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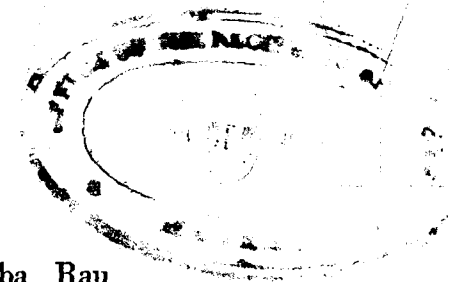
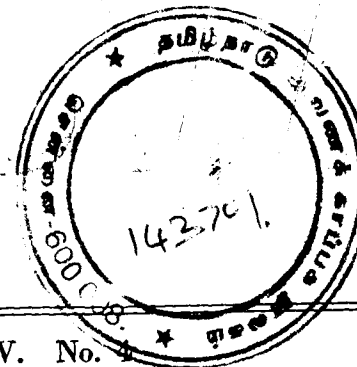
SWARATYA

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15 Naye Paise

KERALA, AN ADVANCE SIGNAL

There is little difference now between the Communist regime in Kerala and Congress rule in the rest of the country. The Socialistic pattern of the Congress is a thin disguise for the adoption of the Communist system of government. The Constitution, in its original form, contained guarantees of individual freedom appropriate to the traditions and practices of parliamentary democracy. But these have been largely wiped out by careful amendments. In the matter of monolithic State control, over-government with excessive bureaucratisation, and expropriation of property without due compensation, there is now little difference between Kerala and the Congress Governments outside. If the Prime Minister stays in office for another term, there is not much doubt he will make India as Communist in its system of government as any Marxist could wish. It is not for nothing that the loudest and most enthusiastic applause for the so-called land reforms of the Nehru regime has come, of all parties in the country, from the Communists.

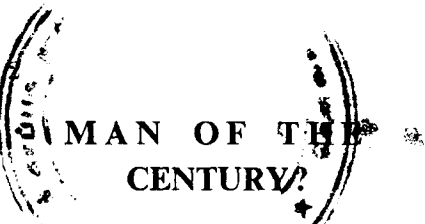
One difference may however be noted between the ruling authorities in Kerala and in the other States now under Congress administration. The Kerala Chief Minister, Sri Nambudiripad still enjoys a reputation for probity, simplicity and honesty of purpose far superior to any that

any of the Congress leaders in office or out of it can claim. His colleagues, being still fresh in office, have not yet become effete and the example they set as Ministers is one of hard work, unostentatious living and expeditious transaction of business. The members of the Communist party, unlike Congressmen, are noted for their inexpensive ways and spirit of dedication. The charge that the Communists hold Kerala in their grip is really a tribute to their dynamic energy and the vigour of their organisation. The members of the Congress party also would like to exercise a similar grip over affairs in the States where the Congress rules. It is not the willingness that is lacking. It is the capacity to make the party an effective force for control and power by means of energetic activity and organisational skill to the same extent as the Communists.

The superiority of the Communists in economy, energy, efficiency and disinterested devotion to party objectives, has aggravated the dangers associated with Communist rule, and in Kerala the impression is now widespread that there is no security of life and property for non-Communists. This does not indicate however a difference in kind between the Congress and Communist governments. Such respite as people in Congress States enjoy from the gruesome conditions depicted in Kerala

is due largely to the comparative inefficiency and lack of vigour of the Congress leaders in office and their party organisation. It is not therefore by a change in government replacing Communists by the Congress or any of the present opposition parties that relief can come to the people of Kerala. All these parties are varying versions of the same thing and compete with each other in advocating the self-same policies which have fructified into the tragic plight of Kerala today.

There is no escape for voters from the consequences of wrong choice of rulers. The hardships and penalties of such wrong choice, actually realised in experience, constitute the contributory political education for a wiser and less disastrous selection of rulers at the next election. It is only by means of this sort of education that parliamentary democracy can be sustained and safeguarded. One advantage the voters now have, which they had not hitherto. Until now their choice at elections was necessarily limited to parties that were only different versions with varying names of the same thing. But with the advent of the Swatantra Party, they have the chance, for the first time in twelve years, of a leadership avoiding the evils of both the Congress and the Communists, and holding out promise of a new era of freedom protected against the nightmare of monolithic tyranny and regimentation.



SWATANTRA PARTY AND PARTYLESS DEMOCRACY

A TALK WITH RAJAJI

In one of his recent press conferences, Mr. Nehru referred to the Swatantra Party as sponsored by fascists, reactionaries, and by men who still live in the nineteenth century. Though the difference of age between him and Rajaji is just 10 years, the Prime Minister thinks that the elder statesman has "his roots in the nineteenth century or earlier."

Some of the phrases used by the Prime Minister are the same which the Communists apply to all their opponents. Is this, perhaps, due to the fact that there is a subconscious ideological affinity, if not identity, between Mr. Nehru and the Communists?

It has become rather frequent with Mr. Nehru to dismiss the statements of his political opponents, saying that they are prompted by vested interests, or that they betray an outdated mentality. The sponsors of the new party are branded by the Prime Minister as people whose intellectual outlook has its roots in the last century or earlier. Does not Mr. Nehru know that the Swatantra Party's ideology is much closer to the ideology of the ruling parties of the most advanced countries of our day—of Germany, England, U. S. A.—than the ideology of the ruling party in India? Does Mr. Nehru think that all of them belong to past centuries whereas he alone with his magic Socialism is the *Man of the Century*?

Certainly, it is unfortunate that Mr. Nehru discovered so late that Rajaji has "his roots in the nineteenth century or earlier." For, otherwise, he would not have misled his readers by the following passage, written in 1940: *Rajagopalachari is said to belong to the Right of the Congress. His brilliant intellect, selfless character, and penetrating powers of analysis have been a tremendous asset to the Congress.* (Autobiography, Ed. 1949, p. 610). Is it, perhaps, intellectual pride that makes our dear Prime Minister think that everybody who does not accept his ultra Socialistic ideas is an outdated man?

K. P. VERGHESE

Sri G. Ramachandra Rao of Andhra Pradesh, popularly known as Gora is a devoted social worker. He was an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi for many years and participated with zeal in his constructive programme. He met Sri Rajaji on Saturday, July 25, and put him questions on the Swatantra Party and other topical subjects, which Rajaji kindly answered. The following account of the questions and answers is sent to us by Sri Ramachandra Rao for publication:

Gora: I am on my way back from Kerala after a study tour of three weeks. I suppose the liberal view which you are propounding with regard to the conduct of political parties may be adopted with advantage in Kerala to ease the situation there.

Rajaji: The situation in Kerala is highly inflamed at present. A dentist will not extract the tooth when there is acute inflammation in the gum. The situation is best left in the hands of Pandit Nehru to deal with. Great pressure is put on him to declare President's rule. His sense of propriety pulls him the other way, not only constitutional propriety but the dangerous consequences of a wrong precedent make him resist his party's pressure. The situation is one where people failed to unite and got defeated but now wish to reverse the results of their lapse. It is difficult if not impossible to escape the consequences of omissions and commission, which is the law of Karma.

Gora: The tension in Kerala is due to the rigidity of political parties. Will not the approach of partyless democracy serve as a healthy alternative to the present antagonisms?

Rajaji: Non-party democracy is Platonic Utopia that is, today. It requires every representative of the people to be honest, earnest and efficient in the service of the people. This is too much of an assumption in the present state of affairs. A revision of the whole electoral system will be necessary for the establishment of non-party democ-

racy. I would welcome it if it came to pass.

Gora: Our constitution makes no mention of parties.

Rajaji: No constitution recognizes parties. But in actual working, democracy brings in parties.

Gora: So you think that a permanent opposition party is necessary for the proper working of democracy?

Rajaji: Yes, it is by opposition, thesis and antithesis, that truth can be thrashed out.

Gora: But you are granting freedom of vote to the members. Does it not make a party loose?

Rajaji: No, it will not be a loose party. It will be a party of members who enjoy freedom.

Gora: By the grant of freedom the odium of crossing the floor is avoided. Is that the idea?

Rajaji: I am for the freedom of the members to vote as they choose in all matters, not conflicting with the basic principles for which their respective parties stand. There are castes in Hindu society. Each caste has its own particular background of tradition and training. While recognizing those differences, the members of the various castes do co-operate in common and social functions in all matters other than those differences. Similarly, political parties should be free in matters outside the essential principles. Otherwise, the parties would be just cliques to support particular leaderships.

Gora: The Swatantra Party really represents a progressive form of party democracy even because it relaxes the discipline of party blocs and whips. Shall I take it that it marks a transition from the rigid party system to non-party democracy?

Rajaji: In a way it does. But it may remain a permanent feature of the parliamentary party system giving the State the benefit of rule by the real majority in Parliament as a whole converting party government into national government without breaking up the parties. Of course, this cannot be done by parties without well-defined publicly-known basic principles.

PEASANT OWNERSHIP
THE FOLLY OF DISTURBING IT
By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

As the revered President of the Indian Union realised the emergency and wrote to the Prime Minister, it is wrong to mix up the aim of increased food production with the popular desire to level down wealth. The proposals to deplete the possessions of the larger landholders and to put pressure and offer temptations through special facilities and subsidies in order to substitute multiple ownership and multiple management to take the place of individual ownership and individual attention are clearly detrimental to production, whatever satisfaction it may give in other respects to those who, in disregard of the *upanishad* teaching, *maagridhah kasyachiddhanam*, have learnt to dislike the sight of other people's prosperity.

Co-operative Society management means giving up one's own land in exchange for a title on paper and giving up the management of it to an official responsible on paper to the composite body of owners, but who in practice will be responsible only to his official superiors.

The Prime Minister frankly admitted in a recent speech in Nepal that Socialism today would lead, not to prosperity or to distribution of wealth, but only to distribution of poverty and operate as an impediment in the growth of national wealth.

Congress bosses of the 2nd and 3rd degree go about saying that the landless will get lands. This is a *cent per cent* lie, not a half-truth. The lands robbed will be put under government chosen 'co-operative' officers. There are not lands enough for distribution among the landless, and it will not be done. Perhaps a few favourites may benefit, generating jealousy all round.

The talk of all sorts of changes in respect of property and other things which hitherto had been thought to be protected by law, has resulted in widespread uncertainty; and complete lack of incentive. Unless individuals have incentive to work there can be no national wealth produced. The policy of official management means a vast increase of new administrative jobs, primary and supervisory, and

waste of public money, and in the net result, inefficiency. It is proved experience that where work that is best done by individual proprietors is taken over for official management national resources are largely wasted.

Government has to be by political parties. In spite of every effort, the administration of government is more and more done in accordance with the partisan wishes of ministers and party bosses. The land that is proposed to be taken away above a fixed ceiling is not enough for satisfying the poverty of even a few favoured clients. And why should government be clothed with the garb of benefactors when it distributes other people's properties?

What has the talk of Socialism done besides giving a deceptive slogan for misleading poverty-confused people?

It is said that there has been a very good crop this year. This is surely not the effect of the Socialistic or co-operative pattern but was produced by the old pattern of individual ownership.

Why did we discourage and destroy the joint family system? We said individual incentive was better than clubbing people together and leaving them all generally irresponsible. This argument should apply much more strongly to the clubbing together of people who are not members of one family and are strangers to one another and very jealous of one another.

The high taxation measures adopted to finance the plans have dried up sources of private charity and have tended to make government the only charitable institution in the country. The plans hitherto followed have caused intolerable inflation. To the distress caused by high prices we are told will be added fresh direct and indirect taxation and concealed taxation of consumers through State-trading to the tune of many thousand crores more.

Hatred between classes on the basis of rich and poor is now officially spread on a large scale as a result of the vague talk about undefined and unplanned Socialism.

Increased incentive to individual effort and individual generosity is now what is called for. The great plans of Government will admittedly take decades for their benefits to reach the doors of the poor. A moral drive for private charitable movements will serve to help poor people even as and when individual effort goes into production. Promotion of hatred is as immoral as inexpedient.

The principles of the Swatantra Party have been published. They embody the philosophy of individual freedom. *Swatantra* is the positive content of what the English word freedom denotes. *Paratantra* is the citizen's status as it follows from the present Congress policies, a status of increasing serfdom. The sapping of individual responsibility can only lead to *Paratantra*. The secret of spiritual and material progress is in the development of *Swatantra*. Progress at the cost of *Swatantra* will prove to be a Dead Sea fruit as it has proved in Communist countries.

SECOND THOUGHTS

"More and more serious minded people are having second thoughts about what once seemed to them the obvious advantage of central planning and the extension of State ownership. Among the factors which have antagonised them I would list... the discovery that the Labour Government's 'Socialism' meant the establishment of a number of vast bureaucratic public corporations, which

failed to fulfil the two essential requirements of Socialism, namely, that a State-owned industry should be fully responsible to Parliament and give a share of management to its workers. Nationalisation has not changed the lives of the workers in the industries affected in the way they expected. It has been a disappointment to the trade union movement.

R. H. S. CROSSMAN

In a Letter to the Editor an esteemed correspondent from Madras writes:

In a village panchayat in Madras State, an important company has recently put up a factory for the manufacture of its products. It was formally opened by a Central Minister of Industries. The company authorities had not obtained the necessary licence from the local panchayat for installing the factory machinery as required under the Madras Village Panchayat Act of 1950. The panchayat in the first instance had refused licence for the installation on the ground that it was located in the residential area. On this the management of the company approached the Personal Assistant to the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards. He accordingly telephoned to the executive officer of the panchayat saying that he himself would look into the matter of the licence and asking him not to press for it meanwhile. It has to be noted that the executive officer of the panchayat is officially a subordinate of the Personal Assistant to the Inspector of Local Boards.

Without a licence the company installed the machinery for the factory and invited the Union and the Madras Ministers for Industries. Both of them praised the company for the bold venture it had undertaken. They never looked into the fundamental issue whether the company had been permitted to run the factory. The law-makers thus broke the laws of the country.

The assistant district health officer too had refused permission for the factory on the ground that it was located in a residential area and there were huts very close to the factory. His order of refusal was duly communicated to the company. The management of the company thereupon approached the district health officer, who recommended to the Government that the area should be declared an industrial area. The factory is still without a licence, which is contrary to the laws of the country. There is no law and the higher authorities and the Ministers are supporting the lawlessness.

Why should the executive officer, the P. A., the assistant district health officer and district health

officer have acted so differently from each other though all of them were members of the same organisation subject to the same rules and discipline? Their varying points of view threw them into loggerheads destroying their common official purpose and the sanctity of the rules and regulations prescribed for their guidance as officials.

One's point of view is a powerful thing, and often it makes all the difference between right conduct and its opposite. What is right conduct to some, brought up in a particular tradition, is the very reverse of it to others trained to a different point of view.

Very few can act wisely when placed in positions with differing objectives. A multiplicity of objectives is incompatible with balanced behaviour. To save society from the disruptive effects of too many persons putting their hands into too many pies at one and the same time, the ancient Hindus struck upon the principle of division of functions, which Mahatma Gandhi in our time exalted into a comprehensive system of governance under the title, Rama Rajya.

The basic condition of Rama Rajya may be stated as *one man, one profession*. Each profession makes on its votaries a call for a special type of qualities. To mix up the professions, making them open to all and sundry will give rise to confusion by entrusting the functions comprised in government and non-official activities to unsuitable persons. This was the horror of mixed vocations, *Varna Sankara*, most dreaded by Hindu Political philosophers. It is the blight of it that has brought the Nehru regime, with its Socialist pattern, to the present deplorable pass.

A mixture of the functions of the ruler and the merchant is what we witness in India today. The two functions are incompatible. They have come to be combined in the government because of the Prime Minister's lack of capacity to comprehend his own limitations. Power cannot be exercised by any-

one, with safety to the community at large, unless side by side with it, a culture of humility is also developed, with careful assessment of the extent of self-restraint desirable to save the exercise of power itself from the human vanities of bungling, tyranny, incompetence, corruption and waste. Mr. Nehru has made use of political power as an all-sufficing justification for any and every kind of encroachment on the traditional, occupational and other preserves of others, and as flesh and blood cannot endure so heavy a strain, we find him today on the brink of a break-down.

Good government is a feat in detachment. Even God, conceived as Power Incarnate is endowed by devotees with the supreme virtue of detachment, non-involvement, to give rhythm and balance to the omnipotence of divine government. The highest concentration of power conceivable by the human imagination thus co-exists with the greatest possible freedom of individuals. It is the attribute of rulership to stand aloof from the acquisitive exertions of production and commerce and release the greatest contributory forces that society is capable of for their promotion by fostering the dynamic potentialities of free initiative, invention and enterprise. But if the ruler himself takes a hand in predatory exploits, it is like the protector turning freebooter, the fence itself preying on the field, and nobody can feel safe thereafter about the sanctity of his possessions or the enjoyment of the fruits of his labour. This is the sad plight into which Congress rule has plunged the country in twelve years. When power replaces the salutary restraints of competition governing the world of business, greed without limit will be the inevitable consequence. The present disequilibrium in Indian economy is a direct result of overmuch greed reinforced by power that has become habitual to Government in their various invasions of the tasks and duties and responsibilities of the business community. Economic balance and equilibrium cannot be restored until the Government leaves business to the business community, respects individual freedom, and returns to its protective functions, seeking security and prosperity through justice and sound administration.

SAKA

TELLING OF BEADS

By BHIKKU

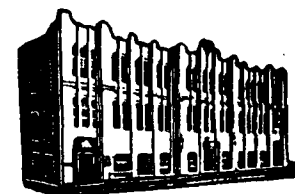
"Telling of beads would not take us anywhere" says our great man, Nehru, in extension of his admonitory homily that "religion should not be allowed to stand in the way of man's progress" which word in his idiom refers to Bakranangals, co-operative farming, jewellery-tax, community projects, socialisation of enterprises and such like. The question nags one who recalls the history of this land during the last half a century; where Panditji's prime ministership would have been but for the man whom he succeeded and who told beads to such purpose that he marched a prostrate nation against the might of a well established foreign government. He, Gandhiji, affirmed, "Supplication; worship, prayer are no superstition, they are acts more real than acts of eating, drinking, sitting or walking. It is no exaggeration to say that they alone are real, all else are unreal" and continued. "I have not the slightest doubt that prayer is an unfailing means of cleansing the heart of passions. But it must be combined with the utmost humility." Again, and yet again, how he took stock with himself, fasted, prayed in abnegation, confessed to Himalayan miscalculations. If our chief kept a little portion of his day for the telling of beads as a follow-up upon his reputed yoga exercises, may be, it would steady him into control over the stream of words in which the tongue outruns thoughts and thoughts trip haphazardly to bolster mechanised notions which have little contact with reality as it bears on the basic urges, in weakness and in strength which sensitise men and women in our land.

Is it telling of beads that stands in the way of progress even of the brand for which he whips the caravan towards his cloud goal? The real hindrances are (1) that western moving-belt hustlings cannot produce co-operative living and endeavour that require generations of material and moral hand-lift of human beings, treated as individuals with affections and prejudices, fine sensibilities as well as crass obtuseness; (2) that laws however numerous or elaborate cannot take the place of a self-installed and self regulating policeman in the mind and heart of the citizen; (3) that erosion of faith

in a time honoured temple will lead only to disbelief in all temples and priesthood even of secular kind; and (4) that a revolutionary zeal that seeks to change overnight an immemorial pattern of existence can do so only through Stalinistic mass purges or a never ending holocaust of spending in pander to the cupidity and beggerdom of people uninterested in helping themselves. Numberless are the infirmities in our midst which are daily experiences and which go counter to the postulates on which the superstructures of Nehruji are planned. Their origin whether born of long servitude or the climate or lack of energy through chronic starvation is immaterial. We see the mass tolerance of unsocial tyrannies, quiet ignorings of the law, turnings of the blind eye to glaring wrong doings to avoid messy scenes. We see queues at public counters which supinely endure the jumping of turns by forceful hands; we see orderly alignments of people at bus haltings becoming an incoherent mass of elbows and muscles, pushing aside women and children when actually the bus arrives. We take it as of no account that policemen and magistrates pass by with unseeing eyes people who relieve themselves publicly in public places. We see henchmen of law either turning their backs or having a cut on the takings of card sharpeners, sharpeners plying their trade at quiet street corners. We see wandering cattle that tumble dust bins and make mince-meat of Vana-mahoth-sava seedlings. We see court clerks, process servers and amins bullying and battering on people who have the misfortune to go to courts of law. We see laws against child marriage, drink, prostitution flouted not as stray unblest occurrences but with the consent and connivance of many and frequently under the averted eyes of authority. We hear of chits of favour being issued by minister for admissions to colleges and for preference in appointment and issue of licences. All these are endured not because they do not excoriate thinking minds but because to attack them would be like tilting against wind-mills. If in

Continued on next page

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A FORTNIGHT IN KERALA: THE FAUNA

By M. KRISHNAN

The main object of my trip to Kerala was to have a look at its wild life, and to photograph the unwary creatures that crossed my path. Especially was I keen on a picture of a big tusker, and of the otters of the Quilon backwaters.

Two things conspired to defeat me. The favourite cover of the otters, on an island, had been hacked down and then burned shortly before I reached Quilon, and they had been dynamited out of their holts and some of them clubbed to death. I was staying with one of the few authentic naturalists in India today, a man who knows the forests of Kerala and their denizens intimately and at first hand. Only a fortnight before my arrival he had watched the otters playing in the backwaters from a boat, at close quarters. But by the time I got there, they had, thanks to the persecution they had suffered, turned wild and wary. We could not get anywhere near them. They sighted us from far away, rose out of the water to bark their hoarse hatred of man at us, dived, and disappeared.

The second thing was the rain. The rain arrived in Kerala the day I did, inhospitably, and stayed with me throughout. However, I did see a magnificent tusker, and photograph him, too.

Kerala is a State with a fauna, somewhat its own. Some of the birds and beasts inhabiting it belong peculiarly to it, or else are not found in neighbouring areas. The Fishing Cat, for example, is found in Kerala and then nowhere else in peninsular

India, not till we get to upper India. And I doubt if anywhere else both the black monkeys of India, the Nilgiri Black Langur and the Lion-tailed Macaque, occur together. I was rather disappointed I couldn't get anything better than a fleeting glimpse of these monkeys, in the forest around Kulathurpuzha. They too, like the otters, were very shy of humanity—no doubt with equally good cause.

In fact, what struck me about the wild life of Kerala was its scarcity and extreme shyness. I had heard many accounts of the abundance of wild animals in Kerala, in the fastness of its great evergreen forests. The evergreen forests were there, all right, and naturally they did not contain much wild life—the animals like more elbow-room than one finds in evergreen forests. But there were other forests, plenty of them, the very kind of semi-deciduous forests which animals like to live in, and I saw very little in these, too. I gained the distinct impression that there had been quite a lot of shooting and trapping, much of it illegal, no doubt, in those forests, with the result that the animals were very wary and hard to come by. This impression was strengthened by what knowledgeable people told me, on inquiry.

Particularly do they seem to find it difficult to eradicate poaching in the Periyar area, in and around the sanctuary, but I shall return to this point later.

Only the leeches were plentiful. I neglected to take precautions against them, but did not suffer too

much in consequence. They did not seem to like the nicotine-content of my blood!

I did not see much of the avifauna of Kerala. What I did see reminded me of Mudumalai, though the birds were much scarcer in the jungles, when I was there. Neither of which facts was surprising.

After a week of rain, I asked my host why the nights were not loud with the voices of the frogs—in most places, the nightly chorus of the frogs begins soon after the first heavy rains, and there was no lack of ditches and puddles and ponds around us. He replied that the reason why we didn't hear the frogs, probably, was that every last mother's son of them had been caught and exported to a distant country in which they fancy frogs' legs on the menu card. Outside their own home, in Madras and Masulipatam and Madagascar, the people of Kerala have a formidable reputation for commercial enterprise. In Kerala, too, I saw much evidence of such enterprise—in the forests, of course, such personal keenness sometimes has rather unfortunate results, unfortunate, that is, for the forests.

Periyar was fascinating, but I shall write nothing here of its animal life and dead wood, its fairy-tale panoramas and its herds of elephants grazing on the hills and swimming across the canal. The curious thing about Periyar is the dual control exercised over its waters and canal beds by the Madras and Kerala governments. It is the Madras government, some engineering department of that government, that licenses the boats on the Periyar waters—Madras also has territorial rights in the canal beds, and, I think, the fishing rights. The position is further complicated by the fact that there are pockets of private plantations within the sanctuary area. It is not hard to imagine how very frustrating all this can be to any really efficient protective measure.

Some day, perhaps, when our governments are more alive to the importance of our wild life and its national value, it will not be hard for the Madras and Kerala governments to get together and revise their original contractual obligations so as to give the sanctuary authorities more effective scope for protecting their wild life. I sincerely hope that day will not be so far off that there is little left to protect.

Continued from previous page
spite of such unlovely elements which largely overshadow in the mass the concurrent elements of godliness, charity and devotion, Gandhiji churned out a concentrate of such hard and potent steadfastness that cut through the steel frame of an empire, was not because in his telling of beads he used an alchemy that had a special affinity to the nature of the ingredients in the psychic make-up of the people in this land? Even so he said "I have noticed this charac-

teristic difference in the popular attitude: partiality for exciting work, dislike for quiet constructive work." The patterned socialism of western origin of Jawaharlalji with its aggressively material and secular basis excluding by set purpose the cement of the kind that Gandhiji used to glue the people together can only lead us to desert sands. If in the language of the Tamilian remonstrator, "It is a bull and not a cow. What is the use of repeating that you want only an ollock of milk?"

"WHOLLY CONVINCED"

By POTHAN JOSHEPH

Look out for the return of eminent travellers from India who go abroad during parliamentary recess when Ministers are so busy touring that Cabinet meetings could be hardly held in strength. Travel broadens the mind and when expense is independently met it could be made impressive as study-tours and when they have completed their journey they are greeted on landing by newspapermen for their views on the situation, whether the party met at the Palam airport happens to be Vice-President, Speaker or Cabinet Minister. Opinions aired this season before the Central Legislature meets are likely to veer windward in favour of service cooperatives and other ingredients of the Nagpur resolution.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru never liked personal adulation; his thrill lies in praise of his policy and performance. It is no use telling him to his face that he is an epic figure shining with effulgence surpassing the sun and moon, like some of our old maharajahs during the recitals of court-musicians. Nehru squirms, and prefers to feel himself above flattery waving off parasitic flatterers, but he is thrilled to watch others in ecstasy over his propositions, be it Panch Sheel or Korean mediation or Pathat Lao intervention or Gaza vigilance or dynamic neutralism or the Avadi outlook or the Public Sector or the Nagpur resolution's implementation, come what may.

When in the midst of dust and din the resolution was declared o. k. and passed nem con, Nehru felt assured of the solid support of the country, though for his part he confesses that he is not a farmer nor was his father or grandfather in the farming line. When critics and sceptics raised their heads, Nehru gave a hard look at the situation and pronounced them out of date, just nineteenth century fogeys. C. R. appeared to him a trifle. Masani's views were of scant importance, but at the same time facts and figures of agricultural production in countries where the Nagpur panacea had already been tried under State-sanctions as put forward by Masani in trenchant array disconcerted him. Russia and Poland had retreated after experimentation, releasing the peasantry from the yoke of imposed

collectivism for the restoration of incentives for traditional cultivation. Neither Shriman Narayan nor Sadiq Ali could in their loquacious expositions of Agronomy marshal facts to blow up even Masani's quotations about the experiences of Yugo-Slavia. Now thanks to the intensive on-the-spot study of returning visitors Yugo-Slavia at least is in the bag.

For Minister Gulzarilal Nanda who had been deputed to represent India at the I. L. O. Conference, much to the discomfiture of the All India Trade Union Congress, which claims greater authenticity for its titles than official neglect would warrant, has returned with glowing tales of farming in Yugo-Slavia, apparently on all fours with the Nagpur thesis. He spent over a week-end in Belgrade and Brioni and on return home proclaims that "he is wholly convinced that voluntary farming in blocks was the only way to increase production". Granting that he perceived it himself, saw it with his own eyes free from hearsay, the answer is "Whoever denied it?" The formula could be propounded without a hop to Yugo-Slavia where probably he did not see the former Vice-president Milovan Djilas, now incarcerated for economic heresies. The degree of freedom exerciseable as anything other than voluntary cooperation under Tito dictatorship did not apparently come under Mr. Nanda's evaluation.

Yugo-Slavia's population is less than the twenty million of Mysore State alone, and to burst on the scene with farming lessons from Belgrade can hardly make any

difference. Tito was impressed with crowd at the Avadi Congress where the term "Socialistic Pattern" was first orbited into the sky, but there is no reason to rate him as the Jagatguru on agricultural operations. When Sir Herbert Risley, Home Member, piloted the Press Act, Gokhale challenged him to name a single European country where such a repressive Act existed on the statute-book. The Home Member pleaded notice and returned in the afternoon with the information that in Austria-Hungary such a law existed. Gokhale's mildness changed. Austria-Hungary under the Hapsburgs had been a notorious tyranny and Gokhale was devastating in his reply. Why should Englishmen scour the Continent for example and precedent when they at home had the tradition of a free press?

Now that Mr. Nanda has fortified the position, we shall not be surprised if Speaker Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (now on a European excursion studying constitutional questions) also on his return publishes his discoveries of the methods of agricultural cooperation in Yugo-Slavia for enhancing harvests and filling granaries by miraculous output, thanks to that country's anticipation of the Nagpur resolution with the prophetic eye. Now coteries of yes-men could in chorus go about shouting at all levels, from apex to base, from the top Congress-role down to mandal-level: "Look at Yugo-Slavia. Can't we do likewise? Must the masses of India starve?"

Echo: "No, Never".

The advice that the intensive farming practices of the United Kingdom and Japan furnish us a better pattern in agriculture is thus sought to be smothered.

MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

BYE-ELECTION — ON 5TH AUGUST 1959

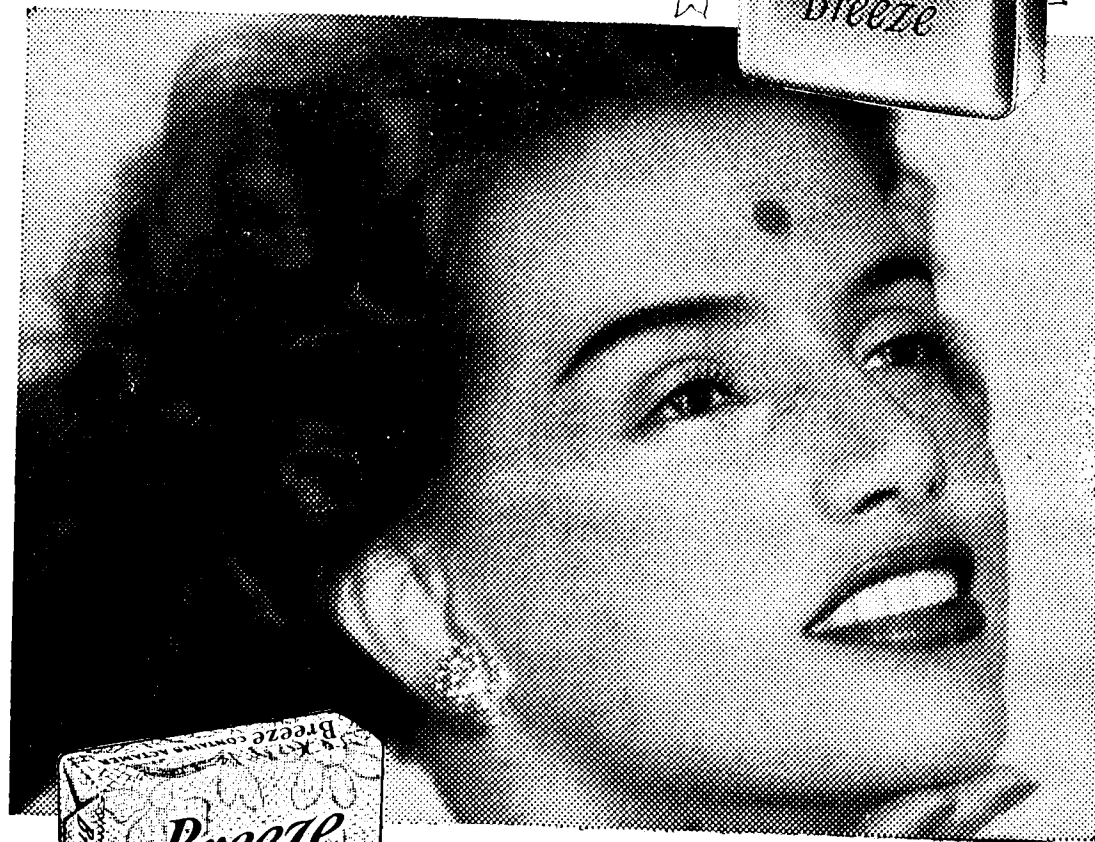
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CAPITAL COMMENTS

"STUMBLING IN THE DARK"

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: The Prime Minister went to Kerala and came back; the Chief Minister of Kerala came to Delhi and went back: Ex-Congress President Dhebar, General Secretary Sadiq Ali, and Mrs. Kripalini had their on-the-spot study and given their reports; a host in himself, ex-Governor Munshi hurried hither and thither and had his say; spokesmen of the Opposition have been moving between Trivandrum and Delhi, educating public opinion, holding press conferences — and leaving it to their listeners (and the public) to draw their own inferences; and here at the Capital, the President, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister are busy confabulating, after giving everyone their ear and few their voice; the daily press, with a mechanical obsession of the latest sensation, is still playing up the Kerala issue, hardly bothered about any balanced presentation of news; and Parliament is about to meet to give it a new importance by raising it, in one form or another, on the floor of the House. Once it was Kashmir that so monopolised all public attention; now it is the turn of Kerala for, while the Abdullahs can be forgotten, the Namboodripads can neither be forgotten nor forgiven. And what is at stake is the sanctity of the Constitution and the survival of Democracy.

The merits of the dispute may well be left to the pandits—constitutional and political, Communist and Congress, and of all other categories. Either the situation in Kerala is grave or not; either it is urgent or not. If it is not, why not say so? If it is, why not do something about it? What one does not understand is the utter uncertainty of mood, born in bewilderment and confusion. It is strange or 'extraordinary' as the Prime Minister would say that in one breath they talk of expeditious surgical treatment and in another, discuss homeopathic prescriptions! It seems that, while in regard to foreign developments anywhere, the Government can pronounce quickly, they rather become extremely thoughtful where internal issues are involved, may be because of the

stakes. Whatever it be, they have made it clear that they are not clear about it at all or that their mind is rather blank or they are still just groping in the dark. One feels like recalling Omar:

*To the rolling Heaven itself
I cried,
Asking, "what Lamp had
Destiny to guide
Her little Children
stumbling in the Dark,
And 'a blind understanding'
Heaven replied.
Good Heavens! Let us keep on
praying for light.*

It is of some significance that the President's recent letter to the Prime Minister is in circulation among the respective Ministries which had come in for his notice. The Ministry of Education, among others, is said to be digesting the President's observations on its policy and programme. Incidentally, the talk of a new Minister of Education with Cabinet rank, with over-all control of the two wings (the Shirmali wing and the Kabir wing), is revived. It is not, however, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh's name that is mentioned this time (of course, one can understand that) it is Mr. Sampurnanand's (which is not difficult to understand either). Anyone who had once to do something with Kasi Vidyapith, should be deemed adequate for being in charge of the country's education.

From the political point of view, it is quite conceivable that Mr. Sampurnanand would rather like a change, while in the event of his bidding adieu to U.P. juxtaposition to Mr. Pant sounds quite plausible. And there is more than meets the eye in Mr. Sampurnanand's exit from the U. P. scene. The *Tribune* (a reliable guide in political speculation) has already hinted at the possibility of Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, sooner or later, making a bid for the Chief Ministership of U. P., on her return to India. Her successor in London has already been spotted out. When she comes, it is out of the question that one with her wide experience and

undoubted ability and, above all, with her known ambition, will seek what may be called premature retirement. With her brother as the Prime Minister and her niece as the President of the Congress, she must necessarily carve out a principality for herself, and assist them in advancing the cause of India and maintain the great family tradition by retaining or perpetuating a firm hold on Uttar Pradesh.

It is assumed, on the basis of the *Tribune* scoop, that Mr. Sri Prakasa is the man marked out for the High Commissionership in London. He had been a Central Minister and a Governor of three States. It hardly matters that he has at no time singled himself out as indispensable. He is known to belong to the chosen few who enjoy Mr. Nehru's friendship and confidence. Mr. Sri Prakasa is known to make no secret of the fact that while he personally likes to retire after long years of uninterrupted service, the Prime Minister won't let him. So, when the latter insists, the former yields. This is all of a piece, in the peculiar setting which the Nehru Government has made its own, ever since, on the eve of the last Presidential election, the Prime Minister spoke about age and its handicaps with a vehemence that has since lost its meaning!



கல்கி

சந்தா விசதம்

ஒரு வருஷம் ரூ. 10 மாதம்

கு. ந. பை கு. ந. பை

இந்தியா } 15-00 7-50
இலங்கை }

பர்மா, மலேயா } 18-00 9-00
வெளி நாடுகள் }

தனிப் பிரதி விலை 30 ரயா பைசா

சந்தா தொகை முன்னதாக அனுப்பப் பட வேண்டும். வி. பி. பி. கிடை யாது.

Manager

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DOCTRINE OF TRUSTEESHIP: METHOD OF SELECTION

By A. N. S.

Dr. Chintaman Deshmukh in his recent Srinivasa Sastri lectures referred to the Swatantra Party's doctrine of trusteeship and observed that "the community could not be well served" by men of wealth and property; but as SWARAJYA in its issue of July 18 commented, Sri Deshmukh himself has admitted that a "trusteeship of natural endowment and talents" is what is necessary in the present context of Indian politics. There is nothing inherently inconsistent between the two kinds of trusteeship. Plato and Aristotle distinguished between the "Government of men of merits" and the "Government of the few rich". Both these Governments are oligarchic, that is, Government by the few of the many. Even an oligarchy of talent has a tendency to become an oligarchy of the rich few, as with growing inequality of property, the talented would eventually become materially prosperous. Trusteeship pre-supposes a high sense of moral obligation on behalf of the trustees. Historically viewed, however, the doctrine of trusteeship is nothing new. Apart from the oligarchies of ancient Greece, even American capitalism has, as its philosophy, the utilization of the wealth and opportunities of the few for the good of the many. Gandhiji gave the same doctrine a spiritual and moral turn by enjoining the rich to serve the poor without going to the extent of asking for the equal distribution of unequal earnings.

The only criticism that can be urged against this doctrine is that the observance of moral obligations

would not last long under modern competitive conditions, with their strains and stresses. In modern civilization, all our economic and even social relations are based on the principle of *quid pro quo*. Our doctrine of value is buttressed on one side by the concept of an expanding profit margin and on the other by the creation through publicity of an artificial demand for non-essentials. In a civilization under which no one gives anything without expectation of a better return, to expect the rich to hold and utilize their property in trust for the good of the less fortunate, would be to strain human nature. In ancient political systems, there were corrections to prevent the degeneracy of oligarchy. The possibility of either a tyrant arising or of a mob overthrowing the particular oligarchy served as deterrents. In modern politics, society cannot afford these deterrents though both these deterrents do arise from time to time to prevent the degeneracy of Government. Apart from the fear of violent overthrow, there is also the inherent respect for moral values and obligations in the people chosen to positions of authority. Men in authority, whatever be the form of Government, have used their power to better the lot of the common man, not always through fear of revolt or fear of losing election. The zest for showing one's capacity for achieving the greater good of the larger number has been the activating force in all human endeavour. Political leadership, while giving opportunities for the exercise of power, also calls forth the moral urge. This urge, however, may not be always adequate or may sometimes give way to a perverse desire for self-advancement. It is out of this apprehension that Dr. Deshmukh has been prompted to seek for a trusteeship of "talents matured by education and culture". In other words, he has been asking for a government of "men of merit" of Plato and Aristotle.

There is nothing to prevent the "few rich" becoming "men of merit." They have proved to be so in several periods of history. Instances are not rare even in contemporary history. Even the

Communist intellectuals come from the propertied classes. As Dr. Deshmukh has observed, human nature which eludes both standardization and prediction, cannot always be depended on. If human nature is so unpredictable and undependable, what are the hopes of the community getting a government of merit? There is no denying that a few men and women of merit capable of running the affairs of the country in a disinterested manner can be found. The problem really is, how are these people to be selected and entrusted with the management of affairs? I cannot but here cite what the Prime Minister said recently—that our electorate are illiterate but they are not likely to vote a person like Mr. A. D. Shroff to Office. With universal adult franchise, a regimented party system and the modern techniques of elections, the chances of men of merit fighting their way to political power are meagre, even if they are induced to take interest in political affairs. Our political machinery would require extensive alterations if men of merit are to be enabled to place themselves disinterestedly at the service of their fellow-men. Our experienced political thinkers would be doing a great service if, in the light of recent history, they would place before the country a scheme for repairing the political machinery, and a plan for obtaining popular acceptance to such repairs. Though Dr. Deshmukh has enumerated the maladies the country is suffering from the remedy he has prescribed, namely the "establishment of a tradition for firmly dealing with transgressions" is more a pious statement of intentions than a practical remedy. The reform of the penal laws, the restoration of the rule of law and the establishment of tradition, would also pre-suppose the exercise of authority by a body of "men of merit". This again is arguing in a circle, as the essential question is how these men of merit are to be installed in power, invested with the authority to put down evil, and guaranteed continuance in their office to discharge their trusteeship for a reasonable length of time? Dr. Deshmukh has observed that "the dedicated, the cultured and the intellectual alone are entitled to receive the suffrage of the people". A procedure should be found so that the people exercise their suffrage only in favour of the dedicated, the cultured and the intellectual!

CINEMA

PURITANIC FILM CENSORS

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: After the new directive of the Censor Board, there seems to be no reason for starting the kind of agitation envisaged by Mrs. Leelavati Munshi. In fact, all the controversy over the so-called indecent and vulgar films, seems to be uncalled for in view of the stringent rules issued for the censoring of pictures. If these rules are rigorously interpreted by the panels which review and pass the films for public exhibition, it would be almost impossible not only to make indecent films but even realistic films. Thus, for instance, if the Censors were to ban the exhibition of abject poverty on the screen, then Satyajit Roy would not be able to produce a realistic film like 'Pather Panchali' again.

In such matters, the people are always the best judges and the censorship, if at all it is to be exercised, should be reduced to the minimum. If a picture is bad, let the people reject it, the same way they reject a bad politician or party in the elections. And every year people do reject a majority of the films which even fail to pay back its cost. It is also not true that the people—or the so-called illiterate masses like indecent and vulgar pictures, as is evident from the fact that the appeal of such pictures is restricted only to big towns where there is a riff-raff sex-starved element which gets vicarious pleasure out of such films. The rich gentry patronises cabaret dances organised by posh restaurants and jam sessions to derive the same pleasure. But unfortunately, what is permissible in high society is considered obscene in films which, if they are to be true to life, must represent life. Our Censors however do not seem to want the films to portray life at all in its vivid realism. For, any portrayal of contemporary reality would not be palatable to the ruling party and would expose the failings of the present-day society. Thus, while censorship against vulgarity or obscenity is understandable and desirable, care must be taken that it does not deny freedom of expression to film producers.

In this matter, the American law is most democratic and liberal. And even where the Censors have been

stringent, the Supreme Court has always stood for the freedom of films. Recently the French version of D. H. Lawrence's controversial book *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was banned by the New York State Board of Regents on the ground that it was "immoral within intent of our law" which prohibits exhibition of shows that portray "acts of sexual immorality, perversion or leudness.....as desirable, acceptable or proper patterns of behaviour". The U.S. Supreme Court, after seeing the film, came out for free expression of ideas on the screen or elsewhere even if the ideas happen to be adultery, socialism or single tax, according to time. Justice Potter Stewart wrote: "It is contended that the State's action was justified because the motion picture attractively portrays a relationship which is contrary to the moral standards. The argument misconceives what it is that the Constitution protects. Its guarantee is not confined to expression of ideas that are conventional or shared by the majority.....In the realm of ideas it protects expression which is eloquent no less than that which is unconvincing!" Of course, one cannot expect Indian Censors to pass a picture like *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, but one does expect Censors to be liberal in interpretation of their own code so that the constitutional guarantee of freedom of expression is not completely violated by the Censors or other critics of Indian films in their puritanic zeal.

In its latest offering *Deep Jalta Rahe*, Filmstan had a fair chance to hit the bull's eye of popularity; but unfortunately it has missed the opportunity once again. The picture had a good basic story idea which could have, with better script and direction and an elaborate production support turned into a popular tear-jerker. But as it is, it has emerged as a loud, pathetic melodrama, produced, written and directed with crudity and lack of imagination.

The story and screenplay by Madusudan Kalelkar revolves round a zamindar, his 'bad' son Jeevan, and his good adopted son Ashok.

Mala, a village girl, loves Ashok and frowns at Jeevan.

When Ashok goes abroad for higher education and falls sick and asks his 'foster' father to send money the Zamindar dies and Jeevan exploits the situation and blackmails Mala to marry him to save Ashok's eyes. After the wedding, he squanders all his father's wealth, gets caught for homicide while his persecuted wife is lying on her death-bed, worried about her child's future. Ashok's timely arrival saves the child and the house.

The second part which revolves round Ashok's affection for Mala's son, Raju devotes too much length to childish pranks and a boring essay in child psychology. Then when Jeevan comes out of jail and starts extorting money from Ashok the melodrama thickens. When Ashok refuses to give money, Jeevan after successfully fighting for his claim, takes away Raju who runs away from him. Ashok gives away all his estate to Jeevan for the sake of Raju and this act of his makes Jeevan repent.

The melodramatic and loud treatment has ruined this tender story of Ashok's affection for Raju and his own foster father. Jeevan's villainy is absurd and incredible, as a result of which the entire proceedings lack plausibility. Most of the artistes are made to rave and shout; as a result, even Abhi's sincere performance is marred by ranting. Randhir as Jeevan, Manju as Mala and Nitin Kumar as Raju give just adequate support. There is nothing to commend in Shailendra's lyrics, Roshan's music or Sarshar Sailani's dialogue.

With three of his pictures released S. Tripathi is very much in the news. Tripathi who is an office-bearer of the Music Directors' Association as well as the Writers' Association is a versatile person. He has dabbled in acting, writing, composing, music, and now he has become a full-fledged director with three pictures *Kavi Kalidas*, *Rani Roopmati* and *Pakshiraj*. He has not only directed all these three pictures but the music of *Roopmati* has already become a rage; and it has made clear that Tripathi's success in *Janam Janam Ke Phere* in which he gave that popular-tune 'Jara Samme to Aao Chhaliye' was not a fluke. Though that song proved a rage, Tripathi's stock in

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the film world did not go high. Unlike other music directors who know the art of publicising themselves and raise their price and demand, Tripathi shunned publicity and went on doing his work unhampered.

But his work as a director and especially as a music director in the afore mentioned pictures deserves better recognition. As a writer, the clever manner in which he has avoided the communal issue in *Rani Roopmati* deserved plaudits. After years of hack work in diverse capacities Tripathi has at last made his mark as an interpreter of India's past on the screen. Given better production facilities to make pictures like *Kalidas* in an authentic manner, there is no doubt Tripathi would make an even more worthwhile contribution to the film art. The success of his three current pictures ensures him a greater and deservedly brighter future.

Trilok Kapoor is turning into a producer-director and starting a social picture soon with Meena Kumari in the lead. Sahir's lyrics will be set to music by Madan Mohan.

M. L. C. RESIGNS, AS CONGRESS IS MISUSING LEGAL POWERS

Srimathi Bharathi Devi Ranga, M. L. C. has resigned from the Congress party. In her letter of resignation addressed to Sri N. Sanjeeva Reddi, leader of the legislative Congress Party, Andhra Pradesh, she says:

"I disagree with the Nagpur Congress resolution on co-operative farming. I know that the assurances of Jawaharlalji and others are unrealistic in the light of the undemocratic, bureaucratic and factious manner in which the State Governments and even the majority group within the Ruling Party have been misusing their legal and administrative powers to interfere in the election and activities of so many co-operative Societies. If and when tens of thousands of service Co-operatives come to be organised it does not need much imagination to realise how co-operative farming cannot be kept free from bureau-

cratic and political coercion, direct and indirect.

"The political power of the Government is being misused for the benefit of certain sections within the Ruling Party. Governmental authority is utilised to unjustly weaken, discredit and disrupt political groups and independent-minded people who are not within the favoured circles even in the Congress Party, not to speak of those who are opposed to the Congress. The Government seem to have been turned into a property of the majority section of the Congress party.

"I find now that the Congress is bent upon pursuing policies and programmes which are destructive of the economy of the self-employed, weakening democracy and destroying the faith of the people in the impartiality of the administration. So, I have decided to leave this party."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

SEARCH FOR SINCERE DIPLOMACY

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

The weather in Moscow is bright and the forecast is encouraging, although a columnist in *Moscow News* said only a few days ago: "I pity the weather people... no sooner have they announced fair weather than something has gone wrong in the heavens and we've had rain and a cold wind." The summer is now well settled and, according to reports, the gardens and boulevards in Moscow are full of flowers — roses, begonias, canna, and gladioluses.

Richard Nixon, vice-President of the United States of America is taking a sniff this week at the flowers, the sunshine and at Soviet politics at close range. His visit to the Soviet Union is in connection with the opening in Moscow on July 25 of an American National Exhibition costing Rs. 2.37 crores. U.S.-made shoes, washing machines, toys, furniture, food stuffs, motor cars, books, a controversial American home and a thousand other things are on view, and each day about 50,000 Russians visit the exhibition, each paying one rouble (Re. 1.19) as entrance fee.

There has been some criticism of certain aspects of the exhibition. Soviet newspapers have disputed the U.S. claim that the Rs. 62,000 model American home shown at the exhibition is within reach of average Americans. There were protests in the U.S. newspapers themselves that the showing of fashion by Negroes and whites in mixed set up was not typical of the U.S. and one U.S. fashion editor complained that the display was too frivolous, showing Americans doing a lot of playing, dancing, dining out, picnicking, travelling — but very little working.

Cultural Exchange

However, last Friday after touring the exhibition which is dominated by a huge geodesic dome like the one now coming up on the island grounds in Madras, the Soviet Prime Minister, Nikita Khrushchev is reported to have observed that the exhibition "is very large and in general makes a good impression."

The exhibition is being conducted under a cultural exchange agreement signed by the United States and the Soviet Union in January 1958. Under this programme last year the U. S. sent to Russia 82 separate projects with 953 members—scientists, engineers, businessmen, artists, farmers, entertainers. The Soviet Union sent to the U. S. 68 projects with 516 members. Besides, in 1958 an estimated 15,000 U. S. tourists went to Russia. *Time*, the U. S. news magazine, grudgingly observed: "Plainly, the iron curtain had parted a bit."

Propaganda Game

Early this year Anastas Mikoyan, First Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union toured the U. S. and made big news. In April 1959 the great Bolshoi ballet, visiting under the exchange programme, created a sensation in the U. S. Then came the Rs. 4-crore Russian trade fair in New York last month, which attempted to impress the U. S. with Soviet science, technology and culture. Another First Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union, Frol Kozlov went specially to New York to preside at the opening of the exhibition and later toured the U.S., dropping hints about Russian strength and superiority.

And now Richard Nixon is in the Soviet Union to do precisely the same thing from the American angle. The U. S. government was rather upset over the big welcome received by Russian cultural performances and the almost fawning reception businessmen and civic leaders throughout the U. S. gave Mikoyan and Kozlov.

There has been no comparable performance by Americans in the Soviet Union. Averell Harriman, former Governor of New York, visited Russia last month and a party of nine Governors of American States concluded a three-week tour of Russia only ten days ago. These visits did not make much noise, and the U. S. was anxious to get maximum propaganda value out of exchange programmes.

The big and sad fact about these programmes is that they have become part of the cold war. Both sides encourage strictly reciprocal exchanges and try to understand each other's weaknesses. Richard Nixon knows this game better than most others and his visit is, therefore, not confined to the ceremonial opening of the exhibition.

Nixon went to Russia prepared to fight a battle of words. It was reported that he had been engaged in an intensive programme of study to prepare himself for the trip to the Soviet Union. He had learned a large number of proverbs and he and his wife had taken some lessons in Russian language.

Sincere Diplomacy

The verbal exchanges which took place last week in Moscow between Khrushchev and Nixon demonstrate clearly that both sides believe only in force and threats. In spite of Nixon's call for *mir-i-druzba* (peace and understanding), when the speeches, jokes, proverbs, verbal exclamation marks and quips of the leaders are put aside, the picture that emerges is one of grim determination by both sides to carry on the cold war. As the *Hindu* said last Sunday, the present situation "clearly shows that mutual confidence between the Great Powers is still lacking."

The exchanges in Moscow are a mere extension of the endless East-West dialogue, and reflect the speeches at Geneva where the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, the U.S., Great Britain and France are seeking settlement. The discussions at Geneva were so frustrating that at one point the French foreign minister, Couve de Murville threw up his arms last week and shouted: "We are in the midst of confusion. We don't know what the discussion is all about."

If they—the foreign ministers—don't know, who should know? Exhibitions, conferences, and cultural visits will serve no useful purpose if they are not backed by sincerity and true devotion to peace. The prevailing confusion seems to prove poor old Joseph Stalin's observation that "sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden air."

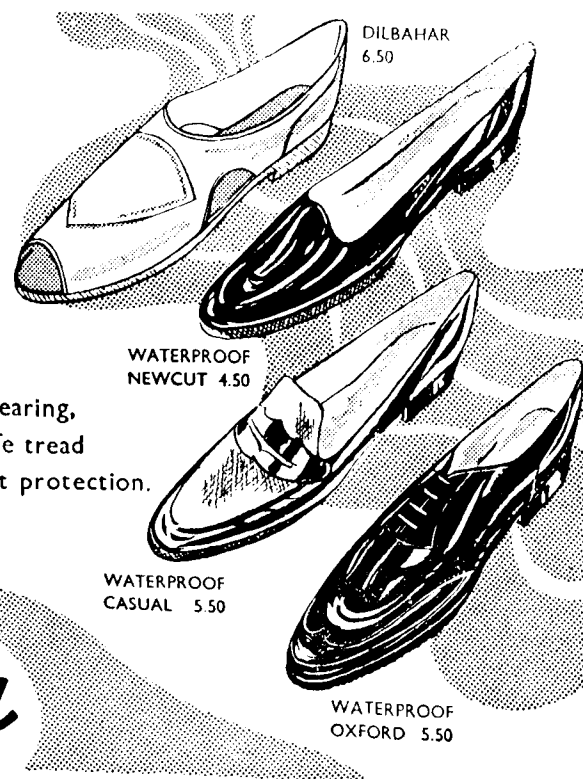
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

BUNGLING IN THE NAME OF PLANNING

Sir,—The latest of the muddles in our planning—about which our Prime Minister waxes eloquent every alternate day—is in respect of the height of Nagarjunasagar Dam. This major project in the State of Andhra Pradesh, which has not been given the priority it deserves, is at the moment threatened with mutilation and there is every possibility of this leading to an unwelcome situation. For all this, we have to thank the Plan Project Committee headed by Sri N. V. Gadgil.

Under the original estimate, the Nagarjunasagar Dam was to be 590 feet in height as suggested by the Khosla Committee a few years back. Now the very same Sri Khosla, as a member of the Gadgil Committee, is said to have suggested the limiting of Nagarjunasagar Dam's height to 540 feet and this, after a considerable portion of the basement work is over! Such constant meddling with the projects in progress, cannot go under the name of Planning even in the Public Sector.

The very same committee has also recommended an increase in the height of Koyna Dam in the Maharashtra region, which, while seriously affecting the Nagarjunasagar Dam and the proposed Srisailem Hydro-Electric Project, will also result in the submerging of Kurnool City. Presented with this problem, the committee is said to have suggested alternative accommodation to the displaced citizens of Kurnool!

Kurnool

V. YATRIK

DESHMUKH ON SASTRI

Sir,—We are deeply grateful to Mr. C. D. Deshmukh for his lucid presentation of the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri's views on political problems and his valuable reflections on the working of democracy in India. I desire to comment on two statements of Mr. Deshmukh made in the memorial lectures. Mr. Sastri is said to have acquiesced in the communal electorates for Muslims as a fait accompli. During the Second World War, in a mood of frustration, he once or twice

said that he would compromise even on the question of communal electorates. He felt that by whomsoever handled, the Hindu-Muslim problem grew worse, and seemed insoluble. But Sastri's basic faith remained unshaken: "A democratic constitution that allows the nation to be split up into so many communities and teaches the members of each such community to believe themselves to be the citizens, not of the whole Indian nation, but of a separated fraction thereof will not foster the growth of the Indian nation, conscious of its nationality; it is an unmitigated evil, ruinous to the State and to the separate communities themselves." This view he held firmly till the last. Again, Mr. Deshmukh has stated that Mr. Sastri was prepared to accept Dominion Status as a transitional measure. To Mr. Sastri, Dominion Status which concedes secession from the Empire at will is as good as independence, reasonable, legitimate and constitutional. As regards independence, Mr. Sastri never believed that India would get independence from Britain. It was his firm conviction that "independence we shall never get nor keep." (Sastri's letters, page 120). Indian Independence is a miracle, a gift of the Gods.

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

Thillaisthanam.

THE SWATANTRA PARTY

Sir,—Your leading article captioned "Deshmukh's charge sheet against Congress" appearing in SWARAJYA of 18th July is indeed a judicious indictment on the shortcomings of the Congress regime. The common man will now have been disillusioned as to the sincerity of the protecting angels of India's destiny. It is a tragedy, a grave national misfortune, that our rulers are now, in self-complacency, closing their eyes to the stark realities of the situation in the country and dreaming of halcyon days under the future Five Year Plans.

The Swatantra Party has come into existence not a day too early. Next to Mahatma Gandhi, Rajaji is the greatest living patriot in whom

are harmoniously blended statesmanship and spirituality. The nation will undoubtedly be benefited immensely from his counsel. It should be the duty of every right-thinking Indian to rally round the banner of the Swatantra Party and endeavour his utmost to contribute to the cause which it espouses.

Saidapet.

T. S. SRINIVASAN

MEDDLING WITH THE ADMINISTRATION

Sir,—The strong language used by Mr. Justice Somasundaram in denouncing the way in which a Member of the Legislative Council interfered with the duties of a D. S. P. and influenced him (as reported in *The Hindu* dated July 15) should open the eyes of every thinking citizen. It is deplorable that our legislators should interfere with our administration in this manner.

This is only one instance that has been brought to the notice of the public. But it is now common knowledge that our legislators are daily interfering with the permanent services. If we want an efficient administration, it is high time that this sort of meddling with the administration by the legislators is stopped immediately. The remedy lies in what Rajaji stated when he took up the reins of administration of the then composite State of Madras in 1952. He said that the separation of the legislature from executive was far more important than the separation of the executive from the judiciary. Unless this is done, the lot of the ordinary citizens will be miserable indeed, as rightly pointed out by his lordship.

K. V. RAMACHANDRAN.

SWATANTRA PARTY

Sir,—The country has been facing acute famine conditions for the past six or seven years. Without taking prompt action to relieve the great distress of the millions, the Government have been spending, rather squandering, many crores of rupees in promoting industrial interests of various types, which are no doubt desirable but not so urgently as production of food grains. In the past six or seven years there have been many hunger deaths and suicides in the remote villages and in towns which had been described

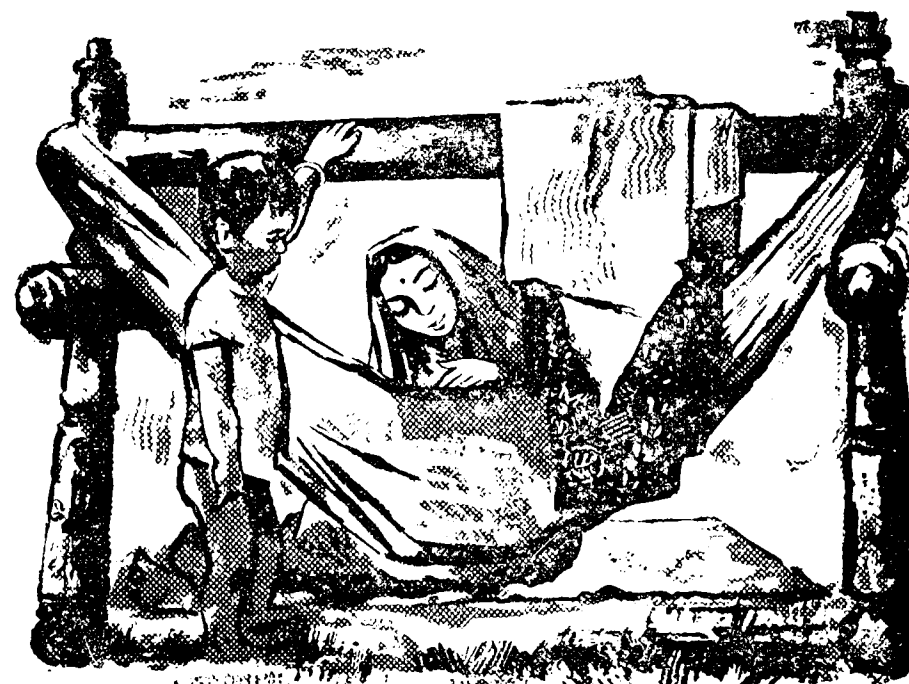
in Government records as "deaths under various causes". The people now are taxed directly and indirectly over 400 percent compared to the taxes paid in the days of British rule. With what benefit to the taxpayers? Has the production of food grains increased more than during the British regime? Has the standard

of living of the poor people been raised to any appreciable extent? Has the number of unemployed, educated and uneducated, decreased? One result of the Congress administration during the past twelve years is that it has opened the eyes of the people to the failure of the Government to enact beneficial

agrarian and fiscal policies. Therefore this is really an auspicious time for the inauguration of the new Swatantra Party, as the masses can now assess intelligently the performance of the ruling party and welcome the new party for looking to the real needs of the country.

M. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER

a new life



"Do you not hear the entrance of a new theme?"

Do you not hear the asserting cry of the newborn,

see myriad men rise to work;

to build, to wield the power of the sun?

Fashioning life, making a world that offers a little more:

a little less of the care, a little more of the joy.

Yes, you feel the awakening—

an ancient nation sheds the stagnation of the ages.

TODAY, as in the past, our products help to make homes cleaner, healthier, happier. But today we are also working for . . .

TOMORROW, when the evergrowing urge for better living will demand still greater efforts. And we shall be ready with wider service, new ideas, new products . . .

Today and Tomorrow... Hindustan Lever serves the home

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SWATANTRA

The Statement of Principles of the Swatantra Party is a lesson in rethinking to those who consider that progress involves a rejection of all that is old and an infant yearning for all that is tinsel-bright with novelty. There is an illusory logic in saying "We cannot go back to the bullock cart. We are living in the age of the sputnik". Such a statement masks the magnitude of the unchanging freedoms for which man has to fight without respite, the freedom to live and to think freely, to educate his children in the faith of his forefathers, and to ply his trade or craft in his own way. It also encourages a false pride which we do not deserve by suggesting that because Russia has made the sputnik, India has progressed. It ignores the social cost of doing the spectacular in a short time. It is an altogether wrong approach to the problems of reconciling liberty with law, and external progress with inner values.

The clauses in the Statement that deserve great emphasis and attention are those that stress the need for Gandhian Trusteeship, the content of an improved standard of life rather than its monetary or material additions, and the freedom of education. At a cursory glance they appear unrelated to the menacing issues that confront us directly and immediately, but they, more than the scramble for a gold-rush, will lead to a life that is rich, not merely in lucre.

The Gandhian doctrine of Trusteeship is nothing more than a name for what the people of this country have always practised. If each man had looked after himself and his family only, many persons would have died of starvation in India. The small village community, combined with the predominance of spiritual values, has been responsible for a tradition that has elevated

giving to a social as well as a religious duty, and has given to the word *dharma* almost the same meaning as the word *daana*. In an industrial and urban culture, in which millions of people live in great physical proximity but are otherwise completely isolated from one another, the State has to step in and redress the impact of growing selfishness. This is not the best way for mankind to live in social harmony, but it is a procedure forced by circumstances. But the inner compulsion that seeks to share what one has with others who are less fortunate, is more valuable both as doctrine and practice. The Indian mercantile communities have for long set apart a portion of their profit for charity. They have looked upon this as a duty. These monies have been given to religious and charitable endowments. The Indian landowner has shared the harvest with the lowly and the poor in many ways. A whole culture has grown out of the myriad ways of giving to the poor. It will be unwise to dry up the springs of these great impulses by expropriatory taxation. With India's poverty and population, the State can never step in and completely take over the setting up of a social balance except by a ruthless collectivisation of all property and income and the substitution of external force for individual incentive for producing wealth. If we value democracy and freedom, the incidents that go with a wise doctrine of Trusteeship have to be fostered and encouraged.

Similarly, how money is used is more important than the fact that more money is earned. The crude economic concept of increasing one's wants and considering such an increase as the same as a better life will only lead to the translation of Hobbes's desperate statement "Homo Homini Lupus" (man is

to man as wolf) by each looking after himself and consigning the hindmost to the devil. It will also nourish wrong values and breed wrong wants. The industrial labourer drinks more tea in the canteen, attends more cinemas, smokes more beedies than his rural counterpart. While no one will deny the need for increasing the wages of all classes of labour, can it be maintained that the monetary opportunities of the urban labourer are being utilised in the best way? What is required is not a mere increase of income, but an inner adjustment of values along with increased incomes.

Freedom of education is perhaps the most important principle of all. No propaganda is more destructive of freedom and more conducive to mental regimentation and conformity than what is subtly perpetrated through the schools for the young. In Russia a whole generation has grown up in the belief that their way of life is the best. They are not even conscious that they have been indoctrinated. Education can corrupt the processes of thought and tune the thinking apparatus to the wavelength of the State. The only safeguard against this danger is to allow every kind of school to thrive. The State should prescribe the principles, such as gradation, classes, and syllabus at the earlier stages, and nothing at all at the university level. The actual work should be done in the manner best suited to the traditions and beliefs of particular groups, denominations, and other homogeneous social units. In this way a rich and free life can be made to grow. Otherwise we shall become a nation of lettered slaves.

That the Swatantra Party has stressed these values is a tribute to the wisdom of its great founder than whom no greater student of Indian culture exists.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE SWATANTRA PARTY

The following is the statement of the principles of the Swatantra Party adopted by the All India convention held at Bombay on August 1 and 2, 1959

1. The Swatantra Party is pledged to social justice and equality of opportunity for all people without distinction of religion, caste, occupation, or political affiliation.
2. The Party holds that the progress, welfare, and happiness of the people depend on individual incentive, enterprise, and energy. The Party stands for the principle of maximum freedom for the individual and minimum interference by the State, consistent with the obligation to prevent and punish anti-social activities, to protect the weaker elements of society, and to create the conditions in which individual initiative will thrive and be fruitful. The Party is, therefore, opposed to the increasing State interference of the kind now being pursued.
3. The Party holds that the State should foster and utilise the sense of moral obligation, the pride, satisfaction, and fulfilment felt by individuals in serving others, which are inherent in our tradition, instead of adopting legislative or other forms of compulsion which commence with want of faith in the people and are consummated in the serfdom of the governed under the official machine, in an omnipotent State controlled by a political party voted to power. The Party, therefore, adheres to the principle of trusteeship adumbrated by Gandhiji.
4. The Party holds that the policies of Government should be founded on faith in the people and not on State compulsion and the encouragement of hatred and conflict between class and class, expropriation, repudiation of obligations and the conferment of more and more powers on the officials of Government at the expense of the freedom of the citizens.
5. The Party stands for every effort being made to foster and maintain spiri-

tual values and preserve what is good in our culture and tradition, and avoid the dominance of a purely materialist philosophy of life which thinks only in terms of the standard of life without any reference to its content or quality.

6. The party holds that steps should be taken to remove the pervading sense of uncertainty that has been created by the present policies of the Government and its varying forecast of future plans leading to the drying up of initiative and enterprise in land, ship and factory alike. The party holds that a sense of stability and incentive for individual effort can be restored only by strict adherence to the fundamental rights and guarantees specified in the Constitution as originally adopted in respect of freedom of property, trade and occupation, and just compensation for any property compulsorily acquired by the State for public purposes.

7. The Party holds that in the policies adopted for national development, priority must be assigned to the basic needs of the people, namely, food, water, housing and clothing.

8. The Party believes that every citizen has a fundamental right to educate his children according to his choice and in a free atmosphere untrammelled by official directives and that the State should afford facilities for such education without discrimination.

9. The Party holds that the paramount need is for increasing food production and that this is best attained through the self-employed peasant-proprietor who is interested in obtaining the highest yield from his land.

The Party believes in an intensive programme of agricultural improvement by promoting the material and psychological inducement for greater production without disturbing the harmony of rural life. The Party holds that there should be no disturbance of ownership, management, and cultivation of land, but believes in a more effective programme than is being followed at present in respect of irrigation and the supply of material, implements, credit and marketing facilities.

The Party believes in the need of giving every kind of help to agriculture, but is opposed to cultivation through organisations which reduce private ownership to empty paper-title and which bring into being a loose kind of multiple ownership which is certain to sap the incentive of the farmer and his family, reduce output, and take us to a collective economy with official manage-

ment. It is firmly opposed to collectivisation and bureaucratic management of the rural economy.

The Party takes note of the dissatisfaction amongst the rural population that adequate attention has not been paid to their needs. It holds that the level of life of the rural people should be improved by taking all steps necessary for the purpose including the removal of all impediments standing in the way of the rural population attaining a higher standard of life than is their present lot and in particular steps may be taken for maintaining a reasonable and steady price for agricultural produce, which is in parity with other prices.

10. In Industry the Party believes in the incentives for higher production and expansion inherent in competitive enterprise, with adequate safeguards for the protection of labour, and against unreasonable profits, prices and dividends where there is no competition or where competition does not secure the necessary corrective.

The Party stands for the restriction of State enterprise to heavy industries such as are necessary to supplement private enterprise in that field, such national services as Railways, and the starting of new enterprises which are difficult for private initiative.

The Party is opposed to the State entering the field of trade and disturbing free distribution and introducing controls and official management with all its wastefulness and inefficiency.

The Party believes that in the field of production, the free choice of the producer and the consumer must be given basic place and importance.

11. The Party stands for the preservation of the freedom of the small and self-employed artisans, craftsmen, and traders, who are in danger of losing their occupational opportunities by reason of the policy of Statism. These persons perform a great, widespread, and inexpensive function in our society, and their gradual extinction will be a national misfortune and add to our unemployment problem.

12. The Party stands for greater thrift in public expenditure. It holds that taxation should be kept at such levels as will not interfere with reasonable living standards for the people, both rural and urban, and which, while being necessary and sufficient for the carrying on of administration and such social and economic services as are taken up by the State, is yet not so high and exacting or so ubiquitous as to prevent capital formation and private investment.

13. The Party is opposed to a programme of development based on crippling taxation, abnormal deficit financing,

and foreign loans which are beyond the capacity of the country to repay.

14. The Party is opposed to all policies that lead to excessive inflation, high prices that reduce the value of savings, endowments, and fixed incomes, and which create undue hardship for the present generation in the hope of a distant gain.

15. The Party believes that the cost of Public Administration should be reduced considerably. It stands for integrity and efficiency in the services. It is against the expansion of the bureaucratic machine, with a hierarchy of officials asked to do work which is best done by citizens and private agencies, resulting in unproductive waste of national resources.

16. The Party believes that the State will best serve the nation by encouraging and affording facilities for a decentralised distribution of industry and by limiting its own regulatory function to the prevention and punishment of anti-social activities whenever called for.

17. The Party stands for the creation of opportunities for full and lasting employment in all sectors of life. It stands for a programme of all round industrialisation with a view to developing national resources and reducing unemployment. It believes in a balanced development of capital-goods industries, organised consumer-goods industries, and rural industries that afford supplementary employment in the small-scale processing of the products of agriculture.

18. The Party stands for a fair deal for labour in fields, factories and shops, and for correlating wages to increased productivity and for the workers' right to organise for the purpose of collective bargaining. It stands for harmonising the interests of capital and labour when they get into conflict.

19. The Party is opposed to any form of political pressure being put on officials to deflect them from the course of fair and just discharge of duties without discrimination. It stands for the rule of law, an independent judiciary, and for the full play of the powers of judicial review given to the Courts by the Constitution.

20. The Party shall, in all matters, keep before itself the cardinal teachings of Gandhiji, maintaining faith in the people and in the efficacy of truth and non-violence.

21. The Swatantra Party holds that democracy is best served if every political Party allows freedom of opinion to its members on all matters outside the Fundamental Principles of the Party. It, therefore, gives its members, full liberty on all questions not falling within the scope of the Principles stated above.

THE ASH-GOURD CREEPER

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



There was a cocoanut grove near the temple of Pudupatti. Beyond that was a dung-hill heap, and on the dung-hill heap an ash-gourd creeper grew and had spread wide.

One day a conversation took place between a cocoanut tree and the ash-gourd creeper. It began in an affectionate manner. Later on, each started boasting. At last it became quite a heated discussion.

"You need not talk thus, because you are tall and stalwart", said the creeper to the tree.

"As if we do not know your disguise. You pretend to be a devotee of Shiva by smearing ashes all over your body. After all, you can only creep along the dung-hill ground. That being so, why such pride?", asked the cocoanut tree.

The creeper became very angry. "Very well. We shall wait", it decided, and from that day onwards for three days consecutively it did penance concentrating on Lord Shiva.

* * *
Lord Mahadeva felt very sympathetic. He asked, "My dear creeper, why dost thou do such penance? What is it that you want? Your fruits will wither away now."

"My Lord, I am your devotee. Do you not know me? This cocoanut tree derides me because of its pride. It says, "You have large flowers, but still you creep only along the ground! It hurts my feelings so. These cocoanut leaves tustle in the wind and irritate me very much. What shall I do? It even makes fun of the sacred ashes on me!" Thus the creeper wept.

The Merciful asked, "What is it that you want? I shall give it to you".

"Please take me on to the top of your *gopura*. I shall rise tall and live dignified," answered the creeper. "It shall be so", said the Lord and disappeared.

Then Lord Govinda appeared. "Oh, creeper, you are as beautiful as Devi Herself. You are worthy of love. Do not be cheated. Desire is a wicked thing. It is best that each one stays in the place allotted for him. If you climb on to the top of the *gopura* you will get into danger," He warned.

"What, Lord Kanna! Do you also want to put me down like the cocoanut tree? Please reserve your advice for Arjuna. It has no use for me" said the creeper and climbed on to the *gopura*.

Lord Kannan went to Lord Mahadeva and said, "Oh, Brother! it looks as though this creeper is heading for its ruin?"

"Do you not know?" said Lord Mahadeva, "only experience can teach. There is no good of advising."

The fruit in the ash-gourd creeper grew big. One gourd fruit became as big as a large pot. "I cannot remain in the creeper any longer", it said and severed itself.

It fell from the *gopura*. It hopped and jumped here and there. By the time it reached the ground, it went to twenty pieces and lay in a pitiable state. "Alas", wept the mother. The creeper dried and withered of grief and fell down. "We do not want a *gopura*. The ground is enough for the poor. We can live honestly even on a dung-hill heap. If we ascend high we may have to fall down. If we lie low, there is no need to fall." Thus, wisdom dawned on the creeper.

Just then, a ripe cocoanut fell down from the tree with a thud.

"At last!" it said and rolled on. "Fall! Fall! Serves you right!" said the creeper.

"Even if I fall, I can bear the shock", replied the cocoanut.

"Jealousy is bad", said the newly wise creeper.

The creeper flowered and yielded many fruits. When the fruits were mature, the manager of the temple carted them and sold them in the fair.

SIDELIGHTS ::

Dr. A. Krishnaswami, M.P., writes:

In your comment entitled "Sabotaging Progress", you suggest that there are '52 vacant seats' in the first M. B. B. S. course, and that the Director of Medical Services has taken "the extraordinary step of recommending to the State Government that the vacant seats need not be filled up." It is clear that what has occurred is that 52 students failed in one subject in the Pre-professional examination, and are allowed to continue in the College subject to their passing a test to be held in September. The Pre-professional year is part of the medical course like the pre-registration course of the old regulations and is the first year of medical course. Therefore students have been given another chance to pass this Pre-professional examination. Among the 52, even according to your measure of merit, there "are keen and qualified seekers", and it would not have been proper on the part of the University to turn these 52 students as it were, into the streets. The Director of Medical Services had as much to do with this decision as the Antipodes. It is therefore irrelevant to blame him, it is in bad taste to dub his conduct as 'lunatic, idiotic or sadistic'. Probably, your approach to this question is shot through and through with prejudice against the Director of Medical Services—a prejudice based on communal grounds, which tends to benumb your faculties of normal perception and proportion.

Last year there were 4 seats vacant in the first class of the M.B.B.S. course after provision had been made for candidates who had passed the pre-professional examination of the year. With the sanction of the Madras University Syndicate, these seats were advertised and thrown open to applicants, who had passed the Intermediate and B. Sc. examinations. I understand that there were as many as 500 applicants for these 4 seats. Apparently presuming that this year too the number of vacant

seats would be small, the Director of Medical Services seems to have recommended that they need not be filled. Dr. Krishnaswami's remark that he "had as much to do with this decision as the Antipodes" is astonishing. The Director is the technical adviser to the Government in matters medical, which include necessarily issues connected with medical education. Is it conceivable that in an important matter like this within the purview of his own responsibility, he left the duty of decision to someone else? If he did he shines in no better light than if he sponsored the decision which Dr. Krishnaswami says he did not.

If, this year, there were as many as 52 vacant seats in the first year class of the M. B. B. S. course, what does it mean? It means that the selection of students for the pre-professional course is not all that it should be. There are far too many failures. The dead weight of these failures is pulling our medical education down, with a good proportion of the students dropping down half way, while those capable of completing the course are denied admission on some ground or other. An inhospitable attitude to competitively meritorious students, combined with liberal concern and consideration for defective elements as indicated in the examination test, has been the characteristic oddity of our medical educational administrators.

Dr. Krishnaswami says that the pre-professional year is part of the medical course like the pre-registration course of the old regulations. "Therefore students have been given another chance to pass this pre-professional examination." The pre-registration course was for six months only, and it did not provide for automatic admission for the failed student to the medical course. It is not correct to say that those who fail in the pre-professional examination would be turned into the streets. Actually they are given three chances to pass, one chance each half year, and when they pass they are admitted as additional students to the medical course. The new change

made this year is the preference given to students who have failed in one subject in the pre-professional course, over applicants who have passed the Intermediate and B.Sc. examinations.

Is it not "sabotaging progress" to give, for the purpose of admission to the medical course, a higher status to failure in the pre-professional examination (if in one subject only) than even to the most distinguished success in the Intermediate and the B.Sc. examinations? Nobody objects to the pre-professional year being treated as part of the medical course, or to students passing on from the pre-professional year to the first year class of the medical course after passing the pre-professional examination. The outrageous innovation introduced this year is that students should be admitted not by passing any examination but by failing in one subject of it. And this was achieved by a conspiracy of manoeuvres among all concerned, the D.M.S., the University and the Government.

Even with this extraordinary concession of being admitted to the medical course not in all cases on the basis of success, but in some cases, failure in an examination, not all the 52 vacant seats could be filled. Twelve still remain. If the principle so far applied is to be accorded full validity, by and by failures in more subjects than one will have to be recognised as qualification for admission to the medical course. Dr. Krishnaswami's letter is a symbol of the malady of our times, not only deterioration in standards, but deterioration as a matter of right, with full protective scope from the declared guardians themselves of educational standards. The wrong-doers and their supporters, having lapsed from sound norms, have no compunction about stigmatising disinterested critics as communalists with benumbed faculties!

— SAKA

Slogan - Mongering

Some of those who holler most for more nationalisation do not know even the fundamentals of running a fried fish and chip shop or a cockle stall.

NORMAN DODDS, M. P.

DANISH FARMING & ADULT EDUCATION A LESSON FOR INDIA

By J. VIJAYATUNGA

If you leave out of consideration the fact that Denmark is a small country—17,000 square miles inhabited by 4,300,000 peoples—it has many lessons to teach us in India, not the least of them being the remarkable progress they have made in adult education during the last one hundred years.

Unlike the other Scandinavian countries Denmark has no mineral resources, nor timber, nor water power. It has only the good earth which the resourceful Danes have coaxied and nursed with exceeding care so that 95 per cent of the land is productive and 77 per cent is farmed. Moorland and heath which were formerly wasteland are today reclaimed and productive.

This has not come about by any miracle but by deliberate social and political reforms and by the establishment of co-operative societies. Denmark is today a farmers' co-operative commonwealth. Of more than 205,000 farmers in Denmark each possessing more than two and a half acres of land nearly 200,000 are members of the various co-operative societies. There is even a co-operative manure supply society. Besides co-operative banks, dairy societies, coal societies, engineering and cement societies there are co-operative societies for accident and damage insurance, for pensions and for running sanatoria for tubercular rheumatic patients.

Until 1875 Danish peasants suffered very much the same hardships as Indian tenants did until recently when the Zamindari system was abolished. Whereas we have abolished the Zamindari system we have not, like the Danes, introduced co-operatives so that the Indian peasant's lot today is not better than under Zamindars who gave loans, provided seed corn, manure and agricultural tools. Like the Indian peasant the Danish peasant too was rooted to the soil. There was no need to call him back to the land. Only until his emancipation chiefly through the system of adult education, the Danish peasant had become a disgruntled, listless worker

who worked because being a tenant under the lord of the manor he had to. According to Dr. Peter Manniche, author of *Living Democracy in Denmark* and Principal of the International People's College at Elsinore, "they had to work two, three or four days a week on the lord's *demesne*, and even more in harvest time." (Dr. Manniche, it will be recalled, was recently in India at the invitation of the Education Ministry and toured the country advising on suitable methods of adult education. Four Indians have since gone to Denmark for training, and there was a move on the part of the Bihar Government to introduce adult education on Danish lines but adapted to Indian conditions.)

According to the same authority the nobility was domineering. Though the King had taken away much of their power as far back as 1660 they still owned the land and the tenants. This feudal system lasted till the end of last century. Of course in the Middle Ages there was no aristocracy as such in Denmark and "King was the first among equals."

How did the Danish tenants break away from their thralldom? It was by means of the folk high school, otherwise, adult education. A folk high school principal, Anders Jorgensen, described the condition of the tenant-farmer during the last quarter of the last century thus:

"What a pitiful sight it often was to see these small-holdings! Generally the holdings consisted of fields lying fallow, rye and oats with long stalks, and a couple of poor grass fields. The livestock corresponded to the fields. It consisted of one or two lean cows, one, or rarely, two pigs and some chickens. The feed for the cattle was very poor in quality. Consequently the manure was also very poor and the value of the soil therefore decreasing...."

Within a few years, largely by means of legislation introduced by farmers who had benefited from the folk high schools, the picture became different. Vihelm Lassen, a leader of the Farmers' Party, has described the condition of the

Danish farmer at the end of the century thus:

"They are not in a class with the wealthier people of the parish....They dress like labourers and there is no doubt that they eat as people of small means. But one does not classify them with the paupers of the parish either. For the village suspects that when the husband makes a journey to town twice or thrice a year, he invests a bit of savings in the savings bank....For they themselves manage to do what is to be done. Husband, wife and children do all the work outdoors and indoors....in social life they are proud that their butter and bacon fetch the top price along with that of big farms. This class of people are the efficient cotters holding land of their own, from four to ten acres...."

Since then progress of the farming community, socially and politically, has been rapid. To quote Dr. Manniche again, "The co-operative movement was their lever." The link between Danish butter and bacon and the Danish folk high school has resulted in making the Danish peasant "one of the most enlightened in the world." The Danes produce almost all their food needs and 72 per cent of their exports are agricultural and dairy produce. Much of this success can be attributed to the credit associations, a feature that with the abolition of the zamindari system, could well be introduced in India. "The independent farmer is still the determining factor in agricultural legislation in Denmark" and the Minister of Agriculture is invariably a farmer. How many Five Year Plans must we go through before we can have an educated farmer as Minister of Food and Agriculture?

Grundtvig is credited with having been the originator of the folk high school idea. Perhaps his stay at Cambridge had shown him the value of the corporate life. He has also been influenced by Rousseau who extolled the virtues of the country life and by Fichte who propounded the theory of a "school for youth." Before 1850 the only adult education available in Denmark was at the university which existed only to turn out white-collar officials. Grundtvig agitated for schools for "that great part of the people who do not want to become officials, but have to feed themselves and the officials, too."

"Only barbarians and truants can imagine that this root and kernal of the

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people — tenants and freeholders, large farmers and small ones, artisans of all kinds, sailors and tradesmen — does not need any more enlightenment than can be obtained behind the plough, in the workshop, on the boat and behind the counter."

The folk high school as he envisaged it should have a farm

attached to it and workshops of all kinds. The knowledge of the ways of birds and animals should be as interesting and useful as the knowledge of one's fellowmen. Books were not so important, but the teacher and the spoken word were. He also gave a high

place to community singing in the school.

It was left to Christian Kold, "a rustic blend of Socrates and Pestalozzi", the son of a cobbler, to open the first folk high school. Today "between one-third and one-half of all those farmers who have a holding of their own have been either to a folk high school or to an agricultural school." The agricultural schools are an offshoot of the folk high school and the technical-agricultural training is more emphasised in those schools. The courses at these are of five to six months beginning in November. There is an extensive course of three months. Plant-growing, stock-breeding, natural science, physics, chemistry, botany and zoology are the main subjects, together with the handling of agricultural tools and machinery. The idea has spread to industrial workers in the towns and there are today workers' high schools, on similar lines.

Kold started his school in a two-roomed cottage. Today folk high schools are housed in small castles surrounded by gardens and two or three students share a room which is centrally heated in the winter. Baths and swimming pools and gymnasiums are considered indispensable.

The best known internationally is the People's College, at Elsinore. Founded in 1921 with the object that an international folk high school might help to create an international fellowship and educate for international democracy the school attracts students from as far as Indonesia and the Gold Coast. Dr. Peter Manniche who has been associated with it from the beginning is the principal. Young farmers from abroad are specially welcome at the People's College. In June 1949 when UNESCO held its first conference for adult education at the People's College, students from forty nations participated. Elsinore is a beautiful town with a population of 21,500 and is a tourist attraction because of the association of Hamlet. Hans Christian Andersen, though born in Odense, went to school in Elsinore.

Denmark's agricultural prosperity and the high percentage of its educated peasantry are directly traceable to the part played in its social life by the folk high School. (Copy right)



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CONTROL OF EDUCATION BY THE STATE

By F. G. PEARCE

Formerly Principal The Scindia School, Gwalior & The Rishi Valley School, Andhra Pradesh

When the State takes over the ownership and control of railways, air services, Life Insurance, and heavy industry, there is a sudden stir and a feeling of anxiety on the part of people who dread the coming of totalitarianism. But a much more dangerous movement in the same direction is now taking place unobtrusively. It is more dangerous because it is less dramatic, less noticeable, and much more insidious. It is the control of education by the State.

Not long ago a Minister of the Union Government was reported by the newspapers as having declared publicly that, if education were in his charge, he would like to see every Indian child in the same kind of school, following the same curriculum, living in the same kind of hostel, eating the same kind of food, wearing the same uniform, and having the same ideas inculcated into him or her. By this means, he said, the way would be prepared for the creation of an egalitarian society in India. Obviously, such a system of education could be established only by Government, and, however good and wise the Government might be, it would be a totalitarian system, pure and simple. The individual citizen would have no say whatever in the training of his children, and however much the present generation of parents might disapprove of the Government, the next generation would be perfectly acquiescent, having been thoroughly conditioned to be so, through the State's control of education. The present trend is steadily in that direction, it seems clear.

This is a very real danger,—and it is a danger menacing the mental and moral life of democracy just as surely as the physical lives of men and women are being more visibly menaced by atomic radiations destructive of blood corpuscles and capable of modifying genes. The mental and moral danger is at least to some extent noticeable by our generation because we live in an atmosphere in which freedom to some extent still exists. But

when even that freedom has been lost and there is no urge to regain it, — as is bound to be the case when the mind is conditioned to acceptance of whatever is laid down by authority,—the destruction of democracy will be complete, and it will be too late to avert our doom. All the sacrifices of the generations that have fought for freedom will have been in vain: the young tree of democracy planted in this country will bear no fruit.

During the British regime, whatever other wrongs may have been done to India, this most pernicious of all wrongs was not inflicted; the minds of the young were not conditioned through totalitarian education. Because our people retained at least the freedom to think for themselves, they at length won political freedom. Will our children be able to keep the latter if they lose the former even under their own Government?

Acharya Vinoba Bhave has seen this danger clearly. In answers to a

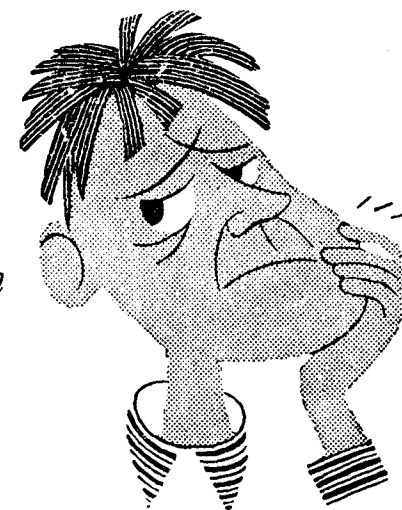
question, reported in Bhodan some time ago, he said:

"Education must be free from the control of government, whatever its complexion. Government - controlled education is bound to become formal and rigid. It becomes a sort of large-scale factory which produces a standardized commodity. Secondly, it turns the teacher into an employee. Today the Government plans out every detail of the curriculum. The teacher has merely to carry out the orders he receives from above. He is therefore unable to leave any impress on the minds of the students. He does not become their friend, philosopher and guide. He has no place in the life of the young. A real teacher is an independent person. His thinking is free. He is not committed to any pattern of thought or ideology. He has intelligence and is sensitive to all that is happening around him.

"People do not understand how lopsided and faulty the present system of education is. They are anxious that the Government should undertake the responsibility of imparting education. In the days of British rule we had at least a few institutions which worked for national education. But now most schools are aided and controlled by Government. Increasingly people have begun to depend on Government for everything. We have to create a faith in the self-reliant strength of the people. People can come together and solve their problems."

The crux of the matter is the freedom of the teacher from Government control, and the freedom of the management to appoint as

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teachers those in whom the parents of the children have confidence. At present, not only in stat schools, but also in all schools dependent upon grant-in-aid from the State, or even schools which do not take grant-in-aid but which must obtain State or University recognition in order to present candidates for public examinations, there is no real freedom from State control.

Managements are bound hand and foot by departmental regulations of every kind, not only about major matters such as the number of children in a class or the size and ventilation of classrooms, but even about minor things such as the keeping of registers and records, and the furnishing of huge statistical returns on all sorts of petty matters.

Far more dangerous is the control over the selection of teachers. As every Headmaster and educationist knows, the purely academic qualifications of a teacher, as indicated by the possessions of degrees and diplomas, are no guarantee whatsoever that he or she is really interested in the education of children, or capable of teaching in the true sense of the word. For teaching university students the possession of high academic qualifications may be an asset—though some of the best teachers in the world have been themselves but poor performers at examinations—but, surely, for the teaching of children up to the pre-university level, what is really important is not the degree or diploma of the teacher, but his or her enthusiasm for education, of which the most important part is not the imparting of book-knowledge but the creation of interest, the stimulation of intelligence, and the arousing of sensitivity to environment, both material and human. These are the all-important qualifications for a teacher of young children, and their presence or absence has nothing whatever to do with paper qualifications. In spite of this fact,—patent to anyone who has first-hand experience of school education,—the State and university authorities insist upon the appointment only of teachers who possess degrees and diplomas which, in their opinion, alone qualify the holders to teach. To my mind, it should be left to those in charge of the actual work of a

school to select as members of their school staff such persons as may be, in their opinion, competent to impart the kind of education desired by those who have organised and who support the school. It is only by placing the responsibility for primary and secondary education in the hands of those whose children suffer or benefit from it, that people will begin to take an intelligent and practical interest in what and how and by whom their children are taught. It is not the business of Government to prescribe the kind of education people should give their children, or to specify the kind of teachers to impart it. But, as the people are taxed in order to provide for the welfare of all, it is certainly the duty of the Government to subsidize education in such a way that it may be given to all who want it, in whatever form the local people may decide is best for their children, and by whatever teachers they think competent to teach. If they are dissatisfied, they can effect a change.

At first sight, because we are not accustomed to such a degree of freedom, it might seem that decentralization to such an extent would be dangerous. That is one of the worst defects of totalitarianism, it destroys responsibility and initiative, except at the very top. And, as those of us should know, who have lived in the times before Independence, and who have taken part in the struggle to get it, there is no way of learning self-government except by being free to govern oneself. You can learn to swim only by taking the risk of jumping into water. People will not learn to think about education unless and until they are really responsible for it. If we see clearly the terrible danger of the present drift towards state control of everything, the tendency to make us dependent and subservient and willing to accept whatever is doled out to us by authority,—which is nothing less than the acceptance of totalitarianism, call it by whatever other name you will,—if we really see this danger, it will not be difficult to discover the way to avoid it, and to organise education in a more truly democratic manner, so that it may become *"Education of the people, in the manner desired by the people, by teachers chosen by the people themselves."*

POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

In the present context of events, the question arises whether Central intervention in the affairs of States should be on the exclusive advice of the Prime Minister, or whether the President can act in his discretion, even in disregard of the advice of his Ministers. Pandit Nehru in his press conference has categorically stated that in as much as our Government is a Government based on the Parliamentary system, the President can *only* act on the advice of the Ministers, conveyed through the Prime Minister. The opposite view is strongly held by others. In a country where there are many States, in each of which it is possible to have governments based on different political ideologies, and the Federal or Union Government may have a ruling party with a different political thinking, it is not wise to expect political justice to be done if the theory of the Prime Minister is accepted.

The powers of the President are expressly stated in Article 53 Clause 1 of the constitution. The executive power of the Union shall be vested, under the Article, in the President and shall be exercised by him, either directly or through officers subordinate to him, in accordance with the Constitution. In this statement of powers there is no limitation as to the quantum or the manner of its exercise. In Article 74 (1) the Ministers are called in to aid and advise the President. And therefore no act of the President shall be invalid by reason of its being done on his own will or volition without advice being called in or acted upon. The only consideration upon which the dictum of the Prime Minister rests is that we copied the Parliamentary system of Government that is in vogue in England, and therefore that everything that pertains to England shall serve in India as well. This is not a sound argument for the reason that our Constitution is a written Constitution, and convention can only gather around it in so far as the written word is not infringed. The Prime Minister cannot therefore sit tight over the President with his fatwas and compel him to act in a particular manner. This is against the Constitution.

A. S. N. MURTHI

REGIMENTATION UNDER GUISE OF WELFARE

By S. SHUKLA

Out of the big five who were the brains behind the Congress Party, two, Gandhiji and Sardar Patel, were snatched away by death within a short period of attaining independence. Rajaji and Rajendra Babu were rendered ineffective. Therefore the mantle was cast on Nehru alone. Mr. Nehru was saturated with the West and what England had achieved after the Industrial Revolution was his target for India. By nature hasty and impatient, he wanted to achieve it in the shortest possible time. For ways and means he turned to the example of the USSR, which had achieved wonderful results by planned economy and scientific knowledge. But the democrat in him resisted the regimented way of the Russians. Though the plans were gigantic the ways and means were not of the Russian type. The regimentation of the whole people for one object, namely the State, was not there and therefore nothing much could be achieved. This set Mr. Nehru thinking and the Nagpur resolutions were the result. The policy of the Government in nationalising the basic industries and public utility undertakings was already in action. By controlling the banking institutions through the Reserve Bank and nationalising Life Insurance, Government control of money became more or less complete. Now it has been decided to nationalise the biggest industry of the country, namely agriculture. Many of the trades had already been nationalised. Now it has been decided that the biggest trade, which is really in small hands in villages and towns, namely the commodity trade, should also be nationalised.

The regimentation process is now complete. The individual has been replaced by the State. Of course it has been done under the guise of a Welfare State. The main objective so far achieved has been that some of the have-nots have been given something. There is not enough to go round. It has been done by robbing Peter to pay Paul. It is not a solution. Only Peter has now become Paul.

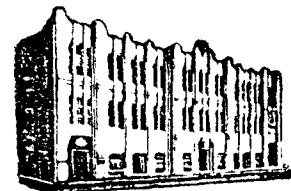
Public opinion in the country is at the present moment divided.

There is a body of persons who believe that regimentation will lead us to progress. There are others who feel that the freedom of the individual is essential for his happiness and advancement, that the role of the State should be limited and defined. The conservative ideology will rally round the latter section of the people.

It is true that human nature as it is is liable to err and err in such a way that it may curtail the freedom of others. The state has to be the guardian angel to restrain the individual from such way-wardness. It has been all along the endeavour of the political thinkers to strike a balance between freedom and control. The makers of our Constitution have struck a fairly workable balance between the two. It has guaranteed to the individual certain fundamental rights like freedom of religion which includes freedom to worship and have religious and cultural institutions and to manage them according to one's particular faith or belief. Similarly freedom to carry on one's own trade or occupation according to his own inclination and capacity has been guaranteed. There is also freedom to acquire and enjoy property. Of course, checks have been evolved so that one's own enjoyments might not interfere with the exercise of the rights of others. Other rights which add to the dignity of an individual such as equality before law, abolition of untouchability and slavery (forced labour) have also been guaranteed, equality among the sexes has been restored. Nobody can be discriminated against on the ground of caste, creed or religion. Stress on these rights was necessary because certain evils had crept into society on account of historical reasons. All these matters form part of Chapter III of the constitution.

In Chapter IV of the constitution certain Directive Principles of State Policy have been laid down according to which a Welfare State was to be evolved. The idea of a Welfare State has degenerated into controls and regulations imposed through a powerful bureaucracy. In the result, instead of producing more and ensuring its equitable

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distribution, what is being done is to snatch away from those who have and to distribute among those who have not. And in fact the Government agency being inefficient and corrupt, the things diverted are not going to those who need it. Because of the immorality involved in the process, there has been an orgy of corruption, bribery and nepotism. The fundamental rights of the people are being disregarded. The law courts too have been a party to this process, by interpreting mandatory freedom in the light of discretionary directives. And where the courts have refused to do so the Government have come forward with amendments of the Constitution. Amendments of Article 31 of the constitution are an example. Certain land reforms, which were clearly of an expropriatory nature and which were never contemplated by the Constitution-makers, have been sanctioned.

In a Parliamentary democracy the necessity of an opposition is recognised. It is incorrect to say that in India there is no opposition to the Congress Party. In the Orissa legislature the Congress party is in a minority. In U. P. the opposition is practically 35 per cent of the total strength and I think this is the percentage in many other States. But is it effective anywhere? No. Why? Because it is not organized and cohesive. Most of them were elected as Independents. The people elected them because they were fed up with the shortcomings of Congress rule. People feel that there should be an opposition as a corrective to the party in power, and that the candidates should be known to be good men. What people want is not merely an opposition. They want an effective opposition, and this can be had only through a well organised party.

The basic principle for which the Swatantra party stands are democracy, fundamental rights of the individual, sanctity of the Constitution and the rule of law. When the party itself stands for democracy it cannot be a party to coercive agitational methods like picketing and strikes. It will fight its battles in the legislatures, law courts and at the elections. Conservatism is a creed and not an expedient. The party should prepare itself to take the reins of government if called upon by the electorate to do so.

The Swatantra Party has nailed to its mast the chivalrous ideology of trusteeship of the rich for the poor, of the powerful for the weak. It is, however, doubtful if the Congress would repudiate it. The real issue is its implementation. One concrete step is to limit profits on capital and reduce prices to consumers, the great majority of whom are, by and large, poor. If over-subscriptions to Government loans be any test, a dividend of one or two per cent more than the Government rate of interest may be sufficient to private investment in the spirit of trusteeship. This step can be taken voluntarily by the Private Sector.

Profits in the Public Sector are a violation of trusteeship by the Government. They are also undemocratic taxes as they are not specifically debated and sanctioned by the legislature, like other taxes. The objective of the Public Sector should be minimum prices and not maximum profits, though the profits accrue to the generality of citizens and not merely to a small fraction thereof as in the case of the Private Sector. Reduction of prices will benefit all consumers, including the producers, and is likely to increase consumption and in consequence, production and economic activity.

The controversy about Capitalism and Socialism is fruitless, as neither of them has a definite and universal meaning. It is better to concentrate on more concrete objectives. The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches, recommended that the State should enact social legislation to secure a "greater measure of equity in the distribution of wealth and income", and guarantee food, clothing and housing for every person. These are more administrative than political issues.

India, having achieved self-government, must achieve maximum good government, which depends on personal honesty and integrity. Corruption has been admitted. It is not limited to either the Private or the Public Sector. To the knowledge of the public, if any action however inadequate, against it has been taken, it seems to be in the Public Sector only. Certain categories of Government servants have been required, as a routine measure, to disclose to Government their private

financial and other matters. But not Ministers and legislators, though it is more necessary in their case because of the greater insecurity of their tenure and the greater temptation to "make hay while the sun shines." If they are to respect trusteeship, they should, either voluntarily or by law, register with some public authority their annual balance sheets, open to public inspection. Rajaji had advocated it in the case of Congressmen. Mr. A. D. Shroff had done so in the case of Government officials. To avoid invidious discriminations, all income-tax payers also should, as a routine measure, throw open their balance-sheets to public inspection. Income-tax returns are published in Sweden, Italy and France. It is somewhat surprising that Sir Chintaman Deshmukh did not mention it in his Sastri lectures in Madras, instead of, or in addition to, a commission of enquiry. Publicity is the greatest single deterrent to corruption.

If only to reduce the temptation to corruption due to insecurity of tenure, the executive and the legislature should have fixity of tenure like the American President and the Congress. The executive should be elected by, and be subordinate to, the legislature, and the legislators should have freedom of speech and vote, the essentials of democracy, and freedom from the tyranny of extra-constitutional political parties. It will make for truer democracy.

These are some of the reforms calculated to facilitate the implementation of the principle of trusteeship and democracy. If the Swatantra Party should adopt them and the Congress should not, the former may make a better appeal to the people. P. KODANDA RAO



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BOOK REVIEW

DR. BRECHER'S ESTIMATE OF NEHRU SINCERE PATRIOT, BUT INEPT ADMINISTRATOR

Dr. Brecher's long-awaited study of Nehru has come out at last. It is formidable in size — almost 700 pages. The illustrations, the bibliography, and the index are impressive aids to understanding. The chapters are well laid out, the writing is easy and clear. Above all, the approach is sensible and, on the whole, correct. Moraes on Nehru was good; and Brecher on Nehru is rather more sumptuous, but no less worthy of a warm reception.

Dr. Brecher took his task seriously. He spent long months in India, meeting people and collecting materials. He had a lively mind and had endless curiosity. I was struck when I met him, by the air of youthfulness that he carried about him. He was quick to receive suggestions, quick to disagree, and ready, if necessary, to modify his disagreement. He had come to understand Nehru's India — or Nehru and India — and with understanding had come love. But this love did not blind him to facts.

In a book like this, what appeals to the reader, apart from a general truthfulness in the total picture, is the courageous adequacy of the interpretation or judgment of particular individuals and movements and institutions. The chapter on the Nehru - Patel Diumvirate is excellent because Brecher really tries to be fair to both parties. Of necessity, other prominent persons too appear in these pages, and some of the thumb-nail sketches are really good.

Of Rajaji:

"...probably the most astute intellectual among the elite of Indian nationalists. ...Rajaji's delicate appearance belies his intellectual vigour... His is a quick, razor-sharp mind, less given to emotion than that of any of his colleagues in the nationalist movement... the brilliant, haughty and silver-tongued Madras Brahmin..." (pp. 86, 269.)

Of Nehru and Patel:

"Nehru is a man of great charm, generous to a fault, sensitive and aesthetically inclined, impulsive and emotional. Patel was generally dour and ruthless, unimaginative and practical, blunt in speech and action, cool and calculating, never permitting his heart to rule his head... Nehru was the voice of the Congress, Patel its organiser and Gandhi

Nehru: A Political Biography. By Michael Brecher. (Oxford University Press, 42-sh.)

its inspiration. It is this division of function, the contrasting temperaments, and the sharply conflicting ideologies which provide the keys to the respective sources of power of Panditji and the Sardar" (p. 390.)

As Nehru's life has largely coincided with the political history of the last few decades, his biographer cannot shirk issues like: Was Partition inevitable? Couldn't the holocaust of August-September 1947 have been anticipated? Brecher has tried to answer these questions, and they are as good answers as have ever been offered before. Brecher asks, rather sadly:

"It is easy to speculate on what might have been. But in terms of their oft-stated goal of a united India, would it not have been wiser for Nehru and his colleagues to reject the Mountbatten Plan which, in any case, was on the verge of collapse? By so doing they would probably have won independence and unity. Having waited for thirty years, should they not have waited a little longer, as Gandhi suggested. Perhaps they did not, because they had been totally demoralised by the events of 1942 and beyond".

While paying ample and, on the whole, fully justified tribute to Nehru as Party boss and head of the Government, Brecher is not blind to the other side of the medal — the decline and fall of the Congress, for example, and also the terrible eminence and isolation of Nehru, which in a democratic set-up can be an ominous factor.

Thus of the Congress:

"After a decade in power the Congress is in decline. To many it appears to have strong similarities to the Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-Shek after the second world war. The goal of most Congress leaders is a ministership and the trappings of power and prestige. Few are interested in organisational work. The party controls all govern-

ments except one but its organisational base is withering away. The deterioration in morale and sense of mission is understandable, but the Congress shows no sign of remedying the rot that has set in. Little more than lip service is paid to Nehru's pleas for revitalisation of the party. The prevalent attitude seems to be that as long as they can enjoy the fruits of power in their lifetime (which for many of the leaders cannot be very long) why worry about the future." (p. 496)

"But the age of Congress supremacy appears to be gradually coming to an end Its monopoly of power was broken in 1957. The challenges will grow stronger in the years to come". (p. 508)

There is an obvious neatness about these strokes and generalisations, though they are not the whole truth. In fact, they cannot be. But it is clear there is no malice or prejudice behind the assessments.

Again, regarding Nehru's super-eminence today and the weakness flowing therefrom, Brecher writes:

"The fact of the matter is that Nehru is an inept administrator. Decisions are concentrated in his hands to an incredible degree, not only because of objective pressures, but also because of his all-consuming interest in the pettiest of details. He lacks both the talent and temperament to coordinate the works of the various ministries. More important, he has never shown a capacity or inclination to delegate authority. The result has been the 'administrative jungle' which he bemoans. When Nehru is out of the country the decision-making process comes to a virtual halt. And even while he is in Delhi the bureaucracy functions only as rapidly as Nehru can handle the vast amount of paper that crosses his desk. The long-term implications are no less disquieting. The habit of the dependence on Nehru, a veritable disease of Indian administration, has hindered the growth of self-reliance among those who will have to carry the burden of decision when 'Panditji' is no longer present. The experience of the last decade or more bodes ill for the future in this crucial matter."

It is rather an outspoken indictment, all the more significant because it comes from a genuine

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admirer of Nehru and friend of India. Nehru is a great and good man, without any taint of the vulgar or the mean. But his triumphs as a man of action had been made possible by the presence by his side of men like his great father, Motilal, then Gandhiji, and between 1946 and 1950, Sardar

Patel and Rajaji. People are beginning to doubt whether he has any more counsellors of that stature to advise him in his own and the country's interests.

After his last interview with Nehru, Brecher records:

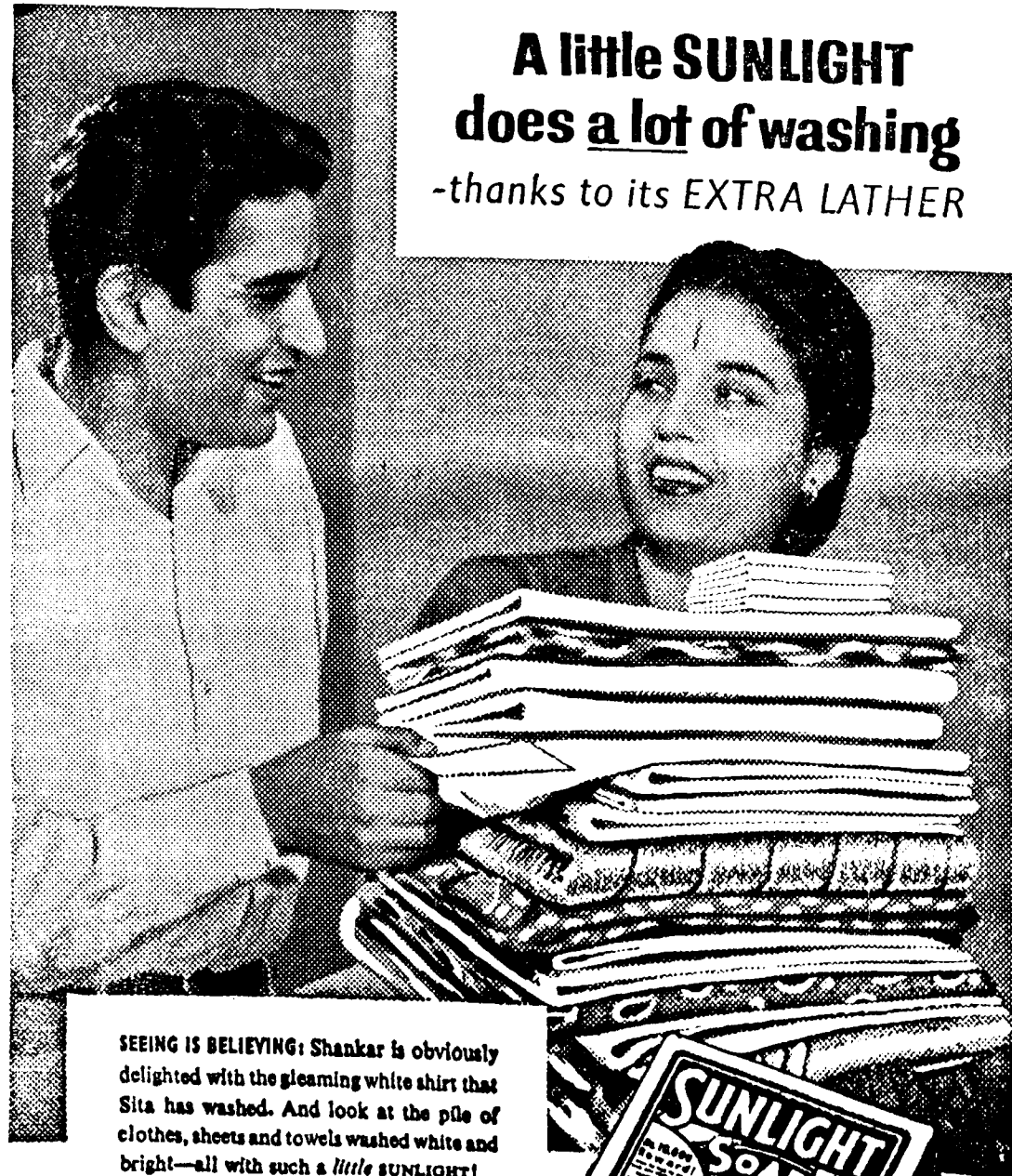
"Nehru had aged since I saw him in Ottawa a year before. He also seemed

more mellow, more troubled, more tired. But the most vivid impression was a quality of deep sincerity, a human touch which breathes warmth and tenderness. Throughout the interview I felt that here was a sensitive man who had succeeded in absorbing the shocks of life without coarsening his mind, character and personality."

It is a fitting tribute.

S. AMBIRAJAN

A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing -thanks to its EXTRA LATHER



SEEING IS BELIEVING: Shankar is obviously delighted with the gleaming white shirt that Sita has washed. And look at the pile of clothes, sheets and towels washed white and bright—all with such a little SUNLIGHT! SUNLIGHT's rich, abundant lather washes so thoroughly and draws out every scrap of dirt without any beating! Prove it for yourself—try it today!

SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT



CAPITAL COMMENTS

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S FIRST MAJOR TRIUMPH

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: As M. P.'s were trooping back to Delhi for the autumn session, the final formalities were being gone through for annexing Kerala to the Centre and bringing its administration under the President's rule. For some time now it was widely known that the enforced exit of the Communist Ministry there was but a matter of days. All political speculation about the future of Kerala was at an end when one fine morning the Congress President loudly complained that Central intervention in the affairs of the woe-begone State was already too late. It was a call to the doubting Thomases to get quick and not remain hesitant and indecisive. She did not protest against Delhi's delay in vain. Let us render unto Caesar what was Caesar's. The termination of the Communist sway in Kerala was Mrs. Indira Gandhi's first major triumph as Congress President. And the one man of consequence who had stood behind her four-square, was her predecessor—Sri U. N. Dhebar.

Whether the Cabinet decision to bundle the only Communist Ministry in the country out, is right or wrong, wise or otherwise, the Government of India should necessarily be prepared for the inescapable chain-reactions all the country over. Some 'fun' has already begun in West Bengal where the coastline has been peculiarly vulnerable to Communist onslaughts. They (the Nehru Government) must also be prepared for some kind of 'mass upsurge' in Maharashtra which is manifestly unreconciled to bilingualism. We should, however, assume that the Government have acted in respect of Kerala with open eyes.

By the exit of the Nambudripad Ministry, the Communist party, instead of sharing, however fractionally the glory of the ruling party, finds itself reduced to the level of the other Opposition groups in the country, though its 'kicking' power is much more considerable than theirs. For the next fray at the polls, it perhaps starts off with two advantages. It can claim a certain amount of martyrdom; it can also

claim—and reasonably claim—that for the first time since Independence it had given Kerala an administration both efficient and honest. That it might have erred otherwise is a different affair.

It is now full two years since the National Book Trust was launched under high auspices and amidst pious proclamations. Not a single book in a single language has so far seen the light of day. It is true that books, even as mere translations, cannot come, as it were, out of slot-machines. But a two-year period is none too short as one of incubation. It is none too reassuring to be told that a few books—less than ten—are in the press; for, the National Book Trust is a body pledged to bring about a revolution in the country by 'democratic education' on a mass scale through the medium of all the national languages. Occasional questions in Parliament, by no means probing, and replies, more than less, formal, have not helped to focus attention on a subject of vital importance while knowledgeable interest in the working of the Trust has signally failed to seep through its combrous mechanism. That even with Sri C. D. Deshmukh at its head, it could not make any headway, tends but to emphasise the ugliness of realities. Is there something 'constitutionally' wrong with its set-up as well as setting that calls for the breaking of delicate silence—and doubtless a sympathetic understanding?

If the Trust includes members who have hardly any time to attend even periodical meetings, they should, in all fairness, make room for others who can take an active interest in its affairs. If there are any who cannot simply get on with the rest, they might as well part company before groups develop to common detriment. Perhaps it was unwise and unimaginative to have planted representatives of different Ministries in an organisation which cannot be over-cultural, as some of them in case of official changes (like trans-

fers from one Ministry to another) cannot ensure continuity of outlook and all of them are trained to look at things from merely departmental peepholes and not view them in broad perspective. And this above all! The National Book Trust has to depend on the Education Ministry for its grant; on the Information and Broadcasting Ministry for its publishing, and on the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply for its printing—which is to say, that it should depend on Providence for results! For, Education Ministry puts on patronising airs; the Information and Broadcasting Ministry cannot forget that it is a competitor in view of its own Publications Division, and the Works, Housing and Supply Ministry which has to handle the printing of all Government publications and Parliamentary reports can possibly give no priority to the National Book Trust.

Unless the chequer-board which the National Book Trust has to reckon with, is replaced by something easier to cope with, it would perhaps be idle to look for miracles. Incidentally, if the resignation offered by the Chairman (Sri Deshmukh) at the end of the last meeting of the Trust, has not been withdrawn (but only kept in abeyance, at Sri Shrimali's personal request), the National Book Trust can have no plain sailing, it seems.

கல்கி

சந்தா விவரம்

ஒரு வருஷம் ரூ. மாதம்

இந்தியா	ரூ. ரபை	ரூ. ரபை
இலங்கை	15—00	7—50
பர்மா, மலேயா	18—00	9—00
வெளி நாடுகள்		

தனிப் பிரதி விலை 30 காசு

சந்தா தொகை முன்னதாக அனுப்பப் பட வேண்டும். வி. பி. பி. கிடைப்பாது.

Manager

KALKI, KILPAUK, MADRAS

THE DRIFT TO THE SUMMIT

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

The Chinese philosopher Confucius was once asked what he would do if he were named the head of a State. He replied: "The first thing I would like to do is to see that things are called by their correct names." This statement is not so frivolous as it sounds, for it is now difficult to understand what is meant by war and peace.

There are at least as many definitions as there are Foreign Ministers and Defence Ministers in the world. Let alone such inponderables as war and peace, the word "ultimatum" is creating confusion in the minds of Foreign Ministers who are now meeting in Geneva to solve the German and Berlin problems. The West argues that the Soviet Union has given an ultimatum to the West about quitting Berlin, while the Soviet Union denies any knowledge of such an ultimatum.

Exchanging Compliments!

In the relentless cold war now being waged by the advocates of the two opposing ideologies under the leadership of the Soviet Union and the United States, the zigzag tactics pursued by the opponents often keep each other mystified. The Soviet Union, particularly, alternates between toughness and conciliation. The Soviet Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev said two weeks ago: "I give you our solemn pledge that we will never, never, never start a war against any country any time." He said the same day to the Americans: "You have missiles that can send up oranges. We have missiles that can send up tons. Imagine the kind of bombs that could be contained in our missiles compared with.....yours."

All are Losers

In spite of such threats both sides realise the futility of war. Richard Nixon, Vice-President of the United States of America, said in the course of a speech in the Soviet Union ten days ago that both sides were strong. "No one should even use his strength to put another in the position where he in effect has an ultimatum....With modern

weapons it just does not make sense. If war comes we both lose."

Khrushchev is reported to have said on July 30: "If the Soviet people and the American people have peace, why should we not reach an understanding on improvement in relations between our countries for the sake of strengthening world peace?" Both leaders are making an earnest plea for understanding and peace, as is evident from the rather long quotations given above.

Where then is the hitch? The conflict arises in a large measure from the different definitions and emphasis given to the same concept by each side. Added to this is the difficulty created by the deliberate attempt of diplomats to speak in a language that confuses rather than clears the situation.

In Geneva both sides are agreed that there should be an understanding on the future of Berlin and on the reunification of Germany. Russia plainly wants the West to withdraw Western troops from Berlin.

Perilous Position

Plainly, the West faces a dilemma. It has to fight internal divisions as well as external pressures. The Western position is weakened by differences of opinion within. When the Foreign Ministers reassembled in Geneva last month, they had hoped that the Russians, eager for a summit conference, would modify their proposals about Berlin. But Russia became more bellicose and demanded the setting up of an all-German committee with equal representation for the West and East German States to settle the German issue within a year and a half.

The discussions that followed were singularly frustrating and the Western position became very slippery by the end of July. A West German spokesman said in anguish: "The Western position has been reduced from a package to a parcel and now to a postcard."

Meanwhile, the West German Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, lost

his patience. He was alarmed by the Soviet proposal to set up an all-German committee and was distressed by the plea made by Averell Harriman, the former New York Governor, after his recent visit to Russia, for some kind of acceptance of the East German regime. Adenauer feared that the West was engaged in capitulating by instalments in Geneva. He, therefore, signed a memorandum, asking the West to terminate the Geneva conference and prepare for a summit conference.

Memo Disowned

This sudden reversal of policy by the West German Chancellor was resented both by Britain and France. They were plainly furious. Adenauer promptly disowned the memo and complained that his Foreign Office had tricked him into signing it.

The crisis left the West weak and confused. The Western Foreign Ministers soon came forward with a counter-proposal which they had borrowed from Adenauer's memorandum. They suggested to Russia the setting up of a semi-permanent committee to discuss the problem of German reunification. The Germans flatly rejected this move. A deadlock ensued and even now it continues. Both sides are trying to find an interim solution to Berlin.

President Eisenhower said solemnly: "There don't seem to be any bright, hopeful rift in the clouds at the moment, but we are still plugging away." Khrushchev spoke in hopeful tones when he said on July 30 that unsettled international problems were more amenable to discussion by heads of governments.

A summit conference is what Russia wants. The U. S. is still shy. Great Britain is willing and France has no special choice. The climb towards the summit is difficult, for the road is very slippery and the winds are cold.

In spite of the present gloom at Geneva, a summit conference seems to be nearer now than ever before. The Russians seem to be in no great hurry to get to the summit. Whether a summit conference takes place or not, the Russians seem to be better off than their opponents in the game.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

HOW CONSTITUTION IS SUSPENDED

Sir,—Your analysis of Sri Deshmukh's recent lecture at Madras was thought-provoking. I am reminded of an interesting experience I had, some months ago, which I would like to recount.

A friend of mine and I, after finishing our evening shopping, had to cross the road near a traffic round-about. The traffic was rather heavy and we were standing on the pavement waiting for the traffic to clear, when a police constable made his appearance and asked us peremptorily to remove ourselves from that spot forthwith. Not knowing the reason for his odd behaviour we asked for an explanation since we thought we were entitled to have one. His reply was far from polite, and his loud voice attracted the attention of a well-dressed gentleman in a tweed suit, who was standing on the pavement on the opposite side of the road. He strode briskly to us, announced himself as the police inspector and wanted to know what was going on. His manners were no better, and drawing up all my courage I asked him to prove his credentials.

What happened subsequently to us shakes me in my dreams even to-day. It appears that this gentleman had not been accustomed to produce his credentials at any time. The result was that we were roughly handled, marshalled off to the police station, harassed with interminable interrogations and threatened to be thrown in the lock-up. Permission to get in touch with our people at home was refused. We were even refused permission to be seated during the inquisition which lasted for more than an hour and a half. The police inspector finally agreed to release us on condition that we tendered an unqualified apology in writing. As it takes a lot of guts not to be unnerved by such prolonged third-degree methods, and secondly since we preferred to spend the night comfortably at home instead of a dreary police lock-up, we promptly wrote out our apology although it was a cowardly thing to do.

But then I had something else up my sleeve which the inspector did not know, to his misfortune. I knew somebody higher up. I got in touch with the higher-up, who had a reputation for fair-mindedness. What happened subsequently will not be of much interest to readers. It is enough to say that the inspector was admonished.

This incident may appear to be somewhat trivial to be narrated at such length but it confirms the worst suspicions of

the ordinary citizen that he cannot hope to get natural justice from the Government machinery unless he has come higher-up to go to his rescue.

When the last vestiges of democracy were removed in Pakistan, we were complacent in our belief that we are safe under the protection offered by a democratic Constitution. My experience shows that it is possible even for a minor police official to suspend the working of the Constitution within his station premises and assume the role of a full-fledged martial law administrator. So are the everyday experiences of our unfortunate countrymen with the Government tax collectors and other bureaucrats.

Something has got to be done urgently to stem the rot that has set in. It is for responsible men like Rajaji and Sri Deshmukh to give the lead and it is gratifying that they are doing their best. We are told by Confucius: "It is not square acres that make a country great, but square men".

A CITIZEN

NO AGE LIMIT FOR MINISTERS!

Sir,—Gazetted officers of Government attaining the age of 55 years are compulsorily retired from service. In a few exceptional cases, extensions of a year or two are granted, ostensibly "in the public interests". High Court judges retire at the age of 60 and Supreme Court judges at the age of 65. In the case of Ministers, however, age has no relevance, however decrepit physically and senile mentally they may be. What can be the reason? Do Ministers never go old?

Every one knows that Governors of States are holding sinecures. They have neither power nor responsibility. But Ministerships are different and are posts of concentrated power and responsibility at the highest level. It is common knowledge that in the Central Government and in most States (barring Kerala), it takes ages to get ministerial orders on matters of urgent public importance. The real reason for the whole deterioration in routine administration can be found in the fact that it is actually in the hands of men who should be in the infirmary. The poor, permanent, hard-worked services get the blame for the incompetence and inefficiency of their superiors. As old men in feeble, physical and mental health but faced with work which would have tested the capacity of a man ten years his junior,

becomes querulous and nothing gets done. When will this state of affairs end? Bangalore. V. T. SREENIVASAN

*

CO-OPERATIVES ARE TRAPS

Sir,—How nice the words "Co-operative farming" sounds! It means that control will be vested with all the village members and each village kingdom will have a rajah, Government-sponsored, or rather Congress-sponsored, for the present. Thus every Congressite will be the crowned rajah of each village kingdom. What will happen to those who oppose him?

At present, the co-operative societies, with a few exceptions perhaps, are the worst administrations in the whole country. Every malpractice at the cost of poor people is perpetrated in them. The creditors are helpless; the members are helpless; the co-operative department is indifferent indeed! Do we want such societies? What for?

Let every subject wake up and sense the danger! People are beginning to be trapped and led astray. Everyone is being made to lose his individuality and depend on others. This is the purpose of the co-operative bodies. Let people beware of them in time.

Coimbatore. M. S. RAMASWAMY AYYAR

*

POT CALLING KETTLE BLACK

Sir,—In the course of her reply to Sri Bhupesh Gupta, the Congress President Srimathi Indira Gandhi observes: "I do not believe that Communists or their sympathisers have a monopoly on the epithet 'progressive'". Srimathi Gandhi's own partymen are no different from Communists in using epithets like progressive, twentieth century thinking, etc., in dealing with their critics. What else can Mr. Nehru's statement that "Rajaji is living in the world of yesterday" imply except that the P.M. is thinking that he alone is 'progressive' while everybody else who is critical of his domestic policies is a 'reactionary'? It is time that Mr. Nehru and his followers realise that a great majority of the thinking section of the Indian public do believe that Congressmen too cannot have a monopoly on the epithet 'progressive'.

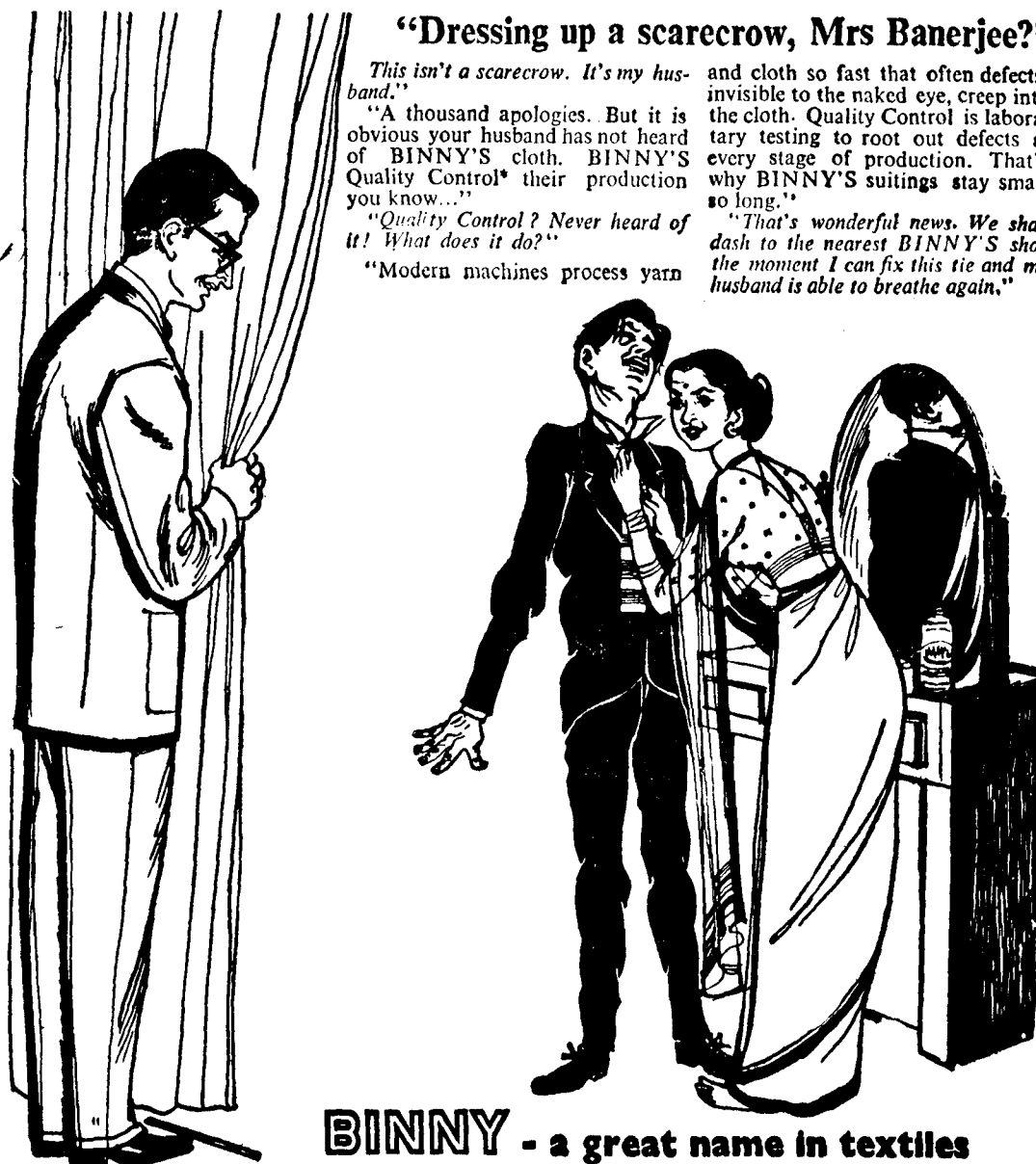
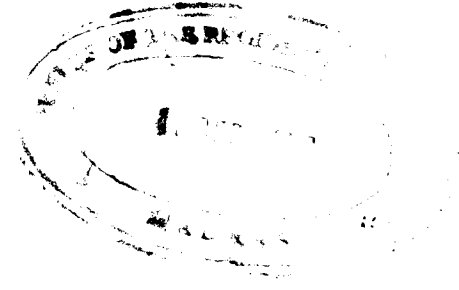
West Mambalam. K. VEDAMORTHY

*

WHOSE TURN NEXT?

Sir,—At the rate things are going, it won't be a surprise if in the future the professors are deprived of their voice in choosing students for doctorate degree courses.

Coimbatore. P. VASANTHAKUMARAN



"Dressing up a scarecrow, Mrs Banerjee?"

"This isn't a scarecrow. It's my husband."

"A thousand apologies. But it is obvious your husband has not heard of BINNY'S cloth. BINNY'S Quality Control* their production you know..."

"Quality Control? Never heard of it! What does it do?"

"Modern machines process yarn

and cloth so fast that often defects, invisible to the naked eye, creep into the cloth. Quality Control is laboratory testing to root out defects at every stage of production. That's why BINNY'S suitings stay smart so long."

"That's wonderful news. We shall dash to the nearest BINNY'S shop the moment I can fix this tie and my husband is able to breathe again."

BINNY - a great name in textiles



* Testing the effective staple length of cotton

This apparatus measures the length and variation of all cottons that go into BINNY'S cloth. The quality of the cloth depends largely on the cotton used. Only specially selected cotton goes into BINNY'S fabrics. That's why they last so long.

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15 Naye Paise

TRUSTEESHIP IN ACTION

Writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* A. M. Schlesinger says that the United States has taken on many of the characteristics of a Welfare State, but not under the banner of Socialism or any other *ism*. The change occurred, he notes, simply because the Americans hold with Lincoln that "the legitimate object of Government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do at all, or cannot do so well for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities." It is the bane of Socialism that its administrative practitioners do not know where to draw the line between private enterprise and State management. In certain countries private enterprise has been ousted altogether, and the State has become a huge monolithic organisation controlling the whole of the economy. In India, under the Nehru pattern of Socialism a mixed economy has been evolved providing for the co-existence of both the Private and the Public Sectors, but State-managed trade or industry is fast ceasing to be concerned with the provision of any public amenity. It has become already a mode of concealed taxation. In the Government's hunt for more money for the financing of their Five Year Plans, the most profitable of private enterprises are bound progressively to fall under State ownership. This means that the State would be taking over, not what the community of people cannot manage or manage well for themselves, but just those undertakings which they have

been able to work creditably with success and profit, the very reverse of the excellent principle enunciated by Abraham Lincoln.

In the United States there is no flaunting of Socialism as such but the advertised economic objectives of Socialism in the matter of social welfare, have been carried to fulfilment there to a greater extent perhaps than anywhere else. Schlesinger says in his *Atlantic* article that one of America's "proudest achievements has been the creation of a system of controlled capitalism that yields the highest living standards on earth and has made possible a society as nearly classless as man has ever known." The remarkable thing about this unparalleled American development is the role of trusteeship played by the wealthy. We are told that long before Carnegie and Rockefeller amassed their colossal fortunes, American men and women of even modest means gave freely and liberally to schools, churches, hospitals and charities. If the American is a hard-headed acquirer of the almighty dollar, he is also soft-hearted in spending it, and "he has in an unparalleled degree returned the fruits of his labour to society."

We have in the United States an example of marvellous plenty and prosperity reached through practical application of two of the main principles incorporated in Rajaji's new Swatantra Party. These two are the principle of trusteeship based on human compassion and maximum freedom for the individual with

minimum intervention from the State. If the actual welfare of the people and not merely the pursuit of shibboleths and slogans under the banner of this or that *ism* for the sake of ideological excitement be the aim, the Government of India have a great deal to learn from the American experiment, with its fluidity, its utter absence of rigidity and its dependence on commonsense and the trial and error method for testing the validity of a project or programme. They will have to unlearn even more than they have to learn.

Right to Defy

The Congress High Command's demand that Professor Ranga should resign his seat in the legislature because he had resigned from the Congress Party has no warrant in justice or commonsense. Parliamentarians the world over are accorded freedom of conscience and are not bound for the duration of the legislature to the parties that provide them with election tickets. Loyalty to the public interest of the sort implied when a legislator resigns from his party over-rides party loyalty and every other narrower allegiance. It has also to be noted that when party leaders issue commands which go far beyond the voters' mandate at an election they certainly have no right to insist that their followers too should change as they change. Congress Socialism, jumping by leaps and bounds from one Nehru nostrum to another, has left far behind the mandatory sanction of the electorate, and it has an *ad hoc* quality that cannot be compressed into any reasonable obligation of discipline.

Law and Practice

Describing English as our major window on the modern world, Pandit Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha last Friday that English would continue to be an associated or alternative language for an indefinite period. He also gave the assurance that there would be no compulsory imposition of Hindi on unwilling people not ready for it. The Prime Minister's phraseology indicates careful study of Rajaji's pronouncements on the language question, and an apparently more reasonable attitude than formerly, and he will no doubt draw the ire for it of the Hindi fanatics. That he should resist the temptation of placating so powerful a section is commendable. But what do all the words he has so voluminously poured out in this connection amount to?

The main objection to Hindi as official language lies in the fact that it will place non-Hindi people at a disadvantage. Already the campaign has started of blessing with special privileges and priorities in the matter of promotions and the like, Government employees with knowledge of Hindi. This discrimination against non-Hindis should cease and be insured against if the Prime Minister's assurances and promises in Parliament are to be invested with reality. Otherwise, beyond providing material for half a day's excitement, it would bring little improvement in the situation.

Pandit Nehru's arguments disapproving of Mr. Frank Anthony's resolution for including English in the Eighth Schedule are unconvincing and smack too much of casuistry. Why should there be any hesitation about giving legal effect to rights or demands or changes that we are assured are actually conceded in practice? This habit of driving a wedge in between practice and law tends to make Government's intentions suspect, and its motive is obscure. The language issue cannot be solved through assurances carefully denied legal validity to avoid giving displeasure to antagonistic fanatical elements. It is only what is specifically embodied in constitutional provisions that will afford the sort of justice or protection claimed, and there should be no drawing back from implementing the Prime Minister's assurances in suitable amendments of the Constitution.

NUCLEAR TESTS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

There is peace in the air and I write this as a prayer and a message of hope. I look forward to Eisenhower and Khrushchev soon qualifying for a joint award for Peace from the Nobel Prize authorities as well as a similar joint Stalin Prize to these two leaders of men in the two hemispheres. I hope Mr. Khrushchev will not let President Ike go until this is accomplished.

It is time that the waste of world resources going on in senseless competition in the production of weapons which are intended not to be ever used should cease and all material, knowledge and energy available in this planet spent towards civilization and happiness, towards increasing good will and for the elimination of fear and hatred.

I am glad to note that Dr. Albert Schweitzer stresses the point I have been screaming about, viz. that the fouling of the world's air and waters by the nuclear test explosions is an offence against nations and this must be vigorously taken up by the uninvolved nations. The Nobel Laureate said in an interview to

the special correspondent of Kyodo Press (Japan):

I don't think you have yet reached full seriousness. What do you know of the problem? The problem of A. & H. bombs and nuclear tests is, first and foremost, a question of international law. The use and testing of A. & H. bombs clearly trespasses international law. In order to complete my own philosophy, I studied international law. It is not an abstract thing, and faithfulness to international law is the first requisite to the constitution of each country. Each constitution has its own essence, and if any country violates international law, it violates also its own constitution.

It is not the fundamental rights of "human beings" but of peoples. Those who use and experiment with A. & H. bombs must be accused as breaking international law from this standpoint of the right of each nation. It is not necessary to discuss the principles regarding a ban on nuclear weapons — it is the method of doing so which is the problem.

Sentimental appeals would be ignored. Statesmen of powerful countries would treat lightly such appeals. We cannot force a ban by begging for sympathy; but must prosecute the guilty ones from the standpoint of the rights of each nation as I mentioned before.

THE PRESS AND THE SWATANTRA PARTY

The Press has been most fair and generous to the new Party. Papers have given us space and support for which we are very grateful. It is perhaps a sign of the general revolt against the errors of the Government but we cannot afford to ignore the value of the great service that the Press has done to the Party.

Many people approach me with proposals to start new journals solely devoted to the cause of the Swatantra Party. I feel however that it is much better that existing papers and periodicals devoted to all causes give us space and support than to secure the service of exclusively Swatantra Party journals. There is a nice point in publicity that would-be journalists refuse to understand, that what is obtained from the papers that all people read for all that they contain is of much greater value than the writings in specialised journals

which are professed adherents to a cause.

The Prime Minister has given an amazing Press interview. In his attempt to mock at us he has stumbled on a cardinal doctrine of the pious among people of all nations relating to the presence of God. It is not arrogance but humility that relates God as a friend and partner in all our good undertakings.

But the most astonishing part of the interview is where he attributes editorial opinions in favour of the Swatantra Party to "financial backing." Whether he qualified this with some adverbs or not, it is an unworthy libel which he will soon probably apologise for and explain away. Instead of profiting by the opinions expressed in the Press he seeks to put a brake on growing Press opinion in favour of the new Party by frightening them with a false charge of bribery.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

TRUSTEESHIP NECESSARY FOR DEMOCRACY

Commenting editorially on the trusteeship doctrine promulgated by Sri Rajaji for the Swatantra Party, *Mysindia* says that "democracy is impracticable unless the doctrine of trusteeship is valid." *Mysindia* argues:

Not an invention of the Mahatma, but one of his most cherished doctrines, is trusteeship. Since the Swatantra Party leaders began to talk of it, trusteeship has been subjected to much ridicule, as at best an impracticable ideal, and in practice a pious camouflage for selfishness.

It must be admitted that in the present state of public morals the ideal of trusteeship seems remote from actualities. But those who pour scorn upon it should reflect that this state of things bodes ill for their scheme of society just as much as it does for the Swatantra Party's plan.

In any social system whatever, some people must bear responsibility and correspondingly be tempted to abuse them. If most of those so tempted succumb, then that society will be in a bad way. This is true

whether those who succumb are capitalists or politicians and public officials.

There are only two remedies for this weakness: the internal policeman and the external one, conscience and punishment. All agree that both are necessary, and that the more it is possible, to rely on the internal check the better it is for all concerned. The doctrine of trusteeship is no more than a belief that reliance to a much greater extent on the internal than on the external policeman is or can be made practical politics.

Abstractly, therefore, the doctrine of trusteeship does not necessarily imply private enterprise in economics. As between two States in which the Governments ran the economic system, one might keep its managerial staff up to the mark by espionage and drastic punishments, while the other put more reliance upon their sense of responsibility. The second would be said to practise the doctrine of trusteeship.

But those who incline to believe that man can be educated to be trusted normally prefer the private economic system, because it is far more conducive to liberty and because in present conditions it has clear economic advantages.

It may be that in other technological conditions it will cease to yield a balance of advantages. This is a debatable question: many believe that when technology has reached a certain high level of complexity it will be essential merely for technical reasons to supersede private by State or world management.

This may be so, but what is often overlooked is that, whatever may be the case in other countries, India has not yet reached that level. The man who first propounded this doctrine that the increasing complexity of technology will at some point make Socialism necessary was Marx. He also held that it would be a blunder to embark upon Socialism before that degree of technological complexity is attained. He would undoubtedly have considered it fantastic to introduce Socialism in India at this stage of technological progress.

Pandit Nehru himself admits the truth of this argument. He said

so during his recent visit to Nepal. That country is not yet ripe for Socialism, he said. Is Nepal still in the stone age, then, and is India in the sputnik age? Would Marx have been satisfied that one nuclear reactor in Bombay enables India to qualify, despite millions of handlooms, bullock carts and wooden ploughs?

From the economic and technological standpoint capitalism is the proper economic system for India, and will long continue to be so. People doubt its suitability mainly because Indian capitalists are lacking in self-discipline, and it is believed that the Socialist method of running the economy makes the problem of policing the managerial class simpler.

Yet these same people profess faith in democracy. Their belief that nobody can be trusted to run a business without a policeman at his back can hardly be reconciled with their faith that the public can be trusted to run the country. Such people ought in consistency to support the Communists, who in their franker moods admit that the basic justification for their policy is that the people are too lacking in self-control and simple morals to rule themselves and need a dictatorship.

The only way of escape from that grim conclusion is the Gandhian doctrine of trusteeship. Democracy is impracticable unless the doctrine of trusteeship is valid, that is, unless the small holder is the strongest bulwark of real democracy. To quote Huxley, "It is very important that social reformers should abstain from making unnecessary changes of startling magnitude." It is a great consolation that the venerable President has endorsed this view. Shri Dhebar is certainly free to go on differing. We need not suspect his motives.

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SIDELIGHTS ::

The Statement of Principles of the Swatantra party, approved and passed at the Convention of the Party in Bombay in the first week of August, contains the most authoritative definition available to the public of what the Party stands for and seeks to achieve. According to this Statement the Party is pledged to social justice; it holds that the policies of the Government should be founded on faith in the people and not on State compulsion and the encouragement of hatred and conflict between class and class; it is opposed to the State entering the field of trade, disturbing free distribution and introducing controls and official management; it stands for greater thrift in public expenditure; it is opposed to a programme of development based on crippling taxation, abnormal deficit financing, and foreign loans beyond the capacity of the country to repay; it stands for full and lasting employment in all sectors of life; it stands for the rule of law and an independent judiciary and is opposed to any form of political pressure being put on officials to deflect them from the course of fair and just discharge of duties without discrimination; it stands for the principle of maximum freedom for the individual and minimum interference by the State; and it is pledged, in all matters, to keep before itself the cardinal teachings of Gandhiji, maintaining faith in truth and non-violence.

The Prime Minister has disposed of the Swatantra Party by saying in one of his periodical Press interviews, that it is reactionary, conservative, backward, that it has nothing to do with things of the earth, with the present, today or tomorrow, and that it is a ghost-like party and simply raises ghosts of the past. Employment and social justice, to take only two of the Swatantra Party's objectives, — are these not things of the earth? Have they nothing to do with the present, today or tomorrow? When the Congress and the Prime Minister speak of them and of such things, in their own party manifestoes, is it from the standpoint of a special valuation that they do not belong to the present, or even to tomorrow, in fact, that they are not relevant

things of the earth? And what ghosts could the Prime Minister be thinking about? It is to be hoped that the Mahatma, whose teachings the Swatantra Party has set out to resuscitate to meet the nation's present needs, is not dismissed in Congress wisdom with the status of a ghost, one of those ghosts "that may have some place sometime," but can "create a nuisance" at other times. A ghost is something dead which incarnates as a disturbing presence in one's imagination. If the Mahatma be excluded, one fails to discern the slightest inkling of any basis for the Prime Minister's disturbed cerebration over ghosts in any single line of the Swatantra Party's Statement of Principles.

"Funny things are said there," decisively commented the Prime Minister, alluding to the Swatantra Party and its leaders. And he proceeded to make fun of them. "They have made God a senior partner of the Party," he said. "God Almighty presided over its destinies." "They are not dealing with politics and economics but with the stratosphere, with the Almighty presiding over their destinies." Interviewed for his reaction to the Prime Minister's jibe the next day, Rajaji remarked, "The Prime Minister has stumbled on a cardinal religious doctrine of the Divine Presence in trying to mock at us."

Though the Prime Minister has sniffed at the Swatantra Party for taking God seriously, mankind has no other resource except turning to God in all the miseries of this world. Our plight would be terrible if temporal power were the ultimate sanction in human affairs. What safeguard would there be, then, against its perversions and abuses? A little power is often quite enough to turn a man's head. Great power carries with it its own seeds of corruption, leading to tyranny, cruelty, injustice. Where majority backing confers political power, what protection is there against the dictatorial rule of the mass spell-binder? Money can get votes at elections, political bribery can build up parties, propaganda based on false and cooked evidence can deceive and mislead people, but in the concept of the Divine we have a

power ever present everywhere that cannot be cheated, deceived or overcome, a mighty cosmic power symbolising the truth underneath all put-up facades. *Dharma* is the code of conduct sanctified by a sense of the consciousness of an omniscient Divine being before which motives cannot be hidden and truth alone is valid. What is *dharma* in each case is comprehended and registered by the individual conscience, of which the integrity cannot be tampered with by greed, make-believe, demonstrable evidence or dread of consequences.

The propagandised material attractions of Congress rule cover a process still going on, of greed, corruption, extravagance, inefficiency, class hatred and depredation which no policeman has been able to check, and so Rajaji has invoked the aid of religion, mightier than all policemen, to set right the ills of the body politic. Freedom of the individual, demand for relief from over-government, religion, God, all converge on one great and urgent movement for saving the nation from the moral collapse threatened by an over-rated materialist philosophy that has taken the bit in its mouth and begun to rush headlong recklessly. The very foundation on which the Prime Minister has fashioned his empire is thus challenged and assailed.

That is why he has lost temper and traced the increasing Press support of the Swatantra Party to 'financial backing.' In other words, he has charged the Press with being bribed. What reckless irresponsibility! With the ghosts of ever so many financial scandals stalking the land, the Prime Minister should be more careful in making rash onslaughts of this kind. The leader of the Swatantra Party is one whose probity in matters of money is renowned throughout the world. No scribe can hope for a pie from him for any service rendered in the ventilation of favourable opinion. If Press support means financial backing, are we to take it that the considerable Press backing which the Congress has enjoyed till recently is traceable to this cause? It is to be hoped the various newspaper organisations in the country will have spirit enough to resent the P. M.'s fantastic indictment attributing to them, glibly and arrogantly, professional unworthiness. — SAKA

COMPULSORY NOTIFICATION OF VACANCIES TO EXCHANGES FURTHER INROAD ON FREEDOM

Rajaji has made it abundantly clear that the aim of the Congress Governments is to establish totalitarianism in this country, however much this statement may be denied by interested parties. A strong proof of Rajaji's contention is provided by the recent passing by the Lok Sabha of a Bill providing for compulsory notification to the employment Exchanges of all vacancies, except those specified, in the Public and in the Private Sector.

Employers failing to notify vacancies or furnishing false information will be liable to a fine extending to Rs. 500. The Bill will not apply to vacancies in any employment in agriculture, domestic service, unskilled office-work and in any employment the total duration of which is less than three months.

It is evident that the Bill is intended to give control to the Government, through the exchanges, over the staff and the working of firms in the Private Sector. The provision that the Bill will also apply to employers in the Public Sector will fool no one. The Government is free to make use of its own agencies like the exchanges for its own employment purposes in the Public Sector; but it has no justification to foist the unwanted services of the exchanges on the employers in the Private Sector.

True, the Bill does not make it obligatory on the employers to recruit people from among those recommended by the exchanges, but by now the public knows very well the meaning of "persuasion" by public authorities.

In fact, the cat was let out of the bag by Mr. Nanda, the Labour Minister, when he said in the Lok Sabha that the moment an employer notified the vacancies and the exchange recommended certain persons, they could hope to be chosen for employment and that they could not be ignored all the time. Mr. Nanda is further reported to have said that though the question of recruitment was voluntary, there was some kind of moral compulsion. The moral compulsion, as the public knows, would soon degenerate into immoral compulsion. It would be a

question of time before the voluntary employment would ripen into employment under the compulsion of law.

In a democracy based on justice and liberty it should be the undoubted right of an employer to employ whomsoever he chooses to do the work, so long as he complies with the just and relevant requirements of the law. It is the employer's responsibility to see that his business is run on the right lines and he should be left free to choose his own employees.

An employer can indulge in mismanagement at his own risk and cost. There is as much logic and justice in gently but firmly pressing an employer to accept a particular recruit recommended by the employment exchange as in pressing a prospective bridegroom to accept a bride recommended by a Government managed matrimonial exchange!

The consequences of the managerial bunglings in the Public Sector can be passed on to the shoulders of the long-suffering taxpayer. With high-power political backing behind them, the management of concerns in the Public Sector can afford to be remiss about the selection of their staff. But it is not so with managements in the Private Sector, which should be rightly designated the People's Sector. If they make mistakes in the appointment of their staff and in the management of the business, the labour, the consumers, the shareholders and the Government will pounce on them in their respective spheres and bring them to book. By indirectly forcing employees on the employers the Government will give the latter an excuse for managerial lapses.

The fettering of the discretion of the employers in the Private Sector to choose their own employees will deal a severe blow to free enterprise. This appears to be the aim of the authors of the Bill, but its implementation bodes ill for the country's economic progress. Some reasonable checks on the employers who are minded to make appointments for reasons of affinity and consanguinity are already contained in the Indian Companies Act. So

there is no necessity whatsoever for the present Bill.

The provisions of the Bill will give enormous powers to the employment exchanges. They will lead to trafficking in jobs. They will give opportunities to political bosses for intrigues and pressure tactics. Private employers will be subject to unnecessary harassment and persecution. There is nothing to recommend the Bill except leftist ideology, which has always brought in its train suppression of liberties and multiplication of the miseries of the people.

In order to develop the economy of our country along right lines, we need foreign capital without strings attached. Many previously under-developed countries have made a phenomenal economic progress by a judicious import of foreign capital. Unrealistic and excessive taxation coupled with galling and unnecessary controls and regulation have scared away foreign capital from our country. The provisions contained in the present Bill will add further to the trials of would-be foreign investors and will make them think a hundred times before they risk their capital in our country. The so-called opposition parties in the legislatures vie with each other in driving our country into the embrace of leftist ideology strangling freedom. This is amply borne out by the debate on the Bill under discussion. Two Congress, one Socialist, one Independent and two Communist members, who spoke on the Bill, all supported it whole-heartedly. In fact some of them urged the expansion of the scope of the Bill to include unskilled persons and to all establishments which were covered by the Factories Act. Some even urged the establishment of exchanges at tehsil levels.

The time has now come for all right thinking people to unite and oppose the totalitarian methods of the Congress governments. The Swatantra Party under the inspiring lead of Rajaji gives an opportunity to the people of India who love their country and who cherish freedom to band together and make their voice heard. If they fail to do so, there will be an end of freedom for them and their descendants. Not only India but the whole world will suffer an immeasurable loss if our culture and traditions of human dignity and spiritual values are sacrificed at the altar of the leftists' ideology. PHIROZE J. SHROFF

SWATANTRA PARTY AND TAXATION

By WARAN

The report on currency and finance for the financial year 1958-59 issued by the Reserve Bank of India reveals some disturbing trends in India's economy. It refers, for instance, to the slowing down in the rate of increase in industrial production, the sharp rise in the prices of essential commodities and a steep fall in employment.

It is stated that the rate of increase in industrial production in 1958 was only 1.5% as compared to 3.5% in 1957 and 8.3% in 1956. The fall in industrial production has had its impact on prices and employment as well. In particular, the cotton textile industry which is the largest organised industry in India has been seriously affected because of the slackness in demand both from within the country and from abroad.

The Reserve Bank's reports as well as other official documents have pointed out from time to time some

of the adverse effects on the economy arising from Government's fiscal policy. But it is unfortunate that corrective measures are not being applied in the proper manner. As a result, the economy continues to stagnate and the progress in respect of production and employment has not been as rapid as it ought to be. One of the major causes for the present economic situation is the high level of taxation.

It may be recalled that the Planning Commission at the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan stated that it would be necessary to resort to additional taxation to the extent of Rs. 450 crores for implementing the Plan. But the measures of taxation adopted in the first three years of the Second Plan have been so large as to yield over a five year period as much as Rs. 900 crores. When so much taxation is raised in such a short period, it would mean

that to that extent the availability of funds for the private sector has been reduced. What is, however, even more regrettable is the fact that the receipts from taxation are being used for non-productive purposes. In this connection the following statement from an official publication will be of interest :-

"Public revenues have increased significantly over the last three years, partly as a result of the taxation measures adopted and partly in consequence of the rise in money incomes. The proportion of public revenues to national income has gone up from 9.1% in 1956-57 to about 10.1% in 1958-59. But this rise has been absorbed more or less by the increase in non-developmental expenditures. In consequence, the reliance on borrowing from the public, from the banking system and from abroad for financing the Plan has tended to increase."

It is clear that there is no prospect of any relief in the sphere of taxation in the future. On the other hand, according to present indications, there will be additional taxation to the extent of between Rs. 1,500 crores and Rs. 2,000 crores during the Third Five Year Plan. It is not known in what manner the additional taxation is going to be levied but there is no doubt that in view of the investment outlay of Rs. 10,000 crores during the next phase of planning, the burden of taxation is bound to show a steady and spectacular increase. Such a situation will naturally be fraught with unpleasant consequences. It will mean higher prices, less employment and a bigger bureaucracy.

It is therefore appropriate that the Swatantra Party has focussed attention on the need for a realistic tax structure. In the draft Statement of Principles adopted by the Convention held at Bombay the Swatantra Party has opposed the policy of crippling taxation. It says that "taxation should be kept at such levels as will not interfere with the reasonable living standards of the people, both rural and urban, and which, while being necessary and sufficient to carry on administration and for such social and economic services that are taken up by the State, are yet not so high and exacting or so ubiquitous as to prevent capital formation and private investment."

At the same time the Party has also stressed the need for reducing the cost of public administration and for preventing the expansion of the bureaucratic machinery.

The programme of the Swatantra Party in regard to fiscal policy is bound to make an appeal not merely to the industrial sector but also to the middle classes and the poorer sections of society. It is not adequately realised that it is the burden of taxation that is mainly responsible for the high cost of living. It is estimated that between 40 per cent to 70 per cent of the

ex-factory cost of many commodities is accounted for by the tax element. In the case of cloth, which is one of the essential commodities, the ratio of taxes varies from 42% to 60%. It works out to 68% in the case of sugar, 67% in cement, 36% to 45% in tea, 51% to 54% in steel and 37% to 64% in paper. It is clear then that if prices are to be lowered and the

common people are to enjoy improved standard of living, it is necessary that the tax policy should be revised suitably. If the Government follow the Swatantra Party's principle of "maximum freedom for the individual and minimum interference by the State", much of the fiscal burden can be reduced with appreciable gains to the citizens and to the nation at large.

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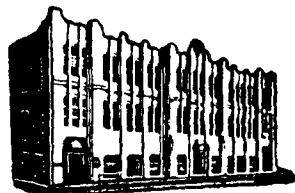
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RAJAJI'S VISIT TO AHMEDABAD

From A CORRESPONDENT

Ahmedabad, the premier textile city in the country, gave a rousing reception to Sri C. Rajagopalachari when he went there on a two-day visit last week to explain and popularise the tenets of the Swatantra Party.

Ahmedabad was not new to Rajaji. He had spent quite a good time in the company of Mahatma Gandhi at the Sabarmati Ashram there and later with Sardar Vallabhai Patel. The city had not forgotten his services to the nation and it was indeed a sight to see when he addressed the biggest public meeting held in the industrial city since 1956. More than a lakh of people assembled at the grounds to hear him in a disciplined manner. Their behaviour so pleased Rajaji that he paid a compliment to them for their orderliness and self-control.

Rajaji told them that the message of the new Party was minimum government and maximum freedom to the individual. The whole crowd cheered with applause when he declared that the Swatantra Party's movement for freedom was like that which Gandhiji had started here, the movement for Swaraj.

He dispelled doubts about the Party in a very clear manner. Answering the doubts of the critics that the Party would lean on the support of Big Business, Rajaji said that he was not going to deal with the difficulties of the big businessmen. He asked them not to imagine that they did not have any difficulty. Their difficulties were as big as their expanding business.

Rajaji congratulated the small shop-keepers and small traders for carrying on their business in an admirable manner. They were carrying on their tasks, he remarked, without asking for any subsidy or any help from the Government. But now the Government had started giving trouble to them.

At Sabarmati Ashram, with the river flowing by and the inmates squatting on the ground facing the room where the Mahatma and Kasturba spent twelve years from 1918 to 1930, Rajaji recalled his visit to that room forty years ago. On that occasion Gandhiji swept the floor and made a bed for

him. He would not desist despite Rajaji's protests, and insisted on sweeping the floor himself and making the bed.

Rajaji appealed to the Ashramites to lead a good life and live as exemplary citizens. He said: "The world has changed, India has changed. But Sabarmati river is just as it was. Our hills and rivers are the only things remaining unchanged. That is why we worship our hills and rivers. We have become selfish, more selfish than we were in those days. But we must continue worshipping our hills and rivers and try to be good."

In the afternoon Rajaji addressed the biggest meeting ever, of the university students of Ahmedabad. At first the meeting was to take place at a hall which could give accommodation for only 300 or 400 students, but when the whole student community of the city turned up in full strength to listen to Rajaji, Prof. Shenoy rightly agreed to hold the meeting in the open ground of the campus. Even here all the students could not be accommodated and many found great difficulty in getting seats. Some of them perched on top of terrace walls and hung on dangerously to windows and branches of trees.

Rajaji was completely at home with the students and spoke to them home truths while explaining the ideals of the Swatantra Party.

Gandhiji had brought Swaraj to them and Nehru got it going. But there was absence of Swatantra in

What the Prime Minister derisively called a "joke" has assumed the form of a mass upheaval. The pictures on the page opposite indicate the tremendous public enthusiasm that greeted Rajaji when he visited Ahmedabad in the first week of August to explain the aims of the Swatantra Party.

(1) A mammoth meeting listening to Rajaji at the Lal Darwaza grounds, Ahmedabad. Seated along with Rajaji are Sir Bhailalbhai Patel, Dadhuhai Amin, Professor Ranga and others.

(2) The whole student community of Ahmedabad University flocked to listen to Rajaji. Many climbed on roofs.

(3) Rajaji addressing the members of the Gujarat Club at Ahmedabad.

(4) Another view of the huge public meeting, attended by over a lakh of people at Lal Darwaza Grounds, Ahmedabad.

(5) Another view of the Gujarat Club meeting.

Note the large number of women,

AHMEDABAD'S WELCOME TO THE SWATANTRA PARTY



the country. The new Party stood for complete Swatantra of the individual.

Explaining the ideals of the new Party, Rajaji said that the Party would check and, if possible, replace the Government.

Rajaji concluded his day's programme with an address to the Ahmedabad South Indian Association. Here, though tired and fagged, he made a speech full of wit and humour. He said that he could not speak to a cultural organisation on music and dance. But he could speak on religion.

He was asking the Prime Minister to approach life against the background of their spiritual life. Dharma was more important than legal compulsion. Legal compulsion created more and more illusion.

Rajaji declared that if India was to be happy they should go back to religion. Recent events in the world had shown that people were laying great stress on the material values of life.

Materially advanced countries like America and Russia, Rajaji said did not bring happiness to the people there. Mere progress alone did not signify happiness. It had to be got only by self-control and by study of religions. Every religion stressed the cardinal point of self-control. It was time that they went back to religion after being disturbed by the material progress of the world.

On the concluding day of his visit, Rajaji addressed the Ahmedabad Junior Chamber. He said that the new Party was born because of

the Congress becoming more and more Communist. Once the Government strayed away from its path and began imitating the Communist ideals and policies the freedom of the individual was reduced.

Rajaji told a questioner that launching of co-operative farming by the party in power would bring bitterness to the peasants. Co-operation stood for Government-sponsored compulsion.

At another delightful function, formally declaring open the Mavlankar Memorial Reading Room at the Harold Laski Institute, Rajaji spoke on the importance of research and study of the political and economic institutions of other countries. He paid a glowing tribute to the late Sri G. V. Mavlankar, former Speaker of the Lok Sabha, and said that he was one who understood the need for building up a strong Opposition to the ruling Government.

In the afternoon Rajaji urged the members of the Gujarat Club to join the new Party and take interest in it. He strongly criticised the Government for denying the people their individual independence. The new Party, he said, would increase the role of free economy and decrease State interference.

At the Rotary Club, Rajaji spoke on the importance of setting up an Opposition party to the present ruling Government. He said that he was glad to find Ahmedabad showing great interest in, and affection to, the new Party. He compared Ahmedabad City to a gold mine but warned that if they acted wrongly, they would all be swallowed by the mine due to some accident. He appealed to Rotarians to take interest in the Party.

Rajaji rounded off his two-day stay in the city with a visit to the Hutheesing Jain Temple. He evinced keen interest in the sculptural beauty of the Temple.

When Rajaji left by the Gujarat Mail for Bombay a large gathering was present at the station to see him off.

Rajaji had captured the hearts of one and all—rich and poor alike—by his clear exposition of the Party's ideals and, above all, his intelligent manner of winning everyone to his side. The new Party has been welcomed with the hope that it would give an effective opposition to the Congress Party which "can be hardly distinguished from the Communist Party."

SRI AUROBINDO'S MESSAGE

(On the fifteenth of August, 1947, the day when free India was born, Sri Aurobindo proclaimed, "I have always held and said that India was arising, not to serve her own material interests only, to achieve expansion, greatness, power and prosperity,—though these too she must not neglect, and certainly not like others to acquire domination of other peoples, but to live also for God and the world as a helper and leader of the whole human race. Those aims and ideals were in their natural order these: a revolution which would achieve India's freedom and her unity; the resurgence and liberation of Asia and her return to the great role which she had played in the progress of human civilisation; the rise of a new, a greater, brighter and nobler lift for mankind which for its entire realisation would rest outwardly on an international unification of the separate existence of the peoples, preserving and securing their national life but drawing them together into an overriding and consummating oneness; the gift by India of her spiritual knowledge and her means for the spiritualisation of life to the whole race; finally, a new step in the evolution which, by uplifting the consciousness to a higher level, would begin the solution of the many problems of existence which have perplexed and vexed humanity, since men began to think and to dream of individual perfection and a perfect society."

He also declared: "To me personally it must naturally be gratifying that this date (August 15th) which was notable only for me because it was my own birthday (August 15th, 1872) celebrated annually by those who have accepted my gospel of life, should have acquired this vast significance. As a mystic, I take this identification, not as a coincidence or fortuitous accident, but as a sanction and seal of the Divine Power which guides my steps on the work with which I began life."

Sri Aurobindo was equally at home in the cultural and spiritual heritage of the West and of the East. All his formal education, from the age of seven through Cambridge University, he received in England. Upon his return to India in 1893, he pursued an inten-

sive self-education in the literature and tradition of his Motherland. He became a dynamic and spiritually-motivated leader in the pre-Gandhian struggle for freedom. Then there grew in him the vision that led him to retire from the field of politics, and he came to Pondicherry in 1910.

"Life Divine" *magnum opus* of Sri Aurobindo, contains the outlines of his teachings. Many of his valuable articles which appeared serially in Arya are now available in book form under such titles as *LIFE DIVINE, ESSAYS ON THE GITA, SYNTHESIS OF YOGA*. He knew that the Life Divine can

and must be realised on earth. Man, he said, should transcend his human limitations and grow into the freedom and splendour of the Divine. The aim of Sri Aurobindo's Yoga is an inner self-government by which one who follows it can in time discover the one Self in all and evolve a higher consciousness than the mental, the spiritual and supramental consciousness which will transform and divinise human nature. "There must be a total and sincere surrender; there must be an exclusive self-opening to the Divine Power; there must be a constant and integral choice of the truth that is descending."

N. K. KRISHNAMURTHI

REFLECTIONS ON BOMBAY CONVENTION

Rajaji's gifts of persuasion, sweet reasonableness and unique diction which carries conviction to the most turbulent heckler were seen to great advantage at the Bombay Convention of the Swatantra Party. His serenity, ready wit and evident desire to effect an acceptable compromise between different points of view played a decisive part in getting the delegates to accept the 21 Fundamental Principles of the Party in a spirit of unanimity. It was a touching moment when a youthful delegate (a protagonist of the Youth movement) insisted that the proceedings should commence with a prayer to the Almighty to spare Rajaji for several years to enable him to win real freedom for the country. When the same irrepressible young man, later on, began to assert that a clause relating to the youth of the country should be included in the Fundamental Principles, Rajaji asked him gently, "Can you tell me, young man, what the youth of the country were doing all these years and why they left it to an eighty-year old man to come forward and start this Party?" The young man who had no answer quickly finished his speech.

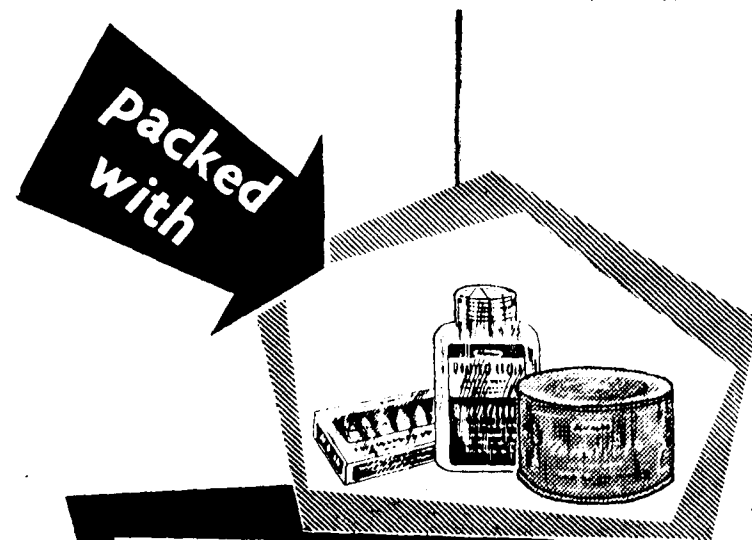
Then there was the delegate who was not quite happy about the wording of the clause relating to Public Sector but was accepting it because "he has surrendered his judgment to Rajaji". Rajaji's remark was swift and characteristic. He did not want anyone to surrender his judgment. He wanted every

one to retain his judgment for the good of the Party and the country.

When there was clamour from several delegates that the "middle classes" who were being progressively impoverished by the existing Government should find specific mention in the Articles so that they may hope for a better deal under a Swatantra Party government, Rajaji by a stroke of genius, added the words "field, factory and office" at the suitable place and earned their applause and gratitude.

Rajaji's outstanding contribution to the draft Principles is the one which gives the members freedom of conscience in respect of all matters which are not part of the Fundamental Principles of the Party. He illustrated this by referring to Prohibition and retention of English. This has fired the imagination of the intelligentsia and made them hope that India will enjoy real democracy when the Swatantra Party comes to power—free from fads and fetishes.

A great thinker has said that man "should accept the things that he cannot change". He "should have the courage to change the things that he can" and God "should give him the wisdom to know the difference." Rajaji is indeed the Man of Destiny that our country has been waiting for to save our dharma and way of life from the impact of the harmful ideas borrowed from Soviet Russia. If India is to be saved for true democracy, there is only one man in the country who can do it and that is Rajaji. V. T. S.



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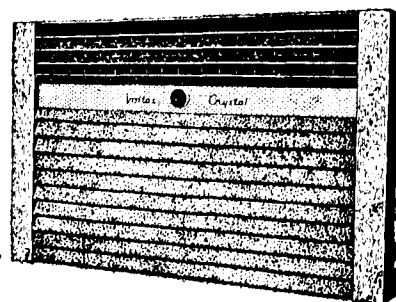
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ESSAYIST IN THE ADDISON-STEELE TRADITION

AMERICAN TRIBUTE TO "SOTTO VOCE"

The following review of Vighneswara's *Sotto Voce* [Sotto Voce: A Social and Political Commentary, by N. Raghunathan, Madras: B. G. Paul & Co., 352 pp. \$1, 8s. 6d., or 5 Rupees] has appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor*, the internationally respected and influential American daily. The reviewer is Takashi Oka:

In these days of space travel and the T.V. dinner, it is refreshing to find the leisurely traditions of *The Spectator* and *The Tatler* being carried on in a land thousands of miles from the whilom coffee houses of London.

N. Raghunathan is a recently retired editor in Madras, India, who even in his busiest newspaper days found time to pen a weekly column of political and social causerie in the urbane manner of the eighteenth-century essayists. Like many of his compatriots, Mr. Raghunathan is a skilled craftsman in the English language. His writing flavors the formidable erudition of an East-West classical education with the pungency born of a palate steeped in South India's tongue-burning spices.

"SOTTO VOCE" is a collection of Mr. Raghunathan's essays, written under the pen-name of Vighneswara. The time-span covered is 1946 to 1949 a period that saw the demise of the British Indian Empire, the tragedy of Hindu-Moslem riots during the partition crisis, the emergence of independent India and Pakistan, and the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

One may not agree with many of Mr. Raghunathan's views—for he makes no bones about being a true-blue conservative in a country where the Government has set forth an ambitious program of social, economic and political reform. But his gentle deflation of some sweeping Government statement, his healthy scepticism about the practicality of some proposed reform by fiat, are refreshing evidence of the wide divergence of views that prevail in democratic India. Even his tribute

to Gandhi does not consist of unmixed praise.

As befits a writer in the Addison-Steele tradition, Mr. Raghunathan is at his best when he is not beating the political, economic or social bushes. Zestfully he defends a first century Roman rhetorician against a brash reader who queries, "Who cares to know who is Quintilian?" With equal verve he crosses swords with Nobel Prize winning physicist Sir C. V. Raman, who heretically believed that "the human tongue

was never intended to taste the chilli or find delight in it."

"You have to make your terms with chilli", admonishes Mr. Raghunathan, "if you do not wish to miss some of the most subtle pleasures of the palate."

This writer hesitates to interfere in dispute between two such eminent South Indians. But as one outlander who has been through the fiery ordeal of certain South Indian delicacies, he must confess himself grateful to find that on this matter, as on so many others in this vast, fascinating subcontinent, there is room for a genuine difference of opinion.

—*Christian Science Monitor*, July 27, 1959



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CAPITAL COMMENTS

THE GHOST-HAUNTED PRIME MINISTER

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: It is an old adage that sometimes, perhaps more often than not, help comes from unexpected quarters. On his return to Madras from his very strenuous but triumphal tour in Western India, the venerable sponsor of the Swatantra Party would hardly have hoped to find his best ally in his principal political opponent in the country. Rajaji, it seems, owes not half as much to all his immediate and eminent colleagues combined as to Mr. Nehru alone for the utmost recognition to the new party. And this Mr. Nehru has done by the very measure and manner of his denunciation of it.

Normally, our great Prime Minister is least likely to bother about the world's "conservatives and reactionaries" at all; for, in his advanced and highly elevated scheme of things, they are as good or as bad as *non est*, but, from his giddy pedestal, he condescends to take notice of this "backward" community in politics, if only because, like the Prince of Denmark (in whose state "something is rotten") he is also confronted with the ghosts and apparitions that have so much harrowed his own Horatius with "fear and wonder." Whenever the Swatantra ghosts obtrude on his attention he feels embarrassed, though not perhaps alarmed; for, while he can stand the communist taunt that he is a "murderer of democracy," he cannot, for a minute, understand why, of all men, his dear old, valued, eminent colleague, Rajaji, calls him a "tyrant." Hence the agonising cry to the "Ministers"—(not the Cabinet ones)—"and Angels of Grace" for defence and protection; hence the desperate and furious onslaught on the "ghostlike party"; hence his obsession with "a nuisance" that has "no relation to the present, to-day or tomorrow."

So, like the fabled Jack the giant-killer, Jawaharlal the ghost-killer has, out of historical compulsion, risen to save the country from the champions of the old order who have no place in the world of realities. For the good of those who are but concerned with "the stratosphere, with the Almighty presiding over their destinies," he suggests a world tour, out of the certain knowledge that Mr. Munshi, Mr. Masani, Mr. Ranga had never ventured abroad and that Rajaji knows so little of the world—and its ways! He simply does

not know what to say about, or do with, these men who "have unfortunately some kind of bee in their bonnet which comes out all the time," he is amazed that such a party as theirs should have got wide publicity. What a "tribute to our fine Press," it is, he says, and treats the editorial opinion "strongly in favour of it" as one based on "personal views and prejudices, and may be, financial backing." By the same inference or deduction, no such doubts about editorial integrity or journalistic fair-mindedness assail Mr. Nehru when the much-maligned Press supports the Congress and sings his glory.

One can only sympathise with the man whose defence of his theories and policies and ways, assumes the strange form of so blatantly purblind and perverse a damnation of all those who refuse to be his palanquin-bearers. He should know that when the Congress first came into being, attempts were made both in India and abroad, just to kill it by ridicule. Far from being wiped out by such crudity, the Congress thrived on it and became the biggest constructive force in our political life. If or when Swatantra Party will become something to reckon with, its sponsors should know what they owe Mr. Nehru.

This apart, it seems to Junius that Rajaji may well tell Mr. Nehru what Churchill once said to his Labour adversaries: "You strangely act, and when we re-act, you call us reactionaries!"

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A HORSE WITH TWO RIDERS

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

In the tree-shaded grounds of gilt-roofed Buddhist temples in Laos where peace and quiet prevailed, yellow-robed monks now once again discuss Marxism and war instead of jatakas and peace. This languid, landlocked little kingdom of Laos has been claiming the attention of the world for the last few weeks.

Although the area of Laos (pronounced Louse) is twice that of Madras State, its population is only twice that of Madras City, less than 30 lakhs. Laos is one of the four States that emerged out of colonial darkness when the French empire in Indo-China cracked under the impact of Asian nationalism and the second world war.

The Geneva agreement of 1951 which ended the fierce Indo China war and liquidated the French empire in Southeast Asia, had set up an International Supervisory Commission composed of representatives of India (Chairman), Canada and Poland as members to supervise observance of the truce in Laos. Under this agreement the two northern provinces of Laos, Pongsaly and Samneua remained under the control of Communist-dominated Pathet Lao (Pathet means free) forces, while the rest of Laos was ruled by King Sisavang Vong.

It was a tragic spectacle to behold the scene in Lok Sabha during the opening days of its monsoon session; it is strangely reminiscent of the worst days of the Parnellites in the House of Commons. Perhaps it was inescapable that Kerala should have cast its baleful shadows across the House, with the Communists vowing vengeance against the Congress which deprived them of their occupation in the youngest State. The signal for the fray on the floor not having been given, the Reds could not restrain themselves for so long; so, on such provocation as was available, they gave a foretaste of the yet-to-be. Their yells and cries, the angry words they spouted and their wild gesticulations made the Prime Minister despair of 'parliamentary behaviour' while he himself, on intervening 'in all humility' was shouted down and strangely branded. If, between the architects of Democracy in India and its new, self-appointed upholders, all decorum could become so ready and so easy a casualty, ere the real conflict arose in the House what would it be like a little later? It seems that only imagination can provide the answer.

Of the Congress Parliamentary party meetings, perhaps only garbled versions appeared; certainly the reports were inadequate. Yet one could sense from them that there was plenty of plain talking for once. Both the Congress President and the Prime Minister were said to be quietly listening as Mr. Feroze Gandhi thundered on Fascism in the country and the forging of instruments which might ultimately destroy their makers. More interesting as well as revealing it was to be told that the stormy petrel from U. P., Mr. Mahabir Tyagi, felt reminded by the courts and durbars in Delhi of the last Mughal Emperor in Lucknow, Wajid Ali Shah.

Prince Souvanna Phouma, a nephew of the King became Prime Minister in March 1956, and he did his best to come to terms with Pathet Lao which was led by his half-brother Prince Souphanavong. After two years of negotiations they came to an understanding by which the two rebel-held northern provinces were to be integrated with the rest of Laos. Two leaders of the Pathet Lao movement became ministers and elections for 21 seats out of the total of 56 seats in the Laotian Parliament, were held in May 1956. About 1500 Pathet Lao soldiers were to be integrated in royal army and the remaining 5500 Pathet Lao men were to be disbanded.

This agreement did not find favour with the Western supporters of Laos, especially the U. S. which was supplying military, economic and technical assistance to the value of Rs. 2 crores a year. In fact the U. S. virtually underwrites the country's economic development, and since 1955 has spent over Rs. 25 crores in Laos.

Policy of Repression

In August 1958, as a result of Western interference Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma had to quit. The new pro-west

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
CONGRESS GLASS HOUSE

Sir,—One of the charges levelled against the Communist Ministry at Kerala was that the two new members who were appointed to the Kerala Public Service Commission, when that Commission was expanded, were both Communists. In the reply to the charge sheet by the Kerala Ministry, the fact was accepted but it was added that the two new members were well known for their upright conduct and incorruptible character.

This practice of appointing members of the ruling party in committees, commissions and delegations is being followed by all parties. After the Congress Party assumed power in the country, the newly appointed Governors were mostly from the Congress Party, most of them defeated at the polls who could not be accommodated in the State Ministries. Further, land gifts were given to only Congress *thaygis*, though there were persons belonging to other parties who had also worked hard and sacrificed much to attain Independence. The party with a majority of members in any municipality or panchayat, names the roads in the

municipal limits after its leaders, with dissenting notes from other party members. Receptions are being held to the leaders of the ruling party in the municipality at public expense though the members belonging to other parties refrain from participating in them.

Thus, the same charges levelled against the Communist Ministry in Kerala can also be easily brought against the Congress Party in other States by the Opposition. Those who dwell in glass houses will do well not to throw stones at others. Chidambaram R. PADMA

THE ONLY REMEDY

Sir,—The only remedy under present circumstances is to have a form of government whose main function will be to bring about justice between individuals and between the individual and the society. Such a programme is quite different from and opposite to that of the Congress. Ludhiana M. R. NAYYAR

PENSIONERS AND POLITICS

Sir,—In a recent press conference our Prime Minister stated that Government rules did not prohibit pensioners from indulging in political activities unless they were of a subversive type. Our parliamentary system of government is based on the British model. In Britain the civil servants can take part in active politics. To clarify this point I quote the following passage from *Britain 1958*, an official handbook: "Civil servants may participate in political activities subject to certain special rules. Many grades are completely free to engage in national and local political activities, while others are free to engage in most political activities by permission and subject to certain condition." In view of this, no sane man in India can have any doubt about the right of pensioners to engage in politics.

If a pensioner is suspected or known by the Government to be indulging in subversive political activities, it should be obligatory on the part of the Government to bring a charge against him and substantiate it in a court of law with evidence. The Government can employ no other powers against pensioners save those which are provided under the normal laws of the land. In no case could a pensioner be penalised without public investigation in a court of law.

With their specialised administrative wisdom, disciplined attitude of mind, ripe thinking enabling them to dispassionately examine the old and the new, and without any youthful ambition for pomp and power, pensioners can make a very great contribution to the progress of Indian democracy. I would make an

appeal to the pensioners in India to sacrifice their ease in the interest of the nation and enter the political field.

RANGRAO
Retired Educational Officer, Gulbarga

MEDICAL OFFICERS AND
PRIVATE PRACTICE

Sir,—Government medical officers of the Madras State are full-time medical officers and have been forbidden private practice. They are also given compensation for being thus deprived of private practice.

It is strange that these medical officers apply and get appointed as medical examiners for the Life Insurance Corporation and get paid for such work on a per case basis. In no other department of the Government dealing in technical work such as electricity and engineering are the technical personnel allowed such practice. Neither can it be said that full justice is done to the L.I.C. by these officers, as examining proponents during office hours is interference with their official duties and outside office hours they have no equipment for carrying out all the examinations required.

In view of the widespread nature of this practice in the Madras State, it is high time that Government specifically banned it.

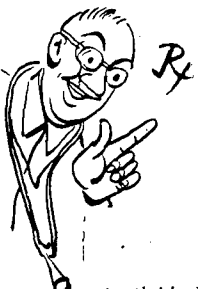
Tiruvallur DR. S. PARAMASIVAN

BENEFIT FOR ALL FROM
SWATANTRA

Sir,—Without the slightest exaggeration, it may be said that the Swatantra Party is sure to enjoy the wholehearted support of the youth in the country. We can no longer tolerate economic confusion, which is the "breeding ground of totalitarian ideas."

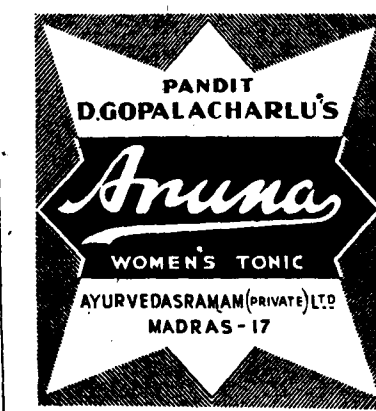
All wise and intelligent people welcome the new party. All thinking and patriotic people hail its formation as an inestimable service. But all, rich and poor, wise and unwise, are going to be benefitted equally by the new party, in the sense of reaping common good and happiness.

Madras. P. SUNDARARAJAN



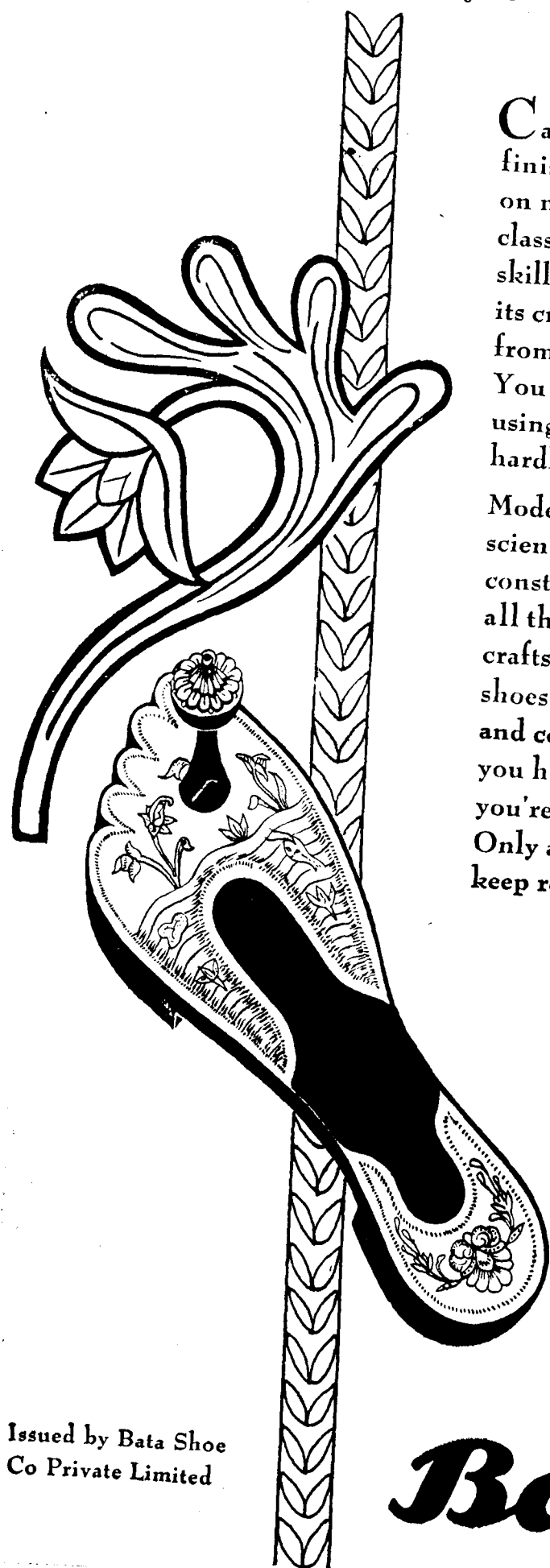
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Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. IV. No. 7

MADRAS, AUGUST 22, 1959

15 Naye Paise

SAILING IN FALSE COLOURS

It was sound advice which Sri Rajaji gave when he called upon Congress leaders to change the name of their organisation. There are now days many demands for changing names, and often the demands are sought to be enforced with 'Satyagrahic' pressure. The agitations for converting Madras into Tamil Nadu, Akash Vani into its Tamil equivalent, and Sri into Thiru are all manifestations of the current craze for change. They are prompted either by the spirit of linguistic purism or a desire for repudiation of a disliked association. Rajaji's suggestion is not actuated by any of these or similar motives. Its sole purpose is the removal of confusion from inter-party contentions, so that clarity may prevail in the political thinking of ordinary people who are constantly wooed for their votes and support by the various competitors for political power.

A substantial ingredient in the popular goodwill that brought the Congress to power is its historical achievement as prime participator in the national freedom movement. The significance of this advantage can be realised when the position of the Congress is compared to that of the Communist Party. The Communists incurred considerable odium from the frequent somersaults of their acrobatic politics, moving from hostility to support of war effort in accordance, not with national needs, but the requirements of Soviet foreign policy. Public distrust against the Communists as unreliable from the standpoint of the supreme national interest entered very largely into the elec-

toral victories which, in the wake of freedom, elevated the Congress into the status of the ruling party which it has held uninterruptedly these twelve years.

In these twelve years the Congress has gradually changed and the differences that once marked it off from the Communist Party are fast disappearing. At present it differs from the Communist Party only in name. Its policies are essentially those of the Communist Party and its economic and agrarian programmes are precisely those which the Communists might be expected to put into operation if they get the chance. The assumption that in political substance the Congress is different from the Communist Party is no longer true, and represents a major falsehood in the existing alignment of parties.

Separate names for the same thing create confusion. Undoubtedly a great deal of the support which the Congress still enjoys is based on the illusion that the Congress and the Communist Party are not identical in objectives. This illusion has to be broken if the true mind of the nation is to be reflected correctly in its electoral responses to the various contenders for power, and Rajaji's suggestion, if acted upon, will bring about this desirable result and import some reality in place of the existing make-believe into the present political situation.

If the Congress stands before the public decked in its true garb, which is the garb of Socialism or Communism, the historical advantage of its original association with the Mahatma which is no longer

real or relevant, will not load the dice against other parties unfairly. There will be more faithful correspondence between the appearances and realities of the respective parties, and it will not be possible for the Congress, under cover of an honoured name, to defeat in effect the most precious things which that name stood for in the days when it was a significant force for good in the nation's life. Our public life will be all the better and purer for this change.

Anomalous

The Chamber of Commerce, Trivandrum, has brought to the notice of the Union Minister for Food the anomalous nature of the arrangements for the supply of sugar to Kerala State. Kerala produces only one-sixth of the sugar needs. The State has to import five-sixths of its requirements from outside. The sources of supply are the North Indian mills of Uttara Pradesh and Bihar and the mills of the Southern zone. In respect of the former Government have fixed the prices whereas they left the latter to fix their own prices. The Southern prices are higher than the Northern but the cheaper product is out of reach of Kerala under the present zonal restrictions imposed by the Government. Why should the country be split up into mutually exclusive areas for the purpose of trade and any State in it compelled thereby to pay a higher price for any of its essential needs? This kind of Government intervention with the free flow of trade as though they had to deal not with one country but several is unjust, perverse, fantastically absurd and totally opposed to common sense. The mentality sustaining it seems scarcely compatible with ordinary prudence and sanity.

WHO ARE THE FASCISTS?

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"Conservatism is the surest shield of liberty in the specific conditions of the 20th century," so affirms Mr. W. H. Chamberlain in his latest book. "It is because of increasing disillusionment in the feasibility of Utopian short-cuts to freedom and prosperity, as a result of personal experience and study of history" that, he says, he has reached this conviction. Mr. Chamberlain was for twelve years in Moscow. "I went to Moscow," he says, "with no prospect of material advancement, but rather in the spirit of the Moslem making his pilgrimage to Mecca." Such a modern thinking appreciation of conservatism is worth pondering over.

The refusal to face the facts of life is not the characteristic, says Mr. Chamberlain, of the true conservative who is not just a nostalgic visionary. The disingenuous tendency to identify conservatism with fascism is, according to Mr. Chamberlain, the "most damaging slander of all." The distinctive features of fascism are "plebian leadership, the appeal to the mob, the contempt for legality, the disregard for the rights of property, the insistence on creating an entirely new order of things." If we examine the present Congress policy on this background, we can see who really the fascists are!

Hitler was perplexed when he found that world opinion was against him and he attributed it to international Jewry! Sri Nehru is bewildered by adverse editorial opinions and attributes it to "financial backing." The case, both in cause and effect, is exceedingly similar. The contempt for legality and for judicial opinion, the disregard of the rights of property, the insistence on creating an entirely new order of things—these are unmistakably common to European fascism and to the Indian counterpart of it.

The present is a time when according to Mr. Chamberlain "freedom is much more threatened from the Left than from the Right." Conservatism, properly understood, says he, possesses values especially needed in this age "when the equality of man threatens the quality of man". True conservatism, according to Mr. Chamberlain,



CHILDREN WILL UNDERSTAND

(Fable by RAJANI, Translated by
MRS. A. V. RAMAN)

The Sastriar said, "The language of the *Devas* (Gods) is Sanskrit."

Some said, "The Lord speaks only Tamil."

The North Indians declared that God's language was the universal language, Hindi.

Some Bengalis laughed at this. The Mahratta warriors spoke.

"Nay," they said, "Our language, Mahratti, is the language of Shivji".

"Is not English the divine language?" queried an English priest.

"Not at all; the dead language Latin is the language of the heavens" emphasised another priest.

The Arabic moulvis argued, "You do not know the truth. God converses daily only in Arabic. Only at times he talks other languages. In what language is the Koran written? Can you not infer from that?"

A few others joined in this controversy. A big quarrel ensued.

They all decided to settle the dispute after witnessing it in person. So they set out.

The Lord spoke behind the screen.

When they descended they discussed what they had heard.

The Tamilians said, "Did you observe, brother! God spoke in Tamil? What pure chaste Tamil the Lord of the Universe spoke! There was no mixture of Sanskrit at all in it," they said joyfully.

The North Indians said to one another, "Did you listen? God spoke our mother-tongue, Hindi. Let us hope that these fools will understand now at least!"

"Aha! Did you notice what lovely Mahratti words came from the Lord's mouth?", asked one.

is interested in conserving property, because it is an almost indispensable support of personal liberty. Individual freedom will come to nothing if what has been earned lawfully and held is not protected by the law but made an uncertain thing by reason of the policies

The Bengali said, "Did not God speak Bengali? That is the divine language."

Thus, the Arabs, English, Americans, French and others insisted that the heavenly language was their own mother-tongue respectively. They went in great ecstasy.

The birds which were watching this spoke among themselves.

"Just imagine the foolishness of these menfolk" they said. "Did not God speak our language?"

A parrot observed, "The God's wings were seen through the screen; how lovely they were!"

An elephant asked his wife, "Did you see God's trunk?"

She replied, "I was able to see only his lovely tusks through the screen!"

A sage opined, "What a perfect embodiment of silence!"

A music *vidwan* said, "No other music should be listened to after hearing his divine melody".

An atheist sniffed, "This Being which appears to different people in different forms is no Being at all! It is all deceit!" he said.

The wise one told the atheist, "It is not deceit, it is Maya; something we cannot discern; it is beyond comprehension. It is what the Tamilians name God! It has neither gender nor is it animate."

"We should not shout and make noise here. Let us go to the sea-side," said the atheist.

Lord Vinayaka said, "Tell this as a story to the children".

I asked, "Can the little ones understand?"

"It is the elders who cannot understand. Children will know" answered Lord Ganesa.

"Very well", I said.

adopted for bringing into being a "new order." The freedom of avocation and the sacredness of possessions in the eye of the law—these are the flesh and blood of individual freedom, without which it cannot survive. The State must not seek to grow into a monster,

THE NEW FEUDALISM

By BHARGAVA

In the post-Independence period, our economy has been steadily drifting into a new species of feudalism. The State takes the place of the King. Various measures are taken to concentrate power in the hands of the State at the expense of the individual, and the State itself being dominated by one party, it is an attempt to concentrate power in the hands of a single party. In the place of the old nobles, we are having big vested interests who pay homage to the State for retaining their position. The common man, though in theory according to the Constitution, he has the fundamental rights of personal freedom of holding property, and doing any trade or business, is day by day becoming powerless unless he has the backing of the State, or powerful vested interests.

The interference of the State starts from the very point when a young man begins his life's career. Every school boy knows that he cannot get admission into a professional college unless his father has sufficient pull with those in power. It passes one's comprehension why the selection boards of the colleges should have a Minister as an ex-officio member, or other nominees of Government. If rules are framed and policies laid down, the Principal of the institution could be trusted to make the proper selection. We have the spectacle of a Welfare State denying opportunities for its young citizens to follow the career or profession which they think is best suited to them, but spending huge sums for the purchase of soaps and face powder as part of social welfare activities. Why the opening of more engineering and medical colleges had not been included in the Plan remains a mystery.

A citizen of India cannot deal in foodgrains or yarn or other similar commodity unless he obtains a licence from the Government, which today, for practical purposes, is equated with the ruling party. He cannot import and export any goods. The trade controls which were originally imposed as a war measure were continued in peace time. The import and export trade of the country was petrified in a

set pattern. A body of vested interests sprang up overnight, the established importers. The gates were tightly shut to new-comers, as they were termed. As per the Red Book (the Import Control Regulations are called by that name) new-comers can qualify for a licence in limited categories of goods by engaging in internal trade in the same kind of goods. In practice, all this amounts to nothing.

If a citizen of India wants to start an industry, there is the Industries Development and Regulation Act barring his way. No industry can be started unless he gets a licence from the government. It is everybody's experience what this means. A new set of well paid officers have sprung up—the liaison men—in the capital city, and these are for piloting various schemes, stage by stage, with top officials of government.

The creation of vested interests is the first step in the concentration of power in government hands. The second step is the liquidation of those vested interests gradually, the State taking them over. Nationalisation is the sublimated form of this concentration of power in the hands of the State. The banking system has been completely brought under State control. Without finance no big undertaking can function in modern days. The Reserve Bank which is State-owned has got complete powers to issue directives not only in respect of general policy, but also to call back even individual advances. It may be that such powers are used sparingly, and only in the interests of good banking. But once the power is given it is liable to abuse. In theory, the freedom of commercial banks to make their own investments has been taken away. A more subtle invasion of private rights in the field of commerce and banking has crept in recently. The Capital Issues Amendment Act provides that the grant of a loan or an overdraft to a party can be treated as a capital issue, and the government is given the power to determine whether the loan or overdraft is for working capital or fixed capital. The government gave a

verbal assurance to Parliament that these powers would be sparingly used. This again is another characteristic of modern legislation. The Government take wide discretionary powers, and they become the sole arbiter of what is good for the citizen in the so-called Private Sector.

The remarkable fact is that the individual citizen has been losing his economic freedom of earning a living according to his tastes, to hold and enjoy property as he likes, ever since he attained political independence. The State has usurped the citizen's rights. It has become a monolith, a super-capitalist. In working out the Socialistic pattern, the evils of capitalism have not been removed. They exist in a more obnoxious form. Insurance was nationalised on the ostensible ground that insurance funds were being misused. Everybody knows what has happened within a very short time. In the case of private enterprise, the ordinary law of the land is there to mete out punishment. There is the possibility of worse evils existing, well screened by the protective wing of the State. No private capitalist or cartel would ever dream of exploiting customers as the State is doing today in the administration of State monopolies.

The way in which the city bus transport is run in Madras is an outstanding example of what an unfettered monopolist could do.

A happy and prosperous nation can only mean a nation where the maximum number of individuals are happy and prosperous and enjoy freedom. A Welfare State can never be built upon individual economic serfdom, and unrestricted power in the hands of administrative officials. It is the negation of a Welfare State.

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Secretary

SIDELIGHTS ::

Sometime ago I suggested to a distinguished educational administrator that if a medical or engineering college anywhere in the country should recruit students from applicants rejected in Madras State, it would perhaps be blessed with the most brilliant talent in all the States put together. Now comes news of a significant example to reinforce my suggestion. It relates to a student who applied for a seat in the medical college both at Madras and Pondicherry. The selecting authorities at Pondicherry considered him the best of all the applicants and put him at the top of the approved list. In Madras he was unceremoniously rejected.

This particular illustration of the mentality of the local mentors having something to do with the admission of students to State medical colleges is fully worthy of the attention of Sri C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the University Grants Commission. I can furnish him if required all the information he might need for an investigation. The singular phenomenon that has taken shape in free India is an aversion for merit on the part of certain high dignitaries of established reputation in control of university education. Only the other day, the Syndicate of the Madras University suddenly passed a resolution permitting students who had failed in one subject only of a particular examination to be admitted to the first year class of the medical course. Universities are given liberal grants from State revenues on the notion that they are interested in knowledge and the maintenance of educational standards. But this sort of soft heart for lack of knowledge and the lowering of standards demonstrated in the conduct of the Madras University indicates a sick and diseased conception of educational responsibility which no reasonable person can consider worthy of encouragement with financial assistance. No university has the moral right to convert failure at an examination, complete or partial, into a qualification for promotion to a higher class.

It is doubtful if it has got even the legal right to do so. If overnight time-honoured traditions of universal validity governing student

competence for seeking higher knowledge are reversed and violated in private confabulation without a hint to the public in advance of what is intended, without a chance of public discussion at all over the contemplated reversal of academic values, it is time the offending university ceased to be clothed with prestige and is recognised for what it is, and not mistaken for what it is not. Something will at least be gained if it is realised that such universities are on the way to becoming liabilities rather than public assets.

The main objective of university education is to expand the boundaries of knowledge. If the boundaries of knowledge are to be expanded, talent has to be fitted with suitable opportunity for training and development in every phase of the educational system. The place of honour due to talent at schools and colleges and universities are to redound to the good of the nation has somehow failed to materialise, and instead we find all sorts of expedients resorted to for pushing students of inferior quality into superior courses of learning. A large number of the pampered are unable to sustain the undeserved distinction thrust on them. They drop down on the way, and only a fraction of the original entrants reach the end of the course. The burden of these failures implies a colossal wastage of money in the name of education in barren and unprofitable folly. It also entails the burning to ashes of a lot of rich, precious talent with discouragement and persecution. The administrators responsible for this destruction of the national substance are guilty of a double dose of unpatriotic action.

It is all done in the name of uplifting the backward. Backwardness has become so profitable that there is now a rush to be classed backward for the sake of the privileges connected with that alleged condition, and the most suppressed and depressed in the whole community are those left out of the count of backward classes who constitute presumably the forward element. A major vested interest has grown up round the exploitation of backwardness,

and the momentum of it has led to the whole population of Mysore excepting the Brannins, being classed as backward! An upright member of Parliament protested, it would appear, against this constitutional atrocity both to the President and the Prime Minister. But little good has come of it. One of the two seems to have pleaded inability to intervene, the other would not even acknowledge the inconvenient remonstrance.

Under the dead weight of grievances that nobody pays any attention to, India's infant democracy is being crushed, and universal dependency and frustration have come to be the order of the day. I wish the Swatantra Party, which has brought a ray of hope to the disheartened millions, would make a study of the Scandinavian answer to the problems of over government, and the suffocating grip of bureaucracy and incorporate the lessons learnt therefrom suitably in its programme. One hundred and fifty years ago Sweden introduced the institution of the *ombudsman*, translatable as "grievance man", whose job it was to watch the administration of justice and give assistance to citizens who were treated harshly. It spread to Finland and Denmark, Norway is about to adopt it, and Britain's Prime Minister Macmillan is now reported to be giving it careful attention. Speaking over the B. B. C. at the invitation of British M. P.s, Denmark's *ombudsman*, Dr. Stephan Hurwitz, thus outlined his duties (*Time*, July 27, 1957):

"Elected by Parliament (in Hurwitz's case unanimously), the *ombudsman* must be a lawyer; he is above party, has a legal staff and annual budget, and is the highest salaried man in the Danish government. On receiving a complaint from a citizen, or on his own initiative, he can investigate any civil or military establishment. The courts remain outside his control, but he is empowered to look into the affairs of State officials, from Cabinet Ministers to policemen, and is entitled to enter any prison or hospital or other State institution without warning, seeing everything, having access to all documents and able to speak to all persons there confined."

It would go far to relieve the heart-sickness of many a victimised Madras student if a "grievance man" on the Danish model could be set up to look into every complaint of injustice in college admissions and other administrative matters.

—SARA

SERMONS ON TRUSTEESHIP

By POTHAN JOSEPH

In his passionate advocacy in the Nagpur resolution and all it portends, Prime Minister Nehru explains that if the plan is found eventually unsuitable, the people could give it up. This is not a satisfactory argument when initial doubts about error remain undisputed and when it is assumed that a generation could be treated as expendable for guinea-pig experiment. Thomas Jefferson once said: "Ignorance is preferable to error; and he is less remote from truth who believes in nothing than he who believes what is wrong."

There are some subjects on which one is qualified to express an opinion and Jawaharlal Nehru has always been entitled to a hearing on certain themes of world interest, international peace and the Reign of Reason, but when it comes to expositions on economics and farming, he would do well to remind himself of the reproof he administered to the Kerala Communists. After praising their Government on their discipline and organisation, he said that on the issue of official policy they had become dependent upon second-hand thinking. It is transparent what he means. He believes that Communists rely on foreign guidance and in the absence of independent thinking they go by the Marxist style-book in carbon copy.

In the realm of economic reconstruction with all its statistical

elaboration, Pandit Nehru is similarly compelled to rely on certain experts, and it would be well for him also to realise his limitations. It was because of his failure to realise these limitations that the Swatantra Party has emerged with the message of "maximum of freedom to the individual and minimum of interference by the State."

Thinking on the same lines, I feel that some folk who are loquacious about it should voluntarily refrain from sermonising on Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of trusteeship which is being fitted into the platform of the Swatantra Party. In Indian tradition, there are certain themes which only adepts can expound; indeed there are certain sublime *mantras* earmarked for recital only by savants and sādhus of superior attainment. Such a restraint would be useful in the interpretation of Gandhi's doctrine of trusteeship in the current context.

Mahatma Gandhi had a gift of adapting teachings to given occasions, and it is a fact that he told men of wealth to regard their property not as the means of self-gratification but to value it as a means of benefiting the community. He quite realised that money meant power in this imperfect world. Some critics, construing this trust-theory, go the length of suggesting that plutocrats should be in permanent enjoyment of the prerogative of conserving their wealth; if such were true there would be at least some meaning in attacking the Swatantra Party as a citadel of "vested interests," a name foisted on them in the facile eloquence of the Prime Minister. Mahatma for himself set the ideal of *aparigraha* as the best for equipping one for total service—dedication to the people who consist of diverse types of saints and sinners in infinite variety.

It may be interesting to recall that Jesus Christ in his time had several rich friends whose hospitality he accepted, and after his death it was a wealthy merchant named Joseph of Arimathea who furnished the linen and ointments required before his interment. Only in one case found in the record did he ask the rich man totally to get rid of his possessions. A young man

approached him to discuss the means of salvation and when Christ observed how his riches tended to spoil him, he bade that plutocrat to sell away all he had and then follow the righteous path.

Digression apart, it is surprising that references to Gandhi's so-called doctrine of trusteeship are picked up by some critics of the Swatantra movement as a ruse to protect "vested interests." The picture is drawn of society as consisting of feudal lords and loyal serfs with what the Prime Minister would call its projection in the Forum of Free Enterprise. It is even suggested that participation of Labour in plant and in factory would be obnoxious to the doctrine aforesaid, but it is a grotesque misrepresentation of the meaning of Gandhian trusteeship where the conception of the master and the slave has no place. There could be provision for staff-councils and partnership in business administration consistently with the proposition misconstrued as a licence for the employers. No, progressive legislation giving the upper hand to the working classes could be very well contained in the so-called dogma under discussion. Indeed if a satisfied and benevolent class of investors are content with a three-percent return, leaving the whole business to the cooperative enterprise of Labour, it would be o. k. by "trusteeship". Since an attempt is made to figure out the scope of service cooperatives as some ideal in contrast with Gandhian trusteeship, a procedure that is untenable, the immediate question is whether the innovations thrust on the country are not outside the purview of the Constitution and capable not only of curtailing personal liberty but also of sterilizing the spirit of incentives.



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SOME PRESS OPINIONS ON SWATANTRA PARTY

Welcoming the Swatantra Party, *Commerce*, the well-known economic and financial weekly of Bombay, writes:

"The public response which the Swatantra Party has so far had, under the inspiring leadership of Rajaji is quite encouraging and fills one with fresh hope for the future of democracy in India. The first convention of the party, held in Bombay was well attended by representatives from all parts of the country and patronised by a large section of the public. It has won the support of some members of Parliament and certain State legislatures. The Statement of Principles drafted by the founders of the Party and unanimously adopted at the convention is in keeping with the genuine democratic ideals that animate the members of the Party and constitutes an appropriate basis for opposing the party in power and other left-wing parties which are really speaking, only satellites of the Congress Party. The principles adumbrated in the 21-clause Statement are precisely those for which this journal has been fighting ever since the Congress Party started meddling with the Constitution after the first General Elections and began to curtail the freedom of the individual under the guise of Socialism. We, therefore, welcome the Statement whole-heartedly and devoutly hope that it will gain the support of the vast majority of the people in this country.

"We are firmly convinced that there can be no democracy without individual ownership of property and without the system of free enterprise. Every family should have property of some kind, that is, saving invested in productive enterprises which will give it a sense of security and independence. It is true that not all the people today enjoy this freedom from want. But it is the desire of all right-thinking persons that everyone should have this freedom as early as is humanly possible and in a manner which will not deny the other freedoms. Today's *have-nots* have to become the *haves* of tomorrow. They should have the right to keep what they have won through hard work and to retain the means of

their livelihood unmolested by the State. This is exactly what the Swatantra Party is out to safeguard and to restore the rights guaranteed by the original Constitution but unfortunately taken away by the Congress Party through a series of amendments to that Constitution. Even the *have-nots*, therefore, will ultimately stand to benefit by extending their support to the new Party. They should remember that the policy of expropriation that is now being followed by the party in power and warmly endorsed by all the left-wing parties will, in due course, make the citizens—rich and poor alike—the slaves of the State. Communism and its associate, Socialism, are only other names of State capitalism. We have no doubt that the people of this country, with their innate commonsense, will quickly grasp the dangerous implications of the Socialist philosophy of the Congress Party if they are properly explained to them. It is the good fortune of this country that Rajaji has come forward to shoulder this responsibility, because he knows the art of educating the lay public better than any other leader, as some in high places have chosen to describe it.

"The Swatantra Party, it must be noted, is not opposed to all planning but only to planning of the Soviet and Chinese types which are inimical to individual initiative and enterprise. It is not opposed to the State starting industries; only, it wants the State to supplement the efforts of private enterprise and to take up the establishment of new industries which are difficult for private initiative. It is clearly against the State entering the field of trade and disturbing the market mechanism and introducing controls and official management, with all their wastefulness and inefficiency. But it certainly is not for *laissez faire*, for, while it stands for the principle of maximum freedom for the individual and minimum interference by the State, it recognises the right of State to prevent and punish anti-social activities, to protect the weaker elements of society and to create the conditions in which individual initiative will thrive along fruitful and beneficial lines."

"Bright Ray of Hope to People"

Rural India, a journal devoted to agricultural interests, which has been running for 22 years, writes:

"With the growing trend of the ruling Congress Party towards totalitarianism and State-Capitalism and increasing loss of confidence of the people in its capacity to solve pressing economic and administrative problems, it was inevitable that natural forces must produce alternative arrangements in the birth of a new political party to oppose and ultimately to replace a thoroughly corrupt, inefficient, power-ridden ruling party, mismanaging the affairs of the country.

"Unlike other parties and heterogenous political groups formed in the wake of Independence to oppose the Congress, the Swatantra Party distinguishes itself in the quality of its leadership and the basic stand that it has taken to oppose the totalitarian and Pro-communistic policies of the ruling party, which are endangering the very existence of the infant democracy in this country. The Nagpur resolution of the Congress, laying down the policy of the Government for joint co-operative farming, Ceilings on land-holdings and State-trading in food grains, has definitely exposed the leanings of the Congress towards a totalitarian State and awakened politically thinking sections of the people in the country to shake off their complacency and organise to oppose the Communistic tendencies of the party in power. The Nagpur resolution has provided a challenge to the nation not only to oppose the party in power but also to provide alternative leadership to

An Inviolable Right

"Since private property is an inviolable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except when public necessity, legally determined, shall clearly demand it, and then only on condition that the owners shall have been previously and equitably indemnified."

—One of the articles in the Declaration of Rights of Man drawn up by the French National Assembly, 1789.

save freedom from being encroached upon by the Congress totalitarianism.

"The starting of the Swatantra Party by Rajaji at such a psychological juncture provides a bright ray of hope to the people in the midst of the gloom, hopelessness and universal frustration created by the Congress mis-rule of the last twelve years. And, we have every hope that it will find a large measure of support and following from all classes of people including the Congressmen who are sick of Shri Nehru's foreign-imported Socialistic policies."

"Most Promising Contender for Political Power"

The Eastern Economist comments editorially:

"Under the leadership of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari — still a name to conjure with — the Swatantra Party's convention was held in Bombay and Rajaji's speeches, both in Bombay and Ahmedabad, have resounded throughout the country. The trumpets of the Swatantra Party—particularly frontal attacks on the Prime Minister—have given forth no uncertain sound. The walls of Jericho will not, of course, fall so easily; but a visible dent has been made on Congress loyalties all over the country. Apart from the major defection of Mr. N. G. Ranga, now chairman of the new Party, and the minor defection of Mr. K.M. Munshi, there are many formal sympathisers with the new Party inside the Congress; there are many Independents who have also joined hands with the Swatantra Party. (Of greater moment is the Raja of Ramgarh's association (with 22 seats in the Bihar Assembly and three in the Lok Sabha of his Janata Party). Mr. S. K. D. Paliwal has taken a group of Assembly members from Uttar Pradesh and, undoubtedly, Mahagujarat will figure on the Swatantra side. Mr. V. K. Ramaswamy Mudaliar of the Indian National Democratic Congress, which is the main opposition in the Madras Assembly, has also joined and signs are not wanting of further co-operation from other States, particularly from the Punjab.

"Jathedar Nagoke has already committed himself and there are probably ten Assembly seats in hand in the Punjab. It is certain that

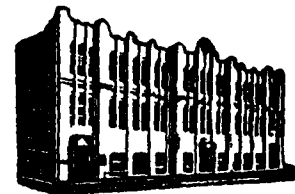
the Swatantra Party's first bag has been far beyond expectations.

"The fact that such an impressive beginning has been made has not passed unnoticed. Undoubtedly, people in Delhi are saying the Swatantra Party has a future. The Press in Bombay and Calcutta has also awakened significantly. Criticism of the Party has been less pointed. The usual jibe about the lack of a positive approach has been brought sharply into focus. The executive of the Party has been quick to reply with a scheme far more detailed than any which its opponents expected. There is a substantial positive content in the Swatantra Party's programme and it has also shown that it was an unfair charge levelled against it, that it was entirely negative, designed merely against the Communists on the one hand and the Congress on the other. The content of liberty or freedom is always vague, but chapter and verse have been presented. The Party is also, as Rajaji has emphasised, not a party of big businessmen; it is essentially a party for peasants and the lower middle classes.

"The prestige of the Congress Party at the commencement of the second Plan was enormous; but it is breaking and it is on the past debris of the Congress Party that the Swatantra Party is likely to be securely built. Undoubtedly, much more needs to be done, before the Swatantra Party can be deemed to be a serious contender for power even in 1967, but the primary calculations are that the Congress Party—pressed hard to deliver the goods without the practical knowledge of how to raise production, particularly in agriculture—will have to yield ground although the attack mounted against it is currently weak. At the present time, much wise political opinion is to the effect that, of all the contenders for power in the Indian political field, the Swatantra Party holds most promise.

"The battle has already been joined and the first results cannot be long delayed. The next six months will show if a noble name in Indian history is equal to what will be the most exacting fight of all. It is the last battle which always decides a political reputation, as it does a war; there will be many who will wonder whether Jawaharlal Nehru will be equal to the occasion."

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Thanks to the co-operation of the Public Works Department, their huge truck was brought alongside the quay. The Vacuum tank was loaded on to the truck by the 50-ton crane of the Madras Port Trust. During its journey to our Tiruvottiyur works, traffic was held up at many places. Telephone and electrical lines overhead had to be removed and reinstalled. The result of all this was much inconvenience to traffic, road-users and a short power shut-down for Industries at Tiruvottiyur.

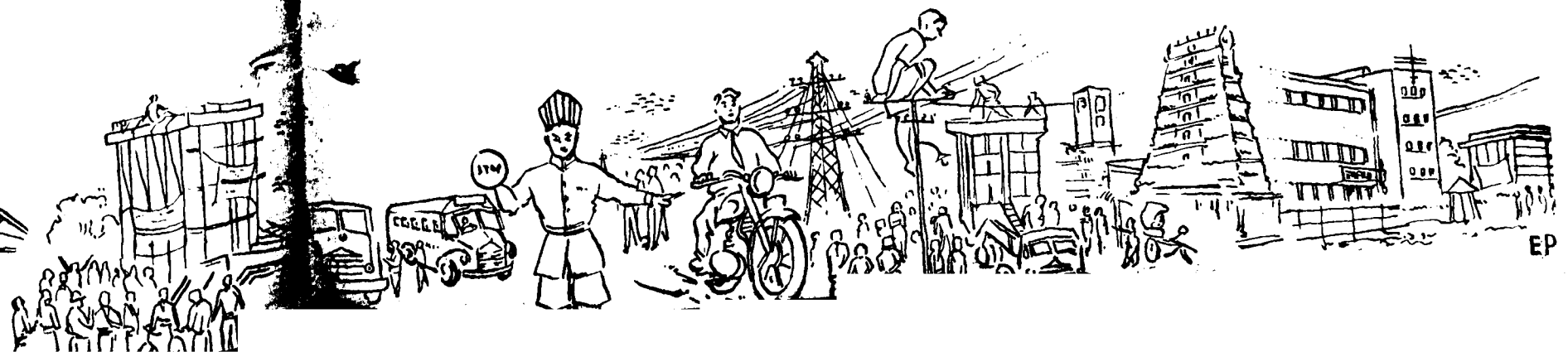
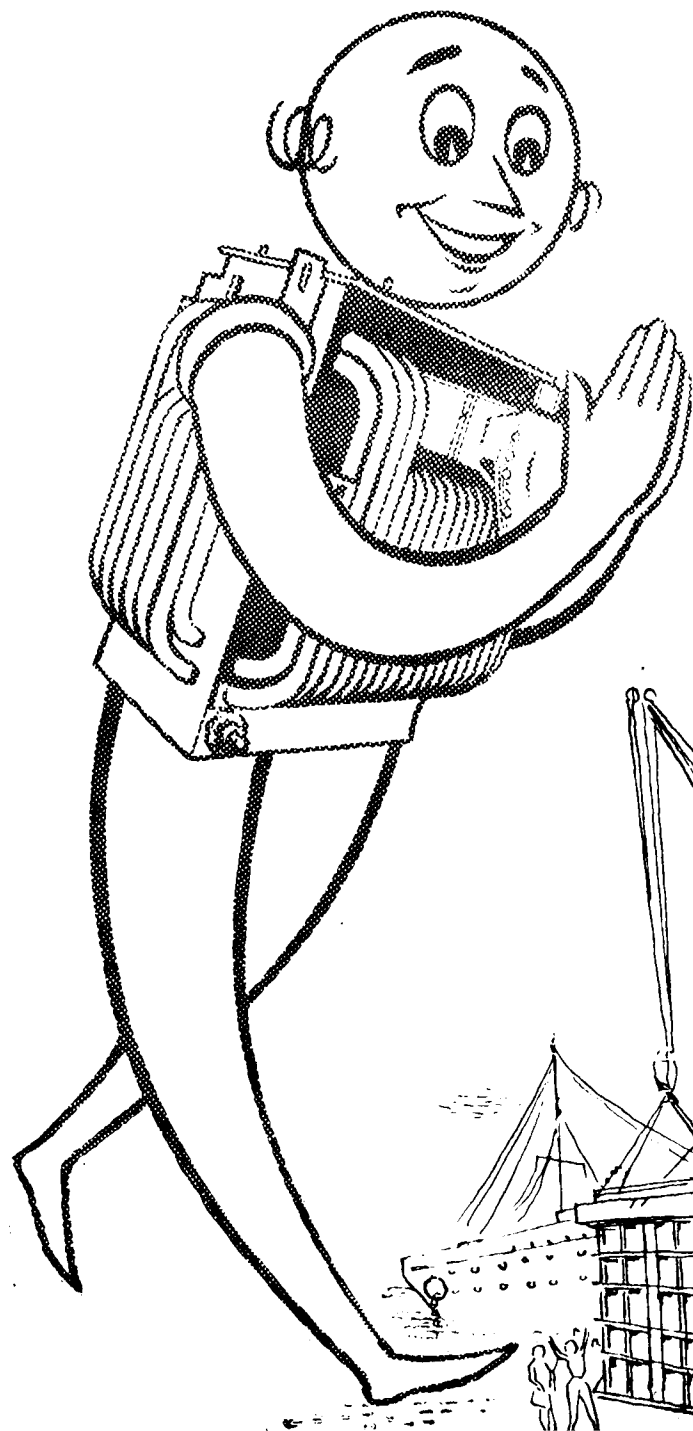
In a country which is on the threshold of industrialisation, we could not have had better co-operation from the public and the authorities alike.

We feel we should publicly express our "THANKS" to all and particularly to :-

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- The Police and the Collectors of Madras & Chingleput
- The Public Works Department
- The Electricity Board
- Telephone Corporation of Madras
- Industries of Tiruvottiyur
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SCIENCE IN BHARAT

(A drama in three Acts)

By PENELOPE

ACT I

Inauguration of the Ninety Ninth National High Temper Coordinating Laboratory by the Perpetual Minister for Science and Research.

Speech of the Perpetual Minister.

Gentlemen: I do not know why you invite me for these functions except perhaps for the reason that I can lay some claim to be a votary of Science since in bygone days when, on one occasion, I lunched with the Professor of Palaeontology at Abbridge University. Gentlemen, science has conferred innumerable benefits on Man but in its wake it has brought much travail also. Why is it so? To my way of thinking it is because of the wrong approach in not laying sufficient emphasis on the *temper* of Science. Yet we in this country in view of our past heritage are peculiarly fitted to follow this approach. The 99th National Laboratory will devote itself to the promotion and well-being of the *temper* of Science. It does not matter in the least if during the course of your labours you liberally *temper* Science with Fiction. All that matters is the spirit of the thing. If time permits this Laboratory will also coordinate the working of the other 98 National Laboratories. Now each one of these is ploughing its own lonely furrow.

As I have said we should proceed on the basis of our past inheritance. It is herein, Gentlemen, that organisations like the Sadhu Samaj come in. They claim they have much to teach you. I can assure you after my meeting with them that it is no idle claim. I would urge on you therefore to keep in daily active touch with them, never mind their dress or the lack of it.

While these broad general principles are good in themselves Government have had to consider certain practical steps. As a first step Government have appointed a Super Director General of Science and Research. On him will devolve the overall control of all the 99 Laboratories, and any more that might come later. At the same time Government have had to consider the aspect of Economy and Austerity. The task of government has been made simple by the present Director General of Science and Research offering to take up at considerable sacrifice the duties of the Super Director General in addition to his own duties, an offer, which Government have gratefully accepted. There will be a small element of Entertainment allowance attached to the post, especially since so many Sadhus will be visiting him almost daily. Other appointments will follow but for the present the commitment will be Rs. 1000 a month for the allowance. In the hope, Gentlemen, that the TEMPER of Science will blazon forth from this Laboratory I will now leave you to your labours.

Speech of the Super Director General, looking at the Perpetual Minister.

We are very deeply grateful to you, Sir, for your inspiring address. In your earlier remarks you expressed some doubts about your fitness for delving into the realm of Science. May I respectfully say, Sir, that

your illuminating address can only be described as the combined wisdom of many Nobel Prizemen in Science? May I also, Sir, be permitted a little day-dreaming on what might have or might not have come, if only you, Sir, had taken to the whole time pursuit of Science, instead of occasionally dabbling in the subject? May I in conclusion assure you that your inspiring words will act as a beacon light to our labours?

ACT II

(Scene and Time: Bloke Sabha-Question Hour)

Hon'ble Miuren Bighupesh:

Will the Hon'ble Perpetual Minister for Science and Research be pleased to state:

- Why one more Laboratory, 99th., has been brought into being when there are already 98, doing nothing?
- How much money has been spent on all these institutions for the past three years?
- What is the exact value of the practical results achieved since these were established?
- Has any effective contribution been made to the sum-total of knowledge?
- Have these labs. in fact raised the prestige of India in International Councils?
- Will Government consider the appointment of a committee of Eminent Scientists, including one from the Iron Curtain, to report on the working of these Laboratories?
- If the answer to (a) to (f), is in the affirmative, why so? if in the negative why not?

Hon'ble Perpetual Minister for

Science and Research

- I regret to say that my Hon'ble friend as is customary with him has not taken the pains to study the already available data on the subject. If only he had read carefully my opening speech at the inaugural ceremony of the 99th Lab., a copy of which has already been placed on the table of the House, he would not have put question (a) and thus wasted the time of the House. By way of further information I would add that the 99th Lab. has already justified itself. Two Research communications from this Lab. to a local Hindi Daily, have helped us to understand the Temper of the Upsurge in Kerala. They have also helped me to Temper my Solidified Anger at the formation of the Swatantra Party.

- 44 Crores, 22 lacs, 11 thousands, 5 hundreds and fifty five only.
- Rs. 13,131 being the value of essential spare parts for pressure Cookers. I would add that these were hitherto imported. Thus valuable Foreign Exchange has been saved. Also a further Rs. 1,31,313, being the value of unworkable patents.

- The Hon'ble Member does not evidently know what Science and Scientific outlook mean. In fact the contribution has been very significant. It cannot be measured by any yard stick as yard sticks are useless for such purposes. This is specially so in respect

of those contributions resulting from discussions with Sadhu Samaj.

- This is really irrelevant but I will answer it since it is always my stand that the opposition should be treated fairly, indeed generously at all times. I strongly deprecate the tendency to look for Prestige abroad. This is displaying a slavish mentality. We should concentrate more on Prestige in indigenous circles. I would add however that in International bodies dealing with political matters our Prestige is very high, thanks to the biting sarcasm and invectives of our Delegation.

- Government, anticipating this question appointed a committee composed of Sir Cyril Basilidon-Smith, President of the Royal Society, U. K., as Chairman. Prof. Birengky - Kachov, of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and Prof. Bizoka of Switzerland as Members and the Super Director General as Member-Secretary to report on the working of these institutions. I have just received the Committee's report together with a forwarding report from the Super Director General.

- Strictly speaking, from a Scientific point of view, it is so and yet it is not so.

Miuren Bighupesh:

Supplementaries:

With reference to answer to question (f), will Government be pleased to lay a copy of the report on the table of the House?

Perpetual Minister:

It will be placed on the table of the House, when the Cabinet decides it can be so placed.

Miuren Bighupesh:

Will the Hon'ble Minister at least say if the report is commendatory or or condemnatory?

Perpetual Minister:

As I have only just glanced at the report, I remember to have come across some highly critical remarks but then we always welcome criticism even from A. D. Shroff.

Miuren Bighupesh:

Will Government please take action against those who have brought these criticisms by their inefficiency?

Perpetual Minister:

This aspect of the question will be examined in due course. In view of our preoccupation with the Third Five Year Plan the question is being given low priority. At the same time Government are quite alive to the Efficiency aspect. They have therefore decided to Air Condition all these Labs., including the Recreation rooms of the Class iv Officers (formerly Chaprasis) as recommended by the Super Director General in his forwarding memorandum.

Miuren Bighupesh:

What will be the approximate cost of Air-conditioning?

Perpetual Minister:

I would prefer not to answer the question at this stage as the actuals exceed the estimates always by a big margin.

ACT III

Inaugural Speech of the Perpetual Minister for Science and Research at the Eighth Congress of the Directors

August 22, 1959

and Staff of the National Laboratories presided over by the Super Director General of Science and Research.

Gentlemen:

As you know I have taken—and shall continue to take—an active interest in all your deliberations. I meet your Super Director General quite often, especially after he was promoted to the status of Secretary - General of his own Department thereby ensuring direct approach to me without the vexatious procedure of coming through the Minister of State for the Department.

Gentlemen, yours is an impressive record of no mean achievements. To doubters and sceptics I would only point out two of your important discoveries—the NEW STATISTICAL METHOD that proves all things for all time and SCIENTIFIC PUBLICATIONS WITHOUT EXPERIMENT—A NEW APPROACH. I understand from your Chief that the first discovery may well lead to a better understanding of conflicting data supplied by the Powers engaged in the Cold war.

When I see you, so many ardent young men and women, pursuing your researches with so much single-minded devotion my mind is filled with joy and hope for the future. You of course have your own difficulties. I understand that some of you in the Middle levels are very much better qualified than you in Top Hierarchy and in consequence you have to suffer humiliation from the NIT-WITS from Top. I quite appreciate that it is human to feel this way. I very much regret that due to inflationary tendencies and the repercussions on Industrial Labour Government cannot give you any financial relief. In partial recognition of your grievance however Government have ordered that those of you who fall within a particular range of pay scale, will be supplied FREE with Midday Multi - Purpose Vitaminised Food from one of our own Laboratories, especially since we have no hopes of marketing this Food.

While as I have said yours is an impressive record, at the same time there has been harsh criticism of your work from the lay but apparently well informed Public. Indeed one bitter critic has gone to the extent of suggesting that you are trading on my gullibility. And yet another critic more in anger than jest has described all these Labs. as National Chimerical Laboratories. I feel sure you will be able to meet these criticisms with the requisite number of Scientific Formula. Whatever may be the case and whether these criticisms are justified or not my faith in the TEMPER of Science is undiminished and is as strong as ever. It is just as well to bear the Long Term View on such matters. It is an acknowledged fact of History that in this Great BHARAT of ours a great SEER is born once in every hundred years. Let not Posterity say that we did not provide sufficient Laboratory facilities for the future SEER. In the ultimate analysis it is this that will count. (Prolonged Applause and Cheers.)

(All the delegates and the Co-opted delegates from the Sadhu Samaj proceed to a Mammoth Dinner and later to Bharata Natyam.)

SWARAJYA

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WHOSE THE FAILURE IN KERALA?

By R. M. SESHADRI

Where is the power resident in the President of India for putting an end, by proclamation, to the Government in Kerala, a Government constituted in accordance with the Constitution? Article 356(1) of the Constitution runs:

If the President, on receipt of a report from the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State or otherwise, is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, the President may by Proclamation:

(a) assume to himself all or any of the functions of the Government of the State and all or any of the powers vested in or exercisable by the Governor or Rajpramukh, as the case may be, or any body or authority in the State other than the legislature of the State;

(b) declare that the powers of the legislature of the State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament;

(c) make such incidental and consequential provisions as appear to the President to be necessary or desirable for giving effect to the objects of the Proclamation, including provisions for suspending in whole or in part the operation of any provisions of this Constitution relating to any body or authority in the State;

Provided that nothing in this clause shall authorise the President to assume to himself any of the powers vested in or exercisable by a High Court, or to suspend in whole or in part the operation of any provision of this Constitution relating to High Courts.

Doubtless the Union Government have been advised that the displacement of the Government and the legislature in Kerala is constitutionally in order as per this article.

The matter turns on the interpretation of "cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution" occurring in the Article. There is a good body of detached opinion in favour of the view that this refers only to a political deadlock such as arises,

from the refusal of a majority party in an Assembly to take up government.

The Union Government have persuaded themselves into the view that if there is internal disturbance this Article will afford warrant for intervention. I wonder if there is anything to this more than seeing what one looks for. What degree of internal disturbance will do is a moot point; the safeguard lies in the words 'satisfaction' (of the President) 'on receipt of a report from the Governor of the State or otherwise.' It is clear that these words do not and cannot define the content or quality required for interference. The door is open for abuse, and the constitutional safeguard is misty and uncertain. Would one not prefer a more definite meaning to an Article of such importance?

A sound guide to correct meaning is in the elementary axiom of constitutional law that the particular or specific excludes the general.

If there is a provision of law which states what should be done in respect of a particular contingency, that provision should be followed to the exclusion of any general provision dealing with general situations. The situation in Kerala was the prevalence of domestic disturbance which, it was claimed, assumed a pitch and proportion beyond the capacity of the State Government to manage. Is there any article in the Constitution of India which tells us what should be done in such a contingency? There is, and that is Article 355, which reads:

It shall be the duty of the Union to protect every State against external aggression and internal disturbance and to ensure that the Government of every State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.

So here is a provision in the Constitution which deals with this specific matter of internal uprising. The situation in Kerala attracted clearly Article 355; not only attracted it, but made its application inescapable. The words 'shall' and 'duty' in this Article impose a double mandate; they cast an obligation which cannot be avoided.

The Union Government is bound to step in and aid a State to quell the disturbance. Can this duty be waived? No, not on any ground whatever, least of all on the ground

of political difference between the parties composing the governments in the State and the Union. Was this duty discharged? If not, why not?

I have seen only one reference to this matter. It was casually stated that the State Government had not asked for aid. From a study of Article 355, it does not look as though there should be seeking before supplying aid. It is compliance with a requirement of law, not with an administrative request from an authority. It is not without significance that the Indian Constitution has deliberately omitted certain qualifying words which occur in the Constitution of the United States. There, except on request by the legislature, or by the executive when the legislature cannot be convened, the Union is powerless to send in its forces to put down domestic violence within a State—qualifying words present there, but designedly absent in Article 355 of the Indian Constitution. Here, therefore, request or no request from the State Government, makes no difference; the duty of the Union is plain. If this duty had been done by the Union would not the fuss have ended at once? Was this why a constitutional obligation, so plain in its prescription, so definite in its mandate, and so sacred in its character, so totally disregarded?

No doubt it would be open to the Union to say that in their judgment a situation warranting action under Article 355 had not arisen. In that case, it would not be honest to say that a situation warranting action under Article 356 had arisen. If it was serious enough for the latter, it was serious enough for the former.

Should not the Union Government have helped the State authority to put down the rising before they resorted to action under Article 356? Proclamation to the effect the State Government is powerless to manage the law and order situation in the State—is it fair or just, without the Union Government themselves doing their duty first—a constitutional duty of going to the rescue of the State and helping quell the disturbance? This raises questions of morality that impinge on the political field.

In substance, is this not what happened in Kerala? My neighbour pelts stones, and as remedy I vacate the house!

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HINDI - CHINI BHAI BHAI!

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

A man named John Locke in Visalia, the U.S. is reported to have invented a 'talking pillow' with a soft tape-recording which takes away all your worries. All that you have to do is to plug it in and brainwash yourself to glory. "You will have faith in yourself," it says, "faith in others, and faith in the essential decency of mankind. You are filled with love and compassion for all."

The talking pillow was invented for prisoners in California, but the idea seems to have great possibilities in New Delhi where at the present time there is disillusionment and frustration regarding India's relationship with China. The architects of India's foreign policy would require a stimulus that would give them confidence in themselves and faith in others.

One of the firm roots of India's foreign policy during the past decade has been her friendship with China. India maintained cordial ties with Chiang-kai-Shek's regime, and when the communists came to power in 1949, India was the second non-communist country to recognize communist China. Burma was the first, only because the Burmese requested India to allow them to be the first. India's championing of China's cause in and outside the United Nations has contributed in no small measure to China's prestige.

India and China propounded in April 1954 the five principles of peace, the *Panchsheel*, which had been subsequently accepted by about a dozen nations as the basis of their foreign policy. Summing up the relationship between India and China, Prime Minister Nehru said in Peking in October 1954: "To the extent that the two countries will understand each other shall depend the well-being not only of Asia but of the whole world."

BELLIGERENT POSTURE

Recent events in Tibet culminating in China's belligerent posture give a new sense to Nehru's words. The very foundations of India's foreign policy seem to have been shaken and the very first principle of *Panchsheel*—mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty—abandoned.

The 12-page pamphlet entitled "The Revolution in Tibet and Nehru's Philosophy" published a few weeks ago by the editorial department of *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) of Peking illustrates this fact. After referring to Indian criticism of China, the pamphlet warns: "So long as you do not end your anti-Chinese campaign, we will not cease hitting back. We are prepared to spend as much time as you want on this." Ridiculing Nehru

for saying that India's reaction to events in Tibet was instinctive and was based on religious and cultural reasons, the pamphlet says that China could also react to events in India the same way. The article which has official stamp on it asked:

Could not China start a peoples committee to support Assam and a committee for Uttar Pradesh affairs?

CARTOGRAPHIC CONFUSION

China does not now extend to India the ordinary diplomatic courtesy of replying to communications. She has no Ambassador in India since June 30. Last month she declared Indian currency illegal in Tibet and, according to reports, has started humiliating Indians in Tibet. The disabilities of Indian Traders, Nehru informed the Lok Sabha last week, had "considerably increased in the last two or three months." Indian trade agents are not allowed to function properly and the



Shaded portions represent territories included in the Chinese maps

Indian Embassy staff in Lhasa are not permitted to go beyond a three-mile limit. The Nepalese diplomats have no such restrictions.

In view of these disturbing developments, Chinese maps wherein are included Indian territories have become a serious issue. Although exaggerated importance is being given to these maps by the enemies of the two countries, they nevertheless create misunderstanding and confusion, and China has been accused of "cartographic aggression."

The only area claimed by both sides is Bara Hoti, a two-square-mile strip of land 16,000 feet high in the Garhwal district of Uttar Pradesh. Some Chinese soldiers crossed into this area in the winter of 1955 but withdrew subsequently. China had wanted the area to be neutralized, but India insisted that the territory was hers.

This apart, the offending maps show north of the Brahmaputra river and on the Tibetan border, a large section of the

North East Frontier Agency, as Chinese territory. The maps also indicate Chinese jurisdiction in the eastern part of Ladakh, the Buddhist province of Kashmir.

China may not be foolish enough to march troops to India, but she can take it into her head to claim Indian territories and create tension. In any event, it is no longer prudent to take for granted the security of India's northern frontier along the Himalayas.

REASSESSMENT

India's entire defence machinery has all along been geared to Kashmir, and indeed our foreign policy has also been largely coloured by our experience with Pakistan. Since the Chinese attitude generally is becoming more and more hostile, India will have to reexamine the directions of her foreign policy and defence commitments.

Nepal has already increased her defence budget this year by 14 per cent. Prime Minister Koirala said on August 12 that "Nepal no longer could remain defenceless on the northern frontier." By a strange logic India has this year cut the defence budget by Rs. 24 crores. We cannot afford to alienate the sympathies of everyone around us and yet remain defenceless.

Despite India's respect for Russia and her traditional friendship with China and despite the inescapable attraction of communism for Indians, the most immediate and potent influence in New Delhi's policy is that of the democratic West. But British support for Pakistan in Kashmir and for colonial causes, and the American practice of distributing arms indiscriminately have turned India away from them.

A reassessment of India's relationships with a view to salvage genuine understanding and respect for one another may still be a healthy exercise in diplomacy for all concerned.

Why Nationalisation?

We are convinced Socialists. We understand from our point of view what you may call the long-run case for nationalisation. But the millions of electors we have to convince, including many millions of Labour supporters, are not quite so well educated in Socialism as that, and they will not be satisfied if, when they ask, "why are you proposing to take over this industry?", you simply reply, "Because that is Socialism." They want to know what the specific reasons are for nationalising. — HUGH GAITSKELL

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

AN ORPHANED INSTITUTION

Sir,—When the Government of India sponsored four regional schools of printing at Allahabad, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, printers all over the country naturally thought that the Madras school, being over 30 years old, will be well located and encouraged by the State. But the following facts will prove the contrary. Every day encroachments are being made on its building vacated by the Central Polytechnic, Madras. The cinematography and sound engineering section of the Central Polytechnic which is still located here is being expanded at the expense of the regional school, although that section could muster hardly twenty candidates in three years all told. The regional school of printing has eight part time and full time diploma classes, five full time certificate courses, nine part-time certificate courses with three classes in each. It has on the whole over 350 students drawn from all over India and also from Sikkim, Ceylon and Malaya. Meanwhile, the Director of Technical Education is bringing the newly started North Arcot polytechnic (which should have been located at Gudiyattam) into the regional school building, thus aggravating the accommodation problem inside the building, and dislocating classes and equipment.

As a last nail in the coffin, the Director of Industries is to construct a big structure in the school playground. The hostel constructed for the school is lying unused for reasons best known to the authorities. The Stanley Hospital authorities too are interested in this building and are daily passing a resolution in their advisory committee demanding the vacating of the school building for their development plans. The Corporation of Madras has joined the fray and is asking the Government for this building for setting up a regional office of the Corporation.

Can any institution be expected to function normally, much less develop, under the strained conditions stated above? It is strange that a building occupied by a Government institution of all-India stature should be asked to house every conceivable office, new and old. If the Government of Madras find themselves unequal to the task of providing suitable accommodation for the classrooms, equipment and hostel, they can hand over the regional school to the Government of India. While the Calcutta and Allahabad regional schools have an imposing and spacious structure Madras alone is like an orphaned institution, still finding its bearings.

Madras

G. V. G. KRISHNAN

GROSS INEFFICIENCY

Sir,—When so much is being to-day talked about for and against co-operation, and the efficiency of the Public Sector as against the Private Sector, and when our dear Prime Minister is patting himself on his back about the high class efficiency of the Public Sector, let me narrate my experience as a member of the local co-operative house building society.

I took a loan from the Government through the local co-operative house building society in 1951 and had the premises mortgaged to the Government. I have been paying the annual repayment instalments regularly. In December 1958 when the current year's annual instalment fell due, I paid back the entire amount due in discharge of the entire debt, and requested the return of the documents duly discharged. I have sent several reminders to the society and local Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies. Finally on the 15th July, exactly seven months from the date of repayment, I again reminded the society, the Deputy Registrar and the Registrar of Co-operative Societies and even sent a copy of my reminder setting out the facts to the Minister for Co-operation. I am yet to receive even an acknowledgment from any of these quarters. The documents are urgently required by me for some important purpose, but I am absolutely helpless.

If this is going to be a sample of the efficient and prompt services of the department to the masses of our country in the villages, one can easily judge the results.

Kumbakonam

V. R. MURTY

REAL ROLE OF SWATANTRA PARTY

Sir,—The Prime Minister has asked what is the programme of the Swatantra Party and Rajaji has countered it with the story of the tiger.

To some, this may appear to be the evasion of a fundamental issue; we have been so trained that we look upon political "manifestoes" as an inseparable attribute of a political party. But is this so, particularly in the case of a party that does not apologise for being conservative in its out-look?

The term "conservative" is taboo in our present political vocabulary. This is the result of imperfect understanding of the role of a conservative party. We take it that a conservative party is against all reform; but this is not so. Even in England, all that the Conservative Party does is to take a cautious attitude to

reforms. In India, with its hoary tradition of *dharna* and of altering laws to suit the needs of the times, its spiritual background of universal welfare as the goal of all action, an association of Indians, (if for lack of a cut-and-dry programme you would not call it a party) will never be opposed to needful reforms, though its approach will always be circumspect and based on past experience and future hopes.

The crux of the Swatantra Party's faith is, therefore, a belief that society has developed a way of life which should not be tampered with lightly to suit the caprices of would-be reformers out for cheap popularity and leadership by setting up one class against another or one community against another. The party believes in the innate goodness of man.

In fact, if the Swatantra Party is to ape other political parties and enunciate a formula, it would be treading the dangerous path of regimentation and rigidity that will only perpetuate caste or class differences without leading to the cherished goal of universal welfare. An awareness of realities, not mere chimera, must therefore be the keynote of the Swatantra Party. That party alone will deliver the goods, which owes allegiance to justice according to law and law alone and upholds it above all things. It will have the minimum of fundamentals so as to be capable of embracing all schools of thought, and will use the 'whip' as little as possible.

The Swatantra Party has an important role to play in maintaining our tradition of effecting reforms in our own traditional manner, not robbing Peter to pay Paul. Our culture is one of assimilation, not of exclusion, and we should imbibe all that is good, whether it comes from the East or the West. Far from being a party without following, as some people apprehend it may become, the Swatantra Party is the hope of the mass of the people who, for lack of an alternative, have chosen to go Congress or Communist and have tasted the bitter fruit.

Kottayam

A. MADHAVA WARIAR

EVIL TONGUES

Sir,—Four prominent women social workers of Madras have rightly commented that criticisms of the Programme Evaluation Organisation Committee are baseless and too sweeping. Just because the chairwoman of the Social Welfare Board of the Andamans or some such remote place has misused the Government jeep and neglected her work, Srinathi Renuka Devi and her fellow committee members should not have indulged in name calling against the whole lot of social welfare workers. Right here at Madras much creditable and useful progress has been

made in implementing the various rural social welfare schemes, in spite of heavy odds.

What are these hardships that have to be overcome? Firstly, the amenities lacking in our villages for the social workers like accommodation, good food, bathrooms with some privacy—to cite

only a few; secondly, the lack of adequate funds (most of our citizens would rather buy tickets costing Rs. 50 each to watch the dance recital of an over-fed movie queen than donate old clothes, blankets, etc., to the needy); and thirdly, what about those village folk who prefer to be left alone to their time-honoured

ways of living instead of being converted into useful and good citizens?

At a time when volunteers are hard to get to do social work in the villages, this sort of irresponsible criticisms by near-sighted politicians will do only harm to the cause of rural social welfare work.

JINNI CHARI

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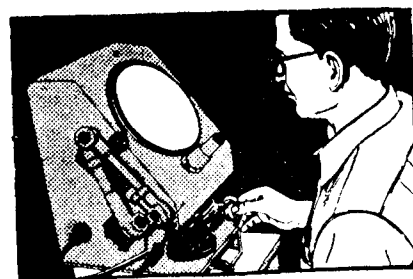
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Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. IV. No. 8

MADRAS, AUGUST 29, 1959

15 Naye Paise

PURPOSELESS RESIGNATION

The circumstances surrounding the resignation of Sri A. P. Jain, Food Minister, are extraordinary. He resigned as a result of dissatisfaction in Parliament with his food policy, particularly the setting up of the State Trading Corporation. But Sri Jain himself is no apostle of State trading. He is reported to have opposed the innovation of State trading, and to have been over-ruled by his Cabinet colleagues. We thus get the anomalous position that a Minister in accord with Parliament's attitude has to quit, whereas colleagues of his, pledged to a policy that has found no favour with Parliament stay and carry on. What does this signify? It means that sovereignty which belongs under the Constitution to Parliament, has been transferred to a small powerful group which is able to rule and have its way in defiance of Parliamentary opinion. Sri Jain's resignation will have served no purpose at all, as Parliament's criticism of food policy which led to that resignation, will remain unheeded, and the policy of the Government in the matter of State trading, will go on as before. Is the facade of Parliamentary democracy worth sustaining if the executive's responsibility to the legislature is to be circumvented deviously, while scapegoats are offered before the public to keep up appearances?

The resignation of a Minister is a constitutional arrangement to enable the Government to go on when some act or policy identified with it is revealed to be obnoxious to Parliament or public opinion.

Collective Cabinet responsibility, a doctrine to which much lip service is paid, means that no distinction can be drawn between a Minister individually and the whole Cabinet collectively, in any matter pertaining to the prestige or responsibility of the Government. The logic of it requires that if a Minister is found fault with and resigns, all his colleagues too resign, as they are all collectively responsible for everything the Government does. But Ministers as a rule are reluctant to give up the positions they hold, and so it has become customary to waive the principle of collective responsibility on occasions of crisis leading to the resignation of a Minister. The full blame of what is blame-worthy is then cast on the out-going Minister so that his colleagues may save their skins and continue in office with an air of innocent dissociation from the lapse or wrong that had provoked the crisis.

Collective responsibility in India has had to reckon with the Prime Minister's way of doing things. Whoever might be the Minister administering a portfolio, it is Pandit Nehru who dominates, and it is his will and voice that prevail. State trading in particular has been a favourite pet child of the Prime Minister, and though it might have come administratively under Sri Jain's jurisdiction, it is to the Prime Minister that the real responsibility for its introduction belongs. Thus Sri Jain has with his resignation paid the penalty for a policy of which the Prime

Minister was the real author. It redounds neither to the credit of the Government nor its head when in this manner punishment does not accompany the act, but is diverted at will to save some and cast others into the wilderness. Minister after Minister has been paying the price for what the Prime Minister has done or not done, with full immunity from the normal cause and effect rule of political karma.

Propaganda

Sri Morarji Desai, the Finance Minister, officiated on Sunday at the opening of the new skyscraper of the Life Insurance Corporation in Mount Road built at a cost of Rs. 87 lakhs. Referring to the criticism that the working of the L. I. C. had provoked since its inception, he said that when a thing was newly started one would see only the faults and not the prospects. The facile assumption of the Finance Minister that the faults discovered in the working of the L. I. C. are due only to its having been started recently, is not borne out by the facts. Even after an investment board was appointed very grave charges have been made attributing to the authorities concerned the subordination of the public interest to their own private needs. We learn on good authority that one of the members of the board has resigned in disgust and challenged an investigation. It is deplorable from the standpoint of public ethics, that the Finance Minister, presumably in the know of these things, should have spoken so blithely about the prospects of the L. I. C. It indicates to what an incorrigible extent false propaganda has come to supplant truth in our governmental affairs.

Khrushchev's American Visit

The cold war has created a fear of peace itself. The fear of war saps the joy out of life. But there are people who fear peace itself which is worse than the cold war. The letters written by some American citizens which have appeared in the columns of the international weekly of the *New York Times* of August 9 make sad reading. They betray a total and unrelenting fear to touch the enemy which is not courage nor honourable for men. They amount to a conferring of immortality on the cold war. With this kind of fear as companion, life is not worth living. We appeal to America to drop this attitude. We appeal to the citizens of that great continent to pray for peace, pray courageously for peace. It would be dis-service to the world to discard offers and opportunities for ending this cold war. President Eisenhower and the Soviet Premier stand in need of and deserve worldwide encouragement in this great adventure of goodwill.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

An Unbecoming Reply

At his last monthly Press conference, Mr. Nehru was clearly unjust to the new opposition in the shape of the Swatantra Party. Apparently, he was in the happy position of one called upon to preach to the converted. But this did not satisfy Mr. Nehru, who was angry that editorial opinion in the majority of newspapers in this country was strongly in favour of the Swatantra Party. He declared that he could not understand how any "sensible person" could support the new opposition; he could only conclude that such editorial opinion was "based on personal views and prejudices, and may be financial backing." This is a serious and unfair charge for the Prime Minister to make against the Press of his country, nearly similar to the one he made against the quasi judicial verdict on the Mundhra episode. By alleging that the editorial opinions are influenced by "financial backing," he is questioning the honesty and integrity of the editors in this country. It is to be hoped that the All-India Editor's Conference will promptly protest against this unbecoming statement of the Prime Minister, if it has not already done so.—Commerce

THE CALL OF THE NEW PARTY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The new Party and its programme are criticised by persons who have lost faith and rely only on compulsion for everything. The desire for compulsory improvement is incompatible with faith in the people and the principle of freedom. Mere regulation and interference cannot produce. For production we want incentive, and it is this that the Swatantra Party seeks to preserve and protect.

Criticism takes the easy line of exaggerating the Swatantra Party's principle of freedom and reading into it the anarchy of total *laissez faire* and then shouting, here is rank folly! It is a common trick to distort a thesis and find an easy antithesis to meet it. The Swatantra Party believes that initiative and enterprise wherever operating must be rewarded without seeking to put a ceiling on human enterprise. But at the same time the Party holds that it is the duty of the State to protect those elements of society which need such protection. This should not be confused with politics that curb initiative and enterprise. Individual enterprise must be allowed its fullest expression. The Party believes that without a substantial increase in national wealth through increased production it is wrong for a party to fasten on the State slogans which would cramp individual initiative and freedom by unnecessary and annoying regimentation through the bureaucratic machine. The policies of the Congress must lead to increasing official control and interference.

Public welfare is the only test by which economic policy should be justified and public welfare cannot be achieved except through the individual's freedom to live, to work, to think and to aspire. The Party does not deny that the State has a part to play in industry. In certain recognised fields such as communication and defence industries the State has its legitimate field. Any one who reads the Principles adopted at the Bombay convention of the party will see that this is provided for. It may in the interest of national welfare, if found necessary, enter into industries such as are of the nature of pioneering enterprises or where the needed

capital cannot be got otherwise. In such cases, the State should withdraw, the moment private competitive enterprise can be drawn into them.

When capital is left and functions in private hands, it gives the greatest and most widely distributed scope for employment. Socialism centralises both power and capital in the State which is an organization inherently unfit for decentralised function or frugal management. It places intolerable authority in the hands of officials both big and petty. Centralisation means waste, nepotism, delay and the corruption which accompanies all forms of monopolistic organization especially under the parliamentary system where a political party seizes the power of interfering with economic life and has ample motive to handle it for the maintenance of its own power. There is more potentiality in freedom than is generally realised and more harm in bartering it away for imaginary welfare than one now sees through spectacles clouded by jealousy and dislike of those who are a little better off than oneself. Individual freedom and enterprise are the most precious asset the nation has, and it is an illusion to attribute any positive value to the authority of the State in the matter of production of wealth. Beyond everything else, there can be no happiness in servile citizenship dominated at every turn by the tyranny of officials, who in turn work obediently for fulfilling the behests of a party organization. We have learnt enough from what has come to stay in the countries where reform and production by compulsion have been State policy, enough to put us on guard against such a policy having increasing play in our own country. Totalitarianism in full action awaits us if we fail to strengthen the Swatantra Party.

The Swatantra Party has come into being to oppose totalitarianism, be it what the Communists desire or what in short-sighted competition with them the Congress Party has adopted as its policy. Courage and full-hearted opposition to all attacks on freedom—this is the call of the new Party.

THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL LIMITS TO STATE INTERVENTION

By V. NARAHARI RAO

(Formerly Auditor General of India)

Quite a lot of confusion and unnecessary controversy seems to have arisen around Rajaji's recent statements regarding the role of the rich as trustees of society. I do not think that for a moment Rajaji was trying to bolster up the claims of rich people for accumulating wealth for their own selfish ends. The days when rich people could accumulate wealth for themselves, whether in States which call themselves socialistic, or in others which are described as capitalistic, are gone. For even in countries like the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. the incidence of taxation is designed to be progressive and falls heavily on the rich. Taxes on income, estate duties and others are great levellers of fortunes. The great baronial castles in England have become places of interest and curiosity. Some have to resort to the levy of a small fee for admission in order to cover the cost of maintenance of such places. The evolution in countries like U.K. and U.S.A. has been towards a very high degree of social justice in all spheres of human activity. Taxation in India too does not spare the rich. But any substantial improvement of the standards of living of the masses can only come from all round increased production of wealth and not by destroying or levelling down the rich and creating class hatred. Social legislation in India as elsewhere is expected to take adequate care of the weaker elements of society.

Some people have understood Rajaji's statements to imply that the rich should not be taxed at all but should be left as trustees of the wealth of the nation. What Rajaji really means is that the State should not attempt to take over and regulate innumerable functions that properly belong to the life of the individual, as if the individual left to himself can do no good either to himself or to society. Such an attitude on the part of the State will lead to the extreme situation in which even babies will be taken away by the State, as soon as possible, after they are born to be looked after and brought up as it is being done in some countries.

Every moment of one's life and every activity of a human being will then be controlled and regulated by the State. For God's sake, let us keep the State well within its bare functions—they are vast enough—and let us evolve a free society of good men in it. Surely this is not a plea for rich men. To be good, kind, protective and serviceable to our own kind is part of the natural instincts of human beings except the most depraved. Even the impulses of animals to protect their off-spring and their species are not the result of any legislative compulsion but arise from simple natural instincts. Likewise, in human societies, from the beginning of creation the instinct of self-preservation and preservation of the species has been fundamental. The evolution and development of society and of the art of government for the common good has been a gradual process. It is foolish to forget this and to attempt the regulation by an omnipotent and omniscient State of a whole range of human acts, emotion, instincts, motives and values which govern human conduct. The ordinary decencies of civilised human life and society are not matters which can be enforced by the State. You have to have some faith in the ultimate soundness of the human instinct and in the benevolence of human nature. The question of the intervention by the State should arise only for controlling abnormal individuals who commit crimes against their fellow human beings and the prevention of crime.

In modern conditions the State will also have to do many things which individual or private enterprise cannot undertake such as Railways, multi-purpose River Valley Schemes, etc. The State is therefore a necessary evil but there must be curbs and limitations on its power and actions so that the rights and essential freedom of the individual are not threatened or destroyed by the State. The extinction of private enterprise and trade will only result in the progressive destruction of individual initiative and character and will turn the nation into a body of slaves unfit

and afraid to act, think or express opinions freely and always requiring a dictator to rule.

In western countries a great deal of social service is left to be performed by philanthropic individuals and societies who make generous contributions to such institutions. Their foundations for education, medical relief and other causes are too well known to need mention. Rockefeller, Carnegie, Ford and other names go down in human history for all-time record. In our own country, Jamshedji Tata is an illustrious name. Numerous are the charitable institutions founded by men whose names are not known, who were impelled by the tradition of our country to spend for society what God gave them. The point is, there is a very wide field of social good which must be left to the good instincts of individuals and of society. Ultimately it is love that regulates life beginning with family relations and sacrifices and ending in the wider field of social obligations and relations. Rajaji's point is that our religion, faith in God and our philosophy embrace and should continue to embrace a vast field of our daily life and conduct for an enduring civilisation and happy society. The State should not attempt to take over and regulate the innumerable functions and details of the private life of the individual and of society. If it were to do so, we shall be living in George Orwell's "1984."

The whole cry of Rajaji is for a free society in which the rich and the poor will by all means make all the contributions they can both by themselves and State regulation in a manner that secures social justice as in the western democracies, without attempting to overwhelm the individual and make him a creature of the omnipotent State.

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SIDELIGHTS ::

Sri P. K. Sankaran, Mulund, Bombay, writes:

In the welter of politics, the unbiased and forthright articles in SWARAJYA lent distinction and endeared the journal to the readers in the recent past. But, since its intention is to toe a party line, it is very much feared that a new angle of vision, other than the one of disinterestedness, will be brought to bear on events. It remains to be seen how a journal could advocate for party advancement and yet remain impartial in its comments.

The Swatantra Party's basic ideals are laudable; but the same may not be true of its policies. SWARAJYA, as a matter of duty, will commend any and every policy taken by the party which in the sturdy independent days of SWARAJYA would have been subjected to critical scrutiny. It is hardly fair to view the politics of other parties critically while exempting that of the Swatantra Party from the purview of criticism.

It is earnestly hoped that while propagating the policies of a particular party, SWARAJYA will not let down the interest of a vast body of uncommitted readers and the principles the journal once held dear will not suffer any diminution under a new set-up.

Sri Sankaran raises a nice point that is of great value to journals seeking to maintain an independent outlook. His contention that a party journal cannot be independent as it has to toe the party line is quite sound, but SWARAJYA is not a party journal in that sense, nor is the Swatantra Party a party of the ordinary pattern denying freedom of thinking and voting to the members. He himself concedes that the Party's basic ideals are laudable. It is only in respect of those basic laudable ideals that the leader of the Swatantra Party expects compliance from its members. In all other matters they are free to criticise, dissent and oppose. It is this conceded right of freedom, which the members of the Swatantra Party enjoy in contra-distinction to practically every other party given to the gagging of conscience, judgment, action and opinion of its rank and file with whips, admonitions and other disciplinary impositions, that will enable a journal of that party, if it should have one such, to "advocate for party advancement and yet remain impartial in its comments." Nothing need compel it to a new angle of vision other than that of disinterestedness nor need any reader fear that such a new angle of vision will be brought to bear on the events.

SWARAJYA will not, "as a matter of duty, commend any and every policy taken by the party," as the correspondent fears, nor will it exempt the politics of the Swatantra Party "from the purview of criticism." The objective of restoring freedom to the individual to which the great leader of the party has dedicated himself, does not start outside the party, but begins with it. This charter of freedom given to the members is an indication that blind allegiance is not expected of them. It has also to be noted that the Swatantra Party, though called by that name, can be described more correctly as a movement. It is a movement for freedom, truth, individual initiative, compassion in human relations and trusteeship of each for the welfare of fellowmen worse placed in life. SWARAJYA's interest in the Swatantra Party is based on the pursuit of these aims. None of them entails violation of any journalistic duty.

For thirteen years I owned and edited first *Swatantra*, then *Swarajya*. I imposed the ownership on myself, despite lack of business competence and of capacity for salesmanship under the delusion that ownership alone conferred full editorial freedom. I have now abandoned this delusion, suddenly realising that during twenty five years when I was subject to the discipline of other owners I do not recall a single occasion when I was coerced into upholding any doctrine against my will. No ivory tower of congenial facilities is necessary for the exercise of journalistic independence. It can be maintained under any conditions of service provided the practitioner values it enough to resist the temptations that come his way to induce him to give it up. The present set-up of SWARAJYA confers on me editorship for life with absolute editorial control. But I have realised that these protective safeguards are not good and should be given up and a man should take his stand on his own work and worth and not on pre-ordained privileges that have somehow secured legal validity. Editorial integrity is the most valuable part of journalistic work. It is violated whenever there is an inflexible commitment in advance for unvarying support to any parti-

cular organisation. The appeal of the Press should be, always, to the vast body of uncommitted readers, and not to sectional coteries already converted to some rigid doctrine. To let down the uncommitted by propagating fixed partisan nostrums is to offend truth itself, and if SWARAJYA should ever commit such an offence, it would be the fault of none else but the editor, who would then deserve to be cashiered. There is nothing in the present set-up of SWARAJYA favourable to backsliding from any duty obligatory on the Press. On the contrary, its atmosphere is one of scrupulous respect for editorial integrity, and I have never felt so free to think aright, so released from the small pressures that deflect one from correct judgment, as now. Let readers not transfer any blame due to me to what they style the 'set-up', which indeed is as idealistically perfect as one can hope for in this our imperfect world. Fortunately Sri Sankaran refers to no misdemeanour actually committed. His concern is over a prospective likely default. My appeal is that this journal should be judged on its own sins of commission and omission and not with the yardstick of any correspondent's fear over non-existing things conjured up as frightful possibilities for the future.

* * * Another correspondent, Sri R. K. Jamkhandi of Kalyan, writes:

I have been reading SWARAJYA ever since the first issue was published. I did have high regard for some of the independent views. But I was shocked to find Independence Day not even mentioned prominently in the issue of August 15. The celebration of Independence Day cannot be regarded as a function of the Congress Party. It is a national celebration. It ought to have received due significance in the columns of the weekly. Its conspicuous absence has shocked me so much that I have decided to stop reading it as a protest.

The celebration of the Independence Day has ceased to be what it was. It is being progressively officialised year after year. Public interest in it has conspicuously waned. The significance of freedom is being lost to an increasing number of people as, year after year, its enjoyment is being minimised and even taken away with the never-ending series of State interventions with the living and livelihood of people. What is left after all this excessive regimentation is not Independence, but a caricature of it. Why fall into an ecstasy over such a caricature? — SAKA

GHASTLY HALLUCINATION

By POTHAN JOSEPH

In the Prime Minister's attempt to ridicule the rise of the Swatantra Party he indulges in the complacent reflection that opposition to the Congress in the past had strengthened the Indian National Congress. The flaw in the claim lies in Mr. Nehru's non-recognition of the fact that for any historian there should be a difference between the agitational mission of the Congress and the commencement of nation-building after independence. He has always been prone to interpret the national movement in terms of the part he had played before the birth of the Republic. He maintains that India under British tutelage had a foreign policy identifiable with his opinions on the international situation and it was true that at the annual sessions of the Congress Mahatma Gandhi and other colleagues relaxed whilst Mr. Nehru delivered a speech surveying the international situation. This accommodating practice could not by itself justify the claim of a foreign policy when India on her own footing had no foreign relations. It would be well if the Prime Minister conceded that after the adoption of a Constitution which "the people of India gave unto themselves," (not the Congress Party alone) policy matters should be determined within the four corners of that charter of freedom evolved under all-party approval, and not on meanings read into the Karachi Congress resolution as judged by himself.

If the Karachi decisions were sacred, the President of India should be receiving a salary of Rs. 500 a month, and nobody could have been executed after Swaraj in view of the demand in Karachi for the ending of capital sentences. There have been many fluctuating theories and aspirations about the future, but the frame-work of the Constitution should be meticulously respected and capricious demands to amend it to ease the difficulties of the ruling parties should be sternly discouraged.

To return to the claim that since its inception the Congress grew only stronger after a crisis, we shall find that the proposition has not always been true. Lord Dufferin himself

encouraged Allan Octavian Hume to bring together members of the *elite* and the Congress was the nucleus ridiculed by diehard critics. The rising generation was tired of petitions and prayers, and Tilak for his part was not content with polite requests; his shift was towards the masses but he had been so much involved in extra-political affairs that he could just introduce "extremism" in order to leave Moderates high and dry. They broke up at Surat and it required a "convention" to assemble the broken pieces. It was a period of recession saved ultimately by the emergence of the Home Rule agitation which revitalised politics in the country. To save the Home Rule League and its dynamism sedate Moderates like Sapru, Nehru, Chintamani and Jinnah joined the League and left by the time Mahatma Gandhi appeared to rename it as Swaraj Sabha. It was the parting of the ways, but the lure of diarchy and untried faith in non-cooperation had given a setback to the Congress as a live organisation. When many thought that the remains of the Congress were being disinterred Mahatma Gandhi knew that Congress was being resurrected by the breath of his nostrils. It was not the exit of other parties but the meagre moral energy which lingered in the Congress that accounted for the next drive in the agitation. What roused people was the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and the appearance of self-sacrificing personnel. It was the very negation of a Bolshevik purge since the appeal was all-inclusive. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru was in the forefront for Complete Independence different from the bid for Dominion Status through negotiations and the conference methods that suffered sabotage at the Round Table Conference. Jawaharlal's radical humanism had in view a crusade for all mankind whereas for Pandit Motilal Nehru there was dire necessity for India becoming a land fit for Nehrus to live in. Are we to say that the dissensions in the U. P. on the eve of office acceptance (1937) had made the Congress position stronger when the pre-election commitments had been on

the pledge of a Congress - League pact? Deviation together with faith in mass-contacts laid the prospect of disorder and weakness exploited by the offending parties. Again the retreat at the time of the Cripps Mission did not strengthen the Congress but proved the rule of ups and downs in the life of a party. Nevertheless cracks could be patched and facade could be maintained because of the spirit of supreme unity for the ending of foreign rule and the presence of Mahatma Gandhi. The last chance of consolidation had been during the second visit of Stafford Cripps which found the Congress in a fiasco which only Providence could retrieve at the end of the war. To appear to resile on the Cabinet Mission's plan in the course of an exciting speech in Bombay had meant the certainty of partition and Pakistan.

If we study the records, it cannot be said except in the language of rhetoric that after the rise of new parties, depleting Congress ranks, the Congress gained in strength through sheer quality. In relation to the crisis in character represented by the Nagpur resolution and the rally of the Swatantra Party, let us recall that the crucial issue of land-ceiling and co-operatives had long ago been started by the present Prime Minister and scotched by the High Command.

As early as 1936, Pandit Nehru as Congress President had begun attacking "old leaders" in their move towards Ministry-formation. They, however, took to heart Jawaharlal's constant strictures on their "old fashioned" ways of thinking about "Socialism." It is interesting to recall that Babu Rajendra Prasad, who is familiar with agricultural problems and peasant cultivation, led the protest against Nehru's castigations. On June 29, 1936, Rajen Babu joined Sardar Patel, Rajaji, Jairamdas Daulatram, Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj and others in submitting to Pandit Nehru, as Congress President, their letter of resignation in default of Nehru's propaganda ceasing to proclaim that the Congress is committed to the Socialist creed, liquidating the land tradition of India. They wrote jointly:

"We feel... that the Congress should still follow the ideals, and the line of action and policy which it has been following since 1929 and which we consider to be best suited to our country particularly in the present conditions

and which have already shown great results... We are of the opinion that through your speeches and those of the other Socialist colleagues and the acts of other Socialists who have been emboldened by the speeches we have referred to, the Congress organisation has been weakened throughout the country without any compensating gain. The effect of your propaganda on the

political work immediately before the nation, particularly the programme of election, has been very harmful and we feel that in the situation created we cannot shoulder the responsibility of organising and fighting the coming election."

Fortunately, Mahatma Gandhi was alive and the differences were patched up.

For any one to delude himself into the notion that seceders strengthen the Congress Party every time and that the Swatantra Party's rise could be something of a ghost-story is to indulge in a ghastly hallucination.

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NEW THINKING FOR SWATANTRA PARTY

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The Swatantra movement has fulfilled itself. The Congress is allowing co-operative farming and State trading in grain to fade out not only because the Swatantra movement has shown that they are destructive of freedom but also because the Congress has realised, on the one hand, what they will cost in the votes of the self-employed millions, and on the other, how much of the finance of the country they will absorb with little result other than inflation. Other signs of the conversion of the Congress are many. The current budget is a pragmatic one; the third Five Year Plan will be a continuation of the second one, without the Socialistic basis envisaged earlier in the year; banks will not be nationalised; Private Sector will be allowed in the development of oil resources. What happened in Kerala has placed a gap between the Congress and Communists. To the extent the Swatantra Party has polarised all these, it has already saved the country from the drift to Communism.

The question then is if the Swatantra movement should become the Swatantra Party. A movement touches the minds, the party catches the votes. Nearly all thinking people in the country are now convinced that the extension of bureaucracy, State enterprise and various Socialistic schemes by the Congress have added to the taxes and prices they pay on the one hand and to the loss of employment and incentives, on the other. But the majority of the people in the country do not think; they only feel the wants of life. They do not understand abstractions and can be magnetised only by items that add to the content of their lives. The question therefore is whether the Swatantra movement should become the Swatantra Party with a programme which can draw the masses away from Communism.

The Plan may be based on two rights, described as Directive Principles in the Constitution, which the Swatantra Party can treat as Fundamental Rights: first the right to work, and second the right to a minimum wage. It was not realised that persons who have no work,

estimated at 45 millions, and those whose wages are below living standards (about 70 millions) are in no position to participate in the other rights assured by the Constitution. At the same time, the unemployed and the underemployed, consumed food and other services without making an equivalent return. Their full employment will not only create new wealth for the country but generate new purchasing power, at least a quarter as much as the present total, which will be amply reflected in the secondary and tertiary sectors. In the existing deficiencies of our roads, reservoirs, forests, buildings, all the unemployed and underemployed can be absorbed for a long time to come. The finance required is internal and can be created, without danger of inflation, if the price line for food is held by the new policy of acquiring grain stocks at statutory prices. A Five Year Plan therefore which stems from these two rights will carry the whole population to a new dimension, not only of economics but of politics because only people assured of work and wages will be viable under free enterprise to any position according to their merits.

The Plan for agriculturists must be first to provide full employment and next to increase efficiency in production. No one seems to have realised that the indebtedness, inertia and incompetence of the cultivators is the natural consequence of having to depend for the whole year on the work of three or six months. Under the scheme for insurance of employment on State projects, the cultivators will not require co-operative credit and will have money for amenities like education on which now only 0.7 per cent of their income is spent, medical services which take 1.27 per cent, fuel and lighting, 3.25 per cent, housing, less than 1 per cent. For removing inefficiency in production no expenditure can be too great. So far all the expenditure in the first two Plans has failed to increase productivity, which has not changed since 1944. The only approach which can be successful must be collectively through the village which may be offered, say a 25 per cent reduction in revenue for an equal rise in the average producti-

vity of the whole area, say 25 per cent, 1000 lbs. per acre. The lure will be so strong that both opinion and assistance will be mobilised on the side of new practices. The cost, if all villages respond, will be less than Rs. 25 crores, because the total land revenue of the country is only Rs. 98.87 crores. Considering that import costs Rs. 150 crores annually and the Five Year Plans Rs. 4500 crores, no one can think Rs. 25 crores too much for assuring sufficiency of food, which will not only remove under-nutrition but reduce prices and boost the whole economy. A proposal from the Swatantra Party like this will not only win the agriculturists to it, but all other sections of the country who have suffered from food shortage.

The next biggest class is of landless labour. To them insurance for employment on minimum wages will mean more than doubling of income. If at the same time, private enterprise in house building is sparked by subsidies there will be not only better housing, but employment to labour and to various self-employed persons who form 8 per cent of the population. A further step may be the decentralisation of industries, to create employment opportunities for higher kinds of work in villages.

In urban areas, free enterprise can be allowed its full scope, subject to taxation which does not reduce incentives for investment. The Swatantra Party could shift taxation from production to consumption, because luxury and sales taxes will serve both ethics and economics, without reducing investment or employment. At the same time, the Swatantra Party may reduce investment in the Public Sector, as this means taxes and loans which earn less than 1 per cent, while they raise the prices of articles in common demand. The response from the public as consumers to such a reduction of prices may be like a tide in favour of the Swatantra Party.

There can be no doubt that if the Swatantra Party commits itself to a Plan like this, the impression that its free enterprise is for the rich and powerful will not remain. On the other hand, within the concept of freedom, the Party will offer much more than the Congress and the Communists have done so far.

AHMEDABAD AND AFTER

By VICTOR PARANJOTI

Surely there has been nothing like it in this country of ours for the past twelve years and more. Long before the time when the Swatantra Party's meeting was scheduled to begin, the seven-acre grounds of Ahmedabad's Lal Darwaza were packed with people. The volunteers available did their best, but there were not enough of them to cope with the vast throng of eager and good-natured people—nearly 2,00,000 of them by most conservative estimates.

It was only the ready good-will of this huge concourse that made it possible for the meeting to progress in the orderly manner it did. In fact, the Sage of Salem complimented the gathering on its exemplary behaviour.

The sheer size of the swarming crowd and its keen attention to the proceedings reminded one of gatherings during the life-time of the Mahatma.

And this was the welcome given to the Swatantra Party and to its leaders in the very region where Mahatma Gandhi gathered his clans together for the freedom struggle. Here was visual proof that India wants the Swatantra

Party—proof that the love of liberty still lives in our land.

I called on Rajaji at Bombay early in the morning of the day following the momentous events in Ahmedabad. He had given himself no rest after his strenuous labours, for, even before I called, a stream of visitors had visited him—political leaders from many parts of India, comrades of the Non-co-operation period, friends who love this wise and unselfish man who has come out of his retirement to lead India in the fight to preserve and protect personal liberty.

Rajaji carries his 80 and more years well. The frail body is dominated by a razor-keen intellect and a heart full of love. That, I believe, is why so many have rallied so quickly to his call.

He received me with his customary courtesy and his heart-warming smile. We talked of India, of the mistakes the Congress Party has made, of the morass from which the people must carefully be brought out.

Rajaji said that, in his view, the Congress was no longer in contact with the people. What contact there was had been established

immediately prior to the elections and had been characterised by wild and exaggerated promises. He believed that the people were gradually becoming disillusioned.

The Swatantra Party would have to get into touch with the people through farmers, artisans, businessmen and tradesmen. The men and women of our land would have to be convinced of the Party's honourable intentions. The new Party would have to win over the people not by words, but by deeds.

And that was why the Swatantra Party would have to choose its representatives with great care. There would be no room for irresponsible people in the Party. The recent history of the Congress was a warning, for, with the aid and backing of a large number of irresponsible people, the party in power believed that it could establish a responsible government.

Rajaji was emphatic on this point. He said that he particularly wanted a large number of part-time voluntary workers for the Swatantra Party. Their leisure-time labours must win freedom for the individual in India.

"Our candidates must have roots," he urged. "They must be people who join the Party not because of what they can get out of it, but what they can give to it".

He pointed out that it was only people who had been able to earn a living who were able to accept responsibility. He also felt that, generally, the age-group 40 to 60 provided the best leaders; for, "at that age people are mature and their judgments are likely to be sound. What is more, their lives have been enriched with experience."

Rajaji said that he needed the whole-hearted co-operation of all people of good-will. He urged that we should put behind us all fear of the Congress Party and of Mr. Nehru. People should join the Swatantra Party and contribute to its funds without fear of Mr. Nehru.

Before we parted, the great statesman said that he would particularly welcome the help of tradesmen and businessmen—people who were used to budgets and balanced expenditure and controlled and successful spending.

Once more the leader spoke of the fear that some people had of Mr. Nehru. "This is not the time" he urged "for fear or hesitation."

A PHOTOGRAPHER'S DIARY

PORTRAIT OF A PHOTOGRAPHER

By M. KRISHNAN

With this page, I shall have more space for the photographs around which I write my diary—a thing I have long wanted, for while this is mainly a diary and not a pictorial page, the fact remains that it is difficult to get any communication into a small-sized picture, with the reproduction offered by our magazines. There are no doubt, many good reasons for the rather poor reproduction that a photograph gets in the overwhelming majority of our newspapers and magazines, most of them being concerned with the paper on which it is printed. But even with the finest paper and technique possible the reproduction of a photograph cannot compare with the carefully-made original—the half-tone process can, at best, reproduce only a half of the subtle tonal gradations, the sparkling highlights, and the lucid shadows of the photographic continuous-tone original—the thing that photographers call 'print quality.'

The half-page, and occasionally larger, size for which I can now

plan my pictures gives me, for the first time, realistic scope for the kind of report and comment I wish to make with camera and typewriter. And how can I celebrate this new-found scope better than by choosing as my first victim, a man who has devoted his entire lifetime to photography, its tantalising frustrations and moments of rare triumph, its endless opportunities for experiment and improvisation, and for equipoise in a medium where a gain on any front involves a loss on another?

And mind, when I say a lifetime, I mean a lifetime, not a paltry twenty or thirty years. Old Ch. S. is 69, and though I have never asked him, I suspect he began taking pictures when he was 9. He is still at it, and he has never had any other love. Lesser men might fritter away their energies in chasing shadows—this man has known but one shadow, the one cast by the negative on the enlarger's base-board, and he has stuck to it. That is why I salute him. I have no use for your photographers (however

loudly and lavishly they may advertise their professional merit) who are also good at tennis, or law, or anthropology, who also care for poetry and music and society.

A photographer, you comprehend has no time for such sidelines. However remarkably gifted and versatile he may be, there is no room enough to contain two of him in photography—Leonardo da Vinci, had he owned a camera, would never have had the spare-time to bother about flying machines.

I have heard amateurs, alas! even professionals, talk of photography as if it were a mechanical process, a matter of high-priced precision instruments, properly geared and anchored, and exact time-and-temperature methods, that would, with practice, lead to flawless pictures. Were I a dictator, these men would be the first I would deprive of civic rights and throw into dungeons. There are other men inclined to think of photography as a science, with a dash of applied art—these I would merely banish to some remote wilderness, to farm and reclaim the wasteland.

I know that by this crucial test, of utter preoccupation with the art and craft and chemistry and physics and engineering of photography, I



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myself am not a photographer worth his salt, I mean his hypo. The conclusion is lamentable, but inescapable; luckily it is also irrelevant. I am writing about Ch. S.

You want to know more about this doyen of South Indian photographers, you want to know who he is, and where he lives and how, and what his likes and prejudices are? I'll tell you. First, he is no sort of doyen. I do not like the word 'doyen'; it has such a smug, respectable, successful sound to it—I will call no friend of mine by that name. For the rest, I have been trying to tell you all about Ch. S. all this time. The man is a photographer.

Is. Not was. He does not cling to outmoded techniques and implements, the rise and fall of which he has known personally. If there are any dregs from the past in him, I think they are in his conviction that the best lenses yet made are the old, uncoated, concentric 'convertible' doublets, such as the Zeiss Protar, the Hugo Meyer Plasmal, and the Goetz Dagor. However, it must be conceded that he has a right to his opinion—after all, he made his best pictures with such a lens.

It is a treat to talk photography (the only occupation of photographers when not actually engaged in work, or asleep) with him. Hypersensitisation, two-bath techniques for printing and developing, the comparative compensative values of fine-grain and highly dilute metal developers, giant blow-ups from miniature negatives, prehardening as an alternative to cooling during development—he knows them all, and his experience is always worth consulting. And I know of no man so willing to help a fellow photographer with technical suggestions—so long as the upstart

implicitly follows directions, and tries no scheme of his own or some new-fangled technique.

Naturally, his years are beginning to assert themselves, and he does less active photography these days than he used to. Do you see that little black thing jutting out of his pocket in the picture? No, it is not a fountain-pen, but the handle of a little, round magnifying glass that he carries with him wherever he goes, the better to read fine print and to inspect tiny screws, hair-springs and such like. And I am afraid his hearing, too, is no longer what it was. In fact, I would say that he is definitely hard of hearing, except that I noticed while talking to him one day, that the moment I switched over from an

experiment I had been working on to the results I had obtained by following his advice, he could hear every little word with ease!

After all, it is inevitable that in the evening of one's life one should feel a little like relaxing and nursing one's resources. So, if you see a slight, almost frail, simply-clad gentleman on an antiquated bicycle pedalling through the blazing, noonday heat of the Madras summer along the Adyar Bridge, the breeze of his own energetic passage pressing back his picturesque beard and hair, and see him a little later proceeding along Mount Road with unabated speed, and, perhaps in the afternoon, at Mannadi, you may be sure you have seen the subject of this brief portrait.

THE BOOK TRADE

The following suggestion aims at removing the difficulties which confront publishers of books.

The average bookseller is averse to stocking of books which do not sell quickly. Even if, for the sake of prestige, he starts keeping a small stock of such books, the fact is not usually known to the right type of clientele quickly enough, and he soon gets discouraged. Dead or dying stock kills what little idealism he has.

Now let us look at the question from the publisher's end. He is either a professional or an amateur writer-publisher. It is known that printing less than 3,000 copies at a time is uneconomical. But if an edition of 3,000 takes 10 years to be absorbed, a number of losses occur, such as warehousing, account-keeping, loss of interest on capital, loss of interest in the subject-matter of the book, soilage, etc. The amateur is at a greater disadvantage in this respect. Even if the copies are sent out to the sellers on 'consignment basis', transport charges become disproportionately high on small lots particularly for the writer-publisher. It has also to be added with regret that many booksellers lack business principles and elementary integrity.

Hence the following suggestion is made. The publishers should evolve a union which should be autonomous. The union should maintain attractive bookshops in district towns to start with, and in taluk towns and other small towns later.

The shops must be centrally situated, spacious and with facilities inside for comfortable browsing.

A standardised shelf should be the unit; and each publisher would hire space, according to his needs, in terms of the shelf. (A tier could be a sub unit to suit author-publisher). A monthly hire for the shelves and a percentage on actual sales would be debited to each publisher. Thus each publisher would be having his own shop in hundreds of towns at a small cost.

When the shops start functioning in all the towns and big villages, a 3,000 copy edition could be distributed over the several shelves in the course of the first month. (I expect the union to possess a five-ton lorry suitably built). With the shops given an attractive and comfortable look, and run as a sort of cultural centre, sales would rapidly increase.

I personally know that a large number of worth-while writers have good manuscripts ready and that they are bursting to write more, if the sales arrangement is reliable and encouraging. Publishers are also eager to take advantage of the improving book-mindedness of the public. With increasing spread of education, a 10 to 15 per cent per year increase in purchase of books may be considered an underestimate. Hence the time seems propitious for the selling scheme as envisaged by me.

M. S. KALYANASUNDARAM

BOOK REVIEW

ECONOMICS, ECONOMY & ECONOMISTS

By S. AMBIRAJAN

As a result of the great vogue that talk about Planning has gained in recent years in India, 'economics,' 'economy' and 'economists' are among the words most frequently bandied about in private and public discussions. Promiscuous use is apt to blunt the edge of precision, and it is necessary to pause a little and define our terms, if we can. Malthus felt this difficulty in his time, and so he issued a handbook entitled *Definitions in Political Economy*. In recent times the confusion has grown worse confounded. Professor Lindley Fraser's *Economic Thought and Development* (1937) was an attempt to hew a path through the tropical jungle of economic concepts and economic terminology. But there are still traps to catch the unwary and throw them into discomfiture.

What is Economics? Shall we hold with Marshall that its function is "to collect, arrange and analyse economic facts, and to apply the knowledge, gained by observation and experience, in determining what are likely to be the immediate and ultimate effects of various groups of causes?" Shall we rather hold with Professor Robbins that Economics is really a study of human behaviour under the pressure of scarcity—a study, in other words, of the problem of economising? Can 'economic' and 'material' values be equated? When—if at all—do 'moral' and 'spiritual' values enter the domain of economics? Is Professor Joan Robinson right when she declares that "the purpose of studying economics is not to acquire a set of ready-made answers to economic questions, but to learn how to avoid being deceived by economists"? Economics is our friend, but the economists are our enemies!

Dr. Kenneth Rivett of the University of Melbourne, who was in India a couple of years ago, gave three lectures before the Harold Laski Institute of Political Science at Ahmedabad on the scope and method of Economics and its relation to social philosophy. These lectures have now been printed, and make absorbing reading. Dr. Rivett is a seasoned methodologist, but he is also greatly interested in the Gandhian approach to economic problems—more keenly and earnestly interested, indeed, than any Indian economist of standing. There is much in his lectures to stimulate thought and help in the formulation of a new social philosophy that is neither purely revivalist and obscurantist nor absurdly new-fangled,

Economics and Economy. By Kenneth Rivett. (Harold Laski Institute of Political Science, Ahmedabad. Rs. 2.)

but is rather charged with serious purpose and is quite practicable.

In his opening lecture on the scope of economics, Dr. Rivett modifying Robbins' celebrated definition so as to include pricing, makes the neat point—"Admittedly all points in economics are problems of economy. But not all problems of economy are illuminated by economics"—and suggests that "a problem is economic if it is usually solved with the help of price." Particular ends and means too are 'economic' if the cost of the former or the contribution of the latter is (usually) measured by price. If the yard-stick of money can somehow be brought into play, we are in the province of economics all right.

In the second lecture, Dr. Rivett addresses himself to the task of defining the 'method' of economics. He begins by referring to Gandhiji and Ruskin, and passes on to a consideration of the role of arguments, generalisations, common-sense and statistics in economic studies. All have their uses, though not to an equal extent, or all the time. As Marshall said, "much of this work has less need of elaborate scientific methods, than of a shrewd mother-wit, of a sound sense of proportion, and of a large experience of life." But generalisations could be useful pointers, and their value should not be minimised.

In the final lecture, Dr. Rivett examines the relations between economics and ethics. Professor Boulding has said that "the critique of ends is not within the province of economic analysis; indeed, it lies in the domain of wisdom rather than of knowledge, of religion rather than of science." In practice, it is difficult to keep far apart the critique of means and the critique of ends. Welfare economics is meaningless without certain specific ethical criteria. "Any view on any question of economic policy," says Dr. Rivett, "should be defensible ultimately in terms of an ethical standard." In short, a marriage between economics and ethics can and should be arranged. In India, material values are cherished, but not to the neglect of moral and spiritual values. The idea is that cabbages are grown, but only so that cabbages may give the grower the strength, and the leisure, to grow roses. This is the reason why many in India, though they can afford luxuries, voluntarily accept modest standards of living. This is not cranky asceticism really, but mere sanity. Simple living is generally wise living. Thoreau preached this to America and the Western world, as Gandhiji preached it in our

time. The following passage in Dr. Rivett's address embodies the economics that is mediated, not by price, but by love, also the Gandhian doctrine of trusteeship, now reiterated by Rajaji:

"In India a tremendous job is waiting to be done in the villages by people who will put up with low rewards. Who, then can doubt the extreme relevance of Gandhiji's plea for simpler living? Since Westerners could do so much more for India and other underdeveloped countries if they would accept a reduction, or simply a slower rate of increase, in their standards of living, the plea and example of Gandhiji and Vinobaji are a challenge to all of us.

"Suppose, therefore, that we lay our hearts open to Vinobaji's appeal. Suppose we are prepared to be 'looted by love.' At that point he throws the responsibility back to us, and asks us to decide what, in all the circumstances, we feel we can give. That, of course, depends partly on what we have and earn. It depends partly on the number of our dependants. It also depends partly on what we think we need for ourselves. And that ought to depend largely on how far expenditure on ourselves seems a good investment from society's standpoint."

That the doctrine of trusteeship is no idle dream but a doctrine in action—not as much as we would like, perhaps, but not wholly negligible—is illustrated by the recent news item that the late Nallamuthu Gounder gave away Rs. 5½ lakhs and property yielding an annual income of Rs. 10,000 to the Pollachi College. Indian economy needs to be made to look up, but it has to be done in ways that eschew violence and are rooted in our traditions. The issue between Rajaji and Nehru is really the issue between our traditional humanistic *dharmaic* approach and the new materialistic economic approach to the solution of our problems. Back from Nehru to Gandhi: from the rigours of centralised economic planning to the age-long imperatives of *dharma*: from the paragons of the Planning Commission to the *Rishis* of old and the wise founding fathers of our infant Republic:

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from sharp and violent revolution in our ways of thought and life, in our social, political and economic organisation, to healthy and gradual evolution from a worthy past to an even better future. To quote Dr. Rivett again, "the problem of economy, of allotting scarce resources between alternative uses, is a problem of economics and ethics. It forces us to

consider, not only the final test of the rightness of actions, but also the significance of our deepest experience as moral agents."

In attempting what Professor Fraser has called the recultivation of "the scarred battlefield of economic scope and method," Dr. Rivett has boldly sought the help of Gandhian fertilisers. What we

need to-day is both a readiness to learn from the West and a proper pride in what India herself has to give to the world. We should conserve the best in our tradition and feed it with what is essentially valuable in the Western tradition. Dr. Rivett's little book should make our economists and publicists do a lot of rethinking on national planning.



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CAPITAL COMMENTS

CRISIS OF CHARACTER IN THE CONGRESS

By JUNIUS

Ere the Congress High Command had digested the fruits of its indirect victory in Kerala, it found itself confronted with a crisis in Uttar Pradesh. It was nothing short of a mutiny in the State's legislative regiment. The revolt was staged inside the House, deliberately and a trifle ostentatiously — and it was directed to bring the Ministry into jeopardy and bundle its Chief out. And if ever Mr. Sampurnanand needed to consult his astrologers, it was then, for the planetary conjunction over his head was strangely convulsive.

Nobody in U.P. or at the Centre could seriously suggest that the developments were sudden: yet, for a wonder, the Congress President maintained — or tried to maintain — that she was taken rather unawares and was awaiting the full report, while at the Nagpur Congress itself where she was to be crowned, the High Command was left in no doubt about a well-concerted move to depose Mr. Sampurnanand. But as is always the case with it, the High Command would not take serious notice of any warning till a stage arrived when it must either act or abdicate. Now with the gales from the Gomti at their fiercest, the Congress leaders are rushing about like sleepers awakened.

It is difficult to understand the political psychology of a body which, in the same set of circumstances, wants the dissidents in one State to 'go to hell' and in another to be reconciled to the representation of their group in the Ministry. Inside the Congress, what is sauce for Mr. Sanjiva Reddy is not sauce for Mr. Sampurnanand. If the latter is not inclined to do some soft-peddalling and make up with the rebels, it is certain that, despite the tall talk of bigger men having gone out of the Congress, leaving the Caravan stronger, far from Mr. Sampurnanand's adversaries being thrown out, Mr. Sampurnanand himself will be advised, or persuaded, to make room for another. The High Command, whatever its inclinations are, cannot even pretend that it has the strength at all to enforce disciplinary action against any substantial section in its ranks. Such strength once for all disappeared with the sturdy Sardar. Mr. Nehru's thunderbolts are but meant for mere stage-effects.

One dignitary's presence in Delhi at this time makes matters suspicious. Mr. Sri Prakasa is a factor to reckon with. He has stakes in U.P.; he is a born smoother; he enjoys the confidence of Mr. Nehru. And one way of tiding over the present, immediate crisis is to switch him on to Lucknow — and raise Mr. Sampurnanand to the gubernatorial rank or bring him (as hinted at in these

columns earlier) to the Centre. The dissidents in U.P. will be reconciled to Mr. Sri Prakasa, Mr. Sampurnanand to change, and the High Command to anything that prevents, or seems to prevent, the disintegration of the Congress in U.P. Any other 'compromise' will only mean a recurrence of the problem, for rightly or wrongly, the feeling has hardened that with Mr. Sampurnanand at the helm of affairs in U.P., the ship of State cannot steer clear of the rock on the one side and the monsters of the deep on the other.

Congressmen as well as members of other parties who have not so far ceased to talk of lessons from Kerala, may also profitably occupy themselves with what U.P. has to teach them. No party in power with a considerable majority can find life exciting in the absence of internal divisions, if not internecine strife; nor need it necessarily be divided on ideological or political grounds. It is always easy to find in group-rivalry a basis for division as it is easy to find in distribution of the spoils of office enough incentive for group-formation. And the Congress is such a fertile soil for all such growths; it is not too exacting in its demands of personal loyalty or political conviction. And if the worst happens to weaken the organisation, they can leave it to the supreme leader to salvage its wrecks and save its honour.

It was typical of Mr. Nehru that, while the story of U.P. was still one of gathering storm, he was philosophising at his best. In the things that were happening, there was nothing peculiar to the Congress alone or even to the country. The world itself was passing through a crisis — a crisis deeper than that of the mind, — the crisis of character. There was nothing that apparently anyone could do about it. Not only is he thus in a mood to resign himself to fate, instead of wrestling with it, he is indeed a very self-satisfied man these days. He is convinced — and he openly claims — that the Congress had done better work during the last few years than in the past, and it was its very achievement which raised yet more hopes in the public. After this, it is futile to think that anything short of disaster can disturb his equanimity or rouse his fear.

On the floor of the House there were grave charges of corruption against the officials of the Food Ministry. Nor were Members tender to the Minister for Food; his integrity too was assailed. About the same time, Members of Parliament from Uttar Pradesh who were agitated over the party and the organisational crisis in the

State, suggested, among other things, a judicial inquiry into the charges levelled against the Home Minister, Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi. That the former charges were made by the Opposition and the latter suggestion offered by the Congress, should make no difference. For, the Prime Minister, from what he said at a Party Meeting, seemed to develop a new theory that "unless full proof was forthcoming it was difficult to punish the offenders," which meant or implied that as full proof might not be forthcoming, there was little or no use wasting time over complaints, however loud, or allegations, however wild. It is difficult to deduce from this that the Congress Governments at the Centre and in the States are particularly concerned for ministerial reputations. So moves the Congress caravan on, undismayed, unperturbed and unconcerned, with Mr. Nehru musing on the crisis of character, and yet complacent about it.

It is a sight to see some academicians rushing where politicians fear to tread in the realms of party polemics. But academicians or otherwise, bumptious men cannot help being bumptious. So it hardly surprised anyone to see the liberally-initialled Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University — Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao — coming down heavily on the Swatantra Party and trying to blast it out of existence by sheer vituperation in the style of the proverbial Hyde Park tub-thumper. If it was but an easy device to please the power-that-be, one could understand his being fussy, whereas if he tried to blossom into a political mentor, he needed to be told that he had assumed far too much. Perhaps he should be reminded of his discovery of himself at a Press conference where he pathetically confessed that he made 'an ass' of himself. Indeed, he was reported to have said it for a second time, even more emphatically by summoning an adjective to describe the familiar beast! And it was the talk in Parliamentary lobbies. The fact is that Dr. Rao is a man 'in a hurry,' with a roving eye on life's prizes. Maybe he felt that vigorous denunciation of the Swatantra Party could be quite a good investment. Academic obligations and political antics ill go together.

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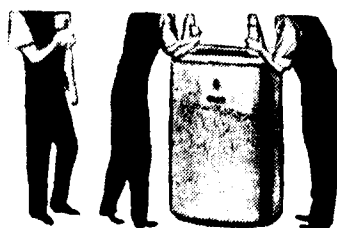
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

POLITICS AND RELIGION

Sir,—“He that is not with me is against me,” seems of late to be the attitude of our P.M. It may not be irrelevant to recall the poignant words of Mahatmaji who said: “I cannot conceive politics as divorced from religion. Indeed religion should pervade every one of our actions.” Probably Rajaji cherishes this idea whenever he talks of God.

Was not Jesus quite correct when he declared: “For what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?”

Let us not put too much premium on material progress and pay mere lip service to our time-honoured traditions.

D. S. B. MANIAN

Bangalore

*

INCENTIVE TO THE PEASANTS

Sir,—Many agriculturists are turning away from food crops to cash crops. Everyone talks in terms of reducing the price of articles of food, because that appeals to the townspeople and the landless poor; but no one seems to remember that to-day the producer of food crops in India is hard put to it even to manage the expenses of cultivation. And we have the strange spectacle of cultivable land being left fallow in a country which is not producing enough food for its population.

Unless the agriculturist gets a decent price for the food crops he produces, he has little incentive to produce more. Mere ‘freedom’ is not enough; he must get more tangible compensation for his hard work. Unfortunately, the poor producer of food crops has no one to plead his cause.

If the Swatantra Party really means business it should not merely talk of the freedom of the owner-cultivator; it should explain in unmistakable terms how it is going to provide better incentive to the peasant-proprietor of land for production of food.

Always

DR. K. C. JOSEPH

*

INDIVIDUAL THINKING

Sir,—The Swatantra Party has, in recent weeks, succeeded in stirring up freedom of thinking and expression. The belief is gaining ground that there can be an alternative to Socialism as a political goal for the masses. The atmosphere of despair that has clouded the middle class intelligentsia is slowly lifting; but the question is asked whether, with middle class sympathies alone, the new Party can have electoral success in the near future. The leaders of the Party should address themselves to this question.

It is not as if, in the modern world, there is no road except the Left. England, during the worst economic crisis in her history, voted a Conservative Government to power and reversed nationalisation. Many among the working classes voted Conservative by deliberate choice. Democracy is not necessarily synonymous with Socialism or Communism.

Aldous Huxley said: “The survival of democracy depends on the ability of large numbers of people to make realistic choices in the light of adequate information.” As Rajaji has often said the people have been mesmerized by the cult of personality. If the people are adequately informed on the right lines, there may be no doubt that large numbers of them will make realistic choices. Here lies the real role of the middle class intelligentsia. If they are convinced of the right choice, they will be able to influence larger sections of the people who are now under the narcotic influence of Socialistic and Communistic propaganda. A movement should be generated to substitute individual thinking for mass thinking.

A. N. SATTANATHAN

*

DEFAMATORY

Sir,—The Prime Minister's criticism of the growing Press opinions in favour of the Swatantra Party is unwarranted and defamatory. His attack on the editorial opinions is a wilful interference with the freedom of the Press and a hint to them not to have their own way in giving favourable comments on the new Party.

Why blame Rajaji for his apt description of the Prime Minister and his Government?

T. ARAVAMUDHAN

*

POVERTY ON THE INCREASE

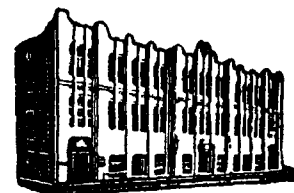
Sir,—The Central Statistical Organisation of the Government of India have been publishing from time to time certain data relating to the estimates of national income. These are worth pursuing. They show that the per capita income for 1957-58 went down from Rs. 291.5 to Rs. 281.1 at current prices. In our neighbour country, with all its internal vicissitudes, it has gone up.

While in all sectors of the national income, other than agriculture, there is an increase, in agriculture, which supports the majority of the population, being nearly 70 percent, there has been a steady decline. Prior to the Plan agriculture provided 48.1 per cent of the national income. In 1957-58 it came down to the remarkably low figure of 45.5 per cent. This means that our poverty is on the increase.

A. S. N. MURTI

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15 Naye Paise

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

Speaking on "Socialism in India" at the Harold Laski Institute of Political Science, Ahmedabad, Sri Morarji Desai said "Gandhiji was one of the greatest Socialists" and that he "advocated the noblest principles of Socialism from the early days of his political career." The Finance Minister claimed, further, that Gandhiji's philosophy of purity of means was the basis of the Socialism which the Congress Party endeavoured to usher in. This attempt to trace back the Socialism of Mr. Nehru to inspiration from Gandhiji's teaching is factually unsustainable and not only does it distort and misrepresent his political philosophy, it violates inexcusably one of the basic principles of purity of means, truth, to which the Mahatma attached so much value. The Christians claimed the Mahatma as a true Christian though he was not a votary of doctrinaire proselytising Christianity. Sri Morarji Desai's thesis describing the Mahatma as the spiritual father of our present day Congress Socialism is as convincing or as honest as the endeavour of a Christian missionary to convert Hindus into Christians by citing the Mahatma as authority.

Long range objectives of social benefit are common to all political organisations that seek popular suffrage, just as a certain moral outlook is common to all religions. The Socialist objectives are commonly defined as the abolition of poverty, the creation of a Social Service State, a greater equalisation of wealth and economic planning for full employment and stability. To subscribe to these objectives is not the same thing as achieving them, nor does it make one a Socialist, as even conservatives and non-Socialists may recognise them as worthwhile and inscribe them on their banners. What distinguishes Socialism from other doctrines is the place given to compulsion to bring about benefit to people. Socialism is based on the theory that men are not by nature good, and so they must be compelled by external law. Only believers in this theory can be classed as Socialists for the purpose of differentiation from non-Socialists or anti-Socialists. In this sense the Mahatma was never a Socialist.

On the contrary he successfully resisted Socialism and to the last breath of his life he foiled Nehru's attempt to replace Congress policy with his pet Socialist experiments. This is clear from the following statements of the Mahatma already familiar to readers of SWARAJYA.

"When reformers lose faith in the method of persuasion, the technique of what is known as scientific Socialism is born."

"I do not like the assumptions underlying many of the propositions of the Socialists' programme which go to show there is necessarily antagonism between the classes and the masses or between the labourers and the capitalists such that they can never work for mutual good."

"If you have only State production, men will become moral and intellectual paupers."

"The Socialists and the Communists believe in generating and accentuating hatred to bring about economic equality."

"The violence of private ownership is less injurious than the violence of the State. My theory of trusteeship is no makeshift, certainly no camouflage. I am confident that it will survive all other theories."

In the face of these unequivocal Gandhian denunciations of the characteristic credo and technique of Socialism, it is daring on the part

One of the greatest dangers of organization is that it inhibits spontaneity.

SYDNEY HOOK in *American Review*
October 1959

of a Minister of the Government of India to claim the moral authority of the Mahatma for the present Socialistic policies of the Congress. Mr. Nehru was powerless to inflict his Socialism on the country while the Mahatma lived. It was only after Gandhiji's death that Mr. Nehru could turn the Congress to his view. The most charitable interpretation that can be placed on Sri Morarji's attribution of Gandhian inspiration to Congress Socialist policies is that it is due to ignorance and not to deliberate intention.

Socialism, Promise and Performance

The Russian Revolution is now over 40 years old.

Land to the peasants was promised. But it took away even the land which the peasants had and herded them into a new State-owned serfdom.

It promised perpetual peace. Instead, it has produced a totalitarian State which for ever wages a war on its own people. There is a continual bombardment by loud speakers and press and movies and all the means of cultural conditioning.

It promised production for use. Instead it has set up production for production's sake, for the sake of expanding the power of the producer-owner State. It promised plenty, and it has produced perpetual scarcity of all the goods that make life gracious, pleasant, easy and cultured. It promised freedom and it has done away with all freedoms.

The State was 'to wither away'. But it has expanded to totality. Lenin promised that every cook is to become master of the affairs of the State. Now the State is the master of the affairs of every cook.

—ADAPTED FROM *New Leader*



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Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

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THE PROSPECT

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

It is becoming increasingly clear every day that we have before us under present Congress policies the prospect of heavy indirect taxation which will make the curve of living costs rise yet higher. In addition to taxation more or less concealed by rising prices from the consumer's eye, there will alongside of it, be big inflation caused by expenditure on reckless plans, unproductive floating of bonds for compensations payable for needless tinkering with land ownership and charged on the nation, and eleventh hour military expenditure. The consequences of Chinese aggression will not only be a diversion of attention from internal issues and the usual strengthening of the political position of the party in power—all external troubles true or alleged bring this about—but also an upsetting of the national budget which will be handed over bound hand and foot to the Defence Ministry. The jargon will be 'the emphasis has shifted.' Military policy in the face of an enemy on the frontier is the enemy of all planning. The almost contemptuous remarks of Mr. Stephen Barber reported from London in the *Indian Express* are an indication of what we shall have to face.

News Chronicle's Stephen Barber who is at present in New Delhi has cabled that India's Ministry of Defence is out shopping for helicopters and transport planes capable of flying at high altitudes. Planes are wanted urgently to ferry supplies to the Himalayan outposts on a frontier that Nehru's neutralist Government never expected to have to defend. "We are looking for machines of this type in Britain, America and France," Delhi's military spokesman told Barber. "They are hard to find", the spokesman added. According to Barber, all that the Indian Air Force has at the moment for the job is a handful of specially supercharged Dakotas. Two of these recently crashed in the impenetrable jungle of North-East Frontier Agency district—now threatened by Chinese—when attempting to parachute stores to border check-posts. This illustrates just one of the problems India's High Command is now grappling with. Permission has now been given, Barber understands, for rapid expansion of the Dogra and Ladakhi Battalions. Simultaneously, the Assam Rifles—another name recalling Kipling's era—is being strengthened and put under army command in the north-east. These partial moves, Barber adds, don't mean that Nehru has abandoned hopes of reasoning with China. It is plain that India is in no shape to-day for a

war—not even to defend herself—concludes Barber.

It is easy to preach to others the doctrine of no war; but it is difficult if not morally impossible to cope with intense national feeling and universal cries for action when any aggression takes place on one's own territory. The worst feature in such situations is that often, if not always, the nations involved in such aggressions more or less honestly believe on either side that the offence lies on the other side and that there is no alternative left but some kind of military action to restore what either side believes has been disturbed by aggression. There is no lack of material or protagonists on either side to convince their respective people that there is no way out but war. Vociferous sections of political thought in every country find no difficulty in posing national dignity as the greatest priority. Even Nehru will thus be driven to military conflict. And thereafter the god of war is not going to be guided in his pace or in his progress by logic. Once he is on the march he follows other laws than logic. Semantic distinctions between defence and offence will be of no avail once passions are up. Our Prime Minister has had to plead guilty to keeping the facts of Chinese aggression away from the public and from Parliament for a significantly long and inexcusable period. This gives his assailants a great advantage in the battle for policies.

The situation can be saved only by the admission of China in the U. N. and by taking up her aggression on Indian territory for enquiry in the U. N. If America refuses to budge on the issue of Chinese admission India will have no choice but to pocket her pride and shelve her doctrines of peace and to do what all other nations have done however unwillingly. It may come—indeed one fears it must come—to seeking the help of nations whom till now we did not wish to approach for military help. Non-alignment which, speaking physically, was never a very sturdy rope to balance oneself upon, whatever its spiritual justification, must now go to pieces if China obstinately continues to think and do as she has been doing,

and Russia continues to hesitate to advise or her advice is not heeded.

The great pity is that this break-down of non-alignment must happen when we figure as a nation seeking help rather than when we could offer our moral support without asking for any favour for ourselves. It is a pity again that we have to turn westwards when the western nations are in a comparatively cold mood and are probably more inclined to say 'I told you so' than to come forward with steps that would help India but at the same time complicate their own position relative to Soviet Russia.

What I wrote in my letter to the *New York Times* is what continues to be of the highest importance now. I wrote that letter on 11th September last but unfortunately on account of the preoccupations of the American people over Khrushchev's visit the editor was sorry that it could be published only on 25th October.

Rajaji's Letter to New York Times

In his letter to THE NEW YORK TIMES published below, Rajaji argues that by supporting the admission of China to the United Nations, America would be rendering the best possible aid to world peace:

The folly of follies in the present international situation is the refusal of the United Nations to agree to the admission of China. Some people believe that China should be "punished" by being refused admission. They think that admission would amount to condonation of her offences. This is not good sense but only anger.

It is wrong to act as if the U.N. were only a cold war organization of the West. It is believed that the presence of Russia is a historical accident and that this error should not be aggravated by the deliberate addition of China.

All this is folly if we understand the true purpose of the U. N. It is a means to peace and not an instrument for conflict. The U.N. has, it is true, not succeeded in solving differences at basic level, but it has served to prevent or alleviate conflicts. Mutually understood language and debate are better than a shooting war. That is what the U.N. was planned for and is doing.

We cannot bring self-discipline into being if we refuse "board and bed" to the party to be brought under discipline. Divorce is not the way to married life. The Government of India has continually sought to impress this truth on America, whose lead decides matters in the U. N. But, unfortunately, the asylum given to Chiang Kai-shek has stood in the way of conviction on this point. Like a wrong or ambiguous word in logic, it has prevented a sane conclusion being reached.

It is not, however, too difficult to remove this obstruction. A long enough trial has been given for the fiction that Chiang Kai-shek continues to represent China. He

COMMON MAN REGIMENTED, IMPOVERISHED, ENSLAVED MUNSHI'S INDICTMENT OF CONGRESS RULE

'Bhai-Bhai-ism', is a doctrine invented to spread among the people a pathetic faith in delusive slogans of friendship; it is intended to keep back the realities of the international situation from them, so that they may not discover the ineptitude of the present Government in handling foreign problems.

For five long years, these democrats, in the best tradition of totalitarians, kept back from the Parliament and the people the fact that there has been wanton aggression on our soil.

All this was done lest 'Bhai-Bhai-ism' might lose its hold over our people and the wisdom of its architects debunked.

The Congress has lost the right to speak as a democratic body. It has reduced all democratic processes to a farce. Its annual session is a propaganda stunt like the regimented rallies in totalitarian countries; even the services of cinema stars are being requisitioned to buttress its attraction.

Anyone who disagrees with the rubber-stamped views of the Congress is dubbed a 'reactionary', or an 'obscurantist'. He is branded 'out of date', not modern; 'static', not dynamic. Any person even in the Congress or in its Parliamentary wing who dares to differ is openly snubbed. Even an ex-Judge of the Supreme Court enjoys no immunity, though he may enjoy the luxury of a private apology. The P. S. P. is 'unpractical'; Jan Sangh is 'communal'; the Swatantra Party is 'feudal', and the Press is the 'voice of the vested interests' or in the

retracted version, 'run for profits' and, in substance, therefore, venal. Only the Congress, entrenched in enormous power and patronage and with the resources of the State at its disposal, can be right!

The right to property is on its way to become extinct; the fundamental right in this connection has been reduced to a shadow.

The fundamental right to carry on business is being extinguished under various pretexts. The big business was the enemy so far; the small trader is now the enemy.

The so-called democracy of the Congress would mean controls on all spheres of life. Every one has to depend upon the State. We are fast approaching the Servile State of Fascism.

Now has begun the invasion of the rural structure, the most powerful bastion of a free people. The agriculturists are being reduced to a new shudra class of submerged people. Their income in most cases, whatever be the effect of inflation and whatever be the cost of prices, will not exceed Rs. 3,600 per year for a family of five, working hard throughout the year.

In order to support these measures, even class hatred is openly declared to be inevitable by some Congress leaders.

Look at the facts. In Bombay, by law, 34% of farmers could be expropriated if 66% decide upon a co-operative society. There is also a Bill before the Bombay Legislative Assembly (Clause 30) providing that if any farmer is unwilling to surrender his land, the Collector, with the previous

approval of the Government, will be entitled to acquire it. This is the non-compulsion of the Congress brand!

If anyone is foolish enough to think that the Nagpur resolutions have been given up, that the rural structure is out of danger, that family farming is going to have a chance under Congress rule, he is living in a fool's paradise.

The cardinal problem of India to which the Swatantra Party has addressed itself is how to meet the basic needs of the people to make their lives worth living.

The Congress claims to have been building up a social welfare state. But the stark fact is, it has hopelessly failed to provide the people with adequate food, water, housing and clothing.

Between 1952 and 1959, the food imports have cost the nation as much as Rs. 948 crores, and the quality of food available is far below the minimum standards required for the health of the nation. The only remedy which the Government know is to spend crores and crores of money on spectacular schemes and make us more and more helpless in the matter of food through controls administered by a corrupt bureaucracy. Is this social welfare?

The Swatantra Party has to be made strong and effective to rescue the common man from being regimented, impoverished and enslaved by the totalitarian devices of the Congress.

Excerpts from Sri K. M. Munshi's inaugural address at the Swatantra Party Convention, Patiala.

and his army do not entertain any hope of reconquering China. If any legal fiction must continue, it may be limited to a satellite state of Formosa and not allowed to be a mist to cover the reality of China.

The real China must be brought into the U. N. even as Russia occupies a seat there. If this could be done, it would be left to China to refuse the invitation to join and be its own denouncer. It may be predicted that it will not be guilty of such suicidal folly.

Once China is a member, all conflicts would be brought under open discussion

in a language understandable to all. India has long been pleading for this.

The recent incidents on the Himalayan border have brought the question into bright focus. The best aid that America could give to India at the present moment is to invite China to join the U. N. It would also be the best assistance America could give to Tibet. It would, last and most important of all, be the best move towards world peace.

On the other hand, any further delay on this issue of admission of China into the world peace organization would be disser-

vice to the cause of world peace in general and to that of India in particular.

It would be very short-sighted policy to be gratified with or be content with watching the rift between India and China and not take the only step that has to be taken—viz., to advise the admission of China in the U. N., thereby bringing that Government, along with Russia, under the jurisdiction of ordered world debate where they will have a fair chance of stating and defending their own positions or stand exposed.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SIDELIGHTS ::

In his press conference on Thursday last week Mr. Nehru expressed amazement at General Cariappa's suggestions about border defence. "I am very surprised," Mr. Nehru said, "at all that he (General Cariappa) is writing. There is such extraordinarily little sense in it that it amazes me. I think General Cariappa is completely off the track, mentally and otherwise."

Now what are the remarks of General Cariappa that have caused the Prime Minister so much amazement, the remarks which have impelled him to say that "General Cariappa is completely off the track"? Here is the newspaper report of what the General said. It is taken from the *Hindu* of November 2:

General Cariappa said in an interview that delay and hesitation on our part to act will encourage the Chinese to take more liberties, to keep on making more claims on our territory and to send forward more troops across our frontiers.

Panch Sheel or no Panch Sheel, non-violence or no non-violence, we have got to be men and act boldly and resolutely.

Chinese troops on our soil must be made to go back. Our country's honour is at stake, to preserve which no sacrifice can be too great to any Indian, regardless of political affiliations.

The time has come to act. Let us not rely merely on polite protests on paper to defend our frontiers.

The country is getting agitated at the lack of any physical action on our part. We must have troops deployed before the winter sets in. There is no time to waste.

General Cariappa reiterated his suggestion made sometime back that India and Pakistan should arrive at some settlement for defending the sub-continent jointly.

"The defence problem of India and Pakistan," he said, "is indivisible. If we can solve the Kashmir question we will be able to release a large section of our armies for defence against aggression from with out. After all, it is not only India but also Pakistan whose frontiers are threatened."

To which of these statements of General Cariappa does the Prime Minister take exception? Which of them causes him surprise? Which is it that reveals "such extraordinarily little sense" that it amazes the P.M.? Which statement among these of General Cariappa shows him "as completely off the track, mentally and otherwise"? To prove himself completely on the track, mentally and otherwise, does Mr. Nehru

advocate delay and hesitation on our part? Is he opposed to acting boldly and resolutely? Is it being mentally off the track to insist that the Chinese troops on our soil must be made to go back? Is it amazing to describe the country as agitated at the lack of physical action on our part to throw out the Chinese aggressor? Is it surprising if military strategy counsels that common cause be made with a country like Pakistan threatened by a common enemy? Unless Mr. Nehru upholds all these propositions it is difficult to make head or tail of his castigation of the General in self-righteous vein.

In a public reference the next day to the Prime Minister's remarks about him, General Cariappa said he was glad "the Prime Minister had said all these things about me and there was an occasion for people to laugh at my expense." (*The Mail*, November 6.) In spite of all these things, he added, "he would continue to serve and be loyal to the country. It was one's right in a democracy to speak frankly with a sense of duty to the country without any ulterior motive." In this exchange of opinions between the Prime Minister and the General, the sympathy and moral support of common people throughout the country will be in favour of the General. He spoke with straight-forwardness and commonsense and emerges from the controversy with dignity and heightened esteem, whereas the pathological condition of resentment against real or even imagined dissent and lack of concurrence is registered by the Prime Minister's words and attitudes.

Mr. Nehru's latest feat is to accuse critics of his pet scheme of co-operative farming of "spreading lies among the people." Till recently the Nehru thunder struck lightning and could make his countrymen tremble at its power and potency. But lately as a practitioner of righteousness he has lost ground. While China was aggressively occupying our territory, covering Chinese incursions with secrecy, and not only that, but also leading a chorus of Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai, what else is all this

except a big lie? After enacting this lie continually for a period of four to five years, expostulations of pious concern for truth on the part of its principal protagonist have lost the power of impressing others. Mr. Nehru is now a much deflated leader whose spirited utterances bordering on the heroic are treated as stage performances. His foreign policy has broken down. His internal administration has proved to be a costly disaster. But the pose of victorious achievement has not left him!

Some years ago in England I was much impressed by an officer introduced to me. He had rejected a coveted promotion saying that in that particular office there was another in every respect superior who deserved the promotion better. Everybody was proud of this officer who had set such a fine example of high character. The noble traditions of British administration are built on one comprehensive principle—each man should do to others what he would like to be done to by them. The widespread vogue of this principle in action invests every department with efficiency and morale, nursing among its members contentment, comradeship and mutual confidence.

By contrast the picture in India is depressing. Under the inspiration of Sri Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Railways in the Central Cabinet, the Railway Board has now ordered that promotions in a certain proportion should be reserved for employees belonging to the scheduled classes. This means that the reserved promotions will be disposed of on a communal basis without regard to merit or seniority. Many incompetent juniors will be rewarded with promotions by the Railway Board's order over the heads of more deserving fellow-employees. Can there be any greater incentive for inefficiency, heart-burning and disruption of morale? An order like this arms backwardness with privilege and is unthinkable but for Ministers unashamedly placing sectional interests above the national welfare. We have already too many railway accidents and too little of productive benefit in relation to expense incurred. These two evils will hereafter be further aggravated.

—SAKA

EXCESSIVE SECRECY

By POTHAN JOSEPH

New Delhi got news of the Chang Chenmo mow-down of Indian patrols through Chinese sources and Peking was first in the field with the grievance that Chinese territory had been violated, that a Chinese party moving on their lawful avocations had been surrounded by the Indian soldiery and that a clash in self-defence had occurred as a result of which casualties had been registered on both sides, the Chinese in the end burying a dozen Indians and bagging a few as prisoners. The Chinese politely indicated their willingness to hand over the quick and the dead, but they would not put up with any more trespass on their territory as delineated in their maps. When the news spread in New Delhi, it was announced that the Government of India would take a serious view of the matter, but with full adherence to their non-involvement policy and also without prejudice to India's advocacy of China's admission to the U.N.O. as a peace-loving country, whilst on the U.N.O. records, it remains branded for aggressive conduct.

India's mild protest against the Kong Ka ambush was met with a counterblast from Peking in the course of which it stated that as long ago as 1955 the Chinese had begun building roads in Ladakh to the knowledge of India. Here we have strictly to equate "India" with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, an evaluation which he always liked as historically and scientifically correct.

The story of nibbling and then chewing Indian territory was not divulged in Parliament, anything in the nature of a dent or scar-line in Asian solidarity being considered unwise advertisement in the pursuit of dynamic neutralism. The Chinese built their military highway without any dynamism of opposition or even a trace of nitroglycerine from India. On the other hand, if we had openly protested then, there would have been an "almighty stink" leading to a diplomatic tussle which for the armed forces at least might have served as a stitch in time. The Chinese retort makes capital of the claim of consent or non-opposition in the lay-out of roads and defence-

installations down the McMahon Line upon which we now take our stand demanding those who have camped should first vacate aggression. To say that asylum to the Dalai Lama last February has infuriated the war caucus in Peking is nonsense, because the inroads had commenced five years earlier as was confessed by "India" in the Prime Minister's belated correspondence of regret and in his admission before the A.I.C.C. at Chandigarh, informally of course. These informal conferences and veiled coachings are a menace since fateful decisions are taken off the record.

We are not fully aware of the commitments made by India in transborder relationships after our conceding (with no *quid pro quo*) the suzerainty of China over Tibet; but that the Chinese have been "tolerated" on our territory as found on our map cannot now be denied. If parents tolerate a late-night Romeo to take lessons with their daughter and connive at cooings, any howl over the discovery of an elopement some morning would hardly incense observant neighbours into joining a chase. That was the weakness of Brabanzo's complaint in the Court of Venice when it was revealed that Othello had been free to find many occasions to give his narratives of peril and heroism—stories to which Desdemona would "her ear incline."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has such a consciousness of being the world's *ustad* in foreign policy that he has always been inclined to keep some close secrets of a bhai-bhai nature to himself. He constantly sends personal messages to chancelleries all over the world. Novices do not understand the abstruse subject and its ramifications. There is a sub-committee on foreign affairs in the Cabinet, but he dominates as Foreign Minister and Prime Minister with discretion to dole out information according to the capacity of receptiveness. Krishna Menon with his cosmic outlook may enjoy the larger share of his confidence since there is much in common between them of esoteric comprehensiveness in the regulating of global progress.

Many confidences Mr. Nehru used to share with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who regarded Krishna Menon as a baleful phenomenon, almost of Rasputin-like fascination for the dynasty, but the Maulana too was losing grip towards the end and nobody knows the last thirty pages of the autobiography ascribed to Humayun Kabir and preserved in the national archives for future historians. Conscious of his towering personality and averse to any deterrence from his prepossessions by the pleadings of comparative pigmies, Mr. Nehru has been playing his cards held close to his chest and presenting a poker face. To Governors assembled, his story of frontier precautions was, in parts, new.

One of the Communist delegates who visited Peking for the anniversary celebrations tells me that the Chinese have proofs of commitments and concessions in discursive correspondence tending to prove that they are not out on wanton depredations and that the quarrel about maps is belated and factitious. In which case, the ordinary citizen can well understand the Communist, plaguing the Prime Minister with the advice that the boundary-dispute is amenable to settlement by negotiations on the basis of the full Panch Sheel correspondence which Chou-En-lai professes to keep up his sleeve.

President Wilson counselled "open covenants openly arrived at" but diplomacy cannot be shackled by pedagogic dicta however plausible. At the other end, is the doctrine of extreme secrecy which in the hands of astute revolutionaries like the Chinese could lend itself to sharp practice.

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GOVERNMENT BLACK MARKETING IN CEMENT

By **P. H. SESHAGIRI RAO**
(Formerly Deputy Auditor-General of India)

(The first article in this series appeared last week.)

What the State is capable of doing will become clear if we examine in some detail State trading in cement. The selling price of cement has for years been controlled by Government. The ex works price and packing charges are fixed after meticulous examination of costs and an allowance is made for freight. Even the distribution is controlled. Due to shortage in supply some import became necessary a couple of years ago. It was discovered that the imported cement would cost Rs. 40 to 45 per ton more to the consumer at the nearest rail head than the indigenous cement. This raised the problem of having a uniform price for all the cement made available in the country by subsidising imported cement, the

finance for the subsidy being found by raising the price of indigenous cement. But though the price was rigidly controlled by Government and therefore there was no question of profiteering by the industry because scarcity conditions had arisen, by some process of logic Government decided that the circumstances justified the handing over of the entire trade in cement to the State Trading Corporation as a monopoly. The State Trading Corporation came into the picture in the happy position of the selling price to the consumer at all railheads being Rs. 102-50 per ton which the State Trading Corporation would collect, and the price payable by the S. T. C. to the producer, including excise duty, packing charges and distribution charges was Rs. 74-25 per ton, leaving a margin of Rs. 28-25 per ton out of

which Rs. 15-25 was average freight which would be borne by the S. T. C. This left with the S. T. C. a margin of Rs. 13 per ton. After meeting out of this, the subsidy involved in the sales of imported cement, a balance of 5 crores of rupees was left with the S. T. C. Here is the story that the annual reports and balance sheets for 1956-57 and 1957-58 have to tell.

"The Government of India have entrusted to the Corporation the task of acquiring cement from manufacturers, importing from abroad, and distributing both indigenous and imported cement at an equalised price. The total loss on imported cement has been of the order of only Rs. 48 lakhs, which, because of the retardation in imports, is considerably less than the original estimates. Consequently, the cement account shows a surplus of 5.01 crores, the disposal of which awaits the instructions of the Government of India."

This puts the position very clearly. The scheme was to balance the subsidy with the extra receipts from indigenous cement, but because the actuals did not work out as estimated, a surplus was left. More was gathered than was actually necessary for the subsidy. The S. T. C. correctly viewed this surplus as not pertaining to its proper business and set it apart, almost like black money, to be disposed of by Government. One should have thought that the Government would have immediately put back the price of cement to its original level. It did nothing of the sort. It transferred the surplus to itself and continued the high price of cement although there was absolutely no justification for it. The report for the next year says, "The cement agency account shows a surplus of Rs. 4.1 crores which has since been remitted to the Government of India." What Government collected is just another levy, like excise, but not done openly after getting the approval of Parliament, and realised through the back door.

The "surplus" on account of cement was not included in the trading profits of the S. T. C. Excluding that, the position in 1956-57 was as follows:

Gross profit on account of trading	Rs. 35 lakhs
Agency commission and service fees	Rs. 60 "

Total Rs. 104 "

November 14, 1959

Less working expenses	Rs. 13.32 lakhs	} 64.32 "
Taxes	Rs. 51.00 "	
Balance		Rs. 39.68 "

The profit was Rs. 40 lakhs in round figures or 40 per cent on a capital of Rs. one crore. For the following year the corresponding figures are as below:

Trading profits and agency commission and service fees	Rs. 2.86 crores
Working expenses	Rs. 53 lakhs
Taxes	Rs. 1.21 crores

Net profit Rs. 1.12 crores which means a profit of 112 per cent.

To continue the story of cement. The S. T. C. did not touch a pie of the windfall from the attempt to equalise prices; but it was allowed to levy a "service charge" of 1½% during 1956-57 and ¾% during 1957-58. It is legitimate to ask what service the S. T. C. has rendered to deserve this remuneration. The same agency which was distributing cement under the old dispensation continued to do the work of distribution as agents of the S. T. C. So the S. T. C. was neither the producer nor the distributor but still collected large sums as service charges (Rs. 65 lakhs in 1956-57 at 1½ per cent and Rs. 53.5 lakhs in 1957-58 at ¾ per cent.) What is the service they have rendered when they neither produce nor distribute? They do not deserve even *daluli*.

As the demand for cement is elastic, buyers held back and the sales of cement went down causing accumulation of stocks with the producers. Had the producers been free to sell their produce they would have sensed the reaction of their customers and immediately reduced prices by cutting their profit. The customer would have been the gainer. But the S. T. C. who had acquired a monopoly in the trade, would not budge, for they had nothing to lose!

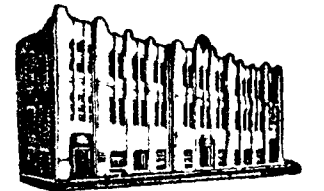
The producers of cement had to cry themselves hoarse with the stocks mounting. The buyers cried themselves hoarse against the prohibitive price; but the S. T. C., like Shylock, clung to its pound of flesh. The producers were not paid anything for the stocks accumulating with them. They were paid only as and when sales were effected. We have here a glaring and concrete example of what a powerful

trader can do, and does do, both to the producer and to the buyer if he has the monopoly of trade.

Price which forms itself naturally under a free economy to the satisfaction of both the producer and the consumer becomes a matter of negotiation and deliberate determination when conditions of supply become difficult but the buyer and the seller are more or less in an *equally strong position* to negotiate. But under a monopoly, price is badgered into any shape the monopolist chooses. If the State enters trade just like any other trader, as one among many, not much damage will be done. In a free economy all are welcome to the fruits of their labour whether as producers or as traders. Whether they rise or sink will depend on their efficiency. But the State is not prepared to take this place. The State enters trading in a certain commodity only as a monopolist. As a monopolist it commandeers the entire supply. Once that is done the back of the buyer is broken, for the buyer's choice of shop as it is technically called, is gone. He has only one bania to deal with. There is no other shop for him. The State also effectively bars direct contact between the producer and the consumer.

What about the effect of this monolithic monopoly trading on the producer? Just as the choice of shop is lost to the purchaser, the open market is closed to the producers. The producer, even in a sellers' market can no longer say "I don't like the price offered by you. I shall sell it more advantageously elsewhere." For he is legally debarred from selling his goods to anybody else when the State assumes monopoly in the trade of his article. Thus both the producer and the consumer are tied hand and foot, once the State takes over the monopoly in the trade of a certain commodity. The trouble is that the profit motive is not absent in State trading. It is proposed that nationalised industry and trade should be utilised for financing the Third Five Year Plan. There you have the motive for profit and there lies the real and very grave danger. Once this principle of utilising State trading and industry for financing the Plan is accepted, there is no limit to the profit that can be made and justified in the name of the Third Five Year Plan.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRACTICAL COEXISTENCE AND INDIA

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

More than two weeks before Jawaharlal Nehru disclosed in the Parliament the extent of China's aggression on the Indian border, we wrote in these columns on August 22: "India's entire defence machinery has all along been geared to Kashmir, and indeed our foreign policy has also been largely coloured by our experience with Pakistan. Since the Chinese attitude generally is becoming more and more hostile, India will have to examine the directions of her foreign policy and defence commitments."

SWARAJYA was among the first few journals in India to publish the map of India showing areas claimed by China. We then brought to the attention of our readers that India had cut her defence budget this year by Rs. 24 crores, and we warned that India could not afford to alienate the sympathies of everyone around and yet remain defenceless.

The magic concept on which the entire edifice of our foreign policy now rests is non-alignment and the golden path that leads to this edifice is peaceful coexistence. The metamorphosis of India's policy of neutrality to dynamic neutralism, to non-involvement and now to non-alignment has not changed the basic directions of our relations with other nations. India has no strong ties with any nation. In the past she had neither friends, nor foes. A friendless, foeless, middle-of-the-road existence seemed to gain some support for India from backward and poor nations of the world. India's foreign policy was perhaps morally sound, but it was materially weak.

India's Defence

The greatest, rudest and the most fatal shock to India's foreign policy was administered by India's supposedly greatest friend China. India's supposedly greatest enemy was Pakistan, but today it wants to cultivate good relations with India. In spite of the many long and weary years of belligerent confrontation of Indian and Pakistani troops in Kashmir and elsewhere, common bonds that once united the people of India and Pakistan still exist.

The political strategists in New Delhi do not seem to understand fully the change that is slowly taking place in the attitude of average Indians regarding their faith in India's foreign policy. Many observers believe that New Delhi's stake in non-alignment is so great that the abandonment of that position would cost India heavily in prestige and demolish her hopes of being the leader of uncommitted Asia. This is a western view, but this may well be true.

The New Situation

When India entered into an alliance with China in 1954, the Government of India was not seriously concerned with the nature of the Government that existed in China. Although our government was opposed to communism, it signed an agreement with China principally because India wanted allies and a stable border. Much in the same way, irrespective of the internal situation in Pakistan, India could enter into close relationship with Pakistan. This does not mean that India should sacrifice her independent foreign policy, nor does it follow that we would become slaves of western nations who are in alliance with Pakistan.

Does the situation really demand closer ties with Pakistan? India's differences with Pakistan were mostly about Kashmir. Now there is a new element in the Kashmir situation. The Chinese forces are now in combat-ready position along most of India's northern frontier and right inside India in six places—in one place 46 miles inside Indian territory. China's claims now extend to parts of northern Kashmir that lie on the Pakistan side of the 1949 Indo-Pakistan cease-fire line. Thus three nations now control parts of unhappy Kashmir. This situation is going to continue and the bad effects of China's belligerency will last many months, if not years to come and we should have some friends somewhere at least during this period.

India's Choice

We still hate Pakistan's western alliance and resent the U.S. military

aid it has received. And yet the realities of the situation, judged against the background of rising public anger against China's seizure of border areas, should force New Delhi to have some understanding about common problems concerning the northern frontier at least. Without taking any sides for or against communism as an ideology, it should be possible to argue in favour of a strong defence against China's senseless adventure against India. The issue is not communism, but the safety of India's borders.

At his press conference last week, Nehru has ruled out the possibility of a common defence plan. It is perhaps too premature to discuss about it in details, especially the load of a decade of bitterness still sitting heavily on our heads. No common programme of action can emerge. In the past the quick succession of weak Governments in Karachi had made settlement impossible. Ayub now means business and his regime seems well set for a long stay. In the context of our preoccupation with China in the new environment we find ourselves now, coexistence with Pakistan would be a good attitude to cultivate.

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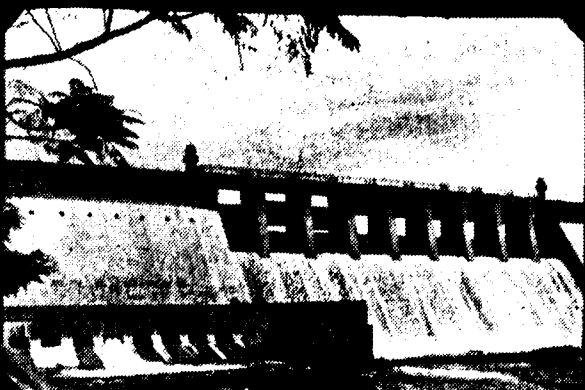
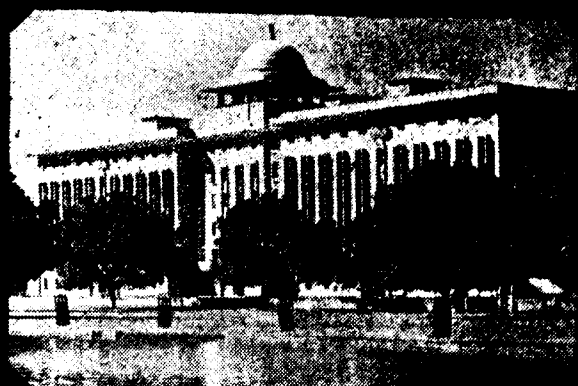
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BOOK REVIEW

CIVILIZATION VS. DEMOCRATIC CULTURE

By NORAH RICHARDS

When Nirad Chaudhuri found himself in England on a five-week visit, invited by the B.B.C. to give a series of broadcasts for their Overseas Service, he was for the first time seeing England and testing his idea of her. He had read much that had transported him to that country in imagination and his reading had made of him an Anglophile, a term applied to him by his compatriots—mostly in derision. What Mr. Chaudhuri had loved about England before seeing the country was her civilization and in relation to his flight to England he thought of himself as a brown man in search of civilization—parody of "A Black Girl in Search of God." Anyway, he found in England that of which he was in search but it was contained in her historic past of which Shakespeare and the Country House were the highest expressions. The Country House of Old England was no more, except as a museum piece but the Country House of Shakespeare at Stratford-on-Avon was vitally existent. That both Shakespeare and the Country House had been commercialized did not trouble Mr. Chaudhuri; he was pleased, for it kept both within the orbit of contemporary society, enabling thousands of ordinary people to visit the Country House by paying the admission charge and so, for a fleeting moment, a vulgarized present could live in a civilized past. And as for Shakespeare, he had seen queues in which people slept all night with haversacks for pillows awaiting the opening of the doors of his Country House at Stratford-on-Avon. It also pleased Mr. Chaudhuri to see the prosperous state of shops selling antiques—taken that quality in objects of common use was appreciated and sought for, as well as the quality exemplified by the Country House and by Shakespeare.

In his search for civilization, however, our brown man had found more than he sought and that something was revolution not of

the proletariat but of the "contemptible" bourgeoisie. The great middle class was coming into its own, not as a class but as *the* class, the only one and therefore, of course, class-less. A new society was evolving, for the most part unconsciously or rather, without much awareness and no boastfulness. It was just something that was happening, something inevitable. It was difficult to distinguish by their clothing the labouring class; and the middle class had no aversion to manual work which made the now prevalent servantless household possible. This was a significant aspect of the English social revolution in which the labouring class was stepping up and the aristocratic class stepping down. Culture was within the reach of all and was making its way through the maze of cheap and flashy mass-entertainment, not the least of which is television.

A clear note is struck by Nirad Chaudhuri on the gap that lies between civilization and democratic culture. On this form of culture he does not mince words and they apply not only to England but by implication to the modern world—not excepting India.

"I shall set down my feelings about it even at the risk of being laughed to scorn by the contemporary *culture-wallahs*, as I would call them in my language. They have cleverness, virtuosity, self-confidence, dogmatism; they have also inexhaustible arguments to deceive others and themselves; but they know as well as anybody else, particularly their victims, that they have no power to make either themselves or others happy. Theirs is a world without enjoyment. I am choked by their fiction, which at best is incompetent sociology, and by their sculpture and painting which I cannot characterize.... I am repelled by their art which is querulousness, and above all by their compassion which is self-pity.... Thus I can understand why ordinary people who have a sure instinct for happiness shun their work like poison, even preferring the sloppy democratic literature. They are still too honest to find pleasure in pretended enjoyment."

A long quotation—and here is another:

"This leaves to all Western nations, and Englishmen among them, only one thing to fall back on: their historic civilization. As soon as I came to this

point in my thinking I also understood the real meaning of all that I had seen in England and France—the crowds at the classical plays, concerts, picture galleries, and exhibitions; the interest in architecture, gardens and landscape; loyalty to religion and the *mos majorum*, the care bestowed on the interpretation and preservation of the national heritage, the love and piety inspired by all the aspects of their historic civilization including even its politics.

Do not these words apply with equal force to Eastern nations? While Chaudhuri was being impressed by the cultural situation in England he was all the time conscious of the cultural situation of his own country. Has India anything else to fall back upon, in the welter of her democratic culture, than her own historic civilization? It is going to be a tough fight, for democratic culture is in full swing and gaining ground. And now, for a final quote, without apologising either to readers of SWARAJYA or to Mr. Chaudhuri.

"Yet this falling back on civilization is not *escape* for them, no retirement into the ivory tower, itself a catchword invented by those who love to sit on their handful of thorns to air their grievances against those who have the capacity to make themselves happy in the worst of circumstances. On the contrary, it appears to me that the only outlet that our age has to offer to the fighting spirit, without which man is a very poor creature, is to be found in the sphere of civilization. All other wars, even religious ones, have become inconceivable or immoral, and climbing Everest or reaching the Pole is not an adequate substitute. But the joy of combat is yet to be found in the war between civilization and the new democratic culture..... A great danger lies in the political power behind the new culture. Perhaps for the first time in the history of mankind an ordinary majority has been put in a position of authority over an exceptional minority, with disastrous consequences for everything coming from the mind. This majority is conscious of its power, and is also therefore aggressive. There is a hard fight before civilization and nobody can predict the result."

A passage to England is a book to possess, to delve in and to treasure.

India and Communism

Bertrand Russell has written the following special note for the Hindi translation of his book "Practice and Theory of Bolshevism" by N. C. Zamindar.

The conflict which has recently developed between India and Communist China is one which should astonish nobody who has studied Communism as a theory and as a dynamic movement. As I prophesied in this book (which

A Passage to England: by Nirad C. Chaudhuri; MacMillan & Co. Ltd., London; Rs. 10.

was written in 1920) Communist imperialism has become the successor of western imperialism wherever it has been able to obtain power. Men of liberal feeling in the west rejoiced when India became free, and have been glad in recent years to see India in a position to play a mediating role between the

rival blocs. I am glad that the Indian feeling for independence which won emancipation from the West is proving equally vigorous in upholding freedom from Eastern domination. Uncommitted nations have a great contribution to make towards securing a peaceful future to mankind; but they can make

this contribution only by remaining uncommitted. India is the greatest and most important of the uncommitted nations, and all men of humane feeling will extend their fullest sympathy to India in the present struggle with Communist imperialism as in the former struggle with the imperialism of Britain.



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CAPITAL COMMENTS

THE UNCHANGING MR. NEHRU

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: The Prime Minister's press conference was supposed to be his largest-ever nor was it the least momentous. For, short of war, Free India has never been so deeply agitated—as over the Chinese violations of everything that is held sacred in the country. Though the Prime Minister was inclined to draw a distinction between Chinese communism (as part of world communist strategy) and Chinese expansionism, he was a 'much disillusioned man.' The pressmen who bombarded him with questions felt convinced that for all his parrying, he was keenly alive to the dangers inherent in the Chinese crawl on the Himalayan heights. That certain aspects of the border problem have ceased to be merely political but essentially military, is conclusive proof of a new awareness. He, however, made it clear that there was no question of any change in India's foreign policy—particularly in the matter of non-alignment, "even if the heavens fall." Thus, there was no question of expecting any country "big or small" helping India to face the situation in "the high mountain borders": it was only the Indian Army that could deal with it "adequately and efficiently." And it was for the Indian Army to decide in what way it would resist any aggression or whether it would resort to the recovery of any area already occupied by the Chinese. The press interpreted this as a major shift in policy—and a shift for the better: it also reacted favourably to the Prime Minister when, despite his emphasis on his personally having been very much "conditioned by Gandhi", he said that the country, while trusting in conciliatory policies, should keep the powder dry. It is a capital mixture of Gandhian approach and Cromwellian alertness; it is indicative of a new phase in the Prime Minister's career, which is a distinct advance on past exercises in registering pious protests.

To-day Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru is seventy. All controversies are for the moment stilled in sentiment and India salutes him as her Prime

Minister and pre-eminent leader—and the world as the foremost Indian alive and a friend of all countries (including China). It is a matter for universal rejoicing that for his three-score-and-ten, he has, in the main, preserved himself wonderfully well—indeed, magnificently, without losing the zest for life, despite its shadows and set-backs.

Ten years ago, addressing the Lucknow University in a philosophical vein he said:

A slight feeling of uneasiness comes over me at the thought of my age, because, after all, I may have only a few more years to live and the only ambition that I have is that to the end of my days I should work my hardest and then when I have done my job I should be thrown on the scrap heap. When I have done my job, there is no need to bother about me further. It is the job and the work that count, not thinking and shouting about people who have done their job and gone. So I shall go on doing my job as best I can. Two years later he confessed: "As I grow old, I tend to philosophise and dole out advice to others" while five years since, he struck this salutary note:

The older I grow, the more I feel that the manner things are done is more important than the things themselves. Means are more important than ends. It is this highly exemplary attitude to life and its problems that has enabled him to take credit for a certain "integrity of mind", out of the consciousness that "without that basis of thought and

action, I would become a straw upon the waters, blown about hither and thither, without rudder or compass."

Yet, it seems, Mr. Nehru cannot feel to-day differently from what a great British journalist, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, said when one morning in Jerusalem he woke to find himself seventy:

It seemed incredible (he wrote), almost ridiculous; for I had always felt that my life was only just beginning, and I felt so still. But there was no denying it. Numbers cannot be contradicted, and accounts balance if honestly kept. At the height of such powers of body and mind as I ever possessed I had reached the limit of life ordained by common consent. My last changes were at hand; my last chances had almost gone.

It was wise of Mr. Nehru to have decided to be away from Delhi this year on the occasion of his birthday—and to have willingly foregone the annual 'ceremonial' at the capital, assiduously organised by aspirants to his favour. Though temperamentally allergic to crude courtiers, politically Mr. Nehru has found it hard to frighten subtle flatterers out of their occupation. Passing years have but multiplied the numbers. Pleasing the Prime Minister has become a major industry, without being confined to any one sector while the more gifted among the competitors have almost raised it to the level of a fine art. It is so wholesome that Mr. Nehru has chosen to escape this year from organised parades and garlands of tinsel, and allowed himself to be sustained by people's affection which is so genuine and spontaneous.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Mrs. INDIRA GANDHI'S CRITICISMS

Sir,—In the course of a speech at Hazaribagh Mrs. Indira Gandhi said that Sri Rajagopalachari could not claim to be a follower of Mahatma Gandhi because he differed from the Mahatma in some important matters. Rajaji was a colleague of the Mahatma and worked in co-operation with him throughout the latter's life in spite of these differences. The fact that he did not follow the Mahatma slavishly does not detract anything from his greatness and wisdom which were highly appreciated by Gandhiji himself. People may have honest differences, still they can combine and work together. Gandhiji never liked the Socialism and atheism of Pandit Nehru, but this did not prevent him from acting in collaboration with him. Probably the Congress President meant that as Rajaji disagreed with Gandhiji in certain matters, he had no right to talk of or interpret the Mahatma's principles. As a matter of fact, there is no other living leader in India who had so close an association with Gandhi and who can expound the Gandhian philosophy with greater lucidity and penetration.

The Congress President also criticised the Swatantra Party and called it a party of the zamindars and capitalists. With due deference to her, one may say that the zamindars do not exist and the capitalists are being ground down with

taxes, hence the two classes cannot give strength to any party. Moreover if the zamindars and capitalists join the party in a spirit of service to the country we should welcome them. The Congress Party has always been receiving financial assistance from these very classes without incurring any odium. It is very ungrateful on Madame Indira's part to pool-pool these classes in spite of the help they are rendering to her party. She is astonished to see that peasants and labourers are joining the Swatantra Party. It is no matter for surprise because they have been testing the Congress Party for the last 12 years, and have found it wanting. A party may fool a nation for some time, but it cannot fool it all the time. The Swatantra Party is being welcomed by all classes of people because they are fed up with the Congress Party and its twelve years' rule or rather misrule of the country. This is the reason why they are deserting the Congress in large numbers and defeating its candidates in the elections. It is the duty of the Congress Party to re-examine its principles, policies, and programmes and bring them in line with the wishes of the people.

SITARAM SHUKLA, M.L.A.

PROMOTIONS ALSO ON COMMUNAL BASIS

Sir,—It is needless to explain here how the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes

have become the pet sons and privileged classes of the Government of India, in the matter of recruitments to State and Central services. The Railway Board has now ordered that 14 per cent of the higher posts should be kept separately for double promotion of the serving scheduled castes, without considering the efficiency and merit of people of the other classes. No doubt this will lead to inefficiency and class conflict in the Government departments and the administration will have to suffer later. Further this action of the Government of India is quite contrary to the provisions of our Constitution.

Madras

S. VENKATESAN

PUBLIC SECTOR

Sir,—A local paper announced on 4th October that it has received the "Rashtriya Panchang" for the Saka year 1881 (1959-60 A.D.). This is presumably an advance copy sent for review. Your readers will appreciate the promptness of the publication of this calendar if they realise that it is less than 7 months after the beginning of the year! In other words this "topical" publication is automatically a historical record even from its very inception!

But this is certainly an improvement over last year (Saka 1880) whose "Panchang" was published after the year had ended.

R. RAMACHANDRAN

LEADERSHIP THAT FAILED

Sir,—Of late, Prime Minister Nehru is gaining unpopularity in one way or the other, whether it be on Mundhra affair, Private and Public Sector, the Mathai episode, differences with his own party men, differences with his own Ministers and officials, appointment of his daughter as the President of the ruling party, and so on. Policies regarding Tibet and Indian border problems also are not clear.

Confusion, frustration and helplessness have crept into the minds of the people. Self-confidence, buoyancy and creative spirit in them are losing ground.

At the present moment, India is in dire need of a person of wisdom and stout heart, to grapple with the heavy task facing the country. That Mr. Nehru should continue as Prime Minister in the light of circumstances is not advisable. Has his continuance prompted sympathy and understanding between the Government and the masses?

Bangalore

A. R. WPOOR

P(L)AIN ECONOMIC

Sir,—Mr. Nehru's explanation for the scarcity of sugar is as remarkable for its simplicity as for its spontaneous levity. He is reported to have said that the scarcity of sugar in the country is an indication of prosperity coming to the people. What distresses me is the thought whether

many other commodities equally essential as sugar await their eventual disappearance under a similar fate. The prospects are grim; the omens look worse.

B. P. PANDIT

Cochin

PRICE OF FRIENDSHIP

Sir,—It is really a tragedy of our time that when a foreign government is day by day making incursions into our soil, and occupying our areas, and tells the world that we are in the wrong, Mr. Nehru should be underestimating the whole situation, and telling people to remain calm and preserve Indo-China friendship.

Nandyal

PALLE NAGARAJA RAO

LARGE SCALE INJUSTICE

Sir,—The policy of the Madras University, not to allow any private study and not to encourage night colleges for the benefit of employed persons other than teachers is detrimental to the cause of education and it is against the principles of justice.

Many students have been constrained to give up their studies and take up some profession or other for the simple reason that they are backward, financially speaking. But if the University can either entertain private candidates or encourage night colleges even poverty-stricken lads can fulfil their desire of getting higher education. The University of Madras denies this opportunity to the poor student. This is a clear case of large scale injustice.

Santa Cruz

D. K. SUBRAMANIAM

DISCRIMINATION IN TRAINING

Sir,—Untrained graduate teachers are deputed to undergo the B.T. course and they are given a stipend of Rs. 50 per mensem during the period of the course. Newly selected untrained graduates (teachers selected by the Public Service Commission, Madras) are also deputed to undergo the B.T. course and they are given a stipend of Rs. 50 per mensem. After completion of the B.T. course they are appointed as teachers. But the untrained graduates who are working as language teachers are not deputed to undergo the B.T. course. Untrained graduate language teachers also should be deputed to undergo the B.T. course and given the usual stipend.

A LANGUAGE TEACHER

A HISTORICAL ROLE

Sir,—Extreme dissatisfaction with life owing to unfulfilled economic needs has produced a class of people who are jealous almost of every one. Absolute equality of worldly possessions still remains a distant ideal. It is being increasingly appreciated now that the so-called needs of man are more often unreal than real and that they can be

considerably reduced by a suitable culture of the mind. So, it has become necessary to re-establish the moral values of things. Therefore, the emergence of Rajaji's Swatantra Party based on dharma and cultural regeneration fully justifies the historical role it has undertaken to play in our country.

Palghat

K. M. M. ABDUL KAREEM

CONFLICTING POLICY STATEMENTS

Sir,—The Prime Minister, in the course of the recent debate in the Parliament on the official language issue, stated in the most unequivocal terms that English will continue to be the official language of the Indian Union as long as such a step is found necessary, that no deadline need be fixed for a switch-over to Hindi, and that the time for it is a matter to be primarily decided by the non-Hindi people. That broadminded statement was wholeheartedly welcomed by all. The echo of that statement has not yet died down.

And now comes a categorical pronouncement from the Union Dy. Minister for Home Affairs, (Mr. B. N. Datar) that Hindi shall be the official language of the Indian Union definitely with effect from 26th January 1965 and that thereafter all inter-state correspondence and correspondence between the Centre and the States shall be carried on in Hindi only. This statement is diametrically opposed to the spirit of the categorical assurance given by the Prime Minister in the Parliament on this issue. Whether the Deputy Minister's statement at Trivandrum has the effect of nullifying the Prime Minister's assurance is an issue on which the non-official people stand in need of clarification.

Calicut

K. T. APPU

GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISES

Sir,—Apropos Mr. Seshagiri Rao's contribution under the heading "Perils of Nationalised Industry and Trade" in your issue dated the 7th instant, the following may interest your readers.

During a recent visit to one of the large scale factories owned by the Government, the Chief Executive was good enough to have the visitors taken round the shops where they came to learn that some of the machines were utilised to the extent of a small fraction of their potentiality. Later the visitors had a few minutes' converse with the Chief Executive when they were informed, in reply to a query, that the demand for his products within the country itself was several times the present annual production and that he was planning for expansion of the factory and that there was no need for a market outside India. If this be so, one wonders why the machines that are installed undoubtedly at heavy cost should be allowed

to remain partially idle or put to less than maximum use. Any ordinary businessman knows only too well that machinery that is not worked to its full installed capacity directly contributes to higher costs of production. The idea of competition and the need for economy in the cost of production do not thus enter into his calculations, as in the case of the private entrepreneur as his products are protected by heavy import duties or by a complete ban on imports.

The Government have recently recognised the profit motive as legitimate in their desire to augment their own resources. The Government may condemn capitalism and the ways of the capitalist, but having entered his ranks they have to adopt his ways or survive by mere force of authority and at the expense of the public. Effective competition conduces to the good of the public.

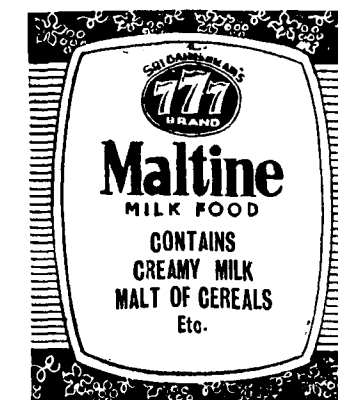
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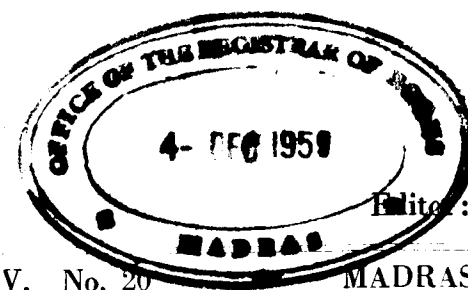
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Vol. IV. No. 20

MADRAS, NOVEMBER 21, 1959

15 Naye Paise

CLAPTRAP

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

In a speech of the usual length and comprehensive character on Nov. 11, at Dewas after dealing with China and announcing his praiseworthy resolve that our territories shall be defended without external assistance or alliance, and after condemning the Communists of India and all communal parties, Hindu, Muslim or other, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru touched upon Socialism and expressed his adherence thereto. He qualified his Socialism as Socialism without compulsion and gave no further description of it in its positive aspects. So far as the poor people of India are concerned this is probably enough to make them believe for the time being that without compulsion they will be made rich and happy by the *mantra* of Socialism. But as for thinking men who wish to know more about it, it is Socialism without definition. We have to understand it only by what is being attempted by the present ruling party to be done under that name.

So far, it has been heavy taxation large borrowings, talk about co-operative farming and State interference in trade with permits and favours to particular traders in important lines of general consumption. There is of course some transport service run by the State, the management of a few big industrial concerns with State capital and the famous L. I. C. These indications and experiments are enough to show that the poor will not benefit by the Socialism that has become the creed of the Congress and therefore of the Government. The recent admissions of the Prime Minister as to nine

hundred crores sunk in agriculture with no results proportionate to the money put in it and the unpreparedness for State trading in grains which therefore must be quietly given up are enough to demonstrate the intrinsic mischief in officials taking up on behalf of Government such work as they were never trained for and are never going to be trained for. Co-operative societies absorbing a small if not wholly insignificant fraction of those engaged in any particular productive or distributing activity, upon which Government must pour financial help from the general exchequer do not prove that such societies would normally produce or do business better than the individual doing it in his own interest. Society is served well where the individual engaged in his own individual interest and aspiration serves society also. Forgetting this and assuming that mathematics can be worked without taking human nature into account the Socialists seek to rearrange things in a big continent and make matters worse than they were. The general welfare is not going to be served by the Socialist dogma which means that the State owns everything and the citizens are only wage-earners.

To talk about co-operative farming is easy, but in practice it must lead to compulsory collective farming under State direction. Physical compulsion can be substituted by the temptation of funds given out of the public till, to be spent in certain favoured pockets. It is easy to grant subsidies and cheap loans out of the treasury and tempt into existence 'voluntary' co-operative societies; but it is a false and ex-

pensive way of seeking to prove a dogma. Weighted scales cannot measure out truth. Such experiments are of no value.

Socialism can mean nothing if there is not State compulsion attached to it. It resolves itself then into mere claptrap. The country is not in a position, the problems are too serious for us, to let politicians get away with claptrap. The question must be asked "How will you find wealth enough to distribute among the poor through the Socialism you talk about? Have you not admitted that even if all the wealth of all the rich is confiscated not minding the ruining of industries that would be involved in it, you will not find enough to go round? You will distribute poverty, not wealth." If then the problem is production of wealth and not its present distribution, what is the best way of producing wealth? Does not experience show that management by paid officials of the State is a complete failure? Is not owner-management and fair competition the best means of production? Has this not been demonstrated in all countries where compulsion is not used? If this be all admitted the talk about Socialism must not be allowed to deceive any one. This claptrap must be given up and an earnest effort made to utilise experience, capital and personal interest to produce more wealth and give employment on fair terms to an increasing number of people and thereby help the raising of the general standard of life. The promise to make poor people rich by means of Socialism is deception.

The Swatantra Party objects to such deception. It does not

object to the poor becoming richer. It objects to plans that favour selected and favoured groups for the sake of votes. Socialist plans and expenditure cause prices to rise and increase the cost of administration and add to the army of officials, who find their sport in teasing citizens. The poor can be helped only by greater and wider employment and this can be done only by the expansion of private industry and private enterprise all over the country. By crippling investment potentiality Socialist taxation prevents this.

In a poor country like ours, there is greater need for the fostering of private enterprise and individual initiative and for avoiding what cripples all this than even in a country like England which has rejected its Socialist Party, by a large vote. Socialism is not an end but a means and its worth as a means has been weighed and found wanting.

China's Military Strength

It is reported that in New York Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon had prior information of the latest letter from Mr. Chou En-lai offering a summit conference between the two Prime Ministers to settle the Sino-Indian border dispute. While endorsing Pandit Nehru's earlier stand Mr. Menon is said to be of the view that the present Chinese offer, in spite of "irritating" stipulations, should not be rejected and early negotiations with China should be undertaken.

In Mr. Menon's view China owns superior military strength; its army is better equipped than the Indian army and has made long preparations too. Therefore, the best should be made of the latest offer and further clashes be averted.

While Pandit Nehru and his Congress friends are still arguing on the merits of co-operative farming to increase food production, news comes from Soviet Russia of confessions of failure of the twin experiments of Sovkhoz (State farming) and Kolkhoz (Collective farming). The Soviet Press, the *Kommunist* and other journals are full of reports of "admissions of mistakes" in the agricultural policy. It is frankly acknowledged that the Sovkhoz system is "inefficient". From experience it is found that very often the grain is left to stand in the

A LITTLE THING LIKE THAT

(Today's version of an old Madras occasional verse of 1917)

When Ramasamis standing a mile in queue
Find fair-price rice out long ere getting their due,
Does a little thing like that the Minister's cheer damp?
His beflagged car romps in Kilampatti camp
Where opening a godown he speaks of glorious nineteen seventy,
When granaries will burst seams and men will die of plenty.
When firewood is a misnomer at fourfold cost
For what is dealt out in knotted sticks and rot,
When charcoal and kerosene follow in brotherly pursuit,
Do little things like that stop the *manthri's* measureless circuit?
He speaks of Neiveli and find of new coal at Tirhut
And calmly boosts electric charges to enhance the loot.
When tamarind rockets in sky and sugar is a sweet memory
And coffee not a thing for folk that ken little of luxury,
Do little things like that hamper the boss's appetite or slumber?
Over the radio he yawns of crossed sugar canes that yield bumper
And of the next Vana-mahotsav drive, a whirlwind
That will bower the roads all in tamarind.
When workmen in posts or railways coin grievances,
Forthwith all get a rise in allowances,
When the man in the street caving beneath endless burdens
Demurs to such proportionless guerdons
For little things like that do the rulers lend ear?
They go gallivanting from Newyork to Tangier.
When days limp to grim months and months to years of torment
For old men on meagre pensions and widows on a little rent
And for those who tightened belts fending for the day they are spent
Do little things like that mar our great Chief's clan?
His gaze is all for far horizon and the third generation man
When he speaks ecstatically of the million crores of third plan.

— BHUKKU

stacks on the Sovkhoz and the production has gone down drastically.

At the last December plenary session of the Party Central Committee, Mr. Khrushchev stated that the Soviet Union possessed 6000 Sovkhozes embracing 58 million hectares of cultivated land. It was calculated that between 7.5 million and 8 million individuals were concerned in the 'unsuccessful Sovkhozization campaign', now being abandoned. Khrushchev was also reported to have explained that "The forms of ownership cannot be changed arbitrarily. They develop on the basis of the laws of economics, they depend upon the character and the level of development of the forces of production" (*Pravda*).

—SALIVATI NEWSLETTER

Blackmail Money for Congress Expenses

Bhai Manoharabhai Patel, Congress Treasurer, recently submitted to the

Executive Committee of the Nagpur Congress session a statement of accounts according to which the Congress collected on the occasion of the session Rs. 16,87,256 and spent all that money, leaving as usual no balance.

The main sources of income were (1) Rs. 2,00,000 from reception committee membership and (2) Rs. 2,00,000 from exhibition and bazaar earnings at Abhyankarnagar (Nagpur) and nearly Rs. 1,70,000 from the sale of other admission tickets. That makes a total of only Rs. 5,70,000 from obviously legitimate sources and leaves a deficit of Rs. 11,17,256 between the total expenditure and the legitimate collections. It is obvious, remembering the past record of the Congress, that this amount of Rs. 11,17,256 was blackmail money collected from rich industrialists on the basis of *quid pro quo* as

GRIEVANCE - MONGERING

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The Prime Minister betrays a sorry tendency when he gives vent to the fear that his critics, consisting of political dissidents and believers in the dynamics of private enterprise in production, rejoice over the disappointments and miscalculations of his Government.

This attitude of captious resentment is not confined to the knots he has tied up in connection with his bias favouring State-capitalism and the Nagpur plan of promoting prosperity. He is now barking up the wrong tree when controversy extends to our relations with China and the Forward Policy implicit in the Chinese mood of expansionism in South East Asia, beginning with a demonstration of strength at the expense of India. Far from any member of the Swatantra Party chuckling over Pandit Nehru's discomfiture as the pal and chum of Chou En-lai and also the fellow-architect of Asian solidarity, the leaders whom he wrongly identifies with a "political projection of the Forum of Private Enterprise" have been firmly supporting him in the

suspected by the Vivian Bose Board in the Mundhra affair.

The main items of expenditure from the handy pool of Rs. 16,87,256 were: Rs. 5,60,000 for construction of pandal and structures for a three-day tamasha; Rs. 2,51,500 for food cooked in "gramodyog" oil (which means in Congress official language best home-made ghee in India) and Rs. 2,00,000 in installation and consumption of electricity. That makes a total of Rs. 10,11,500 leaving Rs. 6,65,756 for sundry expenses.

Apart from this the Government spent some lakhs of rupees to prepare the royal route to Abhyankarnagar where the Congress "tamasha" was held and in maintaining the necessary police pomp and "bandobust." The police "bandobust" alone required 322 police officers and 3,212 police constables. The Bombay Government spent Rs. 1,43,593.73 for their travelling expenses, Rs. 75,763.77 on their daily allowances and Rs. 28,543 for petrol and oil. —FILM INDIA

trans-border predicament India finds herself as a nation. That we should have openly protested earlier when the Chinese started road-building on our side of the fence merely underlines support for Mr. Nehru's stand that the *status quo* should be preserved, and that manoeuvres of violation of the traditional border should be resisted. No one in India advocates the declaration of war; and skirmishes in self-defence do not amount to war.

For months on end Chou En-lai would not deign to reply, and when on November 8, the Chinese Premier actually wrote to Mr. Nehru, there was a mild sigh of relief that things might not get permanently deadlocked in the cold war, India condemning aggression and at the same time pursuing the cause of China's admission to the U. N. O. as a peaceful Charter-minded nation entitled to cancellation of the U. N. O.'s past resolution branding her as aggressor. After the receipt of the Chinese despatch to promote a *detente* (relaxation in tension), Mr. Nehru made the amazing statement in New Delhi that "he was unhappy that the Private Sector should have taken advantage of the present situation to attack the Government."

Here he has lost his way, since the Private Sector as we know it has done nothing of the kind to dispirit him. In current controversy the Private Sector consists of a large number of individuals scattered all over the country who have invested their savings in corporate ventures which under the law engages the capital collected in manufacture and trade, to make a legitimate profit. The Public Sector represents Government undertakings under State management which Panditji believes are "infinitely more efficient" in administration, and, therefore, vastly more profitable for society than individual trading. Holding to this broad classification, many humble investors who admire his heroic role in Indian history would like to know where and how they are supposed to have attacked his Government when, by and large, people have been tremendously anxious to

"strengthen Nehru's hands", making the Communist junta in Peking know that the protests drafted by Mr. Nehru did not represent a lone voice in the wilderness but the remonstrance of the people. If, here and there, some querulous leaders from out of the nineteen political parties with name-boards in India, uttered the complaint that Panditji in 1951 and 1954 had been naive and overtrusting in the vitalism of Panch Shila, how does it amount to an attack by innocent investors comprehended by the term Private Sector? And why should he, at a tangent, lambast "middlemen" as the cause of spiralling prices when the State itself has taken over as many as fifty commodities for exemplary economic trailing. He says co-operatives would cheapen goods if volunteers at a loose end come forward as the medium of distribution, Nagpur-wise. It instead of an agency of two or three partners who know the job and who compete with rival firms for sales benefiting the consumer by lower prices, quasi-official syndicates of political favourites emerge, consisting of large numbers out to hold monopolies and divide the spoils grabbed at dictated prices, vote-catching cliques are likely to rule the market.

The Prime Minister should not in his frontier-difficulties drag in extraneous grievances of party-squabbles at home, since the nation is "mature" enough to realise the importance of a solid united front when Indian soil is invaded. The Private Sector has no advantage in attacking his policy astride the McMahon Line. But then Jawaharlal Nehru seems to be developing a sense of apprehensiveness as to who are his friends and who serve as sycophantic opportunists within the ruling coterie. There is a touch of the persecution-complex. He sees baleful shadows, without substance, on the wall—the Private sector, the newspapers, the critics of the Nagpur resolution, undependable Communists and also insular-minded fault-finders, all in a single mob of "19th century reactionism". In singling out the Private Sector in this context, he visualises a wrong salient. The Private Sector is by no means the nigger in the woodpile to be chased. Prejudice has been described as a vagrant opinion without visible means of support.

SWARAJYA

November 21, 1959

SIDELIGHTS ::

Mr. Nehru has begun to turn his attention on the shortcomings of others, in order apparently to avoid looking his own position squarely in the face. At Dewas he referred contemptuously to critics who had suggested that India should join a military alliance to meet the danger of Chinese border attacks, and exclaimed that "this cry was raised by people with faint hearts who developed cold feet and cold hands at the slightest sign of danger and in their utter helplessness did not know what to do." If Mr. Nehru imagines himself to be a man with a stout heart who never feels helpless or develops cold feet at the approach of danger, this estimate of himself is not now endorsed by thinking people in the country who have followed his handling of the border issue objectively with calm detachment.

The Chinese have advanced forty miles into Indian territory. Their incursions have been going on from four to five years. Did the Prime Minister look upon this as a joke or *tamasha* that he did not make any attempt in all this period to throw the aggressors back? The Chief of the Army Staff, General Thimmayya, tells us that "there is no danger on the northern border and our army is strong enough, to defend the mountains." If our army is strong enough, what explanation can the Prime Minister give for having allowed the Chinese to make their incursions into Indian territory upto 40 miles without any military resistance?

No country strong enough to defend itself will allow such a large-scale aggression within its borders as the Nehru Government have permitted the Chinese to accomplish. The Chinese themselves will attribute the easy walk-over they have so far had to Indian weakness, and so will the rest of the world. The credit belongs to the Prime Minister of having exposed his country to this humiliating plight.

His heroic talk of non-alignment ill befits one within whose administrative jurisdiction foreign troops have already stationed

themselves. Non-alignment means that we will not take sides for or against this or that power bloc, the Eastern or the Western, or any member of either. Non-alignment became dead the moment China encroached on India by force, and now when the Prime Minister speaks of non-alignment it is a dead body from which the life has gone that he hugs to his bosom. Or does he still want to continue to be non-aligned against China, in fantastic fanaticism for an outmoded nostrum, whatever fate the country may be driven to thereby?

From the fact that the Chinese are already there on our territory, it has become a matter of concern for the whole country to determine why they are still there. Is it by our choice or out of necessity? If the Prime Minister's contention of strength is conceded, he would be proved guilty of having permitted the Chinese incursions by choice. It is less damaging to his prestige to be considered weak than to be considered strong, yet to have failed in using his strength to resist the aggressor and throw him back from Indian soil.

Apart from the Prime Minister's disquisitions on his own qualities of valour and prowess and the faint hearts and cold feet of his critics, there is no denying that in his recent border policies he has demonstrated neither strength nor confidence. Why should a strong nation act as if it were weak by enduring aggression on its territory in studied secrecy for a period of years? Mr. Nehru has gone so far as to tell the Chinese Prime Minister that he had not disclosed the truth about the Chinese incursions to prevent excitement among his people. To offer the Chinese the protective mantle of a non-excited state in our people, is this how a Prime Minister without cold feet should discharge his duty of national defence?

The type of strength with which we are credited as an emanation of Prime Ministerial statecraft does not seem to be adequate for our effective national security. A

Government which has failed to resist aggression so far cannot be relied on to fulfil its promise to do so hereafter. Other reinforcements have to be sought. It is now military strength that counts and not spirited heroics or quantum of hortative wordage. The present defence anchorage of the country is far from promising as Mr. Nehru has till now put on superior airs against nations joining together in mutual self-defence, and even if now approached by him the Western powers in their new anxiety for peace with the Soviet Union, may not be over-anxious to embark on fresh commitments of a military nature for the good of India, forgetting past rebuffs.

The Prime Minister's vulnerability is reflected in his anger with everybody which, for the first time in his career, is tending to become crude and undignified. We find him at Indore cavilling against his critics thus: "These people who are now shouting so much never showed their face during the freedom movement but remained indoors behind the screen. What is this big joke, this child's play of exploiting this border issue to defame the Congress?" It is a new evolution in Mr. Nehru's conception of democracy—and it cheapens it—to insist on graduation in the freedom movement of twelve years ago for governmental acceptance of the validity of political opinions of the present day. The Constitution makes no such distinction to limit citizens' rights. But even if the Prime Minister is to be indulged, he should know that he and his followers do not exhaust the ranks of patriots. The contribution of the opponents of the present Government to the freedom movement is no less impressive and distinguished and indeed the most intimate and trusted fellow-workers of the Mahatma have abandoned the Congress and the Nehru fold. It is true however that their dividends from Swaraj in the form of office, power, position, patronage and advantage to friends and relatives have been insignificant compared to what Mr. Nehru has grasped. The Nehru Congress is totally different in character and moral prestige from the Gandhi Congress. Events have proved the present leadership demoralising and dangerous to the country.

—SAKA

THE PUBLIC SECTOR AGAIN

By S. NARAYAN AIYAR

Now and again Ministers of the Central Government and other Congress bosses advise us not to waste time on futile controversies about the relative merits of the Public and Private Sectors but to concentrate on more important things. The latest recruit to this class is Mr. G. D. Birla who in a recent speech at Calcutta "sounding a warning to businessmen and industrialists not to dissipate their energies on unnecessary controversies regarding the merits of the Public and Private Sectors, called upon them to concentrate their attention on improving the administration of the country." To do him justice, our Prime Minister does not belong to this class but frankly treats the Private Sector as his public enemy No. 1 and when he is criticised in the Press or elsewhere for the softness of his Chinese policy, comes out and "accuses the Private Sector of creating confusion in the public mind on the Chinese issue." What the Private Sector has to do with Chinese frontier aggression and how and why he identifies the critics of his Chinese policy with the Private Sector in trade and industry only the learned Pandit can explain.

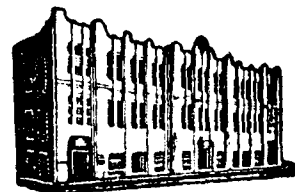
That apart, one would like to ask Mr. Birla what specific line of action he would suggest to his fellow industrialists and businessmen towards improving the administration of the country. If he was only exhorting them to improve the administration of the affairs of the respective concerns of which they are in charge, that is certainly welcome and necessary advice and not only the businessmen and industrialists advised but the country as a whole must be grateful to him for it. But what Mr. Birla asked them to do was to concentrate their attention on improving the administration of the country. The only way in which the public and, in particular, the industrialists and businessmen whom Mr. Birla was addressing can do anything towards improving the administration of the country is by pointing out where the Government is going wrong in this matter, and what, in their opinion, it can do to set matters right.

The fact of the matter is that the inevitable inefficiency of

Governmental organisation is the key fact in the general picture of the industrial regeneration of the country and the combined efforts of all of us to hasten industrialisation and the consequent provision of a modicum of comfort for the dispossessed masses of this unfortunate land. Any attempt to get round it by concentrating our attention on this or that detail is inevitably bound to confront us again with the "key" fact and leave us exactly where we started. While the now famous "Parkinson's Law" may be a flight of fancy of its author, the two axioms from which he deduces it, that (1) every official tries to multiply his subordinates, not rivals and (2) officials make work for each other, are undeniable facts capable of demonstration in respect of all forms of Government the world over. This is not a reflection on the honesty or integrity of the officials themselves individually or as a class, but an inevitable consequence of the conditions in which they work and move and have their being, and of which they are as much the victims as the general public.

Co-operation is the basic law of life. It is possible for ten men working together as a single unit and under one direction to achieve with the same expenditure of time and labour a lot more than ten single men each working on his own can do towards the same end; and a well organised and properly directed unit of a hundred men can correspondingly do much more than ten units of ten each taken together can. At the next stage the advantage is slightly less clear. While a well directed unit of a thousand men will certainly produce much better results than ten units of a hundred each, men who can really successfully direct a thousand-men unit are few and far between and an ill-directed unit of a thousand may not necessarily be better than ten well directed units of a hundred each. One stage higher the advantage of an increase in size becomes still more questionable and except in the case of a few routine operations where a ten thousand unit can work to more satisfaction and produce more satisfactory results than ten units of a thousand each,

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in a very large percentage of cases the balance of advantage tends to be in favour of the ten smaller units of a thousand each. Beyond that, it can very definitely be predicated that accumulation ceases to be an advantage and it can very definitely be stated that it is next to impossible for any man, however gifted, to organise and run successfully a hundred-thousand-men organisation and the balance of advantage is definitely on the side of the lesser units. It is true that modern administrative techniques and the devolution of powers to subordinate and subsidiary authorities have made possible recently the reasonably efficient working of much larger conglomerations of men than was possible even a few years ago, but even then it is conceded on all hands that while giant firms (like General Motors, for instance) employing a few hundred thousand workers may deliver the goods, they are way back from much smaller firms engaged in the same trade in the overall efficiency with which they do their job. It is this inevitable limitation on the size of any organisation for it to function effectively and its tendency to grow less and less effective as the size goes up further and further, that makes Socialism (State ownership and administration of all the means of production in the country) what it is and has always been, a good dream but a poor reality.

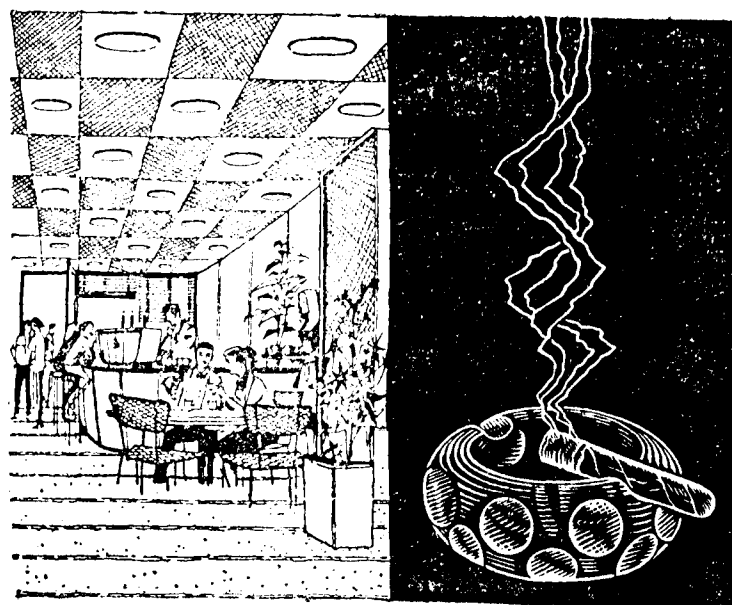
Vast as our country is and realising as we do that Government organisation on such a vast scale is bound to be to some extent

inefficient in any case, if the Government confines itself to its proper functions of governing and leaves things like trade, agriculture, industry, transport and the like to people who understand them and are likely to make a good job of them, there is just a chance that even with a two million men organisation the Government of India may do a reasonably satisfactory job of the restricted functions that it has perforce to handle, whereas if it goes on expanding its field of activities and the size and extent of its personnel correspondingly, it is bound to end up with tens of millions on its pay roll and the organisation instead of working is bound to crack up and disintegrate under the sheer weight of its own numbers. For reasons rooted in history, the Indian governmental organisation has been even more irresponsible and consequently much more inefficient as an instrument of work than its counterparts elsewhere, so that our Congress Party essays in Socialism depending as they do on the Indian governmental machine for the execution of their plans are turning out even a more ghastly failure than they need have been on their merits; and it is in this background that the Congress Party, the Government controlled by it, and the Indian bureaucracy which is their instrument of work are taking on themselves more and more functions and expanding themselves and the clientele that surrounds them, all in the name and plea of serving the dumb masses of this subcontinent.

The noble aims of the Socialist movement, the undoubtedly high and altruistic character of a very high proportion of its exponents, combined with day-to-day personal knowledge of how badly most moneyed men use their money, has certainly given a glamour to Socialism as a way out of our difficulties and it is no wonder that quite a lot of us are or have been attracted to it. It is the after-knowledge obtained from a study of Socialism in action wherever it has been tried and under whatever labels, that disillusion us and convinces us that our earlier dreams were due to our having ignored the essentials of human nature, and if only we had used our brains a little more, earlier, we would not have allowed ourselves to be influenced by those dreams.

In the ultimate resort the one hundred and ninety millions of voters who inhabit this country are its rulers and it is their decision arrived at by a majority of votes that should decide what direction our policy should take. Realising as some of us do the futility on the one hand and the danger on the other of the Socialist organisation of India, particularly on the lines now favoured by the Congress oligarchy, and with our belief in the innate good sense and integrity of our people, who if left free and unfettered can organise the national agriculture, trade, industry, transport, education, etc., on much sounder lines than any "leader" or "party" can do it for them, it is

Continued on page 15



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CAPITAL COMMENTS

THE MENON PUZZLE IN OUR POLITICS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: The capital is now in the grip of a new epidemic which has broken out in the form of an unmeasured denunciation of the Union Minister for Defence. It is so virulent that there is little hope of its subsidence unless Mr. Krishna Menon is bundled out of Defence, and less of its disappearance unless he is banished out of the Nehru realm. Always a controversial being, Mr. Menon has now become in general esteem somewhat of a baleful figure—a figure emblematic of doom. Not even Lloyd George in the days of the Boer War was so marked out for unmitigated censure as Mr. Krishna Menon is to-day over vast areas of the free world. One is reminded of what A. G. Gardiner said of Lloyd George in those dark days: Indeed, hatred of the man has become

a frame of mind, a free masonry, a kind of eleventh commandment—unlike most commandments in the constancy with which it is observed. It is doubtful whether any statesman has ever aroused such bitter hostility in "Society."

Yet it is difficult to say how far public demonstrations for Mr. Krishna Menon's dismissal, as also those in his honour, are deliberately engineered or spontaneous beyond cavil. He is not without friends—and "admirers" who almost always constitute a dangerous entourage. He is not without protection either. For, whoever may desert or drop him, the Prime Minister will not, much less in panic as a concession to organised clamour. Mr. Nehru is no adept in throwing away any of his dear colleagues to the wolves, particularly at others' bidding. If anything, he is eminently capable of hardening up when any kind of pressure is sought to be put on him, though with the best of intentions. Of course, unless things are made impossible for him by his own party men. But Congressmen, whatever they may say without Mr. Nehru's ear-shot, behave decorously in his presence and swallow his prescriptions, however bitter. And it can make no difference to things when the freedom of speech exercised in the lobbies of Parliament is not accompanied by freedom of action on the floor of the House. Nor is there much opposition to Mr. Krishna

Menon from the Opposition since the Communist M.P.s. sooner rally round him than even round Mr. Nehru. What PSP men and the Independents say or do, hardly decides any issue. And if the popular press howls against Mr. Krishna Menon, there is also a section of the press which he has cultivated and enlisted on his side by mysterious links.

Thus it appears that he is quite safe—and yet so vicious is the circle of things that there are a good many knowledgeable men who are prepared to lay a wager that by some concatenation of circumstances, Mr. Krishna Menon will sooner than later be kept out—at least out of Defence, out of deference to "popular" clamour as well as some invisible influences at work. Anyway, speculation about him has become the most engrossing of occupations in political circles. If being always discussed matters more than being either praised or pilloried, Mr. Krishna Menon has none to envy; he has but to envy himself. Whether he will remain in office or not, he will remain the greatest puzzle in our politics.

Who is going to succeed Mrs. Indira Gandhi as the President of the Congress?—that is another question very much heard in Delhi. It is now almost certain that the theory of indispensability will not be (allowed to be) pressed too far again. Mrs. Indira Gandhi is said to be feeling that she cannot indefinitely neglect her duty to her father or, in other words, neglect him too much while she is known to be keeping none too well. It is said to hear that she has a stone in the kidney, has tried homeopathy without results, is now trying Ayurveda and if that too fails, may have to undergo an operation. Thus she cannot neglect herself either for too long. They also say that she has become sick of the squabbles inside the Congress in several States. And apart from these things, she must be credited with sound judgment for refraining from glorying too much in 'dynastic right.' She has done hard work, proved her grit and made herself responsible for certain big decisions. To think of going while one is still wanted is the essence of wisdom, particularly in politics, and Mrs. Indira Gandhi deserves praise for her voluntary effort in surrendering a place which would be hers for the mere asking—or assenting. In fact, she is forcing herself out, having had enough of it. It is to

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her credit that as the Congress President she was no figure-head and had a will of her own. Doubtless she had great advantages, none greater than accessibility to the Prime Minister and she made the best use of her opportunities without forgetting her own position.

Her predecessor was under the handicap of having had to function at a distance—respectable distance—from the Prime Minister. Her successor, whoever he may be, will suffer from the same handicap unless he is a man of stature who has a mind of his own and who can function without dread of the Prime Minister. But from the names that are being bruited about in the press, there is no hope of any stalwart appearing on the scene and apparently the Congress crown is going a-begging or is being just hawked about. And herein lies the conclusive proof that the mighty Congress has fallen on evil days.

Time was when the foremost in the land thought that their eminence had fallen short of real recognition if they were not asked, to ascend the Congress gaddi. It attracted the very greatest in public life—patriarchs like Dadabhai Naoroji, leaders like Pherozeshah Mehta, orators like Surendranath Banerjee, statesmen like Gokhale, evangelists like Malaviya, apostles of freedom like Lajpat Rai and Chitta Ranjan Das, patricians like Motilal Nehru and the later-day heroes like Azad, Patel, Rajen Babu and Jawaharlal Nehru. Gandhiji himself presided: a future British Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, once should have. That a place so hallowed by its association with the noblest in the land, should be unabashedly brought within the reach of pignies, is the clearest indication of the decline of the Congress. It was Pandit Motilal Nehru who wanted the Congress to have as its President "a skilled pilot who can afford to make light of the breakers and the rocks ahead." And to-day the country finds his son—or is it his grand daughter?—not unreconciled to handing over the organisation to one or the other of the many Tapers and Tadpoles in the party. Perhaps the men at the top realise that the party is perilously nearing the bottom—and that the Congress "Bottoms" cannot be too much "translated" except as a matter of make-believe which, after all, deceives none.



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CONSUMER HARASSMENT UNDER STATE TRADING

By P. H. SESHAGIRI RAO

(Former Deputy Auditor-General of India)

Our Government seems to think that it has discovered a sovereign remedy for all our economic ills in nationalisation. It is only quacks who deal in sovereign remedies. There can be no greater admission of bankruptcy in the art of governance than applying the same remedy to every disease. When the rise in sugar prices was discussed in Parliament the other day, the solution by nationalisation was freely bandied about. Serious allegations of corruption, ineptitude, false statistics etc. were all brushed aside and the magic remedy of nationalisation was flung before an irate House to silence it. In an article contributed to the *Eastern Economist* Sri Krishnan, Chairman of the Mandya Sugar Company, has shown how Government is already controlling the sugar industry at every step and how the State's acts of commission and omission are alone responsible for the present position. You can get an idea of the extent of State control from the proceedings of the meeting of the Corporation of Bangalore on October 14. A corporator suggested that Delhi should be requested to permit Mandya to release 20,000 bags of sugar for Bangalore. Another corporator said there was not sufficient time for all this. This when there were two weeks still to go for Deepavali. That spotlights both the extent of controls and the speed with which the officials work.

Wishful Statistics

On the food front a gullible public have been fed with wishful statistics which one day justify even exports, and on the next day justify severe controls. Ultimately the muddle in the food front will be used to justify nationalisation. Nationalisation will come and then those very elements who clamoured for it will regret it. The threat of state trading in food grains has been hanging over our heads for some time now, and one can very well imagine what the fate of the consumer will be when a commodity the demand for which is inelastic gets into the hands of State Trading Corporation. Mr. Jain, when he

resigned, wailed that State trading in food grains failed because the machinery required for enforcing it was not there. Yes, coercive machinery will be used ruthlessly when State trading in food grains is "enforced."

Now let us look at the picture of nationalised industry. In the case of the simple process of trade, the profiteering indulged in by the State becomes patent, but in the process of manufacture the same greed for profiteering can be effectively concealed through the intricacies of costing.

Government are now entering industries which require a high degree of technical skill. It goes without saying that the establishment cost when the State takes up a trade will be higher than that of the parties already in the business. If, therefore, the State tries to sell its products, in a free market, in competition with other producers, it is bound to find itself at a disadvantage. A private party placed in similar circumstances will have initially to face losses. But he perseveres patiently, bearing the initial losses, till he wins and comes out successful. It is after that, that he will be able to wipe off his initial losses. It is in his case an unrelenting law of survival of the fittest, and all his bitter struggles are his private affair. He has no control over his competitors. Not so the State. It enters a new field with a fanfare of trumpets that it will save the consumer from the strangle-hold of the profiteer. When, in due course, it finds that it cannot deliver the goods cheaper than the so-called profiteer and has to face the pressure of public opinion it yields to the temptation of finding a scapegoat and it will very easily succeed in finding one in a country surcharged with a Government-engineered climate of hatred of the merchant and industrial employer.

Pooling of production & prices

The most innocuous looking device is to pool the entire production and fix a uniform price. This has been done, in the name of public good, even when the State

was not in the picture as an inefficient producer. It does not require knowledge of higher mathematics to realise that when such pooling is done the price is bound to be higher than that charged by the more efficient units. Pooling of prices is really a form of subsidy to the inefficient units. Once again it is the consumer that suffers. It is well to remember that by pooling, the State does not remove the cause of complaint from the harassed consumer, but only removes the accusing finger, namely the efficient producer selling at the lower price, which was pointing to the inefficient and costly producer, be it a private producer or the State. Once the pooled price is introduced, what is happening inside State enterprises is anybody's guess. We shall soon see this process working as the three steel plants in the public sector swing into production. The system of what is called 'retention price' is already in force in the steel industry, and when the industry was in the private sector, the system was so operated as to make the price of steel in India the lowest in the whole world. Prices are bound to rise with Government steel coming into the market. This forecast is not based on prejudice. The costs of a new producer must be high in the beginning. This is universal experience. It is almost an economic law. It was announced in Parliament the other day that the cost of the locomotives produced in Chittaranjan had gone down from Rs. 8 lakhs each to Rs. 6 lakhs each and that, similarly, the cost of the integral coaches produced at Perambur had gone down from Rs. 2 lakhs each to Rs. 85,030 each, which show that the State does improve with experience. The annual report of Tata Steel shows that in their recently expanded section costs have gone up and severely reduced profits, which shows that the private sector also is not an exception to the general economic law that the costs are high at the beginning. But while Tata's were not given an increase in retention price when they justified it on the score of losses on the new plant, Government will give itself the necessary increase in retention price without any hesitation and thereby increase the overall price of steel in the country. Again it is the consumer that will suffer. Politics apart, there is inherent

danger in the State getting to the other side of the counter, because the State which acted as an umpire in a dispute between the seller and the buyer would join forces with the seller and become an interested party. When the State is a disinterested party, the consumer can run to it for a fair deal when the seller is harsh, but to whom should the citizen appeal when the State itself is the seller?

Once the State enters industry and gradually increases its share in the total production, natural formation of price, which is the rule in a free and competitive economy, will cease and "cost plus profit" will begin to operate. Without attributing any diabolical motives, it is easy to see that in this arrangement there is no incentive to efficiency or economy. What is worse, opinions can vary widely even among experts as to cost. The controversies that are still going on regarding the price of locomotives produced at the Tata Engineering and Locomotive Co. (Telco) are public knowledge. When the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works were started by Government it was hoped that the costs there would present a challenge to the costs of Telco. But the difference in the methods of costing in the two factories rendered comparisons difficult. The Tariff Commission had to be invited to undertake an investigation to settle the price. They fixed a price, but that was only for the period ending 31st March 1957. There is dispute regarding price for the subsequent period. I understand that this matter has been referred to a one man arbitration! If this is the position when the buyer is the State which wields a big stick you can easily imagine what the position will be when the customers are only poor commoners like you and me.

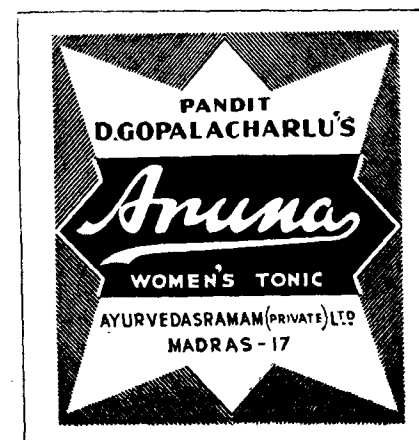
Costs can play tricks

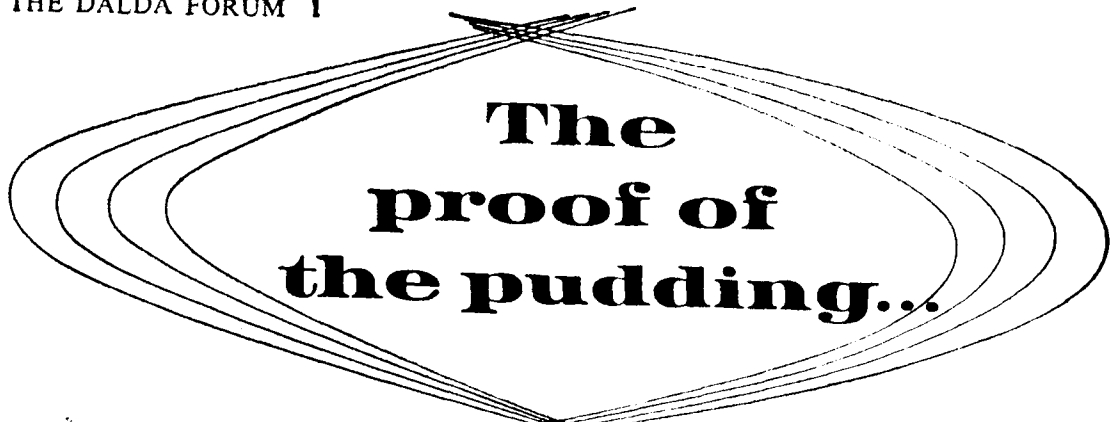
To illustrate that cost can play funny tricks I have only to mention another controversy that is now going on, the one between Government and the oil companies. Government claim that their costing expert has discovered that on the basis of "cost plus fair profit" the prices charged by the oil companies are exorbitant. The oil companies say "Let us have a look at your cost expert's findings." According to press reports the

Government refuse to reveal them. Two can play at the game of costing. If Government, aided by their handpicked economists and costing experts, say that a truck which you were purchasing for, say, Rs. 25,000 costs Rs. 40,000 when manufactured by them, what remedy has the public? Even if Government do not swallow up the other truck manufacturers through a process of nationalisation, there is still the device of pooled prices. They can claim, with a show of justification, that such pooling is in the public interest. Just as in the case of cement it was argued that the high price of imported cement should not fall on the shoulders of only those who purchase that particular lot, it can justifiably be argued that the higher price of trucks manufactured in the Government factory should not be borne only by those who purchase that lot. This argument will have even greater force when the buyer is not free to buy what he wants, and from whom he wants, but is subject to controlled allocation and distribution of the total available trucks. So, while in a free economy, shortages are made good by enterprising parties who enter the field to share in the higher profits made by the existing producer in a sellers market, and, by hard and sustained struggle, come to the top, make good the gap in supply, and even reduce the price for the consumer, when the State undertakes the job of filling the gap in supply it comes in as the costliest producer and raises prices all round. If the State started producing for its own requirements, not much damage would be done to the economy in general though Government may in fact be manufacturing these articles inefficiently. For example, lately, the Defence Ministry has decided to manufacture trucks in its own shops as it feels that it could produce them cheaper than what the private sector is charging for them. Even if this expectation does not materialise it is its own affair (not so own either, for it is the taxpayers' money that is being wasted, if the cost is actually higher). But the actual position can be concealed. If the entire industry is nationalised, it is not in the interest of Government to conceal the higher costs. In fact it will flaunt it before the public in justification of the higher prices the public will have to pay.

It is well known that costs can be one thing for internal check and another for exhibition to the consumer. Attempts have also been made to justify higher costs in Government concerns, as compared with the private sector, by omitting certain legitimate items of costs on the ground that the competitor is not incurring that cost.

When determination of costs is such a complicated problem even when production is concentrated in one place, how much more difficult should it be in the case of production of food grains spread over the entire country with varying methods of cultivation, varying land revenue systems, varying tenancy systems, varying soil conditions, etc. etc. Yet the State has now set out to fix a "fair price" on a cost basis. In a hand-out issued by a political party it is claimed that it costs Rs. 134 to plough an acre of land by the traditional method of country plough and bullocks but Rs. 266 if a tractor is used. On the face of it this claim appears to be wrong as we are often told that ploughing by tractor is cheaper. Still the statement can be substantiated if the tractor was used to plough only a small lot—say 10 acres. It just shows what fantastic claims can be made when one sets out to fix prices on the basis of cost. I wonder whether Government have considered the ludicrous results that will follow if they honestly fixed the price on the basis of cost in each area. They will have to fix a separate price for rice produced in each village if the cost of production varies from village to village, as it is bound to. Does this make sense? Many will be the tragedies physical, psychological, and ethical that will be enacted when compulsory procurement of food grains is enforced.





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WE: Why? With every year that goes by, more and more people are cooking with DALDA. They begin by using it for frying, as you do. But gradually they see no reason why it shouldn't be used for a wide range of dishes.

YOU: But is DALDA really good for one?

DOCTOR: As an energy source, it's as good as any. DALDA Vanaspati is a vegetable fat. The energy it provides is equal to 255 calories per ounce. This is as much as you get from anything else that you can use for cooking.

NUTRITIONIST: It's two and a half times what wheat or rice can give.

YOU: Well, may be it's rich with energy, but what else does it contain?

NUTRITIONIST: Virtually the only other ingredient is vitamins.

YOU: Vitamins?

WE: Seven hundred International Units of Vitamin A go into every ounce plus 56 IU of Vitamin D.

DOCTOR: Those are the vitamins that help keep your eyes, skin, teeth and bones healthy.

WE: And DALDA, like all vanaspati, retains its vitamins unusually well during cooking—better than any other cooking medium you can name.

NUTRITIONIST: All of which makes DALDA

a rich source of vitamins and energy. To my mind, that's a nourishing food.

YOU: But my family has always believed that things made in a factory are . . . well . . .

DOCTOR: Not as good as natural products? Doctors would differ with you. Modern treatment of diseases, for instance, would come to a dead stop without synthetic drugs. What you would call 'artificial' drugs. But they have been found to be cheaper . . .

YOU: Ah yes, cheaper . . .

DOCTOR: And not just cheaper—but every bit as effective as the natural product. So I don't see how one can consider something 'inferior' merely because it comes from a factory. Especially if it must also conform to Government specifications.

YOU: Is DALDA Vanaspati made to such specifications?

WE: Yes. It must meet definite standards set by Government. And if you need still further reassurance of its goodness . . . look how widely it is used!

YOU: Well, there I must agree.

WE: Today, it enters 2 million homes a year. And people have been cooking with DALDA Vanaspati in India for nearly 30 years now. The Armed Forces, schools and hospitals all over India—vanaspati is used by them all.

DOCTOR: If it wasn't good, I should have my waiting-room pretty full, don't you think?

WE: The final test of a product's goodness is probably large-scale use of it over a substantial period of time. If it wins out after that (as DALDA has) . . . well . . . 'the proof of the pudding is in the eating,' isn't it?

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KRISHNA MENON AT THE UNITED NATIONS

By P. G. KRISHNAYYA

New York City: Last week Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon who has become a perennial chairman of our General Assembly delegations in recent years called a sort of "summit" press conference of some select U. N. correspondents. The conference was scheduled to begin at 6 p.m. but he did not turn up till 8 p.m. He profusely apologised for being late. After two cups of tea he asked the gathering to fire some questions so that he could answer them all in one stretch. Most of the questions were on India's present relationship with Red China. Mr. Menon went on for an hour or so sort of mesmerizing all the newspaper men and women from different parts of the world that had gathered around him. He said that what he was saying was off record and should not be directly quoted. At the end what the chairman of the delegation of India said was nothing new. He had said all of this more eloquently in his policy making speech before the U. N. General Assembly.

This news paperman asked him the most inconvenient question which Americans have asked Mr. Menon again and again, "What is the Defence Minister of India doing now at the U. N. headquarters when India's borders are being invaded by a ruthless country?" Mr. Menon kept silent regarding this question. This brings to our mind an open letter sent to the Prime Minister of India on the day when Mr. Krishna Menon fainted in the Security Council in 1957 arguing the case of India regarding Kashmir and broke the record at the U. N. for the length of a speech delivered there. The text of this letter is given below. The facts stated therein are truer today than two years ago when the letter was written.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister—I and my colleagues have watched the distinguished Defence Minister of India, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon at the various councils of the United Nations. The other day in the Security Council he could not proceed with his work because of sheer physical exhaustion. It was a most trying experience to watch him as I did from the press gallery. I feel that being the Defence Minister of India as well as the

"trouble shooter" for you in international affairs is too much for any mortal man. At the United Nations ever since he became chairman of our delegation Mr. Menon alone has formulated and worked for every major decision for which we can take credit. Despite his poor health at the current General Assembly he is repeating this. Indeed he has become the most important personality at the United Nations. As you know, the extra-curricular activities of the United Nations are something which will floor even a man of masculine vitality. I am speaking of the endless cocktail parties and receptions given by the delegations, the Municipality of New York and various organizations. Mr. Menon makes it a point to attend almost every one of them for a few minutes lest his hosts might misunderstand that he is high-hatting them. Mr. Menon's presence here of course has made it easy for almost every other member of the delegation. Any time I go into the delegates' lounge of the United Nations I see some members of our delegation just warming the seats there whereas Mr. Krishna Menon is working like the dickens meeting people, making speeches and carrying on negotiations with every ounce of his frail body. Not long ago, I conducted a pool among American correspondents who cover the United Nations activities because there has been persistent rumours that Mr. Krishna Menon is very popular in U.S.A. To my surprise, I received many favourable replies. The following just about sums up his personality and work at the United Nations:

Krishna Menon has grown up in the womb of this new world; he knows the birth pains, the heart beat, the language; he knows the how and why of its development, chapter and verse; he knows many people, old and new, big and small who are building (and those who are trying to prevent the building of) this new order.

Knowing as he does what this new world means to his people and his country, he also understands much of what it means to the former "have" and "have not" countries; he recognizes and appre-

ciates the tremendous readjustments that must be made. In committees, at forums, at press conferences and in private discussions Mr. Menon usually takes care to note whatever good points there are on the other side, then adds, "having said that, we must go on to say..." and lowers the boom of disagreement or criticism.

I remember one occasion when American reporters asked him why India presses for "recognition of Red China". Mr. Menon answered crisply: "My country's view is, not that the United States should recognize China, but that China should be admitted to the United Nations". Then he continued with some irritation: "Why don't you people call the country by its correct name, the People's Republic of China? How would you like some one to call your country the White United States or something like that?"

Krishna Menon believes in free, full discussion and negotiation on every situation at every level, and in open agreements freely arrived at. He does not believe in so-called "gentlemen's agreements" so dear to the old type of Western diplomacy, and thus he often infuriates devious people. On occasion the Western press has described him as "Nehru's bad boy", "India's trouble shooter", etc., all of which has practically no effect on Krishna Menon, the new type of diplomat who knows where he came from, where he is now, where he is going and why in this rapidly changing new type of world.

As I watch Mr. Krishna Menon at the United Nations and elsewhere in New York City, I feel strongly that if he is to continue to be of service to our country he should not be bothered with being the Defence Minister and also representative at the U. N. There is only one man the stubborn Krishna Menon will heed and that is you.

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CINEMA

SHOULD FILM STARS MARRY?

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: One of the topics discussed most avidly by film fans and film periodicals is the private life of stars. The romance of stars, the scandals and their married life provide good copy to both Western and Indian film periodicals. There is a genuine interest for such scandals and romances of stars among the readers of the fan magazines.

Whether stars should marry or not is their personal affair. It only affects the industry if like Nutan or Nargis, a star decides to quit acting and become a full-fledged housewife. There was a time when marriage and career for women were considered incompatible; today not only the labour class women, but thousands of educated middle-class women are forced to work for a living and have made their married life successful. In Bombay there are thousands of married women working as clerks, packers, operators, typists, stenographers, pleaders, teachers, nurses, doctors; and though some of the marriages may have proved failures, in a majority of cases the working girls have proved to be good wives.

But apparently the stars fear that they do not make good wives; some of them believe that a career is incompatible with successful marriage. Expressing her views on this subject in an interview Shobhana Samarath said "I am individually of the opinion that a woman cannot lead a successful married life and act in films at the same time. Woman needs man's protection. But if a man is forced to live on a woman's patronage, his masculine ego is hurt and then the married life does not become quite happy. After marriage, woman should leave films. That is my opinion. Secondly, we go to work in the early morning at about 7 a.m. and return home by 9 p.m. and sometimes even by midnight. Sometimes we have to work the whole night as well. Under the circumstances it is not possible to give any attention to the home. Hence it is better to devote oneself either to marriage or films and not to both."

These views of an educated star who joined films after marriage carry their own weight. It is not possible for every star to follow Shobhana's advice. In fact, there have been many examples of stars who retired after marriage staging a come-back. For, once an artiste, it is always difficult to resist the temptation of the foot-lights; and sooner or later an artiste yields to that temptation. In any case, Shobhana's views explain why certain stars prefer not to marry at all.

* * *
Adarsh's 'Fashionable Wife' presents two stories of two sisters of different disposition and temperament. Their parents were separated while the daughters were young. Ragini was brought up by the sober, practical and God-fearing mother; Kamini was brought up by her care-free, modern and care-less father who pampered her to live a glamorous life.

Ragini married a journalist and tried to make her home an ideal, happy place. She was successful until her mother-in-law who did not approve of her marriage arrived on the scene and sowed the seeds of discord. The mother-in-law succeeded in driving Ragini out on false suspicion. Ragini became a social worker and devoted herself to the uplift of Harijans until the suspicion was cleared and she was reconciled to her father, sister and husband.

Kamini married a dance-composer and led a fast life squandering all her husband's money. She insulted her husband's father and younger brother who came to stay with them. Thanks to her, the kid ran away and her husband drove her out and searched for his kid brother. Kamini's father also turned her out.

Side by side a third story runs parallel to the other two narratives. It is the story of Makhanlal and his wife resorting to every trick to provide food for themselves and their seven children.

While the comedy provided by Radhakrishnan as Makhanlal and Manorama as his wife is in bad taste, the stories of Kamini and

Ragini lack conviction. Had writer Wahid Quarieshi and director Adarsh confined themselves to the story of Kamini, the fashionable wife and the havoc wrought by her, the picture would have been more convincing and appealing. Even the story of Ragini by itself had plenty of dramatic potentialities, but in trying to blend the two stories, the author-director pair could not do justice to both. Thus the scene in which Ragini's husband comes to suspect her fidelity is treated in a most casual way. An opportunity to make two good pictures on two potentially good subjects has been lost.

Jaymala, a newcomer who portrays Kamini and Ragini is not equipped with the talent and experience to do the double role with conviction. She is just adequate as Kamini and passable as Ragini. Abhi Bhattacharia, Anoop Kumar, Nazir Hussain, Leela Mitra, Daisy Irani, Iftikhar and Achala give good support. Lyrics by Bharat Vyas are too long and tunes by Bipin and Babul have no novelty. The production values just average.

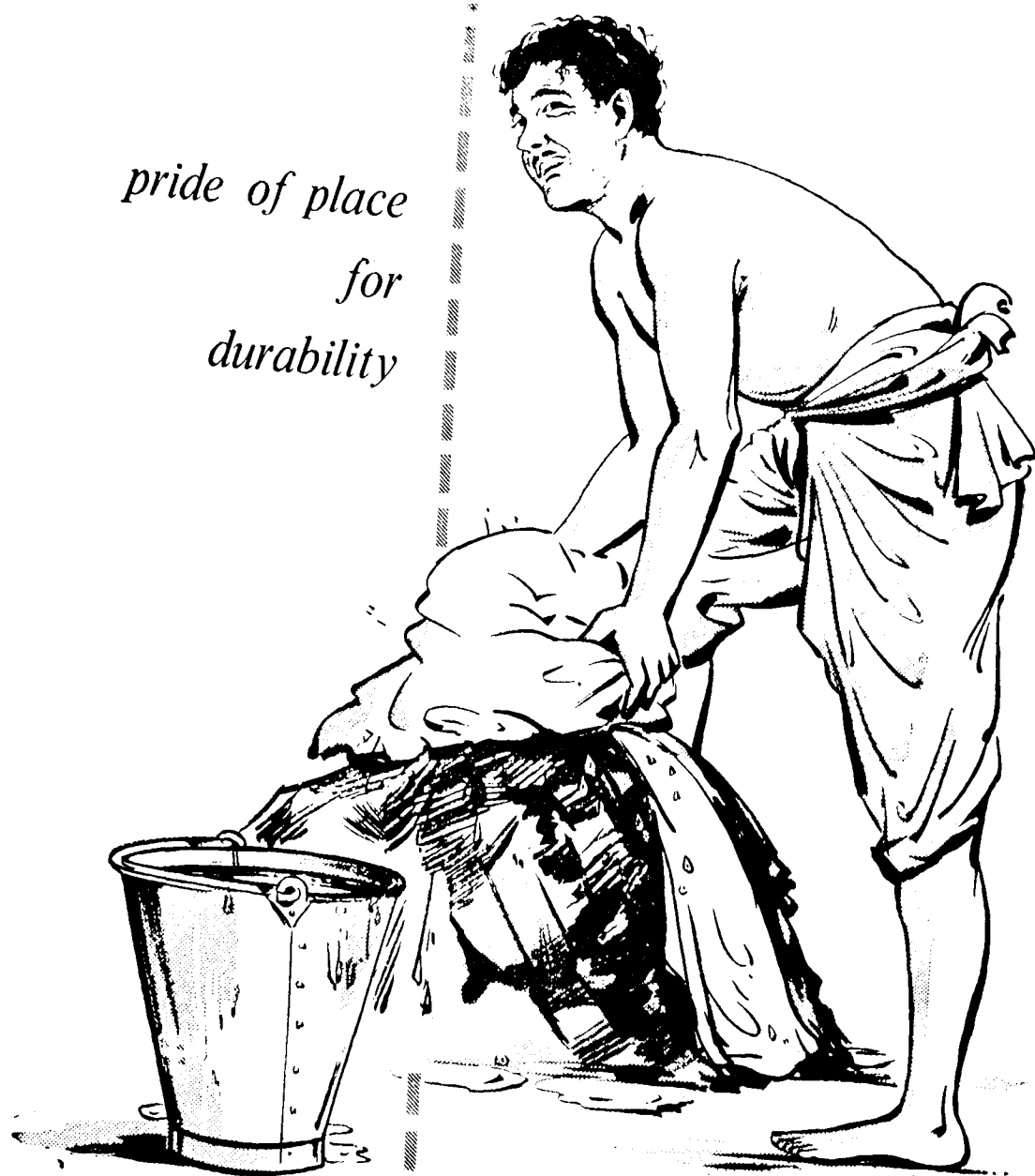
Adarsh has tried to put all the cliches. The picture should do fairly well at the box-office.

Continued from page 6

The Public Sector Again

our duty to din into their ears that they are at present allowing themselves to be misled by a false glamour into an impracticable mirage, and their duty to themselves and their telling governments and political parties in no uncertain terms "Such and such is your function, such and such is outside the range of your function, and you had better not meddle with it." In taking this message to the voter, our most convincing argument and our best evidence is the relative performance of the Public and Private Sectors in such fields where a comparison is possible. While it may therefore be good policy for Mr. G. D. Birla in the interests of his good relations with the Government officials with whom he has to deal at every stage of his business not to harp on the shortcomings of the Public Sector, advice to that effect given to the trade and the public in general is certainly not in the best interests of the country.

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UNHAPPY POLAND FACES CRISIS

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

"Everyone talks about him," said a Polish Communist a few weeks ago in Warsaw. He added with some exasperation: "But who can talk to him really? So few." This remark by a communist worker about the party boss illustrates the cleavage that is reported to exist inside the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party. The development now taking place inside Poland are of interest not only to the West and to the Soviet Union but also to "non-aligned" nations like India.

What is at stake is the fate of "liberalized Communism." Although Poland is only just about the size of Andhra Pradesh in area (120,000 sq. miles) and has a population (3 crores) less than that of Tamilnad, it occupies a strategic position in the political kaleidoscope of Europe. Events of the last few years have placed Poland in a special category among Communist nations and its attempts to evolve a "free Communism" have been the focus of world attention.

The presence of Soviet armed forces in Poland after the second world war had irked even Communists some of whom under orders of Stalin, were jailed. The oppressive measures of a soulless administration forced workers to rebel against the Communist Government of Poland in October 1956. Wladyslaw Gomulka who was in jail then was released and restored to Party leadership after the workers' riot. He promised "Socialism with freedom." In return for the withdrawal of Soviet forces, he agreed to support the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

New Experiment

Gomulka then started his experiment with Communism. Alone among the Communist leaders in Europe, he lifted the ban on freedom of speech, liberalised economic and cultural control, dissolved nearly 89 per cent of the 12,500 collective farms, encouraged private housing, sought financial ties with the West and gave more freedom to provinces and districts.

The population of Poland is predominantly Catholic and he tried to make peace with the Catholics and even appointed a Minister to be in

charge of religious affairs. Poland is the only Communist country which has received U. S. aid after the war. Economic agreements with the U. S. in 1957 and 1958 gave Poland credits aggregating Rs. 91.7 crores for purchase of farm products, raw materials and consumer goods.

Poland still retains many ties with the West and the non-Communist world. In the first week of this month, it was reported, there was a rock 'n' roll picture at the Moscow cinema in Warsaw. Many intellectuals from the West receive great respect from Polish cultural associations. It will be of interest to Indians to know that Polish cities will witness Bharatha Natyam and Kathakali performances. The developments in Poland signified a new approach. In short, Gomulka instituted a new Communism and the world waited with bated breath for the results.

After twenty years of want and dullness, the Poles were desperately searching for spots of colour and longed for a taste of better things. For some time there seemed to be a fulfilment of their hopes. But men and nature have worked against them.

The contradictions inherent in an economy which is half Communist and half free slowly began to raise their ugly heads. An undercurrent of discontent was visible. This was only the reflection of a basic problem which Communism today faces. The problem is that the Communists, having given up the use of force,—we are not talking about China here—have not been able to find another technique to gain intimate control of economic and intellectual life.

For more than two years important Communists have been complaining that Gomulka was giving the provinces too much economic freedom and that the result in a Socialist society would be chaos. Suddenly, last month's events seemed to prove this view.

Towards the middle of October the Polish Government faced one of its most important psychological tests since the upheaval of 1954. Gomulka who came back to power three years ago as the symbol of a better life, has had to tell his

people that they will have to eat less of their favourite food meat and pay more for it. The price of meat was increased by 25 per cent and this in turn reduced Polish workers' earnings by 4 per cent. Gomulka took this major and difficult decision to safeguard the economy and its future growth.

He felt he had been let down by the economic officialdom, because closer study revealed that there were many other economic ills. The Party demanded action against the men responsible for this situation. An article in the Communist journal *Politika* said: "It was proved that our methods of planning, leadership, economic analysis and scientific investigation are not on the level of requirements of the present stage of economic development. We cannot tolerate weakness in the realizations of Party resolutions."

Some Communists point out that the relaxation of central control that followed the changes in 1956 gave the provinces too much freedom. Still others say the trouble was not that the control has been relaxed but that the central Government while giving up some controls has not substituted a real system of local initiatives. This debate which is now going on in Poland involves the whole theory and practice of "liberalized Communism."

Meanwhile, three weeks ago Gomulka carried out an important shake-up of Poland's Government. The changes show that Gomulka has cast his weight behind men who favour an economic tightening. Some of the intellectual symbols of the 1956 struggle were removed from position of power and replaced by men who believed in discipline more than in freedom.

Gomulka, the supreme leader of Poland, has been moving closer towards the official Soviet line in recent months. He is said to be disillusioned by the intellectuals also. As a result of these new developments, Jerzy Morawski, one of the youngest and the most influential members of the Communist Party Politburo, has submitted his resignation.

Poland is in a bad way. But Gomulka is still the darling of the masses, and has the Party and the people behind him. But if the economic situation worsens, he may face a crisis.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR OUR PRIME MINISTER

Sir,—Mr. Nehru is surrounded by time-servers, power-corrupt politicians and self-seeking statesmen, in whom he has placed his trust and whose misconduct he refuses to reveal and punish.

Mr. Nehru has wiped out all traces of democracy from the ruling party and from the country. At first, he was the President of the Congress Party as well as the Prime Minister, a quite unheard of thing in world politics. Just as Napoleon made his kith and kin the rulers of European States, Mr. Nehru has manoeuvred to place his daughter on the Congress Gadi, his sister in the Diplomatic Corps and other friends and relatives in key positions. Does this smack of monarchy or democracy?

He has become palpably allergic to criticism and intolerant even of constructive criticism. He wants the dissenting members of the Congress over the

Nagpur resolution to quit, so that he can be assured of the services of sycophants and flatterers. The violence of language employed by him while attacking those who do not see eye to eye with him on any issue, makes one wonder whether he is not like Louis XIV, who proudly said "I am the State."

Mr. Nehru has become the victim of a peculiar complex — the Nehru complex — the basis of which is self-centred egoism. He opines that no one, individual or party, is competent to improve the condition of the masses and none but he is sane or right on any issue.

I leave it to you, Sir, to infer whether Mr. Nehru is the true political heir of Gandhiji. Churchill was once described as the 'national misfortune' of Britain by a Labour M.P. I believe that the time has come for us in India to apply the

same phrase to our Prime Minister and his policies.

Manabhattai T. S. RAJAMANI

RESERVE BANK WARNING ON CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

Sir,—Propaganda and sloganising for co-operative farming are going on without interruption, notwithstanding the country-wide opposition to it from responsible persons who had been erstwhile colleagues in the Congress Government. Vested interests entrenched in power and unwilling to be dethroned from it have taken upon themelves the duty of carrying on ceaseless propaganda against the opponents of co-operative farming in a manner that does not conform to parliamentary standards. It is now given out that the Reserve Bank of India has warned the Government that co-operative farming is a failure and that it is very dangerous to dabble with it. In view of this categorical opinion by an expert body, the opposition has a right to know what exactly the Reserve Bank has reported on this matter. If democratic principles are to be observed, the Government is under a duty to publish the Reserve Bank report and it should not be kept secret like the Chinese incursions on the Himalayan border.

The manner in which agrarian problems have been tackled after the advent of Independence has made land in the villages unattractive and has forced the village population usefully employable in agricultural production to migrate to towns. The intensity of urbanisation according to a recent United Nations Survey has been so great that the U.S. experts have assessed that the urban population in 1980 in India will be 420 percent of what it will be in 1960. This increase has been calculated without reference to the influx of rural population to the urban areas consequent on depopulation of the villages after co-operative farming is forced down the throat of the peasantry. Have the followers of Mahatma Gandhi cast to the winds his ideal "Back to the village" and taken courage to send the village folk like post-Partition refugees to towns where there is now no accommodation even to the existing population?

Madurai S. THIRUVENGADATHA IYENGAR

P.M.'s UNDIGNIFIED CRITICISM

Sir,—It is amazing to read the Prime Minister's sweeping criticisms on the Swatantra Party. His statements are neither true nor dignified. It does not become the Prime Minister of a great country to jeer and sneer an opposition party started by a great statesman of our country. He can indeed be called a great statesman of the world. Rajaji is a great scholar, an original thinker, a fine writer, a great administrator, and a rare type of patriot. It is to save the country from the impending doom that Rajaji was

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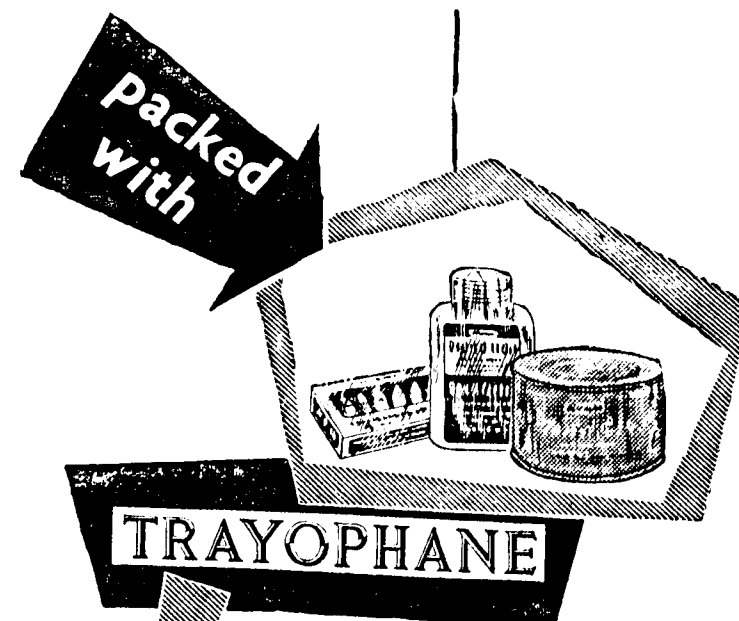
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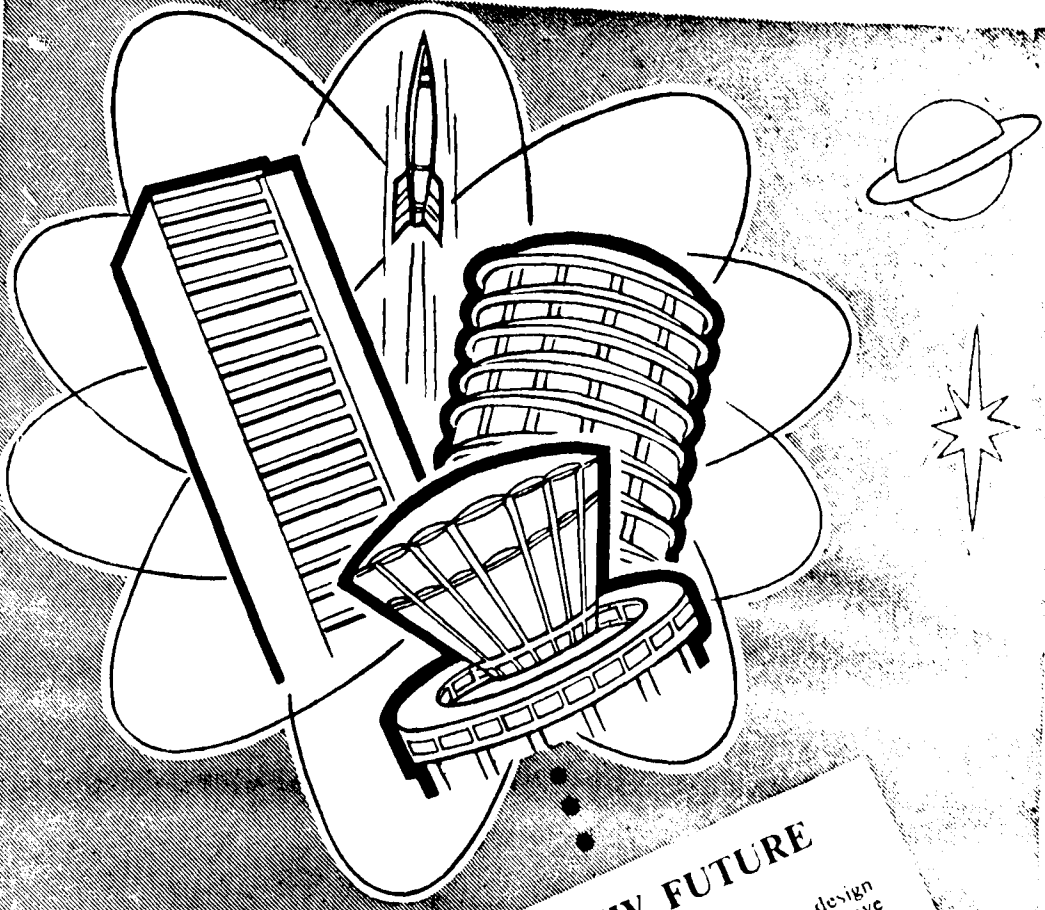
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MADRAS NOVEMBER 28, 1959

15 Naye Paise

FOR QUICK DECISION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Wishful thinkers report from U.S.A. that Eisenhower is expected to assure Mr. Nehru when he meets him in New Delhi of America's moral support in India's dispute with China. The most effective support that America can give to India, which is not of the character of military aid, is to take steps to bring China into the U. N. This would in the short run as well as in the long run be the best American assistance, not only to India but to Tibet and to the cause of world peace in general. It is a curious anomaly that in spite of the best world opinion the mistake of excluding a powerful government of over 500 million humans from an assembly that purports to represent the whole world irrespective of alliances and is chartered to discuss all international disputes, is persisted in uncorrected by American common-sense. The position given to Chiang Kai-Shek may appear to stand in the way. But it is not too difficult to remove that obstruction. Has not a sufficient trial been given to the fiction to work some change in the situation in China? Chiang Kai-Shek and his army cannot really entertain any hope of reconquering China. His place in the U.N. must be limited to the government of Formosa and the legend of his representing China forgotten. With China in the U.N. conflicts such as what have arisen with India would be automatically brought under open discussion, in which all parties will have a fair chance of stating and defending their cases or giving them up as in the Suez affair. If China refused the invitation to join, she would stand self-denounced.

The admission of China would not amount to rewarding her for her offences or even to condonation.

Membership in the U.N. is not a prize for good conduct. There can be no implication of approval or punishment by either admission or exclusion. It is a status attached to the actuality of established government and nothing more.

As for India's non-alignment it has automatically been terminated

by China's action and Russian non-intervention. India's non-alignment in the cold war was an admirable policy and helped world peace as long as neither party used violence against India's territory. But when an act of aggression has happened it is time to recognise and notify that non-alignment has ended. When aggression, open and violent, has taken place, non-alignment becomes peace at any price which certainly is not our policy. If the situation does not call for such a sorry policy, the only question is whether we shall proceed alone and whether we are strong enough for it. The Government and the Government alone are in a position to make this appraisal. It should be done without wishful thinking. If on the other hand a broader pattern of self-defence has at some stage to be thought of, it is better to take a decision on it at once. Once action is commenced events will move quickly and no advantage is gained by postponement. On the contrary, it will lead to clear disadvantage in every respect.

A Moral Revolution Alone Can Save the Nation

The policy of the present Government is a double deficit policy—the squaring of budgets with the aid of printed money and the squaring of plans and resources by grand borrowings from abroad. The capacity of the taxpayers has been strained beyond limit and the saving potentiality of the people dried up with its adverse effect on investment and expansion of industry. Public expenditure has led to intolerable inflation and to distress among the poorer classes. We hear rumours of a heavy

Government and Newspapers

The worst advice that a government can accept today is that it may buy up the policies of national newspapers by using its vast influence. If the ruling party believes in the need for favourable propaganda to retain power and underestimates the value of criticism, it would be committing the most fatal of mistakes. It would be like fitting up one's windows with mirrors and closing up all ventilation, so that wherever one turns, one sees his own face and nothing else. These thoughts are not just abstract ideas but arise out of what has been noticed to have happened in the case of some important papers. The Swatantra Party is not going to be choked out by conspiracies with newspaper bosses. The Party is the expression of popular discontent on a wide scale and such tactics will accentuate the discontent, not reduce it. Using government influence to suppress or reduce newspaper coverage is not only mean but futile.

—C. R.

increase in indirect taxation and in land revenue. All this will lift the price level yet higher.

The remedies for poverty so far adopted have been worse than the disease. The foreign borrowings have inevitably led to a mortgage of independence. The strings attached to loans are now being disclosed. The position has been further worsened by the great let-down done by our Panch Shila neighbour. Whatever be the issue of the present dispute with China one thing is certain, trust has been broken irreparably and military expenditure must henceforward go up, not 'steadily' but by leaps and bounds. Deficit financing cannot go on for ever and is near to breaking down completely. The situation could be met somehow, whatever the difficulties, if we had maintained spiritual values and had administrative integrity and general unselfishness been nourished. The opposite has been stimulated and we have tragic consequences. Administration is at all levels marked by intolerable corruption. Waste and exhibitionism are the order of the day. Elections have spread the pernicious feeling that the giving and taking of bribes are normal incidents of progressive civilization. The lapses in electioneering morality affect the whole tone of life among the vast masses of poor people. A moral revolution alone can save the nation. Dharma must be restored to its proper position and men made to realise the urgency of life being governed by Dharma without waiting for statutory measures and man-made laws.

—C. R.

The CPI resolution scrupulously refrains from saying a word against China; there is no condemnation at all of China's aggression against India. In another resolution, there is a clear hint that the CPI is to launch an offensive against those patriotic enough to stand up against expansionist China and to that end there is to be a bid—in the name of Sino-Indian friendship and Panchsheel, of course!—to rope in Mr. Nehru's "supporters", whatever that might mean. More significant still, to defend Nehru's "progressive" economic programme, there are to be struggles for combating the "reactionaries". In simple English, this is a notice that while the country may be engaged in a life and death struggle to protect her honour and integrity, the CPI proposes to engage in widespread struggles for sabotaging national effort. The object is high treason. —Thought

IMPLICATIONS OF NEUTRALISM: WANTED A SENSIBLE DEFENCE POLICY

By PHIROZE J. SHROFF

Prime Minister Nehru in his Dewas speech vehemently criticised those who suggest a re-evaluation of the policy of non-alignment and said, "I am just amazed at this preposterous suggestion. It is a strange tamasha."

One fails to understand what preposterousness there is in suggesting that in view of the pricking of the bubble of *blat-bhat* and the rampant Chinese aggression against our country, we should make use of every available right means to safeguard the integrity of our country. We have to distinguish between a full-scale defence alliance with foreign countries and receiving aid from free world countries in the shape of arms, ammunition, planes, tanks, military vehicles, apparatus for communication and much-needed military stores.

Countless people in our country have expressed their keen desire to defend their motherland. What is necessary is to train them and equip them with the latest weapons. Like Winston Churchill during the dire days of the last World War, Indians all over the country are saying: "Give us the tools and we shall finish the job."

There is nothing wrong, improper or humiliating in taking arms aid from friendly foreign countries. During the American war of independence, the Americans received military aid from France, which materially helped them in gaining their independence. Similarly, during the second world war Russia received military aid from the Allies on a very massive scale. It was this aid which enabled Russia to hurl back the formidable attacks of the German panzer divisions. Even today the U.K. ranks amongst the Big Five, yet successive governments of that country, whether Socialist or Conservative, have not disclaimed to take military aid from the U.S.A. for defence against Communist aggression. It would be interesting to know what aid Communist China has received from her allies to be strong enough to launch aggression against her neighbours. The nations of the free world appear willing to offer aid because they know that it is

imperative to save democracy and India for the benefit of the entire world. The Prime Minister cannot make his favourite hobby-horse of non-involvement and non-existent existence in the grave predicament of our country. We have no qualms of conscience in receiving financial aid from foreign countries with a begging bowl. Our Prime Minister be so very allergic to receiving military aid, which is required to repel aggression? As General Cariappa has pointed out, it would be a fatal error to allow the aggressors to dig in and consolidate their position.

For all their talk of reconciliation, the Communists care two hoots for peace between nations. The only language they understand is that of military might. When told that the Vatican was opposed to certain Communist objectives, Stalin is reported to have asked "How many divisions has the Pope?" Mr. Nehru complains about the proud and arrogant behaviour and tone of the Chinese aggressors. He may rest assured that there will be a quick dramatic change in their behaviour, the moment they and their fifth column in our country realise that India is fully armed to repel aggression. With the Communists it is possible to negotiate only from a position of strength.

While rightly castigating the Indian Communists Mr. Nehru remarked that they had their roots in foreign countries. May we inquire who has watered these roots for the last twelve years and enabled that evil tree to spread its noisome branches all over our country with its poisonous fruits of hatred, envy and class-war?

BUREAUCRACY

There is first the tendency exhibited by all bureaucracies, whether in government or outside it to expand their personnel and needlessly to proliferate their functions. The bureaucratic machine keeps on growing even when the need for it has disappeared.

SYDNEY HOOK in *American Review*
October 1959

ARE WE OVERSENSITIVE?

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Spokesmen of the ruling party appear to be becoming increasingly sensitive about the repercussions of their politics at home and abroad. The dictum which says that he that is not with us is against us should not, however, be carried to extremes when possibly there are critics disposed to be highly neutralist in their evaluation of international conflicts and of the fashion of Map-Warfare recently developed. Field-Marshal Ayub Khan is angry that the official maps just published by the Kabul Government display trespass into what Pakistan cherishes as her domain. When maps differ, it is clear that boundaries had never been defined to the mutual satisfaction of neighbours. It is assumed that the Paktoonian area has been shown in Afghan colour much to the annoyance of the militarist junta governing Pakistan. If Ayub Khan's doctrine of Basic Dictatorship is going to be implemented the question would arise if the village-communities of Paktoonian should come into the picture. It cannot be dismissed as a remote wrangle. President Ayub Khan said in a fret that the production of untrue maps would not affect his jurisdiction, what concerns him being the construction of military roads and tactical bases in the undisputed territory of Afghanistan. In the battle of the maps strange vicissitudes have left their mark.

No, not merely maps but the significance of words also. There is the example of New Oxford Dictionary inadvertently suggesting that Kashmir has an ambiguous status. But the printers have promised to set it right in the next edition. Most of us take the veracity of maps for granted just as we respect schedules attached to documents in courts or the main statutory provisions of a country possessing a written Constitution. Why, in the internal boundaries of Indian States as depicted by the Fazal Ali Commission, there was no resort to charts and frontiers. This has come to light in the implementation of the Pataskar award, an omission which is bound to dislocate conciliation proceedings in other inter-State disputes.

In the middle of November when India hailed the decision of

President Eisenhower to visit the country, Mr. Christian Herter, Secretary of State in the United States, was charged with indiscretion which hurt us because of its lack of downrightness in condemning Chinese aggression across the McMahon Line. As for the happenings in Tibet, Pandit Nehru had conceded the Chinese claim of suzerainty and in his first statement after the Dalai Lama's escape to India, he had unwisely confirmed Peking's grab for a second time by speaking of "the Tibetan region of China". But here again maps came into clash and the matter could not be hidden after the incursion of China's armed forces into Indian territory. In Peking's counterblast there is the grimacing query how the present attitude of total exclusivism could be reconciled with India's knowledge that military roads were built by the Chinese through the East Ladakh region now declared to be Indian territory without a peradventure. Not only had they produced maps of their own cartographers but according to Communist visitors from India to Peking, Chou En-lai produced maps found in Nehru's *Discovery of India* which favour Chou En-lai's view of the traditional frontier now questioned by the Prime Minister. Incidentally, attention may be drawn to the fact that the boundary diagrams given by Michael Brecher in his laudable study of Jawaharlal Nehru could also be brought in to support that claim. In the same way, the Mangla Dam for the building of which in Azad Kashmir American men and money are contributing is declared to be based on encroachments. Christian Herter had to issue an explanatory note to the effect that his fence-sitting had been on the score of 'legalities' and that the attitude of the United States should not be misunderstood. It took India's word as a friend that force had been used and that therefore the Chinese should be regarded as being at fault for appeal to force instead of negotiations to clear up "misunderstandings". The Washington correspondent of the *Times of India* remarks:

"For Mr. Herter's unaccustomed stand, India has to take a

part of the blame. In her anxiety to appear self-reliant, India has not actively sought even the understanding, much less sympathy, of any country. In this lofty posture of self-righteousness, she has abstained from explaining her stand to the United States."

If there is one thing that could be above misunderstanding it is a case of claims and counter-claims in respect of the same prize. It was no misunderstanding about Helen of Troy that brought about the Trojan War, nor was any thesis of misunderstanding possible between Rama and Ravana over Sita and the charge of abduction. Afterthoughts to clarify the obvious have a way of clouding the issues a second time whether through maps or statements, or really by open resort to force. In this regard, the Prime Minister would be adding to unhappiness if he does not help in toughening the national skin. It is no use being hypersensitive in debate.

I do not think that in Jawaharlal Nehru's whole career, he ever had an occasion to ask a personal favour even in such commonplace matters as a month's delay in the payment of rent, or a temporary loan of ten rupees until pay-day. In the projection of his experience in our fateful turn of Indian history, he probably expects others to appreciate his policy of transparent rightness without any solicitation for approval. He takes it for granted that a look at the situation would by comparison of opposite courses readily establish his position, putting dissidents in the wrong. The doctrine of right means for right ends is his sheet-anchor but in diplomatic intercourse the choice of the right means lacks absolute definition. For instance, his Communist critics would never concede that the means adopted to oust the Kerala regime and contrive a mid-term election had been even 49 percent clean—clearly a matter of opinion whilst in ethical calibre those who give different interpretations of the event might be 100 per cent equal. No country should always assume the applause of the world and that is why propaganda in multiple form is developed, India included. In his Public School, Harrow, which Jawaharlal attended, this famous motto is placarded: "They say. What say they? Let them say."

SIDELIGHTS ::

Mr. Nehru's letter to the Prime Minister of China makes pathetic reading. It is based on the assumption that the Chinese incursions into Indian territory are the result of border clashes unconnected with direction from Peking. He still takes Chinese friendship for granted. In a pleasantly complimentary vein, he tells Mr. Chou En-lai, "Mr. Prime Minister, I share Your Excellency's sentiments of friendship between our two countries."

Taking Chinese friendship for granted, and attributing the border clashes presumably to accidental, unintended and unplanned movements of personnel, Mr. Nehru says in his letter: "We think that there should not be the slightest risk of any border clash if each Government instructs its outposts not to send out patrols. It is only when armed patrols go out in these difficult mountainous areas that there is the likelihood of clashes taking place. We have in fact instructed our border outposts not to send out any forward patrols for the present." Mr. Nehru has also undertaken to create a No Man's Land in the Ladakh area in Indian territory. "I suggest"—so runs his letter—"that in the Ladakh area.....the Government of India should withdraw all personnel to the west of the line which the Chinese Government have shown as the international boundary in their 1956 maps....Similarly, the Chinese Government should withdraw their personnel to the east of the international boundary which has been described by the Government of India in their earlier notes and correspondence and shown in their official maps." Here too he lays emphasis on the devising of methods to avoid border clashes. "Since the two lines", he argues, "are separated by long distances, there should not be the slightest risk of border clashes between the forces on either side."

Another suggestion made by Mr. Nehru is that the Chinese should withdraw from Longju in Indian territory, which had been forcibly occupied by them. He gives the pledge, "We on our part will not forcibly re-occupy it." It is clear that Mr. Nehru has made these

suggestions with a view to preserving friendship with China to which he is sentimentally attached, and which he believes to be valuable and worth cultivating. It is for Parliament to debate whether the Prime Minister did not transgress his legitimate functions in voluntarily diminishing in this fashion the extent and area of his country. Was he at least right in his anticipations of benefit and welfare from the pursuit of friendship with China under present conditions?

Here is an assessment of Chinese diplomacy worth pondering by our P. M. In an article in the *Indian Express* Mr. Aneurin Bevan says: "What has impressed British public opinion of all shades is the cynical and brutal way in which China has asserted herself. China appears to have sent her troops in the disputed areas and killed Indian policemen without the slightest regard for the friendly feelings that Mr. Chou-En-lai continues to insist prevail between India and China. This monstrous contradiction between protestation and action is a classic illustration of distorted Communist thinking. There is an old saying 'If you would cast your enemy out, you must first embrace him.' This appears to be the matrix of Peking's diplomacy."

To all appearances, Mr. Nehru still continues to be the undisputed leader of India. His hold on the ruling Congress Party seems unassailable and that party wields a commanding position in the Centre and in many of the States. The affection of the people for the Prime Minister is demonstratively exuberant. These are the outward manifestations of the momentum of a phenomenon of mass confidence in the Congress that had its origin in the towering greatness of the Gandhian political leadership. As the Mahatma's successors in political control of the country have squandered their inheritance and added nothing to it, the reservoir of goodwill left by him has reached the exhaustion-level, and we are on the eve of a sudden collapse of the present regime and leadership.

Under Mr. Nehru's rule great burdens have been imposed on the people but their condition has not improved. Corruption has become

rampant in the administration. There is discontent and resentment with the ruling party everywhere. Intelligent people have lost faith in the Prime Minister's capacity to protect the country from foreign aggression effectively. He has failed to assess correctly the gravity of the Chinese menace. For nearly four years he has failed even to divulge what was going on, while the Chinese were making aggressive incursions into the country. And now he proceeds further to oblige them with voluntary vacations on our part from portions of our own territory. For much less than this, the Prime Minister of any other country with a politically sagacious and capable electorate would have been impeached and thrown out of office.

The eighth decade of life has not opened auspiciously for the Prime Minister. The incense that at all times is burnt round a throne is no indication of its stability or character. China is a powerful country and its aggression cannot be met with the application of nostrums already proved theoretical and ineffective. Pursuit of non-alignment is not a greater duty than the preservation of the integrity of national territory. The inadequacy of our resources of defence stand proved by the fact that we have already suffered aggression to take place. It is a simple axiom of common-sense, as also a patriot's duty, to seek resources from outside for national defence when internal defensive power is feared or proved to be inadequate, before it becomes too late. Nobody in his senses can assume complacently that India is militarily the equal of China.

The Reception Committee of the 65th session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Bangalore next January has decided to publish a Souvenir to raise funds for the expenses of the session. The promoters of many worthy causes seek to improve their finances by means of advertising in Souvenirs. Public-spirited businessmen act generously by taking space in these Souvenirs as the amounts spent thus are not taxed. If no coercive pressure is employed, this practice is within limits legitimate and permissible. But in the case of the impending Congress Souvenir, the organisers plan apparently to

(Continued on page 14)

THE COST OF STATE ENTERPRISE

By P. H. SESHAGIRI RAO

Formerly Deputy Auditor-General of India

The justification originally given for the State entering trade and industry was that it will save the consumer from the greed of the producer or the middleman. It is now claimed that the State is certainly entitled to "legitimate profit". If that was all, not much harm would be done because there is an element of profit in the present set-up also and the State is welcome to its share. But it has been reported that the planning sub-committee of the All India Congress Committee has advised that it would be perfectly "legitimate" (compare this with the expression "fair profit" used in the case of the Private Sector) to use nationalised industry and trade for financing the Plan.

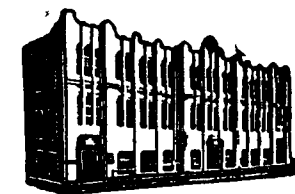
It cannot be repeated too often that once this principle is accepted it throws the door wide open for using nationalised industry and trade as powerful sources of taxation. We should remember that the rise in price will not, under this scheme, be for the purpose of finding funds to be ploughed back into the same business but for financing the plan in general. For example, if tomorrow the fares are increased both in the city bus service and road transport, the additional revenue need not necessarily be used for improving or expanding these services but will go into the general exchequer.

The implications of this principle have to be realised. The proposal has in it the seeds of undiluted totalitarianism. We know that the Plan has an insatiable maw. They say that the Third Five Year Plan requires an additional Rs. 2,000 crores by way of taxation. If part of this is to be found through nationalised industry and trade, the normal price has to be raised by arbitrary additions. How can Government do this if it is only one of the many producers or traders? It will have to introduce a pooled price and by the same arrangement that they made in the case of cement take to itself the difference between the natural price and the pooled price. When the price of cement to the purchaser was raised the producers were not given a higher price and the consumer

suffered. In the case of nationalised trade the producer can also be made to suffer in the State's attempts not to antagonise the consumer too much. When the State has a monopoly in trade, the producer has no direct access to the consumer or vice versa. In those circumstances, Government is in a position to tell the producer that he shall supply his goods to Government at a certain price. A Government which has gone mad over achieving their fantastic Plan targets at any cost will stop at nothing. By cutting the price to the producer also, Government will increase the margin of profit and thereby the contribution to the Plan finance. In fact, when Government has a monopoly in the trade of a certain article, it can acquire the goods at the price it chooses and sell at a price which has no relation whatever to the purchase price and handling charges but has relevance only to the needs of the exchequer. So every sale becomes a collection of tax. This is exactly the position prevailing in Communist Russia. Russia has practically no direct taxes. Its revenue comes mostly from the nationalised industry and trade. Let us not be blind to the fact that this is the state of affairs our Government is heading for, aided and abetted by an unthinking public who think that they are only having their revenge on the Private Sector which, they imagine, exploited them in the past, little knowing that they are cutting their own throats and placing themselves at the mercy of a totalitarian State.

Natural economic laws, which act more or less automatically in a free and competitive economy in favour of the consumer, that is, the general public, are our greatest safeguards against economic tyranny. I am not painting an unduly lurid picture of what is likely to happen. In addition to being a convenient and sure way of finding funds for fads, extravagances and wants in the name of the Plan, each step in rationalisation places in the hands of the Government more patronage and extends the area of influence of the party in power by getting a

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stranglehold on every aspect of the private lives of the people.

While our Government is keen on removing all traces of foreign influence, they seem to be suffering from an inferiority complex. Or, perhaps, I should put it the other way. They think that the people of this country are still suffering from an inferiority complex, and that, in any controversy, the opinion of a foreign expert in support of Government's policies will silence all argument. Our Government found an Appleby to endorse their policy of doing away with financial justifications for their undertakings. Government was quick in using his views for keeping the Life Insurance Corporation outside audit by the Auditor-General. They found a Kaldor to give the country the horror of the wealth tax and the expenditure tax unheard of in any part of the world and rejected in the country from which this expert hails. Now a Gilberth has been advising the Planning Commission on the technique of finding funds for the Plan and how nationalised industry and trade can be utilised for this purpose. Our country, happily, does not lack competent men who have made a careful and intensive study of trends

abroad and have kept themselves up to date in their knowledge. When these gentlemen drew attention to what is now generally known all over the world as "The German economic Miracle" achieved under the guidance of Professor Ludwig Erhard, it was brushed aside as irrelevant.

It appears to have become the fashion now to dispose of inconvenient facts by such dictatorial attitudes, without any attempt rationally to meet the points made. There is no use sending delegations abroad to seek, with a microscope, a few justifications here and there, in support of one's pet ideas and to dismiss the host of facts that repudiate those ideas as irrelevant and say that what is sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander. This noted German economist, who is also the Minister for Economic Affairs in West Germany, has written a book wherein he has described in detail how West Germany achieved spectacular progress after the last world war, through private enterprise. He is not just an armchair economist, as most of the advisers to our ruling party are, but a practical economist who has demonstrated by concrete results that his

theories yield the results forecast. Incidentally it also shows that rule by the intelligentsia is more conducive to progress than rule by mere ideologists.

The results achieved by West Germany are also an effective answer to our Prime Minister's oft repeated thesis that the philosophy of progress by private enterprise is a dead creed and that in the twentieth century only State capitalism can lead to progress.

The resounding victory of the Conservatives in the recent elections in U. K. also has a lesson for us. In the oldest democracy, an intelligent, educated and fully politically conscious electorate who desired and got a Socialist society have deliberately voted the Conservatives into power — Conservatives who denationalised the steel industry which the Labour Government had nationalised and who are firmly wedded to free enterprise and people's capitalism as against State capitalism. What is the lesson? The lesson is that a mature democracy has decided that State capitalism is not necessary for social welfare and that private enterprise is not incompatible with full social justice.

JURY TRIALS FOR INDIA

By S. NARAYAN AIYAR

It is understood that the Indian Law Commission has recommended the scrapping of such vestiges of jury trials as now exist in the Indian judicial system, and from the terms of reference to this commission as well as considering the fact that jury trials as they exist in India do no good to anybody, this conclusion of the Law Commission is perfectly justified. It is from an entirely different angle that jury trials as a form of enforcement of Law demand the attention of the Indian public. While our ancient culture and government were replete with many democratic features, we must still admit that parliamentary democracy that our Constitution has introduced as our form of government is essentially a Western development and largely new to our soil and stands in need of all the adventitious aids it can secure to enable it to take firm roots in our land. Our people, emerging as they are from long ages of slavery during which they have been accustomed to look at the government of their country as something entirely outside their province, have to be educated to the belief and habit of mind that looks at government as their own function and as being regulated by the sum-total of their individual acts, and such education has to come not by preaching, not by the introduction of any "guided democracy" but by the introduction among them of institutions conducive to the growth and the strengthening of the democratic spirit among the mass of the people, and one of the most effective of such institutions in my opinion is the jury trial in all important criminal cases.

It may be admitted that a jury trial may not be a very efficient form of the administration of justice. It may also cost on the average very much more than a trial by a stipendiary magistrate or a judge. It may be that if a trained and honest judge trying a case comes to the correct conclusion in 99.5% of the cases that he tries, the chances are that any average jury that we are likely to get may arrive at the correct conclusion in only 98 or 98.5% of the cases that

it tries. But the statistical aspect of the transaction is a matter of minor importance. While it is no doubt vital for the proper administration of justice that the tribunal should be such as to arrive at the truth in the maximum percentage of cases possible, it is much more vital that it should be such as to command the confidence of the people at large. While perhaps in the earlier stages of its introduction among a people thoroughly unfamiliar with its working, the system of jury trials may not command the same public confidence as trials by experienced judges and magistrates, there is no doubt that once the system takes root and becomes familiar, any person going to court or a person hauled before the court on charges made against him is likely to feel much more confidence in justice as understood and administered by a dozen of his peers drawn at random acting on their commonsense and essential sense of fairness than on justice as administered by a State servant learned in the law following his own intricate rules.

It is however in the jury trial in its aspect as the best form of popular adult education in democratic processes and in other ways that its essential vitality lies. Every citizen, irrespective of rank or status, at some time or other and frequently a number of times in his career is forced to take a vital part in one of the most important functions and prerogatives of the State, the administration of criminal justice. It brings home to the average citizen as nothing else can his commanding importance as an individual in the vital processes of State administration. The educative value, even for the best educated among us, let alone for others who have not enjoyed the benefits of a good education, of taking part as a member of a jury in the trial of a fellow citizen cannot be exaggerated. The English practice of locking up juries until they agree on a unanimous verdict, if introduced in our midst, is likely to have a very salutary influence on the modes of thought of Indians as a whole. It will inculcate among them habits of compromise and accommodation which they very

badly need in dealing with their fellow men. An Indian background can perhaps be imparted to the institution by making the number of jurors for any trial five instead of twelve and calling it a panchayat.

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of the State was fostered a good deal both in ancient Athens and amongst the English speaking democracies of today by means of the safeguard that no citizen can be punished or his property touched except by due processes of law in which a number of his peer have pronounced judgment against him. Admittedly this is inconvenient for the State and the administrators who run the processes of State administration. Its value lies in fostering the growth of the best type of citizen. Again and again, in the history both of England and the United States during periods when the public mind was agitated and there were doubts how far the administration reflected the minds of the people, the jury trial of some citizen on some issue where a political principle was involved has served as a pointer to the popular mind, and by highlighting the faults of the administration, not only shown where the popular will lay but has gone a good deal of the way to ensure the victory of the popular point of view. The refusal of juries to convict has more than once been a pointer to Parliament that the law on the subject stands in need of revision.

One very popular view in Britain which is widely expressed in English literature is that the main function of Government is the administration of criminal justice so that it has been frequently remarked that princes and parliaments, lord and common cabinets and secretariats exist mainly for the purpose of bringing twelve good men true into the jury box; and that the administration of criminal justice is one of the most vital functions of Government.

The communities among which jury trials are the normal mode of administering criminal justice are precisely the communities among which Communism has made the least headway. At the last British elections, out of eighteen Communist candidates who fought the election not one succeeded and what is much more significant, seventeen out of the eighteen forfeited their security deposits. A little reflection will show that this failure of Communism to enlist any appreciable support among communities among which jury trials are the law of the land is not a matter of accident; it is a matter of intimate cause and effect. Citizens accustomed to weigh issues of life and death and

also of property in judicial trials are necessarily in a better position to weigh the promises of politicians and political parties and assess which among them are comparatively trustworthy and which not, than other citizens devoid of that kind of healthy experience.

The legal profession which is one of the best organised as well as one of the most enlightened fraternities in India may genuinely incline to the belief that the administration of proper justice by a competent and trained tribunal is much more important than so-called public confidence in the administration of justice by panels of ignorant laymen, but if they study the problem and what is happening in England and the U. S. A. in this matter they may well come to the conclusion that the function that the legal profession discharges in those countries by way of arguing the law and facts before the jury and the judge explaining their functions and duties to the jury is intrinsically more honourable, more worthwhile and very much more in the general interests of the people of the country than the role discharged by the bench and bar in this country, impressive as it appears.

The idea of associating every individual citizen of the entire sub-continent of India in the most imposing and the most vital of Government functions, the administration of justice, particularly criminal justice—is thoroughly in line with the basic principles and tenets being advocated by Rajaji and the Swatantra Party, namely, more power for the citizen as against the state organisation as well as for the individual citizen as against party organisations and other vested interests. While party organisations have a natural and legitimate tendency to consider suggestions and policies purely with a view to their vote-catching capacity, this may not necessarily be true of new parties who may be more receptive to ideas than older parties whose action has developed a routine tendency. It is at any rate in the hope that this may be the case with the new Swatantra Party, that I commend this suggestion (introduction of jury trials in all criminal cases of any importance all over the country) to the policy-makers of the new Party and to the public in general.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

SANJIVA REDDI AND RANGA

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: The Congress High Command's country-wide search for a successor to Mrs. Indira Gandhi is at last over, with the discovery of Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddy as the appropriate, if not the ideal, rescue-man. It is not only in royal courts that favourites change. Once it was Mr. Subrahmanyam of Tamil Nad that was in the offing; then it was Mr. Nijalingappa of Mysore; now—and finally—it is Mr. Sanjiva Reddy of Andhra who is the recipient of 'kissing by favour.' He may have blushed but has yielded to the blandishments, notwithstanding known—and unknown—reluctance to exchange Hyderabad's nabobic environment for the hot-house atmosphere in New Delhi. Any man who sacrifices office for service deserves a ready bouquet—and here is one to Mr. Sanjiva Reddy. What makes his ascent to the highest rung of the Congress ladder the more remarkable is the indisputable fact that it was unsought. He was just pitchforked into it by the 'bosses' who had decided to leave it to smaller men to fill the place and incidentally take credit for building new leadership out of junior ranks. Neither sometime membership of the Working Committee nor the Chief Ministership of a State is necessarily an index of one's stature for the role of Congress President. Even Mr. Sanjiva Reddy's friends and admirers can hardly credit him with a personality so far associated with the occupants of the Congress *gaddi*. That he may grow equal to his new opportunities and make good or even fare better than some of his predecessors, more particularly in the immediate past, is a very different proposition.

That among men at his level, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy is about the best may at once be conceded. As Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh he has done remarkably well and managed difficult men and difficult situations with consummate ability and adroitness. For his age—he is but 46—he has acquired an authority worthy of many a senior among his colleagues. He is vibrant with energy; he has drive and,

above all, a sense of purpose. These are certainly qualities which should serve him admirably on a larger front and at a higher altitude. Yet Mr. Sanjiva Reddy who has tasted power and exercised it with a keen relish may not find himself in his element in the new role allotted to him. Congress Presidents since the days of the Maulana, except during the period when the Prime Minister felt impelled to take more upon himself, have been reduced to ornamental puppets. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy himself experienced the thrill of turning a deaf ear to, if not defying, President Dhebar on one or two occasions. Now it will be his turn to be disregarded in a like manner and obliged to wait on those whose good opinion of him has brought him an embarrassing distinction. But having been given no option, he should face the situation bravely while learning to reconcile the obedience of a soldier and the responsibility of a general. His reputation for strength threatens to wear out in the suffocating atmosphere in New Delhi where those who wield real power want but good go-getters and have no use for men with ideas of their own or any sense of exaggerated importance. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy in the task that awaits him asks for sympathy. If, however, he falls too readily in line with those who lay down the law on all major issues, he will be applauded for his energy in implementing others' decisions!

Mr. Sanjiva Reddy has, however, one supreme advantage. He has been marked out as the best among the young men who could whip up Congress enthusiasm country-wide, for the coming big battle at the polls and also deliver the goods. It is a splendid tribute to his past record in Andhra in ensuring electoral victory for the Congress, as well as party solidarity and to his recent luck in impressing the Prime Minister a trifle too much. He has strenuous work ahead of him in trying to fulfil 'great expectations' for, it is expected of him to check the rising tide of the Swatantra Party in the South,

with the advantage of having known its leader for long and at close quarters. The capital's comment on the Congress choice of Mr. Sanjiva Reddy as the next President was that he was 'specially selected to meet Mr. Ranga at Philippi. Congress assertions that the Swatantra Party mattered little and its leader less can at once be dismissed as a self-evident pretence that will hereafter deceive nobody. It is so interesting to be told by South Indian friends that it is now largely an Andhra exhibition—duel between Mr. Nehru's Reddy and Rajaji's Ranga and that the forthcoming party warfare may well be left to the two foremost political combatants in Andhra.

If Mr. Sanjiva Reddy is a good fighter, Mr. Ranga is a born fighter. Whether one likes him or not, nobody can deny or dispute that he is not only the authentic voice of Indian peasantry but its shining symbol by virtue of his association, indeed identity, with the kisans of the country, and his untiring championship of their age-long rights. It is not for nothing that the Secretary-General of the International Peasants Union has recently referred to Prof. Ranga as "the ideological and spiritual leader of the Indian peasantry." The whole of his political career till the other day had the Congress for its base, whether he was acceptable to the bosses and in the inner circles (sometimes as President of the Andhra P. C. C. or a member of the Working Committee) or unacceptable to them and functioned as a dissident.

He knew what it was to be 'in opposition' inside the ruling party, without any tears to shed. If office eluded him after the attainment of Indian Independence, it was for two interesting reasons. For one thing, Prof. Ranga is so built as not to allow himself to be accommodated at any arbitrary level; for another he would not earn it as a favour for meek obedience or courtly behaviour. He was never slow in colliding with his seniors if he felt differently. He has earned the reputation of being a rebel—and it was no small courage on his part to have revolted against the Prime Minister and rallied round Rajaji. For him the kisan first, and every-

one else next and he thinks that the kisan is the first victim of the ideological obsessions of Mr. Nehru. He is still, what he has been all his political life, a crusader from the fields (furrowed or otherwise) with a zest for fight. So he will fight his battles in the good old spirit of Joseph Chamberlain in big Radical

days: "always on the gallop, sabre in hand, reckless of odds, reckless of consequences, but only bent on victory."

It would be wrong to reduce the Congress-Swatantra combat to yet another bout between Mr. Sanjiva Reddi and Mr. Ranga in the Deccan

plateau. They are but representative figures, answering larger purposes. And the time is not too distant when the country will know whether the Congress will wipe out the Swatantra Party or will wear itself out in the process and get further weakened to the point of withering with its life in yellow leaf.



from the seed...

In the steel blaze of noon,
men of the earth 'drag the sun upon their backs',
toiling in the furrowed fields.

For a tomorrow, when the seed will burst to plant, flower and fruit.

For the fruits of tomorrow then, the striving, the effort.

For a world that offers a little more —

a little less of the care, a little more of the joy.

Today, as in the past, our products help to make homes cleaner, healthier, happier. But today we are also working for ... Tomorrow, when the evergrowing urge for better living will demand still greater efforts. And we shall be ready with wider service, new ideas, new products ...

Today and Tomorrow... Hindustan-Lever serves the home

PR. 5-X52

A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

FRAGMENTS OVERHEARD

The downpour declined to a fine drizzle, too fine to register in a snapshot, and people sheltering in the doorways of shops and houses were on the road again, hurrying through the brief respite. I was sitting in an artisan's shop, waiting for the owner to return from his long lunch.

An old woman was coming towards me, hugging the inner edge of the pavement, taking advantage of the cover of every awning and balcony overhead—on the other side of the road a young man was splashing his way through the ankle-deep water besides the kerb. Seeing each other, they stopped, and she summoned him to her side with an economical crook of her finger. They stood there in the middle of the pavement, ten yards from me, lost in a low-voiced conversation, that careful old woman no longer mindful of the exquisitely thin shafts of rain. I could not hear a word of what they were saying, but the young man seemed fidgety and in a hurry to be away. Clearly he was being persuaded, and didn't like it.

She produced a large string-pouch from her waist and offered it to the young man. He helped himself to betel-nut, betel-leaves, chunam from a little round tin, and a quid of tobacco, and handed the pouch back, and she returned it to her waist, not caring for a chew herself. The cunning of age! It talks and persuades while its victim, chewing pan and tobacco, must listen.

As suddenly as it had eased off the rain came on again, beating down on the galvanised-iron roof over my head with the sound of a thousand trampling hooves. The conversationists on the pavement dived into the cobbler's shop next door—only a thin wall separated us now, and through the unexpected punctuations of comparative lull in the rain, I could hear snatches of what they were saying, allusive words that made no sense to me. Seeing them no more, I was indifferent to their words anyway.

Then the young man said something that made me sit up and take notice. It was only a fragment

that I overheard, just the words "my conscience", but it was enough. So! So the young coward had been driven to the last ditch of all immature arguments, to "that still, small voice that tells that someone is looking", to his conscience!

My ears were now alert, but though they no longer spoke in hushed tones, nothing that came through the swish and roar and

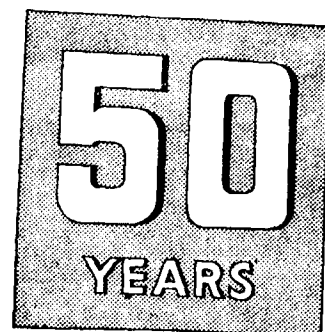
tin-beat of the rain was comprehensible. Then again I heard significant words, the old woman's, this time. "Your grandfather," she said succinctly, "murdered a man and lived happily for twenty years thereafter!" Interesting, as a piece of biographical detail, overheard anywhere. Naturally I listened harder. I could hear only

(Continued on page 13)





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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

THE SHADOW OF A TRAGEDY

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

New and dramatic developments are waiting in the wings of time in Ceylon. This week the minority government of Premier Wijayananda Dahanayake will battle against opposition forces to keep itself in power. Two censure motions expressing want of confidence in two Ministers are to be taken up on November 27 by the House of Representatives, the lower house of the Ceylonese parliament. On November 30 the eight suspects in the Bandaranaike assassination case are due to be produced in court.

In the extremely fluid political situation that now exists in that hapless country, resignation of some Cabinet Ministers is not ruled out. There is widespread dissatisfaction with many aspects of the investigation relating to the late Prime Minister Bandaranaike's murder. The arrest of Mrs. Vimala Wijewardene, the first woman Cabinet Minister of Ceylon, and Dick de Zoysa, elder brother of the Finance Minister, has deepened the mystery. The woman in the picture is a close friend of the Rev. Buddhakhita Thero, one of the suspects already in remand.

The story behind the revolver which was used to kill Bandaranaike is truly intriguing. It was alleged

that a person who described himself as a bodyguard of the Finance Minister had confessed that he had given the revolver to an Inspector of Police, who in turn had given it to the Rev. Buddhakhita and finally it had reached the hands of the assassin. The police inspector is one of the eight persons now in remand.

The opposition members of the House of Representatives charged that Buddhakhita and the other suspects had been plotting against the Bandaranaike government and that at one stage Buddhakhita had himself threatened Bandaranaike with a revolver. Dahanayake, the new Prime Minister of the caretaker government, described perhaps aptly as an undertaker government, is also alleged to have been in touch with this clique at least in regard to the removal of Philip Gunawardene from the Cabinet a few months ago. Gunawardene, the leader of the small Viplavakari Sama Samaj Party, was Food Minister and he had assumed the proportions of a rightful successor to Bandaranaike, which the other Ministers resented. Finally right wing pressure had forced Bandaranaike to drop Gunawardene from the Cabinet.

A period of intrigue followed. In spite of the accommodation made by

FRAGMENTS OVERHEARD

(Continued from page 11)

the rain—they had sunk their voices again. But what I had heard was sufficient, I knew that gambit.

“What would your Great-Grandfather, who Was Aide-de-camp to General Brue, And lost a leg at Waterloo, And Quatre, Bras, and Ligny, too, And died at Trafalgar — What would he have remarked to hear His young descendant shriek with fear Because he happened to be near A harmless motor car!”

The rain eased off again, and inopportunely the hearty artisan I had been waiting for returned, so

that I had no further occasion to listen in on that interesting conversation. But I saw the parties to it go their several ways, the old woman, her mission accomplished, once more carefully avoiding the least touch of wetness, picking her way past each little puddle, the young man no longer debonaire-sullenly splashing through the rain water, so obviously a young man committed to an unwilling promise.

And I thought, O, the craftiness of age, its persuasiveness and inexorable purposiveness, its exploitation of youth — and its utter lack of perception of the futility of such exploitation! For me, I believe not in wisdom but in life, not in the cunning and knowledge of maturity but in the invincible exuberance of youth. I had not the slightest doubt that young man, now irrevocably committed, would bungle his assignment.

Bandaranaike to satisfy right wing extremists, his policies were criticized by a strong section of Buddhists who believed in Sinhalese domination and Buddhist revivalism. The violence that seems to keep Ceylon in a tight grip is in part a reflection of the conflicts within the Sinhalese society that are slowly eroding democratic government, weakening the national economy and destroying a way of life based largely on Western values.

The tragedy of thousands of rich, English-educated Ceylonese — the smart Colombo crowd—is that they have no points of contact with new groups in their own society that represent new methods and new ideologies. The greatest tragedy in Ceylon is not the death of a Prime Minister, but the total failure of the intellectuals who have no moorings, nothing to fall back upon or look forward to.

Unfortunately the principal gift bequeathed by Western empires that have retreated from Asia is a governmental system totally unsuited to the new states. This is more obvious in regard to small countries. A House of Representatives with 101 members, a ponderous 30-member Senate, a big-sized Cabinet, a full-fledged Governor General and all the paraphernalia of western democracy are pressed into service in the government of the small island of Ceylon which is only half the size of Madras State in area (25,332 square miles) and has a population much smaller than that of Kerala.

From February, 1948, when Ceylon became independent, until April, 1955, the island was ruled by the United National party, which represented the old ways of life and old political faiths. Then in April, 1956 Bandaranaike came to power and with him came to public life many dissensions. In 1957 there were 306 strikes resulting in a loss of 804,493 work days. The Nava Lanka Sama Samaj party which has fourteen members in the Parliament and the Communist party with 3 members created part of the ferment. The other part which was created by Communalists resulted in the communal rioting of May and June, 1958 in which 158 persons were killed and 12,000 rendered homeless. A steady disintegration of the authority of the police and courts took place. Today there is absolute insecurity

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR THE DISTRESSING PRESENT

Sir,—Mr. Nehru has discovered India of the past and has dived deep into the future for an era of prosperity to posterity. The distressing present has been distressingly ignored. Living conditions have become difficult beyond endurance. The basic needs of human existence have not been adequately met.

I am reminded of what Max Muller said about India in his Cambridge lectures (1882): "If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power and beauty that nature can bestow, in some parts a very paradise on earth—I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention of even of those who have studied Plato and Kant—I should point to India."

Of this glorious India of Mr. Maxwell's portrayal, Mr. Nehru has been the undisputed leader and Prime Minister for over twelve years. He has been speaking to us abundantly and elaborately on freedom, peace, nationalism, and, in recent times, on socialism. We, too, have listened to his speeches very patiently all these years but unfortunately there is no solution for the pressing problems of the day. The kind of Socialism now being vigorously advocated on the basis of co-operative farming, State trading and nationalisation of trade and industry cannot produce wealth and make people happy. Democracy cannot thrive on

and uncertainty about tomorrow. Besides a cultural and communal crisis, Ceylon faces a rather uncomfortable economic situation. Unemployment increased 31 per cent last year. Population is increasing by 2.6 per cent a year, and the island must import 40 per cent of its food. Ceylon has a rising birth-rate—the highest in the world—and a declining economy.

Foreign aid has helped Ceylon to put up a show of economic well-being. The West has put Rs. 30 crores at the disposal of Ceylon since 1956. The U.S. alone gave about Rs. 18 crores. From the Communist countries Ceylon has so far received some Rs. 26 crores, of which Rs. 14 crores is from the Soviet Union received as loans on easy terms. For the rehabilitation of Ceylon's rubber industry China agreed to make available Rs. 7.6

hungry stomachs, and freedom has no meaning and purpose if it leaves in the minds of the people discontent, distress, and disaffection. There is no use speaking in the language of Gandhiji and doing things opposed in spirit to him. Let Mr. Nehru listen to the voice of the distressed and depressed, and make the lives of the people worth living and the country worthy of Gandhiji whose name we adore as the Father of the Nation.

R. S. V. RAO

TOO MANY POSTAL HOLIDAYS

Sir,—Untold inconvenience is being caused to the public by too many Postal holidays. Merchants who have invested thousands of rupees in business, very often have to suffer heavy losses due to the delay caused in their correspondence, which in turn is due mainly to the two or sometimes even three consecutive Postal holidays.

There are at least seventy days (including Sundays) in a year declared as Postal holidays. It should be remembered that before Independence the Post offices were working even on Sundays. One cannot find any justification for declaring Sundays as holidays for the Postal department when two other departments like Police and Railways work all the 365 days of the year without break.

It might be argued that the employees should be given some rest. Are not the Police and Railway employees given rest? The Postal department should recruit more hands and work them on a shift basis. This, to some extent, may also solve the unemployment problem.

Poonamalle A. R. KALYANA SUNDARAM

crores. In spite of all this help, Ceylon's economy has been in a mess and is nothing very much to be enthusiastic about.

The future looks bleak at the moment. Premier Dahanayake's position is not safe. This 57-year-old bachelor with a flair for the dramatic—he once pulled a rickshaw to rush a pregnant woman to hospital—faces a dramatic situation this week. His government's fate is in the balance.

It is quite possible that he may be forced out of office before the end of this month or early December. A general election is not very far off, although normally it should take place only in 1961. The general sense of insecurity and the need for a strong government may bring back to power Sir John Kotelawala, an old timer.

SIDELIGHTS

(Continued from page 4)

convert a permissible current method of raising funds into a merciless loot. Here are the scheduled advertisement rates for a page a little less in area than this journal's:

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—multi colour Rs. 15,000

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3rd cover (inside last cover)

—two colours Rs. 8,500

Ordinary (full page) Rs. 4,000

„ (half page) Rs. 2,500

A letter issued by the President of the Mysore P.C.C. says that the Souvenir will be circulated throughout the world by our embassies. An open admission this, of the employment of governmental agencies for party purposes. When the Government is dragged in, thus, to be identified with party adventures, there will be very few merchants in our Socialistic pattern who can dare to say No to canvassers of advertisements for the Congress Souvenir. As is evident, the rates are unheard of in India, they are not commercial but depredatory. Such excessive exaction stamps the proposed venture as wholly indefensible, expropriatory and anti-social. —SARA

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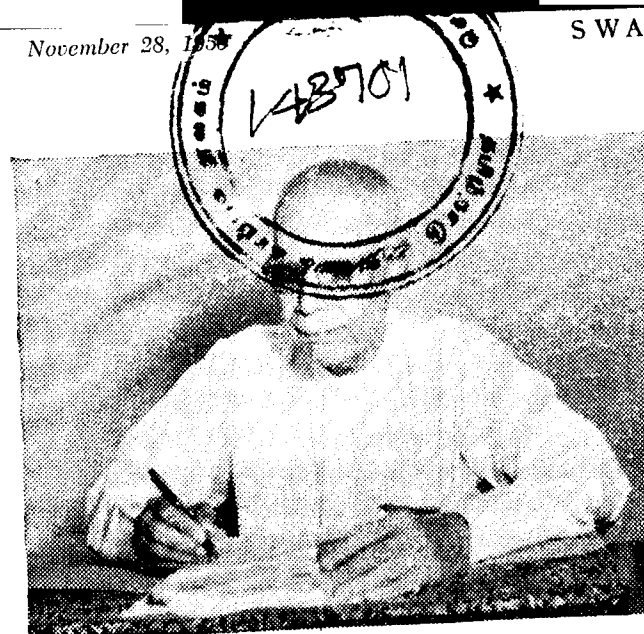
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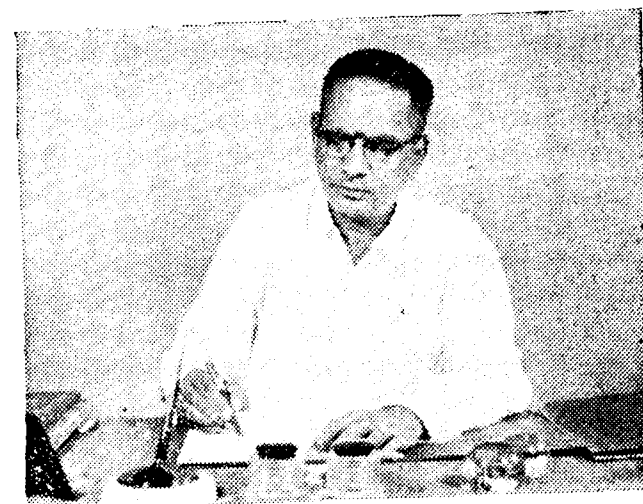


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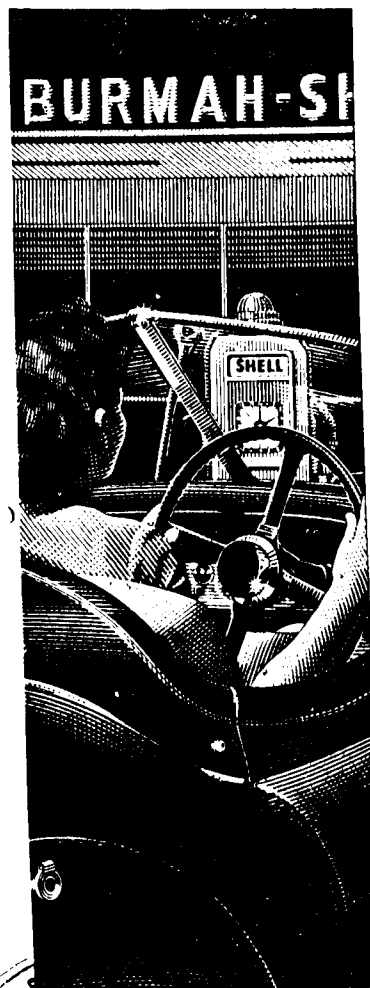
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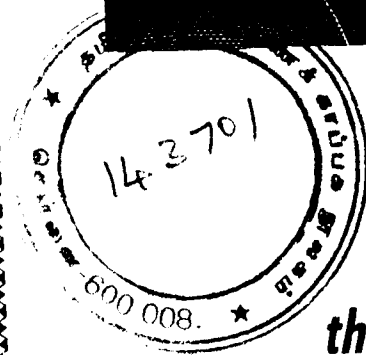
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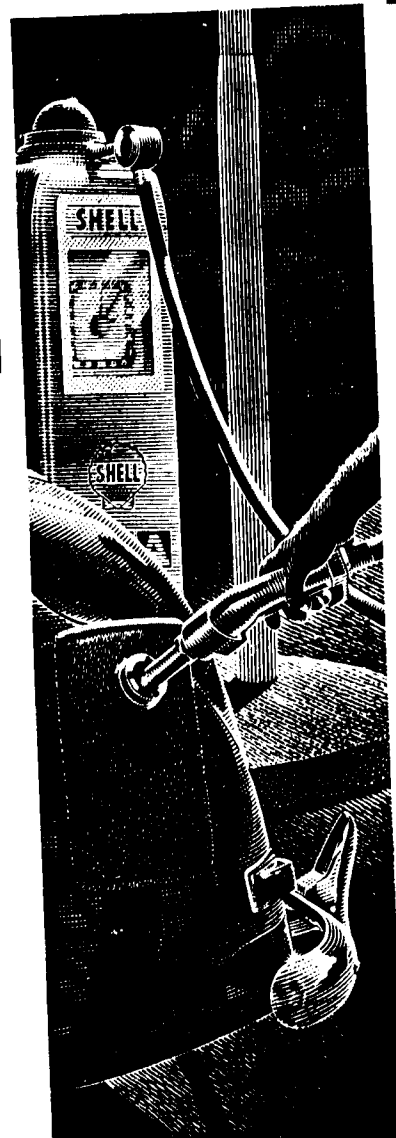
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