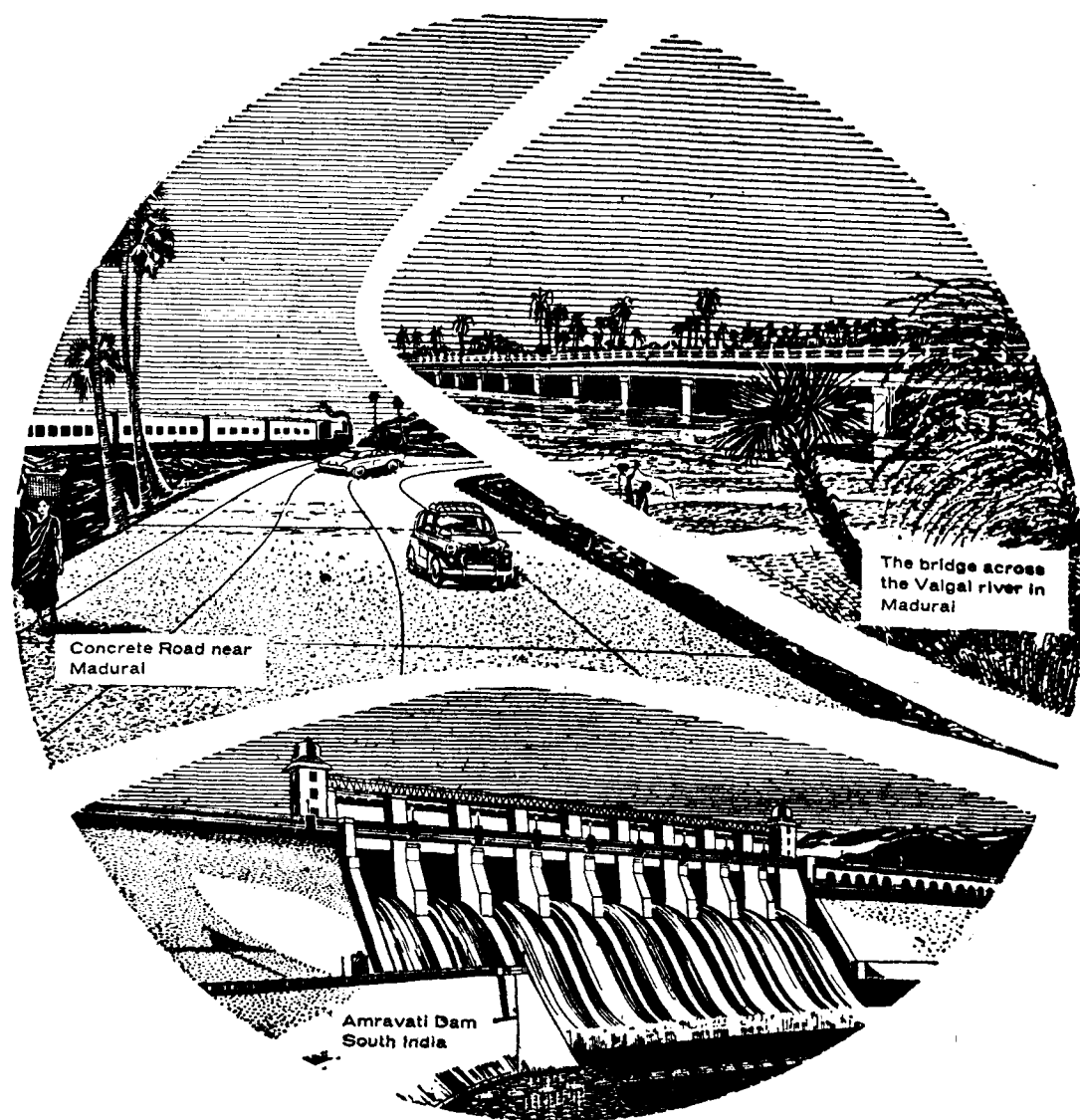
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Dear Reader

The papers report a great rise of the mercury in the thermometer at Patna. Judging by the same principle as has been adopted by the Election Commissioner in apportioning the AIR time to various parties,—that is, the bigger the party the greater the time allotted,—and since the loud speaker at the Patna Congress gave more time to the Swatantra Party than to anybody or anything else, we must infer that the Swatantra Party has become the chief opposition and most important adversary of the Congress. Mr. Nehru spoke in his true voice at Patna. The whole tone of his address was one of an unquestioned and irresistible dictator fresh from the victorious field of battle in Goa. "If you have any doubts as to my wisdom, ability or success, pack up and please go out," he ordered his partymen who had raised some feeble voices of doubt. The symptoms are clear.

Elsewhere Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon spoke up for collectivism as the only way to progress. His master, speaking at Patna, insisted that socialism was the only means of saving the world. In Mr. Nehru's vocabulary 'socialism' means welfare and happiness and *vice versa*. Current lexicons put down socialism as a means conceived for an end, but the Congress is being led to take the means conceived for the end, that is, that socialism is happiness.

I am reminded of an interesting character in one of Sheridan's plays when I read that Mr. Nehru told his audience that the Swatantra Party is indulging in anger and abuse. One has to read any one of Mr. Nehru's present day speeches about the Swatantra Party to see who is angry as well as who is abusing instead of arguing.

Madras was referred to by Mr. Nehru. Neither Madras nor I suffer from a benighted condition. The forms are filled in America

not to wait on the pleasure of the Secretariat and the ruling party as is done in Delhi and the State secretariats. In America the State gathers information. Here the ministers distribute favours.

"Caps, turbans and crowns," jibed Mr. Nehru while referring to the Swatantra Party. The Rajah of Ramnad is likely to stand as Congress candidate for the Madras Assembly seat from Ramanathapuram constituency. The late Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad has left three sons, of whom Raja Muthia Chettiar of Chettinad is the eldest, a staunch supporter and financier of the Madras Congress. His younger brother Mr. Ramana- than Chettiar is a Congress candidate for the Lok Sabha from Karur parliamentary constituency in Trichinopoly district. The

ABOLISH LAND REVENUE

- Swatantra Manifesto

brothers are, of course, millionaires and yet the Congress partymen campaign charging the Swatantra Party as the rich man's party! Against Mr. Ramanathan Chettiar mentioned above, the Swatantra Party candidate Mr. Ponnambala Gounder has to struggle. The odds are heavy but Mr. Ponnambala Gounder is one of the old band of God-fearing Freedom fighters and hopes to win against the Congress and money combined.

I have read the demagogic reference of the Prime Minister (in his Patna speech) to the Princes. If there is any argument in his words beyond an appeal for class hatred, I have dealt with it already on Dec. 2. I quote here what I wrote five weeks ago:

I have visited almost all important centres in Rajasthan and addressed phenomenally

large meetings everywhere. The gatherings at Jodhpur, Ajmer and Jaipur were the largest, the one at Jaipur on November 20 being estimated to have been attended by half a lakh of people. Nowhere did I find any popularity for the Congress regime—I am putting it at the mildest. The Swatantra movement has spread like wildfire and the organizational work lags behind. This is not surprising. The members of the old ruling class who are doing this duty as the natural leaders of their people are of course being made the target of attacks by the Congress partymen and communists. This is an easy line for them to take. But the people, I have good reasons to think, are not deceived. They know that the assistance of their trusted old leaders to the Swatantra Party cannot be motivated by any ambition for power or restoration of former States—for that is an impossible goal. They cannot possibly imagine they can get back their estates or their lost authority. Their natural and proper desire to get for the people (who had been their original charge) a better government is distorted by the Congress Party into an attempt to get back power. Had they desired to get influential and powerful, in their own interests they should have joined the ruling party which, barring a few brave exceptions, the generality of them still follow. But of course like the story of the Swatantra Party being a rich man's party, this ungrateful libel against those who voluntarily acceded to Sardar Patel's appeal is an easy invention calculated to deceive ignorant people.

A report in the *Indian Express*, Bombay edition of 29th December last, is interesting. The report says that Mr. Nehru addressed the Congress Parliamentary Party in Delhi on December 9, when he said that no contributions were being accepted from companies like Tatas which gave money to

January 13, 1962

opposite parties as well or from companies that do not accept Congress policies. The report says that, in spite of this statement of Mr. Nehru, the cheques sent by Tatas to the All-India Congress Committee towards election funds have not been returned! The report further adds that renewed requests for support to the Congress election funds had been received by Tatas.

★

The allotment of time on the AIR for political parties seems to have been planned on the principle of "To him who hath, more shall be given, etc."

★

Hypocrisy reached its climax when political party leaders in Madras met and 'accepted' points regarding the conduct of the election campaign—the chief of which was that there should be no appeal to caste or community feelings for securing votes. An examination of the pocket *aide memoire* kept by the Chief Minister would show that the whole scheme of choosing candidates rests on caste, and the campaign cannot be very different from the basis of the choice of candidates.

★

The columns of the papers in India continue to present the case on behalf of the Goa action. The very volume of this defence campaign betrays a fear that there was something wrong in the business.

Sri Nehru is indignant that the Goa action is thought to be an election stunt. There was another famous person (who is no more)

whose habitual device was to place himself on the defensive, to accuse those who opposed or obstructed him of malice and "to pass rapidly from a tone of outraged innocence to the thunders of moral indignation" (Alan Bullock). These words nearly describe Mr. Nehru's indignation over what is almost universally alleged about the Goa episode apart from the undisputed claim of India to Goa.

That Gandhiji did not object to the use of armed forces by the Government of India in defence of Kashmir is not relevant to the use of force against the Portuguese possession. What is relevant is our own past and present attitude, in respect of the many cases of UN intervention in which India may be expected to participate. The world has a knack of accepting a *fait accompli* and talk no more about it. But what part we shall henceforth play in the world organization for preventing belligerent action and canalizing emotion into a debate, instead of running into military action, is now the question. Therein our Goa action is bound to play an unpleasant part.

★

Science is good for the human family. There is no question about it except this—that Science has given the nuclear bomb, and this has been poisoning the world continuously ever since it came into existence; it is the cause of an immense waste of resources which could be used otherwise for the welfare of humanity; and it has, by its terror, orphaned the smaller nations of the world by deterring assistance from bigger Powers in the cause of peace and justice. It has become a deterrent of justice and mutual assistance instead of being a deterrent of war. "Science represents the majesty of the human mind," says the Indian Science Congress. But it has also brought incalculable danger to all humanity and has put in the hands of powerful nations a weapon which can effectively intimidate the best minds and the whole world into submission to wrong. International agree-

ment to clip the wings of this evil thing has been worked out, but it is receding each time we thought it was coming. Hope seems to have become a will-o-the-wisp.

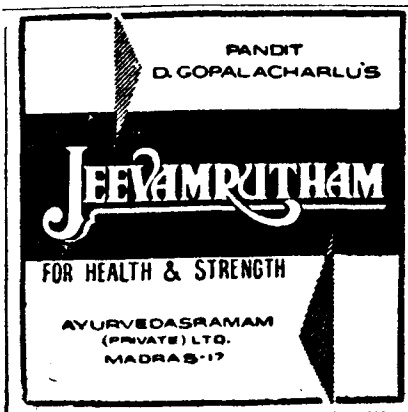
★

Almost immediately after the Indian action on Goa appears the Indonesian and West Irian affair. Never before were such truculent words heard over issues of this nature. The old role of India can no longer be played by either Mr. Menon or Mr. Nehru. The voice of these illustrious peace-makers and cease-fire advocates must remain hushed. Instead, election slogans about China and Pakistan have reached a new high pitch. Apart from abusive letters according to pattern, more than one well-meaning friend has asked why I spoke as I did over Goa. The 'why' is obvious. Fear of popular misunderstanding should not lead one to disregard important duty and truth. That the Goa action has disabled India from speaking up as hitherto in the counsels of the world against resort to force is obvious, and will be increasingly brought to notice as the days pass. Surely those in India who honestly feel that an error has been committed should speak out, so that there may be some room left for salvaging our moral authority. It would be penny-wise and pound-foolish to suppress one's conviction in fear of popular misunderstanding. Those who purchase peace by suppressing their convictions will 'die repentant of a wasted life'.

★

In connection with the breakdown of the talks between the Swatantra Party and the D.M.K. in Madras, I am told some Tamil journals are attributing the breakdown to disagreement about financial matters. There was not the least reference to financial matters. The story is a complete fabrication to besmirch the name of the D.M.K. It is strange that anyone should invent such a story.

C.R.



January 13, 1962

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

WILL OUR RULERS LEARN?

Sir,—The following extract from the *Life of Napoleon* by William Hazlitt (volume 3, page 13) will be of interest:

Soon after the birth of young Napoleon, his father had it in contemplation to build a superb palace for him, nearly opposite the Pont De Jena, to be called the Palace of the King of Rome. The government accordingly endeavoured to purchase all the houses situated upon the ground where it was intended to be built. Upon this spot, there was a small house belonging to a poor cooper of the name of Bonvivant, which including the ground on which it stood, was not at the highest valuation worth more than a thousand francs. The owner demanded 10,000 francs. The matter was referred to the Emperor, who ordered that it should be purchased at that price. When the proper persons waited upon the cooper to conclude the bargain, he said that, upon reflection, he could not sell it for less than 30,000 francs.

It was referred again to Napoleon, who directed that the sum should be paid to him. When they came to settle the business, the man increased his demand to 40,000 francs. The architect was greatly embarrassed, and did not know how to act, or in what manner he could again venture to annoy the Emperor on the subject; at the same time he knew it would be impossible to conceal the circumstance from him.

He, therefore, addressed him again on the subject. "This fellow," said Napoleon, "trifles with us; nevertheless, there is no help for it; we must pay the money". The architect returned to the cooper, who increased his price to 50,000 francs! The Emperor was indignant when informed of it, and said, "The man is a wretch, and I will not purchase the house at all; but it shall remain where it is as a monument of my respect for the laws".

Comment is superfluous. The story might be pondered over by our pseudo-Napoleons.

B. R. KUMAR

MARXISM BY THE SIDE DOOR

Sir,—The Patna Congress resolution reiterates the objective of the Congress as being a non-sectarian, *secular India*. It is to be carefully noted that it is not *secular government* (i.e., *louluka rajya*), but *secular country*! This is confessing to Marxist, materialist, Godless ideology. It is materializing the people's life and not spiritualizing it, as Gandhi and Gokhale wanted. To the extent that the Indian heritage is permeated by spiritual values, it is anti-Indian.

The resolution reiterates its Principle and Policy of Democratic Socialism. Now, we have to realize that it is a self-contradictory objective or pattern. For socialism in due course, as it becomes all-pervading, cancels the democratic basis with which it starts! For socialism of the variety being introduced here by Mr. Nehru, and acquiesced in with singular lack of thought by his followers, is of the Marxist variety now incarnated in Soviet Russia and the communist States (but for theoretical adherence to non-violence). M.A.V.

SPEAKERS OF LEGISLATURES

Sir,—The question is being currently discussed whether the present presiding officers of legislatures, who are members of political parties, should be re-

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January 13, 1962

elected unopposed to the legislatures and to their offices. Though elected on party lines, they are expected to shed their party sympathies in the discharge of their duties, which are more judicial than political. Their uncontested election is recommended on the ground that they would no longer be obliged to a political party, and could, there-

fore, be as impartial as non-party judges. Nevertheless, their claim to impartiality does not receive full credence. It seems better, therefore, to appoint judicial officers of the rank of the judges of the high courts and the Supreme Court and on the terms of such judges as presiding officers of legislatures. To make their impartiality doubly acknow-

ledged, they should be appointed by the Chief Justice of India. Such nomination will be no departure from democratic propriety nor be unprecedented, for even now some legislators are being nominated, and one of them became even the Chief Minister of a State.
Bangalore

P. KODANDA RAO



THE MAIDEN FROM ASSAM

"When I was a child, I tended the cattle ;
"Being young, I sit at the loom ;
"Right and left, I ply my shuttle ;
"Comes my love and gives the call."

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THE NATIONAL HERITAGE

January 13, 1962

SWARAJYA

ROLE OF THE STATE

(Continued from page 3)

that socialism or Statism is right in its claim for universal jurisdiction. The Swatantra Party is certainly right in its demand for minimum interference. The contradiction is resolved if we recognize that there can be *two meanings* of limitation. In addition to the *horizontal* meaning just mentioned in which the State can be allowed full scope, there is also what may be called a *vertical meaning* of limitation.

The State can deal with any subject, even the most interior of the experiences of the individual (as in religion and marriage and culture) but it should observe *restraints in the way* in which it deals with them. It should limit individual or group freedom and action to prevent their interference with the legitimate activity or rights of other individuals and groups. It should act to hinder hindrances or remove obstructions to the free self-expression of citizens, so long as it does not come in the way of the self-expression of others. Freedom being absence of constraint from others, the State should maintain a system of counter-restraints whereby a sphere of free unrestricted action is reserved and assured to individuals in the pursuit of their activities.

When the Swatantra Party declares that it will assure a sufficiency of food, clothing, shelter, medicine and other essential necessities to the common man at prices that he can afford, it does not mean that it will *nationalize* these economic activities. It only means that the State will provide encouragement to private individuals to produce these goods and services abundantly. And when it refers to control over prices, and dividends to stabilize economic conditions to enable private businessmen to plan on their own responsibility and at their own risk, it only means that by suitable monetary and fiscal measures, the State will produce a *stream of tendency* making for stability and stimulus to initiative.

So also the State will encourage, by suitable grants, private educational institutions to offer the best religious and ethical instruction.

The State will stimulate enhanced production of food-grains and agricultural raw materials by assuring the sanctity of land-property to owners and security of tenure to tenants, refraining from threats of the liquidation of private property. The State can draw off excessive population from village life by means of encouraging small industries located in the interior in widely separated areas. The State will encourage banks (co-operative or other) to cover the countryside by their network, by maintaining law and justice. The development of what is called an *infra-structure* consisting of roads and bridges, credit and educational institutions, warehouses, regulated markets, posts and telegraphs, the provision of reliable market information and so on, will stimulate industry and commerce, and social mobility, much more than any amount of direct State action through an expensive bureaucracy.

The Swatantra pattern of society will not have the State overgrow into a huge leviathan stifling private initiative and enterprise but will direct it into creative channels. The modern State from the days of the Rooseveltian New Deal has learnt much wisdom and expertise in the art of regulation that maximises individual and group enterprise and efficiency without crippling or supplanting them. The phenomenal recovery of West Germany and Japan after their defeat in war, and within ten years, are convincing examples of how welfare and prosperity could be achieved without regimentation and Statism.

This view of State action will reconcile the extensive field of State action required for progress with its regulative function to prevent mutual clash and exploitation. What is wanted is State leadership and not State omnipotence.

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DON'T MISS THE BUS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Prof. Herberger of the M.I.T. threw serious doubts the other day on the main creed of the ruling party. He disturbed the faith in the policy of State investment to which the Congress is pledged and which has resulted in such distressing and crippling taxation and vicious circles of inefficiency and failure at all levels. If the immemorial and automatic checks of individual interest at one end, and the market (both internal and external) at the other end, are removed and some few persons take hold of all the strings at the State-headquarters, hoping with overweening confidence to look after and control everything, failure and confusion must be the inevitable consequence.

On paper, regulation can solve all troubles; but the unalterable fact remains that unless there is available an all-knowing, all-seeing, omnipotent and self-sustaining type of wisdom at the top—almost amounting to Divine intelligence and Divine power, the complicated puzzle of human factors which Prof. Herberger refers to with emphasis must produce problems, disappointments and failures. Look at the grass that grows and the tall trees that bear fruit—they do not 'Plan' at the Centre through a commission but they grow and yield faultlessly and without failure; thus may one preach a sermon to the ruling party at Delhi about natural forces and automatic checks. Not unless we release

the 'old-fashioned' individual interest and put industry under the arbitrament—the just and un-failing arbitrament—of the internal and external markets, can we get human industry to attain its full potentiality. Giving up the control born of self-interest, the attempts to substitute it by stifling State-regulation can only lead to failure.

A recent issue of the *Hindustan Times* has the following news-items which take us to another aspect of the issue:

Rohtak, Jan. 10—About 500 congressmen, headed by Mr. Inder Singh Malik, a former minister of PEPSU and vice-president of the District Congress Committee, Sangur, resigned from the party yesterday as a protest against the injustice done by the Central Election Committee in the allotment of Congress 'tickets' for election from the Julana-Safidon constituency.

Those who have resigned include Mr. Bhim Singh, Mr. Prabhu Singh and Mr. Khila Ram, Presidents of Mandal Congress Committees of Hathi, Kalwa and Safidon respectively. Two members of the Safidon Municipal Committee, Mr. Ude Singh and Mr. Subhas Chander Malik, are also reported to have resigned from the Congress.

Mr. Inder Singh Malik has joined the Swatantra Party and has been nominated to contest the Julana-Safidon seat in the Assembly.

Raipur, Jan. 10—Mr. Bhandari Ram, M.L.A., and 250 others have resigned from the Congress, it was reported from Ambikapur in Surguja district today.

Mr. Ram was not given the Congress 'ticket' for the Ambikapur constituency.

Mahant Haridas, Congress member of the Raipur Municipal Committee, has also tendered his resignation from the Congress. He has announced his decision to oppose the Congress candidate for the Vidhan Sabha from Raipur town.

Ludhiana, Jan. 10—(PTI) Mr. Shamsheer Singh, a former M.L.A., has telegraphically submitted his resignation from the primary membership of the Congress. He has been nominated by the Akali Dal to contest the Ludhiana South constituency seat of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha.

I am quoting this not to gloat over the internal troubles of the ruling party. I refer to these facts for illustrating my point that the enormous power over the business community grabbed by the ruling party, at the cost of fundamental freedoms, is bound to produce these strifes and rivalries, and their consequences. So much power cannot be placed in the hands of any group of men without these inevitable and undesired results. The remedy is not disciplinary or emergent arbitration proceedings in the party, but the shedding of all this unhealthy and excessive power which does no one any good.

Leave the citizens engaged in industry and commerce with maximum freedom to look after their own affairs. Leave them to be dealt with by the internal and

WHY SUSPECT MALICE?

By POTHAN JOSEPH

external market, and its inescapable laws, and all will be well. Accumulation of too great power in government run by parties leads to this ugly scramble, strife, disorder and corruption. Power not only corrupts, as Lord Acton said, but it is also leads to internal rot.

Laws must be made by the legislature; and policies must be laid down by the party in office. But the judgment as to whether a man should be convicted under the laws or acquitted, or who among five should be found guilty, should be left to the court and not taken up by the legislature that made the laws. The decision, again, as to who should get a permit or licence, or how much the quota should be under the rules and principles even as laid down under the permit-licence-raj, should be left to the judgment of the administrative officers. It should not be referred to the minister concerned as is now being done. It is this that brings party politics where it should not enter. Ministers are not and should never be thought to be heads of departments. But, alas, this wrong assumption of duties is fast becoming the convention. Administrative decisions should not be left to the party bosses as is now done indirectly. It is this unconstitutional and illegal practice that has led to the scramble for 'tickets' which we see. All this must go, and it is only then we shall have a pure administration and peace and order.

No party in office will do anything to reduce the power of the Government. Even if the leader of the party in office sees the wisdom of limiting this power, the men below will not allow him to relinquish what is rich with fat. And no leader these days is strong enough to withstand the pressure of his following. The only chance for the nation to obtain a reform in this respect is when, at an election, a party pledged to minimum government and maximum freedom seeks the support of the voters. If that support is not given, the bus is missed and things will go from bad to worse.

At the All-India Industrial Exhibition, Finance Minister Morarji Desai remarked that those who criticise the Government for taking foreign aid and grants on the present scale are motivated by the intention of humiliating the Congress. Caution against improvident borrowing and reliance on alien subsidies, now promiscuously sought, has been a plank of the Swatantra Party's policy, and the matter can be logically argued without ascribing any scurvy intention to disgrace the ruling party, once we consider the trends towards future perils. The Swatantra Party pleads on behalf of land-tax abolition, not only as a means of relief to the people but as an incentive to larger agricultural production. The Finance Minister has frequently spoken about higher taxation in the budgets over the coming years, and it is a doctrine with the ruling party that in ten years Indian economy will be self-regenerating. By the slogan of 'co-operative farming' endorsed as the Nagpur resolution, planning experts have predicted immense harvests calculated to evolve self-sufficiency in food and reduced dependence on grain-supplies under Public Law 480 in the United States. The Community Development schemes have been allotted Rs. 500 crores as ready money, a sum which should come out of the taxes imposed and which are limited by the capacity of the Finance Minister to donate funds out of revenue. To borrow from abroad and invest it in the name of sheer welfare would involve speculative hazard.

Mr. Krishna Menon in a post-Goa speech at Avadi, where tanks are being built, pointed out that in the pursuit of our non-alignment policy, India must have men and fighting material mobilized within our frontiers. On the current programme nearly Rs. 800 crores are assigned for our military preparations, a sum amounting to 50 per cent of the Union

budget. On the other moiety, the civil administration must run, and when we realize how the Central establishment in New Delhi alone has been expanding out of shape, we have to squeeze the costs out of the balance, although part of it goes towards such immediately non-productive outlay, like the Central Social Services. That in the course of planning, the sixteen States are clinging to the Centre with deficit budgets is going to be clearer as days pass and the sources of fresh levy appear exhausted. The Rs. 300-crores for Defence represents Mr. Krishna Menon's domain; and he has more than once hinted that he might, in case of need, move Parliament for supplementary votes. As for his discretion to spend, it remains absolute. The shield of national safety and internal security is bound to be his natural excuse for a free hand; and the Prime Minister has confidence in his military acumen, his sense of priority in respect of frontier-perils, and his judgment in providing the country with factory-production of weapons at home. It is a favourite argument that India pays for weapons unlike some other countries opting for ready-made equipment from creditor-countries like America. In strict logic the difference is immaterial as long as we get indebted either in cash or in kind. With additional taxation imposed by the Centre it is plainly doubtful if we can find all we need for domestic 'self-support' out of the one-half of the total left by the armed forces and defence hardware with Swadeshi markings. It is in this predicament that parties not blindfolded by pure assertions give vent to cries of alarm that the country might run short of developmental expenditure as prescribed by the planners-in-council. Once foreign aid is diverted from capital progress, the effects of deficit budgets are bound to rise in proportion. That the United States bears no grudge against India over the Goa affair

has been made manifest by the announcement that America's intentions about aid for uplift and welfare will not be influenced by the rejection of belated advice. It may be remembered that the eleventh-hour advice tendered by Ambassador Galbraith on behalf of President Kennedy came after two postponements of the march to Goa, and subsequently Prime Minister Nehru declared that already the point of no return had been reached.

The Defence Minister being more pugnacious contended that the Portuguese, by a sudden spurt of aggressiveness, had chosen the date of "Operation Vijaya". Although Lisbon threatens to instal an exile-government (of Goa) the sequel may be left to the World Assembly. The White House policy of aids, grants, the service of technological experts, peace-brigades and large loans is not altered in official commitment. The Foreign Investment Committee of the Investment Bankers' Association of America has recommended that American industries increase investments abroad, despite political risks. "The potential market for investment is as broad as the free world. The existing demand for funds is tremendous," the Committee said in its report to the 50th annual meeting of the Association.

In spite of liberalism and even enlightened self-interest, there might be a point of no return in financial and economic accommodation. Anyway those who advise long-term assessment of foreign liabilities cannot rightly be accused by the Finance Minister that their aim is to humiliate the Congress by allusions to present improvidence and ultimate amortization. We have copied the communistic pattern of gorgeous planning without the restriction put by Soviet statesmen on themselves, namely, to derive capital from within and not pass round the hat to AID Clubs which makes a difference. We may talk as much as we like about aid being available without strings, but common-sense bids us to learn something out of our own *Panchatantra* instead of being sold the pup twice through *Panch-Shila*. At the moment of writing, I see a cable from Vientiane where the three Laos princes, half-brothers, are cavorting in disorder instead of forming a coalition government to stabilize Laos as a neutral country and a shock-absorber between two restless regions in South-East Asia. Prince Boum Oum is charged with upsetting the apple-cart regardless of the benefits of dollar-aid. I quote the cable as it is found on the front-page of the paper in which the attempt on President Sukarno's life is described.

ABOLISH LAND REVENUE

- Swatantra Manifesto

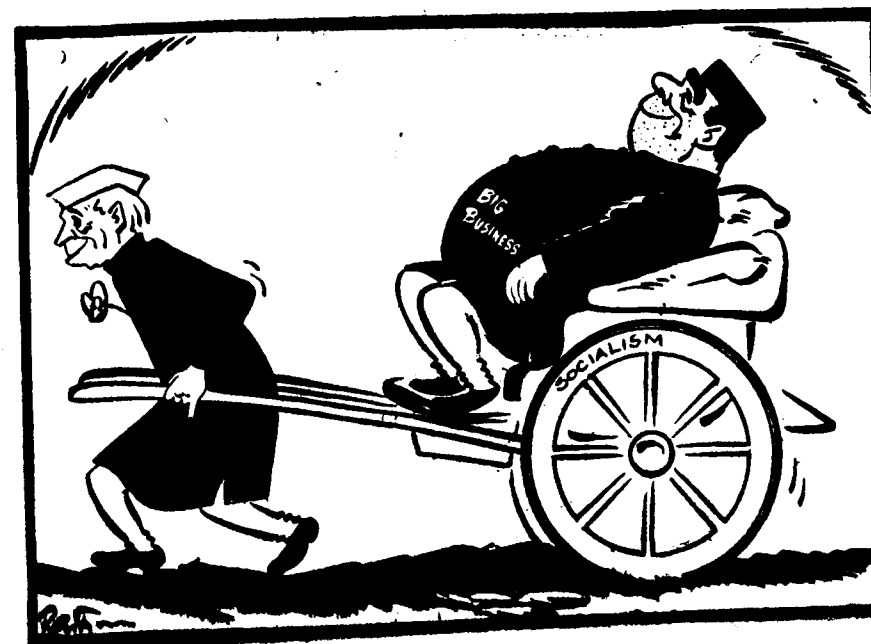
cribed at a critical moment when his aircraft was flying over West-Irian like a covey of kites around a chicken-farm.

VIENTIANE, Jan. 8.—The United States has provisionally suspended economic aid to the rightist Laos Government, refusing to deliver to Vientiane authorities a cheque for 4,000,000 dollars due this month, it was learned here on Sunday. (The news was later confirmed in Washington.)

The move was part of American pressure on the Government of Premier Boum Oum to induce the Laotian leader to adopt a more conciliatory attitude to the chiefs of two other rival political factions—Souvanna Phouma's neutralists and Prince Souphannouvong's pro-communist Pathet Lao.

The unilateral rupture by Boum Oum of the recent three princes Vientiane conference—whose aim was to set up a national coalition government for Laos—was known to have brought about American irritation with the premier to a new high, and the interruption of US economic aid had been considered imminent since that time.

Nations have their moods of frustration and disappointment which we should not underrate; anyway, other nations reserve like us rights of sovereignty and unilateral action when provocations draw masses of people on the road of No-Return. Unless we drastically economize and make life bearable for the people, the ruling party holds itself open to criticism. With half of our income earmarked for isolated defence, the remainder has to be found for civil expenditure on a scale that leaves misgivings. To play the part of Beau Brummell on the international stage with aid clubs as the backdrop, has got its own handicaps. In any case, Finance Minister Morarji Desai was uncharitable when he expressed the suspicion that critics of indefinite foreign aid are really moved by malice in order to humiliate the Congress.



CURRENT EVENTS ::

The tamasha-cum-darshan aspect as well as the actual pandemonium staged at Patna should not be exaggerated, since the three essential jobs which the Prime Minister had in mind were completed before worshipful demonstrations were started. Firstly, a resolution was passed after speeches, best heard in the Subjects Committee forum, on the Goa incident and its repercussions (including Western censure), and foretelling the early liquidation of colonialism all over the world. Further, there was the confirmation of the Third Plan already piloted through Parliament. And last, but not least, there was Pandit Nehru's cannonade against Opposition parties in the election (the manifesto approved), out of whom he picked on the Swatantra Party and its founder-leader Rajaji over whom he poured vials of wrath as the chief of 16th century reactionaries. Witticisms about Swatantra Party being the "helicopter party" or "jeep-party" were aired. The Madurai grievance that C. R. gave way to anger in political controversy appeared reversible; for Mr. Nehru, in a rage of ranting and canting, proclaimed that they (congressmen) could not understand him, nor C.R. grasp the view-point of the ruling hierarchy. The other fourteen parties scheduled for election-symbols did not provoke Mr. Nehru who indulged in a parade of economic wisdom in the modern age as illustrated by even the United States where, it appears, socialism is on the march and public sectorizing progressively practised at the cost of private enterprise!

Within 48 hours of the exposition of Congress socialism, Mr. M. R. Masani issued a reply about US economy which, item by item, belied the claims voiced by the Prime Minister. Mr. Masani is of course a *bete noire* of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who has the foible of discarding competent advisers on unfamiliar subjects

who tend to contradict him and his pet notions for indoctrinating the masses. The late Professor K. T. Shah who had first drawn the outlines of a national economic programme, even before the advent of Swaraj, was a victim of Pandit Jawaharlal's economic recoil; and it is nothing unprecedented that the factual expositions of Mr. Masani are anathema to the Prime Minister who more than once had made it clear in Parliament that he had no time to waste on critics like Mr. Masani armed with inconvenient facts opposed to his 'idealism'.

In the rush towards the High Command's enclosure there were many attempts at adoration causing anxiety to Security-men but there was hardly any need for the Prime Minister to announce that the stampede had been pre-arranged from a particular quarter filled by members of a party he avoided naming. The *Fat Boy in Pickwick* would constantly threaten to make revelations that would "make the flesh creep", but he never specified what he had in mind. Mr. Nehru did make the flesh of many creep by his pointed allusion of a nameless party, and newspaper-readers felt uneasy about the story of a dagger seized from a suspect said to be prowling on the dais. Foreign policy, economic planning, the formalization of the electioneering manifesto, and the finalized lists of candidates were passed in omnibus form at Patna, all the nominal amendments being dropped in favour of the drafts prepared by the Prime Minister. Chairman Jagjiwan Ram said the pandemonium was proof of the popularity of the Prime Minister and the zest of the masses to carry out the Congress programme.

From January 1, the authorities of the Indian Railway system have in broad outlines accepted responsibility for the delivery of goods booked by the public; it means that the old form of receipts

containing a clause exonerating railways from making good the loss of consignments must cease. At the receiving depots of the Great International Exhibition at Delhi (an inspection of which requires a journey of 36 miles at Purana Kila) it was found that parcels contained unexpected material. It was alleged that a crate purporting to carry Russian exhibits actually contained arms and ammunition! At the other end of traffic transactions, there was the instance of a large package of Mysore silk which, on being opened on delivery, disclosed a consignment of raw fish. That the railways as public carriers should be free to disown liabilities and proclaim that the owner should bear all risks in transit was something of a scandal. There was reason to fear that railway officials were hand-in-glove with gangs of thieves substituting goods at halts on the way or at transshipment centre. The advantage of monopoly in the dictation of rules was disturbed by the competition of motor trucks ready to convey goods and accept responsibility by personal attention of the staff. Now the railways have to be more careful about pilferage and theft—a capital example showing that competition improves service and regulates vigilance in commercial traffic.

On Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld's last journey to the Congo, General de Gaulle had refused him landing-papers for a stop-over in Paris—an affront peculiarly galling in view of the mysterious tragedy that finished a renowned career. Now, U Thant has rejected the British Government's sloppy invitation to visit Rhodesia in an effort to shrug off responsibility for carrying out the UN directive to station check-posts for vigilance against mercenary adventurers reinforcing Tshombe's Katanga army against the UN crusaders. External Affairs in that dubious region constitute a responsibility of the British Government which apparently wishes to eat the cake and have it too. U Thant dismissed the invidious pro-

posal that he should himself visit Rhodesia and hold talks. If the Secretary-General submits to being pushed around, instead of making his tours a matter of discretion with him, he should find himself in the role of a carpet-bagger; and U Thant has certainly preserved the dignity of his office. It may be recalled that Mr. Mahomed Zafrullah Khan, the Pakistani delegate to the UN is Chairman of the Congo Advisory Committee, so that we could infer agreement on the subject between India and Pakistan at a time of mounting tension over the Kashmir affair. There are diplomatic facilities at the UN itself for discussion of proposals which, of course, is very different from the imposition of orders on the Secretary-General to visit any one of the 104 member-States for clarifying disputes and checking clandestine operations against UN undertakings.

More for the sake of extra-boost than for any supreme need of the hour, Mr. Krishna Menon is being sent to the UN in anticipation of Pakistan reviving the Kashmir issue now lying dormant. Thanks to our real co-alignment in diplomacy, we could be dead sure of the Soviet blocking the debate and the reluctance of America to rouse a hornets' nest by involving Mr. Adlai Stevenson in any belligerent exchanges. Mr. Menon's thesis about the processes of liberation is that in colonies and in adversely-occupied territory, upheaval must first come from within, and at that stage there will be development of armed forces. Pakistan, or at any rate the Khurshidites of Azad Kashmir, should now be alert and active, come what may—an attitude with no future in the United Nations. We may, nevertheless, expect fugitive attempts on the part of Mr. Zafrullah Khan to canvass support by a lengthy utterance which Mr. Krishna Menon could excel. In January four years ago (1957), he had defended India's claim to Kashmir with the longest speech in the UN history (7 hours and 48 minutes, and still unexhausted). In a corresponding marathon effort, Zafrullah Khan ran far

SWARAJYA SPECIAL NUMBER 1962

On January 23 SWARAJYA will be releasing to the public a Special Number, which being the first to be issued is appropriately enough dedicated to the hallowed memory of its founder editor Sri Khasa Subba Rau. Pen-pictures from his friends belonging to different walks of life provide revealing insights of this "gladiator" of the political arena.

The Special Number provides a delicious course of illuminating articles on a variety of subjects. True to the traditions of SWARAJYA, the educative role which the Press has to play in a democracy has been kept prominently in view, and the articles throw considerable light on the varied problems that face us. These have been classified under different heads.

Politics and Administration, naturally occupy the pride of place, and the problems that face our countrymen in this election year, are analysed and presented from scholarly and practical angles by men who are eminent and qualified to speak with authority. Subjects like the future of democracy in the world, the role of the voter, the place of an Opposition in Parliamentary democracy, and the necessity for an efficient, clean and good administration, receive adequate attention, as also the problem of emotional integration and our controversial foreign policy.

In the section devoted to Planning and its problems, there is an authoritative explanation of what exactly are the elements in the Plan to which the Swatantra Party objects. The objectives and priorities are questioned from a constructive angle, while the incidence of our national debt is analysed including its foreign exchange aspect. The plight of the rural sector of our economy does not escape attention and landholders of vast experience state their considered views.

The obstructionist role which the State Trading Corporation plays in our national economy is forcibly brought out while the problems of management in the public and private sectors are discussed with understanding and sympathy.

Education, being the basis for the efficient functioning of any democracy, much more so in a nascent democracy like India, is authoritatively dealt with by renowned educationists.

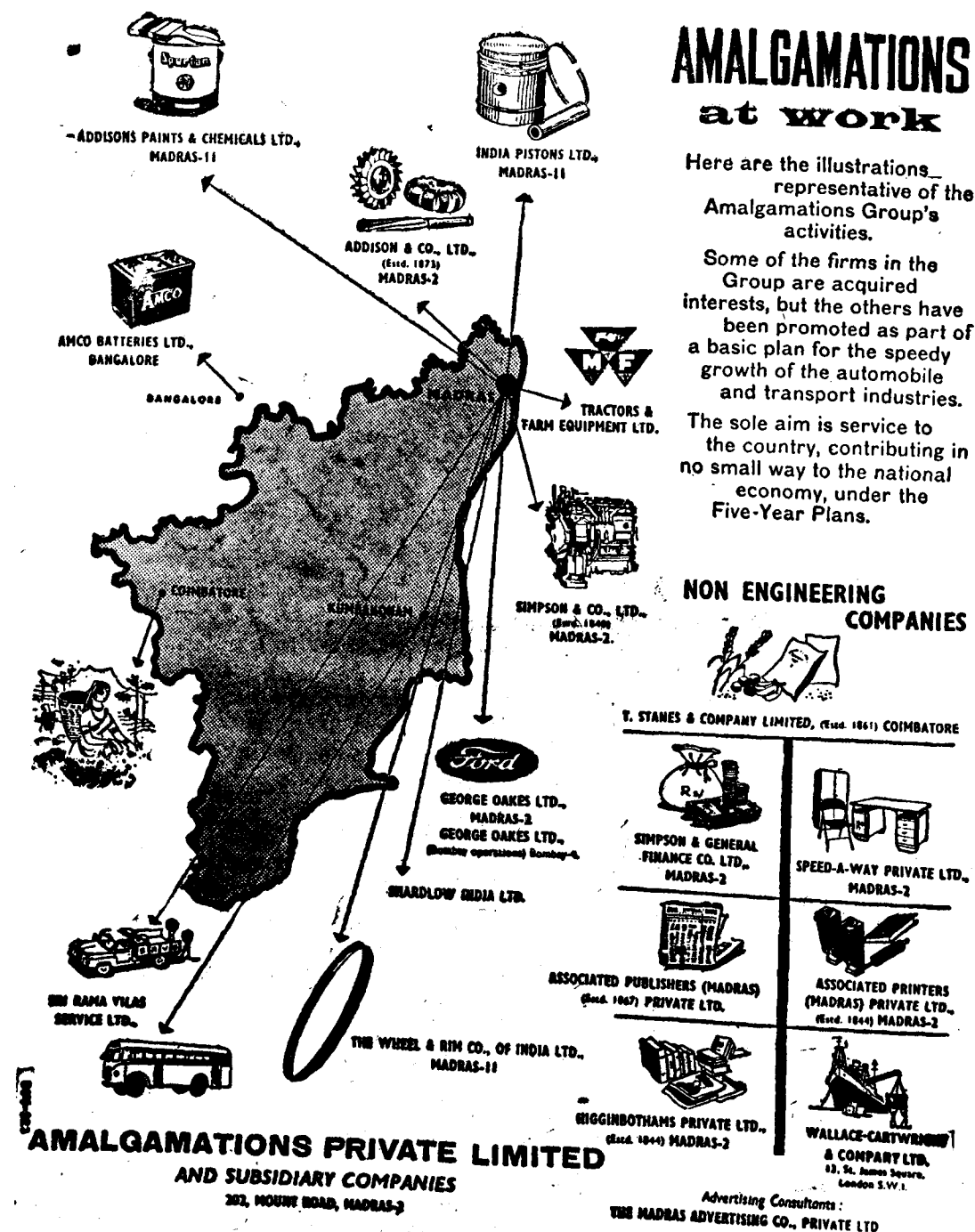
There are pointed surveys of the Sugar, Tea, Coffee and the Shipping industries by men who are entitled to speak from personal knowledge, and they do so with vigour.

Apart from the scintillating wit and satire that glow in these otherwise serious articles, diversion for the reader is provided by short skits by well known novelists, besides a collection of brilliant election repartees.

The Special Number all in all promises to be something out of the ordinary, and will prove to be a worthy possession for the literate who has an avidity for political education and enlightenment. The artistic excellence of the Special Number will provide as rich a feast to the eye as its contents do to the mind.

behind. Still there is the prospect of timely lustre that might be gained by the Defence Minister's presence in the World Assembly. In the preparation of election-posters in Bombay, before Goa action, there were broadsheets to the effect that "a vote in favour of Acharya Kripalani is a vote in

favour of Salazar". It happens that the Independent candidate contesting in North Bombay has no more interest in the success of the Portuguese dictator than the man-in-the-moon. Nevertheless, Congress canvassers are not averse to capitalize on the Goa glamour in favour of Nehru's candidate.-P.J.



INTEGRATION AND ADULT FRANCHISE

By BHIKKU

'Insaf' recounts in the *Indian Express* (of the 22nd December last) a statement of an election expert of the Congress concerning its prospects in the elections, thus: "Our greatest asset is the ignorance of the electorate. It is the intelligentsia that is dissatisfied but it is confined to urban and semi-urban areas. We have a mighty electoral machine. We are officially spending two crores on elections. No other party has the same resources in money and manpower". The expert is to be commended for his candour. The sieving of legislators and rulers by electoral methods as copied in our land from Western countries is unsavoury in many of its aspects. Apart from cost and corruption, it is also in great part a puppet show in which the papier-mache doll, glistening in tinsel, struts smacking its chest with its hand and ventriloquially squeaks out: "I am Desing Raja, hero king of Gingee, and this is my lightning steed, Parasari". It rationalizes and calls for a strutting, and a brazen self-adulation, alongside an explicit or overt belittling of the opponent that is repugnant to the sensitive who may, however, be well qualified to represent the people in other respects.

An adult-franchised democracy which weighs worth by the quantity of votes, and not by their quality, emphasizes stridency of voice and toughness of fibre rather than farsightedness or abilities. Even so, the election expert's forthright listing of Congress assets, the ignorance of the masses, the potency of money as a solvent of opposition, and the greased efficiency of its elective machinery and man-power is so far outside the conventional euphemisms concerning principles and manifestos that it surprises by its bluntness. No one will berate the Congress with preconceived machiavellianism when it founded its Constitution on adult franchise. It just wanted to be in the vanguard, shoulder to shoulder, with the mature nations of the West in the naivete of a school boy saying 'Me too', ignoring the fact that those nations advanced to it, step by slow step, through at least a century of progression. But apparently the Congress has since discovered that it was wiser than it knew, in that it could mould these vast numbers of physiological material, conditioned largely by elementary reflexes, to perpetuate its own power through many 'Plan' periods. For such hegemony, Congress's slogans about 'socialism' and

'egalitarianism' are priceless, for they are fiery stimulants poured into empty stomachs. The plasticity of ignorance, however, cannot be barbed around, only to heed the official dicta of the Congress. It is equally triggerable by inborn emotional biases of religion and language and the danger therein to the State in its entirety, irrespective of who rules it, is far greater than its ephemeral benefit to the party in power.

Actually, when the British left, there was a high degree of unity in the country, which was only partly explainable by joint antipathy to alien rule. There was a common dedication to the English language as a prized vehicle of education and as a pivot for inter-communication amidst a babel of tongues. An unappreciated, because unpremeditated, integrating element that accrued through historical processes of British rule was that administrative boundaries cut across alignments of languages and cultural patterns, and this helped greatly to erode exclusiveness in the day-to-day human intercourse. And finally there was the very important factor: Gandhiji's power of synthesis through evocation of an unworldly emotivity transcending religious schisms. This ferment that brewed an amalgamation of hearts was on a plane totally out of reach to the market politicians. The best that these could do was to denominate the State as 'secular', giving the term an annotation exceeding its ordinary content—equal regard to all religions. In actual practice, however, it degenerated to its sterile semantic limits, namely, an equal indifference to all religions. Political leaders including our Prime Minister, so glib on the religious field gingerly as though it is strewn with pins and needles—an encumbrance at best, irrelevant to the business of governance.

This denigration of the pattern of time-honoured ideologies that linked social conduct and customary decencies with religious backgrounds, even if these consisted only of rags and tags of legends, left the ignorant people adrift in a moral lacuna which came to ignore any principle save self-aggrandisement as motivators of human affairs. The power of the vote with which this desert drift coincided was a ready pabulum for political adventurism to play upon through pander to subliminal prejudices and hatreds. Riding the tiger has this disadvantage, that you cannot

get off when you want to. Little profitable trickles for immediate personal advantages pressed secretively out of linguism and caste-ism, multiplying to thousands, swell into streams that cannot be stemmed by ineptitudes about integration and unity-in-diversity from belatedly awakened national solicitude. Such talk is so widely unrelated to realities that the papers give the report of the Committee for Integration on one side and on the other speak of communal imbalances in the selection of candidates and of the Yadava conference's appeal for classification in the list of 'most backward communities'. Is it a village of language 'X' majority of 51 per cent within the borders of province 'Y'? Then militant student marches, placards 'down-ing' personalities, and processions, and burnings of effigies, get galvanized into action in the province 'X'. Is it a river that flows waste into the sea? No, not a drop will be allowed to the parched opposite side until 'We' have exhausted all its millennial possibilities. Is it a river that flows through two or more provinces? There is a fight as of street dogs over a plantain leaf of food leavings. Is it a Brahmin that wants a job or admission into a college? Show him the quickest way to the door.

Our Prime Minister stands by himself dazed by the explosive chemicals that he has put together, still unaware of the tragedy of a bookish rationalism unilluminated by intuition or wisdom. He still counts on the glistening ramparts of the New Jerusalem of Bakra-Nangals and Bhilais to magnetize the outlook and muscle-power of the snarling multitudes away from their petty bones of contention. The destruction of faith in an idol is not difficult but the building of a living new faith needs a Seer with an insight into the rightness of time, occasion and pace—not a material rationalist. Without such a Karma Yogi the paper democracy of ours will be another of those galleons that sailed towards a shining horizon and were not heard of afterwards.

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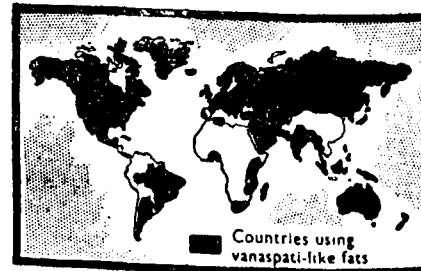
Worldwide use of vanaspati

Most advanced countries have found their traditional food-fat supplies to be progressively inadequate. The

shortage has been met invariably by hydrogenating edible oils to produce large quantities of vanaspati-like fats known variously as shortening, vegetable ghee and margarine.

How the people in most advanced countries with high health and living standards ensure an adequate intake of fats by consuming both vanaspati-like fats and traditional fats is seen from the table below.

Vanaspati-like fats are used throughout the world



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Israel Italy Japan Libya Malaya Mexico
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Saudi Arabia Sweden Switzerland
Turkey Union of South Africa U.S.S.R.
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Annual Food-Fat Intake (lbs. Per Head) in 1959			
COUNTRY	TRADITIONAL FATS (Butter, ghee, etc.)	VANASPATI-LIKE FATS (Shortening, margarine, etc.)	TOTAL
Canada	18.1	8.7	26.8
Denmark*	23.6	41.4	65
Finland	32.4	14.6	47
France	22.5	5.3	27.8
INDIA	9.8	1.7	11.5
Netherlands*	9	44.8	53.8
Norway	8.4	53.1	61.5
United Kingdom*	18.5	19.9	38.4
United States*	8	20.6	28.6
West Germany*	17.2	27.1	44.3

Even the butter-rich countries (*) consume more vanaspati-like fats than butter. And, like these consumers of hydrogenated fats in other countries, millions in India rely on vanaspati—the pure, nutritious, inexpensive food-fat—to improve their diets nutritionally.

For more information, please write to: The Vanaspati Manufacturers' Association of India, India House, Fort Street, Bombay

Dear Reader —

Before the ink was dry with which the non-violent, non-caste code of electioneering conduct in Madras was signed by the contesting parties, the well-known protagonist of mass violence against Brahmins in the South, Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, who is guide, philosopher, friend and now chief campaigner for the Madras Congress, has appealed to communal feeling, calling upon Brahmin voters to remain within doors on polling day and not to come out to vote. If I had asked any group, or all generally, not to come out, it would have been taken as a call for non-cooperation and boycott of the polls, as a protest against the ruling party's money-and-office-power which has robbed the elections of freedom. In the light of Mr. Ramaswami Naicker's previous speeches and writings, which embodied an unbroken campaign of intimidation against Brahmins, their *sikha* and their holy-thread and their *tilak* marks, his present appeal has only one meaning for the people referred to, viz., that their physical safety would best be safeguarded if they abstained from exercising their franchise and avoided insults and annoyances from Periar's followers. In spite of the abundant tears Mr. Naicker sheds over the future of Brahmins in the South, the trend of his statement is to make voting an adventure of courage and daring for Brahmin men and women. Mr. Ramaswami Naicker may be shouting *Jai Hind* now instead of anti-Brahmin slogans, but the intent and purpose are the same.

Jakarta moves. "Despite serious, threatening economic difficulties within the country," Dr. Subandrio is confident Indonesia will succeed in taking over West Irian. Provisional Indonesian Government offices have been set up at Macassar. Six Indonesian Air Force regional commands have been created which will "provide sufficient capability for the liberation of Irian". We are told also that

communist Chinese leaders in a message to Sukarno have pledged all-out support for his West Irian claim. "We are fed up," says Sukarno. "Diplomats have advised me to negotiate but I believe only force brings about results. Our patience is exhausted." The moral influence of Delhi spreads rapidly!

The next question is when the organization known as the United Nations will declare itself no more able to promote peace and world-law and go into the limbo of oblivion—where lies President Wilson's League of Nations. Perhaps not capital sentence, but a kind of imprisonment for life may be meted out to the UN. It may continue to exist, to exemplify a state of living death!

I have been complaining about the interference of party bosses, big and small, in the administration and the executive business of the State. Some people not in the know have perhaps been thinking that my complaint is exaggerated. And some, new to democracy, may be wondering what use is it to a party to get a majority and be in office, if party-men are to be prevented from exercising such influence.

An order of the Andhra Government answers these doubts. It has decided, says a Hyderabad report appearing in the *Hindu*, that "all ministers should 'sternly' discourage legislators, parliamentarians and public workers from taking any interest in transfers or promotions of government servants, and that where such an interest is due to the government servant himself, suitable disciplinary action should be taken against the official concerned". If one smells Amrutanjan or eucalyptus oil, one may be sure there is a cold and a headache, to allay which the medicament has been used. Just before the elections apparently the Andhra Government has found the interference malady getting bad. The instruction to ministers is a polite way of

indicating that the ministers themselves are doing it. The cats are asked to see that nobody steals the cream in the pantry!

There are nearly a million persons in Ceylon who are orphaned of both their mother-country and their adopted State. For months past there has been the threat of a 'National Register' to put these tens of thousands of families in legalized Statelessness. The people of Ceylon who pride themselves on their allegiance to Great Buddha should remember that the glory of Buddha and Buddhism is the sensitiveness of the heart to wrong and cruelty. If men are determined to be cruel they really denounce Buddha, and no amount of ceremonial conformity can save the disloyalty.

The Congress has spread among all opponent parties a dread of the power of its money. "How can we possibly stand up against this terrible opponent," asks every one. I wish to tell people that we exaggerate the importance of

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BOOK REVIEW

RABINDRANATH'S MANY-SIDED GENIUS

TAGORE, A MASTER SPIRIT

By K. Chandrasekharan
Triveni Publishers, Masulipatam
Price: Rs. 5.

Count Hermann Keyserling declared that the importance of Rabindranath Tagore's message rests entirely on the inner meaning of the old truths which he re-states. He adds that Tagore's consciousness is rooted in a deeper level of existence and thus he can give expression to the working of deeper forces. Reviewing Tagore's autobiography, this penetrating German critic also asserted that he was a truly ecumenical (universal) man.

Mr. K. Chandrasekharan who has, in picturesque and arresting Tamil, already published a brochure on Tagore's life and poetry, has now written on Tagore as a Master Spirit. The author is a distinguished man of letters, a well-known writer in three languages and a connoisseur of many varieties of art, including music and the dance. Above all, he has distinguished himself as a truly comprehending and sensitive biographer.

money. Times and manners have changed. Men may take bribes but men are no longer faithful. They have learnt to cheat those who have given them money and to whom they have made promises. Let us ignore the money business. Let us be confident of our cause. Let us "pull the old woman out of our hearts" as Perseus (quoted by Addison as a motto to one of his papers) wrote in Latin.

Mr. John Nuveen, who has had wide experience in the administration of American economic aid, writing in the *Progressive* (Madison, Wisconsin) about the "Myth of Non-interference" says:

There is no way in which we can help a nation through aid, trade, or investment that will not to a greater or lesser degree result in interference in its internal affairs. Most dictatorial governments maintain themselves in power by suppressing self-determination of the people. (Our experience in Greece made it) clear that once we decided to help a nation, whether by economic aid, or a favourable trade treaty, or even through private investment, we were unavoidably interfering to support the government in power, which always interpreted any outside assistance as an endorsement of its regime.

This little volume traces the growth and culmination of Tagore's genius, analyses the poet's world and mind, and deals specially with his achievement as a short story writer, a dramatist, a discerning lover and delineator of childhood in all its manifestations, and as a practical leader. At the outset, Tagore's mysticism is expounded as his consciousness of God behind all things in the world. Citing a line of Tagore, "My heart, a pebbled bed was hiding a foolish stream", the author remarks that the world does not heed the murmurs of such streams hidden in everybody's heart. The symbolism which co-exists with the power of suggestiveness is actually described as leading to *Rasa Dhvani*, "the enjoyment of aesthetic suggestion." Describing the slow appreciation of Tagore's genius, Chandrasekharan quotes the poet: "I was waiting for tomorrow and keeping silent". Alluding to the description of a poet as a *Kranta-Darsi* or one of the far-reaching sight, the author refers to the *Crescent Moon* as a fulfilling picture of the child mind and of love's

This is very true not only about the countries referred to in Mr. Nuveen's article, but also in India. The Congress Party presents to the electorate a story of achievement which in reality is based on American and other assistance and which legitimately belongs to no one party as its own special achievement. It is seeking to defeat parties pledged to economic freedom as against State-socialism by throwing on the screen a brilliant picture of performance which is not its but American performance.

The Chief Minister of Andhra disclosed in the Andhra Assembly that donations aggregating to Rs. 1,30,500 were made during the period 1956 to 1959 by certain Government-owned companies to the State Congress Party. What will not people do who dare to do this kind of thing which any tyro in administration or politics would consider an impossible feat of misappropriation?

C.R.

manifestation, as a measure of fulfilment.

Rabindranath's short stories, and especially his *Hungry Stones*, are realized as transcending mere conformity with convention and as a masterpiece of portraiture. It is, however, in dealing with Tagore's *Chitra* that the author excels himself. *Chitra* being essentially a study of the futility of commonplace human responses is truly one of the most original of conceptions. In this respect, Tagore has travelled far beyond the epic original. Chandrasekharan rightly analyses *Chitra* as embodying the endeavour to clasp something that can last longer than pleasure, that can endure even through suffering.

A study of Rabindranath and Gandhiji (the Mahakavi and the Mahatma) correctly stresses their unity amidst the obvious and seeming divergences in their outlook. As the author comments, both possessed the same intrinsic values of life.

The best essay in this volume is assuredly the comparative study of Kalidasa and Tagore. According to Chandrasekharan, both of them were inspired alike by their love of humanity, love of God and of Nature; and *Kumarasambhava* is aptly described as the poem of paradise regained. One sentence from this essay is worth quoting: "To Tagore, the idea of a heaven without humanity in the core of the heart has no attraction". Tagore makes the three Divinities, Kartikeya, Indra and Brihaspati meet in council to concert measures to regain the "lost enthusiasm of heaven."

The message of Peace outlined by Tagore, which forms the subject of a separate chapter, portrays the perpetual conflict that constantly arises in men's souls as between constructive action which, at the best of times, can never be a complete fulfilment, and the pursuit of the ideal in art which can be both self-determining and self-fulfilling. Tagore once stated that "the East with its ideals in whose bosom are stored the ages of sunlight and silence of stars can patiently wait till the West, hurrying after the expedient, loses breath and stops". In the *Sadhana* and elsewhere, Tagore has expanded this theme and the world of today is beginning to realize that the achievements of Science lead to a question mark, and that poetry and the arts can alone lead to a full stop—implying consummation. Both by his descriptive power and his psychological acumen, Chandrasekharan has laid the public under a debt of gratitude.

G. P. BALASUBRAMANIAM

PROPAGANDA FOR PLANS

India and the West published by Messrs. Hamish Hamilton of London in England at 18s. has been re-issued by the Publications Division of the Government of India at Rs. 2. The writer, Miss Barbara Ward, says in her preface that the Indian Planning Commission and the Indian Commissioner General for Economic Affairs gave her "unstinting assistance". All this means a heavy subsidy for securing support for the Planning Commission.

The working of the Publications Division of the Government of India doesn't, so far as we can see from its recent adventures in the field of book publishing and journal publishing, seem to conform to any recognized standards of government publicity. This branch of the Government of India has published a novel (*Binodini*). It has published collections of speeches of the Prime Minister, the President and the Vice-President. We feel that these adventures constitute an altogether undesirable and unhealthy departure from sound

practice in these matters. No democratic country has used official agency for the publication of speeches and prefaces by ministers and official figureheads, of course barring Russia.

It is to be noted that this department has brought out a new edition of a book by the late M. G. Ranade on the Rise of the Maharattas. As an act of national piety to the late M. G. Ranade, this is a rather dubious business altogether. It shows Ranade as full of a most unhealthy parochial Maharashtrianism. *The History of the Freedom Movement*, which it has brought out, is a monument of misapplied scholarship. Some one ought surely to look into the working of a department which has such a record of misguided activity to its credit.

Miss Ward's book purports to be a sincere appeal to Western nations to co-operate in giving massive financial aid to India to ensure the success of the Third Five Year Plan.

The Plan, which the book seeks to boost, is the plan of the party

in power today at the Centre and is very definitely a part of the Congress Election 'Platform'. The objectives and methods of the Plan are party objectives. That a book boosting these party objectives with all their extravagances and misjudgments of projects and priorities, and calling for foreign aid therefor, should be published at the expense of the tax-payer is an instance of the dangerous, persistent trend in Indian democracy of failing to keep the party apart from the administration.

It is fairly clear that Miss Ward knows very little of the effects of the Congress Government's earlier adventures in Planning on the Indian economy. That the first two Plans have generated a terrible spiral of inflation is the smallest part of the damage they have done. That they leave the rich business patrons of the Congress richer and the poor masses of the country poorer than ever before, though very important in itself, is not the worst aspect of it all. The Plans represent milestones on the road to serfdom. We are clearly being dragooned into the Moscow way to the dictatorship of the Secretariat. —S



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A TATA PRODUCT

A RED HERRING

By K. VEDAMURTHY

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has called upon the people of India to vote against the Congress in the 1962 elections. Congressmen argue that as no other party is yet in a position to contest and win a majority of seats either in the Lok Sabha or in the State legislatures, voting against the Congress in the coming elections will lead to an unstable (coalition) government in India. So they urge even those people who disapprove of Congress policies and programmes to vote for the Congress in the interests of law and order at least. But we would like to know how long the Congress can maintain law and order when even every third congressman (not to speak of millions of ordinary citizens) is getting dissatisfied with the worsening conditions. What will be the remedy if the mounting discontent of the masses suddenly erupts into a revolution?

Is a coalition government such a bad thing as to be dreaded of and avoided at any cost? A coalition government that may be formed by the parties now opposed to the Congress

will have for its Opposition the Congress Party led by Mr. Nehru. The fear that the Congress in Opposition may supplant it any time is in itself sufficient to keep such a coalition government straight, and make for stability. In fact the Congress in Opposition will best demonstrate the need and utility of a strong Opposition party for the proper effective functioning of parliamentary democracy.

The last two general elections have made the masses of India realize the significance and value of their franchise—that is, something of their own status as citizens of a democratic republic. But they are yet to realize another ingredient of democratic principle, namely, that governments can also be changed *at their will*. Only when their 'power' for altering the complexion and composition of the ruling party is brought home can they become full-fledged citizens of a democratic country. A change in government now will, therefore, go a long way in making the people realize the meaning of the democratic way of governance. For one

thing, communists can never gain a strong foothold in India openly by contesting the elections. So voting against the Congress in 1962 elections will only result in the coming to power of a non-Congress government. If a coalition government replaces the Congress, it will mean respite for the people from Congress rule for some time. There will be no breakdown of the administration if the people return no single party with absolute majority. When people do feel the need for a change in government, it is wrong to frighten them with the gloomy prospect of an unstable government as the inevitable alternative. The Congress in Opposition, let it be understood, cannot but ensure the smooth and efficient functioning of the coalition government. (Incidentally it may even help in purging the Congress of its undesirable elements who stick to it only because of the lure for power.)

Coalition governments can be stable and also successful. It is certain that voting against the Congress in 1962 elections will not mean disaster for the country. On the other hand, it may prove a blessing in disguise for the proper functioning of democracy in India.

A TRUE PICTURE OF RURAL INDIA

By C. M. SRINIVASAN

Speaking at Shantiniketan some time ago, Mr. Nehru catalogued some of the achievements of the Congress rule and the great progress India had made during the past fourteen years, and appealed to the people to vote the Congress to power again.

The achievements catalogued, though exhilarating and exciting to hear, have, it should be remembered, all been at the expense of high prices of all commodities, causing distress to numerous families who are worse off economically than they had ever been in pre-Independence days. While the desire for modernity and sense of exhilaration animates Mr. Nehru, it is unfortunate he is unable to see how deeply distressed the poor and lower middle class people in the country are, on account of the creeping inflation and the spiralling prices. Surrounded as he is by flattering admirers, who are all well off presumably through his patronage, it is well-nigh impossible for him to realize the truth about the living conditions of the vast mass of the people in this country.

In the *Blossoms in the Dust* by Srimathi Kusum Nair, the author

gives a correct picture of rural India today, and if only Mr. Nehru and his circle would read it, they will be much enlightened on the actual conditions obtaining in the countryside.

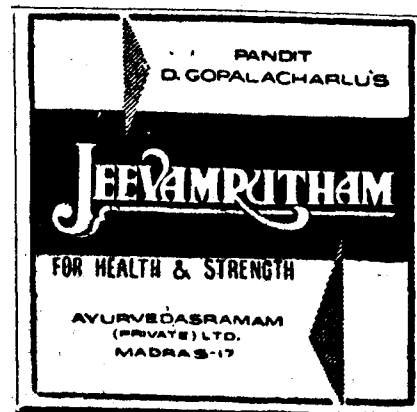
Srimathi Kusum Nair who had travelled all over India with an open mind and a keen desire to study at firsthand the exact condition of the country, has depicted correctly the depressing conditions of life still prevailing in the villages, and has stated that most villages do not know anything of Mr. Nehru and his Planning Commission's wonderful planning!

Writing on land reforms, the author declares that consolidation of land has been done by official coercion, and in spite of the abolition of the zamindari, there is more injustice prevailing in the villages today than before.

The chapter "Poverty Unlimited" is worth the perusal of Mr. Nehru and his Planning Commission; it shows how large sums of tax-payers' money are thrown away, as it were, in producing inconsequential results through the Community Development policy of the

Congress Government. In spite of boosted propaganda about help to villagers, co-operative credit is not given to all villagers and, even here, it is power politics that plays, and not justice, equality or fairness. While there is a lot of talk about improved seeds for production, the poor peasants are not able to get them from the agricultural department. The lot of the poor has not at all changed.

We should all feel very indebted to Srimathi Kusum Nair for her true picture of our rural India, which shows how our poor have become poorer during the last 14 years of the Congress Party's administration of our country's affairs.



The First Special Number of Swarajya dedicated to the hallowed memory of Sri Khasa Subba Rau, its founder editor will be released on 23rd January 1962

The Swarajya Special Number has been planned to give the reader a broad and critical survey of the progress of our country in various spheres of our national life—social, economical, political, and administrative. The subjects that will be covered in the Special Number will be varied and comprehensive. There will be several articles in the Special Number, written by acknowledged men of eminence in their respective spheres, economists, professors, industrialists, administrators and statesmen. All this will provide a sumptuous fare for the reader. In a word, the Swarajya Special Number will be a worthy guidance and a valuable reference volume.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

PANDIT NEHRU AND THE SWATANTRA PARTY

Sir,—Fresh from his triumphs at Panjim, Mr. Nehru roared at the AICC meeting at Patna: "We are the agents of the destiny of India. We are making the future of India, of which poets and historians will write later". Our past rulers were fairly modest and conscious of their many limitations. A theorist who does not understand his own theories, Mr. Nehru constantly mouths the words 'socialism' and 'planned development', always with the reservation that he is no doctrinaire socialist. He has conjured up visions of himself as the great prophet and leader who will lead India to the promised land of hope and prosperity.

Every official act of Mr. Nehru tends to lower the average character of the (unfortunate) people of India, whom he seeks to guide. The type of socialism that he is doing his level best to foist on the nation, concentrating as it does all political, economic and social power in the hands of a corrupt and unscrupulous party, and an inefficient, corrupt and nepotism-ridden bureaucracy of mammoth dimensions, increasingly tends to make every man, woman and child in the country dependent in some way or other on the whims and fancies of some one of these two classes (the party and the bureaucracy), and everybody has to pay court to them, cringe and fawn on them to carry on their normal occupations, so much so that honesty, truth-speaking and integrity are all very much at a discount in (what Americans call) Nehru's India. Things are deteriorating from day to day.

The socialism that Nehru learnt at Cambridge and is now trying to foist on India, viz., State ownership and operation of all the major means of production in the country, died a discredited death in 1922 or thereabouts when Lenin failed in Russia, and went back to the New Economic Plan (NEP). It died as a living faith of thinking men and women as the solution to the problems of humanity. But it is still very much alive as a handy device for crooked and self-seeking politicians to hoist themselves into seats of power in the name of the dumb-driven masses and stick to power for as long as they could.

What killed socialism as a faith is the proved impracticability of devising and operating government machinery

of the size and dimensions required to efficiently perform the bulk of the productive processes in the country under a unified command, but that is exactly what Mr. Nehru and his Congress Party are trying to revive under their Plan schemes, gilding it with attractive slogans and all the while talking big about doing it in a 'democratic way'.

"These Swatantra Party leaders repeat parrot-like that the Congress is dishonest, and there is permit-raj under it. This is a strange tamasha. Is this the way to carry on political discussion?" asks Mr. Nehru. "Nobody knows in which century its leaders live in, whether it is the 15th century or the 19th century," said Mr. Nehru. "What kind of creature is this Swatantra Party? It is a strange tamasha of caps and crowns and turbans," etc., etc. For a cool logical argument about party differences with no trace of abuse about it, commend me every time to our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru!

S. NARAYAN AIYAR

BEWARE OF COMMUNISM

Sir,—Presiding over a lecture on "The Menace of Communism" by Mr. Douglas Hyde, a former top-ranking member of the Communist Party of UK, His Eminence Valerian Cardinal Gracias called upon the Catholic community to shed its complacency and meet the challenge of communism. As a matter of fact communities other than Catholics are equally complacent, if not more, to the grave danger facing the country as a result of subtle propaganda, infiltration and subversion.

The Swatantra Party leader, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, has missed no opportunity to warn our countrymen against the siren call of communism which invariably leads all listeners to their doom. The communists stamp out all liberties in lands where they acquire a stranglehold. They wage a relentless war on the spiritual values of life. By a doctrinaire and anachronistic approach to economic problems, they depress the standard of life of the people and inflict on them uncalled for hardships and privations. To carry out their aims and to perpetuate their power they let loose a reign of terror. To hide their failure at home they carry aggression abroad.

Unfortunately, not even a few top-ranking leaders in our country have

SWARAJYA welcomes comments and criticisms by readers on matters of general public interest. In view of the size of the journal, however, letters should not exceed 300 words.

—Editor

become aware of the serious threat of communism. Their pronouncements give it respectability and strength. Rajaji has often said that congressmen are the sappers and miners of the advancing hordes of communism. Many communists are infiltrating into the Congress, because they know that it is the best strategy for capturing power in the country.

The Swatantra Party has consistently opposed communism and exposed its hollow claims by facts and figures. It is upto the electorate to support the Swatantra Party candidates at the ensuing elections, so that they may be enabled to strengthen the bastions of democracy, freedom and national progress against the mounting onslaughts of communism.

Bombay-1

PHIROZE J. SHROFF

THREE LANGUAGE FORMULA

Sir,—Even those who accepted the Three-Language Formula in principle have expressed doubts regarding the identity of the three languages. The regional language and English seem to be common ground. The difference seems to concern the third. If it be Hindi, it is acknowledged that it would discriminate in favour of those whose regional language is Hindi and against those whose regional language is different. The proposal that Hindi-speaking people should compulsorily learn a non-Hindi language has been influentially criticized. For instance, Mr. K. Santanam has said that it was a "foolish notion which will involve immense waste of national effort. To teach a language to lakhs of boys and girls, of which hardly one per cent is likely to make the least use of it, is not common sense". Mr. H. V. Pataskar, Governor of Madhya Pradesh, has disapproved the imposing of a South Indian language on Hindi-speaking people, because it was useless to them, but has approved of non-Hindi people learning Hindi, because it was useful to them! He would, in consequence, accept the discrimination in favour of the Hindi-speaking people, who have to learn only Hindi and English, while the non-Hindi-speaking people have to learn the regional language and English and also Hindi. Mr. K. Kuruvilla

PROFIT IN PATENT MEDICINES

By SELIG GREENBERG

has disapproved making three compulsory as, in his opinion, pupils cannot learn them, and it is unfair to deny education to who cannot. Further, pupils must retain languages as spoken as written, because of the multiplicity of the alphabets. He would prefer two languages with two scripts at most.

Since there is general agreement that regional language and English should be made compulsory, it seems to drop the controversial third language. If all pupils learn English, addition to each his regional language will provide the common medium for all India, without undue, wasteful and cruel burden on the pupils, and without provoking an unnecessary and dangerous linguistic controversy. Such bi-lingualism will serve all the good purposes of the proposed tri-lingualism and without any of the latter's evil consequences.

Bangalore

P. KODANDA RAO

IS U.S.A. SOCIALIST?

Sir,—Nehru says that even the USA has adopted a large measure of socialism and that municipalities own property everywhere. He either forgets or is not aware of the many movements in the USA to reverse the Statism of President Roosevelt adopted in the crisis of 1929-31. The Foundation for Economic Education is only one of them which runs the monthly magazine *Freeman*. It has sponsored a book called *Recovery of Freedom* which gives a programme to undo the mischief and growing paralysis of enterprise resulting from inflation, over-taxation, encroachment of Statism.

There is also an influential movement to restore State rights which have been infringed upon by the Federal Government since Roosevelt.

Bangalore

M. A. VENKATA RAO

S.T.C. AND COPRA SALES

Sir,—In SWARAJYA of the 23rd December last you have depicted the disease (corruption) so well that no doctor is required to diagnose it.

During April-September 1961 licensing period the Government allotted a lion's share of copra import to the State Trading Corporation. But it has not so far evolved a fair method of distribution of the raw material. Reports are current that recently a substantial quantity was sold at a profit of Rs. 300 per ton to influential manufacturers of soap. The STC is feeling shy to deal with individual users and earn the 'legal-

The pharmacopoeia has been completely revolutionized in the past few decades with the emergence of the antibiotics, the sulfonamides, the tranquillizers, the antihistamines, a variety of hormones, a multiplicity of combinations of vitamins, agents for the treatment of high blood pressure, and a galaxy of other new products. The extent of this revolution may best be judged from the fact that fully ninety per cent of the drugs now being prescribed were non-existent twenty years ago, and about forty per cent were unknown as recently as 1954.

The drug industry's rate of return on investment, after taxes, has in recent years amounted to more than twenty per cent, or nearly double that for all manufacturing.

One of the reasons for the high costs of drugs, Dixon has told a House Committee, is that about twenty-four cents out of every dollar that drug manufacturers get for prescription medicines go for promotion and other sales expenditures.....

zed' B. M. money. It now says that it could deal only with co-operative societies. Such societies are now being formed in some places in a haphazard manner. In places like Palghat there is no scope for the formation of co-operatives for want of minimum membership, nor can people there join the neighbouring district co-operative societies.

Why should Government introduce a 'middleman' in the shape of the STC, which engages another stooge in the shape of co-operatives to earn such illegal profit? The Government could easily pocket the entire profit by raising the import duty on copra by Rs. 300.

In the meanwhile we continue to receive replies from the STC that it has not yet evolved a policy of distribution and that the request for allotment of copra has been noted by it. In the meantime the October-March 1962 season has already begun.

Perhaps things will improve after the 'summit conference' of Ashtagrahas! Palghat N. P. RAMA IYER

The pharmaceutical industry is unique in that it can make exploitation appear a noble purpose.

Among other things, it has been shown that one hormone preparation which costs the manufacturer 1.57 dollars for a bottle of 100 tablets is sold to retail druggists for 17.90 dollars and by them to the consumer for 29.83 dollars.

The present general practice of prescribing drugs by specific trade names instead of generic or chemical names often means that the consumer is forced to pay more for a product which is no better than available cheaper substitutes. An outstanding example is one variety of reserpine, a drug used for the treatment of high blood pressure and as a tranquillizer. As a brand name item, this drug now retails at 6.75 dollars for 100 pills. The same medication can be bought on a generic basis from small manufacturers at prices ranging from thirty cents to 1.25 dollars for 100.

It is difficult to say to what extent advertising revenue and drug company largesse are responsible for the generally cool attitude of organized medicine toward criticism of the pharmaceutical industry.—*The Progressive*

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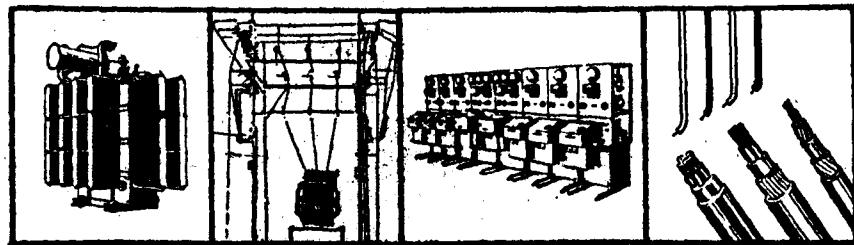
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RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The industrialists and the wage-earners in factories would both like to depress the price of food-stuffs as much as possible, the former in order to reduce the wage-bill and the latter to make their earnings go as far as possible, to save for amenities, after paying for their food at urban rates. The pressure from both industrial employers and employees to this end, and the approval of the Government of this policy of pushing down the price of food-grains, act adversely on the vast rural population engaged in raising food-crops as owners or tenants or agricultural wage-earners. The demand that farm produce should be as cheap as possible issues from what may be called a short-sighted, purely urban and industrial angle. The larger interests of both the industrialist and the worker call for a different policy.

If we aim at raising the standard of living in our country as a whole, it is obvious that we should consider the case of the largest sector which is also the poorest sector in the country, viz., those whose livelihood is agriculture, and give our best thoughts to it.

Seventy per cent of our population lives by agriculture. It follows from this stark reality that we cannot raise the standard of living in our country unless we raise the level of prices of farm produce; because, the cultivator is not merely the largest producer but is also the largest consumer, and on his purchasing power depends the internal market for the

products of all other industries. Not by exhibitionist services here and there, by way of utilizing tax money, in giving a hospital here and a school there, a lying-in-bed here and a bore-well there, and conducting foreign visitors to see these unconvincing symptoms of compassion and material progress—which obviously cannot be multiplied (for tax money is not an unlimited quantity)—but only by increasing the self-earned purchasing power of each one of the seventy per cent population, can we truly raise the general standard of living.

Factory workers can be made to get better wages easily enough. Even now their average annual earning is fairly high. Factory workers in India number less than 35 lakhs as against a total population of more than the same number of crores. We may increase this number, but every one knows the limitations, unless one shuts one's eyes to reality and dreams to make India one vast Czechoslovakia.

The problem is, what shall we do for the two hundred and eighty millions who work on the land to feed themselves and the rest of the nation, in order to raise their standard of living? There is no just or feasible way for doing this except by freely allowing the level of prices of farm produce to rise. We may lead an insignificant number of them out from the plough to factories, big or small, distant or near, but that is but a drop in the ocean. We should

give up the old formula inherited from the British rulers that prices of farm produce must be kept down, in order that all other prices may not rise.

Urban consumers may be kept satisfied as the citizens of Rome had been, by making corn cheap; but if corn is always to be cheap in India, it will mean that the rural population must ever remain poor, with no purchasing power. The rural population being the vast majority, its poor purchasing power must depress all industries.

The immediate interest of industrialists leads them to desire to keep their wage-bill low and, therefore, they favour any policy that depresses food-prices. This, in the long run, is a wrong angle to look from. Low food-prices mean poor income for the large rural majority, and this reflects on the poor purchasing power of the population which, in turn, reduces the internal market for industrial production. A policy based on the advantage of keeping their wage-bill low cannot successfully cover the full requirements of progressive industrial production. The prosperity of industry in India depends on the expansion of the rural consumers' demand for industrial production.

It is idle to dream of solving the big problems of our economy by an increased export output. We may advance in that direction up to a measure, but it would necessarily be insignificant. What the Western countries did, we cannot now do. The situation and

the times are totally different. We are not in the fortunate circumstances in which they were placed, nor have we the facilities they commanded—and in addition we are much behind time. We cannot produce new exportable commodities in this country and employ a significant number of our population on the production of such commodities, for which we can now hope to find purchasers in the competitive markets abroad. It is futile to spend tax money in subsidizing our sales abroad—this cannot be the means to raise our standard of living, for what we gain by one way we lose by another. The whole world has progressed and is still further rapidly progressing, and we cannot hope to catch up so as to produce goods for sale abroad, whose cost and quality could procure consumers in Europe or America in competition with others. The markets even in Asia and Africa are being flooded more and more by their own production, and for this and other reasons angry walls are being raised against Indian products.

On the basis of production for export from an industrialized India, we cannot hope to solve the problem of raising the standard of living in India: except, of course, for a favoured few as we are now doing through permit-licence-rai. We must depend on our own internal consumption for selling our goods. Hence follows the necessity to raise the purchasing power of those employed in agricultural work, who number seventy per cent of the population, even if we aimed only at industrial prosperity apart from raising the general standard of living. The masses engaged in agriculture are the consumers, present and prospective, of our industrial production. Their purchasing power is a pre-condition for any programme of industrialization. We cannot envisage a state of things in which our country stands converted into a highly industrialized unit in the world with agricultural prices kept down, and thriving on exports.

Every consideration, therefore, leads to one conclusion, viz., that the agricultural price level and agricultural wages must be raised, and we must face the resulting higher level of payment to workers in all spheres. If we seek to achieve this object by breaking up the framework of free economy,

we shall be doing what will inevitably lead to blackmarketing and greater disparities than before. We must achieve this in the frame-work of free economy, so that the standard of living may be raised and disparities minimized in a peaceful and natural way.

HIS FEUDAL FANTASY

By POTHAN JOSEPH

In his flagellations of the Swatantra Party which are taking the form of violent vagaries, the Prime Minister indulges in several charges which, in his favourite phrase, amount to fantastic nonsense—at any rate when it comes to his notion that the Swatantra Party is plotting to revive feudalism.

In the days of British rule, they used to talk of 'Princely India' and 'Feudatory India', in subordinate affiliation with the Paramount Power. When in 1947 the British Government chose to dissolve alliances and took the unilateral decision of letting paramountcy lapse, the treaties, sanads, and engagements became inoperative, each ruler being left free to fend for himself, and the process of integration through instruments of accession were pursued by Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy and Governor-General. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel took up the task of individual persuasion in all good faith, incidentally prescribing "privy purses" as one of the clauses in future relationship. To his memory and credit, it should be said that the new engagements were meant by him to be kept in good faith without any thumbscrew reservations for the future. Accordingly, rulers on their part agreed to the status of Indian citizens free from false dignity and anything in the nature of private coercion once associated with the Political Department.

In fixing the quantum of the privy purse, there was the bond of honour with no provision at all of a reference to the Supreme Court or any other judicial organ to scrutinize defaults. Pandit

Nehru is not fond of the Constitution as a system of checks and balances which often stand in the way of his headstrong decisions as party-chief. Indeed, more than once the invocation of the Supreme Court peeved him, and he is said to have contended that, apart from his poor appreciation of High Court judges in a controversy, he did not want a third House in the parliamentary system empowered to revise legislation, even in rare examples of a mandate discernible at elections. It is well known that the functions of the judiciary are of some critical and protective scope in the maintenance of law; but the acceding Princes, probably too proud and trustful to think of safeguards in the future, left observance of the new pacts to the State itself as personified in the President of India. Today it is true that privy purses could be slashed down by a single fiat dictated by the Prime Minister. In November, there were reports of thirteen being subjected to cuts. Nobody need hear about it except as press-leakage, and no *Gazette of India* requires to be issued to bring semi-punitive actions on record.

His eulogists believe that Sardar Patel, had he lived, would not have threatened acts of spoliation, if any of the former rulers dreamt of casting his vote, or alternatively standing for elections, by virtue of the right accorded to every adult man or woman born in India. If unofficial pressure has been applied to remove aspirants from the candidates' lists, it is a matter that can remain an

exclusive secret. Can it, however, be said that the Swatantra Party is out to re-establish feudalism in the country?

If Mr. Nehru as a member of the British Bar recollects his studies about the origin of feudalism, he might remember that the fundamental maxim of all feudal tenure is that all lands belong to the Sovereign (Blackstone). It is open to the Sovereign to allot land mainly in consideration of military service. For centuries in Europe compensation for field action was in the form of land-award, the parallel practice in India being the bestowal of *Jagirs*. In its modern connotation we should substitute "State" in place of "Sovereign", but thanks to the vicissitudes of history and the compulsions of agricultural economy, we had land-owners and cultivators with whose rights the Congress Party is blindly tampering in the name of "co-operative farming" under the paupering economic heresy of the Nagpur Resolution.

The fourth amendment of the Constitution enabling the State to nab private property on pepper-corn consideration was designed to reinforce the thesis about land belonging to the Sovereign in the fret of Statist monopolies. Again, tradition and commonsense have enjoined that the King should not engage himself in trade, but then the State Trading Corporation is a mockery of that rule of administrative art providing efficiency and incentives to production. Feudalism, on the other hand, contemplates social links like vassalage which has nothing to do with the Congress projection of serfdom and regimentation to increase wealth and equalize distribution. The Prime Minister should occasionally spare a few minutes for checking headline fancies with the clear and austere manifesto of the Swatantra Party before denouncing its existence. His present style of attacking the party ferociously reminds one of the fable of the blind nigger in the dark room chasing a black cat that wasn't there!

THE PERSONALITY CULT

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Even in a dictatorship, Khrushchev decided that his office should be stripped of the personality cult. In a democracy like India, the personality cult flourishes today so that Mr. Nehru has acquired the divine right of kings to be always right. The present position is almost pathological, Mr. Nehru claiming that no party, even his own, can differ from him. Defending the choice of Mr. Krishna Menon for the North Bombay poll and "blazing with anger," he told youngsters that they could "go to hell"—if they did not vote for Menon!

His logic deserves to be examined. He maintained, first, that it was insulting to his reason to say that his policies were right but that Menon was wrong to carry them out. In the first place, the very fact that the people disapprove of Mr. Menon because of the policies he is carrying out, implies they do not agree with those policies, and pinpoint their disapproval by opposing him as the proponent. Secondly, in spite of Mr. Nehru assuming responsibility, the people know for themselves that Mr. Menon is the real author, while the Prime Minister is but the mere rubber-stamp, of

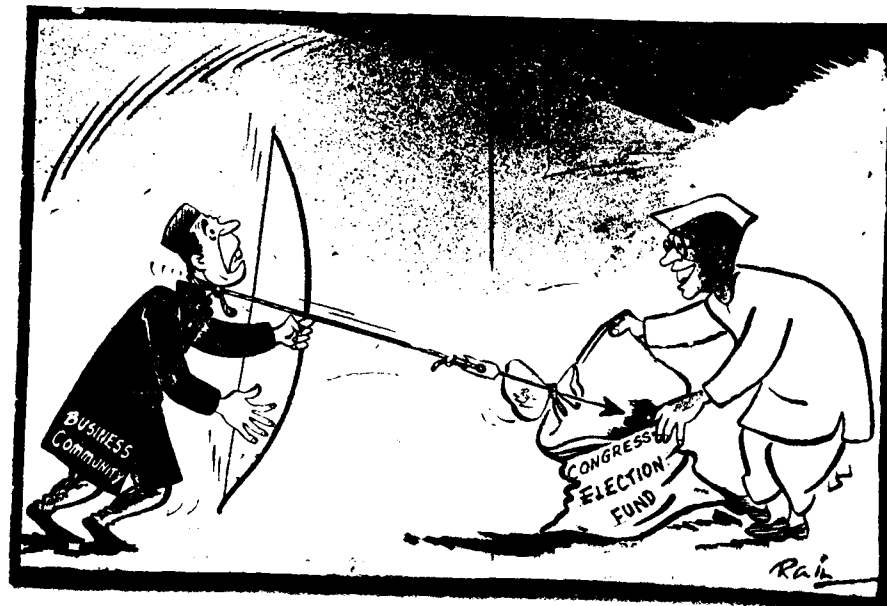
these policies. Thirdly, the people may really intend to indirectly censure the Prime Minister for these policies, as they do not dare or care to censure him directly. If the Prime Minister does not see these implications, it is because power makes him think he is above logic.

Mr. Nehru next referred to his being the Prime Minister and said that as long as he held that office he would have ministers of his choice. No doubt Article 75 provides that the President will appoint other ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister, but this does not imply that like Caligula, who made his horse a senator, he can impose a minister on the people, in spite of the opposition of his colleagues and all parties except the communists. Though it is an aspect of the personality cult, there are limits to the tolerance even of adulating voters. The test is whether Mr. Nehru will agree that if Mr. Menon is defeated, he will change his foreign and defence policies.

Thirdly, the Prime Minister attacked all parties but the communists. His criticism was nothing but abuse, without giving a

(Continued on page 13)

Shooting money into the Congress purse only tightens the noose.



CURRENT EVENTS ::

As sequel to the capitulation of Goa, there is scatter-brained discussion whether the take-over of what had been a Portuguese possession for 450 years, was in accord with the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi—a sterile debate in which strangers to the *Ahimsa* doctrine have participated with the vigour of omniscience. Krushchov, Sukarno, Nkruma, U Nu, and many other commentators have applauded Indian action, in the light of practical politics. Mr. Krishna Menon, far from conceding the merit of non-violence, has been aggressively contending that India never abjured violence, and that the Portuguese never had any sovereignty over the coastal strip, although the British in their consolidation more than 250 years later, functioned as Paramount Power capable of transferring it to Free India. Many quotations have been garbled from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi who was not easily quotable in any context where courage and cowardice appeared in juxtaposition as the choice of alterna-

tives in a hypothetical set of circumstances. When we know that it is the balance of expedencies that determined the "point of no-return", there is hardly any wisdom to be derived from an episode which is interpreted, according to different shades of pigmentation among spokesmen, over the full range of the spectrum in the skin of the human race—VIBGYOR. One hopes that the quest for testimonials as between colonial Powers and non-colonial territorialism in terms of Gandhism, will be held in suspense as the history of selfish intrigues and self-righteousness has still a long way to go.

In President Kennedy's annual message to U.S. Congress the bulk of space is occupied by programmes for the strengthening of the Republic in its domestic content. Hardly one-tenth of the space is allowed for thick-type sensation found in headlines every morning, but he has put down the point of 'no-return' in the security of Berlin. Whether Dutch New Guinea is going to be a province of Indonesia, under the attempt of President Sukarno to "do a Goa", is of greater interest to the ANZU Powers, not to mention Holland itself, than to other pedlars of ripe counsel. The world must await the test of actual success which eventually is applauded. Amongst sympathisers, Pakistan too has cabled goodwill to President Sukarno, the inventor of 'guided democracy', whilst President Ayub is busy analysing 'basic democracy' in equivalence of an Islamic State. The common slogan about a *Jehad* has not yet been invoked. In India, our resistance to Pakistan's Kashmir moves contains the slur of fanaticism implied in *Jehad* as against respectable secularism. The one point made clear in Dean Rusk's regret over the use of force in Goa, as voiced by Adlai Stevenson, is that the seizure of Goa will not in the least affect America's aid policy to-

wards India for the preservation of the largest democracy in the world against the snare of communism. Complaints of high-handedness do not take long to fade away.

*What's Hecuba to him
or he to Hecuba
That he should
weep for her?*

The "go-to-hell" fulmination of Prime Minister Nehru in Bombay was a staggering lapse in manners, but it deserves to be sympathetically understood. In the Agra Convention of the Swatantra Party, Mr. Rajagopalachari had described Defence Minister Menon as the "instrument" of Mr. Nehru, in the exposition and implementation of Mr. Nehru's foreign policy. Once that premise is granted, Mr. Nehru cannot but feel incensed at the idea of Mr. Menon being disowned as the champion of "Nehru's India" (a cliché of American authors) and the prospect of his being flung out of the Cabinet. Since the prosecution of foreign policy originates with him, Mr. Nehru feels that criticism of Mr. Menon including his methods, amounts to a personal affront justifying army-swear-words like "go-to-hell". The younger generation of Leftists do not, however, subscribe to Rajaji's theory that it is Sindbad the Sailor and not the Old Man of the Sea, who directs the daily stroll. In the Goa episode, when Mr. Nehru was being accosted at midnight by Ambassador Galbraith, he had found that the point of 'no-return' had already been passed and that the 17th Division was on the march in a three-pronged deployment.

There are many who, differing from Rajaji's reading of the formulation of foreign policy, hold that it is Mr. Krishna Menon's pro-communistic internationalism that prevails with Mr. Nehru in his normal waverings, not the other way round as in the remote past when they jointly had figured as observers in the Spanish Civil War. Though they are like-minded, it is Mr. Menon's blue-print (ac-

cording to the youth school) of events that counts. The Aruna campaigners of Goa were aware that Mr. Menon could not be nose-led. In the lofty strain of the dictum "I and my Father are one," Mr. Nehru sees a case of self-identification, with confused ideas of substance and shadow. To concede that Mr. Menon is the theorist and strategist at large, may seem to take away from the paramountcy of Mr. Nehru who, from his childhood days when he was attired as Little Lord Fauntleroy, had dreams of directing world destiny. The idea grew with years, and Jawaharlal's passion for independence and his role of expert on the international situation in the Congress even in days preceding Swaraj was psychologically traceable to the vision of a future in which he could bestride the world like a Colossus—in foreign policy. Effusive concern for the betterment of the peasantry through planning and self-government was a secondary incentive in the life of sacrifice he adopted under Gandhian influence. Anything suggestive of his not being the *Ustad* of foreign policy involves a denial of his own personality. Such an amendment in C.R.'s interpretation at Agra might have been pleasing to the Prime Minister as 'Chief of the Neutralist Bloc' where Mr. Menon is figured out by him as his frontman, and no more. Mr. Menon is tactful enough not to contradict. The P.M. cannot imagine any definition of the Defence Minister except as his *alter ego*, and therefore any appeals for votes in favour of Acharya Kripalani emanating from the Swatantra Party infuriate him into crying "go to hell". The Swatantra manifesto is a mirror held before the Congress Party. When Caliban gazed at the mirror he lifted his hands to smash it, blaming it on the glass that such ugly features should ever exist as a blot on creation. The barrack-room counterblast of "Damn Your Eyes" would merely vulgarize exchanges when the 'Code of Electioneering' is reported to be in favour of civil language.

P.J.

POLICY OF 'CRYING WOLF'

By N. C. ZAMINDAR

It seems to me that in India for the last two decades we have been conditioned by crisis politics. In 1940 I first entered my college life; from then till 1961 the one word which I have heard *ad nauseam* is 'crisis'. The bugbear of crisis seems to pursue us not like the 'Hound of Heaven' but a wolf of hell. Persons talk with long-drawn faces as if the very end of this planet is only after an hour. The country, on the one hand, is declared to be progressing, developing and on the threshold of taking off, and, on the other, is declared to be facing all sorts of crisis.

The 'cry wolf' psychology is having its reactions. People have come to believe and rightly too, that the ruling party creates and manufactures crisis, in order to bully the masses to vote for it. In the name of crisis the masses are adroitly manipulated to back the policies of the Government to meet and overcome this or that crisis. Very often the crisis is the direct result of the governmental politics and its stunts. For example, let us take the much boosted foreign policy. Pandit Nehru has been the supreme dictator in the field. Only a few persons have questioned and criticized his policies and the critics were derided as cranks or frustrated men.

The leaders were duped and the masses hypnotized by woolly slogans like 'Panchsheel', 'Bhai-bhais', 'non-alignment', etc. It seemed that destiny has singled out India to show light in the nuclear Dark Age of the World! Donning the khaddar livery of the Mahatma we spoke in "a holier-than-thou" phraseology.

The Indian Foreign Ministry thought that they have succeeded in fooling other nations. When the part of the monkey was played between the two fighting cats, the joy was immense. It seemed that we are having the best of

both the worlds. On these soporific dreams our five-year plans were launched. The Western nations and the people's democracies were coaxed and cajoled alternatively. This policy paid dividends. Not only that, absurd rationalizations were made for this policy. The latest rationalization comes from John Strachey—the one-time firebrand Marxist of England. In his addresses entitled "Great Awakening" there is a startling rationalization of the economic foreign policy of India. He says: "I once told an Indian friend that probably your India was to go bankrupt regularly once every two years. For she will always get the money in the end; she always will be bailed out. So don't be alarmed unduly when you hear talk of 'dreadful crisis' as you will." Surely, it is a great awakening to a shameless materialist philosophy. On this basis of economic foreign policy we are having our international relations. We have surely sold our soul for these foreign loans. They were necessary to finance the megalomania of gigantism and facadism, the hard core of our Plans.

The rationalization of Mr. Strachey, in my opinion, is a dangerous counsel. A debtor's role is always invariably bad and it ought to have been avoided, but we become slaves of our own delusions. We did not have the courage to challenge the basics of

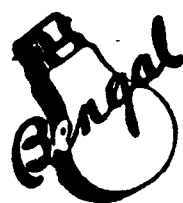
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Dear Reader

Non-Congress parties seem to have realized the stupidity of allotting time on the AIR for election broadcasts as if they were competing for an award on results achieved! The AIR Broadcasting arrangement is supposed to be a gesture towards free and equal opportunities for political education—not to 'give more to him who hath much', as I wrote two weeks ago. The democratic principle would be to give to all applicants equal time, and to give to new parties more time than to the ruling party which has already well advertised itself through extensive government literature. Suppose, when Mr. Masani and others proposed in Parliament that the Company Law should not permit contributions of shareholders' money to political parties for election purposes, the majority party instead of plumping for a law to allow all such donations as it did, had gone further and proposed and got passed a law that donations from companies should be given to political parties in the proportion of their respective success at the previous election,—that, is, that money should be given to the parties in the same ratio as they now hold seats in Parliament—how absurd it would have been! Yet this is exactly the same wrong principle on which time has been allotted for publicity through the national AIR. The fact is the prevailing psychology is that the Congress Party owns the State and all its resources, and the others function by leave and licence only.

An amazing piece of intolerable effrontery and illegitimate electioneering on the part of the ruling party has just been brought to my notice by Mr. Iqbal

Bahadur Saxena of Mandla (M.P.). The Government appears to have issued a stamp with a picture of the Congress Party's election symbol, the two bullocks with a yoke on them, and bearing the word 'Congress' in Devanagari script. Mr. Saxena sent me an envelope that has passed through the post office with two such stamps affixed, bearing a postal stamp dated January 17, 1962. I have made many accusations on the ground that the ruling party poses as the State itself. But I did not imagine that it would go this daring length. The cover which has been sent by Mr. Saxena bears naye Paise stamps for unit postage and two of the Congress Party stamps to cover registration charges (8 annas). Below is a photostat reproduction (enlarged) of the stamp.



The Madras Congress Command has closed down its Madurai unit and given dictatorial authority to its nominee for Parliament. This is in tune with the general policy of the Congress Party.

The Prime Minister said rightly that it was not correct politics to distinguish between the Defence Minister and himself. He rightly took the full responsibility for everything. I always felt that those who blamed every wrong on Mr.

Krishna Menon and relieved the Prime Minister of all errors, except that of supporting the former, were committing a gross mistake.

That the Goa business was an election stunt was denied indignantly. But at Cuttack (on January 3) the Prime Minister appealed to the electorate for support to the Congress in the following words: "The most effective answer to the world critics of the Indian Government's action in Goa is to demonstrate to the world the electorate's wholehearted support to the Goa action by voting the Congress Party again to power with an overwhelming majority everywhere." After this self-implicating piece of evidence, I do not believe that any more proof is wanted to substantiate the election stunt charge. Instead of answering the criticism of world statesmen by reasoned argument, Mr. Nehru wishes to overwhelm world criticism by an internal personality-cult vote at this election—just what another famous person did in Germany twenty odd years ago.

Principles and policies, and performance, should guide the voters when they are appealed to perpetuate the Congress Party in power. The glamour of Mr. Nehru is a dangerous guide. It is Congress partymen that will govern the country in the absolute way the 'Welfare State' economy gives scope to those placed in authority. The

perpetuation of the present practice of party bosses, big and small, interfering in day-to-day administration would be ruinous to the country. That is exactly what will happen if the people re-issue their charter to a party which is filled with greedy men trained in using power for party and personal ends, without any sense of doubt or delicacy. The frank admission of the Andhra Chief Minister that *Government-owned* companies gave contributions to the *State Congress Party funds* through the

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last few years is a disclosure that should shock all good people in India and elsewhere and be a great red signal against letting this party to be any longer in charge of public affairs.

The Prime Minister is fighting his own airy creation. No one seeks to "restore feudalism". No Raja or Maharaja in Rajasthan or elsewhere is planning to "regain his old position". Some of them seek to exercise the ordinary rights of ordinary citizens, viz., to seek the votes of the people as against the new feudalism of the Congress Party. And what is more, the Congress feels that their appeal goes home to the people who have had experience of both the old and the new regimes in the regions transferred from the Rajas to the rule of the Congress and know how to judge. The preference shown by these people for good government when compared

with the mis-rule of the Congress should open the eyes of honest Mr. Nehru. Instead, the other person in him bursts into stage-temper and spouts rhetoric about "reversal of historic processes". I have made it clear (if ever it was necessary) that the people who join the Swatantra Party have, by standing up for an Opposition party, displayed rare courage in the midst of the universal fear that prevails about the vindictiveness of the ruling party and its power to ruin its opponents. They deserve congratulation. If they now withdrew from the Swatantra Party, as a result of the Prime Minister's threats and angry eloquence, it would be a disgrace to every one concerned. They would of course be warmly welcomed by the local and central Congress "High Commands" and will be given special favours, and, if nothing else, the distinguished comradeship of the Congress lords. If these few among

the families of the old princes wish "to regain a part of their old positions," or even wanted to protect themselves against any further illegitimate assaults on their rights, they would, following the example of so many rajas and maharajas in the Government camp, have joined the Congress and not courted the anger of the P.M. by joining the Swatantra Party. I am certain Mr. Nehru knows all this.

Mr. Nehru asks what sympathy I showed towards the ryots who were in the zamindari areas paying dues to the zamindars instead of to the Government direct. Need I point out that I got the abolition of the zamindaris throughout in the large Southern Province twenty-four years ago before any others did it anywhere else? I believe I got the Debt Relief Act passed by which all ryots were discharged from further liability in respect of their debts if they had paid by way of interest twice the principal amount borrowed. I believe I did many other things for the poor, which the upper classes did not like at all, but it is silly rhetoric to pose such questions and not worth while to answer them.

It was refreshing to learn that Mr. M. Ganapathy, whose qualifications and achievements in the Engineering history of India were recognized by the award of Padma Bhushan decoration in August 1954, has offered to serve in Parliament from the South Madras constituency as an Independent candidate.

I have for a long time been expressing my view that Parliament and the State legislatures should be manned by men and women of experience in various productive occupations, instead of being (as now) filled with persons having no other qualification but want of an occupation. The evils arising from this state of things are well known, and it may be irritating to mention them. If Parliament and the State legislatures must interfere in everything, let them do it with fairly good knowledge

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of the work in which they interfere. The present practice of parties, and in particular the ruling party, setting up 'full time' politicians who not only have not this qualification but who will be tempted in a hundred ways to use their positions for personal advantage to make up for want of a regular profession, is not a good thing for the nation.

The Swatantra Party will wholeheartedly support Mr. Ganapathy's candidature. He has earned a great reputation for uprightness and efficiency, and has a history of splendid achievement in Tata Power Bombay, Mettur Dam, Hooghly Bridge, the great Bridge at Varanasi, Chittaranjan Locomotive Works and Township, Integral Coach Factory (Madras), and Rourkela Steel Plant till 1958 after which he retired. The address given to him on retirement by the Rourkela employees said:

A WRIT PETITION ADMITTED

A well-informed correspondent writes from Bangalore:

Mr. M. N. Lakshminaranappa, a former Advocate-General of Mysore State, applied to the High Court, Mysore State for a writ to quash the allotment of sites in the Palace Orchards facing Bellary Road.

After inspection of the records of the City Improvement Trust Board, he made statements on oath that the allotment contravened every provision made by that Board for the conduct of its affairs. It allotted a site to the Chief Minister of Kashmir, who made a formal application more than one year after the prescribed date and long after he was allotted the site. Next to the Kashmir Chief Minister's, the Chief Minister of Mysore was allotted a site, even though he had not applied for it; and his payment of the value was accepted long after the prescribed date and in contravention of the bye-law—according to which the allotment ought to have been cancelled. A former Chief Minister of Mysore was allotted a site, again though he had not applied for it, and while his wife owned a house in Bangalore, which fact (according to the bye-law) disentitled the husband for allotment. The son of the Minister for Local Self-Government was allotted a site, though he had not applied for it, and he was recommended for exemption from payment of half the value of the site amounting to Rs. 9,000, on the ground

that he was a "political sufferer". The Advocate-General of Mysore State owns a house in Bangalore which, according to a bye-law, disentitles his son to get a site; yet the latter was allotted one. The local Minister for Agriculture and Social Welfare was allotted a site which he did not apply for. A son of a former prominent congressman was allotted a site which the petitioner had applied for, even though the allottee had not sought it, and he has been given time for a year and half to pay the value of the site, though the bye-law prescribes only a maximum of five months for it.

Five of the 12 allottees are prominent congressmen and three others are sons of equally prominent congressmen. Of these, two are chief ministers of States, one is a former colleague of theirs, another is a minister, and still another a son of a minister. The son of the Advocate-General, who is also a congressman, got one.

The petitioner's allegation is that the distribution was *mala fide* and in violation of Article 14 of the Constitution which enjoins equality before law, and that the Board committed breach of the trust imposed in it by statute, by unfairly discriminating amongst the public who are its beneficiaries.

The High Court has admitted the petition, and has ordered issue of notices to all the allottees. The case is expected to be disposed of shortly.

C.R.

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THE PERSONALITY CULT

(Continued from page 3)

single reason why the principles of other parties should not be weighed by the people. This is also an aspect of the personality cult, to assume that the people must accept conclusions without reason or sufficient evidence.

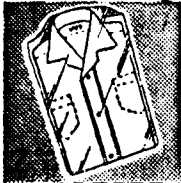
If the Prime Minister is blamed for this streak in his nature, the people who have supported it cannot either escape their share. It is Shakespeare who has very aptly commented that "It is not that Caesar is a wolf but that Romans are but sheep"! When the Prime Minister claims responsibility for whatever his ministers do, it is primarily he that is on trial. It is an instance of emotion and not intelligence that he should be spared. The press cannot escape the charge that it has itself done so. The communists are guilty of the same fallacy. Opening his poll campaign, Mr. Dange charged the Congress for its failure to give relief to the common man, "cultivator or worker who during the 14 years of Congress rule had not received any relief but had been burdened with more and more taxation", but yet wanted that Mr. Nehru should not be opposed at the elections. He did not possess the intelligence or the honesty to realize that if the Congress had failed in this manner, it was the Prime Minister, who monopolizes its direction, who should be condemned and rejected. Perhaps he was being more subtle, trying to conceal that the Prime Minister is *communist*, while the Congress has still to catch up with him!

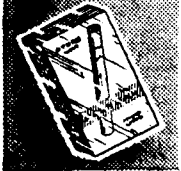
Why should logic stop with the people, when the Prime Minister comes in the picture? History may record that the people so accustomed to British rule accepted Mr. Nehru, with his Kashmiri origin and foreign education, as the nearest substitute to the British. He has studiously kept this split personality, even wearing suits when abroad and constantly emphasizing his Western ideation, with a rose-bud stuck in his *achkan* and a swagger stick in his

hand. Secondly, all publicity, government as well as newspaper, has projected Mr. Nehru, day in, day out, as the only spokesman of the Government and of India. Thirdly, whether from design or not, Mr. Nehru has surrounded himself with ministers so pigmy in stature that they inevitably make the people think only of him. Fourthly, the Congress Party is now filled with a majority of self-seekers who can thrive only by exaggerating the image of the Prime Minister.

Will this personality cult collapse under the pressure of the distress the people have suffered from the Congress? The hysterics in which the Prime Minister has been indulging of late have discre-

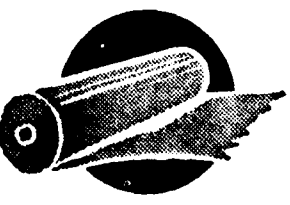
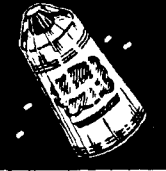
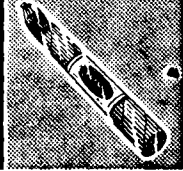
dated him with those who can read and think. The vast masses, however, remain under the spell of his image built up for years both by government and the press. His fine promises of a pilgrimage to a better world still touch them. Fortunately for the country, such Congress candidates as have been disappointed at not getting the 'tickets' for the coming elections, are now exposing not only the mercenary qualities of the Congress but also the clay feet of the leader who fetches votes for the party. The elections may ring down the curtain on personality cult and usher in an Opposition party which would allow no place for a dictator in our democracy.





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NEW PATTERN OF CAPITAL FORMATION

It has been recently reported from Delhi—the report not being contradicted—that a private company with a nominal capital of Rs. 200 (the paid-up capital may be less!) had approached the Government for a loan of between Rs. 15 and 16 crores and that the Government at the highest level has decided to grant the loan, only the details of the grant of the loan and the conditions remaining to be decided by a Cabinet sub-committee.

This arrangement, if true, appears to be both strange and without precedent. The capital structure of a company was till recently like a pyramid standing solidly on its base. The equity capital was the base on which stood the preference capital and over the top of both the debentures, if any. For example, if the equity capital was 10, the preference capital may not be more than 2 to 3, and the debentures less than 1 or 2, the interests of the last two items being well secured by the ample ratio by equity capital.

During very recent times, the pattern of company financing has greatly changed. Briefly put, large proportions of the funds required are secured as loans from the several investment corporations, State, Central and others, the

preference capital is taken up by the L.I.C. and the corporations referred to, the managing agents subscribe for 10 to 15 per cent of the equity capital, the State 10 per cent, foreign collaborators 10 to 15 per cent, and the balance is thrown open to the general public (which also the investment corporations underwrite and subscribe). Consequently, the stake of the genuine public is small. On the other hand, with these loans to be liquidated, payment of interest charges, contribution to the Development Fund, taxes and arrears of preference dividend, the chances of the equity share holder getting what the prospectus usually advertises 'as a reasonable return' loom more distant. Notwithstanding this, the shares are taken up with avidity, apparently not by the normal investor but by the stag or the speculator who wants the excitement or expects to unload quickly with some profit.

The fact of a company with a nominal capital of Rs. 200 obtaining promise of a loan of Rs. 16 crores from the Government looks like the summit of a revolution in ideas! Or is there a further hill to ascend? Experience has shown that shipping companies, whether in the private or public sector, re-

quire very large capital. It is, therefore, strange that the Government should agree to give such a large loan to a company of such apparently poor and unapproved standing, however much it may be bolstered up by increase of capital and bringing in of American capital to participate in its equity capital. But who can understand the ways of improvidence? K. V. IYER

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THE SWARAJYA, MADRAS-10

January 27, 1962

SWARAJYA

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THIN END OF INDOCTRINATION

Sir,—A proposed recommendation of the Emotional Integration Committee, which contains seeds of insidious propagation of the philosophy of one political party, is the suggestion that the head of a school should address the students every day "on the lives and speeches of well known personalities". It does not require much imagination to foresee whose lives and speeches will be fed to the young men day after day. It is bad enough that the speeches of those in power are collected and published at Government's expense, but it will be worse still if they are forced into young ears. There is a difference, a great deal of difference, between great men who are great because a nation, or the whole world, recognizes their greatness out of its own free choice and uninhibited judgment and the "Greatness" thrust on certain persons by the votaries of the personality cult. The difference is very great and fundamental.

While keeping young men informed of the lives of great Indians was a desirable function during the pre-Independence days, when the 'National leaders' were recognized, it would be a serious danger to democracy if indoctrination of young minds by the party in power with the lives 'and speeches' (1) of pseudo great men is permitted to the exclusion of the ideas and ideals of other sections of society. We have already seen how, at Government expense, the ideals of the Congress Party, as contained in the Third Five-Year Plan, are being propagated at universities and colleges, while those who wish to state their case against the priorities and methods of the Plan are kept out of that forum by official pressure.

It is not a pleasant duty to oppose the proposal to tell our young men about our great men. It is our unfortunate experience during the last decade that cautions us against the adoption of this totalitarian method to reduce the whole nation to one-party ideology and the worship of "The big brother". Bangalore P. H. S. RAO

VOTE THE CONGRESS OUT

Sir,—Many people blame the socio-economic system of today; but the fault is not in the fabric of our socio-economic system. It is the people who manage things that are not highly motivated. Things were not out of joint twenty years ago. Were we not happy then?

So the time has now come when we have to act diligently and wisely. The Congress which has polluted the texture of our entire life needs to be defeated. It is not the Congress alone that is to be blamed. The blame in great part rests with us, the voters, because it is we who have returned Congress M.L.As and M.P.s to power. So it behoves us to act betimes, and dethrone the Congress from power at this crucial juncture. If we succeed, it is well and good for the entire population. But if we fail, nothing that we do later will be of any avail.

Kallakurichi C. S. VALENTINE

SPURT IN DEVELOPMENTAL ACTIVITY

Sir,—As a commercial traveller, I have been touring the States of Orissa, Andhra, Madras, Kerala and Mysore frequently. Of late, since the last six months, there has been a sudden spurt in developmental activities in these regions. To cite but a few instances: a new railway station was being newly opened on the Vijayawada-Waltair line very recently, new waiting rooms at some stations on the Khurda Road-Puri line are being constructed, foundation-stones for many new buildings and projects are being laid down in recent months, Sattur, a small town in Madras State, was being supplied with electricity very recently. It appears what had not been attempted, during the last four and half years, has been achieved during these very few months—synchronising with the approaching general elections.

What is all this but part of election tactics to deceive the gullible voters on the eve of the elections? A.V.P. (Camp) Puri

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S 'IPSE DIXIT'

Sir,—It was really surprising that Mr. N. Sanjeeva Reddi should have categorically stated that "elections are an insignificant event in our national life and to anyone who takes an objective and detached view of things, it was far more exciting to take part in the rapid changes of our social fabric than in getting involved in the momentary excitement of fighting elections".

If elections are insignificant, what else is significant in a democracy? Any objective view is constructive and every detached view is impartial but to say

SWARAJYA welcomes comments and criticisms by readers on matters of general public interest. In view of the size of the journal, however, letters should not exceed 300 words. —Editor

that elections are insignificant is neither objective nor detached. No doubt, constructive work is more important than preparing, fighting and winning elections but the ruling party derives its mandate from the electorate, and if it considers renewing its power of authority as meaningless and a nuisance, it looks as if it is more interested in holding on to power and fears a possible reverse to it.

The unsophisticated voter in this country is not totally ignorant of his rights, responsibilities and reactions. It appears that a clause prohibiting all parties from ridiculing democracy is exceedingly necessary in the 'code of conduct' for political parties. YETI

STRONG OPPOSITION NEEDED

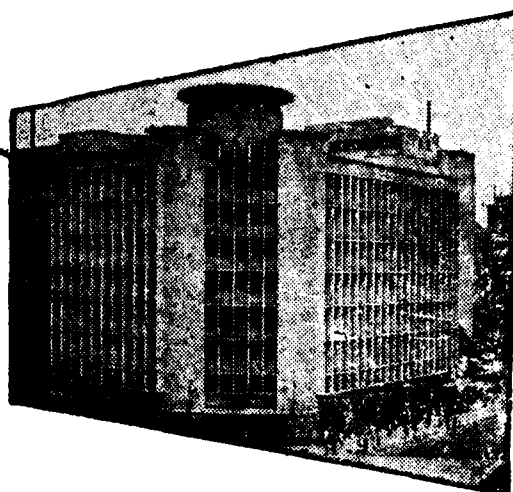
Sir,—The Congress is charged with total failure in guarding the national boundaries on the Chinese side. There is the Third Plan to be executed, on loans to be taken from our 'Western friends'. The Swatantra Party has criticized the Congress for rendering our national economy emaciated and hollow. There are monster evils like unemployment and soaring prices of food-stuffs. These are but some of the dark clouds that hang over us, threatening an imminent crisis.

Rajaji had rightly emphasized the need of a different schedule for holding elections to Parliament separately. But the powers that be have decided otherwise. So the electorate has to be more alert in the choice of its representatives to Parliament. Only a strong Opposition party in Parliament or a coalition government can save the nation from the impending disaster of the engulfing tide of Chinese aggression.

It is to be hoped that the people have a clearer vision to see the futility of voting the Congress to power, disregarding the importance of a strong Opposition. The emphasis must shift to elections to Parliament. The halo of 'fighters of Freedom', which the Congress leaders vulgarly boast of, should not be used as Sikhandi to deceive the electorate, nor the latter allow itself to be deceived. AURORA

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THE SUPREME ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNAL IN FRANCE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The fifty-second paragraph (Public Services) of the Swatantra Party's manifesto says:

In order to check corruption and the arbitrary infringement of the rights of citizens, the party will press for the establishment of an independent authority at the Centre and in the States like the Ombudsmann in Scandinavian countries to investigate into the grievances of citizens and into administrative vagaries and give due redress.

The Ombudsmann in the Scandinavian countries helps the citizen to get administrative, non-justiciable wrongs enquired into and set right. The Conseil d'Etat performs this same function in a legal, public way in France. An illuminating book on the working of this French tribunal has been brought to my notice by Mr. C. Ramakrishna, a young advocate of Madras. His Cambridge master Prof. C. J. Hamson's *Executive Discretion and Judicial Control* is a most interesting and first-rate exposition of this French Court of Administrative Appeal. Prof. Hamson's exposition is admirably clear and forceful. I would commend this book of 200 pages to every public-spirited lawyer in India and to all freedom-loving politicians.

The book begins with a well-deserved tribute and admission of the spirit of justice that pervades the laws and the institutions of England. On the spring board of this admission, Prof. Hamson

makes his criticism of the present tendency of the British executive to overrule the rule of law and, as far as possible, to evade the judicial examination of its doings. It is a tendency not only in Britain but everywhere in parliamentary democracies. It is well that the attention of statesmen and lawyers is brought to this remarkable institution of the Conseil d'Etat of France by a Fellow of Trinity College and Professor of Comparative Law in the Cambridge University.

"Our law and custom is but the embodiment from time to time of the sense of justice inherent in the nation." This tribute to the genius of his own countrymen holds a general truth of great importance. Every nation has its inherent characteristic and it informs all the laws and institutions that are evolved. Where anything is enacted contrary to this ethos, it soon breaks down in spite of every effort; and it takes corrupt shapes of all kinds to the detriment of national life. The ethos of the Indian people is *dharma* in which freedom is interwoven. Laws enacted ignoring or conflicting with this national genius are made only to be evaded. They worsen the conditions, to cure which they are made.

Prof. Hamson deplors the present tendency to restrict the scope of judicial authority and to reserve more and more domains for the executive's non-justiciable de-

cision. He points out the French contrast and commends the Conseil d'Etat for keen study. The control exercised by the courts in parliamentary democracies is increasingly reduced so as to cover only the *formal external* legality of any administrative act. "It is not impracticable," affirms the Professor, "as is supposed by some, that the executive should be effectively subjected to a rule of law. The French have succeeded in the undertaking." It is essential to the survival of *any* rule of law, says Prof. Hamson, that the executive should be subjected to *some* rule of law. "To allow the great and increasing power of the executive (in what is called the 'Welfare State') to be exercised against the individual, arbitrarily—that is to say, according to its own will—runs counter to that profound conviction of the paramount importance of manifest justice which has created and informs our institutions." "In modern political society, and not least in the Welfare State, the powers of the executive necessarily increase. With the increase of its powers, there has come a steadily increasing autonomy of the executive; it has quite literally become a law unto itself." What the Professor says about England applies with double force to India. Step by step the jurisdiction of the courts is steadily reduced leaving the discretion of the executive completely free and arbitrary.

The Conseil d'Etat in France exercises appellate authority over the grounds and the substance of all administrative decisions even of the highest ministers of the State. To support this conclusion, Prof. Hamson gives a full-length exposition of a leading case disposed of by the Conseil d'Etat. It leaves nothing in doubt as to the powers exercised by that tribunal. The Conseil d'Etat holds firmly to the principle that if a minister is to be 'satisfied', he must as minister have reasonable grounds upon which the satisfaction is based; and having such grounds, he is automatically under duty to disclose them to the competent court should that court so require. The bare statement of Mr. X, who may happen to be minister, declaring that he is, or believes himself to be, satisfied cannot be enough. French lawyers, Prof. Hamson says, would be amazed to be told that in England such a mere declaration is deemed enough to support the legality of an executive act. The legality of an administrative act cannot rest on a mere ritualistic formula. Under the French system the administrative officer or minister is compelled to justify an impugned act before the Conseil d'Etat in the presence of the plaintiff and the public, and the procedure permits each to produce its case and to see and to answer the whole case produced on the other side, and the Conseil's decision if different from that of the minister, over-rides the latter's orders. The Conseil goes into the facts alleged in support of the justification if those facts are challenged.

The Conseil d'Etat is not a body hostile to the administration. Its business is to see that the administration acts reasonably. The over-riding principle is that an administrative act is a proper and lawful act only if it is reasonable, the opposite of capricious or arbitrary.

The standard of behaviour attained by the Civil Service as a class in England certainly was and perhaps still is, says the Pro-

fessor, higher than that attained in France. "Our condition would be more intolerable than it is, had our Civil Service been poorer in quality. But the civil servant in England suffers a gross professional deformation not by reason of any naturally inherent vice, but mainly by reason of the condition in which he operates, namely, as the bearer collectively of a power which is as great as it is arbitrary". With admirable frankness Prof. Hamson says: "For that professional deformation others besides the civil servant are responsible—the politician in no small degree, the judges yet more so, but most of all probably we, the subjects who by our inert selfishness and supine acquiescence not only condone this state of affairs but actually encourage to their worst excesses the conscientious experts". And in India, let us remember the Civil Service inherits the baneful tradition of autocracy and anti-judicial attitude that necessarily prevailed under the regime of British colonial rule. The Civil Service in India has inherited and retains the old regime's disregard of citizens' rights and contempt for the judicial machinery. The old bureaucracy had utter contempt for the politician. This alone has given way. The contempt is replaced by cynical subservience to the politician in power and influence and by a more easy conscience in regard to injustice. The change is from bad to worse. The professional deformation of the Civil Service in India, to use Prof. Hamson's phrase, is much more grievous in this country than in England.

The case cited and fully explained by Prof. Hamson is noteworthy from many points of view. An executive decision was made by a Secretary of State in a matter wherein he exercised an obviously highly discretionary power—that is whether a young man could be disqualified for employment in the public service in view of his dossier. The power he exercised was one lawfully delegated to him by the Prime Minister

himself. The Secretary of State decided that the young man's application to enter the Civil Service could not be allowed. This young man's station in life was quite humble. Yet he had no difficulty under the French system in bringing his complaint, as a matter of right, before the Conseil d'Etat. The cost was not more than 2s 6d and the procedure entirely informal. The proceedings of the Conseil d'Etat ended in this case, after an examination of the data claimed, in a judgment against the Government and in a legally effective order annulling the decision. As a matter of course in France, by a regular and extremely inexpensive process, the humblest aggrieved subject can effectively bring up and place for full examination before a regularly constituted body an act done in the performance of the most highly discretionary power. What is very important is that apart from the diligence of the complaining party, the Conseil d'Etat itself participates in the preparation of the case. The Conseil considers itself to be the guardian of the good character of the administration and for that reason is all the more particular to publicly examine its proceedings.

Legislative formulae with which we are only too familiar, like "if to the Government it appears desirable in the public interest," would not in France take any case out of jurisdiction of the Conseil, but they would be taken as a direct invitation to the Conseil to satisfy itself that the minister had acted as a minister ought to. The Conseil goes not only into the apparent legality of the administrative act, but into the facts. The Conseil acts as judge of the administration in the best long-term interests of the administration itself, immediately affording to the subject redress against what it considers to be a wrong.

In a certain case the Conseil entertained a complaint and ordered a passport to issue, where it had been denied on grounds of public interest. It has entertained a complaint against an expulsion

THE TIRUCHENDUR STORY

[This statement was issued by Rajaji at Tirunelveli on 24-1-62 to the PTI, the INDIAN EXPRESS, the HINDU and the MAIL.]

The public would be mystified at the strange manner in which the nomination of the Swatantra candidate, Mr. Thangasami Nadar of Tirunelveli, was withdrawn on 23rd January so as to make Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's election at Tiruchendur uncontested.

According to my scheduled tour programme, I left Madurai for Tirunelveli which I reached at 10-30 in the morning of January 23rd. Soon after my arrival, I heard ugly rumours that something underhand had been going on over the Tiruchendur parliamentary constituency and that Mr. Thangasami Nadar was going to withdraw his candidature. I could not believe the bad stories that were related to me and thought that as there was a meeting of candidates and select workers scheduled for 2 p.m.

ABOLISH LAND REVENUE

- Swatantra Manifesto

that day, I should be able then to judge after talking to Mr. Thangasami.

I learnt from Mr. Doraisami Nadar of Tuticorin that he had met Mr. Thangasami Nadar the previous night and questioned him politely about the ugly rumours, and that the latter said that a huge sum of money had been offered to him but he had rejected the temptation. At the 2 p.m. meeting, I was surprised to note that Mr. Thangasami did not come. Enquiries had been made at his residence but he was not to be found. About 2-30 p.m., I was informed that Mr. Thangasami had his official withdrawal put in, and his cousin had been seen getting into the same car with Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's friends in the Returning Officer's compound

after the business was over, and that he probably left for Madurai and from there by air for Madras. At 5 p.m. an envelope addressed to me at Tirunelveli was delivered to me, on opening which I found an undated letter from Mr. Thangasami Nadar stating that he was withdrawing his candidature on account of his inability to cope with his powerful opponent, and he did not wish to waste his own or the party's funds over such an unequal contest.

Mr. Thangasami Nadar had signed three forms pledging himself, according to the prescribed rules, that he would not withdraw his candidature on any account, unless so directed by the party. It was strange that Mr. Thangasami broke this pledge without so much as consulting or taking advise from, or even so much as informing Mr. Ramasami Konar, the President or any other office-bearer of the party in Tirunelveli. It was stranger still that, although I was in Tirunelveli on the 23rd from 10-30 a.m., Mr. Thangasami did not see me about it, and he also absented himself from the meeting of candidates and workers scheduled to meet at 2 p.m., of which he had of course notice. For a *bona fide* withdrawal there was time till the 25th instant.

I looked up the letter and found it bore no date but the Tirunelveli postal date stamp showed it had been posted at 3 p.m. of the 23rd. Obviously, Mr. Thangasami thought it was good to write off that letter to me carrying the explanation already mentioned but did not like to see me before or after his withdrawal. This strange event does not redound to the credit of any of the parties concerned. If the friends who managed this believe that it would do good to Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, they are sadly mistaken. They have done him great harm.

CURRENT EVENTS::

Indira Gandhi who will shortly "take over" the presidentship of the Congress was on a barnstorming tour down South, when she addressed an election meeting at Quilon, where she insisted on the favourite court-doctrine that the Congress Party in the country alone can save the nation and "deliver the goods". Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia who has filed his nomination papers challenging her father's candidature, in order to prove that the whole thing controlled by the ruling party with its hold on government-machinery, is a rigged election campaign, once plainly described the Prime Minister as the Leader of the Government and the Leader of the Opposition rolled into one; the presence of any third party in the set-up must needs be an anomaly, and the Prime Minister is lashing right and left at parties which have a separate existence, particularly the Swatantra Party, with reactionary intentions foisted on its leaders and the manifesto. To quote a recent speech of the Congress supremo: "We are agents of Destiny". To quote Indira's imperious definition of solidarity amongst the faithful, we may as well recall the early conception of the Catholic Church in the Athanasian creed:

Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith.

Which Faith except every man do keep whole and undefiled, with-

out doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

Mr. R. S. Mani writing in a Calcutta paper on C.R.'s article captioned "A Little Arithmetic", says that the story of exiguous income *per capita* in India at Rs. 25 a month merely makes him a greater socialist in the belief that enhancement lies in the socialistic pattern adopted for the nation at the Avadi Congress. In one of the early debates on tripartite co-operation as the basis of economic development, the late Sardar Patel bluntly told the egalitarians that production should precede distribution, since the sharing of poverty could not make for welfare. The estimate of Rs. 25 per mensem is the same as the assessment of Indian economists belonging to the Sydenham College of Commerce in the second decade of the century, when their calculation led to a national income of Rs. 300 a year, for each citizen as a flat average. In other words, the figure happens to remain unchanged as the monthly dividend of Rs. 25 with one difference. In the current economic stagnancy marked by sparkling experimentation, the average Indian keeps earning the same total, in four-anna rupees, thanks to merry inflation and overnight labour in the Nasik Printing Press. According to a crude old proverb, you cannot indefinitely feed a dog on his own tail. He won't have even that appurtenance to wag, in proof of simulated gratitude.

The claim of the ruling party that before long our manufactures under the Third Five-Year Plan will result in a large volume of exports to reduce trade-deficits, is being freely aired by tub-thumpers canvassing votes. The main hurdle towards self-sufficiency lies in agricultural output, even if we ignore gorgeous installations in the public sector; and even as planners talk in terms of crores, there is belated agreement now

among economists that the estimates of resources call for reconsideration, especially to prop up public enterprise which statisticians have figured out as yielding profits up to Rs. 300 crores. What was said in the draft outline about lump-sums out of additional taxation is feared as being phoney, far from the focus of economic realism. The Finance Minister has warned us about coming taxation which is conceivable in terms of screwing up excise-duties and raising income-tax to a degree that would cause a spurt in wage-levels and lowering returns on investments on the slump. This vision of a dog chasing its own tail has become more vivid to critics who regard national economy as something apart from party-propaganda. In a cold piece of advice which that sanguine Ambassador of the U.S., Mr. J. K. Galbraith, gave, he remarked: "Borrowing is no substitute for earning by exports. I venture to think that any friend of India will view with some concern the rather uninspiring behaviour of Indian exports in the last five years".

In the present predicament of shortages on India's food front, wisdom bids us to diminish reliance on imports in the name of "Food for Peace" as Americans name their consignments abroad. It is all very well for some of our ministers to declare in their post-prandial expansion at banquets honouring foreign visitors, that before long India would export grain out of bursting harvests engineered through Plans. For the Prime Minister there is comfort in the supreme panacea of "co-operative planning" of the Nagpur Resolution. With his usual disregard for facts and figures, the Prime Minister said during his Gorakhpur visit that "Indian agriculture would have no future without encouraging co-operative farming". Coaxing the voters, he told his audience that "peasants with small holdings could not improve their lot except by adopting co-operative methods". Who can question the virtue of things like

co-operation in human affairs for integrated harmony? His New Year wish was that 1962 should be known as the "Year of Co-operation".

Who would question the merit of co-operation? Some medievalists and feudalists might perhaps like to hark back to the 16th century (naming no names), but it is really a problem that must be judged by the experience of farming and the actual record of co-operatives. To quote Mr. Nehru:

You should not allow yourselves to be deluded by these parties. If you like co-operative farming, you can have it voluntarily. There is not going to be the slightest compulsion in this. What is more, if you do not like it you can always go back to your individual farming.

The picture given is grotesque as if it were going in and out of a fruit-stall at a market exhibition! Once a member comes under the rules of co-operative discipline, he cannot stroll out whistling, with all his interests realized, to take an independent plunge at some other turn of the agro-economic current. Human nature does not suddenly change in spite of the Prime Minister's appeal to become "passionately dedicated to unity" and prove their zeal by voting Congress. These are matters calling for a dispassionate outlook, and random jugglery with words and phrases will not give the peasant an extra meal.

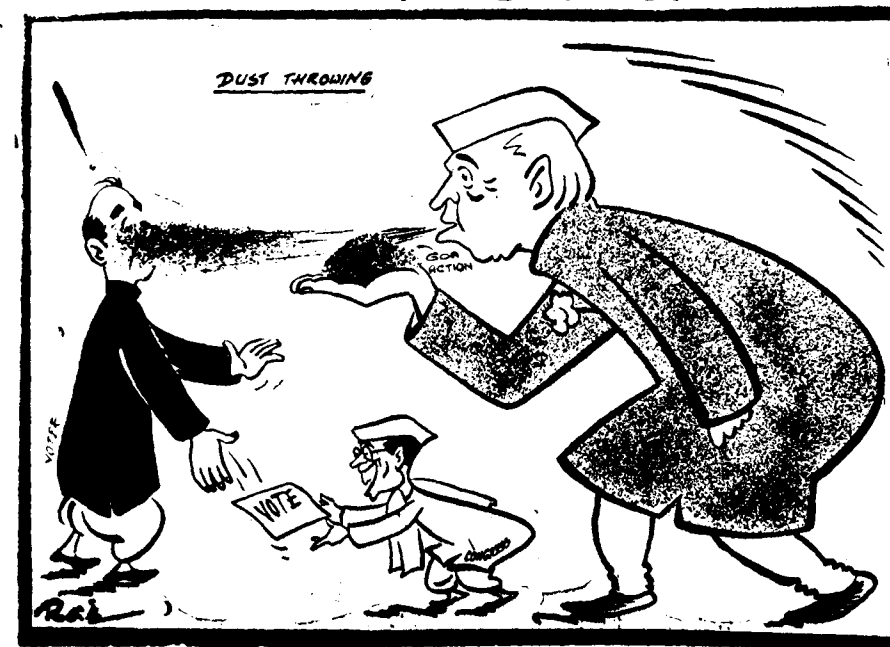
No one will be surprised at President Kennedy's interest in a settlement of the Kashmir dispute. Eugene Black has been mentioned as an arbitrator with both sides shying at the prospect. According to Mr. Krishna Menon there is nothing to do except to ask Pakistan to vacate aggression, since anything less would amount to our "compounding with felony". Whilst Pakistan has nabbed 42,000 square miles, China has grabbed only 12,000 square miles which, of course, makes Pakistan more than thrice-culpable and deserving of condign action, if necessary

alone. When the war ended, the Kashmir problem had been on the boil. America had proposed Admiral Chester Nimitz as an acceptable umpire, but that enthusiast had to fade away. The UNCIP took its turn and it is still nominally in charge of the problem despite filibustering debates in the UN. The Chief Justice of Australia was soon on the spot as an impartial authority, Sir Owen Nixon. Pakistan showed no disposition to appear as a felonious aggressor. Wranglings and ambushes across the make-shift line of cease-fire have been continuously in progress, productive of little beyond protests and rejections. To abate the running sore, Dr. Frank Graham was deputed and even today there is a cubicle in the UN building where his report remains shelved. In Mr. Menon's eyes, a battle royal of words would end in India's triumph. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed said at a pro-Menon meeting in North Bombay that China and Pakistan were "co-culprits"; but judged by the test of area, Pakistan is the major aggressor and China a Borstal delinquent. In the midst of this whirlpool, Mr. Jayaprakash Narain says that there would be no peace until the two neighbouring countries, India and Pakistan,

gear their course in foreign affairs and defence on, to reach the structure of a confederation, realizing the main danger to their territorial integrity. Some serious correspondence between Washington and New Delhi seems to be made alive, but Mr. Eugene Black may find the course as hard as his predecessors in the quest of goodwill which Mr. Iliffe did not have to face in the solution of the canal waters dispute through a treaty guaranteed by credit-worthy nations.

Meanwhile Mr. Nehru at the Srikrishnapuri Congress has expressed his 'amazement' at Pakistan's hostility to India and the language of illwill adopted. As Mr. Nehru in election-propaganda has become rambling in his condemnation of critics, one may ask whether it is not misguided animosity on his part to denounce Opposition critics in India as 'communalists' and the 'disciples of Jinnah'. It is not necessary that Jinnah's memory should be cherished in India, but seeing that he is Pakistan's hero, like our own national idols, on their respective pedestals, Pakistan too might complain of an unfriendly atmosphere being created when we deplore symptoms of hostility in

Now, it is the voters' turn to reply

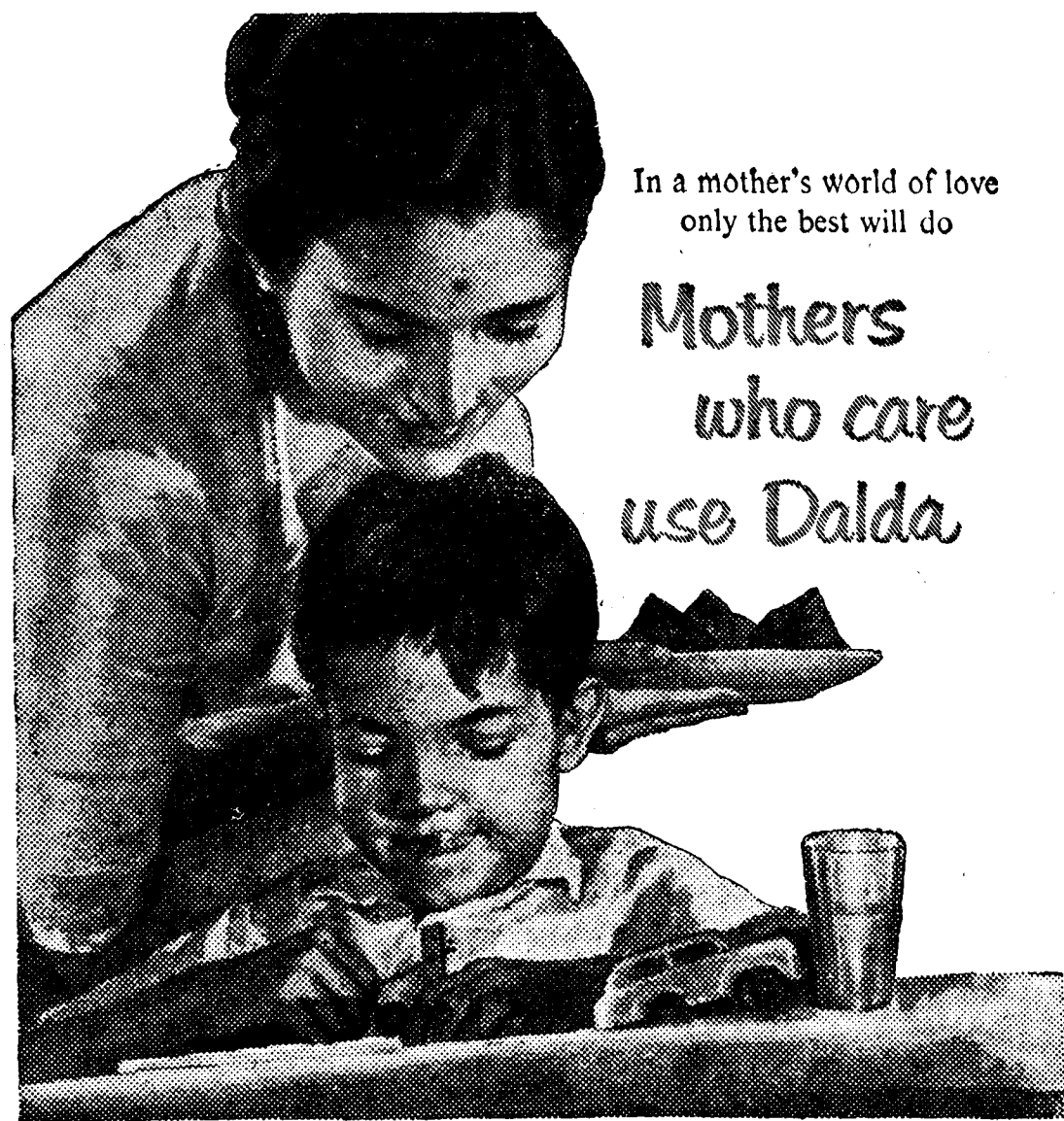


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Rawalpindi's reactions. If the Prime Minister has time to spare, he should read the Swatantra Party's manifesto to make some of his recriminatory talk relevant. Also a few moments for a reperusal of Bernard Shaw's *Devil's Disciple*.

Leaving aside the havoc ascribed to 'Jinnah's disciples' in India, many would like to remind the Prime Minister how he had observed not long ago that India should learn to live with the Chinese problem for as dreary a period as 40 or 50 years, before

the Chinese could see reason and trek back home. As to the materialization of that improbability in the stage of quisling-cliques and ginger-groups in our own country, we shall not be alive then to watch the worth of his counsel. P.J.



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By A. D. SHROFF

There is an Indian proverb which says that where the king takes to trading, the subjects go abegging. The operations of the State Trading Corporation in India since 1956 seem to bear evidence of the ill-effects of State trading implied in this proverb.

The Corporation was set up in 1956 with a view to increasing trade with communist countries where trade is handled on a monopolistic basis by the State. One of the main arguments advanced in favour of creating the Corporation was that competition between Indian traders, while dealing with communist countries, was resulting in a loss of precious foreign exchange and, therefore, the STC was necessary. Unfortunately, the activities of the STC, after its formation, have proved that it was merely an instrument for implementing the ideological policy of extending the economic power of the State. Within a few months of the formation of the Corporation, the entire internal distribution of cement in India was taken up by it. The pattern of the STC's dealings was also revealed by this particular activity. While the organized marketing agencies of cement producers continued to look after the actual distribution work, by merely acting as a fifth wheel, the STC got an over-riding commission!

The growth of the STC has resulted in displacing established channels of trade. Hundreds of traders who have been rendering a fine service to the community have been driven to the wall, because of the expanding bureaucracy which is subject neither to the vicissitudes of the market nor to the test of efficiency. Their knowledge of business techniques leaves much to be desired. That bureaucratic methods are unsuitable for business deals was amply demonstrated in the case of a recent sugar deal with Pakistan, in which the Corporation had to suffer a loss of Rs. Rs. 1.1 lakhs as it had failed to send

a telegram in time and the deal was cancelled by the other party. According to a report in the press, "although the Corporation has a foreign business management consultant on its payroll, it has paid scant attention to his recommendations in the recruitment of senior staff."

Two other disturbing aspects of the operations of the STC are the profiteering it indulges in at the cost of consumers and the loss of foreign exchange by its clumsy handling of business deals.

When the internal distribution of cement was taken over by the STC, a higher price was charged on the plea that imported cement cost more than indigenous cement, and, therefore, a pool price had to be fixed to subsidize the loss incurred on that account. Subsequently, although cement imports were discontinued owing to foreign exchange crisis, the pool price was maintained. The Parliamentary Estimates Committee, in its 86th Report, commented adversely on this abuse of monopolistic position and profiteering at the cost of the consumer. It observed:

During the period of one year from 1st July 1956 to 30th June, 1957, the STC imported 2,27,254 tons of cement. The total cost of the imported cement including the cost of acquisition, etc., was Rs. 287.39 lakhs and the total amount of sale price, value of closing stock and value of stock in transit was Rs. 239.86 lakhs. Thus the excess of cost of the imported cement over the value realized therefrom was Rs. 47.53 lakhs.

As against this, the STC sold during the year 50,48,837 tons of indigenous cement in the country and recovered from the consumers import subsidy amounting to the extent of Rs. 353.42 lakhs, at the rate of Rs. 7 per ton.

Thus deducting the loss of Rs. 47.53 lakhs incurred on imported cement, the STC earned a surplus of Rs. 306 lakhs on account of the import subsidy only during the year.

The Committee considers it most inappropriate that, in addition to the considerable revenue raised by levy of high excise duty, the Government should have taken advantage of its

monopoly in raising substantial additional revenues by fixing high prices for cement. It is of the opinion that if such additional revenue had to be raised, it should have been done through a specific taxation measure with the approval of Parliament and not under executive action by charging higher prices for an essential commodity like cement.

Now a very disturbing aspect of the STC's export deals has come to the fore. That concerns rupee payment arrangements entered into by the STC with communist countries.

Mr. Murarji J. Vaidya, President of the Indian Council of Foreign Trade, has pointed out that "the commodities which have been exported from here (by STC under rupee payment arrangements) have found their way into our normal foreign markets at prices lower than those which we would have earned by direct exports to those countries and which, therefore, have resulted in a shrinkage of our exports to the Western countries both in terms of volume and value. These facts have often been brought to the notice of those who are in charge of planning and regulation of our foreign trade. But so far, the facts of the situation have not only been ignored, but their very existence has been denied. It is, therefore, not surprising that our foreign exchange position is deteriorating instead of improving."

It is also necessary to investigate the charge that the rupee accumulated in India by foreign governments, under the rupee payment arrangements, are being used to finance political activities which aim at the subversion of our Constitution. Apart from the damage that the STC has done to our foreign trade and to established traders by throwing them out of business, if the above charge be true, it will then have the unenviable distinction of having contributed substantially to the undermining of our democratic Constitution.

It is high time that the activities of the STC are restrained and a thorough investigation into its working is instituted, instead of proposing further expansion.

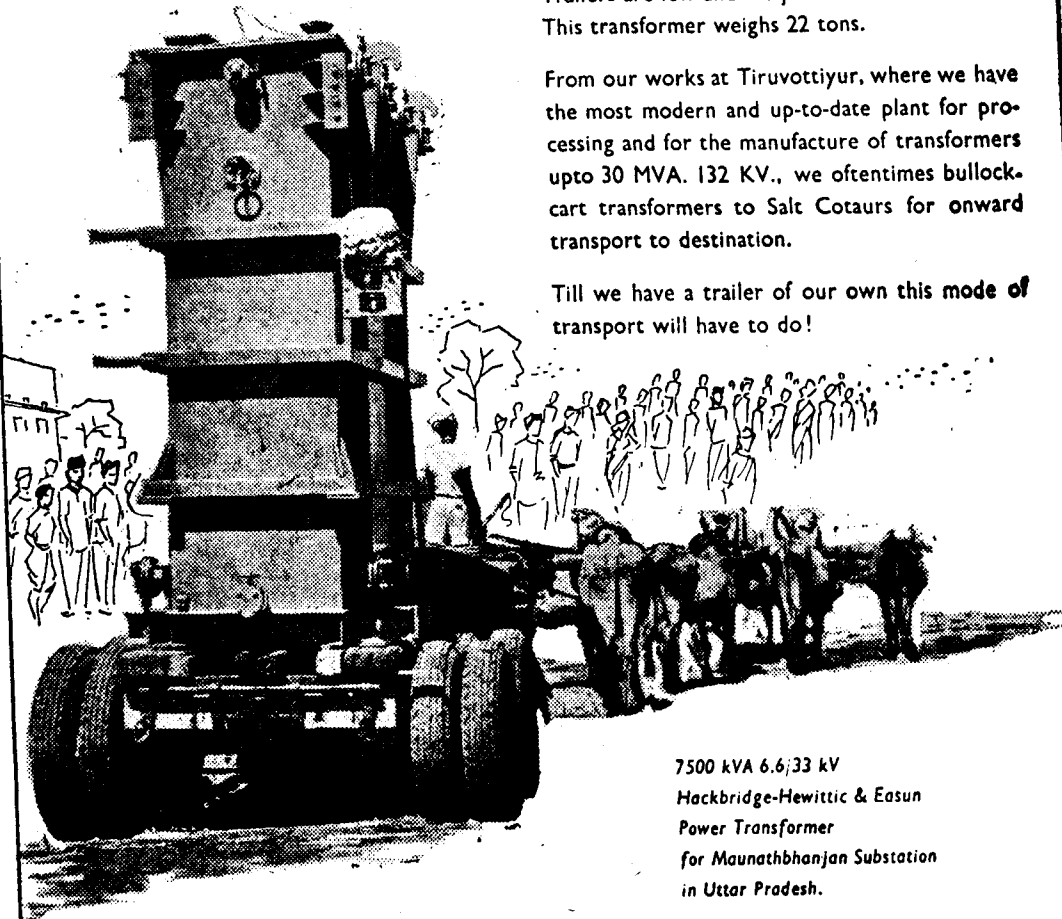
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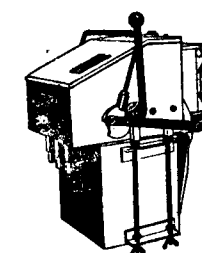
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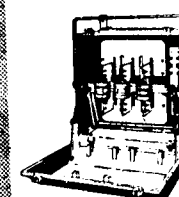
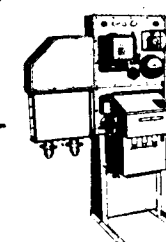
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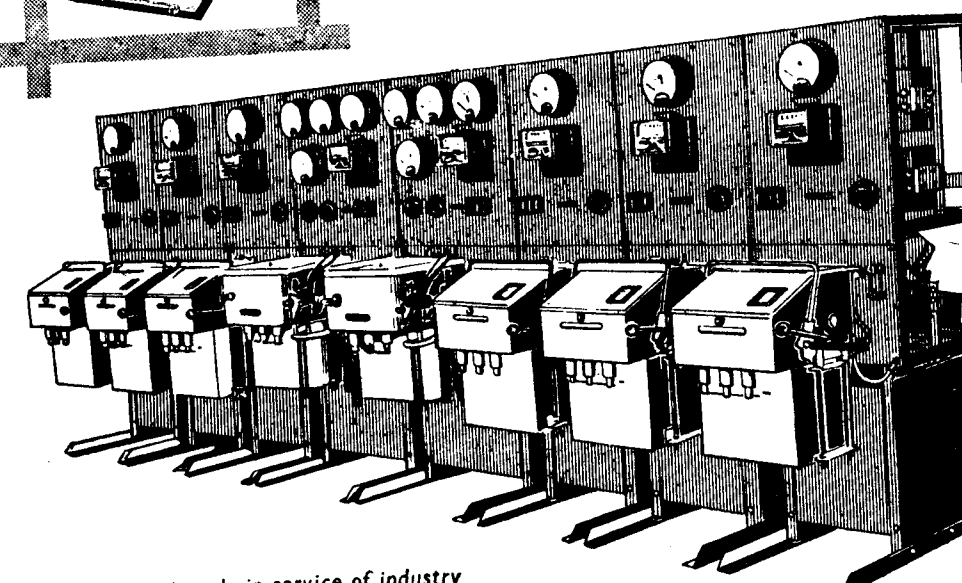
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DEFENCE DOUBLY INSECURE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

In the art of free wrestling, athletes dread a catch known as the death-lock, a hold against which there is no escape because delay in surrender would involve fatal crack of the bones to prevent which the umpire intervenes with a few counts. Imagine a gymnasium-professor offering to teach pupils a full course of exercise but subject to the condition that the mystique of the death-lock shall never be mentioned during the course. Imagine also a rival establishment where the drastic practice is part of the curriculum. In such a situation, it would be the courting of folly to enter a candidate from the first stadium with the hope of winning in a spectacular fight, however much victory might be claimed in advance by beat of drum.

This analogy is intended to test the merit of Prime Minister Nehru's logic in the "go-to-hell" speech inaugurating his pro-Menon campaign in Bombay. On the cantankerous claim that it would be an insult to his own intelligence if Mr. Menon's representative status were questioned in matters of policy, foreign as well as economic, it is hardly necessary to dwell, when our limited purpose is to analyse the praise bestowed by Mr. Nehru on the Defence Minister as the architect of India's military build-up which in five years has transformed India's strength both in personnel, and, what is known as

no less important, in the production of devastating weapons to make India self-sufficient. As the organizer of future victories against aggressors, we could make an estimate without any more flamboyant references to India's strategy in the recovery of Goa—a subject that has become stale in controversy and which, according to Dean Rusk's pledge, will not affect President Kennedy's adherence to his plan of despatching aid, grants, food-stocks, technical service, peace-brigades, etc., to support India's welfare-programmes. With that undertaking reinforced by Ambassador Galbraith's personal message, we have much of the anxiety, caused by Adlai Stevenson's disapproval, comfortably removed from the possible sequel of Western criticism. Mr. Nehru is in exultant mood about his foreign policy which is humbly expounded by Mr. Menon in world-forums and which has won encomium throughout the world. It should at the same time be supplemented with the paraphernalia of defence, of self-sufficient defence, as long as resort to war remains unbanished from the world according to his incessant appeals. The P.M. is in delight that Mr. Krishna Menon brought the spirit of dynamism and creativeness to our defence organization. Certainly compared with his predecessors, Mr. Krishna Menon is a live-wire. Our first Defence Minister was

Sardar Baldev Singh whose contribution was negligible except for an accumulation of "Baldev Singh stories" in army clubs. N. Gopalaswami Iyengar was no rifleman at the head of the Defence Ministry, he being more of a civil administrator; and he, as a former Prime Minister of Kashmir, had to speak for India in UN debates. Comparatively a young man, Mr. Menon can be conceded laurels on both tests. As for Dr. K. N. Katju, he, in his turn, cannot be placed in the same street as Mr. Krishna Menon who gave colour to his reshuffling of personnel as well as his passion to launch factories, in order to make India independent of foreign countries, from which Pakistan imports military hardware as against India which pays in cash for equipment received out of her dollar-supply, or rupee-counterpart to dignify the process. (Incidentally on January 15, Pakistan's celebration-day of her armed services, they rejoiced in the production of similar equipment at home as a safeguard in addition to weapons with foreign markings indirectly adjusted in a foreign-exchange credit.) Wherever Defence Minister Krishna Menon functions, there is controversy about the reshuffle of personnel and patronage; and parliamentary records of 1961 alone show that he is fully shielded against the complaints of Kunzrus and Kripalanis about backdoor manoeuvres alleged to affect discipline and prestige.

Where our attitude is self-stultifying is the gratuitous bravado about foreign policy in respect of neutralism and the degree to which we are free to go in the exercise of "violence" which Mr. Krishna Menon is fond of telling the world has never been "abjured" by India. We have set up installations for atomic power-projects, but it is a cardinal declaration of Mr. Nehru that we shall never employ atomic energy in war during this thermo-nuclear age. Let us not deceive ourselves into the belief that atomic bombs, with the vast variety of shapes and forms known to military scientists, are a secret kept dark by the five members of the "Nuclear

February 3, 1962

Club". Normal governments regard it as a security-measure to get the best weapons available; as a matter of precaution, it is best to assume that many other countries are familiar with preparations for a timely blow. The smallest viable country in the world under constant Arab menace is Israel; and in a recent fracas with Egypt, the Nasser junta was aghast at the production of a couple of quasi-atomic "pills" over the frontier, resulting in the customary loss of army-boots in the sands. Atom bombs and thermo-nuclear weapons represent the 'death-lock' in a wrestling contest where the fighter from the academy (where holds are barred), lies at the mercy of the superior adversary. Despite all the busy mounting of outmoded weapons, the Defence Minister is under a handicap when he is vowed to the non-use of the latest arms with which other contenders might be equipped, irrespective of unworthy and unpatriotic sources. Next, it must be remembered that India is non-aligned; and in her splendid isolation, she cannot whistle for allies at a moment of peril but merely lodge a disputatious complaint before the Security Council where, in despair of ascertaining facts, the delegates have just taken to the device of sending "Observers" to report who started the row. The UN Charter has been proved to be like the conjuror's bag which can be turned inside out according to convenience. Mr. Krishna Menon in one of his funeral-orations on Portugal said recently that India has no allies but she has a lot of friends throughout the world; more reputed friends than active followers. It is a glory with Prime Minister Nehru that there are, all the way round the world, warm admirers of India's foreign policy. That we have avoided "military alliance" with any country, and we hope to preserve security without these old-world malpractices is part of the Nehru message. It may be observed that even the most powerful country in the world, the United States, does not plume itself on having no allies. In all vital statements of President Ken-

nedy regarding armed strength, he is careful enough to say that adequacy of protection for his country is linked with the commitments of safe allies against aggression. India prefers to go it alone pinning her faith on her own internal resources and also on the paper-safeguards of the United Nations where we cannot now be oversure of an Afro-Asian majority except on the issue of colonialism, because India was rather suspected at Belgrade of having turned lukewarm in the campaigns of African liberation, more concerned in the prevention of war like other countries moving from the stage of revolution to the phase of stability in economic rebuilding, incontinentally relying on Aid Clubs, both camps functioning as lenders.

That India has abjured the use of atomic energy in war is a pledge that acts as a curb on swift action against unfriendly adversaries, restrictive of the utility of weapons hurriedly manufactured out of Mr. Krishna Menon's Rs. 300-crore budget. Pandit Nehru says that the Defence Minister has excelled his predecessors; and as for judgment in expenditure, both of them are allergic to orthodox auditing and contemptuous of parliamentary curiosity as to how the money goes. The Prime Minister says that he has seen with his own eyes from the inside, the majestic output of Swadeshi weapons, as if Congo alone has never yet taught us that mercenaries and armour of every description could be manipulated to any front through the international black-market, whilst idealists moralize. Apart from natural disabilities, India should be introspective enough to realize the limitations to which we are subject, thanks to our own unilaterally smart diplomacy. It seems hardly fair to our gladiators to be sent forward to the amphitheatre without the capacity to make a grip by the death-lock, and then cry "go-to-hell" as if to disgrace sober critics. Casting the vote in favour of Acharya Kripalani is not going to make the country more vulnerable in any respect.

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BOOK REVIEW:

GANDHIJI'S ROLE IN S. AFRICA

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
MAHATMA GANDHI (1905-
1906), Vol. V

Publications Division, Government of
India, Delhi-6

Price Rs. 9

This book, the fifth and latest in the series of volumes of the collected papers and letters of Mahatma Gandhi, brought out by the Publications Division of the Government of India, deals with the period July 1905 to October 1906. This period was marked by profound changes in Gandhiji's personal life as well as in the life of the Indians who had settled in South Africa. Gandhiji had, as the papers already published would show, become the authentic and acknowledged leader of his harassed people in South Africa, their chief spokesman and champion. He had campaigned with marvellous resources, grit and character, and with untiring persistence, on their behalf, in India in 1896, enlisting the practically unanimous support of Indian public opinion. But this support, important and indispensable as it was, nevertheless, was hardly sufficient for securing the far-reaching amelioration of the lot of the Indian settler community in South Africa on which Gandhiji's heart was set.

The situation in South Africa was a formidable challenge to the self-respect not only of India but of all Asia. India was regarded as a 'coolie' nation and Indians as just a quantity of "Asian dirt". India, herself under foreign rule and regarded as a political minor requiring tutelage, was without any apparent means, other than moral ones, of influencing the destiny of the Indian community in that far-off land. What was worse, India was—until Gandhiji strenuously set to rouse it to a sense of the great issues involved—hardly aware of the conflict that was deve-

loping in ever-increasing intensity, far away in South Africa, between the European community (which held all the political power) and the Indians who, until Gandhiji brought his matchless gifts of leadership and organization to bear on them, were a hopelessly disorganized, weak, helpless and heterogeneous mass of human beings at various levels of social and economic development. That they endured all the manifold outrages, insults and humiliations which the European rulers heaped on them, may apparently shock us today. Indeed it is difficult for us, at this distance of time, to realize that an apparently civilized government deliberately imposed these degradations on persons who were fellow-members of a single imperial community spread over wellnigh the entire globe. But these incredible horrors, as they seem to us, were actualities for our countrymen abroad until the great battle for emancipation was begun by Gandhiji. The awakening of the people to a sense of the stakes involved was a vital task, accomplished with matchless skill and indomitable courage and perseverance.

Readers of the second volume in this series will recall the tremendous job of organization which Gandhiji took on hand and the far-reaching impact which aspects of his personality, as then revealed, made on the Indian people in India. The abounding confidence in the power of Truth to win men's hearts and move men's minds which Gandhiji then showed, marked out the coming prophet of *satyagraha*. But *satyagraha* as a technique of action was indeed actually forged in the period covered by the volume under review. The Phoenix establishment, in this period, became a unique community of dedicated souls, drawn from Indians and Europeans, disciplining themselves with unrelenting rigour and austere asceticism to the single-minded service of the community. Gandhiji is revealed as showing in ever more marked degree, his basic conviction of the central importance of religion and morality in the training for leadership and, indeed, in the practice of politics which to him was not a game for capturing power but a means of service to the community. The beginnings of that political *sanyasa* which worked the miracle of India's liberation from British rule are discernible in the papers included in this volume. Says Gandhiji in a letter dated May 27, 1906 to

Lakshmidas Gandhi, his elder brother, on page 334:

I do not claim anything as mine. All that I have is being utilized for public purposes. It is available to relations who devote themselves to public work I have no desire for worldly enjoyments of any type whatever. I am engaged in my present activities as I look upon them as essential to life. If I have to face death while thus engaged, I shall face it with equanimity. I am now a stranger to fear.

The Indian ascetics throughout the ages have acted on this spirit. '*Sanyas-toaham*' say these and achieve the truest *swarajya*. This little letter is a lively testimony to the spirit in which Gandhiji entered public life and wrought all those miracles which will engage the historians of the future, tirelessly as some do in the present as well. Gandhiji's lone voice raised in absolute truth and fearlessness has made several jericho's in the East and in the West crumble into dust.

That marvellous little experiment in journalism, *Indian Opinion*, was, as this volume shows, extraordinarily effective in integrating, on the basis of moral conviction of the righteousness of their cause, the hapless Indian settler community into a band of resolute heroes ready to stake their all for the vindication not of their earthly interests so much—though these, too, were gravely threatened—but their honour as men!

It did much else too—instructing the Indians in sanitation and good citizenship, in the lives of great men and women all the world over, like Tolstoy, Lincoln, Mazzini, Vidyasagar, Rajah Sir T. Madhava Rao, Elizabeth Fry and Florence Nightingale, who had all contributed powerfully to building up the values which men need to cherish.

It is no part of our purpose in this review to retail the story of the birth of *satyagraha* which the papers in this volume tell so impressively and with such apparent artlessness. Suffice it to say that we salute the Mahatma again and heartily wish well to those whose loving, conscientious care and editorial skill have given us this rich collection, this insight into the making of a *satyagrahi*. This volume reveals, as all the earlier volumes did, what it was that made Gandhi, the great *avatara purusha* who wrought the Freedom of India. It was not from terror of his arm but of his word, charged with Truth as with Love, that Britain relinquished power in India, and in so doing won the friendship of this country. S.R.

Dear Reader —

For now—at the time of writing—about a week, I have been going round Tamil Nad, so to say, making token visits to important centres. Wherever I went, I met, again, unprecedented gatherings of people who did not hesitate to show their feelings of dislike towards the present permit-licence-raj. I was greatly surprised at the warmth of feeling in favour of the Swatantra Party, in spite of all the handicaps under which it has been working. I have been putting a great strain on my poor physical frame, but so far all has been well.

I have not been able to read the daily newspapers every day or catch up what I have been missing in the news. I understand that Dr. P. Subbaroyan has issued a statement to the press about the four-anna India postage stamp of 1955 carrying the imprint not

only of the Congress election symbol of two yoked bullocks but even the name "Congress" in Devanagari script. Of course, Dr. Subbaroyan was not responsible for issuing the stamp, nor could he now stop its circulation.

He writes to me drawing my attention to the fact that the bullocks are not drawn in the likeness of the election symbol but drawn with artistic care as all stamp-designs should be done. The symbol is, however, unmistakable, and the word "Congress" imprinted in Hindi puts the matter beyond doubt. Someone has suggested that the Hindi word for "Congress" was equally applicable to a rare breed of bullocks. This 'explanation' is indeed wonderful.

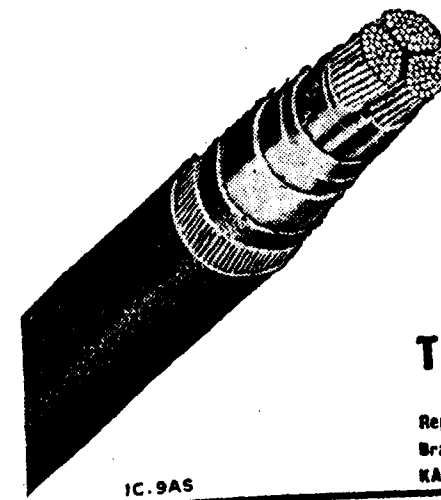
But this stamp is not a matter for much complaint in itself; it is but a symptom of the mentality of the ruling party. The Plan is always there as an integral part of everything and the stamp was

issued for the sake of the Plan. But why the imprint "Congress"?

Not all the editorials in interested newspapers can wash the Tiruchendur (unopposed election) affair clean. Two clear days before the time appointed for withdrawals, the Swatantra candidate withdrew his nomination—and disappeared from Tirunelveli—without the consent or the advice of the party, or even so much as informing any one responsible as to why he did it. Unopposed elections, like indirect taxes, pay better returns than seeking votes from a whole people—if only intimate associates could make public opinion! I am not worried about T.T.K. going to Parliament. He would be as good as any other there. But I am worried at the evolution of methods to get rid of the electorate and the sloping down of the curve of public morality in our democracy.

C.R.

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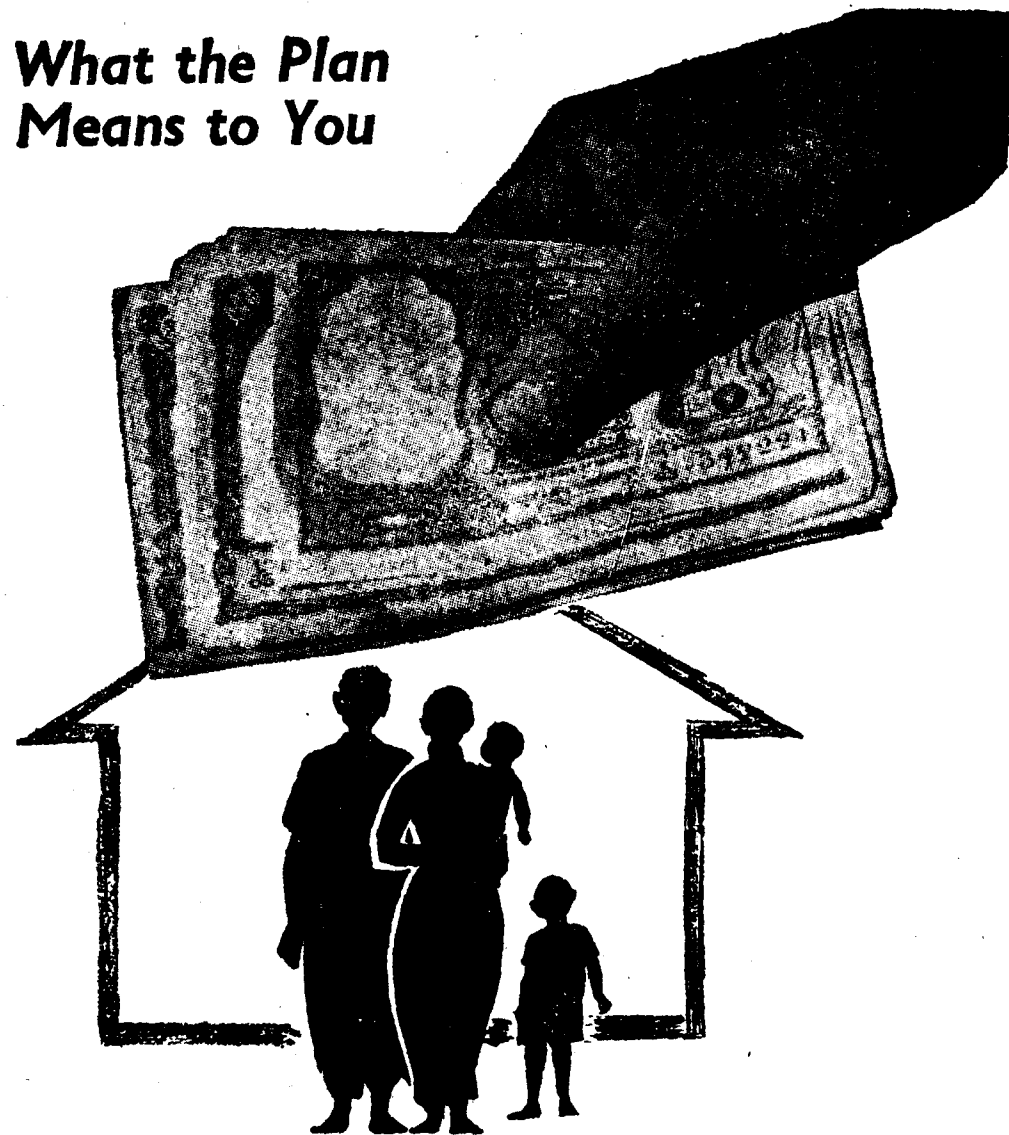
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SWARAJYA

15

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

FEUDALISM OR SOCIALISM?

Sir,—Mr. Nehru recently complained that the leaders of the Swatantra Party were living in the age of feudalism. Feudalism as a system of economic organization of land tenures was not wholly evil. It was fairly good and provided a satisfactory solution at a time when the economic conditions of the period were highly chaotic. Though it arose out of the chaos of the Middle Ages, it slowly led to order and peace in society.

When feudalism gave way to capitalism, it was again a change in the economic system only and not a striking progress. The exploitation of labour by capitalists proved so horrifying that it more than out-balanced the advantages of capitalism. Now capitalism is being replaced rapidly by socialism and communism. Again the change is only a replacement of one economic system by another, and not progress. I say it is no progress, because it has not led to a diminution in human sufferings or an increase in human happiness. Any system of economic organization, whether feudal or capitalistic or socialistic or communistic, none of them could be better, unless it alleviated human sufferings or increased the real welfare and happiness of the people. Feudalistic happiness is far better than socialistic tyranny and slavery.

It is the present Congress Government in India that is feudal in its set-up and functioning. Nehru is like the feudal king. The tenants-in-chief are the Congress ministers and money-bags. The tenants are the officials and local Congress influentials. The poor suffering bondmen are the hapless, helpless people. The only difference is that this Nehru brand of feudalism is styled as 'socialism'. Just as the tenants of feudal days appeased their superiors with periodical gifts to curry their favours, the poor people are forced to bribe their superiors to get sanctions and permits today, for everything.

C.R. wants freedom for the people. His party stands for freedom. It is only the Congress that wants to chain the people as the bondmen were chained in feudal times. "Swatantra" means freedom. It is the Congress that is enslaving the people under its 'socialistic pattern'.

People are not bothered about feudalism or socialism. What they want is freedom and happiness. If the Swatantra Party could assure these to the people, they do not mind even if they are called feudals. The Congress has failed to give these to the people dur-

ing its long lease of power for 14 years. So it is now time for the people to return the Swatantra Party to power and prove their mettle.
Bangalore

RAGHU

BABY TAXI FARE IN CITY

Sir,—The Madras Baby Taxi Owners' Association had been representing to the Government for increase in fare since 1958, but only in 1960 the matter was taken up for serious consideration. In April 1961 the subject was finally discussed by the Home Secretary in the presence of the office-bearers of our Association and the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of Police, Madras. Our demands were almost conceded on merit, and it was also decided that the increase in the fare may be two annas per mile, the minimum fare being 12 annas.

This was made known by the Commissioner of Police in a press statement in July 1961, with a view evidently to informing the public in advance of the changes.

Nine months have passed since and it is now learnt that the matter has been shelved till after the elections. Evidently the ministers are against the implementation of the decision, lest the general public should feel displeased just when the elections are approaching. It is deplorable that any decision should remain unimplemented because of the fear of adverse effect on the electoral fortunes of the party in power and those of individual ministers.

One other aspect needs to be brought to public notice. When a few of our representatives were discussing the issue in question in the chambers of the minister concerned in February 1961, one day a prominent congressman suddenly appeared on the scene, and on seeing the Association's representatives, exploded, "Oh, you have come by short-cut!" It is left to the readers to guess what it all implies.

V. GURUMURTHY
(Vice-President, Madras Baby
Taxi Owners' Association)

Madras

MID-DAY MEAL FOR SCHOOL-CHILDREN

Sir,—When the mid-day meal scheme was started in Madras with all fanfare, people were sceptical about its continuance in ideal conditions. Not only are meals served without observ-

ing hygienic conditions, but it would appear as if these meals are served on the basis that the children could not have anything from their own homes. The tragedy that has recently occurred in Tirunelveli District should be an eye-opener to all.

May I suggest that immediate steps be taken to appoint a committee to investigate the causes of the tragedy, and, in the meantime, to suspend the mid-day meal scheme?

The Minister concerned and his colleagues took great pride in the fact that Madras started the mid-day meal scheme, and it was broadcast to the rest of India. It is time that wiser counsels prevail in regard to the manner in which a good scheme ought to be implemented and not given up.

Madras

S. RAMAN

B.C.G. VACCINATION

Sir,—At the conference recently held at Bangalore, it appears to have been resolved that all the young falling under the 0-15 age group will have to be BCG-vaccinated in the Third Plan period, including the new-born children. It is rather unfortunate that the Government should persist in a course which is of doubtful utility—to put it at the mildest,—if indeed not harmful, when medical opinion in the West is divided, and controversy is still raging, and a leader like Rajaji has time and again warned the Government against Indian children being made guinea-pigs in an experiment fraught with dangerous consequences.

One wonders if this is yet another indirect method by which the authorities want to control the size of the population of India.

It is hoped the authorities will desist from insisting on the people undergoing the BCG vaccination.

Bombay KALYANAPURAM AMUDAN

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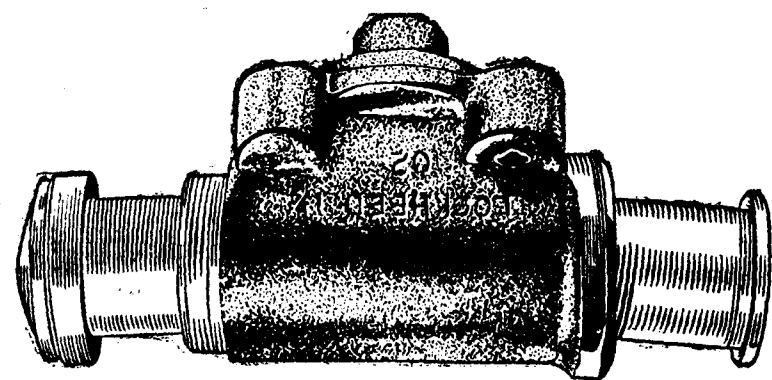
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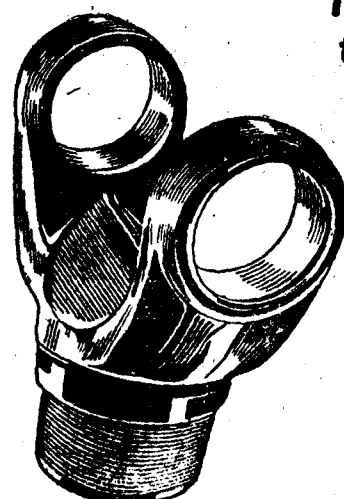
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(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)

Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

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MADRAS, FEBRUARY 10, 1962

Price 15 nP

SHOULD DEMOCRACY BE A PRIVATE ENTERPRISE?

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The air is full of references to the burden of taxation. But a new unofficial tax has sprung into existence as a result of a single party continuing in office without break for fifteen years. The ruling party levies a new *ad valorem* tax over and above the heavy income-tax levied by the State. Unless the electoral procedure is changed completely this new, unhealthy and burdensome tax will persist. The heavy levy of the ruling party for its election funds is enforced with greater regularity and vigour, and collected with greater promptitude, than any income-tax or other lawfully imposed tax. It is collected by ministers and presidents of Congress committees with no sign of shame or delicacy. It is levied on *ad valorem* basis where there are a large number to be exploited and on a very liberal *ad hoc* basis where the victims are few and select. This scandalous levy, which in course of time is likely to engender many abuses and misappropriations, must be resisted tooth and nail.

But apart from resistance we should see that election procedure is made inexpensive and orderly and that real democracy is given a chance to emerge. Every voter must be given his card by the State, and not by the candidate who is eager to get his vote. A little thinking out of the rut into which we have got will make it clear that it is the obligation of the State as distinguished from political or other parties to acquaint the adult citizen with his valu-

able republican right. The State through its permanent officials should give him his voting card which should enable him to know his number in the rolls and exercise his right without his having to be informed and pestered by candidates and their agents. The permanent officials of the State must be presumed to be, and should be gradually trained to be strictly non-party in all their administrative acts including election work. Otherwise there is no chance for democracy. Administrative duties should be done with strict judicial impartiality. Those who run the administration as permanent officials should be disabused of the prevailing notion that part of their loyalty is to help the ruling party to win.

The distribution of voting cards ought to be done by officials well before the polling week. All propaganda by candidates and parties should stop a week or so before the polling date. Personal visits by canvassers should be made illegal during that brief period. The collection of votes in polling booths should be replaced by mobile booth-vans manned by suitable officials and staff. Provision for agents to watch in the interests of the res-

pective candidates (which is now made in the polling stations) should be made in these mobile units. It is only such procedure that will secure proper voting, reduce corruption to the minimum, and bring election expenditure down to a very great extent. All corrupt practices take place in the course of the procedure which, it is suggested here, should be transferred from candidates and their agents to the permanent officials of the State.

At present elections are practically a private enterprise with large capital investments! This is unadulterated evil and should go, being replaced by the State taking over the greater part of the work and of the expense on a strict non-party basis. Over and above this, and indeed topping it all, the ruling ministers should hand over their reins of office at least six months before polling day to the President of the Union and the Governors of the States (as the case may be), who should run the administration with the assistance of the permanent officials. The census operations should be the model for the electoral arrangements. This will cleanse the whole atmosphere of the many foul infections that now prevail during election time.

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- *Swatantra Manifesto*

I know that details will have to be worked out for this scheme to be made practical and effective. A special committee should work

out all the details which, I guess, will be easy if there is a will to do it. Those who have successfully conducted the census operations can be charged with this work of drafting the new procedure. I am certain they will produce a good, workable scheme.

The net gain both to the administration and to democratic ideals will be tremendous. The representatives of the people thus elected will be much more independent in a real sense. Candidates will not be stooges of those who help them with money and pull the wires from behind in their own interests. The present scale of

expenditure, which has been accepted as a necessary evil by candidates, is truly incongruous. It is out of all proportion to the prevailing standard of life and, in many ways, lowers the moral standards of both the defeated and the successful candidates, and in the total result lowers the moral standards of the assemblies formed under such a system. The representatives naturally strive to make up for what they have spent in the elections. I do not wish to go further into the evil, but earnestly commend to the public this scheme of reformed electoral procedure based on the census operations.

PHONEY GRIEVANCES

By POTHAN JOSEPH

In one of his choleric speeches the Prime Minister recently raised, in despair of the failure of the press to catch up with his pro-Menon appeals, the query: "When am I going to educate these newspapers?" It is a pretty odd request for information at this time of day when the allotment of scarce newsprint is a problem agitating the mind of chain-paper proprietors about taking a prudent stand during the election-period. If Mr. Nehru sizes up space in newspapers, he would never be able to complain that his pronouncements in vitriolic rhetoric suffered from any neglect at the hands of editors or operators of other media of publicity. Rather, the danger during the campaign is that he is deprived of equal opportunities of reading what his critics say, thanks to restricted columns. Any didactic declarations on the failure of newspapers would be in contrast with the recent admission of Mr. Rajagopalachari, the arch-enemy of Congress monopolism, that on the whole newspaper-editors were plucking up courage in their conscientious effort to accord publicity to all parties in the race for seats, considering the restraints that exist when the ruling party is in full charge of the official machine. When a minister is criti-

cized, he could immediately speak of "garbled versions" or "quotations out of context" just as it is open to some people who evade paying their bills to complain of "postal vagaries". Mr. Nehru is in a position to wield cudgels against the newspapers as an authority who knows better. Once Lord Balfour loftily remarked in Parliament: "I don't read newspapers." Within a week he received such a lashing in Fleet Street editorials, that he learnt to read newspapers diligently, instead of going through the intermediate stage of saying: "My attention has been drawn to certain statements appearing in the *Daily Howler*, etc., etc."

A sound statesman in a democratic country is alive to reports and comments in print. When, however, Mr. Nehru bewails the unteachability of newspapers, it almost partakes the tone of prophetic wrath which breathes through Chapter XXIII of St. Mathew where Jesus foretells ruin because, after hearing words of warning, the listeners would not take the trouble to understand what was good for them. Defence Minister Krishna Menon, too, deplors the functioning of the press and regards journalists as hacks under employers more interested in jute investments than

the integrity of the profession. Not long ago Dr. Baliga, the well known communist leader of Bombay, infiltrated into the Congress, and took charge of the Menon Cause in the North Bombay constituency. Observing the Defence Minister's testy attitude, Dr. Baliga summoned city-reporters to a briefing conference at his house attended by Mr. Menon who gave them a bit of his mind about misquotations and also the stinting of space for important utterances. He is alleged to have ended with a sinister remark: "Some people think I am not alive, but these things must stop." Pressmen are brooding over consequences.

Cub-reporters are nervous of seeking elucidation from Mr. Krishna Menon, because he has the mastery of Hyde Park technique in putting counter questions and squashing the interlocutor. Nobody dare ask him if he is a 'Commie' since he would turn the tables with the snarling query: "Tell me, what do you know of communism?"

At the London airport some newshawk asked him the question when, cane uplifted, Mr. Menon demanded to know: "Is Lord Beaverbrook a Fascist?" He strolled away for the next airlift bound for New York. He is no sitting bird for sportsmen to shoot. Once Indira Gandhi said that Mr. Menon is no communist *but* that he had brains. That, of course, cannot be challenged since he knows to tie any oppositionist into knots in a debate.

On the whole, publicity is not being grudged to the Menon Cause, especially because the bout in North Bombay happens to be identified with a bitter feud between two weeklies in the hands of rival editors. Between the *Current* and the *Blitz*, it is a battle, high-lighting partisanship, as if North Bombay were another Eatonsville. When one side opens past chapters about fellow-travelership, the counterblast heard is "Thank God for Krishna Menon! Still a godly race they run."

SWATANTRA AND THE COMMON MAN

By P. H. S. RAO

As for taking up advertisement-space for individual appeals for votes, newspapers can treat it only as a source of revenue without betraying bias. On account of "friendship stunts", canvassing is carried to platforms where the Indo-American Society holds demonstrations as against the Sino-Indian Solidarity Association which backs China, and professes indignation against the Indo-Tibet Sympathisers Brotherhood who prefer to see Peking vacate aggression from the land of the Dalai Lama, which had been gifted by India soon after Independence and during our early essays in originality to give a new tone to the world in the prosecution of foreign policy, swirling on the neutralist toe and hands stretched in both directions. Considering dormant intimidation against the press, special correspondents are always ready to make efforts at technicolourising the Prime Minister's decisions; his grievance that the press refuses to be 'educated' is a little unjust and certainly far-fetched. It was a Conservative statesman of Britain who said: "We must educate our Masters." What Disraeli meant was that the voters with the new franchise should be carefully cultivated without anything like saying in modern Nehru-language "go-to-hell."

When Rajaji addressed a mammoth public meeting at Bangalore the other day a note was handed to him from one in the audience asking: "Any tears for the common man?" This must have been prompted by the remarks of our Prime Minister when he addressed an election meeting in North Bombay early this month, when he is reported to have said that the Swatantra Party talks a lot about the injustice done to Maharajas and zamindars, "but what about the injustice done to the common man?" (According to newspaper reports, this clever remark drew a 'thunderous applause' from the crowd.)

Let us examine the main features of the Congress manifesto and the Swatantra Party's attitude to them. The Third Five-Year Plan is practically the election manifesto of the Congress. The features of this Plan which Swatantra opposes are (1) insistence on extending the scope of the public sector, (2) continued deficit financing, (3) further increase in taxation (the *additional* taxation during the Third Plan will be Rs. 1,800 crores), (4) increase in unemployment, and (5) joint co-operative farming. Whom do all

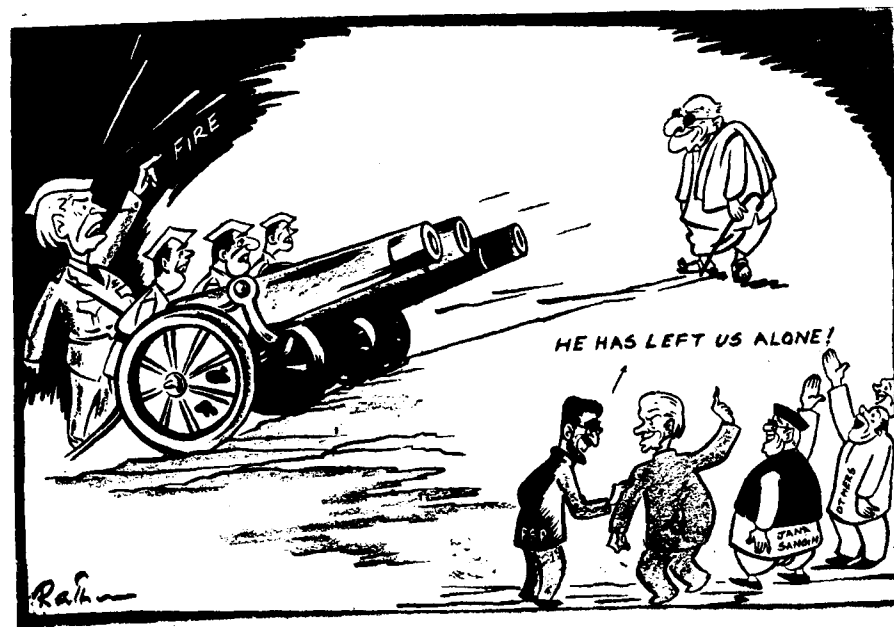
these policies of the Congress affect? Statism is encroaching not only on Big Business but even on small business, by nationalizing road transport and by the activities of the State Trading Corporation, to mention only a couple of instances. By opposing this, is not Swatantra fighting for the common man? Deficit finance, and the consequent inflation and the havoc wrought by inflation, is affecting the common man *most*. Big Business is rather happy about the higher prices generated by this policy. Swatantra has given top priority to putting an end to deficit finance. Again, the increased burden of taxation, which will be mostly in the form of indirect taxes, will further put up the prices of necessities of the *common man*. Whose interest has Swatantra in mind, if not the common man's, when it opposes this? And unemployment—does this worry the rich man or the poor? Is Congress helping the common man when it permits unemployment to increase? Can you accuse Swatantra of not caring for the common man when it raises its voice against this increase in unemployment?

Whom does joint co-operative farming affect? Does it affect the rich man or the poor farmer with holdings below the ceilings set by the recent legislation? The poor farmer who is attached to his land, as if it were his mother, is being deprived of it and forced to the status of a wage-earner. When Swatantra sets its face against it, is it not championing the cause of the common man?

A little thought will show how hollow this election-stunt of the Prime Minister is. Talking of 'tears for the common man' it would be correct to say that the Congress sheds crocodile tears for the common man while Swatantra is genuinely interested in improving his lot. One can understand the audience being carried away by the fascinating personality of Mr.

(Continued on next page)

All guns against Swatantra!



CURRENT EVENTS::

During the rupee-ratio controversy of the 'thirties, there was a critical vote in the Legislative Assembly when the Swaraj Party in Opposition had decided to have a trial of strength with the Government. The Chief Whip had circulated a three-line warning to all Swarajist members that they should not fail in the lobby, but when the results came, a member from Madras was missing. Asked for an explanation for the vanishing trick, the bearded Sadhu-looking member from the South pleaded that somebody had hypnotized him and that he had found himself deposited in the Qutab Minar Garden where, on recovery of normalcy, he could just remember chewing pan which might have been drugged by the abductors. The Leader of the Opposition, Pandit Motilal Nehru, couldn't swallow the yarn, and he told the late A. Rangaswami Iyengar what he thought of the double-cross, and why in any event a "Madras" could not invent a more plausible story by way of excuse. The Tiruchendur episode where the Swatantra candidate was missing may be having a similar defence. T.T.K. in his interview expresses the hope that he would be able to win over C.R. to the Congress Party, but such patronizing expectations are wide off the mark. Vote-catching and body-

SWATANTRA ... contd. Nehru when they thoughtlessly cheered him, but the doubts raised in the mind of one in the Bangalore audience shows how immature our voters—even the so-called educated ones—are. Current problems are not studied intelligently, the manifestoes of the various parties are not studied. Voters are carried away by slogans—cheap slogans at that! A wit may well say that the audience misunderstood the Prime Minister to mean that the injustice to the common man was done by someone else. He perhaps meant "we have done injustice to the common man also". We agree.

snatching seem to have smuggled their way into the 'Code of Conduct'. The prevalence of malpractices is a fresh challenge to Swatantra principles which alone can arrest worsening corruption.

Much has been said and written about the Swatantra Party's supposed lukewarmness over the capture of Goa as an all-India victory and the remarks offered about its synchronizing with the prelude to the North Bombay elections. The quest for a dramatic background worthy of a *parakramashali* cannot be totally dismissed as a figment of C.R.'s imagination. The strategy must be regarded as belonging to a pattern of mass-mesmerization. Without comment we quote a London despatch from Mr. Sunder Khabadi, *Patrika's* special correspondent in London, and a keen observer of foreign impressions:

LONDON, Jan. 27.

Confidential reports have reached London suggesting possibility of meeting between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-lai. The man responsible in arranging such meeting is the Burmese Prime Minister U Nu. If we are correctly informed U Nu has succeeded in persuading Mr. Nehru to agree in principle to meet Mr. Chou En-lai.

Although India is now in the midst of general election, it is believed Mr. Nehru might meet Mr. Chou En-lai in Rangoon soon. If he succeeds in obtaining from Mr. Chou En-lai assurance for satisfactory solution to India's demand that China should vacate Indian territory it would help the Congress Party when the elections would be in full swing in the latter part of February. Even if talks fail it would have salutary effect in convincing Indian electorate that the Congress Party is determined to get full redress on the frontier question from China.

His obsession that India has risen in world-prestige, in spite of snipers in the neighbourhood, has no doubt been fostered by the Prime Minister's continuous *soirees* with the stream of foreign

dignitaries who after their Indian tour sign joint-communications to the effect that they subscribe to the Nehru policy of peace on earth and that they are vastly impressed by India's showplaces beginning with Bhakra Dam and ending with *Venduruthy* in the Cochin harbour as marks of colossal industrial advancement. Recent statistics disclosed at Delhi Seminars point to insecure foundations in connection with ventures built from the super-structure downwards. Criticism is spurned as the croakings of 16th century reactionaries without *bona fide* intent, and when lakhs of people are promised Utopia round the corner, there are certificates to produce from foreign sources. The rustic listener is not in a position to quote evidence of the declining standard of living by such proofs as price-trends when it is stoutly asserted that the Congress Government has been "holding the price-line". The VIP from abroad has little time to investigate market-realities, but their testimony is exploited with a grandiose sense of self-complacency. Bernard Shaw was once present at a play of his when a peppery colonel was seated beside him fretting for a drink. The House went into loud applause. "Rot" exclaimed the colonel, when the author turned to him and said: "Quite right, I agree with you, but what are we two against so many?" When there are crowds of foreign admirers singing praise week by week, how could there be any mistake (see pictures officially supplied) about the triumph of imaginary prosperity? It is a commonplace precaution amongst special correspondents in New Delhi that the photographs sent to their editors should be those approved by the Prime Minister, if he happens to figure prominently in the snaps.

In a recent symposium of businessmen and official experts at New Delhi, the problem of resources to implement the Third Plan, already in stride, compels them to admit that calculations

WHITHER ARE WE TAKEN?

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

After the first flush of the discovery of a new and effective technique in *Satyagraha* was over, it did not take long for me to see the weaknesses in our national composition both as individuals and as groups. My scepticism began to warn me that freedom from Britain may be achieved easily enough but not freedom from these weaknesses which were as much enemies of real *Swaraj* as British Imperialism. Here is an entry dated January, 1922, from a diary that I kept when I was in prison. It is proof of my scepticism and of my forebodings even when we began the non-co-operation fight.

We all ought to know that Swaraj will not at once or, I think, even for a long time to come, be better government or greater happiness for the people. Elections and their corruptions, injustice and the power and tyranny of wealth, and inefficiency of administration, will make a hell of life as soon as freedom is given to us. Men will look regretfully back to the old regime of comparative justice, and efficient, peaceful, more or less honest administration. The only thing gained will be that as a race we will be saved from dishonour and subordination. Hope lies only in universal education by which right conduct, fear of God, and love, will be developed among the citizens from childhood. It is only if we succeed in this that Swaraj will mean happiness. Otherwise it will mean the grinding injustices and tyranny of wealth. What a beautiful world it would be, if everybody were just and God-fearing and realized the happiness of loving others! Yet, there is more practical hope for the ultimate consummation of this ideal in India than elsewhere.

But the spirit of adventure and fanatical faith in the new-found technique were strong enough to drive scepticism out for the time being, and like the thousands of others in the Congress, I was too actively and anxiously engaged in the immediate struggle to have time or inclination to give in to scepticism as to the distant future. This continued almost until we arrived at the first great internal hurdle in the Moslem demands. We could overcome Ambedkar and his fears but we could not conquer and dissolve Jinnah's fears and convictions. I may say that I saw the insolubility of this problem earlier and more clearly than most if not all others in our camp. This is not a self-

adulatory claim; far from it, because the advantage of clearer sight was due to an incorrigible scepticism in me and not to any praiseworthy element in my mental composition. This hurdle had to be overcome if we wanted liberty to be achieved during the most favourable period of Anglo-Indian history, viz., immediately after the great war was over and the Government of Britain went into the Labour Party's hands. Partition was agreed to as a bad but the only solution for the problem. It was clear to me and became gradually clear to my colleagues and to Gandhiji also that if we did not agree to it, the struggle would have to go on for another half century, and the stamina of the nation put to that severe test. My optimism was refreshed when I found the obstinate stalwarts of the Congress Working Committee agree to this surgery. I pass over all the events of the time in this article and begin the Independence period.

When I took over the Governor-Generalship at the request of the Congress High Command and the British Government, my hopes were great—that we would work hard and be a dignified free people, respected by the world for our humility and honesty of purpose. But soon ambition misled our pilots and we entered a phase marked by adventurous tinkering with the fundamentals of our social structure and of national life. A fanaticism has seized the mind of our chief pilot which has misguided him in increasing measure after the disappearance of Gandhiji and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The doctrine which the Father of the Nation adopted as the basis of our national enterprise, be it for achieving freedom from Britain or for progress thereafter, the doctrine of peace and love, which he called non-violence, has been replaced by faith in State compulsion.

If Gandhiji was Father, his basic doctrine of non-compulsion was like Mother to us. The discarding and forgetting of this Mother has led to where we are in respect of many things.

This criticism and opposition of mine to the ruling party's present policies may be called Conservatism because it stresses on conserving as we proceed from step to step. But as Conservatism has acquired a derogatory sense like so many other good English words, we have to lay stress on the free life as opposed to the dictatorship of the State which always must be a party dictatorship, an intolerable thing



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for those not in the party and an unhealthy thing for the nation as a whole.

The Congress regime in India has now made up its mind definitely to live on the cold war. "We are a bastion against the communist advance in Asia. Help us therefore to be in power." This is the Congress Party's appeal and it no doubt pays. The desperate West is ready to believe anything that adds to its hope, and considers it good foreign policy to help even communism to advance if some one firmly tells it that what he is doing is not communism but just socialism by which communism can be held back.

The communists do not mind a few words of abuse hurled at them now and then by the Prime Minister. They even pretend to go through a sham election fight to maintain the anti-communist reputation and the edge of their useful instrument. They know that if they keep together the time will soon come when the pretence can be thrown aside and the regime openly taken over. The time will soon come when the only issue before the public will be, who will execute these same policies more ruthlessly and more efficiently, and the Communist Party's cadre-men are sure of a favourable answer. Then, "Away with the pretence, let us take it over," they will say.

All foreign aid, we are now told, must be given to the Congress Government in lump and it should be left to the latter to fix priorities. It seems the American Ambassador in India has accepted this position. And he is a powerful factor in American policy. The bankruptcy of the Plan has brought things to this pass, and the cold war leaves no choice to the West but to agree to this. It is no longer aid for industrialization. It is no longer secular, if we may use the language of analogy. It is now to be a near-alliance. The non-alignment clothing is almost all shed.

The American administration has adopted a policy of fighting fire with fire, to use Lippmann's phrase. America believes that Nehru's socialism will keep off communism. She does not realize that the teeming population of India is no suitable field for that kind of thin distinction, and the dangerous and slippery strategy based on such a delicate difference. It is bound to end up disastrously for freedom. In the context of Indian democracy with its inefficient instruments of administration, it will take little time and less argument for the one to be changed into the other through a *coup* or even a normal election process. The socialism of the Indian Congress Party will inevitably



lead to communism, plain and bluntly spelt.

This is not the first time that American policy goes wrong in its backing. Each time there are people to warn and it is only when the warning goes unheeded that the disappointment ensues. A journal holding high rank among thoughtful periodicals writes a sad editorial under the caption, "India needs economic progress, but the Planning Commission plans social turmoil." And the article ends with the following paragraph:

But the central Congress organization and its Government are in the hands of men who ignore this requirement of social stability as the background to change. They have acquired nearly absolute power, and they are determined to effect the changes they consider desirable, not merely at the cost of a great deal of unnecessary suffering, but at the risk of disrupting the social structure. Is there no way of throwing off this incubus?

Santayana has said somewhere that fanatics are of three sorts: first, those who redouble their efforts when they have forgotten their aim; then, those who relentlessly pursue a goal regardless of the actual consequences of the means they use on their goal, on themselves and on others; thirdly, those who strive for a single goal at the cost of all others, although human goals are so related that the defeat or frustration of the others makes the original goal impossible of achievement or transforms its quality. The Indian Congress Party's fanaticism combines all these three types.

Here is a hand-out, an example of how trade is dealt with, trade in

what may be justly called essentials in the daily life of the people of India:

The import policy for the pending items, cardamoms, cassia, cinnamon, cloves, all sorts, whether ground or unground, nutmegs, maize and betelnuts for the licensing period, April-September 1961, has now been announced.

The Government of India have decided that established importers of each of these items will be granted ad hoc licences for a value of Rs. 500 for the import of the item concerned during the licensing period. The ad hoc licence will be granted to each established importer irrespective of the quantum of his past imports of the item concerned.

Established importers may submit applications for ad hoc licences to the port licensing authorities by July 31, 1961. Applications should be sent separately for each of the items in question in the usual form and manner duly accompanied with quota certificates.

Licences and forms and applications prescribed make the lives of the traders miserable, by subjecting them to a series of harassments and exactions at the hands of petty and meddling officials. The days are gone when the life of a Vysia was honourable and independent. His present position and status are worse than those of a petty fourth class cringing official.

This nation of ours is a vast one and its problems cannot be solved by everyone being asked to become either an industrial magnate or a coolie. A vast body of people have to find honest occupation outside the work-

shops and to earn the biblical "hire" that every honest labourer is worthy of. If every trade dealing with distribution is brought under harassing official control and regulation and also made into a closed shop by the rules made by Government, how is the growing population to find suitable work and means of livelihood? Statism leads to

monopolies and the consequent strangulation of national energy. Trade is a social service. If new recruits to any social service are to be shut out, how can that system maintain its health and service? The business of buying and selling is not an unwanted evil but is the external shape that life takes in a free economy, and, if that essential

breathing process is to be choked by centralized official authority with all its attendant evils, we shall have in full force the communist way of life, wherein party men and favoured officials are an aristocracy, and the only aristocracy, the rest being all second class citizens if not prisoners on parole.

—Courtesy, *The Outlook Annual*



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A Crowing Chanticleer

Molotov's name has been struck off the registers. All arrears will be recovered by distraint process, including membership-fees and bar-dues that might have been mounting in accumulation.

At a friendship rally in Katanga, Col. Mitra took out his *Kukri* and eased out blood, whereupon Tshombe produced a few drops from under his skin. As a token of friendship, they mixed the specimens (loud applause). It is hoped Adoula won't complain of the creation of bad blood during the Congo operation.

Field Marshal Abdel Amer of Egypt who recently toured India with congratulations on our Goa success chiming with President Brezhnev's felicitations, has been the subject of a full-length portrayal by a press-eulogist who writes: "The Field Marshal hails from an Egyptian middle-class family with farming ancestors". India hailed him with a red carpet reception. Jacqueline Kennedy's reception will be in tune with the American slogan "Hail, Columbia!"

In her Indo-Pakistan visit, Jacqueline Kennedy's press-secretary announces, the First Lady of America "will be accompanied by her sister, Princess Lee Rasdzwil". The question whether the Swatantra Party might take it as the revival of the feudal order will be out of date; the elections will have been over and the Princess is just an American citizen anyway, as they have only commoners.

In a special cable, Prem Bhatia (New York) tells us more of accompaniment and impedimenta:

Mrs. Kennedy, who dresses herself with immaculate care, will be accompanied by an impressive wardrobe.

Also accompanying the President's wife will be nearly 75 journalists and radio and television representatives to feed an extensive clientele back home.

Public interest in the visit—the first by an American President's wife—has already reached the stage of excitement.

The visit (1961) to Vienna was extremely simple in scope. Whilst Kennedy and Khrushchov met in a room, the wives, Jacqueline and Nina, sat in an adjacent chamber modestly chatting on the non-international situation. 1962 is going to be a more spectacular year.

Since the UNO is running short of funds, Eugene Black has undertaken to issue UN bonds redeemable after 25 years at 2 per cent interest. Mr. Black admitted to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in London that the offer was not financially very attractive to the investor, but then there is the assurance that the World Assembly will last at least 25 years.

Time magazine tells us that Jackie Kennedy is fond of showing the interior decoration of the White House adorned by her, and talking like an expert-guide.

Hong-Kong cables announce that Overseas Chinese have turned Indonesians. There are in our country Indians who long ago turned pro-Chinese but who retain the right of exercising the vote at home with extra-territorial fervour.

Nehru has rejected Kennedy's proposal whilst Ayub has rejected

Nehru's offer. "Effects not cleared, present again."

Dud cheques can't throw a banker like Eugene Black into a panic. News of overdraft may be expected after the elections are over.

If the secessionist of Katanga, Tshombe, and the Gurkha officer from India could seal their friendship in blood on R-Day, what is there to stand in the way of two editors of weeklies in Bombay (now in bitter feud over the North Bombay election) shouldn't go into a wrapt embrace of reconciliation at the next meeting in Shivaji Park? They should be unarmed, if only to prevent later controversy as in the case of Shivaji's personal conference with Shaista Khan.

"Just why do you want a married man to work for you, rather than a bachelor?" asked the curious friend.

"Well," sighed the employer, "the married men don't get so upset if I yell at them." P.J.



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2. Ghee made in various parts of India comes in different colours. Some of these shades are strong enough to hide even deeply coloured vanaspati...thus defeating the very purpose for which colouration of vanaspati is being suggested.

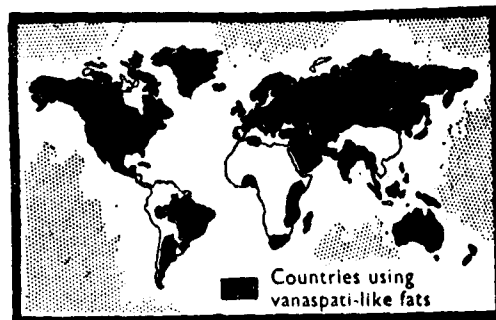
3. Vanaspati is NOT the only substance misused in ghee, but it is by far the safest...a pure food in itself. The other adulterants, like *charbi*, are impure and, therefore, objectionable. And they will be increasingly used if vanaspati becomes unavailable to the unscrupulous adulterator.

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Dear Reader —

The Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions, a non-governmental educational organization in Washington, has issued a warning that reflects the political and economic thought of a large number of people from Gandhi downwards in India. "The widespread use in the United States of computers and automation might create vast unemployment and social unrest which would seriously weaken the foundation of American free society." This is *Reuter's* summary of a report published by the Centre.

Little serious thought is bestowed on this problem of automation *versus* employment. The huge population of India makes this conflict a most serious affair. Factories are encouraged to grow into a fatal menace for the millions employed on the home-installed handloom which has demonstrated, by its unaided survival, its great and necessary place in the economic life of this huge continent of villages. The handloom weavers are sought to give their votes to the ruling party with the help of subsidies received from the mills which are the natural enemies of the handloom. This is a strange and senseless policy. What ought to be done is the definite reservation of types of widespread popular dress worn by men and women in this country for the handloom, leaving to the mills the other types of cloth for tailor-made dress. There are other important matters too which would be covered by the warning issued by this American Study Centre and to which Indian politicians should give thought instead of succumbing to the lure of automation. Gandhiji was deeply concerned in and started many constructive campaigns in connection with all these matters. He was opposed, in general, to automation in our country except where the machine could, like the sewing machine or bicycle, become the individual's loyal servant instead of becom-

ing a slave-driver of human beings, and the enemy of home and village life.

★

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's observations regarding his expectations about my rejoining the Congress appear to have alarmed some simple folk. T.T.K.'s observations were more strategic than complimentary. They issued partly out of his personal affection for me and partly out of a notion that such observations may serve to weaken the Swatantra Party's growth. The Congress is ever willing to swallow everybody and maintain its totalitarian character and power undiminished. But the Swatantra Party is not going to allow itself to be eaten up and digested. Indeed, not only will I not allow myself to be lured into the spider's web, but I warn the nation that if the Swatantra movement and party are not helped to grow into a sturdy and permanent part of the democracy of India, we shall certainly become a prey to totalitarianism. The Swatantra Party is a national essential if democracy is to survive.

★

The *fait accompli* of Goa has been accepted by the Western nations. They also assert that friendship for India will not be affected by this incident. This is as it must be in the cold war. But now we have not the moral power we had before to speak for peace against nationalism. We had once great power on that issue. The charge of 'double standard' is still vigorously maintained against us. The following is taken from a letter appearing in the *New York Times*:

It is more fair to say that by the standards India has now set, communist China is doing what Mr. Nehru thinks fit and proper, i.e., liquidating anachronistic colonialism—with the only difference that Portugal actually ruled Goa for more than four centuries, while the British colonial Power in India only outlined the

border now claimed by Mr. Nehru, but did not establish it legally for a single day.

In your editorial of Jan. 4 you commented further that "India was, of course, the first to set an example in the application of the 'double standard' through its invasion of Goa".

I do not think that one should blame India too much for having used force to liberate a part of her own territory from colonial rule. It was against colonial rule that this country began its independent career. But what has perplexed the world is rather Mr. Nehru's liquidation of French and Portuguese colonial rule in India while inheriting the benefits of British rule there. A study of his policy towards Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal, his suppression of the natives in Assam and his strong-arm action in Hyderabad and Kashmir would reveal the meagreness of his departure from British colonial precedent.

Communist China has settled her border issues with Burma and Nepal amicably. There is no reason why the Sino-Indian frontier question cannot be similarly settled, if only one standard is applied by the Indian leader.

Tieh-Tseng Li.

West Hartford, Conn. Jan. 7, 1962.

All this is not quite specious. I feel that by voting for the Swatantra Party candidates in large numbers, and building up a good Opposition party, we shall be doing a bit to restore the moral power of India in the counsels of the world. The question is not non-violence in all cases, but whether in disregard of the UN., we did well in using force even in a right cause, and whether after this we could plead for restraint in any other case in the world where the cause of world peace requires it.

★

I have been spending a few days in the Madras State and my tour covered Tirunelveli, Sattur, Virudhunagar, Manapparai, Palni, Chinnalapatti, Dindugal, Karai-kudi, Devakottai, Srirangam, Tanjore, Tiruvarur, Sembanarkoil, Mayavaram, Chidambaram, Cuddalore and Tindivanam. After addressing ten meetings in Madras on January 30th and 31st, I am proceeding to Arcot and Cheyyar before going to Tenali, Kavali and Nellore in Andhra. I hope to be in

Bombay and speak there on February 8 and at Broach on February 9, and return to Madras for further work. If what I have seen during my tours does not tally with the election results there must be something wrong in the election procedure that calls for moral and legal reform.

★

Mr. Thangasami Nadar has issued an explanation for his withdrawal from the contest in Tiruchendur parliamentary constituency, which has been published in the *Indian Express* of the 1st February.

Mr. Thangasami's long explanation does not explain—

1. Why he did not consult, or even inform the District President, Treasurer or Secretary of the Swatantra Party before withdrawing, although they were all in the same town (Tirunelveli) all along where the withdrawal was presented to the Returning Officer. I was also in Tirunelveli on the date of the withdrawal and Mr. Thangasami knew it.

2. Why the letter alleged to have been written by him to me and others was not dated, while the postmark showed 3 p.m. of 23rd January, the date of the withdrawal. It was posted simultaneously with the withdrawal or perhaps a little afterwards.

3. How the withdrawals of the candidates opposing Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, all took place together on the 23rd January, with two days yet remaining for Mr. Thangasami to consult the party and take its consent.

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4. How Mr. Thangasami reconciles his conduct with the pledge he had given that he would not withdraw under any circumstances without the consent of the party; and he had signed this solemn pledge on three forms.

5. How he reconciles his explanation with what he had told the President, Treasurer, and Secretary of the party in the district on January 20th, 21st and 22nd about the situation regarding his chances of winning, during which talks he had never disclosed his alleged fears about either expenditure or success.

6. What made him, even after the withdrawal, not to attend the candidates' meeting on the afternoon of 23rd January, which was attended by me.

7. What prevented him from not even seeing me on the 23rd January when I was in Tirunelveli, and why he made himself scarce that day and thereafter.

I am glad he has now written to me that I should forget the whole business and forgive him, but I write this because his so-called explanation has appeared in the *Indian Express*.

★

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru said, at Vishakapatnam that

he wondered how the Swatantra party called the present India a "permits and licences raj". The country had before it the ideal of a Welfare State and at certain stages permits and licences had to be issued and there might be certain drawbacks in the procedure. Those difficulties should be got rid of and there was no point in making a hue and cry about these permits and licences.

Allowing for defects and errors of reporting, this statement is worthy of special notice. It is obvious from this statement that Mr. Nehru has not realized the inherent implications of socialism. In the contemplation of the welfare and happiness which he expects to result from socialism, he has failed to realize the inescapable evils of the policy. He now appears dimly to see them. Congress socialism is what has been given the name of Statism

and it cannot escape the permit-licence-quota system. Indeed permit-licence-raj is the shape that socialist policy must take in India. Not "at certain stages," as Mr. Nehru admits, but always production and business must under socialism be done through permits and licences. "There may be certain drawbacks in the procedure. These difficulties should be got rid of," says Mr. Nehru; not "drawbacks" but favouritism, injustice and graft must ever attend the permit-licence-raj. Ministers and partymen must back and oppose applications, and interfere in the administration, with the resulting corruption and retardation of progress. Not unless free economy becomes the policy can these evils be got rid of. This is what the Swatantra Party stands for. It is good to see that Mr. Nehru is realizing the force of what we have been saying.

★

Acharya N. G. Ranga writes about Mr. M. Ganapati as follows:

I am glad that Rajaji is supporting the candidature of Mr. M. Ganapati for the South Madras parliamentary constituency. I have known Mr. Ganapati, when he was working as the General Manager and Director of the Rourkela Steel Plant. I happened to study his methods of work and organization, when I was the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee. I am glad to say that the members of the Public Accounts Committee and myself were very much impressed with the drive, energy, ability, patriotic endeavours displayed by him. It was a pity that this partisan and parochial and caste-minded Government had failed to ask him to guide the Indian Steels, because he would have tried his best (with much success) to minimize, if not to eliminate, the present wastes that are being incurred on the Steel Plants. What was lost by Government is now being gained by the public life of India by his decision to enter Parliament. We need more of such brilliant administrators and organizers in Parliament.

I wish him all success and I congratulate Madras City on having gained him for itself.

C.R.

"TIME" MAGAZINE ON SWATANTRA

The following extracts from the latest issue of the American *Time* magazine will be of interest to our readers:

The Swatantra (Freedom) Party is the most important opposition movement in the (election) campaign, even though it was founded only three years ago, has never been tested at the polls, and has only ten members in the Lok Sabha—all rebels and outcasts from other parties. Swatantra is vigorously conservative, opposes Nehru's idea of a planned society. Nehru has slashingly attacked it as the main ideological challenge to the kind of India he wants to build. Nehru called the Swatantra leaders "fascist," says: "Nobody knows which century they live in—the 15th or the 16th."

Nehru's fury partly stems from the fact that the Swatantra leader, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, India's most prestigious elder statesman, attacks Nehru personally. "C.R." also nicknamed "Rajaji," has stung Nehru by calling the Congress reign "corrupt and dishonest ... worse than the rule of the Mogul emperor," has accused him of leading India to Statism and communism. A bowed and frail Madras Brahman whom Gandhi once called "keeper of my conscience," C.R. was a leader in the Congress freedom fight against the British, was the only Indian ever to serve as India's Governor General. A leader of the Congress right wing, he quit the party in 1959 when it passed a resolution in favour of co-operative farming. At 84, though mentally alert, Rajaji is not running for election, guides his party from the sidelines.

India's leftists accuse Swatantra of being "feudal" and "socially backward" because it is supported by a clutch of princes and princesses, most notable of whom is the beauteous Maharani of Jaipur, who is Swatantra Party boss in Rajasthan. Ignored is the fact that there are more princes and zamindars (feudal landlords) in Congress than in the Swatantra. Despite the cry that Swatantra is the "millionaires' party," C.R. has been generally unsuccessful in attracting financial support from India's richest corporations. Right-wing businessmen instead contribute generously to Congress, for obvious reasons: they depend on the government for the permits and licences without which their businesses cannot function or expand. One industrialist, J. R. D. Tata, head of the huge Tata iron and steel combine, has had the courage to give one-third of his cam-

paign contribution to the Swatantra, the rest to Congress. Says Party Leader Rajagopalachari of the licence system he detests: "We got rid of the British raj. Now we have a permit raj."

In the years of the British raj, Congress kindled the fires of independence, gathered under its banners peasants, landowners, untouchables, maharajahs, communists, capitalists, liberals and reactionaries. Only the massive national appeal of Mahatma Gandhi and the united determination to oust Britain from India kept the catchall party together. But the Congress became so ingrained in the Indian consciousness that the party did not fall apart after independence came in 1947. The vari-

ous elements that made it up stuck together to reap the rewards of political power. "Not a few of them cashed in heavily on freedom," says Indian Editor Frank Moracs. "For them independence has meant patriotism, plus 20 per cent."

Most of the older Congressmen ritualistically wear the diaperlike dhoti and white Gandhi cap to identify themselves with the dead hero. The party has a few first-rate men, but Congress politicians generally are unsophisticated, unlearned and uninspiring non-entities. After 15 years of Congress rule, the party is shot through with corruption, inefficiency and favouritism. The major problems that existed at the time of Gandhi's death are still to be solved. India's economy is a schizophrenic mixture of State and private enterprise.

FROM 9th FEB

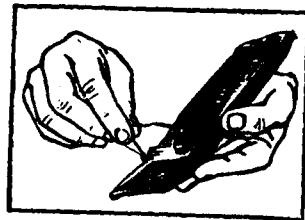
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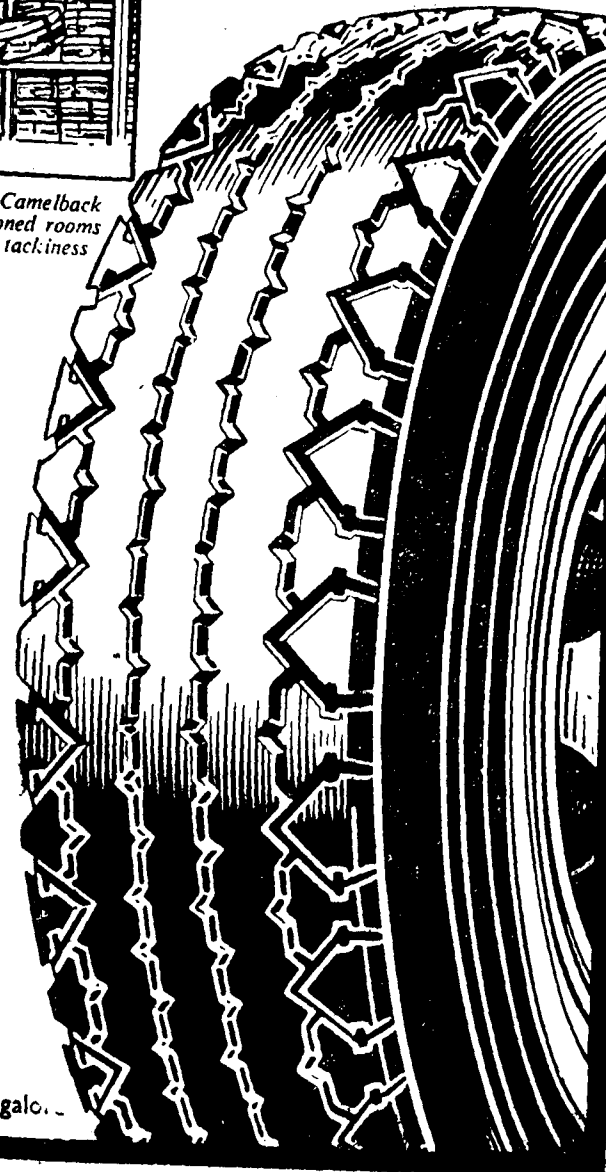


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PANDITJI AND PRINCES

By BHIKKU

*I tax not you, you elements,
with unkindness;
I never gave you kingdom,
call'd you children.*

—KING LEAR.

One of the phantoms at which our Prime Minister has been casting a sinister eye since his Orissa election campaign is the aristocracy, the erstwhile princes and zamindars. The wordy swipes against them cuts more widely and deeply when he considers that there is a conjunction between them and the Swatantra Party.

The acidity of his references, indicates a thread running through them of basic distrust and dislike, if not menace, against these personages who have had the temerity to be descendants of rulers and zamindars, apart from a few of them doubling that sin by joining the Swatantra Party. This attitude is reminiscent of the days of Robespierre and the French Revolution. As the saying goes, "It may be possible to forgive a man for the good he has done you, but it is hard to forgive him for the injury you have done him!"

What indeed is their inequity? Is it that many of them are still looked upon as 'ma-baps' and still hold a sway in the minds and affections of the people, who were once their subjects or tenants, which the current potentates of Delhi can't abide? Is it that no wielders of power can bear to be shadowed by the prestige of any other kind? Or is it the embalmed memory of ancient extravagances, favouritisms, flamboyances and other peccadilloes? If so, have not all these been blown away with the 'wind of change'—a Congress idiom—when Sardar Patel played Kismet? The inheritors of many of these unsavoury characteristics are not now the lineal descendants of rulers and zamindars, but the latter-day nabobs of Delhi and their henchmen, whose financial intemperance with the hard-wrung *chouth* from the people is marked

by such items as special air-strips for air craft, hoppings about the world on cultural, study and goodwill missions, and wastes and spending sprees innumerable that beggar the old-time gallivantings of ex-aristocrats with only their Rolls-Royces.

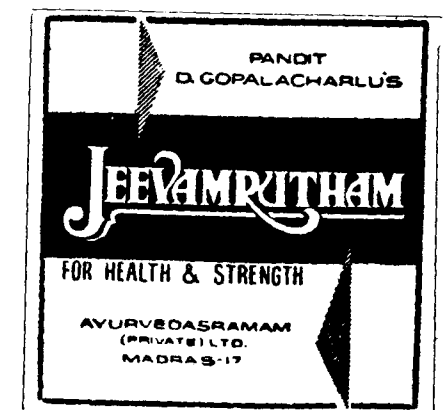
All these are on the debit side of the ledger. On the credit side, weren't there many great entries?

The knowledge that these chiefs had of the hopes, predilections and day-to-day troubles of their subjects, and their concern and ready response to them, were special and intimate that cannot be matched in the mass scale do-goodings and uplifts that involve skeins of red tape and tiers of officialdom. In actuality, the condition of most of the States has worsened since their integration with the rest of India. These nobles maintained a continuous recognition and appreciation of worth in all fields in practical ways, whether such excellence was of brain or brawn, in arts or literature, at periods in the history of this land, when the horizon was arid with wars, anarchy and confusion, and later when the cheap glamour of the West threatened to overwhelm all that was distinctive, golden and gemmed. The canals, lakes and irrigation systems that were kept patent and lushly fruitful by the willing labour of the villagers themselves, the lofty *gopurams* and ornate worship in temples that enlivened faith, and regulated conduct into unprodded social cohesion, were tributes to the leadership of the ancestors of these same princes and zamindars.

And more than all, is not a deep debt of gratitude owing to them for the understanding and manner in which they stepped down, and stood aside, when the time came and the country called for it? One has only to recall the contrasted coeval happenings in Hyderabad, Kashmir and in the violence that precipitated the birth of Pakistan, to visualise what

could have happened in hundred other places in India but for the patriotism that overrode personal pride, power and profit on the part of these chiefs.

The rule of thumb premiss fostered by the socialistic pattern that "every person who is hungry is a good person and every person who is not hungry is a bad person" is handy only for perpetuating in a glib way the suzerainty of those who have cornered the measure and balance of distribution in the manner of the fox which divided the lump of cheese between two fighting cats. The postulate has another strident undertone that they that are full in their belly shall also go hungry, and this is a psychological salve to the hurts of the ill-fed that has mordant value in the vote-counter. Since the lengthening of the Procrustean bed is a laborious task requiring time, socialism will start with cutting to size the excess corporeal lengths of the human occupants to the size of the bed. With all this, should the victims, in addition, be objects of flaunting ill-manners just because a few of them refuse to be door-mats?



CORRIGENDUM

In the advertisement of TIRUPATI COTTON MILLS LTD. that was published in the Swarajya Special Number 1962 the name TIRUPATI COTTON MILLS PRIVATE LTD. should read as:

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WHY PEOPLE SHOULD VOTE FOR THE SWATANTRA PARTY

The Congress Party is making desperate efforts to see that no effective Opposition party comes into being as a result of this year's general elections in India. To save parliamentary democracy, which the Constitution of India was framed to establish in order that what has amounted in reality to one-party rule, with a regimented economy, may not in course of time become absolute dictatorship, people should vote for the Swatantra Party at the ensuing elections.

The Congress Party is doing everything to destroy individual freedom. Socialist economy is the opposite of individual freedom. Socialism is put forward as a means to attain welfare. Countries which have tried it have found that it does not work. If the people of India desire to achieve material progress without losing the most valuable element in national happiness, viz., a sense of individual freedom, they should vote for Swatantra.

The Congress, which is the ruling party, is in possession of all the facilities which a regimented welfare-State provides for perpetuation of its rule. This is dangerous. To vote for the Congress Party now and give it another period for consolidation of its power would be doubly dangerous. The question at the elections is not about Mr. Nehru, but whether the autocratic regime of the Congress Party should not be curbed. (To vote for the Congress Party now is to sanction the aggravation of its autocracy and the redoubling of the pace of its corruption.)

The Constitution has been amended with the assistance of the ruling party's present majority quite a number of times, each time the courts declared the expropriatory laws to be invalid, they being opposed to the fundamental rights guaranteed in the original Constitution. Basic rights have been whittled down so greatly that the ruling party now holds a sword of terror over all owners of land or other property and businessmen in every field. The State can put its machinery into motion, so that land may be taken away by the State with no appeal to court to contest the fairness or adequacy of the compensation awarded by the Government. The Swatantra Party is opposed to these lawless laws. It is not opposed to the reform of land tenures or giving of relief to tenants but seeks to resist lawless expropriations under the powers taken by the amendments of the Constitution. The party seeks to restore the Constitution to its original form which guaranteed the freedom of citizens to follow occupations of their choice and solemnly affirmed the citizens' rights to property lawfully acquired. All people believing in civilization, progress and culture based on these fundamental rights of citizens should support and strengthen the Swatantra Party.

The Swatantra Party holds that people who raise food-crops

should not be taxed but rewarded and encouraged.

The move for compulsory and semi-compulsory collectivization of peasants' farms leading to the extinction of individual rights is a move detrimental to production besides being expropriatory.

If the great handloom cottage industry of India is to be saved from being crushed by the mills and a wide-spread crisis of unemployment averted, the electorate should vote against the Congress and support the Swatantra Party.

To sum up, the Congress has turned away from Gandhiji and switched over to Marx. Every one who desires progress in the framework of freedom should support the Swatantra Party. Those few who think it would be good for them to give unlimited power to officials and ministers may vote for the Congress Party and for its Permit-Licence-Control-Raj; but those who stand for only a minimum of State-power and maximum freedom for the individual citizen should vote for the Swatantra Party.

The Congress Party has been in office for fifteen years but has not given to the people good government. Gigantism and Facadism are the characteristics of this party's policies, and these have led to crushing taxation, soaring prices and hopeless indebtedness to foreign nations. The Swatantra Party stands for prudence, discretion and reduction of taxation. The Congress Party has established a bad convention of interference by members and local bosses of the ruling party in the day-to-

**ABOLISH LAND
REVENUE**

- Swatantra Manifesto

day administration of the country. This has led to injustice, graft and misrule. The Swatantra Party is opposed to this practice of political pressure to divert the course of just administration. The administrative machinery should be free from political pressures and there should be an administrative tribunal, as in France, to set right injustices that cannot be taken to the ordinary courts. Good government can be established in India

C Rajagopalachari

ECONOMANIA

By SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA

Economania is the mental disease of all modern bodies politic. It afflicts the free no less than the communist world. It consists in imagining that everything that happens in human societies can be explained in economic terms, flows from economic causes and can be cured by economic remedies. Economania is the cause of socialism, which in its turn may be described as an attempt at curing by public ownership the shortcomings of liberal economy.

This misplaced ambition ignores the chief factor in the situation, namely, that the shortcomings of liberal economy, where they occur, are not economic but moral-social. As an economic system, liberalism is unsurpassed. By eliminating the inefficient producers through competition, it ensures the highest productivity at the lowest cost. It fails if and when competition does not stop at the limits set to it by the general good. But then, if the moral-social standards of the community in question go no higher than that, it may be safely asserted that socialism would prove to be in that community an even worse failure than liberalism, for it would have to function without either an adequate social sense or the stimulus of private initiative.

Socialism is in itself an adversary of liberty, for at least two reasons. It entrusts economic power to the State, which being

and a bulwark raised against totalitarianism, only if the people vote in sufficient numbers for the Swatantra Party.

The vote is a gun in your hands to be used in defence of freedom, democracy and *dharma*. Do not let it lie unused. Do not sell it away for a mess of pottage. He who seeks to buy it is a traitor to democracy and has thereby demonstrated his unfitness to sit in the legislature.

already the holder of political power, concentrates in its own hands all the power there is. To argue that the people will check the State won't do, because "the people" is a crowd of Smiths and Joneses who, in a socialist community, will nearly all depend on the State for their living, and will therefore prefer silence to risking their careers. The second reason is that if the State acquires all the means of production, it will control the banks. Through the control of credit, it will control production of material and intellectual goods. That will mean the end of liberty.

Why? Here is an example. Today the author of a book rejected by a publisher, will go to another one. When a State turns to socialism, it becomes the only publisher. The rejected author remains gagged for good. Still worse is the case of newspapers. When all the papers are published by the State, what becomes of public opinion? And when the only employer is the State, what becomes of that freedom of choice of his employer which is today the guarantee of the worker's freedom and prosperity?

An automatic, that is, self-regulating classification of men by order of their capacities and merits is an indispensable factor for a society to keep its health in a good condition. Men must rise to the

level their capacity entitles them to occupy, or fall to that they are only good for; otherwise, the higher ranks of the community may be soon choked with incompetent fools and the lower ranks poisoned by frustrated talents. This vertical freedom of movement can only be assured by a society organized on a liberal economy. Socialism will break it, for in the end socialism amounts to a State-regulated economy, in which sooner or later the civil service dwarfs will tie to the ground with miles of red tape every Gulliver of talent that may threaten their sleep.

Furthermore, a community is a complex organism in which many things happen which no single mind can master. Like a brain it pulsates ideas and sensations; like a heart, it throbs with the life-blood of goods and services in and out. No single man can master its workings. For a community to know itself, or more modestly put, to acquire the modicum of knowledge of itself that is needed for its own government, nothing less is required than the contributions of all its citizens. Freedom of thought, of meeting, of political organization, of exchange of views and news is, therefore, essential. Here again, socialism would tend to restrict this freedom by submitting its material conditions to a practical monopoly.

But we liberals owe socialism a debt of gratitude. It has reintroduced into liberalism that sense of the *common good* which was indeed at the origin of all true liberalism but was often forgotten by liberals in the rough and tumble of daily work. Liberalism is the only truly progressive school of political thought there is, on condition it does not forget that it is only a method, though the best, to ensure the common good.

A prolific writer and litterateur, and Spanish by birth, Salvador de Madariaga (75) is a liberal with unconventional views. He represented his country at the League of Nations, was professor of Spanish literature at Oxford and Ambassador in Washington and Paris. Now for 25 years he has been a voluntary exile from the Franco regime at Oxford.

RAJAJI'S REPLY TO NEHRU

Mr. Nehru came to Madras on Tuesday with all the paraphernalia of the Prime Minister of India and attempted in his speech to answer my oft-repeated charges and made counter-charges against me of speaking in anger and in the confusion of mind caused by unaccountable anger. I am grateful for the respect he continues to have for me. He wants me to say precisely what I want and paint the picture of India as I desire it to be. The Swatantra manifesto answers this challenge and not even adverse newspapers have found it wanting in definiteness or clarity. But as Mr. Nehru has had no time to read it, here is my picture.

I want an India clear of the atmosphere of fear in which it is now enveloped, where honest men engaged in the difficult tasks of production or trade can carry on their occupation without fear of ruin at the hands of officials, ministers and party bosses.

I want an India where talent and energy can find scope for play without having to cringe and obtain special individual permission from officials and ministers, and where their efforts will be judged by the open market in India and abroad.

I want the dense permit-licence-fog not to sit on us. I want Statism to go and Government reduced to its proper functions.

I want the inefficiency of public management to go where the competitive economy of private management can look after affairs.

I want the corruptions of this permit-licence-raj to go.

I want the officials appointed to administer laws and policies to be free from the pressures of the bosses of the ruling party, and gradually restored back to the standards of fearless honesty which they once maintained.

Mr. Nehru says he has not been approached by any permit-seeker. True. But he has an army of 150 ministers under him and numerous professional congressmen busy in this new occupation of assisting men to get quotas and permits.

I want real equal opportunities for all and no private monopolies created by the Permit-Licence-Raj.

I want an India where the peasants are not intimidated or beguiled into giving up their lands for Mr. Nehru to build castles in the air through co-operative farming.

I want security for all owners of property, land or other forms of acquisitions, without a Sword of Damocles hanging over them threatening expropriation without payment of just and full compensation as fixed by judicial authorities on correct principles and not according to the dictation of political legislation.

I want the fundamental rights to be restored to their original shape and kept intact.

I want an India where heavy direct and indirect taxes do not prevent the building up of private capital, discouraging enterprise and effort.

I want an India where the budget of the Centre does not cause inflation and soaring prices.

I want an India where the State does not tax for capital investment, making the present generation's life miserable.

I want the money power of Big Business to be isolated from politics. Democracy is hard to be worked and it should not be ruined by money power and rendered into a simulacrum by expensive elections and Big Business supporting the ruling party with funds in return for privileges or in fear of the State's regulatory powers.

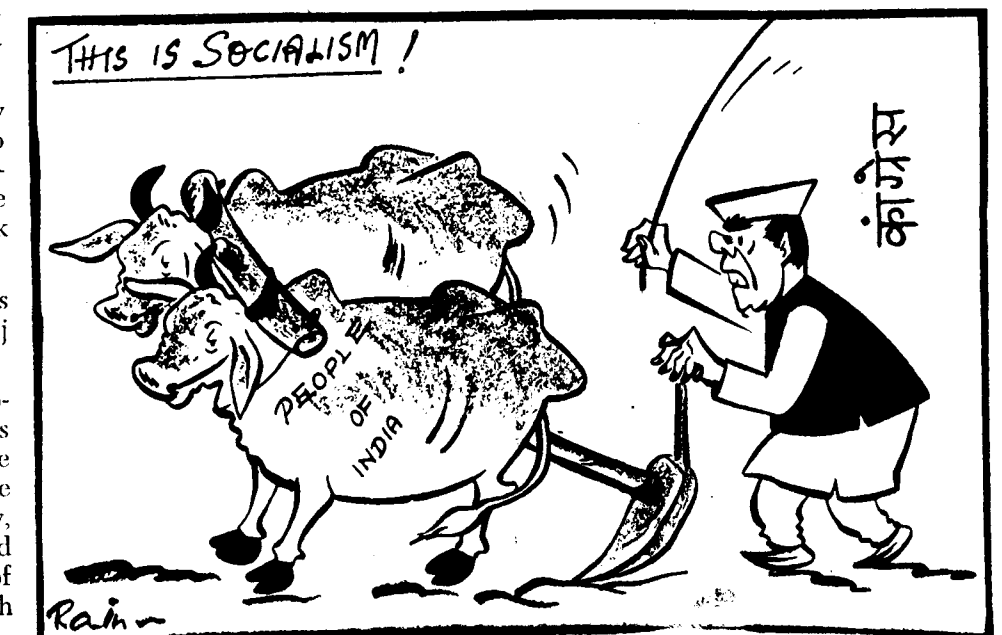
I want an India where *Dharma* once again rules the hearts of men and not greed.

I want the spirit of compassion and benevolence to have free play and not stifled by State schemes of monopolising all welfare by over-taxation and over-centralization.

I want the State to know its limitations and function in humility and the citizens to realize spirituality through the traditional channels inherited by us in India in that regard.

All this that I want cannot obviously be realized under Mr. Nehru's rule as long as he sticks fast to his particular brand of socialism. Hence it is I oppose him and work for the Swatantra Party.

I want a strong party to be in real opposition to the ruling party—whichever party it may be—so



CURRENT EVENTS::

In his pick-up of secondhand Economics, a theme in respect of which both the Defence Minister and he suffer from a chronic allergy, the Prime Minister harangues thousands of people during his stump-tour, making assertions devoid of factual basis. When challenged to prove his statements, he assumes the attitude of the petted child in the nursery who cries back: "Since I said so, I will say it again and again". In reply to his wanton assertion that in the United States, business is expanding through public-sectorization, Mr. M. R. Masani had quoted details exposing the fantasy and telling him that even railroads in America (which in India is the largest national undertaking) are owned and operated through private ownership giving excellent competitive service. Other features of American enterprise were also cited by Mr. Masani in contrast, but Mr. Nehru is apparently unaffected by demonstrable corrections.

Obsessed by the idea of his infallible stand on matters foreign

RAJAJI'S REPLY

that the wheels of democracy may run on the straight road.

In fine, I want the Congress party's rule to be substituted in course of time by that of the Swatantra Party and for the present that the ruling party should be in constant dread of being criticized and thrown out of office, and for that purpose that a strong phalanx of Swatantra members should be in Parliament. The hypnosis of an irremovable Congress Government should be removed.

I feel that in the main the present Congress Party is filled all over India by greedy and power-hungry men. If I so feel, am I to suppress my feelings? Should I not express it so that men may see that such a party does not deserve to rule India and control and regulate the affairs of men in a one-party dictatorship?

and domestic, he declares that within ten years of foreign dependence, over and above slaughter-taxation of Rs. 1,800 crores directly promised by the Finance Minister as fresh levy, our manufactured goods would flood markets abroad besides creating an affluent society at home. Even now, with the eye of faith those who view the results of India's "mighty adventure" in planning, are bidden to applaud the alleged rise in the standard of living unrelated, of course, to rupee-inflation, whilst Government "holds up the price-line." Contradictions infuriate the Prime Minister, and he looks upon critics as cock-eyed beholders belonging to the 16th century ignorant of the A.B.C. of agro-economic realities in focus.

Speaking at Muzaffarpur Mr. Ashok Mehta assailed the industrial and economic policies of the Government. Mr. Ashok Mehta said at an election-rally: "In spite of the two Five-Year Plans, rural indebtedness has increased and the number of the unemployed has risen to 15 millions, the high-

I use harsh language, because I am disgusted with the ways of the Congress Party and the atmosphere of corruption, fear and flattery that are choking the national spirit. But the Congress Party and its representatives in office do worse than use harsh language—they tell lies—the biggest lie among them being that the Swatantra Party is a rich man's party or that it is not led by me but by big businessmen; that it is a Rajah's party and so forth; that the nation will be able to repay the mountain high foreign loans—that we shall produce commodities which, after local consumption, can be exported in sizable quantities and sold abroad to repay the debts, principal and interest.

I want India to regain her moral stature abroad and I do not want our people to be bamboozled into thinking that we have not lost what moral authority we commanded during Gandhiji's days.

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est ever in backward countries". Mr. Nehru is in a traumatic trance that foreign visitors speak highly of India's progress. Quoting a recent UN report, Mr. Mehta said that India ranked 24th in a list of 30 countries whose economic conditions had been surveyed under UN auspices. Surely the P.M. cannot question the source of information, since the promotion of the world organization has been a common portfolio between him and Mr. Menon who are deploying Indian forces in far-off countries like the Congo for unification in the fullness of time, a purpose for which Cyrille Adoula wants a fresh reorganizing and re-training of the Congolese army now subject to impulses of rebellion. Another index of prosperity cited by Mr. Ashok Mehta is the statistical detail that on an investment of Rs. 600 crores in the public sector, hardly about Rs. 3 crores has been earned in the ledger as paper-profits. Facts are stubborn little things, but they are just evaded by the Prime Minister who tells cock-and-bull stories to listeners gaping in demigod worship.

Speaking at Nagpur Dr. Chintaman Deshmukh dwelt on agricultural production and said that while co-operation had immense potentials in increasing farm-output, "it is futile to expect that it will be universal or even proceed fast enough to make an impact on the situation for several Plan-periods. In the short run, it might well be that withdrawals of personal and individual incentives together with its replacements by work measured in terms of hourly wages by members of co-operatives, would lead to diminish and not to increase production". The former Finance Minister has no axe to grind against the drum-beat story that ryots could walk in and out of co-operatives irrespec-

tive of tight obligations incurred, and that it is going to make for roaring harvests under the Nagpur Resolution. Having sponsored the magic-proposal, Mr. Nehru must needs stick to it against the record of past experience in which co-operative bosses wangled their way into the status of profiteering authority and manipulators of party-mastership. Mr. Deshmukh admitted that there were great possibilities if the idea materialized in the form of "the Japanese rural co-operative organizations independent of Government assistance". As conditions on that model do not exist, it is no use gulling the masses with fairy-tales of the future.

That the official hand in the elections is clear against the Opposition is proved by the fact that the ruling party has dodged the demand that polling should be held during a brief period of President's rule which would have given a fair field; but the arts of pressurization cannot be concealed. For instance, the Punjab Governor N. V. Gadgil in a vehement speech at Ferozepur pleaded that once the Prime Minister is reinstalled in superior power, it would have a beneficent effect for the world at large. His canvassing from the rostrum for votes against the Opposition was developed from the Ferozepur platform (January 30) by the Union Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri. He challenged Opposition critics to fight "the general election with clean hands against the Congress", the implication is that Congress hands are not besmeared with filthy lucre collected under the cover of the law from business-houses who cannot afford to displease the ruling party. Next, after a pause, he described the Swatantra Party as reactionary. The Home

Minister professing dynamic progressiveness laid down the principle that "once the electorate gave its verdict in the general election, it should be the bounden duty of Opposition parties not to interfere in the country's development-work for the next five years". Critics are expected to muzzle themselves while the ruling party should enjoy an all-India permit to treat the country as party-property and feel entitled to play ducks and drakes with the resources of an impoverished country. Such being his philosophy of democratic rule, we should not be surprised at the devices adopted to sweep the poll and wield "a broom-stick" as proposed by Mr. Nehru in dealing with parties whom, in sudden gusts of wrath, the Prime Minister describes as Fascists. P.J.

COMPULSORY HINDI

New Delhi, Feb. 7.

The Union Home Ministry has emphasized that it is incumbent upon government employees below 45 years to attend Hindi

classes when they are assigned to them.

In a letter to the Central Ministries, the Home Ministry has said that "wilful and unjustified absence from Hindi classes will make them liable to disciplinary action for neglect of official duty".

The Home Ministry has said that there is still a considerable short-fall in attendance at Hindi classes and a large number of trainees do not appear in the examination at the end of the course.

Since the examinations held form an essential part of the training, government servants who have completed various courses are normally expected to appear for the examinations held at the end of each session. While the trainees cannot be subject to any penalty or departmental action if they fail in the examination, the Union Home Ministry has reminded that it is incumbent on them to attend classes regularly and to appear for the prescribed examination.—*The Hindu*.

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JAWAHARLAL — LAST PHASE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

His best friends should warn him of the symptoms of imbalance and incoherence characterising Prime Minister Nehru's latter-day speeches denouncing Opposition critics who, in all goodwill, point out errors in the drift of his policy, nepotist outfit, and administrative practices. He lashes right and left, both in the vehemence of his self-appreciation and the rancour of his contempt for non-Congress parties genuinely apprehensive of toeing the line. Prodigy he is, but there is weariness of the flesh to betray the natural promptings of splenetic outbursts. Lord Rosebery in his study of *Napoleon: The Last Phase* analyses the growth of fatigue and disintegration in human specimens of heroism and genius. His conclusion is relevant:

The truth we take to be this. The mind of man has not in it sufficient ballast to enable it to exercise, or endure for long, supreme uncontrolled power. Or, to put it in other words, the human frame is unequal to anything approaching omnipotence. All history from the Caesars onwards teaches us this. Strong as was the intellect of Napoleon, it formed no exception to the rule.

Between the battle of Toulon and the last journey to St. Helena, Napoleon had put in twenty years of spectacular triumphs staggering continents, but the man was on the decline, and Lord Rosebery speaks of "incredible self-delusion and want of insight" which made him treat human beings "as pawns and move them about the board according to his own momentary whim, without a thought of their passions or character or traditions; in a word by ignoring human nature".

"What he wanted was instruments not Ministers," a mood (says Lord Rosebery) that "not merely seems to raise man for a moment beyond his fellows, but constitutes a strain which human nerves are not able to endure." The example of Julius Caesar which is quoted reminds readers that there was eclipse in

the lustrums of Julius Caesar darkening judgment and releasing unbridled speech. As Jawaharlal frequently tells us, he has had the limelight on him for more than forty years, and that even before the glimpse of national Independence, India had his foreign policy to mould the shape of things to come, meaning his juvenile ascendancy in the Gandhian era and his annual utterance on the international situation. His eloquence, once so refined, has distinctly undergone a change that requires the expression "lashing out" to indicate the unrestrained assertions of an infallible Ego. The epithets he flings at the Swatantra Party and its founder-leader are deplorably out of character with Jawaharlal Nehru twelve years ago. Parliamentary decorum is cast to the winds. Even his Congress speeches and party-manifestoes represent a concatenation of sentences which move on a zigzag pattern, the first part making a statement which the second half qualifies by a contradiction—evidence of the schizophrenic image and the current passion of the personality-cult on which is hinged the present standards of Congress loyalty.

For Jawaharlal Nehru, there is now a stock-in-trade of a dozen claims boosting the "achievements" of the last twelve years which he thinks is incomprehensible to "senile babies" like C.R. who are 16th century reactionaries. As for Congress Youth, the freshness of their ideas and aspirations is also anathema to his authoritarian role, and therefore they are also condemned to the lowest depths of the *Inferno*. If there is anything clear as crystal, it is the lucid clauses contained in the Swatantra manifesto, but

in a blend of canting and ranting, he rubs his eyes and condemns all signs of dissidence saying "I really cannot understand this *tamasha*," as if he had retained an open mind in the jumble of words reeking with sententious chicanery. Such a test bears Napoleonic features in the last phase. It is hoped that the Publications Division is not preparing a volume of "*Jawaharlal Nehru's Election (1962) Speeches*." Such a book would be a monument of disservice to his name and fame as the creator of New India, despite all its blotches of "ridiculous nonsense", and its many verbal variants, smudging the page. Appreciation of economic facts (never his favourite exercise in the last forty years of glamour and triumph) does not tether his scope of advertising success by blatant assertions. Age certainly is no handicap in the forming of judgment, but it can become so flexible with excuses of "mixed economy" that the canons of judgment cease to be scientific, just when the superb claim is the "scientific outlook" for all things that turn up in the mind during rambling discourses, whether of stars above or of hell below.



THE MYTH OF 'SOCIALISTIC PATTERN'

By GEORGE THECKEDATH

Men are usually more easily duped by catchwords than by wrong ideas. Almost all the great political leaders have risen to power by attracting the masses to their way of thinking by employing carefully-coined slogans which have bewitched them making them obey the dictates of demagogues. It is even more true in the modern world than in the past. The Indian National Congress itself, during its struggle for *swaraj*, had all along coined many such catchwords.

With the attainment of *swaraj* came new responsibilities. In the first few years after Independence the Congress Government was able to shoulder its responsibilities with some amount of success, because it carried with it the dynamism which it had acquired during the struggle for *swaraj*. But slowly the Congress began to decline, and the old-timers in the Congress camp found that they had no great programme of work to sustain the interest of the

masses. The Planning Commission was then devised as a stop-gap arrangement. But they soon discovered that it was not sufficient to maintain incentive and keep the people attached to the Congress. Yet the Congress did not give up hope. All the organs of the Government's propaganda machinery were geared to the task of making the masses "Plan-conscious" and by glorifying the achievements of the Planning Commission.

People were asked every now and then to tighten their belts, so that the Congress overlords could continue to wear them none too tight for many more years to come. But the wiser and maturer elements in the Congress revolted against the new oppressive attitude the Government adopted towards the people. They realized, before it was too late, that the Congress which had very nobly accomplished the great mission of liberating the country from foreign domination, was being slowly overshadowed by leftist ideology.

It then became necessary to invent a new slogan, and the influential "Plan-conscious" majority of the Congress Party forged a new weapon at the Avadi session of the Congress, by dedicating itself to work for a "socialistic pattern of society". Congressmen now congratulated themselves on their new 'success'. They believed that by this stroke of genius they had taken the wind out of the sails of the Communist Party and all the socialist parties, while the communists also congratulated themselves that they had finally succeeded in pushing the Trojan horse inside the Congress camp!

This Congress brand of socialism is just a last attempt of the reactionary feudalistic elements in its ranks to live on the labour of the masses who are exhorted to work for a better *tomorrow*, so that these feudalists themselves may have a good *today*, and may have the leisure to make fresh

armchair plans to extract still more labour from the masses on the better-to-morrow. Like the will-o'-the-wisp, this better tomorrow will be seen moving farther and farther apart for the masses who labour to get nearer to it.

But people cannot be kept forever by means of duping catchwords in the mire of bureaucratic feudalism, and like the daring Sinbad of the story, they would throw off the old devil from their shoulders and cry in vengeance for such an order in society which will recognize their right to enjoy the benefit of their labour and to develop their personality by working, not like cogwheels of the socialistic machinery, but as human individuals with liberty to choose any kind of work which would primarily benefit them and their families, and thus, ultimately, the nation as a whole. What the Congress socialists are doing is but to upset this right priority of values, and to put the horse (or preferably the twin oxen) of the Congress Party behind the cart.

When we hear some of the highly placed leaders and propagandists of the Congress Party wax eloquent on the need of socialism to develop our nation, we cannot but feel amused at their vanity and presumption to sell with success the wares of the Five-Year Plans to the intelligentsia of this great country. They have recognized the Planning Commission as some sort of an *avatar* or a national thinking machine, and would feign have us follow suit.

Socialism is a dream-child of people who have no touch with the hard realities of life and who profess to love humanity at large, without loving or caring for individual men around them. It appeals to the innate selfishness of man to benefit by the labour of others and to reap the harvest of what he has not sown. It gives the illusion that prosperity and contentment could be achieved without hard work. It is feudalism of the State, some sort of Babylonian autocracy in a new form. It has failed in the past. It will not succeed in the India of today.

THE CHOICE OF THE DISCERNING PATRIOT

To newspaper readers and those who indulge in political gossip no phrase is more familiar than "the jeep scandal". As a contributor recalled last week, the person responsible, at present the Defence Minister, was also guilty of about a dozen other corrupt financial deals when he was High Commissioner in London ten years ago, the total loss to the exchequer amounting probably to crores.

Most of them were exposed in detail by an authoritative body, the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament. But the Prime Minister has consistently exerted his authority to prevent action against the guilty party, and has taken him into the Cabinet, in charge of a highly responsible office, and continues to defend him.

This week a correspondent has recalled the conduct of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari during the investigation of the Mundira case by Parliament and by the Bose and Chagla Committees. Mr. Krishnamachari was detected making dozens of false statements, and many responsible Members of Parliament and the Commission reports explicitly said so. Yet when he resigned his seat the Prime Minister praised him lavishly, and it is generally expected that he will be taken back into the Cabinet after the election.

The indefatigable Mr. Gorwala has now reminded us of the false statements made during the same enquiry by the present Governor of the Reserve Bank. Yet he has been allowed to continue in that highly responsible position, and his name appeared in the most recent Honours List.

Since Independence there has been much talk, not without evidence to support it, of a decline in the standards of conduct in public life. We ourselves, in common with many others, have repeatedly argued that the individual most responsible is the Prime Minister. In the paragraphs above are mentioned three instances which support our case.

Very soon after Independence scandalous accusations began to be made against prominent persons. From the start the Prime Minister adopted an attitude of indefensible complacency, or worse. In a few cases involving officials action has been taken. In nearly all cases involving politicians the facts have been hushed up or ignored. The Prime Minister's patronage has inevitably been taken as licence to indulge in improper conduct.

There is undoubtedly an ideological element in the Prime Minister's indifference to bourgeois standards of integrity. In his formative years he came under the influence of the communists and their literary admirers, who indulged in indiscriminate repudiation of capitalist prejudices and ideals.

The communists are nothing if not thorough-going. They repudiate not merely bourgeois financial rectitude and political honesty; they deny the bourgeois conception of truth as the correspondence of statement with fact. Their philosophers argue, with every appearance of seriousness,

that truth is what serves the cause of communism.

When they get into power, therefore, their views on truth and honesty have to undergo a transformation. By this time in Russia and China many thousands of State and party officials, not to speak of humbler citizens, have been put into camps or liquidated for ignoring the formerly bourgeois but now proletarian "prejudice" against misappropriating public funds. We are confident, too, that in their governmental affairs, as opposed to their propaganda, they adopt the humdrum bourgeois view that truth is correspondence with fact.

Unfortunately, when he took power Pandit Nehru's views underwent no such transformation, for after all, India underwent no revolution, did she? Indeed he remains conspicuously ambivalent in his attitude to his motherland. He is devoted to India, but only at the cerebral level; his heart is still possessed by the superficial claptrap he picked up as a young man in the "advanced" circles of those days.

One outcome of this miseducation is that he does not really feel that honesty matters. Hence his

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tolerance in key-positions in his administration of proved crooks who could find no place in the public life of any other country in the world above the level of a Latin American dictatorship.

The evidence of the evil effect on the morals of the public is to be seen all about us. But if he is succeeded by a national leader with sounder ideas, the damage may be repaired. Unhappily this is not the only or the worst effect of his miseducation, and other effects may prove far more difficult to rectify.

As a young man he absorbed, and as an old man he still retains, many other ideas made popular thirty years ago by the decline in the prestige of capitalism after the First World War, and the victory of communism in Russia. He is not a communist in the full sense, but, as he has often declared, he accepts the communist aims and is determined to realize them in India, though if possible by different methods. He does not regard the communists as fundamentally mistaken, and is willing to co-operate with them; and he finds nothing to object to in Krishna Menon, who is equally determined to foist communism on India.

The Prime Minister's effort to turn India into a communist State by his own method began in earnest ten years ago, when the death of Vallabhbhai Patel left him in complete control of the Congress. There is much reason to think that his effort is now reaching a critical stage, and that if it is allowed to go any further it will prove to be irreversible.

His co-operation with communists now goes very far. To refer to a case currently in the news, it has long been notorious that the Statistical Institute in Calcutta—which draws up the drafts of the Plans—is staffed largely by communists, many of them Russians. The financial affairs of this body appear to be in the mess characteristic of communist concerns, and its head, Professor Mahalanobis, has declared that he is under no obligation to give accounts of his expenditure of a crore of rupees of public money.

Moreover it looks as if, with the backing of the Prime Minister, he will get away with his defiance of the country's financial authorities and will be restored to his post.

It is now clear that the communists were mainly instrumental in compelling the Prime Minister to go back on his solemn and often-repeated pledge not to take Goa by force. They did so because the atmosphere of violence always suits their purpose; because the event would arouse hostility to the West and correspondingly friendship for the communist Powers, who of course gave it their support; and because it would help their foremost agent, Krishna Menon, in his election campaign.

A number of shrewd observers have now concluded that the Chinese invasion is part of another but far more important attempt to force the Prime Minister to take pro-communist steps over which he is hesitating. Probably the first aim is to bring about a coalition government of the Congress and the Communist Party in Delhi after the election. The Chinese, already the cause of grave embarrassment and in a position to cause much more, can exert very powerful pressure in favour of their Indian agents, the communists.

The internal affairs of the Congress, its election programme and

the Prime Minister's speeches fully bear out these fears. There has been a substantial infiltration of communists into the Congress in some States. The programme demands further drastic steps in the direction of socialism, and in particular a ceiling on incomes, which if it is seriously implemented must bring capitalism to an end.

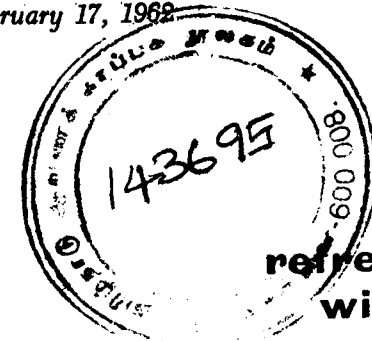
Equally worthy of notice is the Prime Minister's choice of a target of attack in his election campaign. A neighbouring country has invaded a large area of Indian territory and keeps troops defiantly stationed there, prepared to advance further and even bomb India's capital and her principal industrial areas. It would have been expected in those circumstances that the Prime Minister would concentrate his attack on the internal agents of the foreign Powers, the communists, and would appeal for a united patriotic effort to arm the country to defend itself.

In fact he says little or nothing about the communists, or about the danger from China. His principal target of attack is the Swatantra Party.

One inference from this may safely be drawn. The Prime Minister knows that the Chinese invasion is not an ordinary invasion merely intended to take away Indian territory. He knows that it is a political invasion, intended to put pressure upon the Government to adopt certain policies. He does not call on the nation to throw out the invader, because he is in sympathy with those policies and is preparing to yield to the pressure.

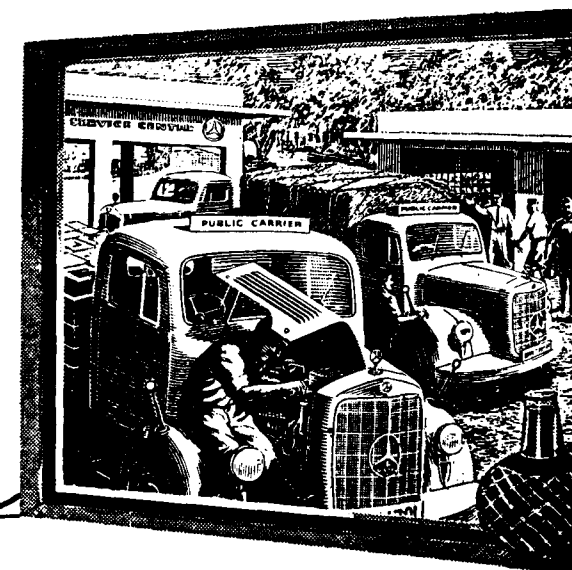
A second inference which may be drawn with almost equal certainty is that the greatest obstacle to this sinister policy would be a big vote for the Swatantra Party. All parties which are definitely opposed to the communists deserve support, but the Prime Minister has made clear which of them he considers the most dangerous to him; and it follows that that party should be the choice of the discerning patriot.

—Courtesy: Mysindia.



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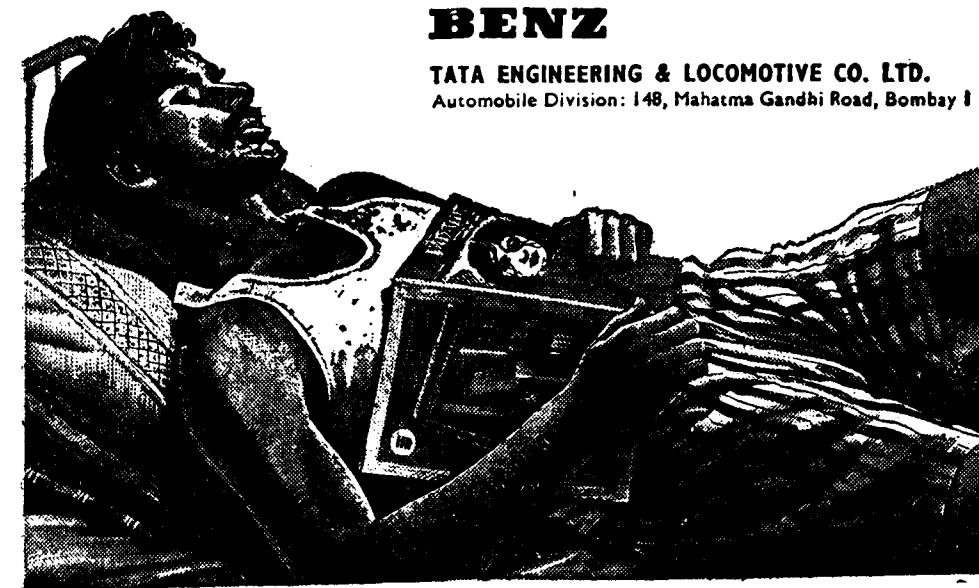
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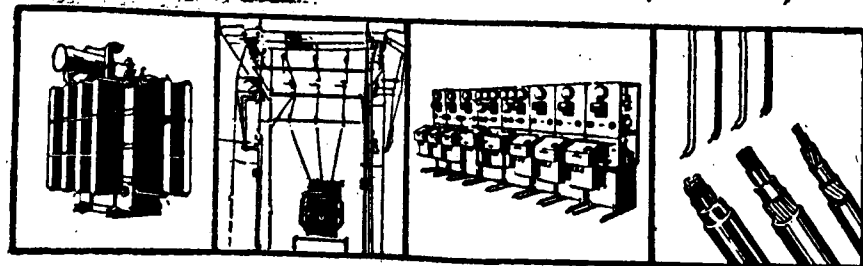
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Dear Reader —

During my recent tour in Gujarat, after I visited Ankleswar, Broach and Modasa, I collided, so to say, with Mr. Nehru who came to Himatnagar the same day (and time) I was taken there! I reached Himatnagar immediately after his meeting was over. I was surprised to see a very large audience waiting for me sitting in complete and commendable patience. It was a rural area and I dealt mostly with the rural policy of the Congress Party.

It is amusing to read Mr. Nehru's constant remark that what I stand for is 'putting the clock back'. The right to property and the right to work, and earn and hold what is earned subject to the levy of taxes by the State on behalf of the community, are the hall-mark of the evolution of civilization. It was when humanity was in a savage condition that all land belonged to the tribe and all acquisitions were shared in common. It took time to get out of this communism and to invent the social system of ownership and the other fundamental rights that distinguish the present state of civilization and which has brought about progress, in the wake of the incentives thus created. It is Mr. Nehru's socialism which is putting the clock back with damaging results.

Mr. S. Vaidyanathan, Advocate of Madras, has addressed a letter to the Attorney-General of India suggesting that he should convene a conference for amendment of Articles 226 and 227, and of Article 136, of the Constitution to widen the area of judicial control over administrative action and make such control effective. He suggests a preliminary informal meeting at Delhi under the Attorney-General's guidance, to which may be invited half a dozen of leading lawyers, practising and academic

There are two alternatives before reformers, one is the Scandinavian institution of Ombudsmann, the other is the Conseil d'Etat of France, dealt with at some length in the SWARAJYA of February 3.

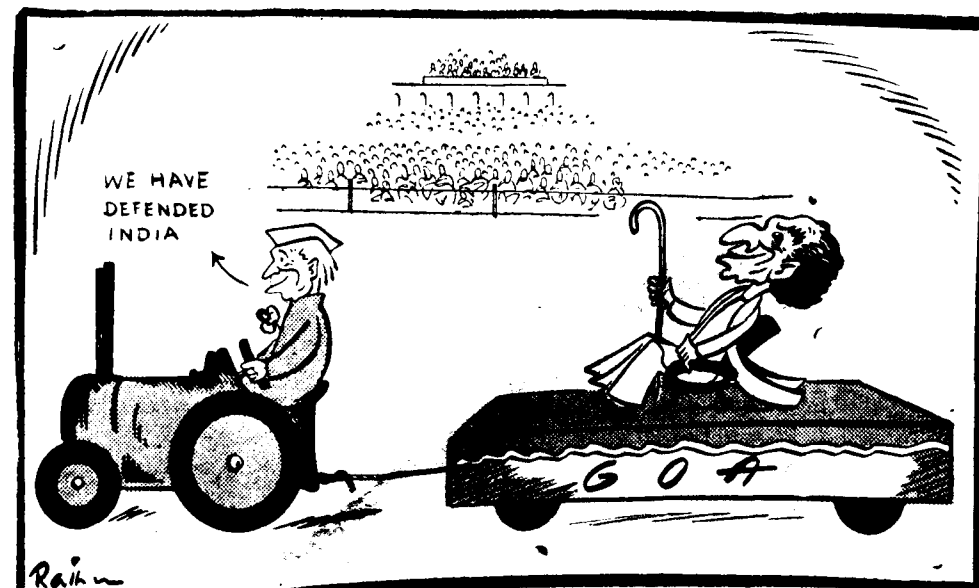
The Home Minister of India advises Government servants not to attend election meetings organized by any political party. The word 'advise' is deceptive, unless it is used in the sense that the Prime Minister 'advises' the President to issue an order, or the Law Lords and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council humbly advise Her Majesty to dismiss or allow an appeal. Even in the ordinary sense of the term, advice coming from the Home Minister is tantamount to an order, the disobeying of which carries displeasure with serious consequences. If not, why should such a high dignitary as the Home Minister issue the advice instead of leaving it to some private friend of the government employees? This 'advice' and, more than that, the mentality behind it, are unconstitutional and undemocratic. Government employees, licensees and contractors have the right to vote, and to vote freely. If this right were taken away, many things connected with it

might follow. As long as they have the right to vote, they should be allowed to listen to both sides of a matter. Attendance at meetings apart, are they going to be advised not to read any political journals? Must they be nursed only on government publications and planning boosts?

It is good that the *Hindu* has promptly come out with a closely reasoned condemnation of this advice of the Home Minister, which amounts to an unconstitutional ban.

Mr. Nehru confounds socialism with what he thinks can be attained through socialism. He attacks all those who do not believe in the means which he has chosen, and which has a glamour for him, as being against the poor and against their uplift, against the objective which he seeks to achieve. Perhaps he does not see the unreasonableness of this attack. The free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. Any system or practice wherein the individual, especially the individual with a sense of the value of human personality, is ruthlessly destroyed should stand condemned and discarded. The economy of Mr. Nehru's socialism is an economy of forced labour. This is the blunt truth.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari has been vociferating his attachment



Mr. NEHRU AND RAJAJI

By PREMA

to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and to the ideal of complete egalitarian socialism ever since his 'uncontested' election at Tiruchendur. Some candidates are just ordinary candidates for Parliament but some are candidates for the Cabinet. One can understand the 'why' of these loud advances.

On the other hand, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru has been saying "Out you go!" to those who doubt socialism. "All those congressmen," he said recently, "who are cavilling and whose minds are not clear about socialism have to choose between remaining in the Congress or joining the Swatantra Party. It will be a good thing if all these vacillating congressmen leave us. In a way, the formation of the Swatantra Party is a good thing". (*Indian Express* report). All these threats and ultimatums of Mr. Nehru, and corresponding assurances and flatteries of some people, throw interesting light on the present Congress situation. "Congress? I am the Congress!" says Mr. Nehru. "The muted Right of the Congress," as Mr. Frank Moraes calls that section of the once national organization should ponder over it all. Something real must be done for the poor people of this country other than building castles in the air or flying hydrogen balloons, or making contradictory and untruthful promises for election purposes. The Swatantra Party offers well-trying plans and asks people not to be bamboozled by the thoughtless Plans—which mean burdening the nation with taxes and inflation and foreign loans, to be discharged by exports which no amount of sweat and tears can possibly produce. The perpetuation of the same one-party rule is what is to be achieved by these serial Plans, patterned on the technique of the princess who entertained the Sultan with stories dovetailed into one another, thereby saving herself from being liquidated.

C.R.

Mr. Nehru in his speech at Madras on Feb. 7th, took exception to C.R.'s angry description of congressmen as 'Bakasuras' and as 'locusts ruining the nation's economy'. The P.M. seems to have been taken aback: "Are we *that* bad?" But may I remind him that Gandhiji himself often described the British Government in India as "satanic"? "Ah!" the P.M. would say, "but now we have a white-capped Government and a brown bureaucracy!" But, then, the crushed worm is crushed none the less, whether it is one kind or another kind of boot that does it. And why be so squeamish about words like 'Bakasuras' and 'locusts'? These words, like the word 'satanic', are only used metaphorically to describe something that people are actually experiencing, and I must humbly remind the P.M. that only the wearer knows where—just where—the shoe pinches! Since when did the hard-hitting P.M. grow soft to quail before C.R.'s verbal *astras*?

Of course, with a huge course of some lakhs before one, there is the temptation to dramatise oneself a little too much. Even so, this pose of injured innocence ill becomes the P.M. Everybody knows, and has known for years, that it is the P.M.'s 'birthright' to lose his temper with routine regularity. What he does not like—what he is too much in a hurry to understand—is "extraordinary". Those who are not abjectly with him are just 'reactionaries', '19th century men', or 'communalists'; and he is the great Narcissus, in perpetual admiration of himself and his hold-all party. But the younger generation at any rate are getting tired of his unending public ventriloquisms. His speeches are more and more degenerating into pure wind. He affirms that people today are much better off than 15 years ago. The question is, *Which* people? He says exultingly: "Look at the

happy well-clad children going to school!" Again, the question is, *Which* children? The P.M. means the children who are carefully made up and drilled to greet him on ceremonial occasions, *Chacha!* But there are 100 times many more children whose conditions wouldn't bear scrutiny, who (could they but articulate their feelings!) would rather cry, '*Chee Chee!*'

The tragedy of the situation is that the P.M. is a good man who has allowed circumstances to isolate himself from what Gandhiji called *Daivdranarayana*. Wherever the P.M. goes, he is insulated from all ugly sights—poverty, squalour, beggary, overcrowding, etc. I have myself seen the outside (even the roadside) alone of Government buildings being whitewashed when the P.M. was to drive through that particular road, lest his noble aesthetic sense suffer any disturbance. We have indeed vastly improved upon the stupid make-believes of the old British administration!

The P.M. doesn't know that the masses and the lower middle classes suffer today privations they had never suffered before, and have come to accept *despair*—born of spiralling inflation—as the only commodity that is to be had without recourse to permit, quota or licence. But why waste one's breath? The P.M. lives in a whirl of words and illusions which have no relation whatsoever to the actualities that the 'common' people face with mounting frustration and resentment. But the Gita-quoting never-angry P.M. would probably only explode and say (as he did at Bombay), 'go-to-hell!' The exhortation alas! is quite superfluous. These 15 years of Congress rule have very nearly turned India itself into *that* sort of place.



A Crowing Chanticleer

Defence Minister Krishna Menon has ordered a fleet of 16 helicopters from Russia. He took Mr. Nehru's huge joke (Bhakra Dam dimensions) of naming the Swatantra Party the "helicopter party" rather seriously, and proceeded to secure an overwhelming fleet of helicopters enabling them to cry "go-to-hell".

For the non-explosion of the world on the predicted day, let the credit go to Russia whose scientists had planted a couple of Soviet pennants on the moon tipped with drugs to sterilize the lunatic fringe and put out mutual pulls among the planets on the principles of inoculation.

The speech of Zafrullah Khan has been adjudged as not being meaningful, but in view of Indian elections during the interval, Afro-Asian observers might concede the prelude as significant and sizeable.

A Hong-Kong cable states that "critical happenings in Northern Laos have brought into relief the inherent impotence of the International Control Commission" of which India is Chairman. As it is an office prized by India ever since 1954, resignation is out of the question; and India's spirit of resignation until further orders should not be taken for weakness by any one of the princely half-brothers at loggerheads.

Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula of the Congo, recognized by India, has taken a bee-line to the UNO to confer with the Security Council over which Adlai Stevenson presides in the month of February. The odd name "Adlai" is mentioned just once in the *Book of Chronicles*, and since Adoula

appears to be a namesake, their meetings will be described by "usually reliable sources" as intensely meaningful.

A son and heir, Prince Abdullah has been born to the King of Jordan. As soon as the child is of age, some occasionally reliable sources think that he would be invited to India for the usual ten-day tour and a high-level conference at New Delhi to discuss the international situation, provided of course President Nasser will not regard it as an unfriendly act to receive the Crown Prince of the Hashemite dynasty.

The future of Goa is receiving the attention of the Union Government. If the territory goes to Maharashtra, the Goans become Maharashtrians, but, on the other hand, if it is included in the Karnataka State, they become Kannadigas under the administration of Lingayat officials. In this tussle, it is proposed that Goa should remain a separate State like Nagaland, which incidentally might serve as a model for the Punjabi Suba—still demanded by Master Tara Singh and the Akalis without any violence to precedents in State-reorganization on linguistic lines.

Former Chief Justice of India, Mr. S. R. Das, Chancellor of the Shantiniketan University, has been appointed a member of the University Grants Commission in place of the late Dr. N. K. Siddhanta. The acceptance of the vacant seat eliminates the recent proposal that he should be elected President of India, if Dr. Rajen-

cup full of cheer

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dra Prasad actually quits office after the elections.

President Ayub Khan has taken over the portfolio of Pakistan's Economic Affairs, the only ostensible reason being to establish that he is no less qualified to preside over Planning than the P.M.

Actually, when T.T.K. demitted office as Finance Minister during the Mundhra imbroglio, Mr. Nehru took over the portfolio and delivered a vibrant budget-speech clearly proving that there is no formidable mystery about finance for a versatile statesman who could perform the superior trick of looking after Atomic Energy.

An old maid, shocked at the language of some ditch-diggers working near her home, complained to their foreman. The foreman promised to inquire into the matter, and called one of the men over.

"What's all this about profane talk?" he demanded.

"Why, boss," replied Joe, the ditch-digger, "it's nothing at all. Me and Butch was working there, side by side, and I accidentally let my pick slip and hit him in the head. And Butch looked at me and said, 'Now, really, Joseph, in the future you must handle that implement with more caution.'"

—P.J.

MYSINDIA'S CONSIDERED VERDICT

In fact the best way, the only way that we know of, to raise the moral standard of politics is to work the party system properly. The way that has been found in all respects best is to reduce the number of parties effectively to two, facing each other on more or less equal terms.

In that situation no government can feel safe for long, and fear of the electorate will prevent the worst malpractices. The Congress can dare to do many things because it believes that the electorate does not control it: in the absence of an opposition party of comparable strength, it controls the electorate.

It was partly because we thought that the Swatantra Party could fairly soon develop into an opposition of comparable strength that we welcomed it so heartily. We agree with the general direction of its policy, but also it is the right kind of party.

A leader of the Jana Sangh for whom we have the greatest respect has made it a reproach against the Swatantra Party that it is merely another Congress, without the socialism. We ven-

ture to think that that is a recommendation. Such a party is what India needs.

By the nature and inclination of the vast majority of its members the Congress was a non-interfering kind of party. If it had remained so it could have ruled India indefinitely. But under its impetuous leader it began to interfere. True, it interfered inefficiently and half-heartedly, but what it did by way of taking away people's land and throwing them out of traditional employment was enough to compel these easy-going, non-political people to start the Swatantra Party.

This party is of the same type. Though the level of its members is at present somewhat higher than that of Congressmen, who have been subjected to a fairly drastic adverse selection, when they get into power they will tend to behave in the same way.

But then they will be checked by the Congress in opposition, who will know all the pitfalls and all the tricks, and will keep them up to the mark. And the Swatantra men, when their turn comes to sit on the opposition benches, will keep the Congressmen up to the mark.

That is the future of Indian politics as seen by the Swatantra Party leaders, and it is about the best future that can be reasonably hoped for. That is the way to keep power in the hands of the great majority bloc of moderate-minded citizens, and out of the grasp of the extremists on either wing.

For if the Indian public do not fairly soon establish a workable political system depending upon the moderate-minded majority, it is only too likely that power will fall to one group or other, and

quite possibly of both, on the extremes. The leader of the Congress is strongly under the influence of communists, who are working hard to increase their power through the Congress; but the stronger becomes one extreme, the stronger will grow the other, until the great majority of innocent, moderate and non-political citizens find themselves trapped and helpless between the upper and the nether millstone.

If they are to escape that fate they must make the parliamentary system work, and at the present

Our contributors are respectfully requested not to exceed 900 words, in view of the size of SWARAJYA.

moment that means that they must return the Swatantra Party in substantial strength. The astrologers may not have been entirely wrong after all: February is likely to be a month of critical happenings.

—Courtesy, Mysindia

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

GANDHIJI ON MONEY GIFTS FROM ABROAD

Sir,—Now that the Government of India is going on borrowing heavily from foreign countries for implementing its Plan schemes, the following interview between Gandhiji and Dr. J. R. Mott (published in *Sunday Times*, January 3, 1937) will be instructive and revealing. (It will be found that on the one topic of gifts of money to India, the two could not agree.)

Dr. Mott: If money is to be given to India, in what ways can it be wisely given without causing any harm? Will money be of any value?

Gandhiji: No. When money is given, it can only do harm. It has got to be earned when it is required. I am convinced that the American and British money which has been voted for missionary societies has done more harm than good. You cannot serve God and Mammon, both. And my fear is that Mammon has been sent to serve India and God has remained behind, with the result that He will one day have His vengeance. When the American says, "I will serve you through money," I dread him. I simply say to him: "Send us your engineers not to earn money but to give us the benefit of their scientific knowledge".

Dr. Mott: But money is stored-up personality. It can be badly used as well as well used. Through money, you can get the services of a good engineer. But far more dangerous than money is human personality. It makes possible the good as well as the bad use of money. Kagawa of Japan admits that the use of

money and machinery is attended with peril, but insists, and I agree with him, that Christ is able to dominate both the money and the machine.

Gandhiji: I have made the distinction between money given and money earned. If an American says he wants to serve India, and you packed him off here, I should say we had not earned his services. Money plays the least part in matters of spirit.

Sirkali R. RAMACHANDRA IYER

WITHDRAWAL FROM ELECTION

Sir,—The Swatantra Party as well as the Congress Party put up their respective candidates in the parliamentary constituency of Tiruchendur in the Madras State for the current general election. The Swatantra candidate withdrew his candidature without the party's consent, in spite of an undertaking by him "according to the party's prescribed rule that he would not withdraw his candidature on any account, unless he was directed to do so by the party". As a result of the withdrawal, the Congress candidate, who alone remained in the field, has been returned unopposed.

This withdrawal raises an important issue. Under the Constitution, the electorate is the ultimate sovereign and this power of sovereignty is exercised through the ballot-box. The electorate is expected to deliver its verdict as between the contesting political parties with their policies, programmes, leadership, record of performance, etc.,

through the polled votes. This is the essence of representative democracy.

This is a political right of the highest value for every adult citizen under our Constitution. The Tiruchendur parliamentary constituency of about four lakhs of voters should not have been robbed of this right by the withdrawal of a candidate from contest. The withdrawal is in breach of a solemn trust placed on the candidate and accepted by him. The Election Authority

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should be moved to set aside the withdrawal by means of an election petition. If the existing law does not permit such a course, the electoral law should be suitably amended. The sovereign right of the electorate under the Constitution should not be permitted to be destroyed by the individual lapse of an erring party candidate.

Bombay A. S. KUPPUSWAMI

[The existing law does not provide for taking notice of lapses of this nature, as the writer of the letter himself suspects.—Ed.]

ELIMINATING UNDESERVING CANDIDATES

Sir,—Rajaji's conclusion arrived at, subsequent to the 'Tiruchendur story', that "the evolution of methods to get rid of the electorate and the sloping down of the curve of public morality in our democracy" is a very saddening thought. Just as too many contestants for a seat spoil the show in an election,

the other extreme of an 'unopposed election' is a negation of democracy.

Then the question arises as to what should be done, in the present set-up, if only one candidate is proposed and none comes forward to oppose him due to some reason or other. Surely it cannot be that all the voters in that constituency like to be represented by the unopposed candidate, under such circumstances, I would suggest that the election should be conducted even then; only, unlike in other places, the voters should be asked to record their "Yes" or "No" for that candidate to be returned to the legislature or Parliament. If he gets a majority of "Yes" he should be returned, otherwise not. If he gets a majority of "No's" he should be barred from further contests, at least for a period and fresh election should be held soon. This will eliminate powerful but unscrupulous candidates from the scene and pave the way for true democracy.

Bombay S. RANGANATHAN

PUBLIC SECTOR COMPANIES

Sir,—The Survey of Government Companies' Finances published in the *Economic Times* (8-2-1962) is revealing, and provides much food for thought.

During the years 1959-60 and 60-61 the State corporations have mulcted from the consumer 15.3 per cent and 24.9 per cent respectively on sales as their profits as against 10 per cent on average collected by the much-maligned private sector companies. In spite of this, the net profits before taxes are greater in the case of private sector companies which returned 7.7 per cent and 8.2 per cent respectively on total capital employed compared to 3.3 per cent and 6 per cent respectively returned by the State companies during the two years. With increased profits go increased tax income to the exchequer. It is more deplorable when we consider that the State companies paid interest at an approximate 2 per cent and 2.7 per cent on their borrowings from Government, whereas the private sector companies pay considerably more (5.4 per cent). The consumer pays less and the capital earns more in the private sector than in the public sector, and the position of labour is none better in the State companies.

The position is the same even in the case of the much-publicized show piece, the Hindustan Machine Tools.

This is only part of the story. The report tells us that contrary to our expectations the State companies are more lax in complying with the provisions of law (eg. relating to disclosure in accounts, publishing accounts in time, etc.) than private companies.

The nation is getting a much lower return on its investments in the public sector than in the private sector. It is imperative that we take stock of the real state of affairs and channel our investments into the more efficient and productive sector. The time is now.

Madras R. VENKATARAMAN

ALLOTMENT OF WAGONS TO SOUTH

Sir,—It is observed that the booking of wagon allotment to the South is comparatively very poor, especially to Coimbatore District, where the progress of industrialization is very rapid. The water resources of the district of Coimbatore are very meagre. The Government of Madras through its panchayat unions is making maximum efforts to provide the public with overhead tanks in each panchayat for which pipes and other iron materials are abso-

lutely essential for the construction of tanks and distribution of water to the public.

It is known that huge stocks of pipes and other iron materials are available with the manufacturers of Calcutta. But it is a pity that the Railway Administration is not allotting sufficient wagons to move the pipes and other iron goods from Calcutta to the South, whereby the progress of work is being held up. It is earnestly hoped the Railway Board and the Government of Madras would immediately take steps to see that the interests of the general public do not suffer.

Coimbatore M.C.R.

CONTROVERSIAL POSTAGE STAMP

Sir,—On page 9 of January 27th issue of your weekly you have published a photostat reproduction of a four-anna India postage stamp. The words in Devanagari script read "Kankrej", which is a breed of Indian bulls known for their strength and used for heavy haulage work.

The allegation that this is a Congress Party stamp is uncharitable.

V. S. SWAMI

[It is strange that of all the breeds of bullocks in India this particular

one should have been commemorated by the issuing of a postage stamp, with its name printed in Nagari along with two bullocks yoked and looking just like the very Congress symbol!—Ed.]

NEW RESTRICTIONS ON INDIAN BANKING

Sir,—It is disheartening to read of the several proposals recently made in regard to Indian banking. *Inter alia* the Government and the experts require that

i. the capital of the banks should be increased so that capital plus reserves may bear a certain ratio to deposits;

ii. not less than 20 per cent of the profits must be added to the reserves; and

iii. liquid resources of the banks should be maintained at not less than a certain percentage of the deposits, not to speak of compulsory deposits with the Reserve Bank free of any charge.

On the top of these impositions, there is the payment to be made to the Deposit Insurance Corporation at

5 nP. per Rs. 100, which looking so innocent must be and means an appreciable charge against the profits of every bank. Note that, in this connection, a suggestion was recently made by our Finance Minister that banks should not always demand adequate securities from its borrowers but should rely on their individual capacities and character.

On the other hand, depositors want a high rate of interest with due regard to the prevailing conditions of the money market. Any increase in the rate charged to borrowers will scarcely be welcome and might retard business and enterprise.

Apparently as a counsel of despair, leading banks, who care for the smaller fry, are claiming that taxation of bank profits should be on a reduced basis—a cry in the wilderness.

In pursuance of its present day policy, the Government requires any additional issues of capital must be made at a premium to be approved of by it. In these circumstances, what are the chances of additional capital being readily taken up by shareholders, amid the attractions which other enterprises offer to the investing public?

Madras K. V. IYER

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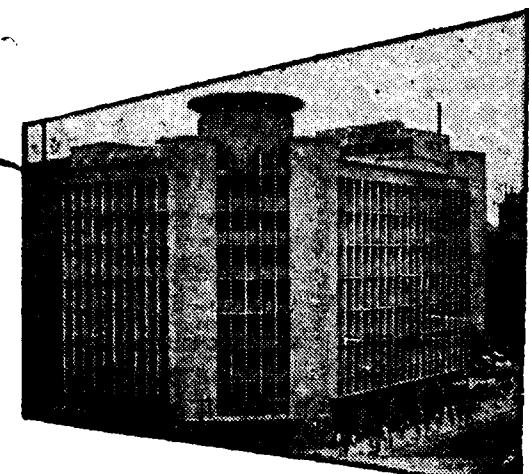
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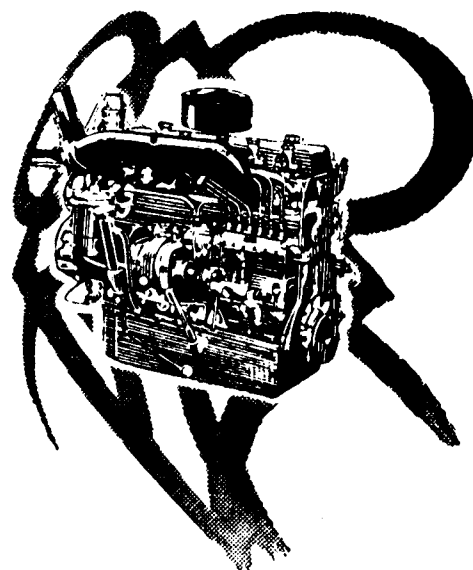
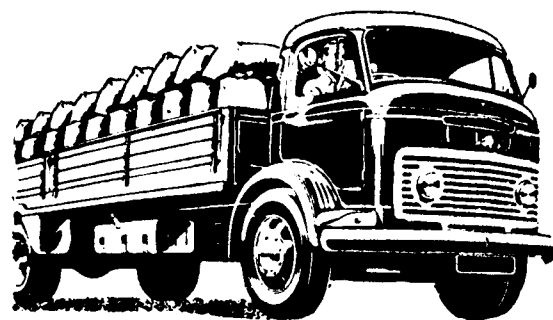
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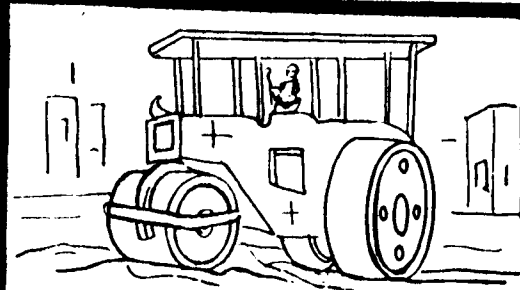


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THE ILLUSIONS OF SOCIALISM

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Congress Party leaders profess devotion to the individual's freedom, and to the fulfilment of his natural urges. But every concrete proposal they make is for some kind of collectivistic action and to the ignoring and extinction of the individual's personality.

They do not recognize any dilemma nor any need for choosing between two evils. They disregard the old maxim 'You can't have your cake and eat it too'; they think they can do that impossible thing. They say they can bring about collectivization without loss of individual rights. They want us to believe they can give social security without loss of individual freedom. They plan to use tax money to give all kinds of government aid and tell us that the recipients will not be put under government control. No one can receive help and retain independence.

The Congress Party fails to realize (or pretends not to see) that for the preservation of the freedom of enterprise of the individual citizen, we should reduce government operations, limit regulatory powers of government officials, curtail the taxes, facilitate the exercise of the freedom of parents in regard to the education of children, increase privately initiated, financed and managed activities, and so on. On the contrary, they recommend increased government spending, government manipulation of

thought, government controls, and an extension of collectivization projects.

By a manipulation of vague and undefined words all opposites can be made to appear reconciled. Mr. Nehru's penchant is this. 'Tighten the nut on the bolt, but leave it fairly loose': this is the format of all his pronouncements. One can make a list of the words and phrases that occur over and over again in his speeches, in order to serve this purpose of providing for opposites. They are not favourite phrases of his; they issue automatically out of the confusion of opposites in his mind.

Let us remember the individual exists by and for himself. He does not exist for the State; the State exists for the individual. Men are not just an 'asset' or 'resources' of the State. They are the reality and the State is an artificial intervention to serve the individuals. Freedom is the best Five-Year Plan. To allow a particular political party to interfere with that freedom is disastrous to welfare and is the opposite of happiness.

Socialism's appeal, when it was first brought to notice, was the efficiency it promised and the elimination of the waste in the competitive system which it im-

plied. All this has proved illusory. There is nothing so inefficient as public management of what private enterprise can manage. There is nothing so injurious to quality as absence of competition.

Statist collectivism in any form is a denial of freedom. The regimentation which socialism involves is based on the assumption that people are incapable of choosing what is good for themselves and on a misapplication of the theory of the greatest good for the greatest number. Some theorist's notion of what is good for the greatest number, and for generations to come, cannot be accepted as proof. No tyranny can be more monstrous than what would be established on this basis. Socialism is based on an ignoring of natural laws and on assumptions of wisdom where it is far from being shown to exist.

The Congress claims to have achieved a lot through its Statist policy. The question is not how much money people spend. The question is, are people on the whole happier in 1962 than in 1900, when the people had more freedom to choose in everything than they now have under the present permit-licence-raj? There is no relation of cause and effect between the progress of this permit-licence-raj and the advance in private industries. On the contrary, the dead hand of the bureaucracy, with its partisan loyalty to a political party and the restraints of the planning economy, has so acted as to bar pro-

**ABOLISH LAND
REVENUE**

- Swatantra Manifesto

gress in many ways. What has been achieved by private enterprise has been achieved *in spite of* and not on account of the Statist policies of the Congress Party.

Big Business has, of course, been well served by Mr. Nehru. Big Business likes the soaring prices. It welcomes and fattens on the contracts and other opportunities furnished by the Plans. It delights in the want of vigilance implied in public management. The mystery of the well known backing of Big Business for the Congress Party can be solved if this is understood.

In countries where production has reached a satisfactory level and the habits that led to it are stabilized, policies are legitimately initiated to remove disparities. This is the case in America, England and the Scandinavian countries. But where there is not enough production, what is absolutely essential is incentive for work. 'Everything belongs to every man' leaves no incentive to any man. Hence it is that Congress socialism is ruinous to progress. Freedom and what the Germans call 'market economy' are the policies most conducive to production where this is the predominant problem. Post-war Germany is a great example and a convincing demonstration. The Congress Party has been drawn to the wrong path of priority to egalitarianism before incentive for production by the desire to gather votes in an adult suffrage Constitution. It is suicidal to adopt the Statist policy of production. The use of taxation for capital investment kills incentives for production or saving to build up private capital.

The proliferation of the bureaucracy, both administrative and industrial, results in greatly increased cost of administration and unrestrained resort to borrowing from abroad.

Says Mr. Nehru, "My socialism is not what is written in any book on socialism or prevails elsewhere". Mr. Nehru's socialism is Statism. It is permits, licences and quotas, and all the favouritism and corruption inherently associated therewith.

DEGENERATE FLIPPANCY

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The lowest form of wit consists of perpetrating puns. The feeble punster gives the signal by starting the laugh himself for others to follow and eventually catch his point. For the best part of his life, Mr. Nehru as a speaker was quick and crisp in words despite redundancy of ideas lathered into the normal period of ninety minutes, but in his recent electioneering campaign he has elaborated witticisms which he holds worth repeating again and again, thus taking away from his prestigious role as India's No. 1 spell-binder. He recalls cracks which he had floated "the other day" to pin down his critics alive, especially the Swatantra Party, with what he considers to be an epigram which listeners should not be allowed to forget. His speech at Bangalore during what Americans would call whistle-stop tour, was at thorough variance with his past standards of performance; but as he had to highlight 'past achievements' of the Congress as the Paramount Leader of his party (when his own biography is equated with fifty years of Indian history), he also resorted to pithy efforts to discount opponents and back-numbers just when foreign visitors are ecstatic about Congress exploits. Mr. Nehru said:

The other day, I ventured to describe the Swatantra politics in a phrase which I feel is rather a good phrase. Therefore, I shall repeat it. I said that it (Swatantra politics) is bad economics, bad sense and bad temper.

The trenchancy of his own verdict had so impressed him that he passed it on to the Bangalore audience as something of a battle-cry packed with sarcasm for local canvassers already swarming the pavements. As a quality-jest it wasn't very mirth-rousing, but there was, of course, loud applause! Nevertheless, it was really a fourth-form witticism like the old axiom at the time of Birth-Day Honours during British

rule: "Get on, Get Honour, Get Honest." When first that quip is heard, juveniles take it to be an amusing piece of wisdom itself; but actually the content is no better than sawdust. All the same, a raw youth who prizes that maxim would no doubt repeat himself on vacation among up-country cronies by referring to what he had said 'the other day' as a remarkable instance of shrewdness.

Of course during elections, and in the course of parliamentary exchanges at Westminster, remarks are made to squelch. Winston Churchill scoffed at the late Aneurin Bevan as a squalid nuisance who, in turn, spurned a statistical authority as a "Dessicated Adding-Machine". Jawaharlal Nehru, in his resolve to be unsparing, seems inclined to try his hand at homely acumen not very natural to him. Anyway in his obsession about Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and his piercing parables, as also the creation of the Indian background to reinforce an argument, the P.M. fired off a comparison calling the founder-leader of the Swatantra movement as a "senile baby". At the same time, the Prime Minister is "distressed" at an old colleague's renegacy in that, contrary to the Gita's teachings, Mr. Rajagopalachari gave way to anger, thus impairing judgment as mentioned in the sacred book he honoured by quoting in electoral warfare!

On the other hand, Jawaharlal in his balanced judgment apparently moves on the level of Buddhist dispassionateness. Now the juicy proposition about the "senile baby" could be improved by "apt alliteration's artful aid," so that he can not only extend the periphery of his contemptuous indictment, but also his recent stylistic oratory in order to capture the mind of the masses. Here are, for instance, a few which could be let loose on future occasions as something very appropriately said only "the other day":

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SWARAJYA

3

Brainless Booby
Decrepit Dunce
Balding Bounder
Dessicated Dunderhead
Time-expired Toddler
Croaking Cadaver
Decadent Duffer
Mouldering Muffs
Doddering Dullards
Measly Mugwump

Second-hand information that eminent visitors and world-statesmen admire India's foreign policy and domestic advance so fascinates followers that even if Mr.

Nehru declares at noon that it is midnight, there would be a shout "Ah, look at the stars!" Echo from the side-wings "O, it's divine".

If as a novelty in India's cosmographical story, Mr. Nehru pronounces that the earth is flat, there would be a cry for a 'Flat-Earth World Seminar' to extend the scientific discovery and elicit rapt admiration. There is no denying of the demigod status attained, but there is a limit to extravagance in condemning cri-

tics and altering history for even self-glorification. Cliches and shibboleths uttered as a matter of habit pass muster, but here is a chapter where a collection of curious spectators turns out to be a "rally" at which the Grand Master of the High Command must needs "lash out right and left", making a farce of the reasonable exchange of ideas and the instruction of the people, epitomized in the conception of democracy.

A UNITED FRONT

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The concentrated attack of the Prime Minister on the Swatantra Party should show the way to the other parties ranged against the Congress Party. The Jana Sangh in the North and the D.M.K. in the South should give up their particular slants—the one against non-Hindus on behalf of nationalism and the other against the North on behalf of the interests of the people of the South—subordinating these issues to the main task of releasing welfare-State policies from the crocodile grasp of the Permit-Licence-Quota-Raj. Congress socialism has wedded itself to this most pernicious graft-breeding policy, and is progressively making the rich richer by creating private monopolies that exploit the nation. And this in addition to the acknowledged mismanagement and waste of public undertakings.

The splinter socialist groups, too, must make up their minds against the compulsions of communism and the Statism of the Congress and forge a united Opposition along with the Swatantra Party and help to clear confusions and ambiguities.

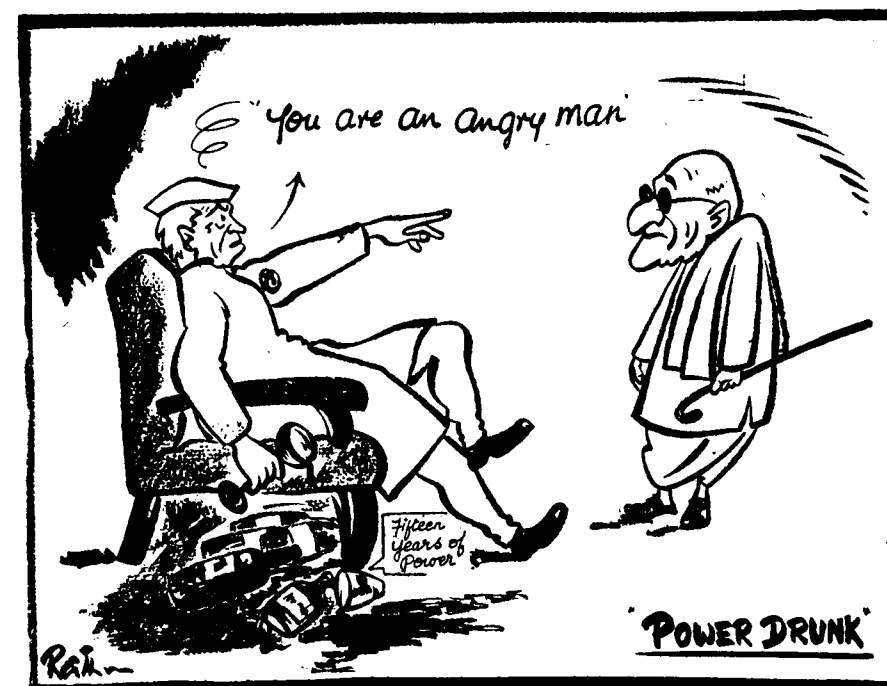
If this policy is followed by all the Opposition groups and a stout and strong party built up in opposition to totalitarianism, the Congress will have to step down soon, much sooner than generally anticipated. The nation-wide dissatisfaction against the party that

has ruled the country for these fifteen years, and caused the rural population to migrate to the cities and made the rich richer and the poor poorer through soaring prices, is bound to take effective shape if a proper outlet is shown. The nation will not allow the same party to go on perpetuating its power and converting parliamentary democracy into totalitarian one-party rule, transforming the Prime Minister into a full-blown dictator. A properly constituted and strong Opposition is the defence that must be immediately built up for saving democracy.

The individualities and the special features of the various parties in opposition to the Congress Party must now, be laid aside because we have no proportional representation or the transferable vote. Otherwise the greatest enemy to democracy, viz., totalitarian one-party rule, will have it all its own way.

The Swatantra Party has pledged itself to substantial reduction of the power of the State over the life of the individual and to exercise no party discipline over matters not covered by the main principles of the party. It will also be prepared to initiate steps to introduce the single transferable vote or other effective means of securing proportional

(Continued on next page)



CURRENT EVENTS::

The Prime Minister is obviously finding it as hard to restrain himself bodily as to bridle his tongue during his whirlwind campaign against the Swatantra Party. To quote the official press agency reporting from Ahmedabad: "Banging the rod of the microphone with a challenge, Mr. Nehru asserted that without planning India cannot progress." Having given up the use of his former swagger-stick, he did not damage the rod of the microphone at the risk of personal hurt. Mr. Menon in his place might have raised the walking-stick, but the P.M. losing control figured like his own good self at the Patna Congress where in the thick of the pandemonium he was found inflicting blows; and the picture depicts him like an angry pugilist being held back by security-officers. When Hamlet, at the sight of the ghost, lunged forward, his companions attempted to hold him back, whereupon he cried:

*Unhand me, gentlemen,
Or, by heaven, I'll make
A ghost of him that holds me.*

To demonstrate high spirits in a septuagenarian, he leaps up a

A UNITED FRONT

representation, so that true democracy can prevail. The party has solemnly pledged itself to eliminating political pressures from normal day to day administration. These features of the Swatantra Party's programme must assure all other parties that they will lose nothing by a bold merger to enable a straight and decisive battle being given to the Congress Party which, through enormous power enjoyed too long, has become corrupted beyond recovery. The one safeguard against party tyranny is the reduction of the power of government to the minimum. This fundamental principle of the Swatantra Party makes it the right focus for forging a national united front against the Leviathan Congress and its plan of perpetuation of all authority in itself.

ladder at Rajghat on Republic Day to the alarm of spectators, but Mr. Nehru descends gracefully. The proposition that planning was necessary for progress and the baseless presumption that the Swatantra Party is opposed to all planning in national advance, could have been gently and logically propounded without creating a scene or without giving vent to an outburst that Congress critics were archaic specimens of humanity and that they are sordid preservers of vested interests as the "Rich man's party". Pandit Nehru is, however, in no mood to tolerate Opposition and he sees nothing but a crowd of reactionaries except for communists prone to "misbehave" by owing extra-territorial loyalty. During the days of British rule, diehards in office used to say amiably that they were not against nationalist criticism; indeed they would welcome it provided it was constructive criticism and not destructive strictures. In a famous speech at Faridpur, the late C.R. Das said that constructive criticism would be relevant only when the Establishment was destroyed to provide room for entertaining creative proposals. Pandit Nehru, in falling foul of other parties, occasionally concedes that an Opposition involves no offence to his modern outlook provided it is a 'healthy Opposition'. When it comes to the test, he names the parties recognized by the Election Commissioner with the issue of symbols, he picks them up one by one tearing them into pieces, and ends by extending a lefthanded benediction to the Communist Party—a gesture which shows through. Anyway, the C.P.I. won't fit in as Opposition, since it is the obverse side of the Congress coin. The rest of the lot is not certified as healthy, and they are infected with disease, deserving to be quarantined in isolation hospitals.

The virus of fatal decline, he detects in the Swatantra Party and its leader; and in his vilifica-

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tion, he is wrong even in recollections of objective events in history so that the entire credit for political liberation is assigned to the party he has been identified with as Supremo ever since he entered politics. As the Agent of Destiny (his own words of self-praise), he is thus prepared to get on very well without an Opposition, seeing that there is no health-certificate for non-congressmen, to breathe free air in the land. Whilst he was speaking in this vein "lashing right and left", Mr. M. C. Chagla was addressing an election-meeting in North Bombay, stressing the need in a democracy of an Opposition to maintain parliamentary balance so that the Constitution might be saved and the irregularities of those in power be lessened by disinterested criticism. This practice goes against the totalitarian grain of one-party rule which is cherished by Mr. Nehru as the key to the millennium of gorgeous planning under the personality-cult of the future. Mr. Chagla elucidated the meaning of the expression "Her Majesty's Opposition" and the significance of its leader being paid a salary despite the Victorian dictum that the "duty of an Opposition is to oppose".

Indira Gandhi addressing the All-India Youth Congress in Bombay took a hand in castigating Rajaji, one of her remarks being: "Thousands of Rajajis and any amount of Opposition onslaught on the present regime cannot alter the accepted policy of the Government." She is well-soaked in the doctrine that a one-party government could serve as parliamentary democracy in India; she had said as much during her tour in East Africa to carry goodwill from the Congress regime. When she expressed the home-

view (for a brain-wash) in Africa, Indian settlers, looking forward to the earlier stages of parliamentary government in the course of African renaissance, were surprised. There was instant reaction against its totalitarian significance. Mr. Nehru himself was appraised by cable of local objection to the inaugurating of any such regime, and resolutions were passed resenting the idea of a visit by the Prime Minister himself to propagate such dogma. When she speaks of "thousands of Rajajis" expressing opinions contrary to the personality-cult, it merely indicates that the future President of the Congress means to exercise her authority with an iron hand. One of the favourite complaints of the Prime Minister is that Rajaji has been indulging in abusive language—insensitive to the fact that cogent arguments put forward by the alleged saboteur of past times, are sufficient to serve the cause of Swatantra, any resort to the business of bludgeoning and blackguarding being left to the present monopolists of power. C.R. cannot be so imperiously shown the door by Indira Gandhi during an election-speech in North Bombay, if only for the simple fact that Swatantra is a movement and not a stunt, senile or infantile.

The court-coteries of Nehru's India are accustomed to a line of reasoning upon the amiable premise that the speaker on the platform is a model logician and that it is the duty of patriots to move abreast. This mental process is invariably betrayed when the Prime Minister says in any "lashing" utterance (he always lashes at rallies), that he could not "understand" objections raised by dissidents to any decision pronounced by him. Smt. Indira Gandhi gave an illustration of the same stylistic mode of ratiocination at Bombay in an attempt to acquit Mr. Krishna Menon of the charge of "communism", in the squabbles about a dozen brands of socialism on the toss, scientifically undefined. Indira Gandhi

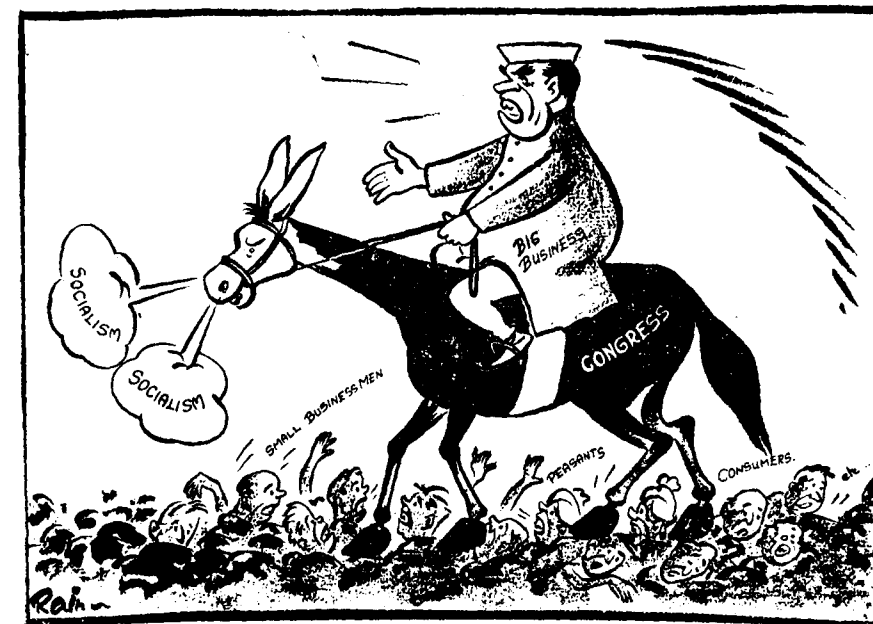
told an election meeting of women at Bombay: "If you can call me a communist, then Mr. Menon is also a communist, but do you call me a communist?" Hoity-toity, the expected answer is a loud "No" for which she had been fishing; but the premise and the surmise do not go beyond the admission that they think alike and that Mr. Menon and she represent what, in current polemics, is described as "fellow-travellers". A straight answer, albeit subject to ambiguous variations of language could have been presented to the audience without the awkward burden being placed on polite listeners to judge her denominational status in the Leftist movement, and linking it with Mr. Menon's creed which is believed to be chameleon-complexioned. He himself squelches inquisitive questioners by hammering them with counter-conundrums. There are many words like communists, crypto-communists, fellow-travellers, socialistic patternists, utopian planners, Avadi idealists etc., to satisfy all types of audience. To say that if she is a communist, then only can Mr. Menon be also placed in the category of the international body of World Revolution now in camp somewhere in Bulgaria, is to imitate the nursery-trick of touching the nose by circling the hand from behind the neck when direct performance could be in-

As I See the Picture

I cannot picture to myself a time when no man shall be richer than another. But I do picture to myself a time when the rich will spurn to enrich themselves at the expense of the poor, and the poor will cease to envy the rich. —MAHATMA GANDHI

stantly staged. The root-cause of such argument is abnormal self-esteem and the glow of infallible self-righteousness beamed all round without much of demure hesitation.

The Union Home Ministry has sprung a warning on all government servants that failure to attend Hindi classes would be counted neglect of official duties calling for disciplinary action and retarded career. The Executive decree has pernicious implications for the future of non-Hindi speaking regions, not only in respect of official employment but also on the cultural drift of the country. It may be recalled that the Prime Minister is committed to the pledge that Hindi would not be imposed on non-Hindi speaking areas, unless and until they came forward with a specific request; but in the present hectic and



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L.M.S.

hectoring mood of Mr. Nehru, the undertaking might be ruled out as one of those "petty things" which should not distract a "mature nation" like India from concentrating on huge international problems in our nuclear age. Further, was not the three-language formula adopted by chief ministers just in August last in a hurried closed-door decision during the first throes of emotional integration a process now being reinforced through the peripatetic efforts of the Sampurnanand Committee? The Home Ministry's circular that government servants should regularly mug up Hindi during office hours at the feet of pandits supplied, and pass their examinations to escape penalties, is not only a violation of fundamental rights in conflict with Constitutional Law, but is also an illegality disruptive of an all-India front of progress. Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant as Home Minister was as much a Hindi-faddist as Lal Bahadur Shastri; but as a statesman he moved with caution like an elephant feeling its way in performing a slushy climb, and he also knew how to make short-work of real opposition with a sweep of the trunk. Lal Bahadur Shastri in comparison is a small but astute rodent with sharp teeth capable of insidiously gnawing at fundamental rights. In top-notch commitments on behalf of the Government and the High Command, Indira Gandhi and Lal Bahadur Shastri are said to be the keepers of the Prime Minister's conscience, and therefore nobody should underrate the resumption of the Hindi-drive. Even in the Assam imbroglio Lal Bahadur Shastri's contribution was that local languages in rivalry could be allowed brief respite until India becomes unilingually consolidated "ultimately" in Hindi speech which, meanwhile, all are bidden to "enrich". That term "ultimately" is at the root of his faith and the key to the three-language formula over which children in primary classes are to be grilled. Telegraphic address of Lal Bahadur Shastri: "Ultimately."

P.J.

February 24, 1962

SWATANTRA PARTY VINDICATED

By N. C. ZAMINDAR

One of the most brilliant commentators on Soviet and communist affairs, Mr. Isaac Deutscher has remarked in his latest article published in the *Statesman* of 6th February, '62: "What may be meat for industrialized and relatively prosperous Russia is poison for backward China". This is equally and even more forcefully applicable to India. But perhaps the secular Congress Government likes to take the role of Lord Shiva, the poison-drinker. All sorts of Western ideas and plans have been thoughtlessly imported, creating a psychology of glamour. It is difficult now to find real, tough and earnest workers in almost all fields. There is a passionate hankering after soft and cosy living. A glance at the advertisements in various journals will bear out how the present generation is being conditioned to accept luxuries as bare necessities of life! Even in distant villages the transformation is taking place.

Dr. D. R. Gadgil, in his provoking convocation address to Nagpur University, spoke of the two dark features of contemporary Indian life—one, an increase in corruption, and the second, a sense of frustration. They both are interdependent. With the spread of corruption in the higher strata, the lower strata are attracted towards that pattern of living. That, being out of reach, leads to frustration. To put it differently, frustration is dependent on corrupt ways of living. It is unavoidable from all points of view.

The question, therefore, arises—why corruption? Why towards doom? The answer is, because of false standards imported from the highly industrialized and urbanized societies of Europe and America. Europe includes Soviet Russia.

The CPI tub-thumpers shout themselves hoarse in their election speeches about the Red 'paradises'. They conveniently forget the denigration of Stalin leading up to the inhuman act of digging

his grave. They avoid all such painful references in their vociferous campaign.

The Congress does not lag behind in following the communists with all sorts of "buts" and "ifs". If the qualifying clauses and certain special pleadings are removed from the Congress manifesto, it will appear as a diluted manifesto of the Communist Party of India.

In a recent speech, Mr. Nehru stated that people know him and his ideology. It is a fact that people love, adore and worship him as an "avatar" but they definitely do not know him. And does he not burn his incense at the feet of the Mahatma and Marx alternately? Acharya Kripalani must be congratulated for putting straight to his voters in Bombay that they will have to choose between Mahatmaji and Marx, Kri-

shna Menon representing the latter. Mr. Menon has nowhere repudiated the statement attributed to him that Mahatma Gandhi was a reactionary. Mr. Nehru by plumping for Mr. Menon has lent his support to the view.

I think that it is a fact that nobody except a genuine traditionalist can really love Gandhiji and his various views. I am certain that all 'modernists' condemn Mahatmaji as a reactionary! It is the Swatantra Party, even more than the Congress, that truly lauds the Gandhian tradition. Not only that it merely lauds but, by criticizing the Goa action, the party has taken up the stand of Mahatmaji's secretary, Mr. Pyarelal.

It can, therefore, be seen that the Swatantra Party's advocacy of a 'go slow' policy has been amply vindicated. Not only that; its adherence to Gandhism has also been vindicated by the exposition of Mr. Pyarelal on the Goa action.

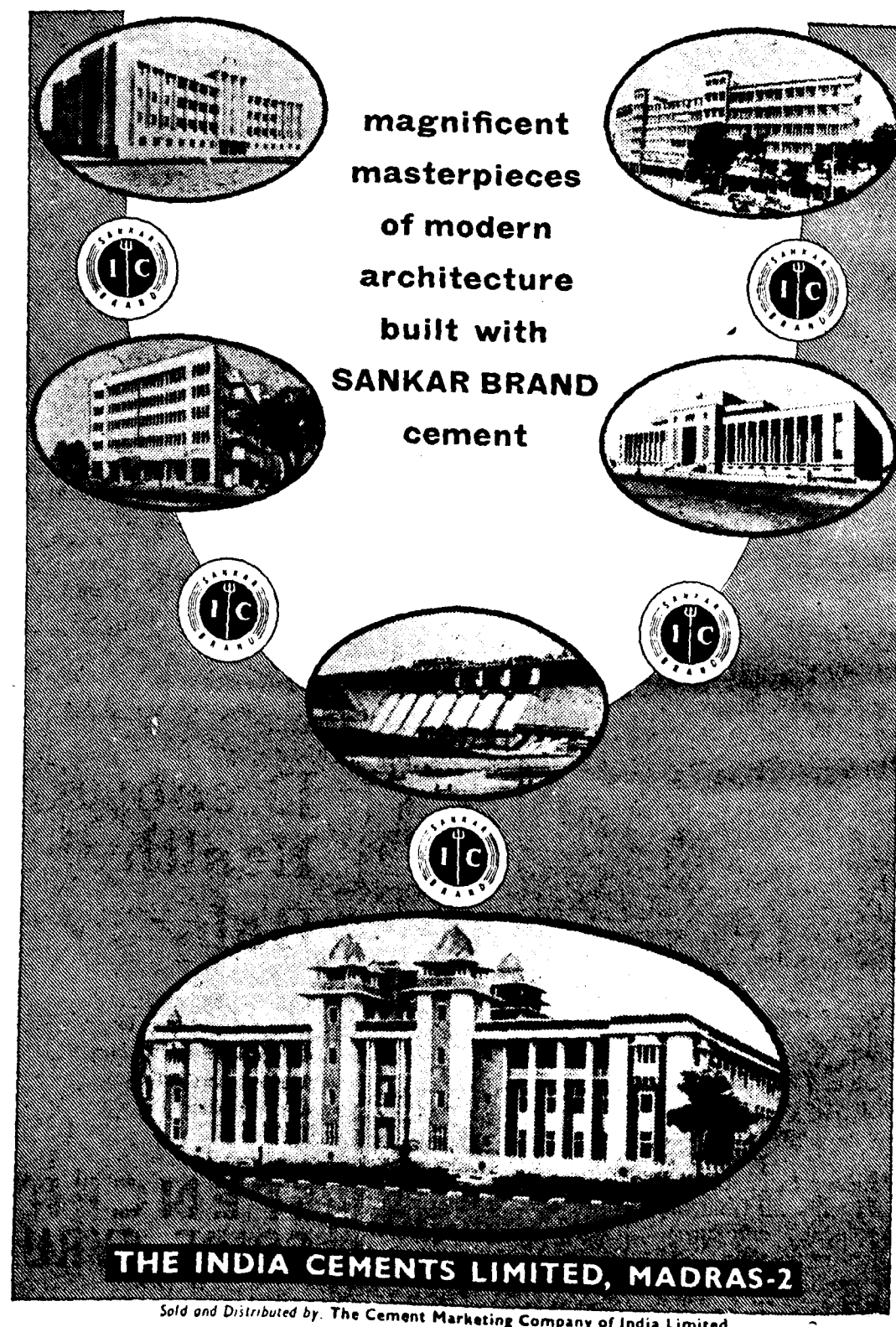


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THE ISSUE IN N. BOMBAY ELECTION

BY JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

First of all, I wish to make it clear that I am speaking entirely in a personal capacity. The Sarvodaya movement has advisedly kept itself aloof from party politics, at the same time seeking every opportunity to educate the electorate.

Ordinarily, there would have been no cause for me to deviate from this policy and take any side whatever in the election. But, in the North Bombay constituency, there is, to my mind, an extraordinary situation. Let me make it clear that I have nothing personally against Mr. Krishna Menon. My relations with him have always been cordial and friendly and I admire his ability. But, unfortunately, Mr. Menon has willingly allowed himself to be used for all he is worth by the Communist Party for the purpose of securing a commanding position in the very heart of the Central Government and the Congress Party. It would be a pity if the communists were allowed to get away with their game.

The simple people of this country are not acquainted perhaps with the well-tried and tested communist methods of infiltration, in order either to capture or destroy. It is necessary, therefore, to warn the people. It would be quite a different matter if the Communist Party were to come to power by open and democratic methods, which happily is not likely to happen in this country, as it has not happened anywhere else.

On Mr. Menon's part, it might well be that he is naive enough, as clever persons often are found to be, to believe that he was making a fine use of communist support to make the Congress more progressive. Naivete, however, has never been known to be a vice from which communists have suffered. Progressivism might mean the same thing as communism to some people. But Mr. Menon cannot remain a leader of the Congress, if that be his mean-

ing. If it is not, his acceptance of communist support, to the point of letting communists run his campaign, would need some explaining.

In the given situation, I cannot help feeling that even though Mr. Menon happens to be a Congress candidate and has the Prime Minister's support, his victory would in effect be a victory of the Communist Party. On the other hand, though it might appear paradoxical, Kripalani's victory, even though he is fighting a Congress candidate, would be a victory for the values and ideals for which

the Congress stood in its best days under Gandhiji.

I might be asked if just one electoral contest could make all that difference; is Mr. Menon all that powerful? No, he is not. No one is or can be. It is the scheming, plotting, hidden forces that are using him that are dangerous. It is often one little rat-hole in the embankment that becomes the cause of its being ultimately washed away. Without the hole, however, the floods might have beaten in vain against the embankment.

Another question I might be asked is, why does not the Prime Minister see this danger? It is a fair question. Recent history pro-

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HOW STATISTICS CAN MISLEAD

By K. N. SRIVATSAN

Bulky Plan reports and official statistical publications, bristling with figures and percentages, are issued to the public at regular intervals by the governments at the Centre and the States. A large majority of the lay public comes to know of the most enchanting of these figures filtered through newspapers and accepts them all as facts, and understandably thinks highly of the Government's omniscience. The economists argue their cases in their brilliant articles, citing the government data in support, perhaps little realizing that the figures may not all be facts. But among the official figures, some only are also facts, while the rest are not.

Let us first consider data which are also facts. Take, for instance, the figure for income-tax collected by the government. Though there may be cases of evasion and over-assessment of the tax, the fact remains that the figure is a fact in the sense that the amount of tax has actually been collected. Statistics of this category include those of actuals of revenue and expenditure of government, loans raised inside the country and abroad, bank deposits, industrial production, foreign trade,

money circulation, etc., which are collected by the Government from each primary source.

An outstanding example of a figure which is not a fact is provided by the official statement that the amount of food-grains produced in India during 1959-60 is 75.9 million metric tons. It must be obvious to the meanest intelligence that the Government does not supervise the harvests in each of the 300 million odd acres in India, nor every cultivator is obliged or eager to report about his produce. How then did the Government, which certainly is not omniscient, come to know that the produce could be 75.9 million tons?

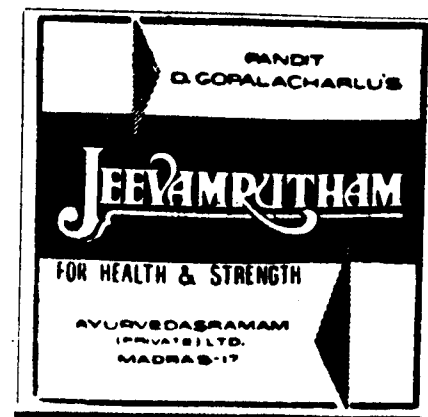
Government statisticians here intervene and argue: "It is true that we cannot harvest all the fields to the last acre. But the Government of the land must have some 'estimate of food production' in order to shape its food policies. Have you not heard of sampling which even a housewife adopts by touching a few rice-grains taken from a steaming rice pot to see whether the whole lot is cooked? In fact, we have developed refined sampling techniques which enable us to study the actual harvest of only a dozen or so small sample plots (measuring no more than a cent each) in the whole of any *tehsil* to give reliable estimates of the total food-production in the *tehsil*. We also give a margin of error to which our estimate is subject. Does not our figures, then, become almost a fact in reality?"

It is not disputed that the tiny sample plots are selected and harvested under government supervision in the most unbiased manner. It is also conceded that the Government, like private entrepreneurs, must have an estimate of food production based on the sample survey. But it cannot be accepted that the estimate thus made is a fact, because another set of random sample plots, chosen equally scientifically, may yield a different estimate, as the yields are highly variable from field to field and are not as uniform as the rice-grains in the cooking pot are regarding their softness. It may be noted here that the estimates, which are quantitative guesses, would be as good or as bad as the degree to which the material under study is variable. Hence, the estimates based on a sample, however scientifically selected, are, at best, the opinions of the Government and are not facts in the sense in which the income-tax figures are.

Our contributors are respectfully requested not to exceed 900 words, in view of the size of SWARAJYA.

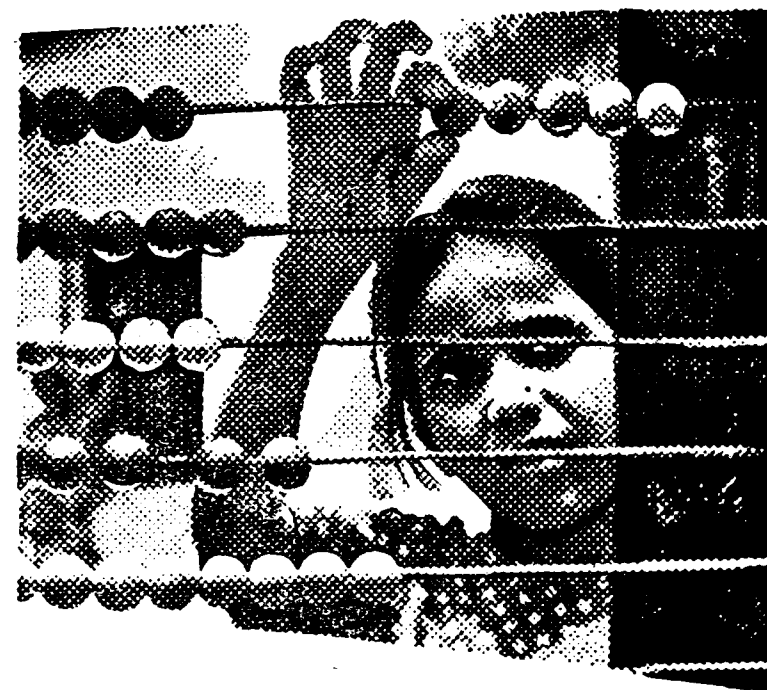
A hypothetical example will clarify the above point. Let us suppose that competent statisticians select a sample of one hundred voters out of 30,000 from the electoral list of a constituency by using the latest sampling techniques. If sixty of these sample voters elect a candidate X and if, on that basis, he is declared to have polled 60 per cent of the total votes in the constituency, would this go undisputed? No; because it would, at best, be considered as the opinion of the statisticians based on the sample they chanced to select. It will not be accepted as a fact. In short, there are certain official data, e.g., those on food-production, national income, employment and unemployment, national savings, capital-output ratio and the like, which are not facts but are only *opinions* of the Government which, like any other opinion, may well be right or wrong. It is rather disconcerting that the government publications should mix up facts and estimates in such judicious proportions that mere government opinions on the increase of food-production, national income, etc., pass for facts when such estimates are very unreliable.

It will not be out of place to mention here that the common man has access only to market-price statistics against which he can test the Government data, both facts and opinions, for accuracy. Once the free market (and not the monopoly-market manipulated by a few privileged private men or public agencies) is interfered with by the Government in the name of planning and socialism, the citizens would never be able to judge for themselves about the progress of the economy as they would have lost their economic barometer, i.e., the free market.



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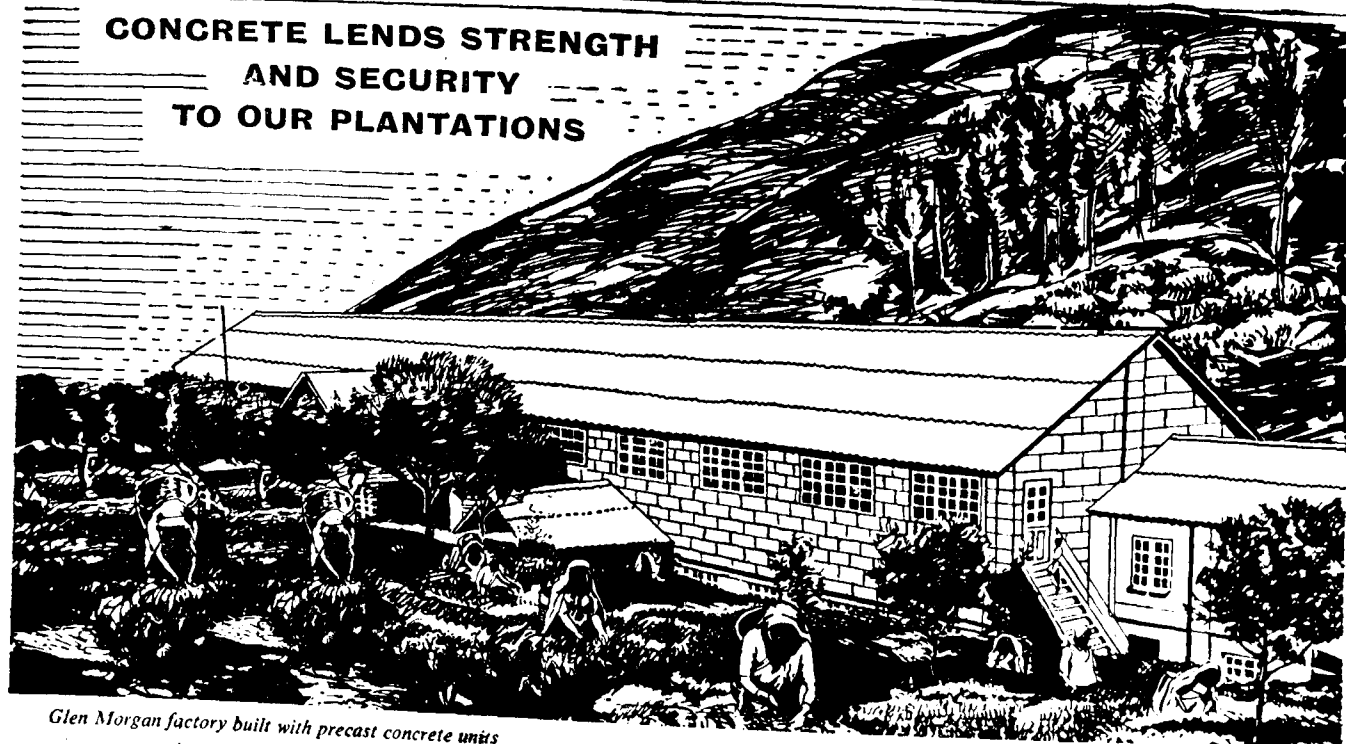
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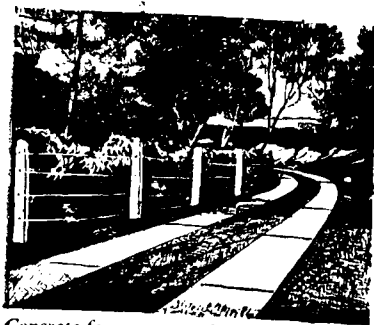
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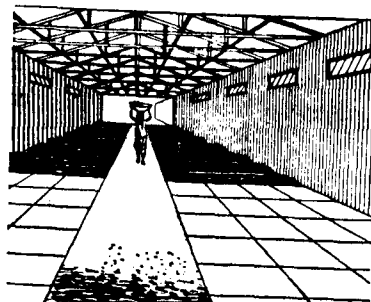
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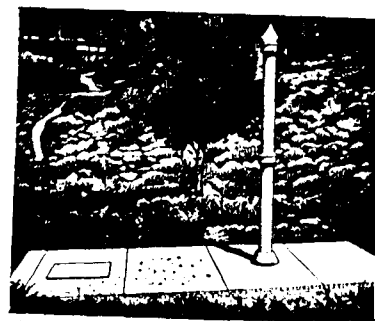
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Dear Reader

Some points raised against me personally are as amusing as cantankerous and born of prejudice. Why did you not put up a Swatantra candidate against Vaidyanathayyar's son in Madura? Not out of affection for him but because Mr. Devasahayam is as good as, if not better than, an official Swatantra candidate. Mr. Devasahayam is a Forward Bloc man and therefore he is a Swatantra candidate as well. Why did you not set up a Swatantra candidate against your son in Krishnagiri? Because there is a DMK candidate opposing him there, and some people might think a Swatantra candidate would split the votes and make it easier for the Congress to win. It is forgotten that we have put up only about fifteen parliamentary candidates in Madras State where the total number of seats is over forty, and Krishnagiri is one out of twenty-five parliamentary constituencies which the party has left uncontested. Why don't you campaign in Krishnagiri against your son? The reason should be obvious to those who have any ideas about decency and the limitations of propriety.

Is it not enough that I do fierce campaigning against one whom all my departed colleagues and I considered as our adopted son? All these cantankerous (and, possibly, imagined to be very clever) objections are amusements in this election campaign which might add humour to a grave situation.

An amusing theory has been put forward by persons who ought to know better—that I started the Swatantra Party only because of my jealousy of Mr. Kamaraj Nadar! Mr. T.T.K. has been saying that some rich businessmen caught hold of poor Rajaji and have been using him as a tool to achieve their own purpose. This notion is contrary to the Kamaraj-jealousy theory but no less amusing. I am neither made of jealousy stuff nor is my soul so poor as to let me start a Swatantra

Party for the sake of improving the financial position of some merchant friends. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Gandhiji did never think I was so gullible as to become a tool of any bad characters. In fact they thought I was more self-willed and obstinate than was good for me. Let us laugh at all these attacks. The issue of Statism and the Permit-Licence-Quota-Raj is a grave one and the battle against advancing totalitarianism cannot be interpreted away into personal intrigues.

★

Personal experiences in the present general elections have

strongly confirmed my view that, for securing fairness and confidence in the fairness of the elections, the ruling party should at least some months before nominations step down from office and hand over the administration to the permanent service, under the directions of the care-taking Governors and the President. The legislatures, too, should not function during this interim period. Any extraordinary emergency can, and should, be met by ordinance. What I have seen not only confirms my opinion that this arrangement is desirable. It has demonstrated that without this stepping down from power, the elections cannot be free and democratic. What prevails in other parliamentary countries has no application here in this country, where symbols and stamp-marking

IF WE BELIEVE IN GANDHI, LET US READ WHAT HE HAS SAID

"Self-government means, a continuous effort to be independent of government control, whether it is foreign government or whether it is national. Swaraj government will be a sorry affair if people look up to it for the regulation of every detail of life."

"A nation that runs its affairs smoothly and effectively without much State interference is truly democratic. Where such a condition is absent, the form of government is democratic only in name."

"I look upon an increase in the power of the State with the greatest fear, because, although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress."

"If the individual ceases to count, what is left of society? Individual freedom alone can make a man voluntarily surrender himself completely to the service of society. If it is wrested from him, he becomes an automaton and society is ruined. No society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom."

"I do not believe that industrialization is necessary in any case for any country. It is much less so for India. Indeed, I believe that Independent India can only discharge her duty towards a groaning world by adopting a simple but ennobled life by developing her thousands of cottages and living at peace with the world. High thinking is inconsistent with complicated material life based on high speed imposed on us by Mammon worship. All the graces of life are possible only when we learn the art of living nobly."

have to be brought into action and where power-worship is even more prevalent than God-worship and where this sorry feature is fully exploited by those who seek to perpetuate their power. Those abroad who observe the way elections are carried on here may contemplate and draw their inferences from the fact that the Prime Minister, the Home Minister of India and the chief ministers, and others holding key positions in the State governments are so heavily and principally engaged in the election campaign in a manner not to be seen in other free democracies during general elections. And the newspaper publicity liberally given to the ruling party's campaign multiplies the evil. The campaigning of Mr. Nehru discloses unprecedented anxiety and the quality and near-intimidatory language of his utterances are reminiscent of the language of well-known dictators of recent history.

★

In addition to all this, there is the fact that a most significant number of government employees, particularly in the police and military services, are voters. And they vote through post. Their voting papers are collected by officials who are not always believed to be non-partisan. The proliferated public services and public sector employees furnish a very substantial ratio of voters and this becomes important, as in the rural areas a very large percentage of voters do not vote. From every point of view,

it follows that the ruling party should step down from office and exercise no authority during election time.

★

The spreading out of the polling over more than a week lends itself to considerable prejudice. Profuse forecasting, and commenting in the daily press accompanies all the voting, and this is bound to affect the minds of voters in the polling on subsequent days, as there is a notion prevailing that one should vote for those who are likely to succeed. It is hoped that newspapers will abstain from undoing the secrecy that is guaranteed for the ballot by comments and forecasts based on guesses and on partisan reports.

★

Mr. Chagla has rightly asked for a stable government and a strong Opposition. Perhaps he should have also emphasized the need in this country for a stable and good administrative machine. Indeed, this is even more important than what is known as stable government. Ministries may come and go but the administrative machine, if it is a good and just one, will look after the affairs of the country without break. A strong Opposition can be effective only if the ruling party is not 'stable', in the sense of not being in fear of being ousted. Without an Opposition balanced in strength against the ruling party, the latter is bound in this country to go bad. 'Stable government' has become the slogan of the ruling party. This and the dovetailed Plans tend towards perpetuation of one-party rule. We have certainly had a little too much of 'stable' government. What we lack and greatly need is a strong Opposition and a stable, fearless and just administrative machine, not allowing its lawful course to be perverted by any political pressures.

★

The good and simple men of our country have a natural dislike for all conflicts. And they look upon political opposition as an

undesirable conflict. Many of them express an innocent wish that political opponents should settle differences and 'unite'. They do not know that the safest and best 'union' in democracy is a coming together for a common purpose, for the two opposing parties to sit on either side of the table, and debate and rule—this is parliamentary democracy. The union that is desirable is not a chemical union extinguishing all differences, but a coming together for effective, open and continuous debate.

★

What should be the composition of Parliament and State legislatures in a welfare-State whose policy is to spread out its powers over all the activities of the nation? What Addison has written about his imaginary club applies to this political question. "The Club of which I am a Member is very luckily composed of such Persons as are engaged in different Ways of Life, and deputed as it were out of the most conspicuous Classes of Mankind. By this Means I am furnished with the greatest Variety of Hints and Materials and know everything that passes in the different Quarters and Divisions, not only of this great City, but of the whole Kingdom. There is always some Body present who will take Care of their respective Interests, that nothing may be written or published to the Prejudice or Infringement of their just Rights and Privileges." All this is about the matter that should go into a weekly journal, but the point made out here by Addison applies with even greater force to a body ruling the country's affairs through laws and regulations that cannot be questioned. But against this whom have we today in Parliament? Men who have had little or no experience of any trade or business but who have adopted a policy of extending their authority over every trade and business, including the most important one of raising food out of mother earth.

C.R.

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A Crowing Chanticleer

Paying a tribute to his Madras host, Prime Minister Nehru remarked that his visit was superfluous, since Mr. Kamaraj Nadar was a host in himself. With elections in 14 States, Nehru is supreme, as the Lord of Hosts.

Singing the *Recessional*, Kipling on behalf of his people prayed to the Lord of Hosts "Be with us yet, lest we forget". And so let the P.M. live a thousand years and let him go ahead with his lashing speeches at C.R. and Swatantra, never letting the nation forget.

The lion roars; the duck quacks; the nightingales sing; the cock crows; and Nehru lashes, right and left. Reporters cannot do without the word "lash" as he stretches his hands and flogs his critics right and left, like guardians in the slave-camps of Pharaoh; but, alas, Panditji is 'distressed'. It hurts him more than it hurts C.R.; and Mr. Nehru charges the latter with having characterised the Congress as a "donkey" and congressmen as "scoundrels". Americans figure out the Democratic party as the Donkey as against the G.O.P. appearing in caricatures as an Elephant (the Grand Old Party). The Congress in India is the 'Boneless Wonder'.

The splenetic cry "go-to-hell" is more courteous than the naming of opponents as skunks and scoundrels, epithets which the fictionist is foisting as unspoken words on devoted heads.

When the Chinese incursions were divulged at last, the Prime Minister observed that such things "irritated us", but then irritation can be allayed by mutual back-scratching; not so, distress.

In his (Madras) Marina speech (Feb. 6) Pandit Nehru warned

that the Swatantra Party "cannot reverse the clock". Exactly on the same day, Lal Bahadur Shastri declared in the Punjab that "the Swatantra Party should not attempt to turn back the clock". Deep calleth unto Deep. Chronometers can be turned back, and the 'grandfather's clock' is invariably good as time-keepers as long as juveniles do not tamper with the hands of the clock to turn them back under the illusion that they are smart mechanics and repairers.

The Swatantra Party is backward, said Indira Gandhi at a mass-rally in Gaya. And it was at the Gaya Congress that C.R. stood for the solidarity of the Congress by preaching the No-Change policy and saved the movement from slumping backward and toppling over into the ditch, head foremost.

The man-eater is abroad, warns T.T.K. repeating his words of alarm uttered at the time he had left office as Finance Minister under the Mundhra eclipse. His critics think that the man-eater lay crouching in Kodaikanal mo-

tionless, before taking the big leap from Tiruchendur.

Mr. Krishna Menon has his eye on the tiger but his alertness is directed against the "vegetarian tiger" of which hunters know nothing. The poet William Blake used to get some nightmares over the beast:

*Tiger! Tiger! burning bright
In the forests of the night
What immortal hand or eye
Could frame thy fearful symmetry!*

Prime Minister Nehru recently remarked that Oliver Cromwell quoted scripture to a deputation of London merchants. Just to keep the record straight, Cromwell, Puritan-General, addressed a letter to the Assembly of the Church of Scotland on August 3, 1650 which contained the passage *misquoted* by Mr. Nehru: "I beseech you by the bowels of Christ, think it possible that you *might* be mistaken."

Plastering of election-appeals in the rear of private vehicles without leave is not uncommon even in the orderly routine of America. One cab carried a boldly-lettered card in front of the wind-screen saying: "The opinions expressed on the back of this cab are not necessarily those of the driver!"

Father: "Now do you understand the difference between a King and a President?"

Son: "Yes, a King is the son of his father; but a President is not."
—P.J.

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Secunderabad
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Trading Co., Vijayawada-1

WASTE IN INDUSTRIES DEPARTMENT

In the course of a conversation I was having with a few friends about the Government's efforts to develop small-scale industries, one of them (who was Swatantra-minded) referred me to an extract which had appeared in the *Blitz* (dated 3-2-62) about cases of callous waste of tax-payer's money in the Industries Department of Madras State. I noticed that the *Blitz* had referred to an audit report, which I obtained and went through to see what the facts were.

A perusal of that report shocked me. The report has mentioned a loss of Rs. 1,17,000 on account of rent, infructuous expenditure of Rs. 82,000, enormous overpayment on the purchase of zinc ingots, deviations from original plans without proper authority, and other similar irregularities. For some time now, the Directors of Industries have been officers of the Indian Administrative Service and it is depressing to note that the officers should not have

prevented such losses and irregularities.

Such callousness towards the tax-payer's interests really brings the Government to contempt. The Public Accounts Committee may, of course, in due course "deal with" the matter. But the public is entitled to learn what action the Government has taken against the officer responsible for the waste.

My friend (referred to already) alleged that the officer concerned has, after the waste had come to light, actually been promoted to a more important post, and again promoted to a selection grade! I hope it is not true. But, if this be true, nothing can be more disconcerting. Can it be that the present Congress Government is indifferent to waste—as exemplified by this individual instance? To set ugly rumours at rest, can't the Government order an enquiry by an independent and competent officer into this case of alleged waste?

A RETIRED ACCOUNTANT GENERAL

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A LETTER TO RAJAJI

Mr. B. Ananthaswami, M.A., B.L.,
writes in a letter addressed to
Rajaji:

Revered Sir, your achievement is without parallel in the history of political parties.

The vast majority of the intellectuals in the country are on your side. Some of them may be afraid of coming out into the open, for fear of being ruined by the wrath of the party in power being directed against their trade, profession or employment. Some others, while convinced of the Swatantra Party's policies and programmes, are sitting back idly, unable to overcome the feeling that a Congress victory is inevitable and their votes cannot tilt the scales. But the fact remains that you command the allegiance of the enlightened of the land.

You have done the greatest and inestimable service of removing frustration from the minds of the intellectuals (who really constitute the nation's backbone) and given purpose and meaning to their existence by instilling hope into them that wrongs can still

be righted, that sanity will ultimately prevail and that the forces of *Dharma* shall yet win the battle.

Nobody expects the Swatantra Party to capture power in this election. But the party is sure to constitute an effective Opposition and send to the legislatures and Parliament representatives most of whom will be of better calibre than the members of other parties.

VOTE FOR SWATANTRA

Sir,—The manner in which congressmen from Pandit Nehru downwards carry on a tirade against Rajaji and the Swatantra Party makes one feel that the time has come for the once-esteemed Congress to dissolve itself. Indeed, Gandhiji himself had foreseen it (and written so) just before his death by assassination. In a letter written in Hindi by him to Sri Anusuya Prasad Pataki, Editor, *Rashtra Basha*, Cuttack, the Father of the Nation wrote:

"Prior to Independence I had cherished a number of desires, but where all this? As a result, I no longer crave to live for 120 years—

as I once did—and I have sent in an application to God that He call me soon. You do not know how much agony I have had to undergo to make this decision. The leaders who used to listen to everything that I said, after coming to office, have started disrespecting my wishes. They call it the derangements of old age. What I say is being scoffed at. It seems to me, therefore, that it is not proper to stay here.

"It is a different matter altogether that, if I so wished, I could dislodge all these leaders. But then they are mine, the people are mine, and they too belong to the people. If I also become like them, I would be betraying God. So I have left their company and come away. I do see everything. But it is time which will do all, not myself. Have patience. When Destiny begins to act, it will accomplish what it will in a day and these leaders will just be left gaping. They will not be able even to understand what has happened. So you just go on working, and with zeal. Your duty is but to work. Leave considerations of the fruit to God. I wish you success in your work"—(Reproduced from *Organiser*, Feb. 1961.)

For too long a time we have waited patiently. Time has come for every patriotic Indian to dislodge the Congress Party from power. Let us pay our homage to dear Babu by voting for the Swatantra Party. 'Oh God, lead us from Darkness unto Light!'

K. VEDAMURTHY

THIS IS SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT!

Sir,—The National Coal Development Corporation Ltd., a Central Government undertaking, has coalfields in Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh and is striving to increase the production of coal and, incidentally, also helping to ease the unemployment problem.

But the welfare of the workers employed is anything but satisfactory—and the plight of those employed in undeveloped collieries cannot be imagined. There are many here with even 15 years of service and more who have not been provided with living quarters and their privations can well be imagined when it is realized that private quarters even are not available in these areas. Some of the workers have to walk five miles or more to places of work in the coalfield, and have to rise very early in the morning and walk the distance in biting cold for their morning shift. There are no water-supply,

canteen and other welfare facilities here.

Even where the lowpaid miners are given some "dowdas" (huts), there are no proper roads or street lamps, so much so they have to grope their way to their homes during the nights. The Corporation does not provide any transport facilities for the staff. Those in the lower cadre of technicians are also poorly paid and treated badly compared to employees in other undertakings.

While the socialist Government of Mr. Nehru insists on private industrialists arranging for staff quarters, pure water supply, canteen and other welfare facilities, it provides no such facilities for employees in its own undertakings.

Kargali

A SUFFERER

HOW INQUITOUS IS THE TAX?

Sir,—The prices of all commodities are soaring high, due to the needless meddling on the part of the Government. After his easy 'unopposed' election to Parliament, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari almost boastfully says that he is for more and more controls, in order to check the rising prices! But it has been our painful experience that inflation, controls and permits have led to the rise in prices, while reducing the quality of the commodities and increasing the profits of the permit or licence-holders. It is meaningless to suggest increase of controls which will inevitably worsen the situation. He forgets that it was the abolition of food rationing by Rajaji that saved the country from the pangs of bad food and starvation.

It was to make good the loss of revenue due to the introduction of prohibition, that Rajaji had levied the sales tax of just half a percent on the turnover of sales, which has now been abnormally raised by the present rulers. In the case of luxury goods, the tax is now eight per cent, i.e., sixteen times the original tax! And the tax itself has necessitated a new department and wasteful expenditure.

As to how heavy the tax burden is, just one instance might be mentioned. Radio sub-dealers, who just sell two radio-sets for Rs. 500 or Rs. 600 each per month have got to pay a sales-tax of Rs. 1,060 per year—which is equal to the income-tax paid by a minister drawing a basic salary of Rs. 1,250 per month! The Minister has free quarters, free conveyance, and other things free, which the poor radio dealer has not.

Tirupathi

EX-CONGRESSMAN

In view of the size of the journal, letters addressed to SWARAJYA should not exceed 300 words. Correspondents are requested to give their addresses, though not for publication.



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