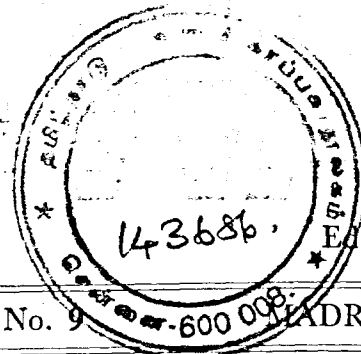




Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

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THE PATH OF WELFARE

In an article in the Indian Express (August 24) Sri D. R. Mankekar says that "the Swatantra Party, apart from its inherent handicaps and drawbacks, is yet so young and ill-organised to take over at the Centre".

One cannot argue with a critic whose prejudices and preconceived notions prevent him from seeing anything but "inherent drawbacks and handicaps" in the Swatantra Party. He will not see that this one-year old party has already brought about many changes in the outlook of the ruling party. He would rather conclude that democracy has failed and must be scrapped than believe that the Swatantra Party has a chance. He asks the "High Command" to stop the rot in the Congress Party when the rot is of such a nature that it must increase and cannot be stopped.

The Swatantra Party's mission is to break the Left hypnosis which has seized the minds of the uneducated intelligentsia in our country. The path to Welfare does not lie on the Left. Distribution must yield place to production in the priority queue; and production requires incentive and continual encouragement. Let us learn from the prosperity of Western countries. Of course if we believe in authoritarianism and compulsion and equate happiness with only material possessions we might take the Soviet line. But that would be totally wrong and unwise.

The Swatantra Party is based on established principles of eco-

nomy and the fundamental rights of freedom of person, property and occupation guaranteed in the original Constitution adopted in 1950 which are being steadily set at naught. It stands for the protection of farm and family against the inroads of the compulsory Socialist policies of the Congress and the Communist parties of India. It seeks to replace the present regime by presenting to the country an alternative party standing for order, justice and social harmony. The Swatantra Party has had to start from scratch and is only a year old. But it has already served to stem the rash

Atomic Peaceful Use

It feels grand to be told that we shall have Atomic Reactors. But it is good to know what these are likely to cost in our country. This is not an irrelevant point in the context of the much increased investments in Defence which we shall have to make. It would be good also before it is "too late" to ask what measures are taken for the disposal of the poisonous debris produced in these factories and what dangers to health it implies according to scientists who are not in the pay-roll of Government. Let us not try to be more atomically advanced than the advanced nations of the West who have found atomic reactors to be far too expensive. -C.R.

policies of the ruling party. Its future rests with the people and their realisation of the dangers ahead. The Congress Party collects funds from all those who seek monopolies through its favour or who fear their business will be ruined as a result of the displeasure of the ruling party. All those who have a stake in the progress of the country and are interested in freedom and democracy should see the need for the rise of a strong opposition party standing for the rule of law and the preservation of order and harmony in society as against the class war continually generated by the Congress Party goaded by its spiritual allies. Policies are directly and indirectly followed which prepare the ground for Communism. No parliamentary government can endure without a strong opposition party whoever may be in power for the time being. For this, if for no other reason, the people should strengthen the Swatantra Party.

Sri Mankekar is right in pointing out in his article that if the "High Command" cannot stop the rot in the Congress Party, the country must face the prospect of yielding to be ruled by Communists. It is this dilemma that caused Rajaji to disregard his physical difficulties and to initiate a movement for the formation of a party that can be a true and worthy alternative to the Congress whose reputation has fallen so low and which now hangs only on the Prime Minister's name and authority.

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BILINGUALISM

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

In the recent debate in the Madras Council, it is very regrettable that the Madras Finance Minister has reiterated his position in favour of prolonged bilingualism. "We ourselves having put forward the formula and having got it accepted, it would be rash to throw away all the advantages and keep the whole thing in the melting pot". This is a position that does not appeal to me. It was a mistake to put forward the formula and it is a mistake to reiterate it now. Dr. Lakshmanawami Mudaliar put the case far more realistically than Sri Subramaniam.

It should be obvious to any one conversant with official work that bilingualism is a trap. The official language is the medium of daily work in the office and two languages cannot operate together. It will split each section of each office into two factions. It will breed the acutest and stupidest kind of politics where politics should be totally scotched and make for greater expense by unnecessary expansion of the establishment. It will greatly contribute to a continued and harassing drive to penalise non-Hindi employees in all sorts of ways. Let us remember that the desire to impose Hindi has not been given up. It has only made temporary retreat under cover of the Prime Minister's formula. What I rightly called the *Magna Carta* should be implemented properly and fairly and fully. Bilingualism is not an implementation of the Prime Minister's assurance. It will be a cold war no more tolerable than that goes by that name in international circles. I give the warning that the promised legislation is not going to be a frank and fair affair. It will lean more towards implementation of steps to make Hindi the ultimate official intermediate and Central medium than towards implementing the Prime Minister's statement which I hailed as our *Magna Carta*. The

Prime Minister's assurance in Parliament which he re-affirmed recently was not an assurance of bilingualism. It was an assurance that the *status quo* will not be disturbed till when the non-Hindi people should desire a change. This is very different from what the President in his personal capacity stands for, judging from his recent Madras speech. He sought to uphold a deadlock instead of giving a forthright assurance. We are not imposing English on any one. We wish to continue and we wish every one to continue as they were doing from 1947 onwards up-to-date, excluding the ten decades before 1947 as belonging to a benighted age. English is the neutral protector of all the fifteen languages of India and it would be a sad mistake if our Tamil Government accepts bilingualism just because it was its baby. As sure as night follows day, bilingualism will lead to confusion and imposition of Hindi.

Governmental Interference In Business

Every piece of legislation now-a-days means a few more additions to governmental interference in the affairs of the business community.

Economic policy should generally create a situation which will reduce governmental interference and maximise people's efforts. Bureaucratization is not a spontaneous phenomenon. It is an inevitable consequence of the plethora of legislation and proliferation of rules and regulations. Therefore, legislation and administration must be made the objects of comprehensive and far-reaching improvements with a view to progressive reduction in bureaucratization.

—SRI A. M. M. MURUGAPPA CHETTIAR, President, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, in a speech before the Tamil Chamber of Commerce, Madras.

SOVIET MODEL FOR INDIA?

In the Bi-monthly "Problems of Communism", a high grade magazine devoted to the study of Communism, Professor Alex Inkeles, one of the founders of the Russian Research Centre at Harvard University, writes in the course of an article:

"If Asian leaders are looking for a system designed to permit total mobilization of the population for economic objectives; if they seek means of extracting surpluses for capital accumulation from a peasant population already living at an absolute minimum subsistence standard, or sometimes even below it; if they must have agencies and methods for breaking the resistance of traditional ways to desired changes—then, certainly, the Soviet model can show them the way. It is, however, a grim road to travel. It requires a special vehicle—an absolute political dictatorship armed with the weapons of terror and thought-control, and a rigidly controlled and regimented social structure. The toll that must be paid includes the denial of individual freedom, the debasement of the living standard of the masses, the sacrifice of millions of lives, and the destruction of traditional, religious, socio-cultural, and ethical institutions and values".

Insidious Coercion

When apprehensions are expressed about co-operative farming it is not because it is intrinsically evil but because coercion is so often and so easily passed off as co-operation. Once coercion by any other name becomes the order of the day in an occupation engaging some 80 per cent of the people, it is easy for them to pass from one form of it to another without feeling that they are passing into a state from which there is no transition or escape for all time to come.

It is really no obsession to see Communism almost everywhere one looks today. Indeed, it is time it was clearly identified, whatever its location, and known for what it is. INDIAN EXPRESS.

FIVE YEAR PLANS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Third Plan has been most ably criticised in Parliament by Sri M. R. Masani. These long term plans of the present Government are founded on fallacies. They are based on two impossible premises; that the nation will during the period be in just the same condition as now with reference to many matters, and secondly, that the cost of things and services will remain the same as now. Both these static assumptions are wrong. Look at the demand for huge additional defence expenditure now on account of what may be called, with a change in meaning, our "Himalayan blunder". A defence against China has been forced on us unexpectedly. Such and other similarly disturbing things can happen any year any time.

Again, see how the plans themselves cause inflation and increase the cost of enterprises and of administration. 'From year to year' is a good rule for our limited visions and for a changing world. More than that is like a snake trying to swallow itself from tail upwards. It cannot be done. Charging everything up for long periods leaves no room for parliamentary democracy. It is eminently fit for regimes intending and planning to remain for ever.

Democracy should be content budgeting from year to year and not levy taxes and borrow money on the strength of its forecast of the future. All its calculations will go wrong. Wasteful suffering will be the only outcome of such long term ambitions. Here are a few words of advice from Dr. Schacht taken from his book, wherein he refers to his discussions with our Prime Minister on the draft of the first Five-Year Plan:

Nehru had asked me to arrange some discussions with the Members of his Five-Year Plan Committee, of which the draft had just been published. On these occasions I was unable to veil my criticisms behind mere polite speeches. All these Four-Year-Plans, Five-Year-Plans and such like have invariably seemed to

me pretty senseless. In this instance also I could not refrain from demonstrating that the vast programme which had been envisaged for a period of five years could never be realized during that time. Still less would the means set down on paper suffice to carry it out. It would be necessary to count on double and treble the cost as well as double and treble the time required.

It seems to me far better to tackle a certain job each year—even if a smaller one—and to see it through so that, when completed, one can point to it as an example of progress and growth.

These plans may do well enough in countries which are run

Never too Late To Mend

The Prime Minister has often reiterated that the farmers must give up old methods and take to new tools and modes of work. It may be assumed that his advice is that new modes and tools should replace old ones where the replacement is to advantage and not merely by way of conforming to the practice in other countries. It is just this that calls for the maintenance of big farms whose owners could afford and set the example of advantageous change and improvement. The wiping out of all those who could afford to invest in improvements is just what the ceiling laws accomplish. The notion that co-operatives can fill their place is just a notion and not realisable in practice. The scattering of ownership is not a favourable condition for improvement where example and no amount of precept can achieve the education or show the actual way. The Prime Minister if he is interested in farm improvement should think it out again and withdraw his mandate for breaking up large farms. It is never too late to mend. C.R.

by totalitarian governments and where money does not come into the picture but only labour, and that can be ordered on compulsion and the resources are practically unlimited. They can have no place in our country. The rupee in India has fallen to 20 paise value within the last 20 years. No such thing can happen under Communism where every citizen is a slave owned and held by the State. We wish for ourselves a different polity and a different economy.

When costly enterprises are undertaken on behalf of the nation and resources tapped for their successful execution, careful measures must be taken to avoid or remedy certain expected but unwanted accompanying evils. It is this that distinguishes a plan from mere enterprise. Criticism of the Third Plan in British commercial circles appears to be based on this very ground—that attention has not been adequately paid to the inflationary effects of the huge plan. Foreign observers cannot well object to our ambitions, however high they may be pitched. Any comments in that direction are apt to be misunderstood. Outsiders cannot well say that our government is in too great a hurry to accomplish things that bring no immediate benefits to a starving population that has to bear the increased taxation imposed for such enterprises. But without being impolite they can point out that the inflation caused by these adventures has not been provided for, which is bound to add to the burden of the people. This City opinion in London has done according to reports.

Company Donations

Everybody wanted an amendment of company law for prohibiting companies from donating to the funds of political parties.

The Congress alone objected, insisting that it should continue to receive the donations.

Which is the rich man's party?

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SIDELIGHTS ::

Some newspaper correspondents have glamourised the President's visit to Madras as a tremendous success. It was nothing of the kind. It was a drab and dismal affair in the midst of a concocted spectacular setting. The red carpets, the crotons, the welcome arches, the paper flags, these are ready-made appurtenances for artificially creating a festive atmosphere, and they are brought out on chosen occasions by official decision in honour of dignitaries considered important, serving their purpose by rotation. This happened too as per schedule when the President arrived. It was a simple matter of routine. Neither public sentiment nor popular acclaim had anything to do with it.

The President's Independence Day speech roused deep resentment. He practically nullified the Prime Minister's assurance with his demand asking the non-Hindi people "on the other side" for a corresponding admission that English should not be imposed on the Hindi-speaking people. It spoiled the effect of the Prime Minister's (and his own) assurance that Hindi will not be imposed on non-Hindi people. Some two thousand students marched in the streets the next day demonstrating against the President's speech. They were prevailed upon to abstain from a parting salvo of collective mass protest only at the entreaty of the local authorities. It is a mystery wherefrom the correspondents got their inspiration for the notion that the President achieved a victorious fulfilment with his visit.

As Rajaji was quick to retort, the President was not fair in assuming that the maintenance of the *status quo* is tantamount to an "imposition" of English on the Hindi-speaking people: "The non-Hindi people are threatened with an absolutely new medium. The Hindi people have only to continue as before. There is no reason or fairness in the counterclaim which the President has thought fit to add".

The President has thus exchanged the national status pertaining to his office for a partisan portfolio. He has created unsettlement and distrust. We cannot be content with unofficial statements any longer, and if the President and the Prime Minister are earnest in their pledge of a fair deal to the non-Hindi people, they should have no hesitation in getting it incorporated unambiguously in legislative form. Here is an occasion when amendment of the Constitution is not only perfectly justified but also absolutely necessary. "Even the Constitution is an experiment" said Justice Holmes.

In the matter of the recent appointment of Government Pleader, the Madras Government has won the case but it has lost its reputation. Justice Balakrishna Ayyar's judgment is a classic pronouncement on what a Government should not do.

Mr. Justice Jagadisan has observed that favouritism and deviation from fair play were not uncommon in the administration of any government in any country. It is not to be inferred that the Judge justified such deviations from justice. But where the courts cannot give any remedy for such wrongs, there is at least the duty of exposing them to public view so that democracy may understand and have an opportunity of doing what the courts are disabled from doing. Every wrong has a remedy, says an old British juristic maxim. In cases to which Mr. Justice Jagadisan referred, the remedy lies in exposure and only in exposure. Hence it is that Mr. Justice Balakrishna Ayyar took great pains to search the conscience of the appointing authority and to ascertain and expose his motive, to use Mr. Justice Jagadisan's own words. And this has been admirably done. The Madras Government has emerged from the fray badly mauled and it will have to lick its wounds for a long time. Adminis-

trative misfeasance may not come within the limits of judicial action, but wherever there is a chance no better service can be rendered by judges than to invest all their independence in the task of public exposure and this Mr. Justice Balakrishna Ayyar has done in a manner worthy of the high reputation he has acquired through a life-time of judicial service.

The toll of Punjabi Suba prisoners has gone up to 29,500. The staff of the Khalsa College have met and passed a resolution condemning the treatment meted out to people visiting Amritsar and the Golden Temple. Master Tara Singh has been ordered a further term of preventive detention for one year. Master Tara Singh's present condition can be understood by a letter from his brother Niranjani Singh published in *The Hindustan Times* (August 26). Here are some excerpts from this letter:

"My elder brother Master Tara Singh has been in Dharamsala Jail for the last three months virtually in solitary confinement. This is telling upon his health. The only two persons with whom he can talk are the Jail superintendent and deputy superintendent. Besides that, he is permitted to receive near relatives for an hour every alternate Thursday.

"After interviewing him on June 23 and noticing the condition of his health I appealed to the Punjab Governor to permit one of his two sons who are in jail to live with him and provide him company and personal service. No action has been taken. Sheikh Abdullah and Master Tara Singh are both detained under the Preventive Detention Act. If Master Tara Singh cannot be given all the facilities, which are provided to Sheikh Abdullah, at least he should not be socially starved".

One irremediable fault is followed and must be followed by other faults. The linguistic division of India must be scrapped out altogether, or it must be followed by the Punjabi-speaking area being similarly made autonomous. It is true that expediency is the biggest logic in State policy. But is it expedient to irritate and make lasting discontent amounting to disaffection in the minds of a great community who have been

a pillar of Indian spiritual and political nationhood throughout modern history? One of the principal elements of the nation, the Sikhs have contributed not a little to the strength, solidarity and independence of India. Their leaders have left a mark in the nation's political and religious history. They hold together on the basis of their great Gurus' teachings, and are the staunchest worshippers of Hari, who have discarded untouchability. They form a substantial part of our defence forces. Let us befriend them and not make them psychologically adverse to Swarajya.

The Chief Minister of Assam objects to a judicial probe into the complicity of officials in the Assam outrages. He pleads that he is instituting a departmental enquiry and that is enough. If the objection is on the ground that public feeling may get worsened by such an enquiry, it applies both to judicial and official enquiries. The advantage would be on the side of a judicial probe as therein truth is better guaranteed. From the revelations even as admitted by the Assam Ministry, it would appear that some officials are widely suspected of complicity. The Chief Minister says that 7000 houses were burnt of which a half have been restored. This is an indication of the magnitude of the outrages.

On December 19 last year Sri G. L. Nanda, the Union Minister for Planning, invited Sri M. R. Masani to join, on behalf of the Swatantra Party, an informal Committee of Members of Parliament to consider questions relating to planning. In his reply to this invitation Sri Masani said:

"Prof. Ranga and I have considered the matter in the light of our party's recent decisions and we think it may not be fair to you if we do not explain our position clearly. I enclose an extract from the relevant resolution of the General Council of our party. I am bringing it to your notice so that my participation in the work of this Committee may not be understood to make me, in any way, a party to policies with which

my party is in disagreement. If, in the light of this, you feel that you would like me to join the Committee, I shall be glad to do so".

The relevant extract from the resolution of the General Council of the Swatantra Party referred to by Sri Masani in his letter to the Minister is given below:

"Every member of the legislature belonging to the Swatantra Party and the leader of the group or party shall make it clear that the party dissociates itself from the policy and pattern of the Five-Year Plans of the Government which are based on a totalitarian concept of planning".

In a further letter to Sri Masani (dated 2nd February 1960) Sri G. L. Nanda explained:

"As you know, in the normal course, we have invited representatives of parties in Parliament to join this Committee. Membership of the Committee does not involve any commitment on their part. I am sure you will agree that useful results will only be obtained if all concerned adopt a constructive and helpful approach to the many difficult problems which face us in connection with future development.

"I might also mention that thus far the Committee has had members from the major parties in Parliament as representatives. Naturally, there are differences in approach among them, but they have accepted the broad principles of planning and their association with the Committee has been helpful.

"In the light of what I have said, I would request you to consider the question of your association with the Committee".

Sri Masani acknowledged this explanation of the Minister in a letter dated 11th February 1960. He stated in that letter:

"I may mention that I had received telegraphic intimation of a meeting on the 6th instant of the informal committee of M.P.'s on Planning from the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister on the 5th in Bombay just before I had to leave for Bangalore for a meeting of the Central Organising Committee of the Swatantra Party. Otherwise, I would have come up to Delhi to attend that meeting. Don't you think that a day's notice is somewhat inadequate at a time when Parliament is not in session?

"In regard to what you say in your letter, I appreciate your remark that membership of the Committee

does not involve any commitment on the part of representatives of parties in Parliament who join it. That makes my position in joining the Committee easy.

"On the other hand, when you refer to the constructive and helpful approach which you desire and to the fact that representatives of other parties have accepted the broad principles of planning, I am sure you appreciate that, while we are not opposed to democratic and decentralised planning as such, there is no basic agreement with the present pattern of planning in the case of those of us who are in the Swatantra Party.

"I had tried to make this clear in my letter. I would be glad to attend meetings of this Committee to state frankly how my colleagues and I look at any particular issue that is placed before the Committee. If such frank comment is desired, then we may be in a position to make a useful contribution to the Committee's work. If, on the other hand, the acceptance of the basic principles of the pattern of planning on which the present Government is embarked is a pre-condition for membership, then obviously there is no room for us in this Committee. It is for you to decide this point.

"I shall be glad to have your guidance in good time before the next meeting of the Committee on Feb. 19".

Sri Nanda's "guidance" was to this effect:

"I think the position has been made fairly clear in my earlier letter. We have not asked the Members of Parliament, who are on this Committee, for any commitments. The Committee meets in relation to our preparation of the Third Five-Year Plan. It is obvious that this involves a certain basis of planning. Any discussion of the subject has to proceed on that basis".

Sri Masani then asked to be excused from serving on the Committee. This decision was conveyed in a letter dated February 19, which was to the following effect:

"While you state that you are not asking Members of Parliament who serve on this Committee for any commitments, you proceed to say that any discussion of the subject matter before the Committee has to proceed on the basis of planning already worked out by the present government. You will forgive me for saying that there appears to be some

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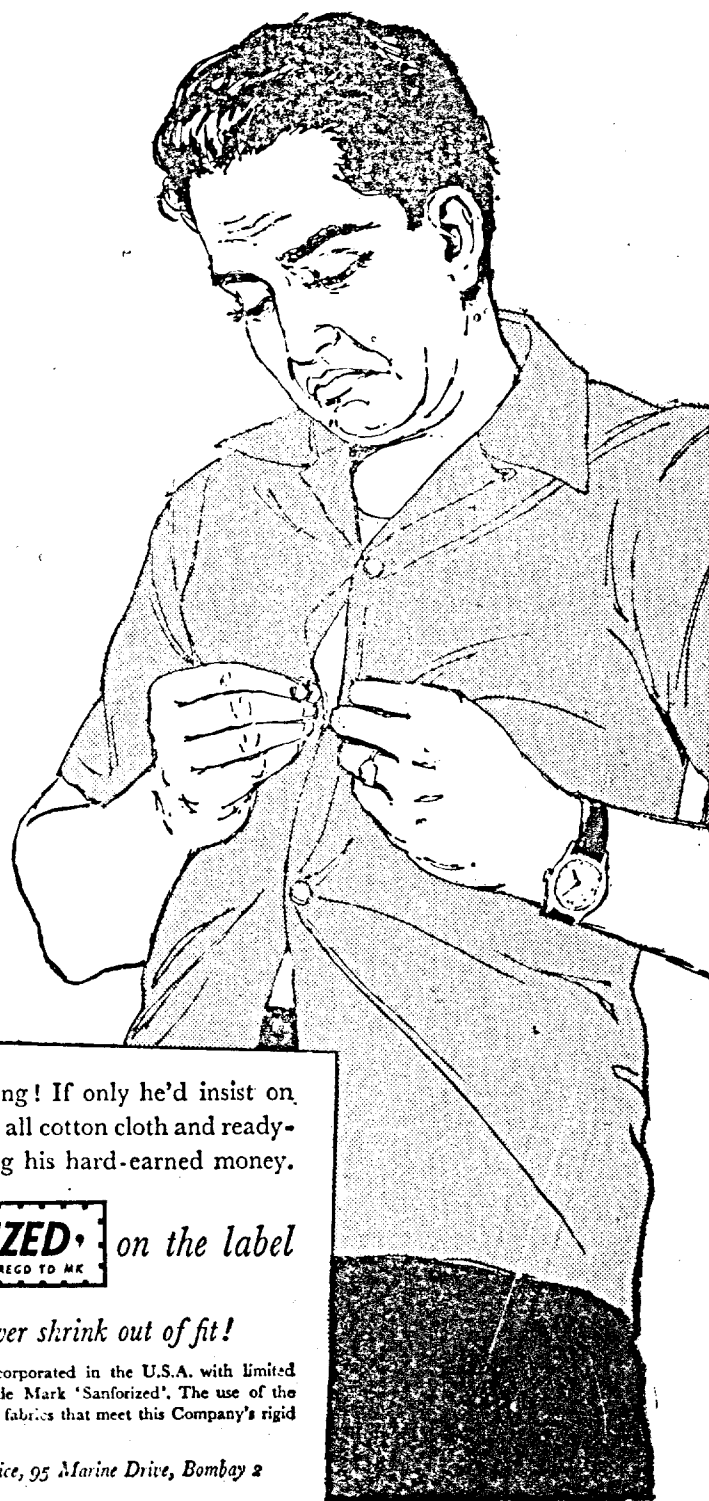
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inconsistency between those two statements. If discussion in the Committee is limited by an acceptance of the basis of current planning, all that then remains is to discuss details and make adjustments, and any questioning of fundamental policies gets ruled out.

"In these circumstances, Professor Ranga and I feel that it is best for me to request you to excuse me from serving on this Committee".

Between the initial assurance of the Planning Minister that "membership of the Committee does not involve any commitment on their part," and his later insistence that discussion has to proceed only on the basis of the plan already prepared by the Government, there is not merely glaring divergence but also downright contradiction. It is clear the Government want to maintain the outward form and facade of criticism while denying the right of critics to differ from them on important issues. Agreement, even subservience, is the price of governmental toleration of criticism, and Sri Masani has done well to withhold support from this deceptive procedure. The Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, has evidently travelled a long way since the advent of freedom thirteen years ago. Then he said, in ringing tones of idealistic passion:

"I think it would be a sad day if people stop criticising and condemning those in authority, because without people strongly criticising and pointing out the errors of their ways, people in authority often go wrong. They get swollen headed and complacent. They think everything they do is right and everything else is wrong. That is the danger, even though they may be Congressmen. Therefore people in authority have to be checked and kept up to the mark".

That is why the Swatantra Party was born. But why do the Congress Ministers use all the governmental powers they have for preventing independent criticism and obstructing the growth of an Opposition party? Why do they fear the rise of a well-organised party which will criticise and condemn them, point out the errors of their ways and save them from getting swollen-headed?

SAKA.

PLEA FOR FAIRPLAY

By POTHAN JOSEPH

But for the coincidence of his being Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru might have been long ago booked for contempt of court because he had in connection with the proceedings of the Mundhra enquiry entrusted to Judge Vivian Bose made a virulent attack against the observations of the Bench. The investigating authority was confronted by the fact that Mundhraj, the Cawnpore millionaire and "Congress Satyagrahi" had given a contribution of rupees one-and-a-half lakhs to Congress funds. Mr. Justice Vivian Bose inferred a political motive which roused the ire of the Prime Minister who deplored deficiency of intelligence in the Indian judiciary seeing that much was made of a trivial sum being channelled into the Congress war-chest, adding that in comparison with other donations, undisclosed except in income-tax returns, the amount was but a flea-bite. Only an ignoramus could have failed to notice such a commonplace affair and he castigated the judge in the midst of the inquiry.

In *Salvati Newsletter* (Vol. IV, No. 8), a valuable series of news publication corresponding to Commander King-Hall's bulletins in England, we are told that: "when the Tatas contributed Rs. 27 lakhs to the Congress election funds, a share was claimed by the Bihar Congress Ministry and Bihar Congressmen, as the factories of Tata Steel and Telco are situated in Bihar. The Congress authorities collected last time from the textile industry **FUNDS ON THE BASIS OF LOOMS**. The textile mills which owned a larger number of looms than smaller units had, therefore, to pay more, which in practice worked out as a kind of **LEVY**."

Compared with the Tata grant, the Mundhra contribution must be admitted by any layman as being something of a Widow's Mite dropping out of some charitable trust, but the cool assumption that the judiciary in India should be taken to be aware of such transactions as self-evident facts is rather a strain on the standard of general knowledge in the present stage of University deterioration.

Nevertheless, it came as a shock to the Prime Minister when told that he had gone a little too far as the Head of the Executive in pulling up the Judiciary. With characteristic deviousness consistent with his status as No. 1, Mr. Nehru sent a letter to the Calcutta Bar Association on the Law Minister's significant visit that the Prime Minister

held Supreme Court Judges "in the highest respect", and that no reflection had been meant in his previous pronouncement. That matter was closed, but the present issue is not about the bigness or the smallness of the party-levy on business concerns, but the principle of exploitation behind it in electioneering campaigns.

C.R. as spokesman of the Swatantra Party has demanded that there should be a halt to such "voluntary gifts" and that for six months prior to the election the country should be impartially administered, and for that purpose the elementary safeguard of Jawaharlal Nehru standing down should be conceded. The alternative proposal of some numbskull that as Congress President, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy should go abroad for six months on a cultural holiday, cannot meet the protest of those asking for a trial of fairplay.

How rooted the sense of necessity has become with the rank and file of Congress politicians was clear during proceedings at New Delhi when Company Law was on the anvil. It was pleaded that there should be a temporary sporting ban this time on the routine of pumping out huge subscriptions from the Private Sector, especially on the even of the Third Plan with its enormous personnel at Headquarters of touts and permit-agents, so indispensable to any expansion, agricultural or industrial. After all, what is the purpose of the ceiling legislation that prescribes a limit to election-expenditure? What was the intention of the Founding Fathers of the Constitution when they decided that proofs of election-expenditure should be filed and excess should disqualify candidates employing smart manipulators of purchasable votes? The idea was that the provision of adult franchise should not be self-defeating. If a safeguard against bribery should be deemed valid against a nominee, it must be equally applicable to a corporate body of ticket-holders nominated to rout rivals from off the field.

In a recent speech to businessmen on the responsibilities of those in managerial power, the Prime Minister expatiated on his favourite thesis that there should be equal distribution of profits, but his passion for egalitarianism should begin from the very beginning to protect the grass-roots of progress against the poison of corruptibility. If party funds are to be secretively raised from

(Continued on page 17)

Why COLOUR Vanaspati?

SOME people insist that vanaspati should be coloured so that it could be detected easily if used as an adulterant in ghee.

There is no known food colouring agent suitable for use in vanaspati. However, vanaspati does contain 5% sesame oil: this serves as a latent colour, easily revealed by a simple chemical test on ghee adulterated with vanaspati down to as low a limit as 5% adulterant.

Safeguarding the vanaspati consumer

While the colouring of vanaspati is proposed for safeguarding the interests of ghee consumers, it is vital to ensure that the colouring agent does not jeopardise the health of millions of vanaspati consumers. Any colouring agent proposed must fulfil the fundamental requirements, stipulated by the Ghee Adulteration Committee appointed by the Government of India, in 1951, the most important of which are quoted below:

- (1) "The dye should be easily soluble in vanaspati.
- (2) "The colour produced by the dye when added to vanaspati should be pleasing to the eye.
- (3) "The dye should be fast and should not be capable of easy removal by chemical or physical methods.
- (4) "The dye should be heat stable and should not decompose at the frying temperature (about 200°C).
- (5) "The dye should be non-toxic when consumed over a period of time and should exert no cumulative effect."

No known permissible food colouring agents fulfil these conditions. They are either not easily soluble in vanaspati or are easily removable. Fast

synthetic colours are either toxic or cancer-producing. Finding a suitable colour for colouring vanaspati has therefore not been possible so far.

World scientific opinion is strongly against the addition of colours to foods because some colours, considered for years as harmless, have been subsequently discovered to be cancer-producing. In all advanced countries the list of permissible colours is being curtailed progressively.

The ghee adulteration problem

But ghee adulteration is only a part of the wider problem of food adulteration in this country. The Prevention of Food Adulteration Act, 1954 and the Rules under that Act are designed to control food adulteration. The more vigorous and extensive the enforcement of this legislation, the more effective will be the control of food adulteration generally, and of ghee adulteration particularly. A further check on ghee adulteration will result if ghee is sold exclusively in sealed containers, as is vanaspati.

It is obviously futile to expect ghee adulteration to cease merely by colouring vanaspati as long as several other substances such as refined or raw oils, animal fat, etc. are easily available to adulterate ghee.

An assurance

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BOOK REVIEW

INVESTMENT AND SPECULATION

In his delightful book on "The stock Exchange" which is one of the finest contributions to the study of investment and speculation, Mr. Francis Hirst wrote that "if the scheme proposed by Xenophon for a sort of joint-stock bank at Athens had been adopted, it might have easily led to the foundation of a stock exchange". Indeed, interest-bearing paper, in the sense of stock exchange securities, had partly financed the continental wars of William of Orange. And it is also known that Lombard Street derived its name from a number of Lombard merchants who had settled in London. However, the word "investment" as a financial term is of comparatively recent origin, as pointed out by Mr. Patel. This book is a clear and witty exposition of the problems facing the individual investor and can be strongly recommended to all who have an interest of any kind in stocks and shares.

In his introductory survey, Mr. Patel has drawn an accurate picture of our Socialistic pattern of society: "If you save, you pay the wealth tax; if you don't, you make yourself liable for the expenditure tax. If you gift away a portion of your estate out of love and affection, you pay the gift tax; if you leave the estate intact, your beneficiaries cannot touch a copper till the estate duty is paid. If you supply risk-capital to industry and should the gamble pay, there is the capital gains tax to mop up a substantial portion thereof. Should you be patriotic enough to work hard with a view to earning a decent living, you pay income-tax, super-tax and sur-tax. And remember, it is primarily for the Government these days to decide whether a corporation ought to issue new shares at par or at a premium! Such is roughly the pattern of integrated taxation which has been foisted on us for fostering a Welfare State and ushering in a new era of Socialist society". Mr. Patel has devoted a section of the book to underline the fact "that the borderline separating investment from speculation is at best hazy and indistinct". It is unfortunate indeed that the word "investment" was not known to Dr. Samuel Johnson as a financial term. Mr. Patel has argued that the difference between

investment and speculation is only one of degree and not of kind. In this connection, it is interesting to recall Mr. Hirst's observation on this point. A correspondent with a Balfourian turn of mind held that the real distinction depended on the "intention" of the purchaser! This "distinction" rested on a very slippery foundation, which reminded Mr. Hirst of the eminent Sophist who "at an early age of our fiscal controversy, argued that the question whether a duty is protective or not depended upon whether the Government imposing it intended it to be protective. Mr. Hartley Withers viewed it from a slightly different angle and observed that "in the long run and on the average the speculator loses money". This is an advantage since by the very process of losing money, he "provides facilities for investors and gives steadiness to markets".

In his chapter dealing with the "kinds of securities", Mr. Patel has pointed out the similarity between President Sockarno's theory of "guided" democracy and our own policy of "controlled" inflation! And he has argued convincingly that the ordinary share is unrivalled as a long-term hedge against inflation. The gross appreciation of 300 per cent in the value of bullion would be very much less than the total benefits (by way of appreciation, dividend income and bonus) derived by the holder of the ordinary share. With gentle humour, Mr. Patel has summed up the prospects of land as a kind of security. "In these days of enlightened land reforms, acquisition of land has lost its glamour. Under benevolent Rent Control Acts where the tenant is the martyr and the landlord the tyrant, very few intelligent people care to lock up their capital in real estate. Only the expert who can collect a substantial 'pugree' and knows how to get away with it, is interested in the purchase or construction of properties". And a purchase of paintings by an unknown artist is a gamble at best. It is clear, therefore, that the ordinary share merits A-1 investment rating. Mr. Patel has, however, made it clear that every individual ordinary share does not necessarily prove a good hedge against inflation. It would be ruinous if one sat idle and watched all his paper profits melting away each time. Mr. Patel has emphasized that one can take advantage of a favourable position without degenerating into a sort of short-term speculator. Whenever anyone thinks of the stock

exchange, he is inevitably reminded of the old legal doctrine "caveat emptor" implying that anyone who makes a bad purchase has only got his stupidity to thank. Mr. Patel has stated that the stock exchange is no place either for an incorrigible optimist or a born pessimist and has also added that "as against several bulls (a bull is an operator who buys stock with a view to reselling at a profit) who piled up a fortune in the past, it is not in evidence that a conspicuous professional bear (a bear is an operator who sells short with a view to repurchasing at a profit) ultimately walked away as a multi-millionaire".

It would be interesting to conclude this review with Mr. Patel's remarks about economists: "If investment were an exact science every professional economist would end up as a millionaire. It is a known fact, however, that the species is not overendowed with earthly goods". It is certainly true that with the solitary exception of a Keynes, no economist has made a fortune on the stock exchange. This partly explains the fact that (with the exception of Mr. Patel) the best writers on this subject like Hirst and Withers have been professional economists.

A. RANGANATHAN.

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INVESTMENT AND SPECULATION.
A study by P. U. Patel. Published by the Author at 13 Nepean Sea Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 10.

THE WELFARE STATE: FACT AND FICTION

By B. R. KUMAR

The fourteenth anniversary of our Independence—apart from the fanfare of trumpets and fireworks and parades and meetings—is an appropriate occasion to assess our achievements and cast a balance sheet of the credit, and the debit and to analyse how far the foundations of our Welfare State have been truly laid. As Shakespeare pointed out, it is not the name that gives quality, but something intrinsic in the thing itself. A rose by any other name would smell as sweet. A Welfare State is judged by its qualities, as a tree is judged by its fruit, and though propaganda may give a halo to an imitation for some time, in the long run as our Union motto declares, "Truth will triumph".

Fundamentally every healthy State is a "Welfare State", for the political organisation of a people which is given that name is a natural summation of the process of social expansion in time and space. If man is a social animal as Aristotle said and cannot achieve his destiny except in collaboration with others, his expansion from the individual to the family, from the family to the tribe, and from the tribe to higher and higher forms of association is a necessary corollary, and the instrument of this urge is the State. The family is based on the instinctive emotion of love; the tribe is based on the instinctive emotion of blood sympathy; but to expand beyond the tribe both in space and in time some other urge becomes necessary, and the instrument of this urge is the State. As the Greeks said, the State comes into existence for the sake of mere life, but continues to exist for the sake of a good life.

Every state is therefore a Welfare State; it comes into being and continues to exist because a dynamic society, being a compound of innumerable individuals, occupations, temperaments, interests, groups, would be a chaos unless there was some mechanism which could harmonise these innumerable interests that go to its formation. As the force of gravity creates a cosmos out of what otherwise would be a chaos of millions of stars whirling in space, so the political organisation of society which we call the State, creates cosmos out of the chaos of millions of individual and group wills; its function is to harmonise the diverse interests that go towards the making of civilisation; to keep balance and harmony in the social sphere. A State that fails to do this is in its very

essence no State at all; it is a corruption.

The basis of this dynamic function of the State is "justice"; justice between the diverse individuals, groups, interests as regards each other, and also as regards itself. It is to maintain this justice that the State first puts a limit on its own powers as in our country under the idea of *dharma*; or limits are imposed on its powers from the outside as in England and in the U.S.A. in their Bills of Rights, Magna Carta, written constitutions, notions of equity, divisions of powers, and independence of the judiciary; or as in Greece and Rome, by the inventions of the philosophers and stoics of the laws of nature and the laws of nations, as opposed to the laws of the State. Secondly, it is to maintain this basis of justice that the whole paraphernalia of a dynamic civilized State is created with its executives, legislatures, police, judges, courts, universities. It is this justice that is the cement of society and the inspiration of all noble thoughts and words and deeds in a State. Take away justice, dilute it with passing necessities or fancies, and you inject an acid into the State which sooner or later corrodes its very foundations. If the tears of the poor wash away the thrones of kings, it is because the poor have been denied justice by the king. Our grievance against British rule was that in its very nature there was a denial of justice, and this denial was felt in every sphere of our national life. If justice is the very root of politics, its fruit is an integrated society in which every man receives automatically his rightful due—the Socialistic ideal of "from each according to his capacity, to each according to his need". Without justice, this is but a slogan and a snare. If the roots are healthy, the fruit is automatic; the State will be a Welfare State even without the name. The rose can be given any other name, it will smell as sweet.

The only way to assess properly the quality of our Indian Welfare State during the last 13 years is this empirical and pragmatic test: Has this period been on the whole a period of integration or the reverse? Have the various acts of the rulers, both of commission and of omission, tended to integrate us both as individuals and as groups, and as a political unit, or have they on the whole tended to carry us in the reverse direction of disintegration? A healthy life, whether indi-

vidual or group, is an integrated life and whereas the doctor judges it in that light, a quack is well satisfied with partial observation.

It is a startling fact that not only did we start our life of independence with an act of administrative and cultural disintegration, but that since then almost every major policy of our rulers has taken us in the same direction. The linguistic policy of the last few years is fast disintegrating us not only politically, but also culturally; for without the stimulus of European thought available to us most easily in the English language, we shall soon stagnate in the shallows of our own stagnant pools of imitated culture in 16 dialects. The recent products for our universities are a witness to this already. Even the five-year plans have only intensified this process of disintegration, for nationalisation and controls have on the one hand led to State rivalries, and on the other to corruption on a national scale. Goldsmith long ago anticipated this danger: "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, where wealth multiplies, and men decay". The economic policies of the Government are fast leading to the decay of Men, for none can dare to oppose a government when his very livelihood depends on its favours. And so our rulers from the President downwards speak to us about our moral and spiritual decay, about the crisis of cha-

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racter facing us. Corruption is on everyone's lips. That Caesar's wife should be above suspicion has ceased to be a spiritual principle of administration and politics; the ruling party itself is fast disintegrating, and only one man is holding it together. The same process of disintegration is active everywhere else—in our administrative services, in our families and in ourselves as individuals.

For the bird to fly, air is a necessary medium; for the fish to swim, water is a necessary element; for man to be moral, a just "State" is a necessity. If our Welfare State is, in Acharya Vinobha Bhave's language, an ill-fare State, the reason is that it has ceased to fulfil its main duty—the maintenance of justice; it has given up its *dharma* for the sake of a mess of pottage, the winning of votes, the maintenance of popu-

larity, and in the last analysis, the maintenance of its own power. You cannot reap corn if you sow the field with thorns. *Dharma*, the intrinsic quality of things, is the very basis of this universe, and hence it is that the Gita says: "Better one's own duty though destitute of merit, than the duty of another, well discharged. Better death in the discharge of one's own duty; the duty of another is full of danger."

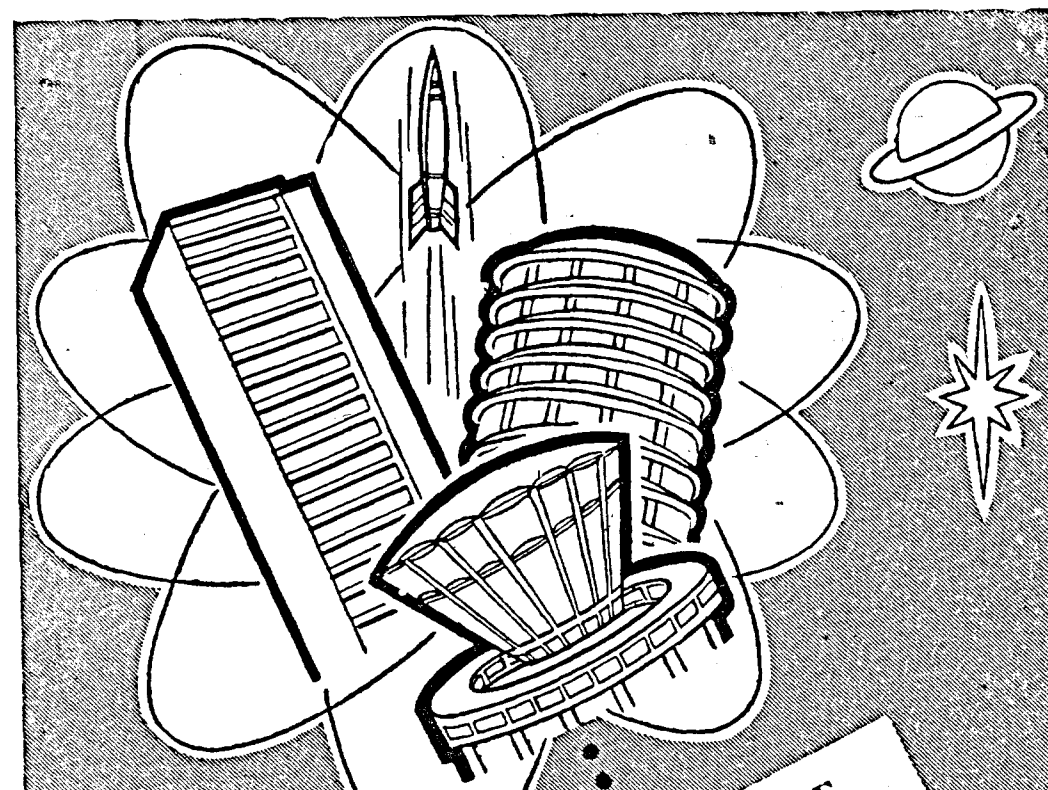
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THE UNIQUENESS OF THE BHAGAVATA

By N. RAGHUNATHA AIYAR

Sri Krishna's life and teachings are described in a number of books which have attained the status of scripture. The chief of these are the Mahabharata, the Harivamsa, the Vishnu Purana and the Bhagavata Purana. All of them accept His divinity; but while they overlap to a certain extent they lay emphasis on different aspects of His personality. The Mahabharata regards Him as the supreme locus of power in the universe, the criterion of the moral order, the unmoving cause of all that moves, and also as "the Maya-Manushya" who engages Himself in ceaseless activity. The Vishnu Purana looks upon Him as the *antaryamin*, the inner Ruler Immortal, the Real Existent. The Harivamsa represents Him as an *avatar* born to redeem the many Yadava clans from the decay into which they had fallen and so plays up his activities as tribal chief, statesman, counsellor and hero in battle. The Bhagavata, which is an eclectic scripture, gives us a glimpse of all these roles; but its unique contribution is that it brings out the loving and lovable aspects of the Supreme Personality, showing Him as 'Rasa' and 'Rasa-prada'.

Suka, who learnt the Bhagavata from his father, the sage Vyasa, and consoles Parikshit in his extreme tribulation with a recital of the glories of the Lord recorded in it, is a *Jivan-mukta*. And the Krishna he presents to us is the radiant, many-coloured personality seen through the prism of his subtle and sensitive temperament. The Krishna of the Bhagavata is supremely the Krishna who is the darling of the Gopis; He is no less the Krishna whom the seekers and the perfected prefer to liberation itself.

The simple Gopis and the single-minded *bhaktas* might seem at first sight to represent the opposite poles in the scheme of the spiritual life. But they have this in common that in their absorption in the Lord, they have forgotten

and freed themselves from their petty selves. It is this intensity of preoccupation with God that, according to the Bhagavata philosophy, brings the most diverse souls to the same goal. As a famous verse has it, the Gopis attained the Lord by love, Kamasa by fear, Sisupala and other enemies by hatred, the Vrishnis* by consanguinity, the Pandavas by friendship and the saints and sages by their one-pointed devotion. It is the lukewarm, the half and halfers that gain neither this world nor that.

The Mystic's Progress

The Gopis' love passes through all the stages of the mystic's progress. It begins as mother-love, that purest of all attachments. Seeing the child Krishna's miraculous powers (in an episode found only in the Bhagavata) Brahma the Creator spirits away by his yogic power the calves and the cowherd children in charge of them without Krishna's knowledge. But, in no way non-plussed, the Lord creates anew all the calves and the children, the very spit and image of those hidden by Brahma, out of His own divine essence and by His plenary power. When these miracle-children go home in the evening, their mothers find an intensity of love welling up in their hearts such as they had never known before for their own children, though it was just that intense joy which they had always felt for the boy Krishna. For a whole year the Lord keeps up this comedy when Brahma, humbled, restores the calves and the children he had secreted. The Gopis, having thus been taught to practise unself-regarding love for those who were the pure images of the Lord, find it difficult to resist the magic call of the flute when it comes on the eve of the Raasa dance. For, the call of the flute is really the call to come to God who is our Home. This, in the mystics' language, is called "Awakening".

The nightly dalliance with the Gopis in the woods of Brindavan of which the Raasa dance represents the crown and consummation, is described in the Bhagavata with an opulence of detail and a riot of colour for which there is no parallel in the other scriptures. And it is this episode which has been most widely misinterpreted by the literal-minded. But any careful reader of the Bhagavata will see that there is nothing fleshly about it. It is the allegory of the mystic's quest. A merely human child of eleven years has his thoughts very far from sex. The Gopis and their men-folk, however, never made the mistake of looking upon Krishna as a mere mortal. Not only had they seen Him do many a miraculous thing with casual ease. Apprehending His nature with the heart rather than the head, they serenely accepted His divinity and were never troubled by it. Unlike the sages and the *bhaktas* who were constantly amazed that He should unbend to mere men and delight in partaking in their lowly condition, and unlike too His own parents on earth, who in spite of the repeated evidence of their senses, constantly forgot that He was the all-powerful Lord and were timorous for His safety, the primitive folk of Brindavan, by virtue of their humility and their overwhelming love, found no barriers but dimly felt that He was the "soul of their soul; and they gave Him their confiding faith. Finding them thus fit vehicles for His plenary grace He revealed Himself to them in all His glory and transcendent loveliness in the Raasa dance—an experience which the mystics call Illumination or Ecstasy.

Purgation

But before this supreme experience could come to them they had to be purged of the least trace of egotism. Because the elated Gopis assumed too readily that they could make Krishna dance to their tune, He suddenly disappeared at the beginning of the

revels. They were appalled. Reduced to extreme misery, contrite, and pure of heart, they humbly sang His praises. This is the stage called Purgation in the language of the mystics. He thereupon reappeared in their midst and then came the long night of bliss.

After the heights the trough. The Lord leaves for Mathura and the Gopis see Him no more except for a brief glimpse towards the end of His days on earth. Despair seizes them—what the mystics call the Dark Night of the Soul. It is then that Uddhava is sent to them with a message. They pour out their love and anguish in the Bhramara Gita—which, like the Gopika Gita, Rukmini Sandesa and Kuchelopakhya, we find only in the Bhagavata and in no other scripture, and is indeed one of the glittering jewels in its crown. Uddhava the "Parama Bhagavata" is thrilled to the core by this all-consuming passion for God which could make these simple forest women not only give up house and home without a thought but also repudiate the sanctities and the moral restraints that have an over-riding claim in the work-a-day world. He delivers them the Lord's message. "Think on me not as something alien but as your own true Self that is never separated from you. Remember that on the night of the Raasa dance some of your companions, who were restrained by their people from coming out to meet me, thought with such intense longing of me and dwelt on my Immaculate Perfection so absorbedly that their souls left their bodies and sought sanctuary with me. That should teach you that my presence in the flesh is not at all necessary for your effective participation in my grace". No wonder that Sridhara Swami, the great commentator on the Bhagavata, sees the Raasa Lila as the gospel of renunciation.

The fret and fever of their heart is gradually stilled as the Gopis meditate on the meaning of these words. Their renunciation complete, they attain that transcendental wisdom which comes to the seeker by prolonged austerity and meditation. When at last

they meet the Lord at Prabhasa they tell Him, "We are content to live in the world to do Thy will; grant only that the memory of Thy blessed feet shall never forsake us". They are now established in what the mystics call the Unitive Life, the *Jivan mukta* state.

The Abode of all the Rasas

Thus to the Gopis the Lord vouchsafes in abundant measure the *rasa* of *Sringara*. But the fascination He exercises is inspired by very different emotions in very different people, as already pointed out. It is the desire of the moth for the star in the case of those whose *vasana* (the fruit of their past Karma) inclines them to righteousness. It is the fascination for the moth of the candle flame in the case of those whose inclination is to evil-doing. But though He seems to kill and to save, to punish and to redeem, He in truth does nothing. He is serenely established in His Own Self by the light of which all that exists, exists and functions. Sahadeva proclaimed this truth when at Yudhishtira's Rajasooya he declared that the first honours at that great sacrifice were the due of Krishna and of none else—"for He is the Atman activating all that lives. He is the Santa, the Poorna, the Ananyadarsana, who has neither friend nor foe. He, out of his plenary grace, replenishes a hundred-fold those who give Him their loving devotion". A restless world craves for Peace which is of the Lord. He, the wantless, can alone redeem that poverty which is of the heart. Only He who looks with an equal eye on all can inspire humility. And because He is Poorna and His nature is everlasting delight—the Ananda of the Sat-Chit-Ananda—the little love, like the widow's mite, that we bring Him—and that too by His grace—He swells into a great ocean. It is because the Bhagavata taps for us this infinite sweetness that the mystics and the God-intoxicated have found themselves irresistibly drawn to it.—(Summary of an address at the Madras Samskrit Academy).

THE ONE VESTED INTEREST IN INDIA

In a minute of dissent to the Report of the Joint Select Committee on the Companies (Amendment) Bill laid on the table of the Lok Sabha on August 16, M. R. Masani writes:

In a controlled economy, the Government of the day has virtually the power of life and death over the fortunes of business and industrial enterprises. The possibility of business houses being coerced into making contributions to a political party whose policy may even be opposed to that of business and industry as a whole cannot therefore be ruled out. At the time of the last General Elections, several businessmen complained of undue pressure being exercised upon them by leaders of the ruling party, and in between elections there are numerous calls for contributions to purses and advertisements for Souvenirs published on the occasion of party meetings. The other objection is that selfish and unscrupulous elements in business seek advantages for themselves by getting into the good books of the ruling party in the hope of compensation in the months and years to come. If there is one vested interest in India today, it is that of those in office along with their satellites and hangers-on in business who profess to support the policies of the ruling party in order to feather their own nests. Since every control is potentially a source of corruption, the Joint Select Committee's decision pushes the door wide open to corruption of this nature.

In this context, the fact that the majority in the Joint Committee turned down the salutary proposals presented to them makes it quite clear which party in this country is dependent on Big Business for filling its coffers and supporting its candidates for public office.

WAY TO BE HAPPY

The only way to be happy is to invite others to partake of your happiness—not because it is noble to do so, but because it is expedient. "It is not possible to live pleasantly without living wisely and justly and generously". Treat others as you want them to treat you. Inflict no injury in order that you may suffer no injury. Live and let live.

EPICURUS.

CONGRESS CORRUPTION FRIGHTENED GANDHI

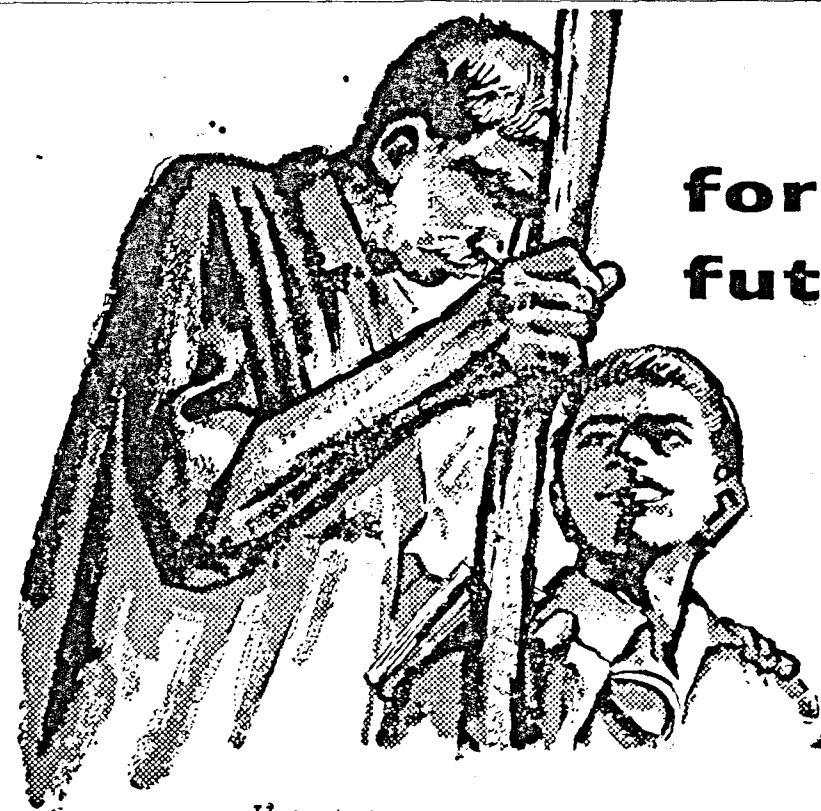
Gandhiji declared: "We must recognise the fact that the social order of our dreams cannot come through the Congress Party of today. There is corruption which frightens me. Everybody wants to carry so many votes in his pocket because votes give power. Banish the idea of capture of power and you can guide it and keep it on

the right track. There is no other way of removing the corruption that threatens to strangle our independence at its very birth. *"He who is immune to the temptations of power can best oppose the men in power"*.

This quotation from Gandhiji has a truth to teach to those who wonder at the phenomenal progress of the Swatantra Party within a year of its inception. To people who are astonished to find that the youngest of India's poli-

tical parties has become the most powerful opponent of the mighty ruling party, please permit me to quote Gandhiji once again: *"He who is immune to the temptations of power can best oppose the men in power"*. Swatantra's greatest advantage is its leadership. It will be good for themselves and for the country also if the leaders of other parties try to emulate the Swatantra leader and imbibe his great qualities.

K. VEDAMURTHY.



for the
future

Under the furrowed brow, his aging eyes see
his child grow to manhood. He gives his all: care
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And prepares him to meet the future.

Soon the youth will learn from life.
Soon will come the struggle to achieve.
Soon he will be part of the striving...

The striving and effort for a better world.
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...

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It is said that it took 1,200 skilled workers almost twelve years to build the famous Konarak temple in the thirteenth century

Judged by any standard, the building of such an edifice was a gigantic undertaking. It is easy to imagine that by expanding the demand for building materials and articles of daily requirements for an army of workers, it must have stimulated the growth of a large number of industries.



Today, even as in the past, the operations of a large undertaking encourages the growth of many existing industries and the birth of new ones, triggering continued expansion in the economic field. It has been the established policy of Standard-Vacuum to utilize local sources to the maximum extent possible, for the goods and services the organization needs for its operation. And in 1959, the value of such purchases in India amounted to Rs. 346 lakhs; of this, Rs. 289 lakhs represented the requirements of the Marketing Organization and Rs. 42 lakhs of the Refining Operations. The total requirements for all the three operations of Standard-Vacuum for the five years, from 1955 to 1959, was represented by Rs. 1,659 lakhs. Among the new lines of manufacture set up in India as a direct result of the demands generated by Stanvac's operation were drums and barrels for asphalt and other petroleum products; gasoline pumps and modern tank trucks and aircraft refuellers.



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PLEA FOR FAIRPLAY

(Continued from page 7)

the height of the Prime Minister's Fund down to the Panchayatdar's level, there would be a reign of intimidation and corruption sometimes highly personal and of a very elusive character. The Swatantra Party proposes a moratorium for the practice but the attitude of the Congress M.Ps puts an end to hopes of any such purificatory restriction. The Communists would agree whatever be the motives one could ascribe to them when they are chortling over the Palai Bank fiasco and hinting at Nemesis overtaking the workers' and co-workers operating the deposits in order to overthrow them in Kerala when as a party, they profess to be champions of the poor and the needy.

Taking up the cudgels on behalf of the party in power, Food Minister S. K. Patil, a master-technician in the mobilization of votes, argues that it is no use blinking at facts and that since elections cost money collections are indispensable. As an old Congress-hand, he testifies that the 1957 elections cost Congress Rs. 5 crores, but no treasurer of the Congress (now it is the Finance Minister Morarji Desai) could exactly know the total turn-over. Sir James Grigg, Finance Minister of the old Raj, once tried to ascertain how much Babu Rajendra Prasad could have collected in the name of the Bihar Earthquake Relief Fund but by the time his guess-work reached Rs. 21 lakhs, there was an uproar against the British Government meddling in charitable activities and he for political placation dropped the issue murmuring that many more lakhs could have been traced. Mr. S. K. Patil quotes the practice in the United States, the land that supplies us with calories to live, and tells us that in Presidential elections a private citizen is free to donate up to five thousand dollars, but the analogy, I fear, does not exactly fit us. Nor is it permissible in all the States. Nelson Rockefeller could throw millions into the pool for the success of Richard Nixon, but the American being a stout individualist, is not a mercenary vote-holder. Organizers rejoice in the *tamasha* of the year and it is bad form to talk of the cash-and-carry side of it. The actual practice is to greet candidates by holding of dinners. A hundred-dollar plate dinner in a hotel in honour of a tub-thumper does not mean that the menu costs all that money. Some guests just drink water as the toast is raised for Senator Boojum and the box-office hands over the receipts. The element of corruptibility is marginal, but the same can-

not be said of our infant democracy, where the auditing part of political excitement is still nominal. One of our leaders during the Khilafat agitation was downright blunt and honest about the practice prevailing. Vast sums had been raised for saving the temporal power of Islam associated with the Caliphs of old after the Treaty of Sevres, even Khilafat currency-notes being pushed into langar-khana circulation, unobtrusively, like modern Coimbatore counterfeit of which exaggerated stories have been published to the disadvantage of small, depositors in banks, scheduled and non-scheduled. Some backbenchers on behalf of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad shouted a question asking for accounts with audit-certificates as if such a thing in higgledy-piggledy could ever be performed. We all believe in judgment-day, the Maulana remarked, and then thundered, "Accounts will be rendered in Heaven". He made no bones about it, and Gandhiji at the height of agitation had no time to hinder organizational advancement by fiddling over such problems as the exact valuation of jewels wrung from the neck as gifts for the khadi-bag he used to hold out on railway-platforms. That was an era of spontaneous generosity with no covetous eyes for Satyagrahi's thumb mark on the voting paper. C.R. in our new set-up suspects the possibility of coercion and corruption, whereas Congress M.Ps strenuously oppose. Again, I quote the authentic source:

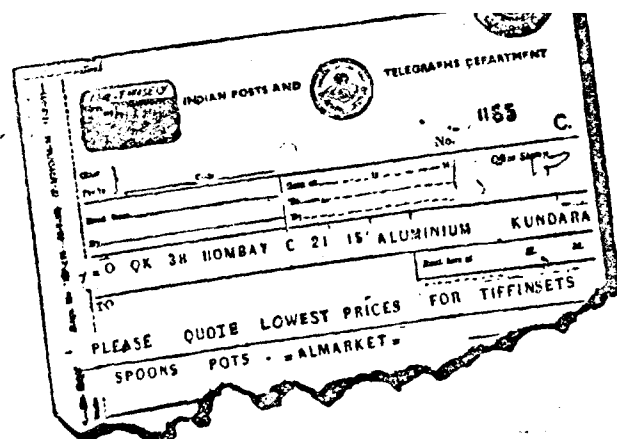
"When a Minister approaches a commercial firm or an industrialist, the latter hesitates to turn down the request. If the authority were not in office, there would be no undue influence or pressure on the would-be donor. Mr. Rajagopalachari further states that the practice of a Minister collecting funds for the party has led to serious corruption in the ranks. Copying the Minister, a member of parliament or of a State Assembly goes round collecting funds for the causes he or she considers sacred or desirable. It is mentioned in informed circles that, recently, a noted member of Parliament was collecting funds to start an arts college in his consti-

The word 'disinflation' has been coined in order to avoid the unpopular term 'deflation. I suppose that presently when 'disinflation' also wins its bad name, the Chancellor (Sir Stafford Cripps) will call it 'non-undis-inflation' and will start all again.

—WINSTON CHURCHILL.

tuency which is a backward area in regard to education. The object is no doubt a laudable one. Did he secure the permission of the Congress High Command to go round and collect funds for starting the college? Sympathisers donated to the funds, because he was a Congress member or parliament. It is said that this member was able to raise over one lakh of rupees. He has not closed the collections yet. A second instance is also quoted in well-informed circles. It is said that the wife of a Central Government Minister recently went round important centres and collected Rs. 5 lakhs for a charitable cause, cultural or educational activities, for the benefit of the residents in the capital who hail from her State. A third instance refers to collection of funds, about fifty thousand rupees, for buying and presenting a car to the President of a Pradesh Congress Committee for his use. The concerned Pradesh Congress Committee already owns a car, but it is used by the other office-bearers of the Committee, leaving the President without a car. His friends and admirers have decided to present him with a car. The necessary monies have been collected, but the car is not yet bought and presented to him".

This kind of complaint should be conceded as being totally out of place in Britain and America, and their frame-plan of elections. In their annals there used to be queer practices of coercion, farce, jollibery. Lyndon Johnson, on behalf of American Democrats expressed his regret on his entry as running mate that somebody had already started kissing the babies for votes. In India we cannot imagine a hundred-rupee dinner in an Udipi hotel to support a candidate when in the routine of the day one "manages" with a meal on ten-annas plus two annas for curds extra. If it came to the business of inter-dining for a political boost, the prior question whether it is in honour of Sunderaswamy or Arokiaswamy would cause uncertainty of attendance amongst the *shappatramans* or the *chappati-goondas* invited to rally opinion. American practice with all its thrill of traditional *tamasha* cannot be easily transplanted to serve the test whether it is not time to run on the level, at least the next time elections are held. The Congress vote, even without lobbying for the purpose, is distinctly against a ban on fund-raising, indifferent as to source or amount, as long as we Satyagrahis are kept in fettle with no inconvenient suggestion of the origin of expressions like "filthy lucre".



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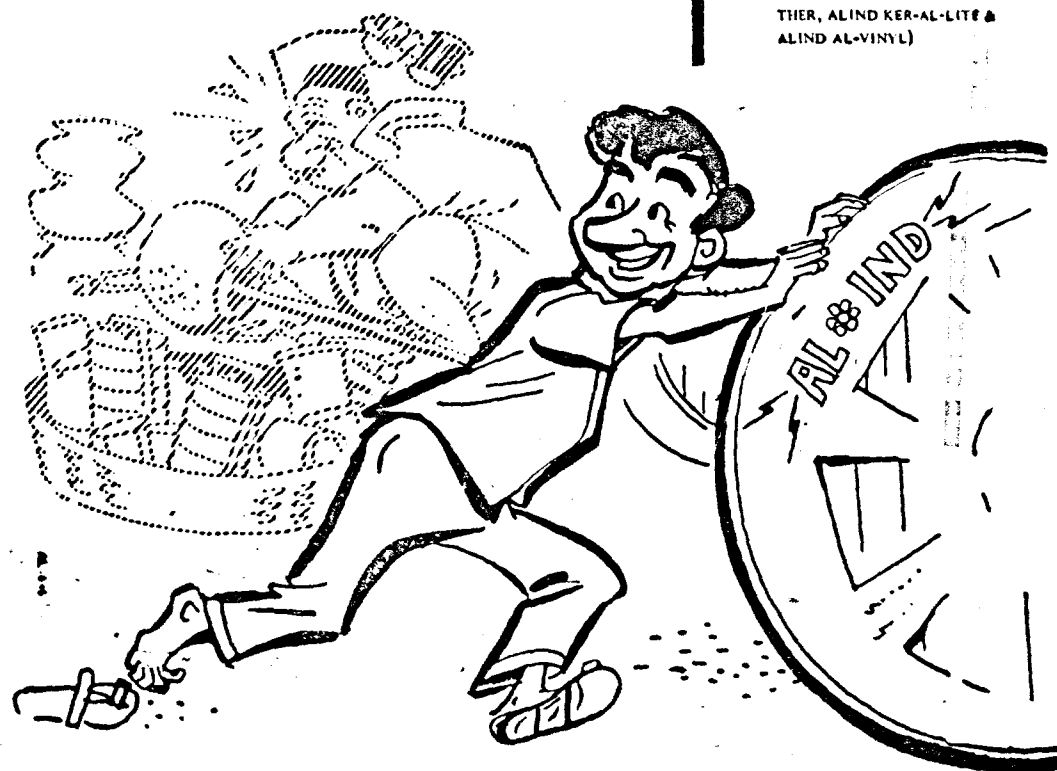
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September 3, 1960

SWARAJYA

19

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR WHY ARE BUSINESSMEN AFRAID?

Sir,—At the dinner which Bombay industrialists gave to Rajaji, the latter asked only one question. Why are the businessmen mortally afraid of extending their support openly to the Swatantra Party? In England does the Conservative Government try to oppress the businessmen who are sympathetic to the Labour Party? In America, does the Republican Government harass the businessmen who may be supporters of the Democratic candidate at the next Presidential elections? Do not Indian businessmen know that every act of the ruling party is one more nail in the coffin of private enterprise and initiative which are the life blood of business in the private sector? Should not enlightened self-interest, if nothing else, make it clear to our businessmen that, if they are not to be wiped out of existence, they should throw off the noose round their necks when there is still time to do so? A further lease of five years to the present ruling party will definitely ring the death-knell of the private sector of business in India. Cannot our businessmen understand this basic and elementary fact?

It has been recorded of Emile Zola, the great French writer, that his life was "a moment in the conscience of mankind". There is little doubt that the future historian will accord a similar high place in the world's moral plane to Rajaji. His heroic struggle to free India from the stranglehold of the Congress caucus will be remembered with affection and admiration by posterity long after the names of the present so-called "leaders" of the Congress have been deservedly forgotten in spite of the harm done by them to the country.

V. T. SREENIVASAN.

given as to why it was not embodied in its operative part, nor why the Constitution was not amended promptly to confirm the assurance, if it was meant seriously and sincerely. The extent to which Hindi has been pushed quietly and cunningly is scandalous to a degree and is calculated to defeat confidence in the Government's assurance. The latest outrage is the Hindi inscription on the medals for the Defence services as if the Defence personnel consisted only of Hindi-speaking Indians. The assurance will have value only when the Constitution is amended to embody it and when the aggression of Hindi into non-Hindi spheres is vacated honestly and unreservedly. These steps will prove the *bona fides* of the Government, though the question still remains if, on merits, it is necessary to have two Union languages.

Bangalore.

P. KODANDA RAO.

AUSTERITY DRIVE

Sir,—May I suggest for the consideration of the authorities, the following measures for effecting some economy in the ever-mounting expenditure and arresting the drain on valuable foreign exchange:

To stop the present tendency of sending out too many delegations abroad.

To stop too frequent and too many transfers of officials at all levels.

To stop indiscriminate recruitment of staff. It is far better to offer a little more attractive remuneration to the existing staff and get things done more efficiently.

To reduce ministerial tours to the barest minimum.

S: RANGANATHAN.

OUR SOVIETISED GOVERNMENT

Sir,—The recent Cabinet crisis in Andhra Pradesh is revealing in more respects than one. We are supposed to be working the parliamentary type of democracy but the Chief Minister of a State in India is responsible not to the legislature but to the party caucus at New Delhi. In the U.K. the Prime Minister's right to choose his colleagues and dismiss them is undisputed and the Sovereign cannot interfere with it. But Mr. Sanjivaiya could not dismiss a colleague in whom he had lost confidence and he had to wait on the pleasure of the Congress High Command

on which there are several non-Government partymen. Is it not clear that our Chief Minister's responsibility to the legislature is pure fiction?

Again, is it not inconsistent with his oath to the Constitution for Mr. Sanjivaiya to show as admitted by himself confidential Cabinet files to the High Command?

The truth is that our Government at the Centre and in the States are ruled by an outside party machinery as in Soviet Russia. Naturally, we are drifting towards totalitarianism.

Bangalore.

S. HIRANNIAIYA.

SORRY EPISODE

Sir,—The report of the discussions of the Panel of the Planning Commission on Land Reforms contains some interesting figures. The number of landless agricultural workers is estimated to be about six millions. It is estimated that cultivable waste land is "ten million acres with 5.7 million acres already distributed". It is added that bhoodan and gramdan land total another 44 lakhs of acres. It is not clear what is meant by "with 5.7 million acres already distributed". If it means that the total of cultivable waste land is 15.7 million acres, then cultivable waste, bhoodan and gramdan land will total more than 16 million acres. If this land is distributed among the landless agricultural workers, each can get 2.63 acres. It should be considered generous if this land is given FREE to these landless agricultural workers. Why not Government do this and stop all this bally hoo about ceiling on land, method of compensating for 'surplus' land, etc., which is causing so much uncertainty and annoyance to the landholders and to the thinking public who feel that the person who invested his savings in land is getting a raw deal? Quite a lot of Government's time and money is being wasted in drafting and considering these abortive land legislation bills on ceilings. The report also says that, even today, it is not possible to say how much land this unpopular and discriminatory legislation will yield for Government's implementation of its Socialistic commitments. It appears therefore, that it would be the part of wisdom to distribute the cultivable waste land, bhoodan land and gramdan land free among landless agricultural workers and to close this sorry episode. There is certainly more justification for giving this land to landless agricultural workers than to the so-called political sufferers.

Bangalore.

P. M. S. RAO.

VACATE HINDI AGGRESSION

Sir,—The assurance, repeated by the President, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister, that English would continue as an "associate" Union language till the non-Hindi speaking people desired otherwise is not calculated to carry conviction in view of the circumstances in which it was made and its sabotage in practice. The President's Directive was timed to prevent an immediate discussion in Parliament. The recent references to it were made only when the President was threatened with black-flag demonstrations. A laboured plea was made that the Prime Minister's assurance was mentioned in the President's Directive, but no reason was

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FOR FULLER EMPLOYMENT

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A lot of ignorant animadversion against capitalists issues out of want of understanding as to the mechanics of money and from mere prejudice. When indulged in by politicians, it is a trick of rousing and using class hatred for securing the support of a large group. It pays the politician to attack landlords and industrialists as the tenants and factory workers count the larger number of votes. Capital is as necessary as labour for production. The question is only whether the State should be the big and sole capitalist and all management, efficient or the contrary, put in one basket, so to say, or whether there should be decentralised capital alongside of a strong personal interest in its proper utilisation and a degree of competition to check inefficiency.

The use of money is to create opportunities for employment. The habit of hoarding has gone out of fashion. Those who get large incomes these days put their money in banks or in business—and in either case the money either directly or indirectly goes into production in the form of capital. People no longer keep their money locked up or buried. There is no way of increasing employment, or which is the same thing, of reducing unemployment except by the expansion of business. If the money earned by the rich goes into production, they render service to the community by enlarging business. The Government takes a share of all income in the shape of taxes. Some of this also goes into production.

But the larger part is spent on the several unproductive but necessary purposes which Government must look after. The essential difference between Government's productive activities and those of private citizens is that the former is more expensive if not wasteful and the latter is generally frugal and better managed on account of the personal interest involved. It follows therefore that money left with individual citizens is more productive than the money taken over by Government. So it is that the less of the latter the better for the nation. It is a short-sighted policy for any State to tax heavily and take over too much of the business of production and distribution instead of leaving it to the private citizen. Frugal and efficient management is the characteristic of the private sector and this arises out of the profit motive.

BEWARE OF MONOPOLIES

One of the hoariest commonplaces of political economy is that one should beware of monopolies. A monopoly in the hands of the producer almost automatically exploits the consumer, and a monopoly in the hands of the consumer with equal inevitability exploits the producer. But worse than either is a monopoly in the hands of an intermediary, for that exploits both producer and consumer.

Unhappily that is the case of the State Trading Corporation.

—MYSINDIA

The profit is the price we have to pay for economic and vigilant management.

Money does not remain idle in modern times. Wherever it is left and whosoever has earned it, the money goes into production and if we tolerate the profits that businessmen make out of their business it would be most frugal for the State to let money remain in private hands. Idle money should be taxed and money that goes into production should be encouraged; for it means more and more employment. There is very little idle money these days. Whether it is 'black' or 'white' it is busy producing, being employed as capital.

If any one makes more profit than is good for the community let it be taxed, and this is done today. No one can complain that there is not now heavy enough taxation. A lot of ignorance and prejudice blur economic issues. Policies born of prejudice are certain to hurt national interests.

The foregoing paragraphs were written last week, and receive confirmation in the news this week end about the World Bank's latest advice to India. The World Bank that symbolises the Western world's joint effort to help development all over, has played the part of an essential pillar of our Plans and its advice cannot be set aside by the present rulers of India as advice from the Swatantra Party can be. The Prime Minister's speech in Parliament on his Third Plan was a lecture on the supreme advantages of Socia-

PLAN DATA

It appears that the Governor of the Reserve Bank has referred to the unreliability of the statistical data as to national income. Anticipated savings out of anticipated national income form the principal foundation of the long period planning to which the present Government is committed, and if this foundation is erroneous, everything must go wrong, even as a house built on a weak foundation must go down during the first bad weather. The resources-side of the Plan depends on the unreliable calculations referred to by the Reserve Bank Governor.

That the proof of the pudding is in the eating of it is literally applicable to the case. The figures as to *consumption of essentials* furnish the real answer as to whether there has been a general improvement in national prosperity. The consumption of food grains and of cloth in the country cannot mislead us. Both the consumption of food grains and of cloth remain exactly where they stood. This is a better indication of the state of affairs than what the figures as to national income collected by various processes, some of them direct and some of them inferential, can tell us. The expansion of the administration and the increased salary bills can easily swell the national income figures. The Plans have not benefited the main body of the people. On the other hand, prices have gone up making their case worse.

Apart from the unreliability of national income and prospective savings figures, the other pillar of the Plan, foreign aid, is much more of an uncertain quantity owing to the world situation which has not improved but gone worse. It is evident the Third Plan has to be scrapped and 're-made' even from the present Government's point of view.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

lism and the wisdom of putting all national energy and resources—as much as humanly possible—into the nationalised and public sector of our industries and our trade. Here is what the World Bank advises in a very polite tone; a representative of a leading paper reports from New Delhi, September 10:

A plea for greater scope for the private sector and for removal of certain onerous controls and regulations for the successful implementation of industrial projects included in the Third Plan is made by the World Bank Technical Mission in its report. The Mission has asked the Government to institute at the enterprise level an objective enquiry into the impact of controls on the efficiency of managements in order to eliminate trivial formalities and also to rationalise the price structure for the purpose of stimulating industrial development. Such an examination according to the Mission's report

would carry conviction about the real intentions of the Government to foster a mixed economy. Warning against excise controls the Mission has remarked that one of the most harmful effects of controls in India is that they are particularly discouraging to small enterprises. The Mission also considers it desirable that a large percentage of industrial profits should be allowed to be retained by businessmen in future if private industry is to expand sufficiently to utilise the products which the public sector would manufacture. After referring to the widely prevalent idea in India that large profits are immoral, the Mission feels that the margin of profits upto 12 per cent of the capital employed, now allowed for businessmen, leaves very little for financing expansion of units. While measures to restrict profits through taxation and price controls are considered by the Mission necessary up to a point, they should not be imposed in such a manner as to have a cramping effect on development.

This advice from a most friendly source cannot but be given the most earnest consideration and importance, if the Government keeps the real goal of it all, namely the welfare of the people, at heart and not allow dogmatism to overrule wisdom.

If all this advice is taken up seriously and put through, it will be found how far the resources fall below the requirements of the planned investments and how greatly in need of revision the Plan stands.

Monopolies arise out of State trading and State management, not out of private industry or private trade as the Prime Minister believes. When the Government takes over any business it immediately hands it over directly or indirectly to a selected individual who thereupon becomes not only a monopolist free from all competition, but a veritable Government authority. When the Government does not intervene but leaves things to private hands the production and distribution remain open to competition. The favourites, licensees and agents of Government always enjoy a baneful monopoly. It is a pity that the Prime Minister fails to see this and holds on to the policies of State trading and nationalisation.

The only path to full employment—and this is the true goal—is to let capital grow freely. Enterprise must be emancipated and not put in chains. It will then absorb potential labour in increasing measure. The private sector must be liberated from all harassing deterrents that prevent its rapid growth. Capital formation in the private sector is a national benefit and should be encouraged and not treated as a criminal activity to be suppressed and prevented. Employment can expand on a wide-spread pattern only if capital is allowed to grow. "One of the most harmful effects of controls in India is that they are particularly discouraging to small enterprises". No wiser word could be written than these remarks of the World Bank Technical Mission.

FREEDOM OF JUDGES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The motion sought to be put before the Legislative Assembly of Madras to deal with the High Court's judgment in Sri Alagirisami's case is indeed a strange notion. It is based on the wrong idea that any discussion of a Minister's action or conduct of business must be done only in the legislature and cannot be attempted by others, not even the High Court. It is an unconstitutional proposition and would lay the axe at the root of democracy. Not only the High Court but every newspaper, every association, and every citizen has the right to discuss the Minister's conduct of public affairs falling within his duties. When the Advocates Association in Madras discussed the appointment of Sri Alagirisami as Government Pleader, it exercised this right. When the papers wrote about it, they exercised it. Surely the High Court alone cannot be prevented from examining the matter when it came up before it in the course of its judicial work. The protection given to the Legislative Assembly's dignity cannot be extended to a Minister's executive work. This would be an absurd extension of the so-called privileges of the legislature.

The legislative bodies have been given a certain power to deal with breaches of their privilege wherein they act both as prosecutors and judges without any appeal thereafter. But these powers are limited strictly to matters arising from the legislators' activities as legislators. The Ministers' work as Ministers is of a different kind and if their work is to be saved from all criticism outside the legislature wherein the Ministers command a majority vote, it would be the end of democracy.

The motion sought to be put before the Madras Legislative Assembly over the remarks of Mr. Justice Balakrishna Ayyar in his judgment in a certain case was thoroughly misconceived. It would

be right to argue on the basis of division of functions between the Executive, the legislature and the Judiciary, that the last mentioned authority has no power to direct the legislature to act in a particular way or to direct the Minister to act in any specified manner. This would be perfectly right except where a fundamental justiciable right has been infringed. Mr. Justice Balakrishna Ayyar did not direct the Madras Government to do anything. He gave his opinion on what they did which came up for examination in a case before him. He had a right and a duty to do this and under Article 211 of the Constitution the judge's action cannot be debated in the Legislative Assembly. It would seem that some members of the Legislative Assembly desire to create new

SIR M. VISVESWARAYA

RAJAJI'S CENTENARY TRIBUTE

I first saw Sri Visvesvaraya in Castle Kernal in Madras in 1896 where he was Sri Biligiri Iyengar's guest. I lived there with many other Law students from Mysore and we were shown the great engineer who had done remarkable work in Sindh under the Bombay Government.

In the early twenties when we had a big Khadi exhibition in Bangalore and I was one of the proud organizers, Sri Visvesvaraya honoured it with a visit and was charmed with the charts we had prepared and exhibited. I was glad and somewhat amused at the simple things he was pleased with.

Later, barring other casual occasions the grand old man was my honoured guest in Calcutta in 1947, when he developed great affection for me. He never tired after that giving me advice whenever he met me about how I should keep well and live long.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya's one passion in life has been—it still is the same when

privileges the House of Commons never aspired to. The sooner this matter of privilege is reduced to a simple statutory form the better.

A corollary of the rule of law is that the function of interpreting the Constitution and the laws and of reconciling any conflicts appearing therein is a judicial function. In that sphere the High Courts and the Supreme Court hold the sovereign position. If therefore any question arises as to the intent and scope of any Articles of the Constitution it is the Courts that are the ultimate authority. Parliament and local legislatures can amend the laws in their respective jurisdictions, and Parliament can amend the Constitution itself under certain conditions prescribed in the Constitution. But as and when the law or an Article of the Constitution is made the interpretation and application fall within the authority of the Judicial arm of the State.

he is entering his 100th year—the desire to see India industrially developed. His plan is that small industries should develop around every rural village and absorb the unemployed and part-employed rural population in small and medium size workshops of all kinds spread over the whole area through local initiative with Government assistance.

Sri Visvesvaraya—it is good to point this out in these days—is a man of incorruptible integrity and a model of personal purity of character. His simplicity and sense of correct behaviour are extraordinary, rising some times to an unbelievable degree. At his great age, after crossing 90, he would insist on making his calls and receiving and sending off people whom he respected. He would not listen to friendly advice not to take that trouble when no one would blame him for discourtesy. He has often surprised me in this way, climbing steps and waiting to say good bye to me at the airport and at railway stations. A pure soul and a great heart and a passionately patriotic citizen of India enters on his 100th year.

—VISVESWARAYA CENTENARY SOUVENIR.

The real national danger is Mr. Nehru's increasing belief that he is an economist.
PREM BHATIA
in Times of India

SIDELIGHTS ::

A correspondent well versed in military matters complains that Hindi is being forcibly imposed on Army personnel. As a matter of practical utility not a single Hindi word is used, and all the Army work is carried on in English. English-knowing people have proved to be the most efficient in the Army, and Southerners have won great distinction, particularly on the technical side. But a certain secretive, discriminatory process seems to run like an unbroken string through all military administration to the detriment of the non-Hindi-knowing. "Not qualified in Hindi; therefore, not recommended", this is how confidential reports are made out when promotions have to be considered. Another horror much in vogue is the employment of soldiers for tasks in officers' households totally unconnected with their official and professional duties. According to accounts received, the list of such tasks includes cooking, sweeping, gardening, boot-polishing, going to market, taking children to school, and looking after the dogs, cows and she-buffaloes of the officers. Soldiers are made to suffer when they refuse to render services of this kind.

Industrial workers have the trade union movement to protect them. But Government employees are denied similar powers of combination by arbitrary ukase. In the military services particularly, considerations of discipline come in, reducing still further the scope for resistance against high-handed tyrannies. There seems to be no hope of redemption for the victims of abuse of power caught in the meshes of military discipline. While the lower ranks are thus drawn into unpaid servitude beyond the legitimate functions of their calling, there seems to be no limit to the perversion of State income and facilities for personal enjoyment by the higher-ups. A pamphlet just issued by the Central Office of the Swatantra Party says:

"The Auditor-General has pointed out that a Cabinet Minister (the Defence Minister) used three planes to travel from Delhi to Calicut for a holiday. For the last lap of the journey from Cannanore to Calicut a special plane was brought from Jodhpur to Cannanore. It was also said in the press at that time that Rs. 55,000 was spent on preparing the air-strip in Calicut. There are many examples like this. This shows how public money is wasted for the pomp and luxury of those in power".

The Prime Minister announced in the Rajya Sabha the other day that he wanted to put an end to exploitation of individuals and groups by other individuals and groups. An excellent objective, this. But if it is not to be treated as an empty vaunt and is to be taken seriously, he should pay some attention to the wasteful extravagance of his own intimate Cabinet colleague, the Defence Minister. What else is it but exploitation to spend so recklessly out of public revenues? Side by side with such profligate appropriation of public money for luxurious personal enjoyment by the Defence Minister, we find certain Congress Ministers taking the broom occasionally and sweeping the roads. (Their labours as road-sweepers are duly photographed and publicised in the newspapers). Evidently they want to impress on others what dedicated lives they lead in the service of their fellow-men! But once the brooms and the photographs have served their purpose, the temporarily discarded parade of power comes back with compound interest, and pomp is restored in magnificent abandon, with elephant processions and the like, the whole constabulary of the State being pressed into duty to organise imposing demonstrations. Can anything be more disgusting than such hypocrisy!

The Prime Minister also announced in his Rajya Sabha speech that "We must progressively investigate more and more avenues of State trading, not only

in food, but in others also". The State Trading Corporation has a quite discreditable record. By enhancing unconscionably the price of cement, it robbed the people of 9 crores, rendering practically no service in return. A record like this is a thing to be ashamed of, and if sane economics had any part to play in Government policy, they should have abandoned their commercial adventures in penitence.

What we have in the name of State-trading is only taxation with another name. Having made their Plans much too big for their resources even with loans and foreign aid and deficit financing added, the Government have resorted to State trading to fleece the people with unchecked exactions in the name of prices in order to find funds for their impossible Plans. It affords harbourage for civilian officials to play ducks and drakes with the nation's assets. The profits Government makes is a concealed tax on the poor, for these form the bulk of the consumers.

As the Swatantra Party pamphlet shows, the physical act of theft is one way in which the owners of property are deprived of what they have. Inflation produces the same effect by maintaining possession intact but reducing the value of the property.

"The value of the rupee fluctuates if the balance between the money in circulation and the available goods and services is upset. Then the value of money goes down. In other words, the purchasing or the buying power of money goes down and you pay more for what you want."

By reducing the value of money, Government policies are impoverishing the people. Progressive impoverishment is the fate in store for the country under the present regime, and purloining without theft is the grand promise in store for the future, notwithstanding all the Plans. That is why the exit of the present ruling party is indispensable for the happiness and prosperity of the people.

SAKA

September 17, 1960

SWARAJYA

5

KHRUSHCHEV HOLDS THE INITIATIVE AGAIN

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The rift in theory between Russia and China has figured in the international press. I wish so much had not been made of it by the Western press. Such differences of opinion have no great significance in policy. There is enough room in Communist dialectics for an easy solution of such varieties of thought and for continued common action. Even otherwise, it were best the West from its own point of view did not show so much glee over it, because this itself would be an incentive to a mutual understanding on the other side and the rift would be made to disappear for self-preservation's sake. Co-existence for the Communists is only a temporary political make-shift. In the plane of truth, World Communism is the inevitable ultimate fact for the convinced Communist, be he Russian or Chinese. It is therefore not difficult for China to reconcile herself to her Russian partner in ideology and for both to agree to work from two different angles to a common goal. The West should attach no importance to the so-called rift. It is not a difference in ambitions either territorial or ideological or anything that will affect their mutual alliance. China still depends far too much on the military equipment to be supplied to her by Russia to let an ideological rift to take a political colour.

Instead of hoping for a weakening of the Communist bloc, attention should be directed to the problem of doing away with a military weapon which means world-suicide. It is the common enemy of mankind against which all of them, Russia, Britain, America and France must unite and wage a joint war, as they did once before against Hitler. Even in that war, it was Russia who brought all the others together to wage a common battle. Now too by a strange accident, it is Russia who is pleading for a joint front against nuclear weapons. The total-disarmament issue has come up

because America objected to nuclear disarmament to be done without reference to other armaments and wanted a balanced advance towards disarmament as a whole. And Russia has accepted that line of approach. But the real road to peace lies in courageously isolating the nuclear issue and dealing with it. A reliance on the suicidal nuclear weapon for the sake of defence or for a balanced strategy towards peace is fundamentally erroneous. We cannot rely on suicide to preserve life. It is impractical as well as illogical.

The able and untiring leader of the Russian people has planned to bring the Paris Summit meeting alive to the U.N. General Assembly. The remarkable way in which this perhaps the shrewdest man among the present rulers of the world keeps the initiative in his hands has disunited the diplomats of the West. But whatever be their appreciation of the Russian leader and their apprehensions about his strategy his invitation must be accepted. Failure to respond would amount to running away from the battle for peace. The challenge has to be accepted and it should be done in a straightforward manner. The world may stand to gain from this battle for peace that has been, so to say, forced on the West, and the opportunity should not be frittered away.

The more one scans events as they have occurred one after another, the conviction grows deeper and stronger that there is no hope in negotiations for a balanced, safe and fraud-proof scheme of disarmament such as scientific planning demands. There is danger in every arrangement, because the geography and the populations of this planet as they have grown cannot be altered to suit our planning. The only way and the only hope is in unilateral courage, in a resolution to put faith in God and in right action and acting on that strength without reference to

what the other party may do guided by Satan. This is unilateral action in Christian terms and this is what the real majority in the British Labour Party wants done as far as Britain is concerned. The tussle between the 'official' group and the main body of opinion among the Labour Party members has kept the policy of that party in this respect in an equivocal condition. The party is meeting in its annual conference now and if again in order to avert a party split, the issue be kept undecided and an ambiguous formula emerges out of the debate, it would be most unfortunate. Supreme courage is called for in order to adopt the policy of unilateral action to do away with nuclear weapons; but Britain has shown such supreme courage on more than one occasion in the history of the world. These weapons are universally accepted to be weapons that cannot be used except when the world had made up its mind to commit suicide. This being so, the only brave and the only sensible thing to do is to make up one's mind to set an example by an unilateral decision to do away with them. Negotiation for a scientifically balanced advance towards the abrogation of these weapons has no chance judging from what has so far happened. Meanwhile we are being swiftly taken to the abyss. The Labour Party's decision can save the world by giving a supreme moral inspiration to the rulers of civilised mankind.

Khrushchev has not the courage for unilateral action. His distrust of the Western nations is too deep for it. But he has at least shown the courage for accepting at once a treaty of abrogation of these mass destruction weapons. This is a great step in itself. Here is an opportunity for those who have been hesitating. To give up the hesitation is itself a form of unilateral action in the present context of affairs. Let us hope that the minds of leaders will receive the inspiration required for this step. The British Labour Party and Frank Cousins could give this inspiration if the party could forget for a while its party ego.

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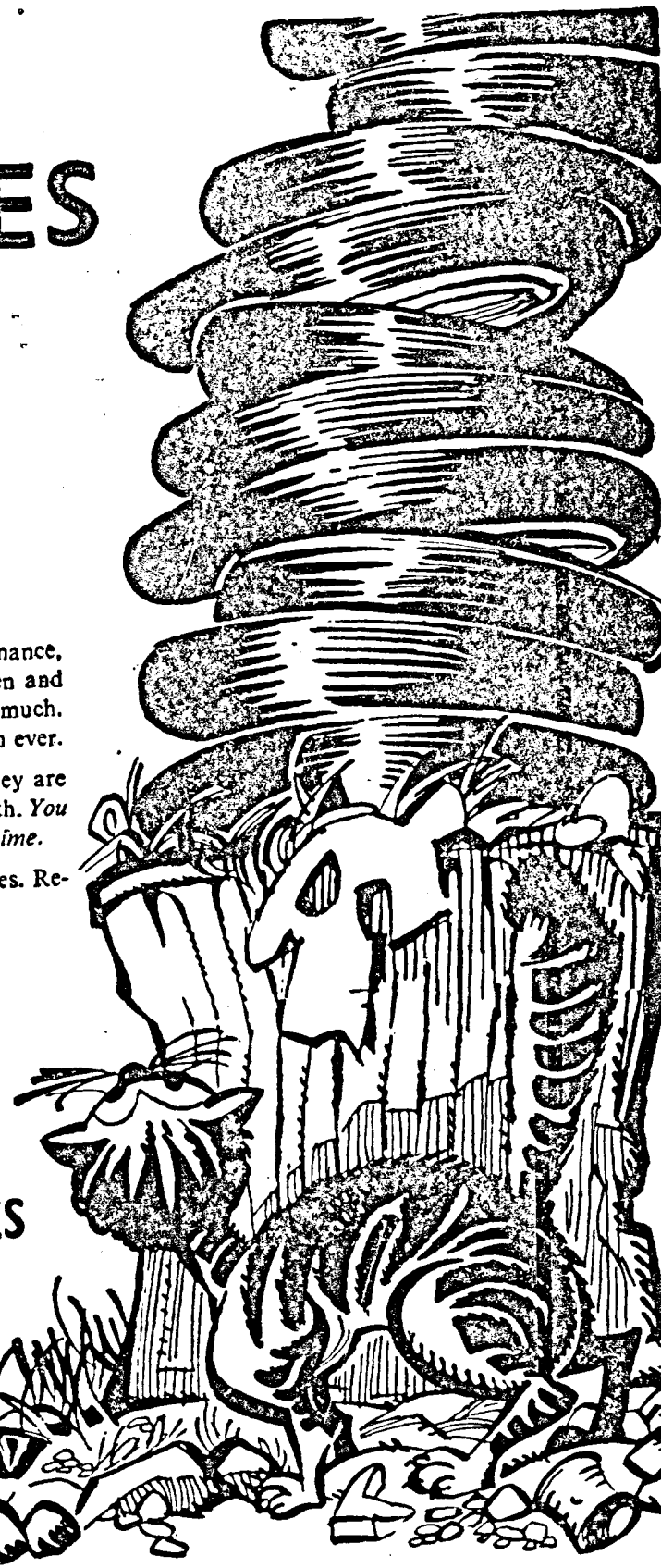
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SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

By B. SHIVA RAO

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was one of Mr. Montagu's "finds"—as was Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in Madras—when India was having her first lessons in responsible government after the first world war. Both were brilliant men, comparatively young, but exceptionally well equipped for such high positions as were available for men of that generation. Of both, it is interesting to note, Mrs. Besant made full use in stimulating the constructive side of our political life.

My first real contact with Sir Tej Bahadur was just before Christmas day 1921 at Kanpur. As Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, he was deeply disturbed by the deteriorating political situation—the boycott of the Prince of Wales' visit and the arrests of leading Indians, Mr. C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Malaviya. He went to Kanpur to seek the advice of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, then Chairman of the Fiscal Commission. Sir Tej Bahadur had already taken some preliminary steps for a truce: if Gandhiji would call off the boycott, Lord Reading (the Viceroy) was prepared for an immediate and big step forward towards provincial autonomy. The Congress leaders in prison seemed to favour such a compromise. Could Gandhiji be persuaded to agree? His first reactions appeared favourable, but a last-minute insistence on the release of the Ali Brothers proved an obstacle, and the negotiations finally broke down on this point.

From that moment, for almost thirty years, it was my rare good fortune to work under Sir Tej Bahadur on several important occasions. For my apprenticeship in public life I owe him (after Mrs. Besant) a debt of gratitude which can never be repaid. Behind his various political activities, undertaken sometimes single-handed, but often in association with the great personalities of the period of our struggle for freedom, —Mrs. Besant, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Gandhiji in particular—were an intimate knowledge of constitutional law and practice, a clear vision and, above everything else, integrity of the highest type.

India has been well served by many sons of outstanding abilities in this century, but it will be long before we see the like of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—a man of magnificent proportions, warm-hearted, generous to a fault, with an exacting code of honour in his public and personal life and singularly free from pettiness. In personal life he affected a certain disbelief in the things of the other world and loved to parade his scepticism before Mrs. Besant in the hope of shocking her, until she told him one night: "Tej Bahadur, you think you are a materialist, but you have really a spiritual nature."

When Mr. Montagu resigned from the Lloyd George Cabinet in 1922, Sir Tej Bahadur felt that his place was outside the Viceroy's Executive Council. His brief term of office had convinced him that an element of respon-

sibility in the Central Government was an immediate necessity. Even before his resignation had been accepted, Mrs. Besant and he had decided to call a National Convention of all parties to evolve an Indian-made Constitution. I worked hard for almost a year in the preparatory stages under Sir Tej Bahadur's guidance and learnt a great deal of the practical side of working a Constitution. The National Convention met in New Delhi in 1924 and produced the Commonwealth of India Bill in the framing of which Sir Tej had a decisive part.

The Bill seemed foredoomed to failure, mainly for lack of Congress support; but the idea of an Indian-made Constitution bore abundant fruit. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, C. Vijayaraghavachariar and A. Rangaswami Iyengar produced their own individual versions. More significant than these were the labours of the All-Parties Conference, (India's reply to the Simon Commission) resulting in the Nehru report. It went a stage beyond the Commonwealth of India Bill in visualising an all-India federation, inclusive of the Indian States, as a practical objective. Sir Tej Bahadur, it is needless to say, was one of the main architects of the scheme and the originator of the idea of such a federation.

Events moved fast, though success in any real sense of the term seemed as far away as ever. Mr. MacDonald, as Britain's Prime Minister, committed himself at the end of the first Round Table Conference in London early in 1930, to Dominion status for India, "in a period of months rather than of years". The Princes, under Sir Tej Bahadur's influence, made an unquali-

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NUTRITIONIST: Not as fattening as you might think.

YOU: How do you mean?

NUTRITIONIST: Well, usually the fat in food doesn't turn into body fat as easily, let's say, as starches, I mean foods like rice or potatoes, for instance.

YOU: I don't understand.

NUTRITIONIST: Let's put it this way. Getting fat isn't purely a result of what you eat. It also depends on how well you assimilate your food.

YOU: I see.

NUTRITIONIST: People who have a tendency to become fat have a defective capacity for assimilation. In most cases, it is the starchy foods that are not used up and what remains turns largely into body fat.

YOU: Surely, this happens with fatty food, too...

NUTRITIONIST: Not exactly. Fat is actually the least fattening of foods. This is because fat is used mainly for providing energy—it acts as bellows to body fires, helps burn up even the fat that is stored up in the body.

YOU: Is this a scientifically tested fact?

NUTRITIONIST: Research has proved all this quite conclusively. Incidentally modern 'slimming diets' call for a fat and protein intake—and a reduction in carbohydrates and starches.

YOU: You mean this is actually a better method of reducing than eating less food and following a low calorie diet?

NUTRITIONIST: Well, cutting down on the amount you eat and on calories will cut down your weight. But such diets are less strengthening than a high fat, high protein diet.

WE: It's quite simple. Fats provide energy. Lots of energy. Much more than wheat or rice.

YOU: But what are the direct sources of fat?

WE: Oils—any edible oil or hard fat that is part of food.

YOU: ...And do all these oils and fats provide energy?

WE: Yes. All of them do. But there are fats like DALDA Vanaspati which have more than energy. DALDA, for example, is also nourishing.

YOU: Nourishing?

WE: Yes, because DALDA contains vitamins. Seven hundred International Units of Vitamin A and 56 IU of Vitamin D go into every ounce. These are protective vitamins and are good for the skin, bones, teeth and eyes.

YOU: I see...

WE: All in all, DALDA Vanaspati is an excellent fat. It is made from refined vegetable oils and purified to a high degree. Since it is odourless and has no taste of its own, DALDA makes food taste as it should. And DALDA Vanaspati comes in hygienically sealed tins.

YOU: Hmm. I know that. We use DALDA for all our cooking. In fact, we have done it for over two decades.

WE: Over the years, more and more people are taking to DALDA Vanaspati because it makes an ideal cooking fat, whether they are on a reducing diet or not.

fied declaration at the Round Table Conference in favour of a federal union for all-India.

In the negotiations that followed in India, for the release of Congress leaders from prison and the renewal of efforts to reach a satisfactory compromise, Sir Tej Bahadur was the prime mover. The Round Table Conference might have ended on a note of triumph for constructive statesmanship, had the Conservatives not got into power in Britain at a vital stage. Thereafter it was a process of whittling down the implementation of the liberal promises of the MacDonald regime, with an intensified conflict in India with the forces of nationalism.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru stood out in these protracted deliberations, even against his colleagues, for the best that could be secured in an atmosphere definitely hostile to India. About his judgment on specific issues, even as regards his strategy, opinions may vary; but no one can withhold his tribute to the quiet heroism with which he salvaged what was good in the 1935 Constitution. The frequent contacts with Gandhiji during these years developed into an intimate relationship based on mutual regard and affection which lasted till the end of their lives. Throughout the following decade, at every important stage—whether it was the Congress decision to accept office in the late thirties, or the terms to be discussed with Mr. Jinnah for an enduring settlement with the Muslims—Gandhiji relied with increasing confidence on Sir Tej Bahadur's judgment and advice.

But it was not only Gandhiji: in 1942, when Sir Stafford Cripps faced a deadlock over the transitional arrangements in regard to defence, he said to me, "can you not get Sir Tej Bahadur, C. Rajagopalachari and Sir B. N. Rau to put their heads together and suggest a practical solution?" V. P. Menon and I joined these three, and he was grateful for the formula, worked out in detail after several hours of discussion at night and presented to him the following morning. It was India's great misfortune that the Cripps Mission ended in complete failure, and the country was plunged once more into strife.

During the rest of the second world war, Sir Tej Bahadur watched the Indian problem growing darker and more complex. Undeterred by the lack of British response, he worked steadily for a post-war settlement but did not neglect other fields of activity. The

starting of the Indian Council of World Affairs in 1943 for an objective study of international problems would have been beyond the resources of those of us who had planned it without the powerful assistance of Sir Tej Bahadur who became, appropriately, its first President and guided its activities for some years.

An incident in the domestic sphere which stands out in my memory relates to this period. One night, on Gandhiji's invitation (after his release from detention) Sir Tej Bahadur went to see him in his hut at Sevagram. Sri Bhulabhai Desai and I accompanied him and sat by the two leaders as they discussed the pros and cons of a proposal which later Gandhiji was to present to Mr. Jinnah in Bombay. Gandhiji wanted Sir Tej Bahadur's interpretation of the proposal: whether it signified or even implied a partition of India. He was willing to go far for a settlement with Mr. Jinnah but seemed deeply disturbed by the possibility of partition. Sir Tej Bahadur's detailed analysis that night gave Gandhiji little comfort for that point of view.

Illness and advancing age were making serious inroads on Sir Tej's reserve of vitality, and by the time the Cabinet Mission arrived in India soon after the war—consisting of Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Lord Alexander—he was almost a chronic invalid. But such was his sense of duty that he would not refuse the Mission's invitation to meet them in New Delhi.

A little later, at the time of the formation of the Constituent Assembly, when I gave Gandhiji a list of 16 persons, all non-Congressmen in the country, who could be useful in framing a Constitution for Independent India, he singled out with particular eagerness Sir Tej Bahadur's name. The invitation was promptly sent but Sir Tej Bahadur felt compelled by rapidly failing health to decline it, though he made it clear his services would always be available to the Constituent Assembly.

My last glimpse of Sir Tej Bahadur was in 1948 at Allahabad on the occasion of the immersion of Gandhiji's ashes in the river. He was a pathetic sight—a keen and alert mind imprisoned in a physical frame wrecked beyond hope of repair. "I'll soon join him", he muttered with difficulty.

Sapru House in New Delhi, the headquarters of the Indian Council of World Affairs, is the only memorial we have of him. That represents only one aspect of his varied and distinguished achievements.

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THE TAKE-OFF POINT

By BHIKKU

The shibboleth is: Pass the frame of law, hold 'elections', give the necessary money or the power to levy it, recruit the servicemen and you can decentralise self-governing bodies that will revolve in their own orbits, whether as co-operative co-societies or gram-panchayats or community centres. Build the temple—the god will walk in; stitch the clothes—the man will fit in. It is all a piece of magic and is almost as good as saying: Eat the rice, the dhall and the chillies and sit on the oven for a while and you will be fed. May be, they will all get moulded into shape if a bramah-press forced them down as in Procrustian China. Handicapped by a less drastic ideology and yet essaying to produce quick results we oscillate between democratic devolution and authoritarian centralism. In our present state of social and political conscience, democracy cannot but be woefully halting. An elector with votes in tow for a municipal body gives himself the whitest certificate for probity if he does not sell his votes for vulgar cash but only bargains for the public tap and light being placed at his door instead of at the central place. Co-operation for common good and the elective means for picking out the best and honestest representative is the principle of action of very immature or very mature society. The former has it in virtue of the unbreakable taboos of tribal morality and the latter as a resultant of individual, intelligent forces arriving at a natural balance. The difference is as the disparity between the Bushman and the Britisher. While we, in India, have all the grades from the one to the other the latter layer is so thin compared to the former that in terms of adult franchise and egalitarianism it counts for very little. And when the tribal taboos born of religion—superstition?—is eroded by demo-

gogy, the sediment left is primitive instinct with bared teeth and protruding claws and not constructive and co-operative fellowship. Such interweaving is a live organic growth requiring processing by time and nurture, as are all stable resultants of the handwork of nature. But the Time-Spirit does not illuminate the minds of our rulers. They act on the conviction that if they do not do a thing, it will never get done. They are believers in forcing the arts into people with Sangit-Natak-Akadamies; in juggling out scientific marvels and prodigies through lavish laboratories and buildings and conjuring union of hearts by loud denunciations of castes and creeds whilst expediently turning the blind eye towards many a divisive and acquisitive propensity within their own conclaves. Our chief is intolerant of even annas and pies. He has forced a canny knowingness even into the old vegetable vendor as she changes annas into paise paise advantageously to herself. There is a mockery in cap and bells when understandable weather in inches and Fahrenheit is dealt out in conundrums of millimetres and centigrades. Soon we will know no more of B.C.'s and A.D.'s of international eras without paper and pencil and a formula to translate our own Samvat into mundane chronology. These forced changes that no organic need call for are only symptoms of the feverish bludgeoning of a one-track mind that has seen all that was to be seen when it has seen one facet of truth. Whether it be the productiveness of joint farming or the superiority of public enterprise his purblindness is the trait of the fanatic who wipes out facts and realities with wordy language of petulance and anger.

Not the least phase of the iconoclasm in the present set-up is the pressuring of the power of hatred against the

owning and employer class, as a driving force to the cherished goal of Socialism. Such labour as is employed in industries is so pandered to, that its one obsession has come to be what over-pay it can demand for doing as little as possible and every 'Union' has a built-in necessity to improve wages and benefits on all possible pleas, irrespective of production or profit in the enterprise. The chairman of a plantation speaks feelingly: "It is typical of the atmosphere that prevailed that no fewer than 159 demands were submitted in February 1959 and kept at boiling point throughout the year With such distraction and the heavy weight of paper work demanded by the bureaucratic system prevailing today a planter is indeed hard put to it to find time in the working day to plant and the maintenance, let alone the improvement of the harvesting of good crops, continues to be a cause for wonder". The boot was on the other leg when taking a cue from the successes of strikes in private enterprise, the Central Government employees struck out for increased wages. They are the aristocrats of public service and their emoluments are the envy of all other services and they set the pace for the lesser fry. They had rhyme in their reasoning when they demanded increase of wages commensurate with every rise in the cost of living. They had seen often enough how Government was knock-kneed when tackled with resolutely. Only a week before, a strike of Bombay port workers had triumphantly brought back into service six men who had been dismissed "for repeated acts of mischief and sabotage in the boiler room of a pilot vessel", their period of rustication being smiled over and reckoned as "on leave". Above all the Central service men had an unquestionable grievance in the catapulting pay-outs for every item from shoe-lace to shaving blades which made mince-meat of their pay-packets. What immorality there was in the strike, was in the fact that in a country where the unemployed and partly employed man-power begging for service under any terms is in millions, the moiety that had cornered the available jobs insisting on streamlined living conditions, without reference to the rest of society which had perforce to pay the bill, was a debauchery of union-fortressed power colossus. The strikers, however, may well retort that a government which insists on a colossus of "planning" and prints untold crores of paper money and takes little account of the country's capacity to digest such expenditure fruitfully and thereby raises the cost of their daily bread is no chicken held at pis-

tol point and that in trying to force it to bend some way they are really helping the helpless from the tentacles of an octopus. There is point in this counterpoint. This is teeth against claws, steel against rapier—not an unfair thrust at an iniquity that bites into the widow's mite and recks not of the pensioner's voiceless cry because those have no punch. The planners would

have it that their plans are for preventing an avalanche of red revolution and for that high purpose widows' mites and old men's bleary tears are inconsiderable payments. They slur over the fact, however, that it is their crude gnawings and clawings at the buttresses that time and philosophy had kept the avalanche safely and slowly melting in its place, that has set it

sliding en masse. This is what has come to pass with Gandhiji's famed India of non-violence and tolerance within a dozen years of his passing away. The machine fabricated to hasten progress is running away on its own with little control even, by the makers, a very Frankenstein. Yes. We shall certainly reach the take-off point. But the destination? The Gadarene swine's?

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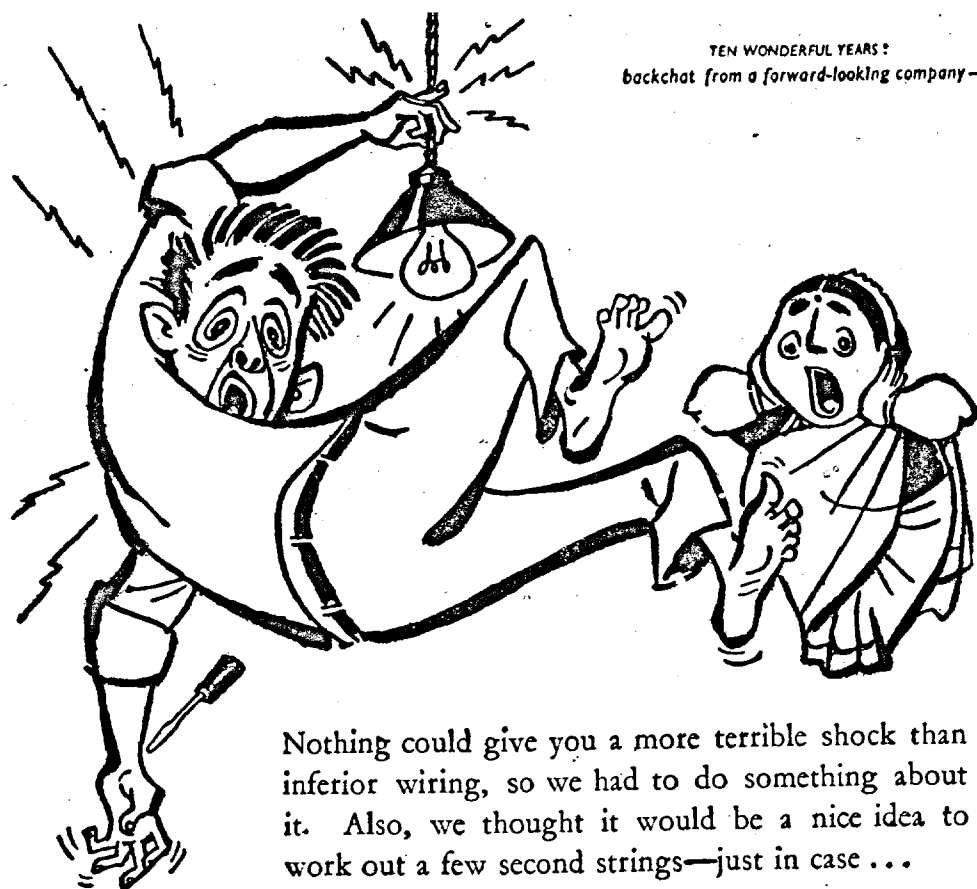
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THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PLANS

By S. NARAYAN AIYAR

Whenever Pandit Nehru stands up to defend his Plans in Parliament, one can always be sure of an amusing performance. His main thesis is that with the advancement of modern technology planning has become a necessity in almost every country and he lashes out at the critics of his planning for their inability to see what is obvious to everybody else the world over. Here is a characteristic gem from his latest speech in Parliament on the subject: "Mr. Nehru described planning as an exercise of human intelligence in dealing with facts and situations as they were and trying to find a way to solve problems. He, therefore, could not understand how even the very few who refused to accept the principles of planning, or rather the backward few, could disagree with planning in an intelligent way which could be understood by intelligent people". Being one of the unintelligent and backward few who have the misfortune to disagree with Panditji's line of planning, I should like to ask our distinguished Prime Minister whether he really cannot understand the nature of the objections of his critics, say of the Swatantra Party for instance, to his line of planning or whether this rhetoric is just the usual politician's pose and an attempt to put his opponents in the wrong box. Plan and method are implicit and obvious in the Supreme Creator's ordering of the Universe, and while the ways of God may be inscrutable to us, there is no denying the reality of plan and design in the divine ordering of the Universe. Nobody therefore questions the need for planning in ordering the affairs of a great country. What in fact is in question is the competence of the respective authorities set up under the planning system to handle the various matters that come under their respective jurisdictions.

More specifically, the Swatantra Party's contention on this subject is that the total industrial, commercial and agricultural development of our country is such a huge and many-sided affair that neither the Government of India nor any expert or high-powered Commission that it can bring into being, can possibly be capable of dealing with the matter except in the most general terms, and the attempt of the Congress Governments not only to plan in detail the growth of industry over a long period but also execute it largely with its own machinery, is much too ambitious and is foredoomed to failure. It

may be that for Pandit Nehru the explorer, it is an exhilarating adventure into uncharted seas. But for the machinery at his command, whether it is the machinery of his party, or the Government machinery that he has inherited from the British Government, it is a job for which they were never designed and which by their very nature and special characteristics they are very obviously not competent to discharge even with the minimum of requisite efficiency. And for the hundreds of millions of Indians whose day to day lives form the subject matter of the Plans and are being messed about, having been handed over to the tender mercies of an inefficient bureaucracy and a corrupt and self-seeking party, the result is just Hell.

It may be that some governments of considerable size, particularly in the Communist sector of the world, have made a reasonable success of State planning. But we would do well to remember that their success in this direction is not by any means all that it is advertised to be by the advocates of that policy. Unbiased reports still indicate that in catering to the day to day needs, comforts and luxuries of their ordinary citizens these Communist States lag very far not only behind such rich States like U.S.A., Canada and West Germany, but are actually behind the poorer States of the Western world like Spain and Ireland.

And even this limited show of success, they have achieved by enormous sacrifices in other directions, sacrifices that tend to make life intolerable to the ordinary citizen. Freedom of labour has entirely disappeared, for the Communist Party represents labour, appoints the labour leaders and has them on its payroll and the labourer has no say in the matter and the way labour fares under the regime may be judged by the single fact that late-coming to a factory by a labourer is dubbed "sabotage of Socialist production" and punished as a criminal offence. Liberties allowed to other classes of citizens except of course members of the Communist Party who constitute a small minority of the population, are much on a par with the treatment accorded to labour, or a little worse. The very limited success of the Communist system in industrial production has been made possible by the stranglehold which the State machine maintains over the life and liberty of all citizens, such

as no self-respecting citizen of a free country can tolerate.

Pandit Nehru has once or twice declared that if democracy and planning came into conflict, he would rather let democracy go. Few if any of his fellow citizens have that much faith in the virtues of planning. In the Indian context, planning as understood and practised by Panditji and his followers has meant absolute and unlimited freedom for the several individual members of a corrupt party and an inefficient bureaucracy to play ducks and drakes with the vast resources of the country and make use of their privileged position to enrich themselves and their relatives in utter disregard of what is happening to the rest of the population. It is this enormous concentration of both political and industrial and commercial power in the hands of an amorphous and undisciplined conglomeration consisting of party politicians and bureaucrats that has been the distinguishing feature of the Nehru Government and it is their pitiful inadequacy for the enormous responsibilities that the planning and socialisation programmes have perforce vested in them that is the root cause of all the ills that our country is suffering from both in the political and industrial and commercial spheres.

Acharya Kripalani, convinced Socialist that he is, offers the same diagnosis of our ills, but confines the charge of inadequacy to the present ruling group of politicians and the present Government servants largely inherited from the predecessor British Government. Rajaji's and the Swatantra Party's contention on the subject is that the tasks imposed by such a system are too huge and manifold for any individual human agency and no conceivable form of party and no conceivable organisation of Government services could ever cope successfully with such a herculean task. The fact that a resolute, compact and single-minded minority has in a few countries assumed irresponsible and unlimited power over all citizens, killed all liberty of thought and action and with an extensive system of slave labour has shown some results in industrial planning does not by any means prove the contrary.

The real issue in the dispute is not between planning and an anarchic growth of industry as some astute advocates of the Plans would have us believe. The real issue is the nature of the machinery to be employed if we desire to make quick progress in our much needed industrial expansion. The Plan scheme and all that goes with it envisage the further growth of Government-owned and Government operated

rganisations in all directions and a constantly growing public sector and the progressive if gradual elimination of the private sector. Critics of the socialist pattern as adumbrated and carried into effect by our Congress Governments, particularly those belonging to the Swatantra school of thought, contend that human organisation has distinct limits, that beyond a certain strength any organisation tends to grow more and more inefficient as it grows in size, and this applies with much greater force to Government than to most other organisations. They hold that the real key to the growth of prosperity in any country is a fairly high proportion of self-employed individuals working together with others in compact, manageable organisations, and that way lies the fostering of the spirit of freedom and independence among the people. While modern industry postulates a certain minimum strength and size of organisation for certain types of work, it ought to be the constant concern both of the people and of the Government to see to it that this integration and the consequent concentration of power and authority in the hands of individuals does not go beyond certain well defined limits, and this applies not only to private individuals and private corporations but to the Government as well. The innate inefficiency of any form of governmental organisation in handling any form of practical work is the key fact of the whole picture. That means that if we are to plan for rapid industrial production on an efficient basis, the total range of functions entrusted to the Government must be the minimum. It may be that in helping industry to grow along healthy lines Government regulation and a broad plan may have a useful part to play, and that in creating and administering organisations common to large groups of industries such as the industrial estates, the Government may have an important part to play because of the facilities available to Government which no other party can command in quite the same measure. The general rule, however, must be that the Government is not to meddle with any item of industrial or commercial work. That way lies quick industrial expansion and prosperity for the country.

The other way that we are following, of creating a Transport department which runs some of the sorriest and most deplorable Bus services in the State and authorising it to decide when it shall take over the infinitely better run services of private owners one by one, can best be described as the guaranteed road to stagnation and decay.

BOOK REVIEW

INDIA'S CONSTITUTION IN THE MAKING

This is a most valuable book every line of which is worth careful study not only by constitutional historians and lawyers in India and abroad but also by everyone in this country who takes an intelligent interest in public affairs. Members of Parliament and State Legislatures, persons aspiring to be such members, Indian politicians generally—all would do well to read and re-read this great work. B. N. Rau was one of the greatest men of his generation, that to which Jawaharlal, C. V. Raman and Radhakrishnan belong, and in some respects, he was greater than they. He had no enemies, no detractors. Every one who knew him at close quarters admired him, and regarded him with great affection, with respect bordering on worship. Justice Frankfurter of the Supreme Court of the U.S.A. wrote to him: "Remembrance of you will be among the last to fade You are one of the few people I ever encountered who had a deep, instinctive sense of justice". Other tributes, equally and even more eulogistic, have been paid to him; and if he had been spared to us for a few more years, he would have added to our heritage in many significant ways.

In a memorable speech to an American audience couched in words described by the Editor as of superb quality B. N. Rau said: "When we contemplate these truly wonderful conquests of external nature, have we no reason for hoping that he (Man) will, before very long, discover the laws of his own well-being and learn to conquer himself rather than destroy himself". Alas, self-conquest is the most difficult of all! Seven years have elapsed since B. N. Rau passed away; and although these years have witnessed even more magnificent conquests of "external nature", like the photographing of the other side of the Moon and flights into cosmic space and back with animal life intact, there has been no worthwhile development in the matter of Man's learning "to conquer rather than destroy himself". The world today is poised, too closely for our comfort, on the edge of catastrophe. Had B. N. Rau been alive now he would only have been 74, he might have been a fit intermediary between the East and

INDIA'S CONSTITUTION IN THE MAKING By B. N. Rau. Edited by B. Shiva Rao; Foreword by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India; Published by Orient Longmans. Price Rs. 25.

the West. During his term in the United Nations, he was successful in winning the goodwill and esteem of both and today, B. N. might well have paved the way for a lasting settlement between the two. Perhaps, Rajaji might adequately and worthily fill this role. He has the moral stature, the intellectual ability, the diplomatic flair, the strategic and tactical skills, and above all, the gift for suggesting acceptable compromises to rival schools of thought, and where a genuine compromise is not to be had immediately, the art of framing a formula for the interim, the words of which may be interpreted to their own satisfaction by both or all the schools! He is moreover unwearied and indefatigable in the pursuit of his chosen aims. How one wishes that he had not devoted to the Swatantra Party almost all his talents which were meant to be used for all Mankind, for "Man in the sum, Man with a capital M", to borrow B. N.'s language. It is a tragedy that he is not India's representative at the forthcoming session of the United Nations which may well prove to be a crucial one.

To return to B. N. Rau's book. After reading it, Rajaji says in appreciation: "No one worked harder or put in more learning and experience into the written Constitution of India than Sri Benegal Narasinga Rau. Without his able service and assistance and ability to deal with delicate points the difficult job could not have been done". President Prasad points out in his just and eloquent Foreword, that B. N. Rau was, by knowledge, experience and natural gifts, the inevitable choice for the post of Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly and that his erudition, detachment and quietly persistent endeavours, enabled him both to visualise the plan for India's Constitution and to lay its foundations. As President Prasad says, even a casual glance through the book indicates its value; every paper it contains is a noteworthy addition to our knowledge. There is not one unnecessary word, and a gentle, gracious and non-controversial air pervades the whole. Shri B. Shiva Rao, to whose fraternal devotion and affectionate reverence this book is due, should be congratulated on its production. He has done all that an editor can do. In addition, he has enriched the book in two ways. He has written a balanced and valuable introductory history of Indian Constitutional reforms subsequent to the victory of the Labour Party in England in July 1945, which

September 17, 1960

SWARAJYA

15

TWO VOICES IN ONE WEEK

By POTHAN JOSEPH

We are often reminded that the Government of India is not committed to a rigid attitude, and Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker in the course of an address to American Pressmen early in the year described business openings in India for dollar-enterprise, stressing that Pandit Nehru's formula of "No Rigidity" was there to accommodate scruples in negotiations. "Rigidity" of the body is a test dear to police-surgeons conducting post-mortem; but there are fallacies derived out of experience that deserve still repose; and no one is above learning. Not long ago an English economist much respected in India in the earlier days of the transition wrote: "The trouble is that when some people are dead, they don't lie still but get on their feet and start all over again".

Should prices be stable during the Third Five Year Plan? The Prime Minister has been distinctly non-committal, wedded to the facile theory of flexibility but adamant in the attainment of targets prescribed irrespective of costs, human or pecuniary. The play, the play is the thing; but colleagues confronted with daily problems of peaceful production by a contented people (eyes far from Congo politics) have to take a stand which in a non-morgue sense can be called rigid for the sake of steady vitalized energy, the trend being towards economic self-regeneration. When Finance Minister Morarji Desai returned from abroad at the crest of the five-day strike, he gave it out as a firm concession to the Central employees that the price line would be held straight and that the cost of living index would not be insidiously screwed up, an assurance as much welcome to the community at large as to the twenty-two lakhs of Central employees under the clutch of the President's Ordinance. There was a sigh of relief and what remained of the

helps considerably towards the better understanding of B. N. Rau's collected papers. He has also contributed a well-written and accurate biographical sketch of B. N. Rau, free from all trace of exaggeration or over-statement. It may be permitted to me to express the hope that Shri Shiva Rao will, in due course, write the fuller life of his brother which he is so well-qualified to write and which we have almost a right to expect and demand, from him. The editing of B. N. Rau's papers on other subjects and problems like those connected with his United Nations

trial of strength which appeared like Bob Acres' duel related to trade-union problems of victimisation, condonation, restoration etc., pertaining to the two parties, as generous employer and errant employee.

After peace with honour and a lenient review by the Prime Minister, came the debate on the Third Five Year Plan which ended in the party benches lustily applauding the Plan Frame encircled by the Draft Outline, subject to periodical revision to maintain flexible shape free from the ugliness of rigidity and lack of faith in the puissant tide of foreign aid. The three-day debate was interesting. The motion itself was of a "take-into-consideration" character, but before the voice vote reminiscent of "Ave Caesar", the Prime Minister was insistent that a particular meaning underlay the motion. Mr. Nehru said he would "like the House to be committed against Mr. Ranga's amendment". That is all he wanted and nobody grudged the pleasure. Apart from the speculative future, the essential question for the tight-belted citizen is the prospect of a firm and solvent household-budget until the national take-off predicted by the planners. Here happy forecasts seem to have wilted despite off-stage voices of optimism. Without prolix quotations from speeches, I give below the impression gathered by a new press-gallery writer of uncommon competence, Santha Rungachary, thus:

The debate also made another thing clear, that the Government had no immediate intention of doing anything to check the rise in prices. The policy discussions which the Planning Commission and the Government had during those four days, are reported to have centered round possible future action in an emergency and not on any plans for immediate enforcement. The promise

seen in Mr. Nehru's statement that "selective control on essential commodities" may be necessary thus proved a mirage. It is said the Government is ready with all well-known measures like price control, zonal restrictions on movement of food-grains, State trading etc., but, as I said before, no immediate action is planned.

If no immediate action is planned, then we are in for continued drift inseparable from deficit-financing, improvident borrowing, defective agricultural output and rakish reliance on foreign advances. But before getting depressed over the austerity-regime of runaway prices and inflation, another member of the Government more sympathetic than the Finance Minister stood forth, with reverse anticipations, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda.

I refer to his buoyant utterance in the Lok Sabha on September 6. He expected the addition of 15 million new jobs in the next five years completely wiping out the backlog of the Second Plan expiring next April. He was optimistic that the resources for the Third Plan, which was pitched rather high, could be raised by positive measures of national savings, taxation and avoidance of wasteful expenditure. He held out an assurance that the Government would do all it could to hold the price line and at the same time underlined the people's own responsibility in this matter.

Underlining people's responsibility is perfectly legitimate in a buck-up speech; but with incentive, people do work without slogans like *Aram Haram Hai* as if they were congenital shirkers of preferring to starve or beg. The capital pledge on behalf of the Government is that it would do all it could to hold the price line, and Mr. Nanda did well in striking the note of responsibility conspicuously absent in the previous debate. For the sake of *morale* the Government would be less disheartening if they refrained from speaking with two voices in one week.

ing of the authentic biography of B. N. Rau seems therefore, if one may say so, to be an inescapable obligation of Shri Shiva Rao.

One minor correction. B. N. Rau was not the first in every university examination as stated by Shri Shiva Rao. In the Mathematics branch of the B.A. examination, he was second, Professor R. Srinivasan of Trivandrum, who is happily with us today, being first.

The printing and get-up of the book are a feast to the eye and worthy of Orient Longmans at their best.

K. V. RAJAGOPALAN.

work, Hindu law reform, riparian rights and the like may be done nearly as well by other hands; but the biography of B. N. Rau with whom Shri Shiva Rao was so closely associated especially in the last fifteen years of the former's life, the years of his most notable achievements, can hardly be written by anyone else. The Benegal brothers—B. Sanjiva Rao, B. N. Rau, B. Rama Rao and B. Shiva Rao—are a famous quartette; but as Lakshmana stood closest to Rama, so too did Shiva Rao stand closer to B. N. Rau than either of the other brothers. The writ-

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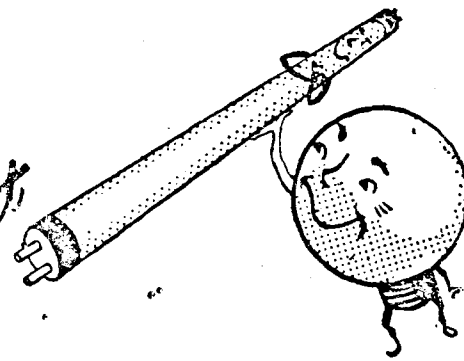
The Egyptians used cobalt to colour glass beads and to decorate pottery as early as 2250 B. C.



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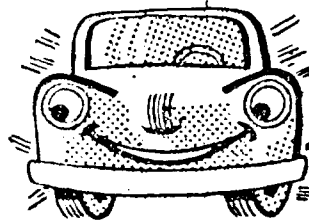
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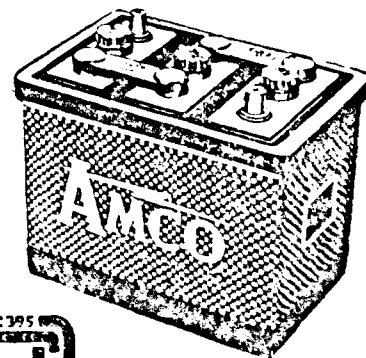
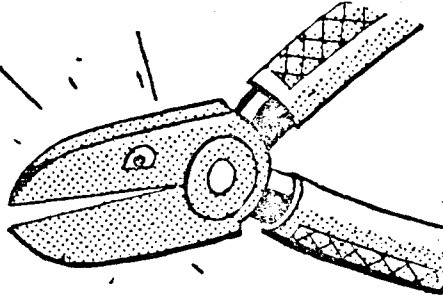
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AM/20 a.

STRESS AND SORROW IN PARLIAMENT

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The monsoon session of Parliament which stood adjourned *sine die* last week was characteristically monsoonish, and far from being stormy. Before it started on 1st August, the feeling was widely shared that it might be really exciting, partly because of the aftermath of the General Strike and more because of the apprehensions about Assam. The debate on the Strike was far less striking than was expected, as the members generally felt rather relieved that the worst was over than concerned about the implications of so general a revolt against constituted authority.

As for Assam, the Government were so openly distressed and secretly disturbed that they would not let it be discussed till almost the fag-end of the session. And it called so much for the Prime Minister's personal pull to see it played down in the name of restoration of, or return to, normal conditions that few were in a mood to indulge in passionate outbursts. Yet enough was said to cause heart-searchings on the Assamese and Bengali sides, regional considerations having largely obliterated party distinctions. For once, two neighbour States had clashed so badly as to test the fortitude of the Centre. There was no doubt that Mr. Nehru was personally very much exhausted in reconciling the rival interests of Assam and West Bengal to the responsibilities of the Centre.

The Prime Minister was not the only person, however, who correctly assessed the gravity of the situation, arising whether out of the turmoil in Assam or out of the party tussles as in Andhra. Now free from the burdens of office in the Congress, Mr. Dhebar started speaking aloud of the decisive trends in Indian politics which may be alternatively entitled as 'dangerous trends in Congress politics'. Here are two *obiter dicta* that deserve the widest attention:

A feeling has grown that whatever we may say in the beginning, ultimately we yield to pressure.

I would consider it a hundred times more desirable that we should be defeated in the Legislative elections rather than follow (in the elections to the village bodies) a course of action that we consider eventually harmful to the country.

Such outspokenness is never too late, provided the will to profit by one's own wisdom is there.

Among other things that recently happened to leave Mr. Nehru and his principal colleagues a trifle rudely sha-

ken was the judgment of the Supreme Court in the Nanavati case, setting aside gubernatorial intervention as improper and uncalled for. It had quite a shattering effect on the complacency of the executive. It affected the prestige of the Government. A stupendous sullessness seemed to sway the "ranks of Tuscany". Everyone looked suddenly serious. And even the kite-flying at the capital about the future of Srimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit was abruptly interrupted. And before one realised it, there was a void in the bosom of the capital, confronting Parliament generally and the Nehru household particularly.

It was a tribute to Mr. Feroze Gandhi's personality that his sudden death on the 8th morning, following a heart-attack, spread gloom all over the country. There was no one of whatever party, or from whatever region, who did not feel the shock with a certain intensity. One's thoughts instinctively turned to Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her aging father while sympathy for both of them in their bereavement was most wide-spread. Both were known to have broken down as the blow had fallen on them with such lightning swiftness. There was no one in either House or outside who did not feel shaken by the loss of one so intrepid and forceful as Mr. Feroze Gandhi. Such controver-

sies as there were when he was alive were hushed in the silence of the grave.

If it is useless to underrate Mr. Feroze Gandhi's tremendous assets on the social side, it would be uncharitable to deny that he owed his position in public life and pull in Parliament much more to his own personal attributes than to the advantages that any association with the gifted or the great could give. Apparently, with all his ability and experience in Parliament and for all his claims as an 'insider', he was not in the line for political preferment and patronage. He was completely absorbed in his parliamentary work, at a respectable distance from the Treasury Benches, and not often sniping at them with an obvious relish for the innocuous pastime of a party man. But behind a seeming puckishness, there was in him a stern purposefulness. Nothing pleased him more than to make uncomfortable those who were taking things easily. He was not wrongly described as a giant-killer; he delighted in big game hunting and had indeed a few good exhibits to his lasting credit as a parliamentarian with a singular prowess. Extremely clever in the marshalling of facts, ruthless in the pursuit of his victim, and forthright and forceful in speech, he never rose without effecting a breach in the fort walls of some citadel of power or tearing some one's reputation. Considerable as he was in the House, it was in the lobby that he was

(Continued on page 18)



• for any
• ROAD...!
• for any
• LOAD...!!

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• CYCLE RICKSHAWS WITH
• JUBILEE RIMS
• OUR JUBILEE DE LUXE
• IS A SPECIALITY AND
• A CLASS BY ITSELF

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WR.22

A CHANCE TO SHAPE THE FUTURE

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

The Indus is as old as mankind. For the past 5000 years it has watered the hopes and dreams of man and mirrored his frustrations and failures. The division of Kashmir through which the river flows and the sharing of its waters have been for the past decade the subject of one of the most publicized but least understood disputes in a disputatious world.

In 1947 when the British left India, the national boundaries of India and Pakistan were drawn across the Indus and its five snow-fed tributaries—Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej and Beas. Pakistan feared that India, lying upstream and in possession of the head waters and canal works, would cut off the supply and dry up large areas of West Pakistan. India argued that she could not continue to feed Pakistan's canals at the expense of her own prosperity.

The problem of the Indus basin in a nutshell is that the river has its upper waters in India and yet flows through Pakistan where it enters the sea. It rises in the snow-clad peaks of the 22,000-foot-high Mount Kailas in Tibet and flows 1900 miles through the cool shadows of the Himalayas and then through the hot plains before it meets the turbulent waters of the Arabian Sea. The Indus and its tributaries mean the difference between starvation and prosperity for about 50 million Indians and Pakistanis in an area of 200,000 square miles, four times the size of Madras State. Besides the 21 million acres in Pakistan and 5 million acres in India at present made fertile by the river, 22

million more acres could be irrigated by expanding the water system.

The dispute, involving the prosperity of such vast areas and of so many millions of people carried with it the seeds of war, and naturally attracted world attention. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (The World Bank, for short) an agency of the United Nations, has been patiently and persistently mediating for over a decade now. It has now succeeded in formulating proposals that are acceptable to both India and Pakistan. Prime Minister Nehru and President Ayub Khan will sign on Monday, September 19 a treaty that will settle the details for sharing the waters on the basis of the Bank's proposals.

The settlement is based on a division of the rivers, three for India and three for Pakistan. After a transition period of 10 years, beginning April 1, 1960 and extendable at Pakistan's request to 13 years, the three eastern rivers (Beas, Sutlej and Ravi) would fall exclusively to India's share. During this period the supply of water to Pakistan from these rivers will be progressively reduced. India will construct a multi-purpose dam on Beas, for which the World Bank is expected to contribute Rs. 60 crores.

To replace the supply of the eastern rivers, Pakistan will develop a system of works consisting of two large dams, one on the Jhelum and the other on the Indus, five barrages and seven link canals totalling 400 miles in length. This new water system will carry annually 142 million acre feet of water—enough to cover 1 foot deep the whole area of the four southern States of India. The cost of these works is estimated to be Rs. 450 crores, and a sum of Rs. 195 crores has been promised to Pakistan by the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and West Germany. India will also meet a part of the cost. With the settlement of this dispute, the two countries can now plan for prosperity in their respective regions.

Although the canal water treaty expressly debars both countries from drawing partisan conclusions regarding their rival territorial claims to Kashmir, President Ayub Khan has stated in a broadcast on September 4 that the "very fact that we will have to be content with the waters of the three western rivers will underline the importance of having physical control of the upper reaches of these rivers to secure the maximum utilization for the ever-growing needs of West Pakistan".

This is a dangerous argument. If it is valid, India would be justified in claiming parts of Tibet through which the Brahmaputra flows for over 800 miles. Nehru has stoutly disagreed with Ayub Khan's inference. Despite these discordant notes, there is now an undercurrent of earnestness in the relations between India and Pakistan.

Kashmir was for many long years the hub of Pakistan politics. The real dispute about Kashmir is for a small oval valley about 84 miles long and 25 miles wide with a population of 1.8 million. Pakistan is not going to fight for Jammu or Ladakh. The position to be examined is whether Kashmir can be stabilized on the basis of the present cease-fire line. Can this be done? The answer belongs to the future.

Reports from Pakistan have suggested that some officials there might be placing too much emphasis on India's present difficulties with China as a factor contributing to improved relations between the two countries. President Ayub Khan seemed to be alluding to this when he said some months ago that "if we go on squabbling and do not solve our problems we would be defeated in details—this is how invasions came to this continent". The Pakistan President's favourite dream is a joint defence plan for India and Pakistan and this dream will be discussed by the two leaders.

India's traditional allergy to military alliances and Pakistan's membership of the CENTO (formerly Baghdad Pact) will be a stumbling block. But there is increasing evidence to show that Pakistan's posture in international affairs is changing. A *New York Times* correspondent reported recently that "United States' prestige appears to have fallen considerably in Pakistan". Reportedly Pakistan is interested in getting Soviet assistance in developing her oil resources. An independent, Nasser-type policy seems to be evolving in Pakistan.

STRESS AND SORROW...

(Continued from page 17)

invincible. Never was he found alone. Politicians and journalists fluttered round him. He was news—or at least its source. No single member of Parliament was so much like an epicentre for distant tremors of varied intensity. It is sad to think that Mr. Feroze Gandhi had no opportunity to prove his mettle on the administrative front and was obliged to fritter away his energies on non-official benches. It is sadder to think that he passed away so young—"snatched away in the full tide of a buoyant life, still so full of promise and hope".

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR ANDHRA TENANCY LEGISLATION

Sir,—In SWARAJYA dated August 27, under the caption "Iniquitous Land Legislation in Andhra", Prof. Venkatarangiah writes:

"The objectives of any tenancy Legislation are usually recognized to be (i) the fixation of reasonable rentals; and (2) security of tenure for tenants. It was this kind of legislation for which the landlords are prepared".

Not satisfied with it he writes further:

"They (landlords) reconciled themselves to the reduction of rentals from half to one-fourth of it because they would be getting some income". How he could come to that conclusion it is not possible to understand. It is not a question of mere doctrinaire economics. I am constrained to state that he has not taken a realistic view of things. The landlords demur to his statement about the rentals.

It may be stated that in the composite Madras State a report was submitted as early as 1950 by an officer specially appointed for the purpose, that the landlords in several districts were getting two-thirds and in a few places even more as rentals. The special officer recommended 55 per cent as rental for the landlords.

After the constitution of the Andhra State in 1953 and before its amalgamation with Telangana, the Andhra State appointed a Land Reforms Committee in 1954 and the Committee presented its report in October, 1955. The Committee recorded evidence of hundreds of landlords, tenants and landless labourers. Though the rentals in some areas were two-thirds for the landlord and one-third for the tenant, yet, having regard to equitable considerations, the Committee recommended 50 per cent for the landlords. The landlords in some places were hit hard even by this recommendation. The then Revenue Minister Sri Kala Venkata Rao, who was well acquainted with the landlord and tenant relations in the erstwhile Andhra State, introduced legislation in 1956 in accordance with the recommendations of the Andhra State Land Reforms Committee. The Andhra Tenancy Act was then passed and it has been working fairly satisfactorily.

The statement of Professor Venkatarangiah that the landlords reconciled themselves to the reduction of rentals from half to one-fourth is a travesty of facts. The landlords have submitted representations protesting against the Andhra Tenancy Act of 1956 being

tampered with and waited in deputation on President Rajendra Prasad in Madras on 13th August 1960. Memoranda were presented to him taking strong objection to the iniquitous Tenancy Bill and the Ceiling Bill. If one cares to read the correspondence that is appearing in *Andhra Patrika* with regard to the low rentals proposed for the landlord in the Tenancy Bill, the volume of disapprobation and condemnation of the measure will become clear.

In this connection two factors also have to be remembered. One is that time after time recommendations are made by officials in authority to increase the taxes on the land, and taxes are consequently being piled up. The other is in regard to compensation for land. The landowners are discriminated against and absolutely low compensation is proposed while the industrialists and the commercialists are pampered. A recent illustration of it is the award of compensation to the share-holders of a certain Bank.

Kakinada. LAKKARAJU SUBBA RAO.

KASHMIR

Sir,—The forthcoming meeting of the Indian Prime Minister and the Pakistan President to sign the Canal Waters Treaty raises hopes, as never before, of a peaceful solution of the Kashmir problem by direct negotiation. It can only be a compromise. Peace without victory is any day better than unconditional surrender, even if the latter were possible. The paramount consideration should be the welfare of the people directly involved rather than the pride and prestige of politicians. Three solutions suggest themselves for consideration. Kashmir may be declared an independent and neutral State like, say, Nepal or Switzerland. Or, it may be made part of Pakistan, while East Pakistan is made part of India. Or, it may be partitioned even as India, Bengal and the Punjab have been partitioned. Each solution has its merits and demerits. The first two solutions are likely to involve refugee migrations of innocent peoples, who will be the worst sufferers. The third solution, namely, partition along the cease-fire line or as close to it as possible, will cause the least disturbance to the peoples who are settled on either side of it for over a decade, and is, therefore, the least objectionable if not the best. Any agreement is better than the present dis-

agreement between India and Pakistan.
Bangalore. P. KODANDA RAO.

SHIFTING THE ZOO

Sir,—Lovers of wild life are indebted to Sri M. Krishnan for having contributed a valuable article in your paper about the shifting of the Zoo to Guindy. As he has rightly pointed out, Guindy is far away from the City and if the present proposal is implemented, the number of visitors going to the Zoo will come down, reducing the revenue earned by the Corporation. In addition to that, the State cannot afford to spend Rs. 11 lakhs for shifting the Zoo at a time when economy is emphasised at all levels. Instead of shifting the Zoo to Guindy, the authorities would do well if they bestow attention on improving the existing conditions in the Zoo. R. RAMASWAMY.

M.A. DEGREE (NEW REGULATIONS)

Sir,—According to the University authorities the M.A. (New Regulations) is of a higher standard than the M.A. (Old Regulations). For instance, the new M.As are allowed to register for the Ph.D degree straightaway without having to do the M.Litt. That is why the Academic Council of the Madras University passed a resolution on September 30, 1959, to the effect that the B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. (Old Regulations) candidates could appear for the M.A. (New Regulations) in the particular main subject after putting in a year's course in a constituent or affiliated college.

In the University examination held in March-April 1960, candidates appeared for the M.A. degree under both the old as well as the new regulations. But at the recent Convocation, the same degree certificate has been awarded to both these types of candidates—no mention has been made whether they have taken the M.A. degree under the old or the new regulations. Is not the very purpose of asking the old M.A. graduates to take the new M.A. degree by putting in one more year of study at the University, defeated by the omission of this important distinction in the degree certificate awarded to them? Those of us who have secured the M.A. degree (Old Regulations) as well as the M.A. degree (New Regulations) are in an embarrassed position, not knowing the distinction between the two degrees we possess. Will the Madras University authorities kindly offer an explanation to the victims of the Naya M

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DEFICIT FINANCING MUST STOP AND CONTROLS MUST GO

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Prof. B. R. Shenoy is bringing out for lay readers a booklet on inflation in India in which he deals with the causes of the evil and the remedy. I have had the privilege of reading the manuscript and this article is what I have gathered from what the Professor sets out with clarity and with figures. I have no doubt the booklet when published will help people to understand the gravity of the situation. In all low income countries, expansion of money put in circulation results quickly in price rises. Inflation is the word used when we look at the cause and discuss the situation in terms of money. Price rise is the phrase used when we speak from the point of view of commodities. If the expansion of money, whatever be the motive or reason for such expansion, outpaces the physical volume of output of commodities we have a state of inflation and prices rise as a result.

The Ministry of Commerce publishes the average of wholesale prices. From the handouts of the Reserve Bank of India we can obtain information about money supply. There has been a continual rise in the general index of prices. We see also that money supply has considerably expanded, faster than the output of national products.

With 1938-39 as base, the general index of prices in August 1960 was 478, a rise of nearly five times. The present changeover of the base from 1938-39 to 1952-53

obscures the enormous magnitude of the price rise.

Government collects funds from the people by taxation, loan issues, small savings and profits of public sector undertakings.

From these funds disbursements are made for administrative expenditure, repayment of past loans, and Plan investment outlay. When these and other items of disbursements exceed total receipts, what is called Budget deficit arises. These deficits are covered by notes printed at the Government Security Press at Nasik. This is called deficit financing.

This expansion of money is followed by what is called secondary expansion through credits given by commercial banks. For every 100 crores of additional Nasik money, there is usually another 100 crores of credit creation.

Inflation that now prevails in India began in 1955-56. Budget deficits rose from 97 crores in 54-55 to 225 crores in 55-56. In 57-58 the Plan outlay was so great that with additional defence expenditure the budget deficit that year reached a peak of 495 crores. These yearly deficits have a cumulative action.

The rise in prices due to inflation reduces the value of money and life becomes unhappy for people living on wages and fixed incomes. Their real income is reduced and some of them would have to draw on past savings for current expenditure.

The rise in price corrodes all savings. This leads in the case of the better placed classes to the transfer of their savings to urban property, to gold and to concealed exports of capital. Speculative transactions acquire additional attraction. Hoarding of goods is encouraged, eating into savings. For a time production may be deceptively stimulated on account of higher prices but soon it gets retarded on account of increased costs. Foreign purchasers of our goods will move to other markets. Imported goods rise in price giving windfall profits to importers and smugglers.

As a result of inflation income shifts from the masses to upper income groups. The middle classes are most hit. The strike of the Union Government employees was a symptom of this suffering. Industrialists and their labour force who are able to extract a share in the receipts do not suffer much but the condition of the vastly larger number of farm hands is worsened.

Inflation must be followed by price controls and import restrictions. These produce a great deal of economic and social disorder and injustice. The controls over steel, coal, cement, sugar, rubber, fertilizers and foodgrains have cast a gloom over the life of the people.

Far from equalising incomes, the policy of controls makes the rich richer. The stagnant per capita consumption of cloth and

of foodgrains is the best evidence of the condition of the people and this has resulted from the misguided policies of the present administration. In the case of all imported goods including gold, there is a great gap between landed cost and market price, ranging from 30 per cent to 500 per cent depending on the nature of the commodity. The difference between the landed cost of gold and the market price is seventy rupees per tola. The import markets are illegal and the gap between cost and market price is officially ignored but this does not nullify the reality. The benefit of all the gaps in cost of imports and market price goes to importers and smugglers. Excluding government imports where the difference may be treated as a concealed tax, according to a reliable estimate, the ill-gotten gains on imports during two years would be of the order of Rs. 1,000 crores. This amount has several co-sharers—corrupt officials who handle the issue of licences, the recipients of the licences, including both those who just sell them in the black market and real importers. The accounts of cost are falsified by inter-sales and the like so as to bring the declared cost to near the market price, and so as also to replenish the importers for their payments for the purchase of the licences and for corrupt transactions with officials and go-betweens. All these incomes are tax-free being illicit in nature. It is these earnings that enable some people to give large political donations to the ruling party and also to other groups for purchasing peace. The beneficiaries of the illegal gain on account of import controls are the upper income groups and the money is obtained from those who consume the imported commodities or articles into the production of which such imported materials go. The total anti-social money that goes thus from consumers' pockets to upper income groups has been estimated as being of the order of Rs. 300 crores per year. Inflation, import restrictions and other controls have affected the moral

standards of the nation, and have led to the emergence of a new undesirable profession engaged in touting for obtaining licences, permits and contracts, in illicit trafficking in import licences and in smuggling gold, diamonds, watches, cigarettes, fountain pens, razor blades, photographic accessories etc. The talent for enterprise tends to gravitate around officialdom and to practices to become rich quickly without spending energy.

In the absence of inflation and controls, the talent and resources would be actively engaged in adding to national wealth under the free play of competition, the normal road to progress. Inflation and controls discourage efficiency and progress and honesty.

Easy money being available to some under controls and inflation, they favour continued 'planning' which to them means continued inflation and controls which provide them opportunities to amass money. Political parties in power also favour controls, as these give an opportunity for the exercise of power and for acquiring personal and political gains. Conscience pricks are quelled by the thought that it is all done in the national interests, and the gains are only an incidental by-product.

Never were the interests of the anti-social elements so well looked after as under the present administration. These controls must go, or the Government should change if the country is to be extricated from the morass it has got stuck in. It is not true, as is argued sometimes, that rising prices and controls and import restrictions and exchange controls are inherent in a developing economy. The experience of other countries—Canada, Belgium, West Germany, Mexico, Japan, Italy and France—have demonstrated the untruth of this plea.

It is not true, as is sometimes stated, that prices all over the world have risen. West German national income rose in real terms at 13 per cent per year in each year of the period 1951 to 1958. But prices rose there by less than

one per cent per year, 5 per cent only in all seven years. And West Germany was in the forefront to remove restrictions on imports and on payments abroad. In ever so many countries price stability and surplus in balance of payments, and abolition of restrictions on imports and payments have gone together with rapid economic growth.

Since 1955, Indian price-rise stands out almost alone. Prices in May 1960 in India were 33 per cent higher than in 1954. In France and Italy prices declined during that period. In Germany, Belgium and Japan and other countries the annual price rise was 1 per cent or at most 2 per cent.

There is a notion that curtailing bank-credit will reduce inflation. Bank credit is so closely related to deficit financing that keeping the latter going and to reduce inflation by control over credit is a futility. It only adds to the confusion. To restrict credit against food grains and certain other commodities would raise the cost of banking services generally and in particular the cost of credit to the trade in those commodities, which are essential for the economic life of the community. Naturally such policies encourage advances against assets outside the banned list and drive the business of credit from scheduled banks to others who are not under control. The policy of credit controls has demonstrably failed. Tampering with the credit machinery will not achieve anything as long as deficit financing is continuing.

The fact is that the attempt to 'invest' non-available resources—which is what deficit financing amounts to—is a wrong and futile policy. No plan can be larger than the resources available for investment, be it internal or obtained from generous outsiders. Even as water is no substitute for milk, inflation is no real resource. The fallacy produces high prices and distress. A plan based on inflation will retard progress instead of accelerating it.

The Third Plan is tremendously inflationary. The overt deficit financing of this Plan is Rs. 550 crores.

This is misleading. Without totalitarian and physical suppression of consumption in order to mop up people's money reducing consumption, the amount of supposed availability of savings estimated at Rs. 7,200 crores is an over-estimate. The over-estimate is at least of the order of Rs. 1,300 crores.

Thus what the Plan requires by way of foreign aid, (over and above the amount required for repayments due) is not Rs. 2,700 crores but Rs. 5,350 crores. The deficit financing therefore will not be only Rs. 550 crores as planned but six times that figure. If the foreign aid does not arrive according to the time table, whatever the causes may be, the gap will be much greater. And there are good reasons for apprehending this.

We know that deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 367 crores during the five years ending 59-60 led to a price rise of 32 per cent. The deficit financing inherent in the Third Plan will certainly involve 'runaway inflation', like the one that swept over Germany after the first World War. During the five months ending August 1960, prices have been rising at a rate computed at 14.2 per cent per annum. This is an indication to take note of. Deficit financing has already gone too far. Foreign aid and drafts on currency reserves, cannot go on indefinitely. Holding the price line which is continually promised would be just King Canute's command to the waves.

It is pathetically argued that inflation will be stopped by increase in production. Inflation retards production. It drives up costs and the commodities manufactured must be sold at higher prices. Prices and costs rise simultaneously with inflation and will continue to rise with continuing inflation. Inflation is the disease and the prices only indicate the temperature. There is no good attempting to reduce the symptom while keeping the disease going. Fair price shops of any kind or lumber cannot achieve control of prices. Even if buffer stocks released for sale depress food prices

artificially, this will shift agriculture to other than food crops, and render the food position worse. Any commodity distribution at arbitrary prices will fail because the stocks will be bought up as soon as they are put on the market, and go to feed the black market. The cost of any remedy put in action by way of subsidies will ultimately fall on the shoulders of the tax payers. The net result, so far as the price-level is concerned, will be nil. The price problem resulting from inflation cannot be corrected by a change in the machinery of distribution. The diagnosis must be kept in mind when treatments are attempted. The money let loose being the cause, remedies other than reducing the money flow will not avail.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

LESSONS WE SHOULD LEARN BUT DON'T

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The capital, where generally human values are overshadowed, if not overridden, by political obsessions, may well be proud of having celebrated the 100th birthday of the venerable Visvesvaraya, and too, under the highest auspices in the land. Nothing made that memorable day yet more memorable than the presence of the Prime Minister in Bangalore to be able to do courtesy to the 'Father of Indian Planning'. It was particularly great of Mr. Nehru to have fulfilled an engagement earlier made, despite the very severe domestic loss he had recently suffered. The high tribute that he paid on the occasion to Sri M. Visvesvaraya revealed not only his admiration and esteem for one who in his active days could look far ahead but also his desire—very worthy of one in his position—to do reverence to elders.

If, indeed, he and his colleagues in the Government of India, were more considerate, let alone more concerned, in respecting age where it allied to true eminence, and trying to profit by its wisdom, instead of a trifle thoughtlessly dismissing it (to put it mildly) as out of date or reminiscent of days far too remote from modern intrepidity and outlook, we would not have perhaps reached a stage when the faculty of right perception and clear understanding is so much dimmed. It is, however, so good that, in seeking to salute Sri

The favourite notion that prices result from traders' conspiracies is stupid. Such conspiracies are impossible. The prevailing price rise is not the outcome of either monopolies or impossible conspiracies but of deficit financing. Prices have risen despite bumper crops and heavy annual import of foodgrains of three million tons for four years.

To stop prices from rising, we must restore the balance between the flow of production and the flow of money. Inflation and excessive State interference are the two evils of the Indian economy of today. If and only when these two evils are removed, can we expect to be saved from rising prices. If not, it is a case of the ground being prepared for Communists to take totalitarian charge.

M. V., we have shown a willingness, however impliedly, to imbibе his spirit.

Sri 'M.V.' rose to fame as an engineer-statesman and a Maker of Modern Mysore. But like heroes before Agamemnon, Mysore had great Dewans earlier—Rangacharlu, Seshadri Iyer and V. P. Madhava Rao: it had great Dewans later—Mirza Ismail, for instance. Whether as a Dewan or as an engineer or as a planner, indisputably eminent as Sri 'M.V.' is, it is as a man that he is yet greater. One of the most remarkable men of his generation, he belongs to a type which is perhaps now extinct and certainly rare at any time. There is none in our annals whose life is more markedly a miracle of orderliness or more manifestly a blue-print of both mental and physical discipline. It is true that Sri M. V. as Mr. Nehru says, symbolises the right use of science, it would, however, be fairer to concede or appreciate that, carefully understood, Sri 'M.V.' symbolises the right approach to life's problems, big or small. The President hits it off handsomely when he says that to Sri M.V. "a meticulously correct attitude to everything came naturally".

The President cited an instance of such an attitude from his own personal experience of Sri 'M.V.' at the time when he came to Delhi to receive the award of Bharat Ratna. As the President

(Continued on page 15)

SIDELIGHTS ::

Sri M. R. Masani spoke brilliantly at the anti-inflation rally on the Marina last Sunday. Sri Masani does not possess the flair of the professional politician for playing on the emotions of people. He has the manner of an earnest professor immersed in his subject. His appeal is to the understanding. At the end of his speech his listeners aver the satisfaction of having trod new ground with a perceptible increase of knowledge regarding the content of familiar terms which they had really known nothing previously beyond the sound. The frequent applause that greeted his speech thus registered the thrill of excitement over the acquisition of some new insight to a not too easy subject. As for Sri Rajaji, in the art of conveying the eternal truths of religion and the hard realities underlying politics and economics as attractively as if he were telling a story, he is master whose equal there is none in the world. With such leaders it may be said that the Swatantra Party has taken knowledge as its capon in the battle to dislodge the Congress from power, whereas the Congress itself, for all its seeming formidableness, has nothing left to fall back upon except its attracted money and the terrors of blandishments and engineered trends included in its strategy to win votes.

The quality of Swatantra leadership is manifest in the crowds that now gather round the Swatantra platform. These remind one of the huge multitudes that lined round the Mahatma and were inspired by him. They are voluntary, spontaneous, adventurous, and dedicated. To them, to the earlier generation led by Gandhi, life is a mission, political effort a duty, and the power and might of the party to be overthrown only a spur to courage and greater sacrifice. For people inspired there can be no defeat unless led by a leader who has turned to make the teaching of Gandhi the staff of his own life.

Rajasthan is supposed to have taken the lead in establishing panchayat raj; and from the Prime Minister downwards Congress leaders have acclaimed it as a great achievement in the democratic decentralisation of the administration. What it amounts to in actual reality may be understood from the incident narrated below:

Damodar Lal is an advocate of Rajasthan. He was elected as a member of the Municipal Board, Nagaur, in May 1958. On 17th October 1959 the Rajasthan Municipalities Act (No. 38 of 1959) came into force. By this Act the Rajasthan Town Municipalities Act under which the elections had been held, was repealed. Under the Old Act Damodar Lal, though he was a part-time Government servant (Assistant Public Prosecutor) was qualified to be a member of the Municipal Board. When the New Act came into force, regarding himself as disqualified under it, he desisted from attending further meetings of the Board.

Subsequently (on 18th February 1960) the Rajasthan Municipalities (Transitory Provision) Order came into force. By this order the interdict on "part-time" Government employees becoming members of Municipal Boards was taken away till such time as the first Municipal Board under the New Act, was constituted. Thereupon, holding that the Government Order had removed the disqualification from which he had temporarily suffered under the New Act, Damodar Lal commenced once again to attend the meetings of the Municipal Board. The Board unanimously passed a resolution welcoming his return, impliedly granting him leave for the period during which he had remained absent from the meetings of the Board. Sometime later, an important meeting of the Municipal Board was scheduled to take place to consider a motion of no-confidence in the Chairman. The date fixed for this meeting

was 30th April 1960. Just the previous day, at about 9-30 p.m. Damodar Lal received intimation from the District Magistrate, Nagaur, acting under telephonic instructions from the Director of Local Bodies, that he (Damodar Lal) had incurred disqualification by remaining absent for three consecutive meetings of the Board, that he was therefore removed from the list of members, and that he was no more a member of the Board. He also received a wire to the same effect (later accompanied by a confirmatory letter) from the Director of Local Bodies. Damodar Lal made a writ application to the High Court against this order of the Director, alleging that its sole and ulterior motive was to help the Chairman of the Municipal Board in the no-confidence motion the next day since his continuance in office depended on a very thin margin of votes. The Rajasthan Government were unrepresented before the High Court and did not defend the case.

The High Court passed judgment quashing the order of the Director of Local Bodies. Here are some significant excerpts from the High Court judgment:

It is clear that during the period commencing from 17th October 1959 to 18th February 1960 the petitioner remained absent from the meetings of the Board not on account of any personal reasons or of his own will but because he suffered from a statutory disability.

If some member absented himself from the meetings for more than three consecutive months or three consecutive general meetings, then he incurs the liability of removal by the Government after he is afforded an opportunity to explain the cause of his absence. The very use of the words "absented himself" shows that the member's absence should be of his own volition, for example, carelessness, negligence or lack of interest in the work of the Board. If, on the other hand, the absence is forced upon him by some law, then it cannot be said that he had absented himself. It would be manifestly unjust to compel him, on the one hand, not to take part in any meeting by disqualifying him temporarily, and then on the other hand, to accuse him

(Continued on page 14)

MONOPOLIES

Chief Ministers' Club as Pothan Joseph would call the N.D.C. met at Delhi and has decided in favour of State trading and are resolved on pushing it up on building up buffer stocks through procurement and on increased controls. God save us from the results of the gigantic folly they have announced. It is not hoarding that raises prices. It is the policy of ambitious development and issue of money for that purpose that have raised and will continue to raise prices.

It is a moot question, which is worse for the people, the normal tyranny of big commercial bosses or the creation of business for the favourites of the ruling party? State trading and controls create monopolies for those favoured individuals who help the Congress Party to win at elections and who promise to continue to do so. Such monopolies as are in fact acquired by big commercial concerns are the result of successful business enterprise and their proved capacity to survive competition after paying all taxes and official and unofficial levies. The monopolies created for favoured individuals by the ruling party are worse and certainly undeserved. The monopolies created by Government controls and State trading are mainly motivated by politics and not based on appraisal of service or merit. A competent and energetic commission can, if empowered to obtain evidence from unwilling witnesses, bring to public notice the number of nobodies who have become rich under tri-

colour patronage, within a short period of ten or even five years. A President's Commission, entrusted with full powers, as a Royal Commission in England would be, can discover and lay bare the means by which nobodies have become very rich after a short enjoyment of the benefits of Government controls and licences, as well as the amounts collected and underwritten for the party chest by businessmen, holders of bus permits, and all the people coming under income-tax and sales-tax officials, and generally bring to greater public light the manner and magnitude in which the Ministers and others have used their positions of authority for filling the ruling party's party chest. Nothing less than a Commission of this sort will open the eyes of the public to the disgraceful things going on. It is true that the very fact that the Congress Party alone objected to the proposed ban on donations by companies to political parties is enough circumstantial proof of the case. It is a fact that the Congress Party has admitted by its conduct and its negative reaction to my two challenges that this once great and patriotic group of men and women now relies on money secured through its position as ruling party and on the power it wields through Ministers and subservient officials for success in its ambition to continue for all time in power. But in order to bring all the facts in detail to public notice and in order that this abuse may be put an end to, a regular official commission of enquiry would be the best instrument, provided it is manned by upright and independent men who will seek truth without fear or favour. There are people of that quality available if Parliament could make up its mind to accept the challenge in a straightforward way. But here as in so many other matters we are in a vicious circle. The present majority will not make up its mind to commit suicide. An enquiry such as I suggest would mean suicide.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

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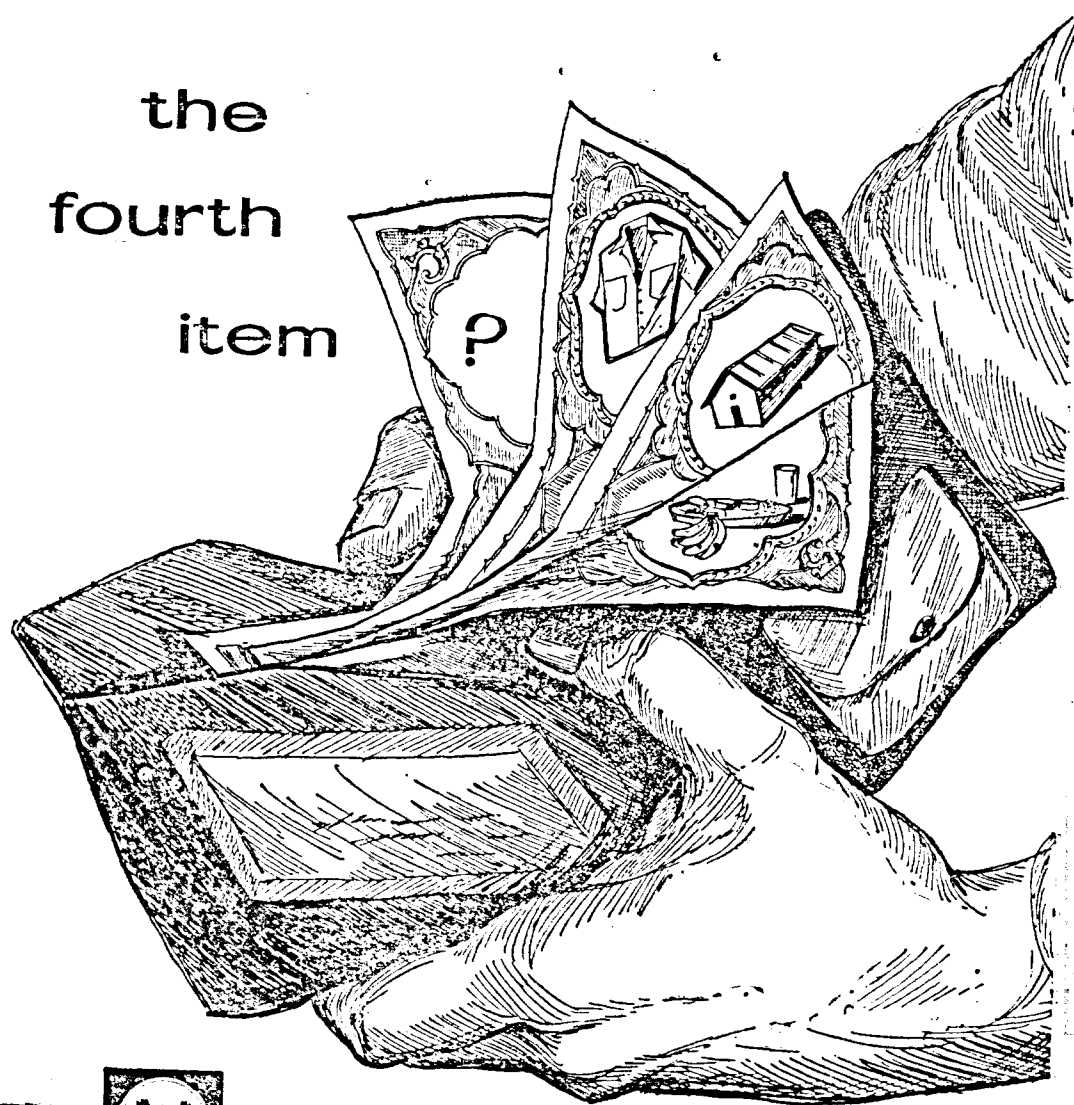
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FOOD AND DEFENCE SHOULD BE ABOVE PARTY POLITICS

By **SARDAR LAL SINGH**

(Formerly Director of Agriculture, Punjab and Adviser to the Government of India)

In matters of national importance like Food and Defence at critical periods, when the very economic and political existence of the country may be jeopardized, it becomes the moral duty of every patriotic Indian to rise above party politics in the larger interests of the country.

It is sad that the gravity of food shortage is not being adequately realized. Promises of self-sufficiency made by our Government from time to time have so far been falsified. Now the Food Minister promises self-sufficiency by the end of the third Five-Year Plan. This might prove another myth.

In the meantime, the country is being lulled into a sense of complacency by fictitious figures of increase in food production. In the Draft Outline of the third Five-Year Plan, the Planning Commission have drawn a rosy picture of the increase in food production during the first and second Plan periods, (i.e., about 40 per cent) and also anticipated an increase of 50 per cent in the third Five-Year Plan. A single instance will illustrate the unrealistic, if not fantastic nature of these figures.

The total foodgrains production in 1949-50 was 57.9 million tons and this was considered a normal year. Accordingly this year was subsequently taken as the base year for the purpose of future comparison. The production in 1957-58 was 62 million tons, and yearly production of the previous ten years averaged 61.5 million tons, so that real increase in production comes to 4 million tons in ten years or about half a million tons per year. Because of most favourable climatic conditions 1958-59 turned out to be an abnormally good year when production suddenly jumped to 73 million tons against 62 million tons in the previous year. Even if the production of this abnormal year is included in the ten-year average, the annual production for the last eleven years comes to 62.7 million tons, an increase of about 5 million tons in ten years.

Leaving apart the total production of foodgrains in the country as a whole, the per-acre-yield is not any more encouraging. Except for the abnormal year 1958-59 when it was 590 lbs. per acre, the yield per acre of all foodgrains combined had been consistently decreasing during the preceding four

years. The yields per acre were 570 lbs, 563 lbs, 550 lbs and 520 lbs for the years 1953-54 to 1957-58 respectively.

In the light of the insignificant increase in total yield in ten years, and little increase, if any, in per-acre yield, one may well ask where has all the estimated increase in yield expected as a result of additional irrigation facilities for two crore acres of land at a cost of Rs. 600 crores, disappeared? Where has all the expected benefit out of the reclamation of 39 lakhs of acres of waste land, of the use of 15 lakhs of tons of fertilizers or the supply of improved seeds from two thousand new seed farms gone? Does it mean that all these projects involving a staggering amount of expenditure, have resulted in no increase at all, or the increased yield has been nullified by other factors, and if so, what are those factors?

Even in the face of these figures, the Planning Commission has painted a rosy picture by ignoring the normal year 1949-50 with its production of 57.9 million tons. It has instead taken as its norm the yield of 52 million tons in 1950-51 (which was the *worst year* for production) and compared it with the expected yield of 75 million tons in 1960-61, thereby showing an apparent increase of over 40 per cent in the two Plan periods—52 million tons rising to 75 million tons. Not only this, the Food Minister and the Planning Commission promise self-sufficiency in food in 1965-66, which would be possible if there is an increase of 50 per cent in five years, i.e. 105 million tons in 1965 as against the imagined yield of 75 million tons in 1960-61. No further comment is necessary to show the unrealistic nature of these estimates.

Having been in intimate touch with all aspects of agriculture either as chairman or member of several important official and non-official committees, I can say that if the naked ugly truth about the real working of our schemes in the field of irrigation, both major and minor, agriculture, C.D. blocks or seed farms, could come before the

cup full of cheer

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public, it will not only give a rude shock to the whole nation but also to our President, our Prime Minister, Ministers and our political leaders. Our Prime Minister had said sometime ago that he did not know where the huge sum of Rs. 920 crores spent on agricultural development had disappeared. It was hoped that he will have a deep probe in the matter. But perhaps a false notion of party prestige stood in the way.

The unfortunate position is that schemes are largely prepared by those who, although enthusiastic and sincere, have had little to do with practical agriculture in their life time. The Ministers are too busy to probe deeply into these schemes; and most public men have no patience or time or they find it tiring to go into details. What is worst of all, any criticism, no matter how-so-ever constructive and well-meaning, coming from non-Congress quarters, is brushed aside on political considerations. And Congressmen out of a false notion of party prestige consider it their moral duty not to admit the failure of their schemes, or to justify and explain away such failures.

Result: Colossal wastage of national funds, heavier and heavier taxation, in-

creasing imports of foodgrains and demand for more and more subsidy for agriculture without realizing two basic principles, namely, (a) for an agricultural country to think of continuously subsidizing agriculture is an anomaly; and (b) continuous import of foodgrains is not only the greatest disgrace and humiliation for any agricultural country but it must ultimately land the country into financial bankruptcy, chaos and disorder. Since the dawn of Independence, India has already imported 3.5 crore tons of foodgrains worth Rs. 1,700 crores with a commitment to import another 1.7 crore tons worth Rs. 650 crores in the next five years, with no prospect of becoming self-sufficient in the near future.

I venture to make two suggestions: (1) to take food problem out of the arena of party politics so that it becomes a national problem for all. Neither should opposition parties be tempted to exploit failures of schemes to gain party advantage nor should Congressmen, out of a false sense of party prestige, feel compelled to justify failures of schemes; and (2) to appoint a high power Commission to probe into the working of all major schemes to get at the real truth and find out the ugly spots in them

so as to prevent wastage of national funds at least in future. The Commission may draw a list of priorities of work instead of the present practice of taking various schemes haphazardly. The Commission should be manned with persons well-versed with the subject, besides some leading Members of Parliament, so that it may carry weight with those in authority unlike the Evaluation committees which have so far carried little weight with those in whose hands God has placed the destiny of the country, and whose reports are largely consigned to waste paper baskets.

What India needs is a Government run by knowledgeable persons of integrity and character whose only "ism" should be to take the country out of its present quagmire of poverty, illiteracy, ignorance and economic degradation and to modernize agriculture and industries. When these aims are achieved, there will be time enough to preach different "isms". If we cannot have partyless government, let us make a start with two grave issues, Food and Defence, facing the country at present.

—(Condensed from a letter circulated to Members of Parliament).

THE MADRAS ZOO

The Madras Zoo is now more than 105 years old. It occupies an area of over 20 acres, accommodating 220 mammals, 25 reptiles and 330 birds. It attracts 6 lakhs of visitors annually and is supposed to be self-supporting.

The London Zoo at Regent Park covers an area of 30 acres. It is 134 years old, has more than a thousand species and is the largest in the world. It has nearly 2000 birds, 600 and odd animals, 400 reptiles. The attendance is roughly two million annually. It is maintained in a most up-to-date manner. The Zoos at Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Trivandrum and Mysore are all beautifully maintained and immensely popular. The Dehiwala Zoo in Ceylon is housed in the most pleasant surroundings, about 8 miles away from the heart of the city of Colombo. Compared to these Zoos, the Madras Zoo offers very poor attraction and does not have the latest facilities in housing and expert medical attention.

I am glad the idea of extending the Madras Zoo to the west, remodelling the existing cages and out-moded buildings housing the animals, has been given up. In an area which has become vastly industrialised with expanding railway tracks, godowns, factories and shops, it is not at all desirable to locate a modern Zoo.

It is easier to plan a new modern Zoo than to modernise an old one where limitations of space stand in the way of progress. All the open space in the Zoo must be planned to provide an attractive setting for the buildings. Flower-beds, lawns, and seats for the public have to be included in the plan. All this is a good argument to shift the Madras Zoo from its present site to Guindy where about 400 acres in beautiful, healthy, sylvan surroundings are available.

Col. Hagenbeck, the famous German zoologist, has given abundant practical proof that all large animals and birds could be acclimatised and remain perfectly healthy even in the severest winter and the hottest summer weather, when given free access to fresh open air, light, space, and cleanliness. The Madras Zoo has to conduct experiments in this acclimatisation process. Climate plays a minor part in determining the distribution of animals in the world. When the Polar bear, and other rare animals have a longer lease of life in the Zoos in Colombo, Mysore and other places, why cannot it be so in Madras?

Another contribution of Col. Hagenbeck was the panoramic display of spe-

NEHRU ON THE TEMPTATION OF POWER

Mr. Tibor Mende had four interviews with the Prime Minister in October 1955 and he brought out a book entitled *Conversations with Mr. Nehru* in 1956. The Prime Minister's replies to some of the questions—on page 46 of the book—are very illuminating. I reproduce them here:

Nehru: I agree with you that power for power's sake is an important element—certainly, in a number of individuals, if not in everybody. All I can say is that ultimately human society may so develop that the desire of power for power's sake may diminish; that is, if individuals are given opportunities to develop as they want to. But anyhow it is desirable to limit these urges to domination. If you limit the possibilities of economic domination, if you limit the advantages which you gain from power

Tibor Mende: If you circumscribe the temptation

Nehru: Quite so. If you circumscribe the temptation, then something will remain, no doubt, but you deal with that. You deal with that almost as you deal with a criminal who misbehaves. Again, if I may say so, the concentration of power—political,

economic, instead of merely exhibiting the animals in cages, he constructed ambitious rockworks and pools so that they were seen to advantage by the public against a semi-natural background.

For most children, the climax to a Zoo visit has always been a ride on an elephant or a camel or may be a drive in a small cart drawn by a llama. The Zoo at People's Park has allowed this feature to lapse. I am glad that the authorities are contemplating a Pets Corner or Children's Zoo and have earmarked a small sum for the purpose. These will teach children familiarity with a variety of animals in a way not possible by any other method, and give them a chance to grow without fear of animals and with a sympathetic and enlightened attitude towards them.

The sum of Rs. 4 lakhs sanctioned by the Corporation can be well utilized for shifting the Zoo to Guindy. Public interest in Zoos is very great today. If the Corporation is able to put up a modern Zoo with a large number of animals from all parts of the world, maintain it properly and devote adequate medical attention to the animals in their charge, the Madras Zoo will soon be one of the best in the world.

V. PATTABHARAN.

economic or any other type—is dangerous even in a good man. That's why we don't want a king who is an autocrat. We do not want an economic emperor to hold power. We don't like monopolies. In other words, the normal tendency should be for decentralization of all kinds of power so that people may equally share them.

No one could have put the ideals of the Swatantra Party better than the Prime Minister. If he had continued the same opinion there would have been no occasion for the Swatantra Party to be formed in 1959.

Again, on pages 80-81, the questions and answers are equally interesting. I reproduce them below:

Tibor Mende: These reflections on neutrality may bring up the question about the classical forms of neutrality—like Switzerland's, let's say—which, in the past, have always been based on the guarantee of the stronger Powers. Would, in Asia, the newly liberated countries welcome, or would they consider sympathetically, a similar kind of arrangement? A guarantee of neutrality on the part of the Great Powers on both sides of the ideological barricades?

Nehru: That, again, is a question which each country has to consider and decide for itself. India is fortunately situated. I think it is true to say that India has not a trace of fear of either of the Great Powers.

Tibor Mende: You mean in the military sense?

Nehru: Yes, I mean in a military sense. Not because we are proud and think that we can do anything, but we just don't come in the way of either group. It is a question of geography. There is no particularly strong incentive for either of them to attack India—they are strong, after all—still, they would have a very hot welcome. They would rather add to their difficulties. We can make it very hot for anyone who does that. So, India is safe. It is quite absurd for anyone to think that we are shaking in our shoes. We are not. India is safe indeed!

These conversations took place in October 1955. In 1957 China occupied over 12,000 square miles of our territory and they claim over 90,000 square miles of India as their own.

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POP GOES THE WEASEL!

By POTHAN JOSEPH

In his perfervid speech to bring on record Parliament's approval of the Third Five Year Plan, the Prime Minister paused, musing where the wealth produced by the first two Plans had gone. 40 per cent was the augmentation in his estimate, but he spoke before the Reserve Bank could in its latest report divulge the melancholy fact that agricultural output had actually slumped in inverse proportion to the number of mouths to feed. Statistics can be made to prove anything, but assuming that industrial production had outdistanced farming claims, the *arriere pensee* about the fate of the surplus in our total economy appears to be, on the surface, a legitimate subject of academic research. There is a nursery rhyme as to how the money goes:

*Up and down the City Road
In and out the Eagle,
That's the way the money goes,
Pop goes the Weasel!*

That a favourable balance-sheet could hardly be struck from deficit-financing and the ledger-dream of created money did not seem to have weighed with the party-benches which promptly applauded the Prime Minister's idea. Everyone wonders by the middle of the month how the money goes; and we obey the injunction about loving our neighbours as ourselves at least to the limited extent of wondering where their money goes.

Pandit Nehru's query has been translated into a decision to order an enquiry (right now, and not a probe at "the appropriate time"), since he, the

architect of planning, is curious to learn if "the benefits" of the first two Plans have been equitably distributed amongst the masses. It would be as easy for a committee of Government experts (the standard strength of committees now is 35, non-official M.Ps included for recess occupation) as for a scientist to lift mercury with a tuning fork. As far as the workers are concerned the purchasing value of any paper-increase in wages has been counter-balanced by jerks in price-indices. Thanks to insidious processes of governmental finance, we are now in the hands of friendly nations; and whilst the average family-unit consumes less, the authorities are driven to the dictum that we should export much more and import much less. And when it comes to calculated shortage of imports, the categories are so engineered and so permit-ridden that we find ourselves dumped with comparative non-essentials from abroad for mass-benefit. New industries outside the tout-area of official patronage have not on the whole reached the take-off stage, and the State Trading Corporation is on the prowl. The probe-committee to explore the channels of untraced wealth in the last ten years will of course be "high-powered", driven by atomic energy if possible; but what is it that has started the fantasy?

The Prime Minister is, so to speak, sure that the nigger-in-the-woodpile hides himself in the private sector which if proved would, of course, be a slap in the face for the champions of individual enterprise outside State-ownership. No clairvoyant would be able, however, to perform the assignment.

On the other hand, an inquiry into the emoluments collected by those who make a parliamentary livelihood would be more feasible, and evidence might substantially justify Rajaji's plea that spokesmen of the people should have a solvent occupation lest they become enslaved to a party-regime which unabashedly, and alone, insists on freedom to tap business-concerns for their future success and affluence.

Kumbhamela committees to investigate the obvious and advisory bodies by lorryfuls, pass through Accounts, as so many probes. Funds are collected on omnibus scale, and there is no licence-issue to restrict operations; painless extractions as the dentists say. The Prime Minister's curiosity as to where benefits

THE GLORY AND TRAGEDY OF NEHRU

High tributes have been paid to Nehru by his friend Asoka Mehta. Nehru is "ever a step forward; but he rarely attempts to discover where the earlier steps have gone wrong or how to overcome the inadequacies in a situation". Nehru is next to none in the broad mission of inspiring men; he has never succeeded in welding them into a team.

Time was when he felt in 1950 that the Planning Commission had been set up as if only to *humour* him. Then he was indulging in phrases like "individual liberty" and "fair compensation" in connection with the taking over of private enterprises.

On the eve of capturing power in 1947 he was striving for a social structure which could provide an alternative "to the acquisitive economy of private capitalism and the regimentation of a totalitarian State".

The strong criticisms now made about the Prime Minister by men like Asoka Mehta and A. D. Shroff are: His planning is lop-sided. Progress is small compared to the cost incurred. Priority is not given to the development of agriculture. State-trading is proving an obnoxious feature. There has been grave loss of individual liberty and ruthless killing of private enterprise. There has been huge corruption, and the administration is cracking up.

As everyone observed at the Bangalore Congress, "the magic of his (Nehru's) personality, after ten years in power, has begun to fade".

As Sri H. V. R. Iengar, an unblemished administrator, poses it, "should not colleagues and associates who may be no longer as useful as before to the administration, be jettisoned and replaced by more efficient persons"?

In other words, Pandit Nehru has failed to do what is administratively necessary as his personal regard for a friend has often warped his sense of administrative duty.

The glory of Nehru's leadership has been in his gallop after ideas; the tragedy of that hasty rush is to be found in administrative inefficiency and the mounting corruption in holders of high places near him.

K. R. R. SASTRY.

had spread and where the money goes should begin with some feasible and useful ambit of research, to which party-hacks are bound, naturally, to raise objections.

THIRD PLAN IN THE MELTING POT

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The Government of India have appointed five committees with a total of more than 150 legislators to consider and endorse their Third Plan. At least three reasons can be seen for this move; first, that the Parliament did not unanimously endorse the draft Plan, making Government painfully conscious that the very few dissenters may say as the Plan and the economy are wrecked, that they had forecast it; second, that outside Parliament, there has been widespread criticism of the Plan, while no one questioned the preceding two Plans; and third, that the World Bank has disagreed with the details of the Plan, implying thereby an interrogation of its basic principles.

The strategy of the Government may recoil on itself. Though the committees have chairmen and majorities who will be bound by party discipline to endorse the plan, some members of the Congress may question the details and members of other parties may question the principles of the Plan, thereby involving the Planning Commission in revisions and in any case, disturbing the public complacency that the Plan is the last word for their improvement. If therefore the Government thought that by obliging members of Parliament by appointment to these committees, it would obtain an endorsement from the Parliament to its Plan, it may be disappointed.

The question therefore is of disposing the members to an examination of the Plan, in the interests of the coun-

try. Some may lack the inclination and more may lack the information about the objectives and consequences of the Plan. The draft is not informative, even the results of the Second Plan being estimates of what it may produce in 1961. There is no appraisal of the expenditure, in terms of changes in the pattern of living and working. Not one defect or deficiency has been indicated in the various new lines initiated in the first Plan, which are being religiously repeated. Information has therefore to be found from other publications of Government, the various departmental reports, the Economic Survey to the Budget, India 1960, the reports of special committees and from press comments and public criticism of the Plan. The question is if Government will make all this compendiously available to the members?

Any ignorance which Government may foster will be interrogated by the visual and sometimes physical evidence of economic facts, like inflation, taxation, unemployment and maladministration. Since 1939, inflation has been nearly 500 per cent arising largely from an increase by 100 per cent in currency, national indebtedness and taxation. Even between May 1955 and January 1960, the Index of wholesale prices rose from 89 to 119, an increase of 33 per cent, which is reflected more strongly in retail prices. An increase of 250 per cent in expenditure during the Third Plan will intoxicate prices even more. In the circumstances, the com-

mittees of legislators will have to examine all proposals in the Third Plan, with reference at least to the four observations in the report of the World Bank.

The first observation is that the fourth steel plant should not be established by Government "until alternative possibilities of a further expansion of production in the private sector are fully explored". This principle deserves to be applied to every State enterprise because it will relieve the common taxpayer of taxes and loans which are substituting the savings of those willing and able to make investments. To the extent it substitutes foreign investment for foreign loans, the gap in the foreign exchange will be closed, while the best equipment and know-how will be brought by the investors in their own interest.

The second observation is that the coal shortage, which has affected textile production and is keeping down the capacity of the new steel factories, be relieved by removing the restrictions on mining leases and by allowing prices that can keep supplies equal to the demand. There is also a general principle here that can apply to nearly all production, which is checked by licences and prices.

The third observation is that the profit margin of 8 to 12 per cent allowed by the Tariff Commission leaves very little to finance expansion and the Commission might have added, to cover risks.

The fourth observation is that industry, big and small, suffers from "cumbersome control measures and formal-

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ties in granting licences". The mistrust in the capacity of the people to invest their own money and secure their markets is inconsistent with both industrialisation and democracy. It creates monopolies in favour of those in position, which is reflected in the high prices the common people pay. That removal of controls increases production and reduces prices is not only established by experience but has been startlingly proved recently by the lowering of prices following the very proposal to remove zonal controls for wheat.

The Government will not be able to ignore the suggestions of the World Bank because the Third Plan depends even in a greater measure than that stated, on foreign loans. The compliance, however, may be slow, on grounds like shortages and famines though these are the very reasons to liberate production for rising to the level of demands.

Other tests which may be applied to the proposals in the Plan are; first, do they create the maximum employment for the expenditure; second, do they maximise the economic condition of the

people, which is the basis for all other improvements; and third, do they fully capitalise the finance and resources of the people. According to Prof. Mahalanobis, the idle time of the people adds up to 45 million unemployed, which is nearly one-third of the working force. For an investment of 180 crores, a steel factory can only employ 8000 people, while engineering industries can employ 100,000 and construction, 1,000,000. The Plan must therefore be recast in favour of labour intensive projects.

In spite of statistical claims, which the Prime Minister himself has questioned, the economic condition of the people has not improved, that of farm labour having actually deteriorated according to the latest report. The take-off for a self-generative economy can come only from the growing strength and satisfaction of the people. The Plan therefore requires to be recast for what will currently serve the people, like better housing.

Capitalisation of finance and resources depends on the satisfaction of the intelligent self-interest of the people. The

Prime Minister himself disclosed that finance is so abundant that for an enterprise of 1.6 crores, 98 crores were offered. By preventing investment, the Government is not only depriving the common people of the benefit of free competition but is immobilising money and labour, which has inflationary consequences. The Plan must therefore maximise private enterprise by provision of the infra structure of services and even subsidies. The apprehension that free enterprise will increase inequalities ignores that its beneficiaries belong to all classes. In any case, the inequalities will be for the benefit of the country, as the expenditure tax limits personal extravagance, assuring that profits are ploughed back.

The Third Plan must be based on free enterprise so that economic independence is restored to the people as the natural complement of political independence. This should be the main task of the parliamentary committees. Even though it places the draft Plan in the melting pot, it will save it from repeating the failure of the preceding two Plans.

Dr. BESANT'S WARNINGS COME TRUE

By B. R. KUMAR

1st October is the 113th anniversary of Dr. Besant's birthday and 20th September is the 27th anniversary of her death—and these two dates coming so soon after the ghastly happenings of Assam, it may not be out of place to connect the two and distil their lesson.

Though Dr. Besant first landed in India in 1893, till 1914 she confined her work to educational, social and religious reform. In 1914 after the first world war had broken out, she entered the political field, her goal being Home Rule within the Commonwealth. She was elected President of the Congress in 1917 at Calcutta. She was then at the height of her popularity.

In April 1919, occurred the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, which brought Gandhiji on the political scene with his programme of civil disobedience, and new methods of political agitation which Dr. Besant opposed with all her strength. Gandhiji's star ascended; Dr. Besant's declined, and by 1930 she was almost an outcast in India—so much so that she was not even invited to any of the Round Table conferences between 1930 and the date of her death. She died in 1933, in political disgrace, with the Britisher who considered her a renegade. But when Independence came in 1947, her reputation suffered even more, for had she not opposed Gandhiji who was now the prophet of victory! Thus when the Prime Minister Pandit Nehru outlined the history of the framing of our Constitution by ourselves, he did not consider it worthwhile to mention that Dr. Besant was the first to emphasise the fact that the Indian Constitution must be framed by the Indians, and that actually she had succeeded in introducing into the House of Commons a "Commonwealth of India Bill" in 1927, framed by eminent Indians, elected members of the various Indian legislatures of that date.

Dr. Besant opposed Gandhiji's programme of civil disobedience on the simple ground that while it may be the duty of individuals to oppose a bad law and be prepared to pay the penalty, to inculcate a whole nation in the arts and practices of civil disobedience would make all civilised life impossible. It would take millenia, she said, to build up habits of obedience to the law on which all civilisation is based; the destruction of the habit can be accomplished in a few years. And so time after time she warned Gandhiji, that once the masses learned habits of lawlessness against the Britisher, they would persist in them even against their own

Indian rulers, and make all administration impossible. The mob, she said, can destroy; it can never build; it is a tiger which once you get on, you can never get off. This attitude was the same as that of Christ, when he advised his followers to render unto Caesar the things that are of Caesar. It was the same attitude that led Socrates to drink the cup of hemlock rather than escape and bring the law into contempt.

It is often said that Gandhiji learned his technique of civil disobedience from Thoreau. But in his Essay on "Civil Disobedience", Thoreau nowhere brings in the masses. All he said was that in the last analysis every good man must judge the actions of the State from the stand-point of his own conscience, and at some time or another it may be his duty to disobey them. The Philosophy and the technique of the application of this duty on a mass scale was Gandhiji's own, and Mrs. Besant opposed it both in principle, and in its application. In principle, she maintained that one's *dharma* is relative to one's position, and the situation. It is the *dharma* of the student to study, and therefore he has no business to enter active politics while a student. And so, when Gandhiji advised the students to enter politics, she opposed him with all her power. Gandhiji of course won and Dr. Besant became the most unpopular person in the student circles. It has been related that at a students' meeting held in Allahabad at which Pandit Nehru was present, Dr. Besant was howled down. And since then the student community has become a menace to the stability of the country, as witnessed by the events in the various universities, and the report that in the Assam happenings it was the students who took the leading part. Similarly, Dr. Besant was opposed to the civil services being brought into party politics. We are told that a number of officials in Assam are being proceeded for neglect of duty. *Dharma* is the basis of this universe; but *dharma* is relative; and hence Dr. Besant could never accept Gandhiji's philosophy that a whole nation can be called upon to undertake a duty that is essentially individual.

One has only to ponder over the fundamental cause of all our misfortunes of the last 13 years to realise that at the back of them all has been the actuality and the potentiality of mob violence. The linguistic division of India has been brought about in obedience to mob violence. Pandit Nehru was opposed to the establishment of the

Andhra State; he was opposed to the disintegration of Hyderabad; he was opposed to the break-up of Bombay. The Socialistic pattern of society slogan with all its injustices, its contradictions, its squandermania, its absurdities, is in the last analysis a homage to the power of the mob—the mob must have its bread and the slogan promises it to them. Dr. Besant's unpopularity began when in 1919 at the time of the Delhi firing, she said "brickbats must be answered by bullets". How prophetic she was can be calculated by any one if he will add up all the occasions since Independence when mobs have had to be fired on.

The happenings in Assam, the latest in a series beginning with partition, are not an isolated event; they are not providential acts of an unkind God; they are the fruits of 40 years of theories and practices of lawlessness; they are wrong slogans come home to roost. But neither the speeches of the Ministers nor of members of Parliament appear to recognise this fact; there would almost appear to be a conspiracy of silence on this matter—perhaps not unnatural under the circumstances. But because the ostrich prefers to hide its head in the sand, the danger does not cease to be.

There is nothing so dangerous as self-deception. The disregarded warnings of Dr. Besant that bad means can never lead to desirable ends—that loss of respect for law in the masses against the Britisher will in the long run react against ourselves—are now bearing fruit. Till respect for law is re-established there can be no sane politics. Nagaland will be conceded not to argument but to force; Punjab will be divided not as a concession to reason, but to the argument of force; so also imposition of Hindi; and so through every facet of our national life. This is not politics but gangsterism—events in Assam are its latest illustration.

Often in life to recede in order to advance is the only wisdom. Life in every aspect is based on certain first principles; these can be ignored only at the cost of suffering and death. The whole history of Dr. Besant's political opposition to Gandhiji was based on this principle, and experience has shown that she was right and her opponents wrong. Unless we can retrace our political steps of the last 40 years, and create a new generation of leaders who base politics on first principles, and not on expediency, the events of Assam, "ghastly" as the Prime Minister has described them, will repeat themselves over and over again, until India is Balkanised, or a dictator steps in to save us from ourselves.

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MAN FROM MOSCOW

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

Why has the Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev gone to the U.N.? And why are so many heads of governments collecting in New York? As one tries to search for answers, more questions appear.

A front-page editorial in *Pravda*, the Soviet newspaper, said last week that Khrushchev and his allies hoped to have the U.N. Assembly discuss Soviet proposals on "universal and complete disarmament" and the "national independence of people and their economic development". It also said that closely connected with all the issues is Moscow's proclaimed policy of peaceful co-existence, which has been the subject of some debate within the international Communist movement.

Although this is the ostensible objective of Khrushchev's visit to the U.N., a number of constructions have been superimposed on it. It has been said that his visit is to score a propaganda victory over the United States and to demonstrate to the new and emergent nations of the U.N. that the Soviet Union stands for peaceful co-existence and not for domination. It has also been reported that he is going to the U.N. to work for a rapprochement with the United States.

Whatever may be the secret and undeclared objectives of the visit, by and large, the world appears to have taken him seriously. Even some of the American leaders are inclined to accept Khrushchev's *bona fides* in the present situation. Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic Party leader, said on September 17 that the desire expressed by the Soviet leader for slowing down the armament race appeared to be real.

If that were so, the attitude of the U.S. Government to Khrushchev's visit has been on the whole unrealistic. The action taken by the U.S. Government to restrict the movement of the Soviet Premier to Manhattan Island would appear to do more harm than good, although the anxiety of the U.S. Government for the personal safety of the visiting Premier is understandable.

Khrushchev comes to the U.N. at a time when a new line-up is forming, as a result of which the voting pattern of the U.N. is swinging in favour of the Soviet desire for a reconsideration of the problems that divide the world. There will soon be 26 African member states in the U.N., which number is more than that of the representatives from Asia or Latin America. Even last year except on certain special occasions the West found it difficult to obtain a two-thirds majority on many issues.

When the U.N. membership reaches a hundred this session, the Soviet bloc plus the nations of Asia and Africa will have an undisputed two-thirds majority. Khrushchev has come to woo this vital uncommitted group. There can be no better opportunity to do it.

Implicit in these developments is the danger that the West may drift from the U.N. As a seasoned U.N. correspondent put it recently, "this is beginning to create apprehension about the amount of public acceptance that the U.N. will then possess in West Europe, in U.S. and the white members of the British Commonwealth".

In Cuba and other countries of Latin America, the Soviet Union is now appearing as the defender of political and economic freedom. In Congo it champions the progressives against the supporters of imperialism although the Soviet action there is undermining the prestige of the United Nations. The Soviet and the Czech ambassadors were forced to leave the Congo, but Soviet prestige throughout Africa is on the ascendant.

Furthermore, the climate is in favour of Khrushchev because the U.S. is on the run in many fronts. One of the principal objectives of Soviet foreign policy has been to isolate the U.S. from her allies, just as the U.S. effort has been to create a sinister image of the Soviet Union in the minds of people everywhere. The Soviets have met with much success. Khrushchev has succeeded in creating suspicion against American activities, particularly about bases, in Japan, Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Italy, Britain and Norway. Pakistan is now willing to sign a trade treaty with the Soviet Union, and Iran, a staunch ally of the West, is reportedly interested in reaching an understanding with Moscow. Khrushchev said the other day: "I think that more surprises are in store for the American imperialists".

Despite the strange forces let loose by the Soviet diplomacy, world hurries to the U.N. in the hope that this may be yet another chance to save itself. This accounts for the desire of many neutral leaders to go to the U.N. to make a final attempt to resolve the problems that face the world today.

In the clash of cold war politics, the neutral leaders for the past year or two appear to have been forced into a secondary role. Nehru and Nasser, Tito and Sukarno have had relatively less to do in the front-line of world politics. They will, no doubt, welcome this opportunity to make their contribution to the strengthening of the forces of peace.

SIDELIGHTS

(Continued from page 4)

for his absence from the meetings. In the present case, the petitioner was temporarily disqualified from being a member, and under such circumstances, it was not correct on the part of the Director of Local Bodies to remove him from the membership of the Board under Section 63(1).

The petitioner has placed on record a copy of the resolution, which was moved by one of the members of the Board on 4th March 1960, recommending to the Government that no action should be taken against the petitioner on account of his absence from the meetings of the Board. This resolution was passed unanimously in the meeting of the Board on 20th March 1960, and thus it is clear that the Board impliedly gave leave to the petitioner to absent himself from the said meetings since he was suffering from a statutory disability in that duration. There was thus all the more reason that the Director of Local Bodies ought not to have proceeded against the petitioner under Section 63(1) (a) of the New Act.

It is unfortunate that the facts and circumstances narrated by him were not taken into consideration before passing the order of removal against him. It has already been noted that nobody has cared to appear on behalf of the non-petitioners to justify the action taken against the petitioner.

From the fact that the Rajasthan Government would not or could not defend the case, it is clear that even the benefit of the doubt as to the bona fides of their action cannot be given to them. Of what use is so-called panchayat raj, municipal self-government and vaunted decentralisation of the administration if autocratic official authority has no compunction or shame about violating the clear verdict of the law? The only safeguard for the inviolability of the law as a protective umbrella for the rights of the citizen is the authority of the judiciary. Even the Constitution has now lost its sacredness, thanks to the licensed liberty of the executive to get round unpalatable judicial mandates with propitiatory amendments of the Constitution. SAKA.

But the main role will be played by the man from Moscow. Peace in our generation will depend largely on what he will say and do.

KHRUSHCHEV'S GOING TO U. N.

The following is the text of a statement issued by Sri Rajaji on September 15, 1960 to the Press:

For quickness as well as fullness of understanding, for energy as well as a sense of justice, and for undoubted integrity, there is no man today to compare with Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld. He is, I venture to think, a God-sent man to guard peace against the many powerful people in this world who are without realising it ranged against peace. All world opinion should go to comfort and strengthen the soul of this unique good man.

He has in his latest annual report to the General Assembly of the United Nations, dealing with disarmament, laid his finger on the spot: "Negotiations not surprisingly have presented extraordinary difficulties but the time has come for the common interest to take precedence over the specific security interests of any one party".

Here is the key to the coming solution—for come it must, if the world and civilisation must be saved. The key is that the common interest must take precedence over the claims of any of the two parties, or for that matter, of any of the nations of the world for its own security interests. There is no solution possible if every nation or each one of the two blocs demands complete fraud-proof, force-proof security against the possible wickedness of others. This

is a simple mathematical proposition, a and b cannot each be slightly larger than the other—and the demand for security consists in being larger than the other under any contingency. This being impossible, it is the common interest that must precede and prevail—the common object of removing from the scene what is a certain threat to survival and a weapon of total destruction, a weapon which, if ever put into action, is a total poison to mankind. We cannot arm ourselves with a weapon whose use means total destruction. One cannot plead for keeping a score of cobra or a dozen tigers as watch dogs whatever the value of our sheep.

UNILATERAL ACTION

And now, after saying this, let me go on to my own theme. This common interest demands the precedence of unilateral action to fears about one's own security. It is this positive step of tremendous moral potency that will solve what has been demonstrated on the plane of bilateral agreement as impracticable. Bilateral agreement is, I fear, a will-o-the-wisp that is leading the Powers away from common sense. But let us wish God's blessings and all success to negotiations as long as they are attempted.

Mr. Khrushchev has decided to go to the U.N. It is a challenge that cannot be ignored. First neutrals, then neutrals

with a benevolent bias one way or the other, then the nuclear Powers, all must go. It cannot and should not be avoided.

Let me warn the diplomats of the world that in suspecting Mr. Khrushchev of bad intentions, they may go too far. He has it seems to me realised that his performance at Paris went too far ahead of his intentions. He wanted to tell the West that he had seen their mind, that they had no intention to reach a positive treaty at the Summit and that he was not going to wait for a slow breakdown. But in exhibiting his clarity of vision, he overdid it and made himself useless for the peace he desired. So in spite of the President's own confession, he says, now again that he is convinced that Mr. Eisenhower did not know about the U-2 affair. He resumes his respect for Mr. Eisenhower's character as a gentleman and desires to resume the spirit of friendship. That is why he goes to U.N. not alone for propaganda purposes or further to black-guard America. And if this analysis be correct, he should be helped.

I may be wrong, but it is worthwhile giving some value to this appraisal of the situation and to see if conduct bears it out and not put impediments in the way of friendship and understanding. In fact, I think, Mr. Khrushchev goes to New York to make amends for Paris, and this should be welcomed and assisted. It is too valuable, if true or even if only possible, to be dismissed without trial.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Capital Comments

(Continued from page 3)

dent's honoured guest, he stayed on that occasion at the Rashtrapati Bhawan where guests were normally expected to confine their stay to three days. The President could not prevail upon him to extend his stay even by a day, despite the explanation and assurance that if there was any rule to the effect that no guest should stay beyond the third day, it was not really meant for one like him. Sri M. V. quietly shifted to a private hotel, the idea of overstaying, even as a result of the Presidential intervention, having shocked him.

His exalted sense of right and wrong, which made many a man quail in his shoes, if not also blush with shame, cannot be better conveyed than by illustrating it from a few more incidents in his own life or his own way of doing things. They may well be narrated for the revelation of character at the highest. If by implication they read as a commentary on latter-day laxities or current trends in our national life, the greater indeed is their significance.

In those now far-off days when, as Mysore's Dewan, he was on tour in the interior, Visvesvaraya was known to be carrying with him some candles for working at night. They were differently labelled—"official" and "personal"—so that he might not ever make the mistake of using a candle purchased for the office when he was writing his personal letters.

The Mysore University sought to honour him by giving an honorary doctorate, even as the Bombay, Calcutta, and Banaras Universities honoured him earlier or later. Visvesvaraya turned down the Mysore University's offer with the revealing remark: "I don't accept any favour at the hands of my own child."

All this perhaps appears old-fashioned or out of date these days when Ministers write all kinds of letters to all kinds of men without having to bother about postage out of their pockets, and are known to be restless till they receive honorary doctorates from some University or other by what can only be called high-level manoeuvres and could also pass for Doctors, contrary to well-established conventions in the West where

such recipients of honorary doctorates do not seek to convert into prefixes what are meant as suffixes. In what other country do we find so reckless a disregard for good conventions and reasonable standards and at such high levels as in this country? These are not small matters: they are symptomatic of a national malady which contrives to make dubious prominence pass for real eminence.

Many recalled on the occasion of Sri M.V.'s 100th birthday his great services to the nation, particularly by his engineering achievements. But no one seems to have cared to recall that when Sri M.V. laboured for six and half long years in the interests of the Bhadravati Iron Works, he did so "without rest and without remuneration" and that having desired to make a special study of such works abroad, he travelled all over Europe and America—at his own expense. The lessons to be learnt from this patriarch of planning are not confined to mere planning for which we have developed such a tremendous zeal now: they are to be churned out of his life as a whole for the nectar that will do us good.



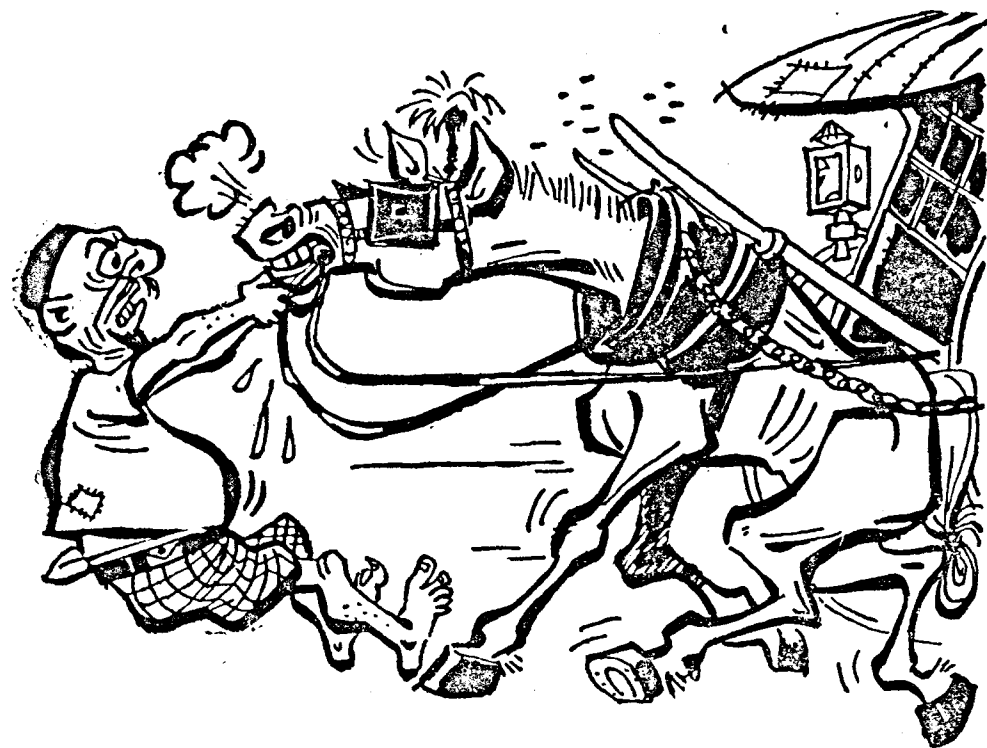
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September 24, 1960

SWARAJYA

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR SOCIALISM AND SOCIALIST PATTERNS

Sir,—Your readers may be interested in this extract from what Sir Arthur Bryant says in the *Illustrated London News* of 23rd April 1960:

"The Socialist Parties, in this and other countries, assume and sincerely believe that public expenditure and public control of expenditure are morally preferable to individual expenditure and control of expenditure; indeed the assumption is made that there is something inherently wrong in increasing a private person's purchasing power, in other words economic freedom, unless he is very poor and, by and large, a rather unenterprising person. A little more for the working man's tobacco, beer and cinema or television is about the most in the way of "self-indulgence"—for so private expenditure is regarded—this austere school of thought will countenance. The result is, on the one hand, a constant restraint on the activities of the individual and a deadening uniformity of thought and behaviour, and on the other, a fantastic extravagance in the sphere of public expenditure. Anyone who believes that the latter does not exist and that State and Local Government expenditure cannot be reduced need only spend, say, an hour in Hyde Park—to take a single small example—and count the number of cars carrying privileged persons along the footpaths on the apparent assumption that no one engaged on public business should ever walk a hundred yards, whatever the cost of providing him with publicly-supported transport may be. And anyone who observes this will also be an eye-witness of the indirect extension of the same principle into private business—of the spectacle of hundreds of expensive cars provided and maintained by firms out of Treasury-allowed expense accounts, regardless of their real contribution to the success of the business that maintains them, because, under our Gilbertan tax system, the bulk of the cost can be passed on to the Treasury. The one inviolable principle of this preparatory school philosophy of expenditure is that the unofficial person must never have untrammelled control of what he earns by his own effort. Above all, though the man who already possesses capital is allowed, under certain circumstances, to retain it, the man without capital, however industrious he may be, must never be allowed to acquire it, except by gambling and speculation".

If welfarist Socialism can operate thus in a country which has pioneered freedom and achieved sustained marvels of agricultural and industrial progress for centuries, it is no wonder that an illiterate and backward country plunging into Socialism the moment it was released from alien wardship presents a similar, but more intolerable spectacle of public waste and private misery. In Britain there is full employment and social security; in India unemployment, under-employment and misemployment account for more than half the adult population. Yet we support here an obscene public extravagance unmatched in the contemporary world and unknown to any ancient regime of the East or the West.

R. BHASKARAN.

OUR EXPORT POLICY

Sir,—Despite the vociferous statements of the Union Commerce & Industry Minister, and the persistent emphasis of the Government of India on export promotion, there is one basic defect in the implementation of the policy. In the absence of a competent authority to check and ensure the quality of our country's products sent to traders abroad (by a process of standardisation and quality-control before goods are exported), we are now losing valuable markets in foreign countries either on account of the inferior quality of goods or adulteration and other malpractices indulged in by some

Indian exporters. The problem can be solved by the creation of an authoritative and responsible body to scrutinise and certify the quality of all our exports as well as to impose severe penalties on exporters who bring discredit to the nation by their malpractices. It is high time that the Union Government took effective steps in the matter.

Madras.

R. CHELLAPPA.

EXEMPTION TO APPEAR FOR M.A. EXAM.

Sir,—Several difficulties have now crept in the matter of obtaining exemption from the University of Madras to appear for the M.A. Degree examination, April 1961. As per the rules and regulations of the University, every teacher applying for exemption must have served for three years in recognized high schools and must continue to be employed in such high schools on the date of application for exemption. The University and the Government of Madras must have been aware of the functioning of a number of newly started aided secondary schools in the State which are yet to be temporarily recognised by the Department of Education. The managements of these high schools had already submitted their applications for temporary recognition to the D.P.I., Madras. There are a number of B.T., assistants (Social Studies) employed in such schools and they have already put in a service of more than three years in recognised secondary schools. They now intend appearing for the M.A. Degree examination taking into their consideration the future prospects under the new scheme of higher secondary education to be introduced

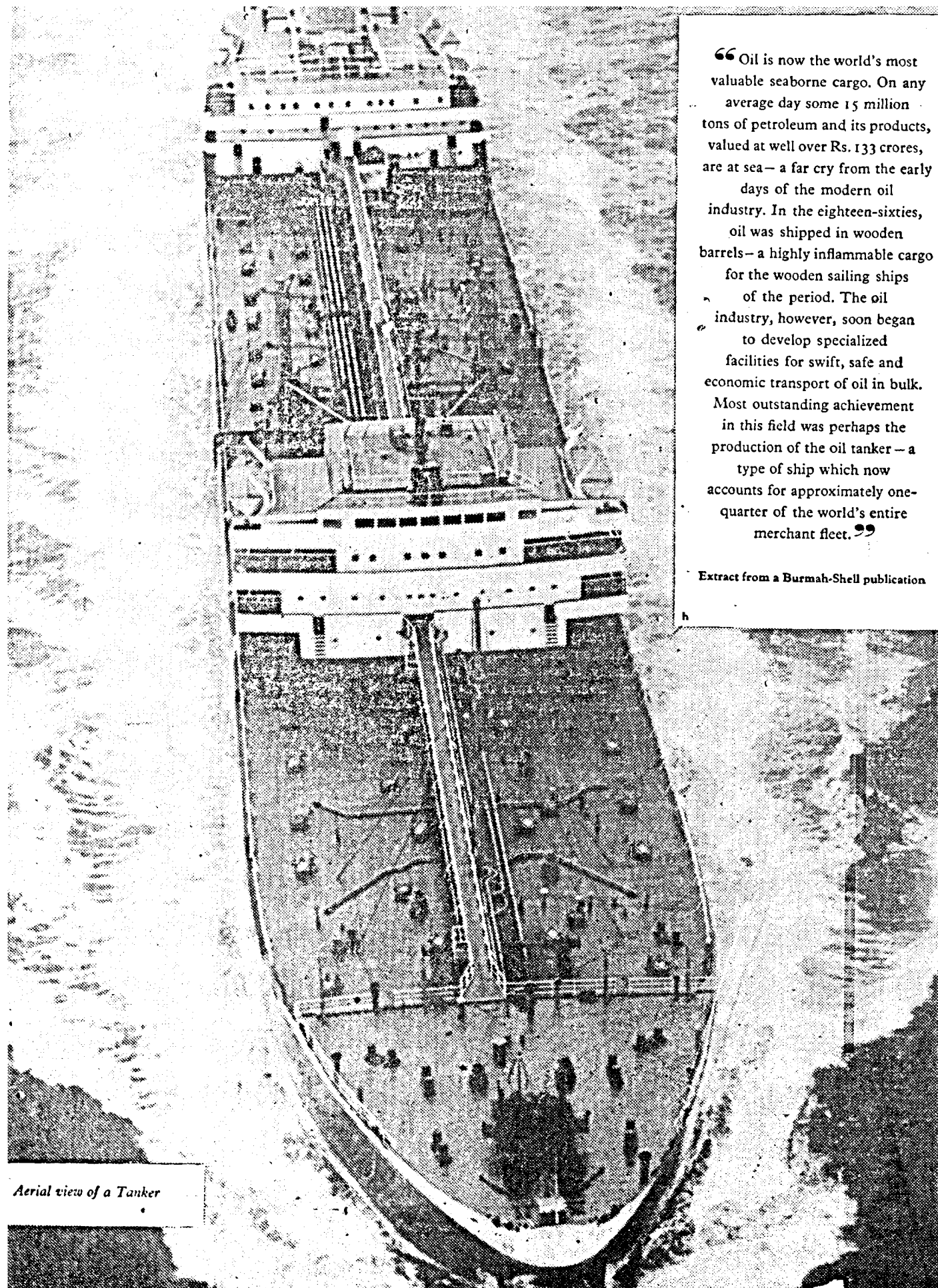
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Extract from a Burmah-Shell publication

September 24, 1960

in the State from 1963. But they are disappointed to note that their present service does not conform to the prescribed rules of the University. Will the Registrar and the D.P.I. clarify the position of these teachers.

P. JAGADEESAN.
Mayuram.

LEADERS OF THE FUTURE

Sir,—Recently, I was in Madras. I was travelling by a local train. Two boys—presumably college students—entered my compartment. One of them asked the other what will happen to the Brahmin community ten years hence. The other replied that this community will have to face the same fate as the Jews in Hitler's Germany. His friend said that it was satisfying to note the Brahmins were not getting good jobs in the Government and hoped for a special enactment which would banish the community from the State for ever, for they were Aryans, pure and simple. The other one said that they should be grateful to eminent sons like Sri Kamaraj and Periyar who were the actual torch-bearers of Tamilnad. He also hoped that the Congress will win in the next elections, by which time some amendment will be brought in the Congress Constitution whereby Periyar will find a place in the Madras Government.

That is an example of the mature thinking among our student community—the leaders of the future generation. May God give them wisdom and good thoughts.

Bombay. K. V. S. EASWARAN.

POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

Sir,—In the issue of SWARAJYA dated August 6, 1960 Sri P. Kodanda Rao contended that in the exercise of his executive powers, the President of India under the Constitution is in no way fettered or obligated by the advice of his Council of Ministers and that the Constitution should prevail against conventions in all controversies.

Article 147 of the Constitution expressly confers on the Supreme Court the power to interpret the Constitution and assigns to it the role of a sentinel on the *qui vive*. Though Article 53 vests the executive power in the President, yet by the introduction of the principle of ministerial responsibility, the Constitution of India has departed from the strict theory of separation of powers underlying the American Constitution. Although we have an elected President, Article 74 has introduced the same system of parliamentary executive as in England and it has been observed by the Supreme Court in Ram Jawaya Vs. The State of Punjab (1955 2

SWARAJYA

S.C.R. 225(237) that the powers of the President under our Constitution are reduced to that of a formal or constitutional head of the executive, the real powers being exercised by the Council of Ministers. In spite of there being no obligatory provision in the Constitution restricting the President's executive powers, Article 61 (not 56) providing for the impeachment of the President by Parliament for violation of the Constitution read with Article 75(3) providing for the collective responsibility of the Cabinet (whose members are the leaders of Parliament as constitutionally understood) puts an enormous brake-power in the hands of the Cabinet and therefore the relationship obtaining under the Constitution between the President and his Cabinet can at best be described as a three-legged race.

Bangalore. S. P. VASUDEVAN.

LANGUAGE FANATICISM

Sir,—Scientific or pseudo-scientific theories about race are different from patriotic sentiment. Race is not the nation. Nations are all mixed in blood beyond the possibility of disentanglement. IT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH LANGUAGE. The Scots speak 2 languages, the Belgians and Swiss 3 each and the Americans at least a dozen. Nationalism is different from racialism.

Masulipatam. K. RADHAKRISHNAYYA.

PROFIT MOTIVE

Sir,—Minister R. Venkataraman said: “so far as the private sector was concerned, industries were run with a profit motive..... But so far as Government industries were concerned, they were not run with a profit motive”.

It is time that this abnoxious and perennial bluff is called whenever it is played. The hundreds of citizens waiting in all the bus stands throughout the day are standing witnesses to the “profit motive” in this State monopoly. Why are not more buses run? The only reason is that it may not be profitable for the Government to do so.

R. RAMACHANDRAN.

NO WATER FOR CROPS

Sir,—On the one hand our Congress leaders exhort the people to introduce what is called joint co-operative farming, and on the other hand, they discourage and discountenance those who want to introduce it. As a result of this dual policy of the Congressmen, a smiling garden of sugarcane and paddy crops worth about Rs. 1,00,000 covering about 80 acres of land at Kamalapur village in Hospet taluk, is becoming a barren land.

THE AYUB - NEHRU MEET

What makes negotiations pointless and futile today is that leaders of democracies and dictators depending on popular support make public statements committing themselves before proceeding to the meetings where they are supposed to engage themselves in a process of giving and taking. The leaders in order to assure themselves of a continued lease of popularity and power make these statements that they will never give up this and never never take that. This makes all talk at the negotiations purposeless.

This is the weakness of democratic ‘summits’. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is going to meet General Ayub Khan at Karachi. Every one in India and every one in Pakistan is praying for a successful meeting. Every one would accept whatever conclusions are reached provided it meant the end of the wasteful quarrel that is eating into the vitals of the two peoples. But alas, the previous declarations made before going to the meeting make anything useful almost impossible. The old despots, the rulers of the past age, could fight as well as come to terms. But the rulers of today make themselves incapable of coming to terms once they have begun to fight. Truly democracy has its disadvantages, that is, if the leaders suffer from the craving for popularity and power.

C.R.

ing a burial ground. The ryots who have given their blood to grow this garden are weeping and crying for help.

These valuable sugarcane and paddy crops are withering due to non-availability of water. One to whom the Government has assigned 5 acres of land free of cost in that area is responsible for this misery. He is obstructing water to the crops and the officials are shutting their eyes at it.

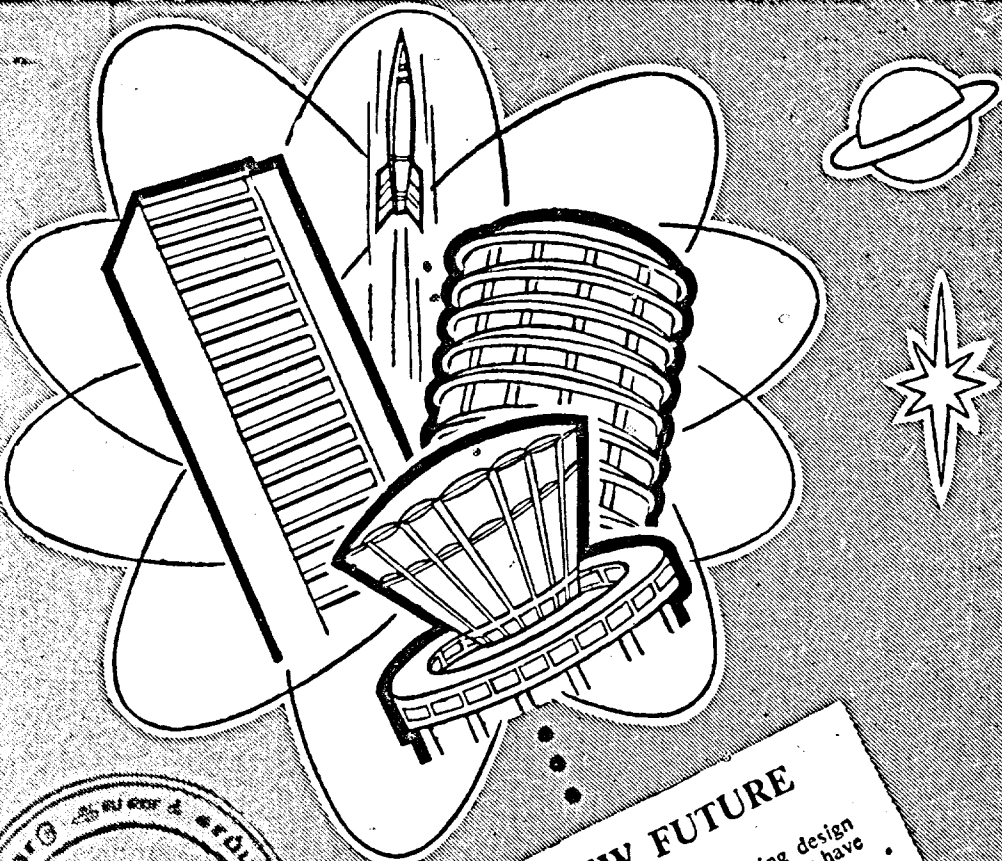
This is a question of life and death to many poor agriculturist families. No government worth the name will kill many to enrich one. The ryots are yearning to grow more food and to make their homes and villages self-sufficient. “Give us water and we will give you food in return they say”.

Hospet.

HAMPI NARASINGA RAO.

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