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CONGRESS MUST BE REPLACED

At Bhopal, Nehru repeated what the Swatantra Party has been saying that unless Congress mends, it has to end, if the greater interests of the country are to be served. He left no doubt that the prevailing tendency among "Congressmen was pushing away each other in the race for offices in the organisation and tickets for parliament". When he added that "Congress was meant primarily to serve the country and if it failed to do so some other party should replace it", one wondered if he was only thinking loud. For, there is no doubt that "groupism and personal rivalries, which are spelling the party's doom" are not going to be ended either by his words or his measures. This is because first his diagnosis of the diseased condition of the Congress is wrong, second, because everything that the Government has done so far has made membership of the Congress a vested interest and third, because however righteous he may sound, he cannot do without the Congress and the Congress cannot do without him.

The diseased condition of the Congress arises because politics have become a profession. Not only legislators but members of the numerous bodies the Congress has created, draw salaries and allowances, but everyone in the organisation tends to trade on the influence of his position. Whatever the public wants, roads, schools, hospitals has to be supported by the local party leaders, because the sanctioning authorities, officials or committees are dominated by the party. In fact, support to other parties is refused to avoid resent-

ment, even revenge of the Congress. Whatever the individuals want permits, licences, land, loans is again largely in favour of the Congress as officials have learnt to their cost that they cannot take an independent line. In the circumstances, office in the party and government has become a means of livelihood which largely attracts those who have none other. Their loyalty to the party is loyalty to themselves. This position has become worse for two reasons, first that in the selection of representatives, the Congress has considered only their ability arising from their means and methods to get elected. The means include exploiting the cupidity, timidity and sometimes the stupidity of the electors. The second reason, the High Command has encouraged bossism by preferring the stronger to the better man. The tendency grows because there are many without qualifications who can continually play power politics with the help of others like them, who want the sweets of office. This position cannot be mended unless Congress ends those who take advantage of politics. This may not be possible now, because those in position are prepared to fight for it both with-in and without the Congress. If some are bought out by offer of office, others unsatisfied, will continue in dissidence. This is the inevitable doom of a party, which has preferred power and pelf over principle and purpose.

The policy of the government perhaps unconsciously cast in the communist mould has tended in many details to increase the power

of the Party. Controls, inherited from the War, which other nations gave up, preferring economic to political development, have enslaved not only trade and industry but the vast majority of the people, whose occupations depend on official orders. While claiming to be socialist the government has created monopolies in favour of their supporters and given its administration power to injure those who oppose it. State Enterprise and Trade, has not only given Government the key position in the economy to dwarf and subdue others in the field but also the opportunity to absorb all talents which otherwise may have become independent of it. Thirdly, the vast extension of the administration has served the same purpose of absorbing talent and of dominating even other intellectual agencies by offers of service on committees and special posts. Together with the general power of government on all occupations, this subjugation of the intelligent section of the population, has left little or no opposition to the Congress, on the part of those who can think or express themselves. Fourthly, the whole result of Welfare Programmes has been to employ those who may be difficult and to satisfy those who may be able to express their discontent. Lastly, democratic decentralisation is being pressed to furnish foundation for electoral support. This however may be the nemesis because though Panchayat and taluk boards may be swamped with Congress members, those whom they have defeated will become the nucleus in every village to ex-

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Current Comments

With robust optimism, Rajaji is carrying his Swatantra campaign far into the region of Gujarat, just about the time Pandit Nehru is trumpeting the advent of Panchayatraj and co-operative planning as one of the signal events of his birthday. As a kisan with first hand knowledge of cultivation, Leader Ranga was present at Surat to tell farmers that the projects in hand would diminish crop-yields and aggravate foreign dependence. The Prime Minister and his co-intellectuals in planning have put forward schemes which the tenants imagine would be implemented by the Government (or official agencies like Panchayatraj) whereas the Government in its stunt about decentralisation of power imagine that the kisans would work with demoniacal energy and fulfil the targets framed by the Bureau at New Delhi. The ordinary consumer or the tax payer is in the plight of Buruddin's Ass starving to death in spite of brazen assurances in the Lok Sabha that the prospect of ready harvest is fine. That the Gujarat peasant is likely to perceive the menace of paper-programmes is clear from the coincidence that Finance Minister Desai turned up in the third week of November to denounce C.R.'s mission in his terrain. Claiming that ever since ancient times a portion of the land produce used to be collected by the King, this Cabinet Minister affirmed that land "belonged to Society" and that there could be no question of expropriation in the absence of private property.

press first, the general spirit of village factions and second the smouldering resentment against the Congress for the misuse of its position. In this sense, the elections in 1962 may show how one serious crack in the foundations will topple even a monolithic superstructure.

The Congress administration has to be replaced, if the rot that has set in is to be stemmed.

The theorem is built on fallacy, because the King in ancient times never carried on trade, let alone practise cultivation, a fact that should be recognised by the operators of the State Trading Corporation and Community Project tillers. The King who commanded allegiance protected honest subjects and punished dishonest offenders. When the tithe was paid by the farmer from his fields, there was no question about fundamental ownership, let alone of collective compulsion against encroachers in false occupancy. During Lord Curzon's regime there used to be a dispute whether land-revenue should be counted a tax or regarded as rent, but to rake up a similar controversy at the present time of day would be fatuous.

The co-operative stunt under the stimulus of subsidy from the Centre or the State for Created Estates, appears stillborn, but the ryots are liable to be hoodwinked into voting for the Congress Party on illusions of prosperity round the corner.

A remarkable event of the week was the holding of the Vice-Chancellors' Conference at Madras. In the matter of choosing curricula there might be differences from region to region, but in the build-up of higher education, academic authorities deserve hearing. Notwithstanding the needling tactics of State Ministries against the defenders of University-autonomy, the elite represented by Vice-Chancellors in the country should be trusted on issues of educational policy and student-discipline rather than political adventurers apt to trim the sails in their career. Without any hesitation, the experts assembled voted not only for the retention of the English language but also for its concentrated study in view of our

national ambition as a modern State in a technological age. The Governor of Gujarat has proclaimed through an Ordinance that instruction in English should be maintained in the Gujarat University until 1966, an arbitrary date-line. There are some laws like the ban on horse-racing which is annually suspended to enable the sport to continue without at the same time reversing the substantive resolve piously taken years ago. If, it is the intention to postpone the date line annually, the ruse might appear clear, but it would really be an infliction on parents, teachers, students and university authorities.

The second day's debate on the Indian Companies Bill in the Lok Sabha indicated a slight stir of conscience on the issue of company-contributions to political parties. Greater control is vested in the Government in regulating the activities of business-firms which naturally invest their capital and their earnings on the basis of *quid pro quo*. Congressman Heda argued that if collections are banned, poor candidates would suffer for lack of funds, thus making a mockery of Congress ideals. Other Congressites challenged the Opposition to "cite a single instance of a Company having benefited" by financing the Congress party. Ever since the Sadashivnagar Congress when the Deshmukh charge-sheet provoked Mr. Nehru to name a panel of judges who would examine allegations of any official misdeed, the door has stood open. No complaints so far, which proves popular grievances about corruption constitute just fiction. When in British times, Zafrullah Khan was Railway Member, Satyamurthy lamented overcrowding in trains, the former declared that never once since his assumption of the portfolio had he received a complaint about overcrowding. As he travelled in his saloon, he never noticed a straphanger bundled out of any compartment, since he was concentrating his attention all the time on amenities to passengers.

Proxy.

WHAT LATEST THINKERS SAY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

If it is only voices from the external world of thinking men that weigh with our intelligentsia, here is a lucid and emphatic plea for the fundamental basis of the Swatantra Party, a protest against the State eating up the souls of men, not the organization erected for particular purposes, but the citizens, the individual brains and their souls and energies that make up the national talent and the national energy and produce what the nation requires and what makes its greatness. The moral wealth of the nation consists in the sum total of each individual's concern for his brother and his willingness to act as comrade and helper for those around him, not in the compulsory mechanics of state management. Socialism is supposed to be a means to achieve the end. It is not the goal itself. Experience as well as *a priori* thinking show that it is not only not an end but a wrong means. It kills incentive. It kills brotherly feeling and converts citizens into automatons dependant on the master machine of officialdom to whom everything is entrusted.

"The superstition has grown up in modern times that measures needed to accomplish social ends must come, and can only come through government. For the last twenty years, our dominant political thinking has sought to meet each social problem by setting up new bureaus, insisting new administrative controls, and increasingly concentrating power in the federal government. In this we have followed a pattern which has prevailed throughout the world. If we continue along this road, we shall have set up all manner of institutions that, insofar as they accomplish the goals at all, will have done so at the price of freedom. In the agricultural program we have had an unhappy example of how such administrative and bureaucratic solutions not only

threaten freedom, but aggravate, in the long run, the very problem they were designed to solve.

"Those who have seen the dangers of this road have been at fault in that they have failed to clarify where the real issue lay. Too often, they have seemed to oppose the goal, rather than the means. They have failed to think through to sounder methods by which the objectives generally agreed upon could be obtained. And they have failed to develop a consistent theory as a guide to practice.

"The general line of development by which the Middle Way seeks to find such a structure is through the expansion of private initiative for social goals. Essentially, this approach consists in exploring and defining ways by which private parties, acting on their own initiative, and in their own deepest interests, can carry out responsibilities that, everywhere else in the world, are being turned over to the State. The interests of private individuals and groups, according to this view, are often not in conflict with those of society, but on the contrary, often in accord with them, or supplementary to them.

"The mistake in the past has been that the powerful, motivating force of private initiative has been confined, in most political theorizing, to the economic field and to selfish ends. But those who have opposed the evils of untrammelled and irresponsible individualism have attacked the problem at the wrong place. They have proposed to liquidate private initiative rather than to redirect its ends. If the motivations of men are indeed solely economic and selfish, the social problem can never be solved. But we observe all about us the desire of Americans of all classes and walks of life to be good neighbours, to co-operate with their fellow citizens, to improve their communities—in short, to act and think in a socially responsible manner. The Middle

Way has as its fundamental premise the assumption that Americans are in fact a socially responsible people.

"The Middle Way contemplates the development of private initiative as the dominant social force in a free society, that is to say, we must first recognize that there is such a thing as social initiative by private parties, individual and group as well as economic initiative. The development of such initiative as a dominant force necessitates a change in some of our postulates as to man's nature, a change involving a new kind of social outlook.

"This may seem a very large and somewhat Utopian order unless we begin with the realization that such socially oriented private initiative does, in fact, already exist and that it plays a very great role at present in American society. American practice in this regard has outstripped theory. The result is that other free peoples in the world, and even we ourselves, have little idea what a large part socially motivated activity plays in American daily life. At present it works, so to speak, "unofficially" because conventional political economy does not recognize it or understand its enormous potentialities. Conventional political economy is still caught in the old and outworn argument as to how far the powers of the state should be expanded in order to achieve necessary social goals. The reply of the Middle Way is that this approaches the problem in the wrong way. If you start with an entity called government and work downward, there is no real way to limit power, because nobody has more power. True limitation of government power can come only by working from the people upward. This is perhaps the most basic concept of American politics, and we shall overlook it at our peril.

"The doctrine of the Middle Way does not preclude government assistance. It is wholly desirable for federal or state government to provide funds for social projects beyond the reach of private capital. The Government

“ARAM HARAM HAI”

By POTHAN JOSEPH

should also provide other things enabling legislation, for example, comprehensive plans that give meaning and purpose to the social efforts of individuals or groups; inducements of one kind or another that make it easier to act socially than anti-socially. But our thinking on any problem should start by exploring in a creative and imaginative way, whether such a problem cannot, in fact, be handled by private initiative. And the role of the government should not be that of dictator of funds, laws, plans, and inducements. Its task is literally to help the individual not to make decisions for him. Government should, as American political theory has always asserted, be literally the servant not the master of the people.

“Those who oppose this approach base their argument, in the final analysis, on the assumption that private parties are socially irresponsible. But there is plenty of real proof that this assumption is not correct, and that private parties are capable of responsible social thought and action.

“By way of beginning we offer the proposition of the Middle Way: that no solution to any problem of the free way of life should be provided by calling upon the state to undertake tasks which under proper circumstances of education and encouragement the citizens themselves can do. For turning to the state can only further compromise the status of the individual, who is already half lost amid forces and organisations that are too big for him. The solution is to be found, not through a growth in government, but through a growth in the stature of the individual. The crucial American question has always been: is the individual big enough for the responsibilities of freedom? The founders of this country guessed “Yes”—not without misgivings. The whole American experiment has been built upon the proposition that a free society could not work unless human beings were fit to meet and discharge the responsibilities of freedom.”

The Prime Minister's injunction that the nation should rise high in prosperity through hard work has to be tested by results obtained by the diligence of our admonishers. Little mice in cages are perpetually at work clinging to revolving wire-wheels, but the output should be deemed negligible though, of course, the little pets would concede the ruling Aram Haram Hai. It is equally true of the Beaver restlessly active, a characteristic observed by the founders of the London School of Economics who adopted the animal for a place in the crest of the Laski Institute. Prof. Laski had been chairman of the organisational wing of the Labour Party for some time, when Clement Attlee functioned as Premier, much the same way as our Congress President Sanjiva Reddy keeps himself incessantly busy in relation to Pandit Jawaharlal in the monopoly of power he exercises as Prime Minister. Harold Laski once put out feelers about his mandatory role when Prime Minister Attlee advised him to mind his own business looking after the organisational side of the Socialist movement and maintaining the election machine in oiled order. The little struggle as to “Who is Who?” is largely determined by personality, but all the same there is no escape from the test about the claims of labour through the assessment of output.

In elementary arithmetic we are taught of cisterns with different funnels and pipes working so that we could judge of the collection and dissipation of water. Again we are told of A doing a piece of work at a certain pace, sometimes in the society of B with his own hourly quota or again with the backing of C, a weak figure, who also joins the gang of operators to perform that unknown piece of work. It is always assumed that time is saved by increasing the number of hands; and the key to efficiency-audit popularised in planning is the measure of productivity.

As against the principle governing the saving of time, is the discovery of Parkinson's Law which has established that in a bureaucratic system the quantum of imaginary work rises side by side with augmentation of staff so that like gas in a chemical retort, the limited supply completely occupies the space available. Now applying the same criterion about the utility of hard work to problems essayed by the Prime Minister and the High Command (of which he is not a member but a mere invitee) let us see how the equation stands.

Even before the Raipur session of the A.I.C.C. which entailed an outlay of Rs. 5 lakhs on record, it was known that many Congress-cabinets all over the country were at loggerheads. Where in one State a Chief Minister might have actually submitted his resignation, in another State a Satyagrahi of the same rank would not even risk a vote of no-confidence despite a lengthy indictment of 29 allegations. According to play with words, charges considered “trivial” today, are rated as “insignificant” and “immaterial” tomorrow; in fact ridiculous, almost like border aggression (15000 square miles according to the Prime Minister's estimate) being whittled down into a controversy so that finally the controversy might evaporate as a misapprehension. The artful manipulation of language produces the dictum that talks are not negotiations, and that negotiations are no substitute for “renewal of contacts” in U.N.O. jargon.

For nearly six weeks the Prime Minister, the Union Home Minister, and Commerce Minister (The Big Three) have been sitting on the problem of broadbasing reshuffles and replacing old alliances. In hundreds, followers of rival groups (groupism exists among politicians as much as indiscipline among student-examinees) have been visiting Raipur and New Delhi, a few on request, but the main forces functioning as volunteers are not innocent of aspirations for office. Pandit Nehru wants hard work to expedite the approach to the Socialist Pattern of Society which in pre-election language is a process that calls for the marshalling of canvassers and the mobilisation of funds conveniently from business-firms in their nascent and vulnerable state. News-items speak of leaders and sub-leaders of provincial status with regional bags slung from the crook of their hands, beleaguering political camps in Delhi to “pull” their full weight. For hours on end the heroes of a hundred platforms in the past are “closetted” with eminent individuals in charge of enlarging baskets filled with the loaves and fishes of office. When they emerge from the parlour, they deliver enigmatic pronouncements to the press and send juniors on errand to headquarters to feel the pulse at home about some vagary put forward. Discourses in the Congress Parliamentary party are allowed only indirect narration in the press, a practice which adds to the conjectural accents of special corres-

CALL OF THE MOTHER LAND

Sri Rajaji while at Poona on November 23 visited the KESARI office, which is a museum and temple of Lokamanya's labours for Indian freedom and spiritual elevation. It is a matter of joy that the trustees of the KESARI and MAHRATTA Trust presented a beautiful address of welcome to Rajaji wherein they have endorsed all that the Swatantra Party stands for.

Sri Rajaji, Respected Guests and Friends,

It gives me great pleasure to extend you a cordial welcome to the ‘Kesari-Mahratta Trust’. It is said that Poona is the political Kashi of India. If this be true, then I shall say that Kesari-Mahratta Trust is the temple of Vishwanath. The pilgrimage of Varanasi is not complete without a visit to Vishwanath temple. So also the pilgrimage to Poona is not complete without a visit to the ‘Kesari-Mahratta Trust’.

This institution has an august past of 80 years. It was from here that the great Lokamanya—Father of Indian unrest—carried the message of Home Rule to the four corners of India and you, Sir, had

pondents who drop hints about impending changes. Not a single careerist would admit that he would like to be included in case of expansion. The man-in-the-street would like to know in the course of six weeks of mighty celebrations, how much of a tangible nature could be put down as the real result of all the fuss and the uproar of weeks on end. The premise is there that the Congress Brains Trust had been assiduous about formulas and solutions so that in terms of “Aram Haram” it would look a signal example of time profitlessly employed.

When unemployed youths are bidden to work hard, they could at least go to public libraries, copy down addresses under “Situations Vacant” (or just matrimonial) and return to work hard on the effort of addressing envelopes and sometimes enclosing *chalauns* in advance for the members of the new profession (job-brokers) to make initial enquiries. But the disappointed applicant would like to know what in terms of actual success has flowed from prolonged deliberations amongst elders as to the settlement of disputes at higher levels of journey. By token of Efficiency Audit, the return for so many hours of labour by so many for so little to show in particular reflects the urgent need of the sermon on “Aram Haram” being preached back to the pulpit itself..

the honour of spreading the message to the masses of the South. You had been in the vanguard of India's struggle for freedom. You enjoyed the confidence of Mahatma Gandhi. Your wise counsel saved the ship of freedom from many a rock. You laboured as few have done in the cause of India's freedom. When freedom came, a grateful nation conferred the highest honour it could, on you by having you as the first Governor General of India. When you stepped down from the Viceregal chair to usher the dawn of Republic India, you were chosen to guide the destiny of the faction-torn state of Madras. Your leadership ensured unity and the red clouds that had gathered in the southern skies were dispersed before the breeze of your leadership.

To your age, you deserved a well-earned rest. You could look back with pride on your achievements. You could have rested on your oars. But it was not to be. The call of the mother-land would not allow you to rest. You forgot your age—for, a man is as old as

he feels and a woman is as old as she looks.

The swing of the Congress—which you have served so well and so long—to the left and the series of legislations which threaten individual freedom, enterprise and possessions brought you out from your retirement, and like a knight of old you are once again in the field to fight bureaucracy and regimentation and ideological slavery. “Freedom was thought to be a milked cow—but it has turned out to be a bull using its horns”. We are in a mess. You are again out of the den to give relief to the mute but suffering masses and ventilate their just demands. In the criticism that is levelled against you—the abuses heaped on your head, the opposition that is matched against you—is to be found the measure of your success. With doughty old warriors like Prof. Ranga, Sri Munshi, Masani and Menon to support you, we can visualize your carrying everything before you.

We welcome you not only as a politician but as a man of letters. Your erudition, your felicity in writing and your message of India's philosophy compel respect and attention. May you live long and give us the benefit of your sage counsel and guidance. You are following the *nishkama-karma yoga* in Bhagavad Gita propounded by Lok. Tilak. Let it bring you success and peace of mind.



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CHANGING AFRICA

By B. SHIVA RAO

This year's session of the U.N. General Assembly has to some extent been dominated by problems relating to Africa. Events in the Congo have no doubt occupied the centre of the stage, and the latest developments in that region are complex and full of ugly potentialities. This aspect of the situation, however, need not obscure the vast changes that have occurred all over Africa in the last ten years or minimise their significance.

The General Assembly, early in its session, a few weeks ago, decided to admit more than a dozen African States, former colonies of one or the other of the Western Powers, to membership of the United Nations. A direct consequence of this decision was to give Africa 28 votes in a General Assembly of 99—the largest group reckoned on a continental basis. It is already clear that these 28 member-States will not form a single, stable bloc; even on the Congo issue, they were divided in their votes into three groups, some supporting Mr. Kasavubu, others in favour of Mr. Lumumba and the rest abstaining. A positive policy seems inconceivable at present for these newly-emancipated countries, with their widely varying backgrounds, traditions and outlooks. Nevertheless, the views and the decisions of 28 members on every issue that figures on the agenda of the United Nations, whether in the General Assembly or in its subsidiary organs, are of vital interest to the rest of the world.

Mr. Khrushchov, sensing the spirit of the world organisation this year, called for the immediate liquidation of all the remaining colonies. The Indian delegate, in his address to the General Assembly, reflected the same sentiment. The impatience for the spread of full liberty to all parts of the globe is natural and right. What, however, everyone, anxious for the adoption of practical measures for the implementation of such a policy, should recognise is the magnitude of the progress achieved in this field in the last fifteen years since the end of the second world war. The twenty-eight independent States in Africa account for nearly two-thirds of the total area of the continent and a population of 178 million out of about 220 million.

From the standpoint of the Colonial Powers, assuming that independence of the Congo will be a stable reality, Bel-

gium has left to her only the trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi which, however, will emerge within the next year or so as an independent State. For Britain, the loss of territory through the abdication of her Imperial authority is well over a million square miles; while France, which was the largest Colonial Power in Africa before the second world war, with over four million square miles of territory, will be left with less than a fourth of her former Empire.

These vast and rapid changes have naturally stimulated a powerful movement towards freedom in the areas which are still under foreign control. In Algeria, France is facing a situation of increasing difficulty; and Britain, who is dissolving her Empire with commendable speed, is attempting to evolve a constitution that may satisfy the aspirations of the various communities in East and Central Africa. The only exception is Portugal, which so far has refused to accept any obligation to the U.N. resulting from her membership of the organisation.

At the end of the second world war the mandatory Powers in Africa, Britain, France and Belgium (but excluding South Africa) agreed readily, under one of the provisions of the Charter, to convert their former mandates derived from the League of Nations into trust agreements. This decision had a profound effect on Tanganyika, the Cameroons, Togoland and Ruanda-Urundi.

The League of Nations came to an abrupt and inglorious end, with the outbreak of the second world war. Some of the most hotly contested proposals of the Charter of the U.N. at San Francisco related to the future of colonies and dependent territories. In their final form, the decision was that there should be a system of trusteeship for such regions, scattered all over the world. It was in many ways a considerable improvement on the old system of mandates, though in spirit the two were alike. Three classes of trust territories were visualised: first, territories held under a mandate from the defunct League of Nations; second, colonies detached from Germany and Italy after the second world war; and third, colonies which might voluntarily be placed under the trusteeship system by the Powers responsible for their administration.

South Africa most surprisingly strained the language of the Charter to maintain that she was under no such obligation despite the action of all the other mandatory Powers. After many heated but futile debates for two or three years, the General Assembly decided to obtain the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. The Court gave its verdict in 1950. It was unanimous in the opinion that the Charter, which prescribes the manner in which a territory could be brought under the trusteeship system, was valid also in the case of South-West Africa. But the weighty opinion of the Court made no impression on South Africa. This year the South African Government will again be asked to administer the territory in accordance with the principles and the purposes of the mandate but under the supervision of the U.N. But all that the Prime Minister of South Africa was willing to say in the Dominion Parliament was that his Government would "not relinquish South-West Africa". Let me quote his own language: "The link we have will remain or be extended. It is exclusively a matter for South Africa and South-West Africa as to how their relationship will develop further. In that regard nobody else has any say".

Of particular interest—and pride—to India because of the significant initiative taken in the matter by India's chief delegate to the U.N. at the time, Shri B. N. Rau is that the U.N. was responsible for determining the future of the former Italian colonies of Libya, Somaliland and Eritrea. On the basis of a formula evolved by him, Libya became independent, at the end of 1951, with the stipulation that Italy would administer Somaliland as a trust territory, with a promise of ultimate independence by the end of 1960. A U.N. resolution in December 1950 was the basis of a scheme for the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia.

Under the Charter, provision (as mentioned earlier) has been made for the voluntary transfer of colonies (described as "non-self-governing territories") to the control and supervision of the Trusteeship Council. That, in my view, should be the next step. If all colonies were thus converted into trust territories, administered under the authority of the U.N., then economic, social and cultural progress could be accelerated towards independence in the shortest possible time. Events in the Congo provide both a warning and a lesson. The burden of self-government is heavy and may prove intolerable without adequate previous preparation of the people called upon to assume it.

PUBLIC MORALITY AND THE ADMINISTRATION

By N. RAGHUNATHA IYER

The state of the public morality, at any time, has undoubtedly an important bearing on the question of corruption in the administration. Conversely the existence of corruption is one of the important influences making for the further deterioration of the public morale. But a low morality breeds innumerable evils besides official corruption. And it is itself the result of many factors historical, social and political. The State does, both positively and negatively, affect the behavior and attitudes of the people by its proclaimed goals and broad aims of policy as well as by the integrity and efficiency (or lack of it) of the day to day administration. Any attempt to tackle the administrative evils while ignoring the State's basic policies would be merely treating the symptoms without touching the root causes of the malady.

If, as seems to me, there has been a further softening of the moral fibre of the people since the advent of Independence, the predisposing causes must be looked for in the long years of foreign rule. That rule was partly predatory, partly paternalistic. It has been said that in the West democracy has evolved as the result of

three ideas: "self-government, theoretically by everybody;" "safety and opportunity for the individual" which was to be ensured by the State and which included, logically, guarantees against the State's abusing its powers to the detriment of the subjects; and, lastly, "representation". In India under British rule, Lord Ripon's forlorn attempt to introduce "Local Self-Government" largely failed because it was imposed from without and was too much under official tutelage. "Representation" of the people in the legislature through a handful of nominated "men of light and leading" no doubt helped the administration in some measure to gauge popular sentiments; but the masses could not regard these men as their spokesmen, in fact they were practically oblivious of their existence. As for the "safety" of the subject, especially in regard to insuring it against onslaughts by his fellow-subjects, this was to some extent guaranteed by the courts. But the people had no voice in the making of the laws which the courts administered. And such "opportunities" as the individual could look forward to were so meagre that they were not

worth the while of British cadets scouting for well-paid jobs or British enterprisers looking out for new fields to conquer.

In these circumstances it was rather a blessing than otherwise that the State was in the main content to function as a police state. The experiments in state socialism which under the inspiration of the Mills were launched in the latter half of the last century merely added to the burdens of the people without making any dent on their psychology. The arbitrary element and the influence of alien ideas in the making of laws was kept at a minimum; in regard to most of the concerns of civil life the courts administered the traditional personal laws of the people as modified by custom and usage. And the State's policy, explicitly declared in 1957, of non-interference in social and religious matters had at least this advantage, that the sense of national identity arising out of common allegiance to traditional institutions and modes of behaviour enforced by social and socio-religious sanctions was not disrupted. The movement for political freedom was itself largely the result of a resurgent Hindu nationalism which might not have emerged at all or which might have been seriously maimed if Britain had embarked on an all out campaign of westernisation as the logical se-

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The Forms of Democracy

What Britain did not want or at least attempt to do, the dominant group in the ruling Congress Party has been striving its utmost to do in the past decade. We shall presently consider the consequences of the attempts to promote progress, according to Western notions, by forced marches. Before that, let us see how much of democracy we have. The Constitution-makers have given us the forms of democracy. Self-government at the grass roots through *Gram-Swaraj* is, as an idea, more imposing than Ripon's municipalities and taluk boards; but in substituting the local faction leader for the Collector's Personal Assistant as the *deus ex machina* the new regime has merely substituted King Stork for King Log. Adult franchise manipulated by an efficient party machine backed by the prestige of the Mahatma has resulted in the establishment of what is virtually a system of voting on a list, in which the opinion of the constituencies hardly counts.

"Safety and opportunity for the individual" is in an even more parlous state. The protection afforded by the courts has become more and more illusory. Frequent amendments to the Constitution and the enormous spate of legislation

affecting the liberties, means of livelihood and social environment of the citizen cut at the roots of that stability without which the rule of law cannot be effective. The 'buster of the ordinary courts' jurisdiction in the operation of many of these laws, the almost invariable inclusion of a dispensing clause conferring virtual immunity, in the name of good faith, on official laches or worse, and the systematic disparagement of judges and the work of judicial tribunals as "static" and "reactionary" by influential politicians has greatly added to their ineffectiveness on the one hand and, on the other, undermined the confidence of the common man in their ability to protect his rights and interests, which British rule, with all its defects, had fostered.

Ill-digested Laws

It is this chaotic flood of ill-digested, often defective and contradictory, and mostly unwanted laws that has been the most fertile of the sources of administrative corruption in the past decade. In no other era of Indian history untouched by war or civil strife has the citizen felt more insecure. And fear, especially collective fear, is a great demoraliser. Much of the new legislation which imposes one kind of control or other is so complicated and obscure, so much cluttered up with ancillary administrative rules and orders, that the average man cannot find

his way through them without expert aid or the cheaper but illegitimate services of a whole new race of furtive wingers and intermediaries. And they exact their price. Many of these laws, again, vest considerable discretionary powers in the hands of the higher officials, which in actual fact are exercised by a vast army of underlings, since the top men are too few and have too many responsibilities to be able to attend to them properly. In any case neither the superiors nor the subordinates are endowed with that judicial outlook which is the only safeguard against the abuse of discretionary powers. The administrative tribunals set up in connection with land legislation have created the impression that they consistently load the dice against the owner under the belief that this alone would be acceptable to the Government.

The multiplication of new laws creating new offences and new penalties to which considerations of moral obliquity are generally irrelevant, while in many cases what has been traditionally regarded as justifiable or at least permissible, has now been made illegal, can only have the unfortunate effect of doing violence to the folk-mores and dulling the ethical sensitivity of the people. Imagine what would happen to a British Prime Minister who out of his admiration for Hindu euge-

tics sought to make the marriage of children of brothers illegal! While informers flourish, the spectacle of laws openly and often with impunity violated brings the idea of law itself into contempt. And when such laws are harsh and unjust to defenceless minorities and benefit powerful pressure groups at their expense on the pretext of promoting social justice, the victims are bound to resort to every shift and evasion in a desperate attempt to salvage what they can out of the ruins.

Imposition of Alien Ideas

A carking sense of injustice can be even more demoralising than fear. The fact that the rulers who seek to impose on them their pet notions of progress and social justice derived from an alien milieu happen to be their own flesh and blood does not suffice to make their ideas acceptable. It merely serves to emphasise the gulf between the rulers and the ruled. Even more than the egalitarian economics of the Congress, it is its flaunted secularism and its ruthless resolve to destroy the traditional patterns of social life in the name of progress that has produced a deep psychological disturbance. The Congress Party's cynical disregard for public opinion has been nowhere more blatantly in evidence than in the manner in which the country-wide opposition to its root and branch reform of the personal law of the Hindus was steam-rolled. This light-hearted tampering with the legal foundations of a great culture was undertaken not from conviction but from a desire to impress the outside world. At the same time political opportunism, not devotion to principle, was demonstrated by the unwillingness to touch the social and religious institutions of the Muslims and the Christians who have influential friends abroad.

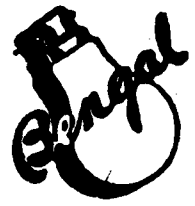
It is an absurd libel to suggest that Indian society was static, nay stagnant, till the westernisers took it in hand. It never stopped growing even in the long centuries of political dependence: if it had it would have died long ago. It adapted itself to the impact of con-

structive ideas that came from without, while it repulsed disrupting influences by spiritual self-renewal. The changes in the social and cultural patterns were effected not by central direction or by imposition from without but by dispersed initiative and group accord. Our people have a genius for indirection. But bungling interference with the organic life of society was generally frustrated by the formidable inertia of the masses. Such stray ideological legislation the Widow Remarriage Act, for instance, as was attempted under British rule remained largely a dead letter. It was ignored or evaded. For such interference was regarded as an insidious attempt to impose on the people a mores and a way of life that was wholly un-Indian.

A more thoroughgoing and sustained attack on the forces that have made for the cohesion of a traditional society may succeed in atomising it and substituting a rootless proletariat for organically related classes. But no totalitarian exercise of power can create a new society,—which is the work of time,—or make a people change its cultural outfit as if it were a suit of clothes. What neither Peter the Great nor Lenin and his successors succeeded in doing, that is, westernising the Russian moujik, Mr. Nehru imagines he can do with the Indian peasant. It is hardly surprising that he fails to understand that emotional integration cannot be brought about by policies that induce national schizophrenia.

Sapping Independence

Thus more and more the Government and the people tend to live in two different worlds between which there is no communication. Nevertheless, the administration infringes on the life of the citizen in a thousand ways. And almost never is the contact pleasant. In spite of the heavy burden of taxation which oppresses the poor, and the enormous expenditure on public enterprises, there has been no expansion of employment opportunities commensurate with the growing demand for jobs. At the same time, the scope for



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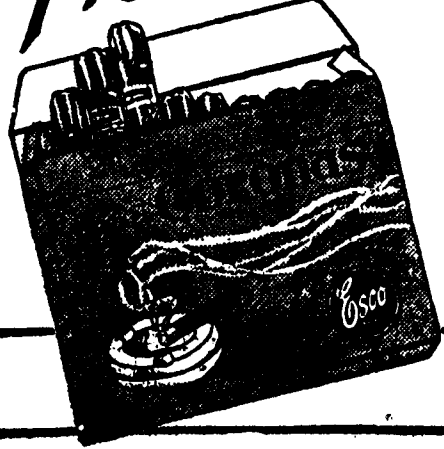
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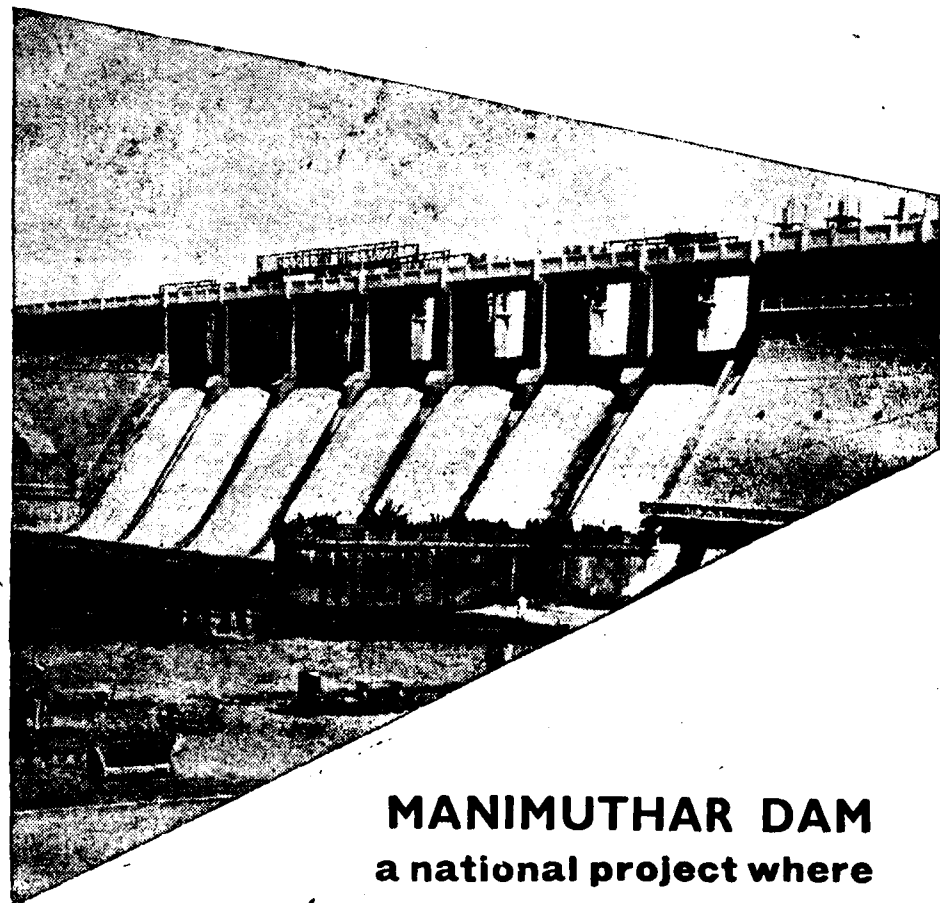
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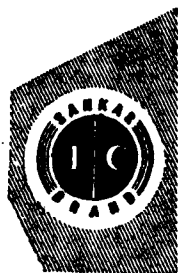
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self-employment or for choice of employment steadily diminishes as the jurisdiction of the State as employer and as controller, directly or indirectly, of all avenues of employment, public or private, grows. The mounting regimentation of educational policy in accordance with the Congress party's political objectives and the fads and prejudices of its theorists is, to say the least, not helpful to the growth of an educated public opinion. The regulation of admissions to schools and colleges and professional institutions in the interests of communal representation has resulted in large numbers of those who are best qualified to profit by education being kept out, inducing bitter frustration. And the inevitable lowering of quality of the educational product has had a particularly damaging effect on the public morale by sapping the independence and the public spirit of the professional classes which have, in every democracy made them the traditional bulwark of the citizen's liberties.

**Lowering of Administratives
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The watering down of educational qualifications and the improvising of whimsical and irrelevant criteria for recruitment to Government service at all levels have been gravely detrimental to the efficiency, the impartiality and the rectitude that are indispensable for civil servants who run a welfare state. We have opted for Parliamentary democracy after the British model. We seem to have also opted for the spoils system in filling Government posts on the American model without, however, avowing it. Members of Parliament want to be appointed to the directorates of the umpteen national enterprises, though Parliament is supposed to exercise check and supervision over these same boards. The Railway Minister of the Union Government enforces a rule totally repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution by laying down that, in what is the biggest nationalised industry in the country,

preference should be given not only in initial recruitment but also in promotions at every stage to members of the Scheduled classes.

What with the enormous proliferation of jobs and the setting up of novel standards and the omnipresent influence of nepotism and political favouritism, there is springing up a huge parvenu official class which may have the guinea's stamp but has assuredly very little of gold in its composition. In the old regime, though the maintenance of the services as the monopoly of the ruling race produced great heart-burning, the majority of British officials as well as the handful of Indians who were appointed to superior posts were so obviously distinguished by intellectual eminence or high educational qualifications that they were easily able to establish personal ascendancy. And the public came to put faith in their ability, impartiality and zeal for the public welfare even if it might not always like their acts and decisions. There were undoubtedly defects in the mandarin system; the officials too often immured themselves in a paper world and were remote from the common people. But the past ten years have made it abundantly clear that we may pay too heavy a price for easy accessibility. When the common man sees that administrative decisions are too often queered by the official's obvious anxiety to propitiate the local political boss, it is not surprising that he should succumb to the mystique of political power and

"It is therefore no argument against individual freedom that it is frequently abused. Freedom necessarily means that many things will be done which we do not like. Our faith in freedom does not rest on the foreseeable results in particular circumstances but on the belief that it will, on balance, release more forces for the good than for the bad".

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come to equate political influence with transcendental personal virtues.

Failure to Build an Elite

Everywhere the leadership of a people is in the hands of an elite. Democratic government has succeeded best in those countries where the leadership is partly traditional and rural, partly composed of the newer elements (particularly active in the towns) that are shaping the national life; where politics and government, while regarded as undoubtedly important, do not by any means monopolise the energies of the best and most creative elements. Voluntary associations and the leadership they throw up have played a very large part in these countries in shaping the mental and spiritual life of the people. In India, the excessive preoccupation with politics, which was inevitable during the struggle for Independence, continues because politics has come to be regarded as the only means of getting on to the bandwagon. Such ragged cultural life as there is dominated by the politician who imagines himself omniscient, and the Government in the guise of bestowing patronage seeks to accrete to itself the power to influence and control the creative elements in the national life; the result is the boosting of second-rate talent and a premium set on escapism. This totalitarian approach explains, too, the dead set made against the landowning classes who, with all their defects, have played a not unworthy role as the leaders of the rural population and have the means and the intelligence to adopt an independent and critical attitude towards the Government's doings. Their place is being taken by the local faction leader turned demagogue and the carpet-bagger.

In the first flush of triumph a Madras Minister made history by declaring that the sovereign legislature could, if it so willed, decree the abolition of God, but as the people had a warm corner in their hearts for the Deity, He had an indefinite reprieve! Mr. Nehru

is never tired of girding at the kitchen morality and the kitchen religion of the Hindus while paying ostentatious deference to the Buddha. In no democratic country where the people have a mind and will of their own would a clique which completely repudiated and condemned the beliefs, the folkways or even the prejudices of the masses would stand the slightest chance of securing political power; we need only recall what happened to Edward VII. So long as the ethical and spiritual values which have shaped the life of the Indian people are not given their due im-

portance in the ordering of the national life, the Government will not play its part in raising the level of public morality. And the evils that arise from the absence of restraints on the exercise of power, which a live public opinion alone can provide, will remain too.



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KHRUSHCHOVISM VERSUS MAOISM

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

Even the devil could not find out anything, let alone the nosiest of newsmen. That was why there were no headlines in the newspapers about the secret summit meeting of world Communist leaders in Moscow. But everyone is free to guess, for speculative and political analysis are often not far apart.

The Communist summit, shrouded in the mist of secrecy, began on November 10 and was attended by Communist leaders from at least 46 countries. According to *Pravda*, the Soviet Communist party newspaper, there were 88 Communist delegations in Moscow last week, and each of them was reported to have aired views on the principal items under discussion. Last Tuesday, November 22 it was the Indian Communist party's turn. The leaders were reportedly discussing political and doctrinal issues and methods of bringing about a higher degree of economic harmony within the Communist bloc.

A very reliable East European source reported last week that the discussion on ideological differences between the Soviet Union and China had ended on November 19 with an interim understanding and that a communique reflecting this compromise would be published on November 24. But the meeting is still in progress at the time of writing this article on November 26 and the final manifesto—if there will be one—is still awaited.

The unprecedented length of the conference can be interpreted as a measure of the intensity of the debate. The dispute centres on such basic and fundamental questions as whether war is inevitable, whether social change under certain conditions can be accomplished without bloody revolution and whether aid and support should be given to non-Communist countries.

Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist leader and his followers argue (1) that war is inevitable as long as even a single capitalist government exists, (2) that peaceful coexistence is only conceivable with neutralist countries, not with the capitalist bloc and its allies, and (3) that Communist aid abroad should be limited to countries with Socialist Governments and should exclude countries like India, now receiving Soviet aid.

Nikita Khrushchov, the Soviet Prime Minister and his followers contend (1) that a major conflict has become unthinkable because of the deadly force of nuclear weapons, (2) that co-exist-

ence and competition with capitalist countries can effectively strengthen communism, and (3) that aid to non-Communist countries is useful and China has foolishly wasted in Africa material and money Peking received from Russia.

Moscow supported its view with a party circular signed by Nikita Khrushchov and entitled "The case against China". This paper was reportedly distributed in late July to most of the foreign Communist parties, after it became clear that a compromise reached in Bucharest in June had failed to solve the Soviet-Chinese differences.

In his paper Khrushchov mentioned that not only his interpretation of Marxist-Leninist dogma was correct and orthodox but that the Chinese were "heretical". He complained that Peking had called him a "traitor to Leninism", and insisted that on the contrary, his was the only correct position.

Although these were the relative positions on dogma, the disputes widened into spheres of practical politics. The Chinese advocated an aggressive expansionist policy and insisted that the socialist mission in less-developed countries, including India, be carried out through support to local Communist organizations. Moscow advocated support in such countries to nationalist forces regardless of their political complexion.

The Communist summit in Moscow has not been discussing only ideological issues. It was believed discussions were held on such topics as (1) the strategy of peaceful co-existence based on an analysis of the present world situation, (2) the tactics to be adopted by international organization of Communist trade unions, youths, journalists and cultural bodies, (3) the precise nature of support to forces working against colonial and western nations, and (4) the attitude towards United Nations.

Prior to the Moscow meeting, the Chinese had circulated a 120-page document setting forth their position in detail. One piece of information in the document which upset some east European Communist leaders was that the Chinese already had four nuclear reactors in operation. While hoping to devote them to peaceful development, the report was said to have warned that the reactors would be turned to other purposes if Chinese needs for security were not met otherwise.

The Chinese reportedly argued the fine points of Marxist dialectics, and in

the end referred to matters of power politics. The paper stressed the Chinese achievements in the last ten years and asserted that these were accomplished despite the western blockade of China, (without peaceful co-existence) and largely through the efforts of Chinese themselves.

China is not alone in her stand. At least two of the twelve Communist countries give partial support to Maoism as opposed to Khrushchovism. Albania has openly favoured Mao. North Vietnam is not fully convinced of the basis of support to Moscow. Communist parties of Indonesia and Japan are reportedly on the Chinese side. And, most important, there are sympathisers with the Chinese view in almost all Communist countries of the world, including those of the Soviet Union and India.

All this does not stop Khrushchov from passionately demanding China's admission to the U.N., or the Chinese from emphasising their devotion to the Soviet Union and the unshakable unity of the socialist camp. It is indeed a confusing picture. But there are differences, real and not imaginary. It is possible that these differences are not so much fundamental as tactical, not ideological as practical, not political as personal.

What Lenin bequeathed was not a timeless methodology of total power, but a collection of very specific political ideas, slogans and techniques. Leninism, therefore, is not infallible. Moreover, those who interpret these ideas are subject to all the frailties and dilemmas that flesh and blood are heir to.

The Moscow conference has so far failed to resolve the major differences and it is doubtful if a permanent understanding could be reached as long as Khrushchov rules in Moscow and Mao leads in Peking.

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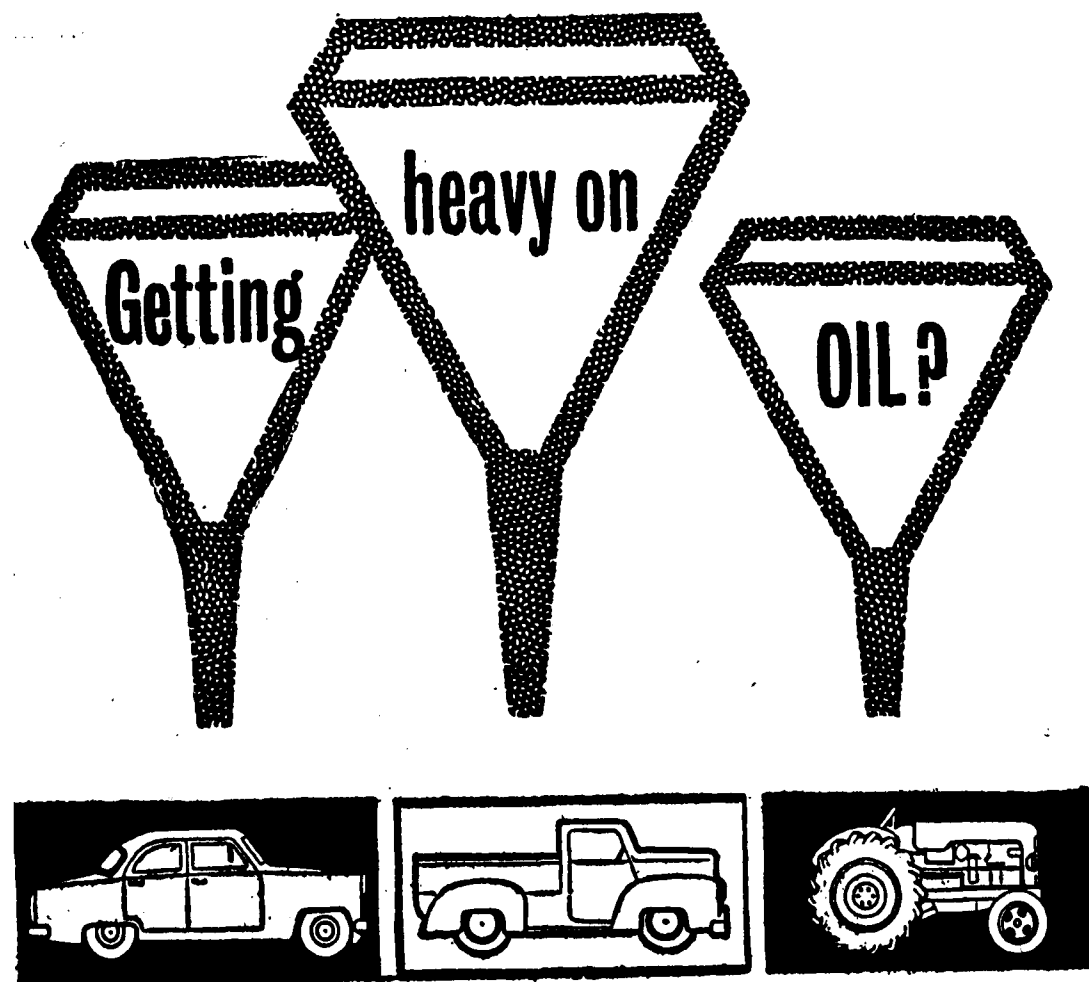
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THE PHILOSOPHY OF WAVING FOR EVENTS

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The Indian Parliament always looks forward to a debate on Foreign Affairs, with anxious expectancy and mild excitement. Not that the average M.P. is conspicuous for his interest in the international situation—he is indeed more agitated over the politics of the parish pump—but because of the growing consciousness of its impact on the home-front. And for some time there has been a marked awareness of the Chinese menace in the Himalayan regions. The widely cherished hope that the Prime Minister, with his inside knowledge of affairs would tell them much more than they could ever know from newspaper reports, was blasted as he initiated the debate on Foreign Affairs in Lok Sabha last week and had not even casually referred to China. On a par, from this point of view, was the intervention of the Defence Minister who had nothing to say about the defence of the country.

Mr. Nehru traversed familiar fields and expressed familiar views while Mr. Krishna Menon spoke admirably on Disarmament. The House was impressed by their performance but not interested in problems which had no immediate bearing on the situation at home: it would appreciate good 'lectures' but it would have liked to hear from both of them about China's intentions and what India meant to do. So, member after member, Congress members not excluded, raised the Chinese issue, with a sense of dismay and exasperation.

And there was pointed criticism, notably by Acharya Kripalani, of the Prime Minister's understatement on China, for nobody could forget how Mr. Nehru (who spoke of international gangsterism in the context of the Suez crisis) equated India's border dispute with China to a mere controversy! So, in his reply to the Foreign Affairs debate, the Prime Minister assured the House that he treated the Chinese violation of Indian territory very seriously and also disclosed that, for purposes of defence, roads covering about a thousand miles were being built expeditiously. And yet, just like him, while he talked of the Chinese attitude in a longer context as "a terrible affair", he again referred to some of the recent incursions as "petty incidents".

It is shocking to our M.Ps, as to ever so many others, to think that only a major catastrophe impresses Mr. Nehru

but no smaller manifestation of it! Caustically but very relevantly, the *"Hindustan Times"* asks what other conclusion from the Prime Minister's speeches is possible in Peking, "except that it can plot more 'petty' violations with impunity". The Prime Minister's utter reluctance or incapacity to take any serious view of disturbing symptoms till the worst happens has cost the country very dearly in the past. That danger still persists.

Only the other day, Mr. Hem Barua of the PSP made a gallant effort in Lok Sabha to make the Prime Minister realise that the northern border was "honeycombed with secret organisations and anti-social elements". While he was emphatic that Communist workers were active in doing hostile propaganda in the border regions and doling out vicious stuff, Mr. Nehru discouraged M.P's from talking of "a situation of insecurity or subversion" in that part of the country. Does it mean that no effective measures will be taken to stop the rot till insecurity and subversion are actually established? Where nipping mischief in the bud is so much out of fashion, when once mischief is afoot, one is found rather too late and halting. But whatever is said, Mr. Nehru can't be hustled. He will rather philosophise than hit out!

If it is a surprise that the Jan Sangh has sprung on the Indian public by the choice it has made for its Presidential *gaddi*, it is an agreeable surprise. That the choice, and that too by an unanimous vote, should have fallen on one who may now well be claimed as an elder statesman, reveals a tendency on its part to confront the country with a facade of respectability at the highest level. It is certainly good for a body which, rightly or wrongly, came to be associated with an extreme cult and disruptive politics, to have turned to Mr. Avasarala Rama Rao, whose sagacity is an antidote to all heroics. He cannot be dismissed, as done in the P.T.I. message, as a mere Andhra M.L.C. His antecedents and accomplishments make a better story. A veteran lawyer, he was for long a public prosecutor in Rajahmundry. He rallied under Dr. Annie Besant's banner as an ardent theosophist, though not as a Home Ruler. It was in Free India that his enlightened citizenship drew him into public life,

with an ever widening range of activity. In the Andhra Legislature, he has distinguished himself as a politician with a constructive mind. He is a widely travelled man. Far too sedate for the market-place and far too urbane for any street-corner harangues, he is essentially built for committee rooms and conference tables where the appeal is to reason, not emotion. In his new role he can be trusted to hold the reins firmly and not let the Jan Sangh colt gallop erratically. Perhaps no party chief has "arrived" on the all-India stage with less fuss and fanfare. If in the coming years a need will arise (as well it may) when party chiefs will have to take counsel and collaborate in larger national interests, the President-elect of Jan Sangh will prove to be a valuable asset.

Incidentally, his election marks a new phase in our politics. On the non-Communist front, the three R's—Reddy of the Congress, Ranga of Swatantra and Rama Rao of Jan Sangh—seem to constitute an Andhra triumverate, which may as well make Hyderabad the second capital of political India.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

FIRST THINGS, FIRST

Sir,—There is a saying that charity begins at home. If Mr. Nehru could settle the problems with Pakistan and live with her peacefully, that itself would be his great contribution from practical side to promotion and preservation of World Peace. How could a leader who,

(a) could not find a peaceful solution with his neighbour Pakistan over the vexed question of Kashmir,

(b) could not keep our frontiers free from Chinese aggression,

(c) could not secure the withdrawal of Portuguese authority from her tiny possession of Goa situated in the heart of our country,

(d) could not come to any satisfactory arrangement with Ceylon over the question of the rights of the Indian Citizenship,

(e) could not promote peace, understanding and harmony amongst the various linguistic factions that he had created, and lastly,

(f) could not bring down or even at least arrest the soaring price level that is deteriorating the living conditions of millions of people in our country.

bring about World Peace and good relationship between Soviet Russia and United States?

Madras

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MODERATE BRIBERY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Moral principle is the foundation of sound polity. But our ruling clique has successfully voted out in the Lok Sabha the proposal to stop the practice of collecting 'donations' from companies working under steel-bound regulations in our Welfare State. The opposition to this immorality was frank and fierce. Some few of the Congress Party men were quite ashamed of it all, but the party is shameless.

"Mr. Tyagi (Congress) said that giving of contributions by companies to political parties was a form of corruption. The contributions were paid under pressure or in expectation of gain. The Lady Edwina Mountbatten Memorial Fund was a case in point. Money was being donated for the Fund not because people were interested in the memorial, but to 'appease those who are in power'. The former private assistant to Prime Minister Nehru, Mr. Matthai, was going about collecting donations for the fund. It is to please and appease those who are in power and have patronage to distribute that people contribute to corrupt. It is no use hiding facts. Let us face facts as they are. I appeal to the Government as a member of their own party to withdraw it. It will bring bad name to the party. We do not want any contribution from persons who have no faith in our ideology'.

"Mr. Tyagi asked the Government to make it clear that these contributions would not be tax-free. If they were tax-free, he said, the elections would be fought at the expense of the public exchequer. He wanted a probe to be made into the growing concentration of industries and wealth into a few hands'.

It is significant that Sri Jawaharlal Nehru did not intervene in the familiar way and come out

with his reactions or desires in the matter. He probably felt unequal to the task of fetching any ingenious apology for this disgraceful provision which enables and encourages the fullest use of governmental power in a regulation-ridden polity to fill the ruling party's election chest. The ruling party has undertaken to put a ceiling on this form of corruption! We may as well pass a law that government officials may take no more of bribes in a single instance than the amount of the official's salary for one year. Moderate corruption is worse than moderate drinking for which pro-alcohol people plead so vigorously.

As the arguments against the practice of the Congress exploiting its position of power in a regimented economy and extracting contributions to the party chest from business firms, covered not

only the political immorality of it but also the misappropriation of shareholders' money for purposes not contemplated by the objects of the company, the Government seized the latter ground and has sought to mislead the public and perhaps Parliament too by accommodating the opposition by a so-called ceiling based on a percentage of the profits earned. This may be soothing to those easily deceived by appearances. The high incidence of tax on profit makes the permitted ceiling on such legalised mis-expenditure pointless. The graver and the real evil of the practice lies in the political crime involved, in the use of the enormous power arising from the numerous fears and favours exercisable by the ruling party in the regimentation of business, for the extraction of political toll and enrichment of the party chest.

A party that gets into power will by reason of this practice in the context of a "developing economy", be enabled to accumulate enormous funds which can defeat all the purposes of the law restraining corrupt practices at elections. It can perpetuate itself for all time in a country where votes are easily bought leaving only violence as a means to change governments. The legalisation of the government party collecting funds for election purposes from businessmen placed by the law at its mercy in every stage and incident of their occupation is an axe laid at the root of parliamentary democracy. It reduces the five-yearly general elections to a farce.

From a review of
Citizenship Today by
D. W. BROGAN.

Current Comments

Two former General Secretaries of the Congress were at loggerheads at the Lok Sabha when the question of Companies subsidising political parties were discussed in connection with the Companies (Amendment) Bill. Acharya Kripalani described raids into the coffers of Companies as "undemocratic" whereupon Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri recalled the days of the freedom-struggle and the clandestine collection of lakhs of rupees. This led to an exchange of words, but Lal Bahadur Shastri stuck to his version adding that contributions today are needed for the same "cause". What exactly is this "cause"? The ruling party has persuaded itself that the aims of the Gandhian movement and the retention of power in its own hands are identical purposes. The Minister maintained that "elections are costly". We are

well aware of the potentialities of improvement in collection and expenditure and the premium for tickets, but when there is a ceiling to election outlay and when there is a limit to the number of seats available, the excuse for a squeeze-campaign becomes thin.

When Companies are mulcted it does not seem to be obligatory to enter in the books the object desired by the donor in supporting people who solicit funds and also the name of the canvassers or permit-brokers who figure behind the scenes in transactions. Anyway, there could be no moral triumph for those in charge of the legislative machine.

When India rushed advance-forces to the Congo, the Prime Minister declared that India's re-

presentatives were widely welcomed in the liberated colony, but experience has proved it to be an exaggeration. It is clear that sudden transitions are capable of developing disorderly tendencies. If India had received her independence from the hands of the U.N.O. and if a Conciliation Committee of 15 countries ranging from Paraguay to Honolulu were announced as arriving on the spot to inaugurate the Lok Sabha because of disturbed conditions, the people as a whole would have preferred to turn out the new intruders and proceed to settle their own affairs with the old masters in the name of deliverance. As for Goa's integration with India, Mr. Krishna Menon pins his hope on the dissolution of the Portuguese Empire, and our acquisition of the enclave after making Portugal into a laughing-stock. The key-issue depends on the answer to the question whether a person or a nation could legitimately own or hold or administer possessions abroad beyond its metropolitan suburbs. Can colonialism be restricted to overseas territory when trans-frontier exploitation could also be quoted against homilies about unscrupulous "imperialism"? *Festina Lente.* PROXY.

NADIAD CONVENTION

Though blacked out in most of the press, all accounts received from those who attended the Nadiad Convention of the Swatantra Party and other meetings which Rajaji addressed elsewhere in Gujarat disclose that Rajaji had a triumphant tour and the reception given to him by Gujarat peasants reminded one of the old days of the late Sardar Vallabhai Patel. The Nadiad Conference was attended by over 1,000 delegates, almost all villagers. On the platform were found most of those who were associated with Sardar Vallabhai. Mr. Morarji Desai's latest enunciation that in India, land never belonged to farmers was vigorously combated by many speakers in the convention. The tenor of the speeches indicated that a new awakening had arisen among the farmers to the dangers involved in the measures sponsored by the Congress Government in regard to land ceiling and co-operative farming.

—Salvati Newsletter.

RAJAJI AT EIGHTY-THREE

On the threshold of 83, Rajaji is just as I have known him for several decades—astute, subtle and vastly intellectual, wise, discerning and considerate.

At a venerable age, when most men would like to retire to well-earned rest, Rajaji has come forward with flaming zeal to rescue our hard-won freedom from the hands of those who talk the language of freedom but walk in the footsteps of the totalitarians.

His life has been inspired by a deep spiritual fervour, and in a sense, with Dr. Rajendra Prasad he shares the privilege of having been spiritually closer to Gandhiji than his other great followers.

To Rajaji, the mission to which he is called is not a political one; it is a spiritual one—to re-establish the dignity of the common man; for, he has faith in God as also in the spiritual mission of the Motherland. He, like Gandhiji, again, views politics or social welfare only in terms of our spiritual growth.

More than once I have called him our Bhishma Pitamaha; and rightly, for his has been a life dedicated to *Dharma* in all its aspects, and it is difficult to imagine a nobler aim in life.

Bombay,
Dec. 3, 60.

K. M. M. M.

TIMELY COUNSELLOR

By POTHAN JOSEPH

A multifaced character whose gifts range from profound scholarship to astute politics, C.R., whose anniversary falls due in autumnal age, has throughout his career been under the urge of a sleepless sense of duty which he calls by diverse names, *Dharma* in particular. To the foreigner and the novice, this term has often to be explained for applied understanding. The mental background of the people of India has always been receptive to his analytical presentation of facts and the synthetic upshot of it in the performance of a man's duty. The improvement of the individual is premised as a matter of one's own handling, but the sum of its effects

constitutes the impact on society. Whether human nature can be changed is doubtful in its totality, but it is the citizen's obligation to maximise the ways of happiness and minimise interference in the expression of personality. On the danger of self-deception C.R. has been a beacon-light for India since the dawn of the century. No man is above inconsistency which really reflects readiness to revise opinion in the light of experience. Once a conviction grips C.R. it becomes a mission with him, and those who attempt to make jumps for mob admiration represent social dangers to him. A matter of rigid principle in the

morning cannot end with him by nightfall as a subject for flexibility. His is not the grass-hopper's mind. His intellectual dynamism has never permitted him to take things for granted or tolerate presumptuous chicanery at the cost of the people. Production under State-pressure entails conscripted labour. At the present moment when I recall episodes in his epic career I feel somewhat pulled up by the thought that amongst his qualities of vitalism, he has an amazing capacity not only to sympathise with the suffering, but to endure distress. I know he is in deep mourning for a friend in Mysore who had become a part of his own

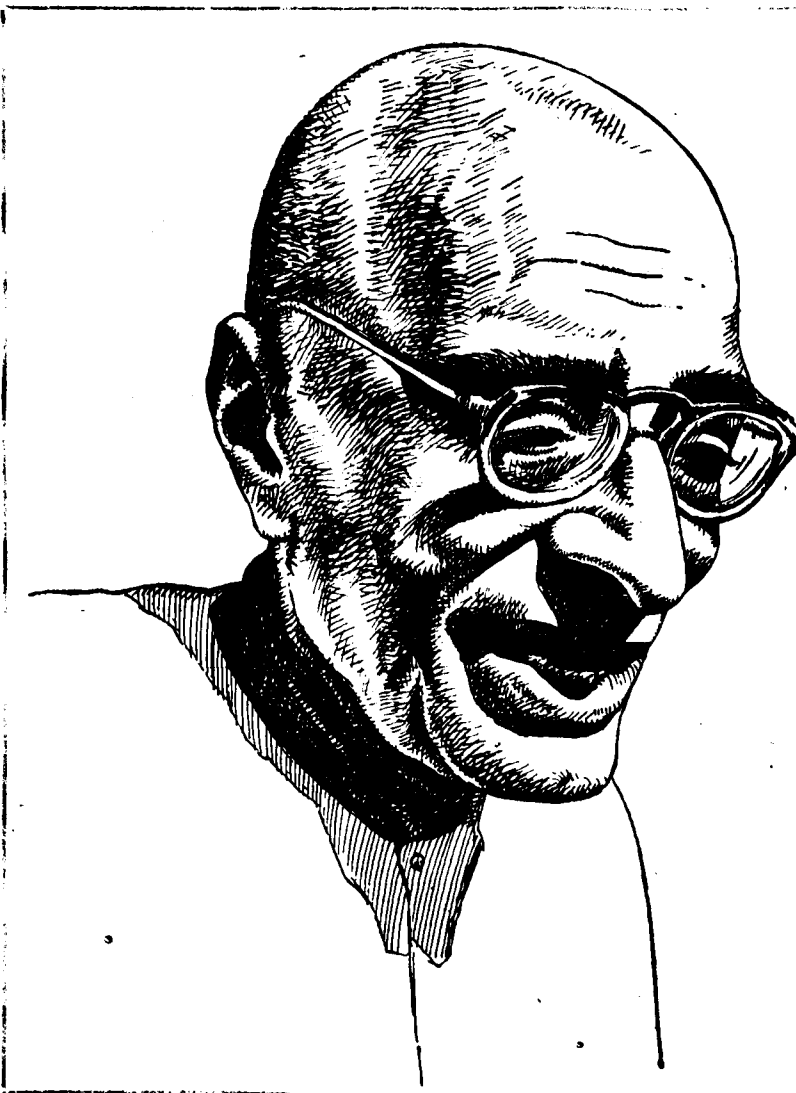
being—Navaratna Rama Rao. C.R. had rushed to Bangalore to say farewell, though late by a few hours. Again, back in Madras he must be preoccupied with care for another lifelong friend who but for his illness must be writing this tribute, namely Khasa Subba Rau.

C.R. has been praised for his indefatigability and fearlessness. His stamina is a marvel but fearlessness has always been natural to him since it does not come from any sense of glamorous derring-do; it just proceeds from a call for self-expression touching what is obvious to him, but exploited by self-seekers for acquiring what is advantageous to them at the cost of the poor and the credulous. He was devoted to Mahatma Gandhi but without a trace of subserviency, a character-

istic that endeared him to Gandhiji and led him to respect his opinion. In his present role as Founder-Leader of the Swatantra Party, Rajaji is animated by a passion for putting things to right before our country, already on the skid, topples over the precipice. Whenever strangers discuss the key to Swatantra politics, I pass on a sentence from Abraham Lincoln:

"Government must do for the people what they can't do for themselves, and avoid interference when people can do things for themselves".

The intelligentsia is bound to respond to the message, provided the rules of the game are honoured and no



CIVIL LIBERTIES IN KASHMIR

By B. SHIVA RAO

Keen opposition has been expressed to the renewal of the life of the Preventive Detention Act in the Lok Sabha for a further period of three years. The critics who represented all parties (including the veteran Mr. Aney from the Congress) protested against the indefinite prolongation of the life of this 'lawless law' as some critics described it in the debate. Among the points raised was the fact that the safeguards introduced through amendments of the Act in recent years, while softening the rigours of the law made no substantial difference to the rights of a citizen which were threatened so long as this measure remained on the statute book.

If in spite of the provisions which seek to give detenus safeguards at almost every stage—through advisory boards, sifting of evidence—within a very limited period of days from the date of detention, how can one describe the Preventive Detention Act in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, where no such safeguards prevail? Sheikh Abdullah and several others who are now undergoing trial in the Kashmir conspiracy case were in detention for periods exceeding in his case four years, without the evidence being examined by an independent board as is done in India. There are instances of lawyers who have similarly been detained in the State for the only apparent reason that they were willing to appear in the case on behalf of the defence.

There is an impression in the country that the provisions of the Preventive Detention Act in Jammu and Kashmir are identical with those in India. The fact has not been sufficiently publicised that the Kashmir Act gives the Executive unfettered powers in dealing with the rights and the freedom of citizens of the State.

It would not be right for me to discuss the merits of the cases now being conducted in Jammu and Kashmir, since they are *sub judice*. There are three, namely, the Kashmir conspiracy

attempts are made to alter them in the middle of a fair encounter. He undergoes a moral recoil when he detects weights and measures tampered with or when so-called ideology is boosted as stemming from the grass-hopper mind.

Now, therefore, here is to the health of India's leading Counselor, Chakravarty Rajagopalachari (a standing ovation).

case, the Bomb case and the Hazratbal case. The maxim that justice delayed is justice denied, could not apply with greater force or cogency than to these cases. As Sheikh Abdullah pointed out in his defence statement, a summary of which appeared in a recent issue of *Swarajya*, he was in detention from August 1953 to January 1958. After enjoying freedom for a period of four months, the Conspiracy case was instituted against a large number of persons and his name was included a few months later. It is pertinent to note that since September 1958 preliminary investigations in regard to this case have been in progress. The end is not yet in sight; nor can any one predict how long the investigations will last and whether at the end there will be a committal to sessions for regular trial. Already Sheikh Abdullah and some of his associates have been in detention (barring the four months of liberty in 1958), first as detenus and then as under-trial prisoners, for more than seven years. Ahead of them lie, even after the completion of the investigation proceedings, the possibilities of a regular trial in a sessions court and even an appeal by either party to the High Court.

It is not only in regard to the Preventive Detention Act that there is disparity between Kashmir and the rest of India. More than two years ago the Criminal Procedure Code was amended in India with a view to giving accused persons greater facilities for defence. According to one amendment, an accused is entitled to copies of documents relating to the first information report of the police before the commencement of the case; under another, he has the right to demand being examined on oath in the course of his trial. Both these amendments have been implemented in India; and, even in Kashmir, the assent of the Sadar-i-Riyasat was promptly obtained. Nevertheless, the State Government has, for reasons of its own, refused to give the accused in the Conspiracy case the benefit of these amendments, one of the grounds urged being that it is a matter entirely at the option of the Executive.

In the same case petitions filed by the accused asking for copies of various relevant papers and for a list of the witnesses whom the prosecution intends to summon in the course of the enquiry have been ignored by the State Government.

The Preventive Detention Act is not the only measure which curtails the liberty of the citizen in Kashmir. There is the

Enemy Agents Ordinance, the Ingress Act and the Jammu and Kashmir Security Rules, all of which have been used freely by the Executive in the three cases mentioned above.

The Enemy Agents Ordinance (the provisions of which have been utilised for starting the Bomb case) defines an 'Enemy' in the following terms:

"Enemy means and includes any person, directly or indirectly participating or assisting in the campaign recently undertaken by the raiders from outside for subverting the Government established by law in this State, and Economy Agent means a person not operating as a member of enemy armed forces who is employed by or works for or acts on instructions received from the enemy".

The only class of enemy mentioned in the definition are the 'raiders' the last of whom disappeared from Kashmir in 1949.

A number of lawyers in the State, who seemed willing at one stage to appear on behalf of the defence, were either detained under the Preventive Detention Act or were engaged by the prosecution. A noteworthy instance of the extent to which the State authorities are capable of utilising their powers under the Act is in regard to a prominent lawyer of the Patna Bar whose name had been recommended in a private letter by Sir Sultan Ahmed to Sheikh Abdullah. The letter was opened by the jail authorities and before even Sheikh Abdullah could take a decision, the lawyer was approached by the State Government and engaged for the prosecution on a handsome fee. This, I believe, is not the only instance in which the State Government has exercised its powers of censoring letters and using the information contained in them to its own advantage.

There is also the question of the venue of these trials. The Hazratbal case and the Bomb case are being tried in Srinagar, while the investigations into the Conspiracy case are proceeding at Jammu, causing a great deal of inconvenience to the accused persons. It is relevant to add that the order fixing the jail as venue for the conduct of the Conspiracy case was taken by the State Government and not by the judge.

No one has estimated the cost to the State Government of conducting these trials. It is believed that only in regard to the Conspiracy case, the daily expenditure on lawyers' fees alone must be between Rs. 15,000 and 20,000. It is obviously impossible for the accused persons to find or to engage competent counsel for their defence and adequate funds for the purpose. The eclipse of civil liberties in Kashmir must be a source of grave concern all over India.

SALUTATIONS TO SRI RAJAJI

By K. ISWARA DUTT

With the solitary exception of Sir Winston Churchill (who was 86 on the last day of November this year), there is none on the world scene comparable to our own Sri Chakravarty Rajagopalachari (who is 82 this week) for the glory that age and eminence have with a rare concord made his own, or for the halo that "the medieval saints beheld gleaming around the Holy Grail". I am clubbing them together, unabashedly and deliberately, though they are of the most divergent types, for both are cast in a heroic mould and have attained superlative greatness, with their intellectual power and moral courage, ever in readiness to answer the call of Destiny.

It was long years after he was supposed to have been "finished" that Sir Winston Churchill rose to be the saviour of his country; it was years after he was described as "a spent force" that Rajaji awakened the national conscience about the menace to the well-being of India and entered the lists, Churchill-like, to wrest victory out of a seeming void. Both are at once suggestive, indeed, of a certain transcendent effulgence in the darkest of hours.

Six years ago when it was generally assumed that he had no more active political life left, I ventured to speak of him as a Colossus in Reserve, punning on his initials with a peculiar relish. It seemed to many at that time to be an extremely hazardous prophecy, but those who came to scoff at the idea have remained to pray. Today we find that "age is shamed" and that "he doth best-ride the narrow world, like a Colossus". Rajaji is more than a veteran political warrior: he is a Moral Colossus.

It is interesting to recall that it was Mr. Nehru, and no other, who in one of his expansive moods hailed Rajaji as "a warrior", as "an old fighter", and too, as "a man of peace, a philosopher and a seeker

after truth". And he also felt sure that "when necessity demands it", the country will call him to other services. In finding Rajaji, harkening to "the call" of the country for rendering "other services", Mr. Nehru possibly finds in the words he uttered on that occasion, fulfilment but in an ironic sense. If he however probes, as he should, he will realise the stupendous significance of Rajaji's re-appearance in the political arena. When in their eighties men turn again crusaders, it can only be out of a sense of moral compulsion. And the world has got to reckon with the uncommon man who, with an unknown prestige, makes something like a final bid, to shatter into bits the existing perverse order imposed on the country by Congress absolutism, before it gets too late for others, however likewise inclined, to turn the tide of affairs.

None knows better than Rajaji the stern implications of Polonius' poetic maxim: "Beware of entrance to a quarrel, but being-in, bear it that the opposer may beware of thee". Every one knows that, when he is involved in a political controversy or conflict, there is no "opposer" of his who can afford not to beware of him, whereas, if by any chance, he does not, he simply asks for trouble. He is so supreme a political strategist as to be able to cast, with a Disraelian charm and ease, the net that could just enmesh any shining helmet or sword. He is never more resourceful than when he draws the opponent into his net, and never more resolute than in making mince-meat of him. Long years ago an adept in pen-portraiture, in sizing up Rajaji as a political opponent, described him as an iceberg in motion, for, whether the iceberg strikes the ship or the ship collides with the iceberg, it is the ship that will go down the depths. It is a tribute to him that even those who do not yet take the Swatantra Party as such very seriously, are mightily afraid of—

to use Mr. Nehru's phrase—"the old fighter" who has launched his fighting campaign. And it is just like Rajaji that he should make any fight which he makes his own, a fight to the finish and nothing less.

Though "a man of peace" and "a philosopher" all his life, Rajaji has found himself pitted against forces, individual and organisational. With no tears to shed, he has fought, sometimes with some behind him and sometimes all alone, but never has he compromised on any issue. And he has done the fighting without malice and with clean weapons; often the only weapon being the tongue which speaks great language, giving the clearest expression to the thoughts that perennially spring from a capacious mind. For all the ruthlessness with which he brushed aside puissant personalities like Srinivasa Iyengar nearer home, Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das on the northern plane, and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru when the issue of Partition first raised its head, never has he been known to bear any ill-will towards a political adversary. If he was too subtle for them or unanswerable in political argument, he could not help, for he was born to excel in controversy. He knew what eclipse or adversity meant but he never found his fortitude unequal to its anguish. He knew what it was to be a victor, with his dignity unimpaired. Whether victorious or vanquished, Rajaji is the same man, with his mind far too elevated for the noisy scheme of things here below. It was so when he was fiercely flung into wilderness in 1942: it was again so when he was 'enthroned' in 1948. While he has never lacked confidence, his confidence in himself has always come only next to his faith in Providence.

He has exercised his mind, as few men of his generation have done, on the most bewildering variety of subjects, from the dangers of nuclear weapons to the evils of political patronage. For beauty of exposition of a theme or invincible argument in contro-

RAJAJI AS I KNOW HIM

By V. P. MENON

versy, he has few equals and no superior in our annals. It has always been a marvel how by his parables he could make so immediate and so sure an appeal to his hearers and what heights he could reach by a simplicity of language, almost Biblical, alike in its texture and fervour.

Of all his great qualities, there is nothing so resplendent as his moral courage. It was only he that could once tell Gandhiji that his outlook was blurred; it is only he that could again tell Mr. Nehru some unpleasant truths. When he does a thing out of a sense of duty, he is unrepentant. He will fight Congressmen today with the same resoluteness, vigour and zest with which he had fought the Communists yesterday. It has made all the difference to the world that it is he—Rajaji the incorruptible and the invincible—that has shown today the Red light to the country, lest it should become near-Red first and completely Red next.

As one who has really his eyes on the dangers to society in a larger setting—on political decay as well as moral collapse, the twin evils of the times—he commands the attention that only the prophets of old did. He is no prophet of gloom for all the darkness that seems to him to be enveloping the world. Never has his faith in the over-ruling Providence been shaken by the worst that had threatened either his countrymen or his fellowmen. So, we find him thinking of evil with the wrath of a Carlyle and talking of it with the mellowed wisdom of a Marcus Aurelius—and seeking to fulfil his mission as the nation's pre-eminent friend, philosopher and guide.

This great land of ours which produced great men, sometimes in a hurry and sometimes a trifle leisurely, having produced only one Rajaji, the prayers of myriads will go forth to the Almighty Father, that many more years may be vouchsafed to the venerable patriarch—for our good and the larger good of mankind.

On the 9th December falls the 83rd birthday of Rajaji. Though for his part he has been averse to the celebration of his birthday, yet it is difficult for those to whom he has been a leading light, an infallible guide and mentor to refrain from expressing on this happy occasion at least their gratitude to a benevolent Providence, whose gift he has been to the nation.

My first contact with the work and greatness of Rajaji was when he was Chief Minister of Madras and I was then Secretary to the Governor-General. It was the practice of Governors in those days to send a fortnightly report to the Governor-General giving their appraisal of the work of Provincial Governments. I cannot recollect even a single report of a Governor in which he had not expressed his admiration and respect for the integrity, foresight and balanced judgment of Rajaji.

My contact with Rajaji became more personal and closer when he assumed the office of the Governor-General of India. During this period I have had many an occasion to take to him vital issues of the day for advice and guidance. When I left him I always had the satisfaction that I have had the opinion of one who had considered every aspect of a problem and that if he had endorsed a proposal I could go ahead with the supreme confidence that no facet of the matter had escaped attention.

His fervid patriotism and his selfless sacrifice in the cause of the country's freedom are too well known for me to mention. But during all these long years of unremitting public activity the most outstanding feature of his career has been his fearlessness as a fighter. Once he is convinced after deep thought that a cause he has taken up is right, no amount of criticism or cavil from any quarter could deflect him from the path he has chosen as being the best in the interests of the country. He was one of the few un-

swerving "no-changes" along with Gandhiji in the days of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Shri C.R. Das during the council-entry controversy. Subsequent events only proved him right.

Again when he was clear in his mind that the policy which the Government of India have been following will bring no good to the country he had no qualms in breaking off from his erstwhile party and colleagues to lead a party and movement of his own warning the people of the dangers inherent in the policies and programmes of the party in power. Politicians of the ordinary run could see no farther than their nose but Rajaji is a statesman of unique calibre and he could with unerring precision look far into the unknown future.

To reminisce on a recent experience of mine I might recall the conversation I had with Rajaji in the company of my friend Khasa Subha Rau, when we discussed various topics at random. It was a memorable and exhilarating experience of my life. None could have come away from such a conversation with Rajaji without being struck by his profound wisdom, his clarity of vision, the comprehensive sweep with which he could encompass an issue and his knowledge of men and things.

Rajaji is a man of many-sided splendour. He is not only a politician, he is a literateur, a philosopher by precept and practice, a sage and a savant. He is not one amongst many; he is one of the very few. He is an institution and a host in himself. When the cry against the proposed imposition of Hindi was a voice in the wilderness, Rajaji constituted himself into a one man Language Commission in opposition and the powers that he had to sit up and revise their thoughts. His campaign against nuclear test explosions had its reverberations the world over. He is not a man of the day or of the nation only. He is a moral and intellectual giant of

TRANSFER OF BERUBARI

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Berubari issue is taking an acute turn. It is obvious to any one who respects common sense and has some legal training to enable the interpretation of documents, that the provisions of the articles in the Constitution relating to alteration of boundaries of the States comprising the Union, whether for mere alteration or resulting in an increase or decrease of area, relate only to internal re-distribution and do not cover the secession of Indian territory to a foreign government. This has been made perfectly clear by the Supreme Court and no more argument on the point would be necessary or useful. The West Bengal legislature's expression of its views on this subject is perfectly correct in law as well as a true reflection of public opinion.

There is no provision in the Constitution which by amendment could be made to justify Berubari. The idea of using the two-third majority rule of Article 368 in order to introduce a wholly new article appears to be of doubtful propriety, when even for purposes of lesser gravity mentioned in the proviso of that Article a more elaborate and stringent procedure is prescribed.

General Ayub has made what must appear on the surface to be a very good and very embarrassing point—that governments must carry out treaties whatever the cost and that otherwise there can be no reliance on one another's promises and there would be an end to any fruitful negotiation between two governments. This is true. But we must ask General Ayub, are we arriving at peace between the two peoples or only between the two governments? Is it good policy to force things on the basis of a treaty when the cost would

an era and of the world. There are not many of his stature who walk the earth and may it please Providence to keep him with us for many more years of selfless service and guidance to the nation.

be peace itself? Neither side will gain in any real sense by Shylock's pound of flesh if as a result the two peoples drift further apart and hatred is augmented and goodwill driven farther away. A treaty is a means to an end, not in this case an end in itself.

A dictator ruling by the force of his army can smile at the difficulties of a government which rules through a Parliamentary machine and its inherent difficulties. But even he should realise that army rule cannot go on for ever. He also should one day submit to the popular opinion. Subservience to army opinion is not very different from or more praiseworthy than subservience to popular opinion. Would General Ayub hold on to a treaty if his army violently disapproved of it?

Sri N. C. Chatterji writes to me:

I ought to tell you that the Prime Minister's persistence in proceeding with the transfer of Berubari to Pakistan is being deeply resented by the people of West Bengal.

I had the privilege of presiding over the People's Convention of Berubari in the district of Jalpaiguri and I had the opportunity of appearing for the Berubari residents before the Supreme Court. As the President of the Berubari People's Convention I had declared that it was ultra-vires for the Prime Minister and the Parliament to make any gift of Indian territory and I demanded the Government to proceed under Article 143 of the Constitution. The Supreme Court vindicated our stand and the proposed transfer by Executive action was declared ultra-vires. The Supreme Court also decided that it was not a question of demarcation of boundary, but it was an alienation of a part of Indian territory in favour of Pakistan.

In spite of the strong feeling in West Bengal and the unanimous decision of the West Bengal Legislature, the Government of India is determined to make the transfer of Berubari. The Calcutta meeting strongly voiced the feeling of the people. I had forwarded my statement to the Prime Minister of India. But his response has been disappointing.

Sri N. C. Chatterji has issued a public statement in which after relating the history of the controversy up to the point when the Supreme Court decided in its unanimous judgment against the legality of the proposed transfer of the area to Pakistan unless the constitution is amended, he says:

A constitutional amendment under Article 368 may not be a very difficult task in view of the big majority which the ruling party commands in both the Houses of Parliament. It may be that the Ruling Party has a giant's strength. But we would seriously ask the Government of India to consider whether they should use this power like a giant. I would urge the Prime Minister in this critical hour to consider the imposition of such a transfer when West Bengal is faced with a terrible disaster caused by communal and linguistic upsurge in a neighbouring State and has to shoulder the additional burden of thousands of refugees recently uprooted from their homes.

In undivided Bengal, the district of Jalpaiguri had a predominant non-Muslim population, being 77 per cent of the whole population, and when the former province of Bengal was partitioned into two provinces, the whole district of Jalpaiguri and the State of Cooch-Bihar were included in the State of West Bengal as parts of India.

By the Radcliffe Award, five thanas of the district of Jalpaiguri were made over to Pakistan and the rest including the thana of Jalpaiguri was retained in the district of Jalpaiguri.

From the day of Independence and from the date of the Radcliffe Award right up to the present moment, the Union of Berubari, as an integral part of the thana of Jalpaiguri and the district of Jalpaiguri, has been under the lawful control and possession of the State of West Bengal and thus formed an integral part of India, within the meaning of Article 1 of the Constitution of India.

The West Bengal Government have spent huge sums of money in this area for construction of roads, bridges, schools, hospitals and this area is the connecting link between the Haldibari thana of the district and Cooch-Bihar and the Jalpaiguri thana.

Pakistan had been treating the Berubari Union as part of the district of Jalpaiguri and never laid any claim that by the Radcliffe Award this tract had been given to them.

After the Radcliffe Award many boundary disputes arose between India and Pakistan which led to appoint-

ment of an International Tribunal viz., the Bagge Tribunal. Pakistan never claimed this territory and there was no reference regarding Berubari to that Tribunal.

For the construction of a hospital in this area, the people of the area contributed Rs. 2,500 (deposited with the Government on January 12, 1957). One Post Office and two Police Outposts are functioning here. More than Rs. 10,000 have been given to the people in the shape of loans. The Government has arranged for the settlement of a large number of refugees in this area. The people of Berubari had taken part in two general elections to the Parliament and State Legislature and a number of by-elections to the Parliament and State Government. Summons were and are issued on them by the Courts in India and the Indian Police have all along maintained law and order in the area. They also participated in the latest by-election to a seat in the Parliament.

Neither the West Bengal Legislature nor the West Bengal Government were consulted before the treaty was made. The people of Berubari were never consulted nor given an opportunity to put forward their point of view and the Convention of the representatives of the people of the area held at Berubari, unanimously resolved that they were Indian citizens and wanted to remain as such and that they were firmly opposed to their being de-nationalised and de-franchised and declared that they would resist any attempt to transfer any part of Berubari Union in District Jalpaiguri to East Pakistan. Should they be sacrificed in pursuit of the policy of appeasement? That policy yields no dividends as experience has shown both with regard to Kashmir and India's northern border.

FIRST TIME IN INDIA

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AIYARS - N. D. 2

In any event when both the Houses of the Bengal Legislature unanimously opposed the transfer, the Central Government should not defy the will of the people constitutionally expressed through their elected representatives. We appeal to all right thinking citizens throughout India to support the demand of West Bengal.

A cry of anguish from a 'small' man is worth reading. He writes in a letter to me:

Some two years ago when I had written to you about the Berubari affair and the Central Government's bungling over it, you had written to me while describing my letter as a 'marvellous' one that your voice was a lone voice and you did not feel you could achieve anything by intervening in the matter. Unfortunately the Swatantra Party had not then come into existence and undoubtedly yours was 'a lone voice'. But things have undergone tremendous changes since then and today your voice is the voice of the countless millions of our countrymen and hence it cannot go unheeded.

You have been on whirlwind tour and I did not want to trouble you by writing anything but now, when the Prime Minister has categorically declared that he is not bound to consult even the State on this issue, we are faced with an unprecedented crisis. At that time I had sent to you the map of those areas that are to be transferred and you had immediately written to me: "Bengal must fight its battle. It knows how to fight".

The battle was indeed fought gallantly and some arrests also had been made. Prominent among those that had been arrested was the local Jan Sangh leader Sri Ram Prasad Das and he was kept in prison for full one year under the Black Act, the notorious P.D. Act. The Government dropped the matter for the time being and the people felt that the Government would not raise the matter any more. But the Government was mysteriously active and then suddenly Mr. Nehru threw the bombshell of his personal prestige and now proposes to bring up a Bill. You remember that an ordinary professor of a local college had moved the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court declared that no body had any power to give away any portion of the Indian territory to any foreign power unless the constitution is suitably amended.

Now what is to be done? You had been the Governor of our Province and

then the Governor-General also of the country. I know the Government is not obliged to listen to your advice but the greater Government, I mean the people of India and of Bengal in particular, would listen to your voice and act up to it. We have been patiently waiting for your reaction to this Bill and the Governments' proposed action but to our great anxiety you have not said anything. You are aware of the feelings of the people of Bengal over this issue but they would like your support and we are sure, appreciating our stand, you will lend a powerful support to our fight. The people of Berubari are in a state of great panic. At that time I had conveyed your message to the resistance committee leaders. This time we want to have your support from public platforms and press and we hope you will not disappoint us.

The battle of democracy will be fought not in the Union Legislature where Mr. Nehru's henchmen are in brute majority but in Berubari where the attention of our people is now centred.

The fate of 12000 people is linked up with Berubari. Berubari is neither a desert nor a no-man's land. Its 12000 inhabitants annually produce about 2000 maunds of paddy which testify to the fertility of the soil. Its output of the commercial crop, jute, will be in the neighbourhood of 1.50 lakh maunds. Besides these crops, various kinds of vegetables are also raised by its residents. It may be called the rice bowl of Jalpaiguri which depends largely on its agricultural produce. The Government of West Bengal is constructing a road from Haldibari to Berubari at a cost of two lakhs of rupees and a bridge over the river Punga at a cost of 1.50 lakhs of rupees. The education of over two thousand school-going children of Berubari has also received due consideration. There are eight primary schools and one junior high school for imparting education to them. About 6000 displaced cultivators have been rehabilitated at Berubari. The transfer of Berubari to Pakistan will render 12000 people including these 6000 refugees homeless again thereby.

The transfer of areas small or big without the consent of the people living therein must be given up by the Government. It could be the height of folly to ignore the appeal of the people of Bengal and to force things on the basis of a majority in Parliament.

A THOUGHTLESS PROPOSAL

By Prof. M. RUTHNASWAMY

Among the many policies and programmes of the Congress Party Governments dictated by panic, one of their usual motives for action, the abolition of the Secretariat sponsored by Ministers and Legislators of Madhya Pradesh is the latest. Just as the chronic scarcity of food and the continuing backwardness of Indian agriculture with the general elections of 1962 looming on the political horizon are responsible for the policy of co-operative farming and of ceiling on land holdings so the chronic delays and other frustrations in the Indian Secretariat are responsible for this precious proposal of abolishing the Secretariat. The Secretariat is a link in the long chain that separates an administrative proposal or order from its conception and its execution. So if you want to shorten the distance between the two ends of the chain and thus shorten the time taken to go from one end to the other what better method can there be than to cut off one link? If the administrative chain was a mere succession of links this proposal of the Madhya Pradesh Ministry may pass. But an administrative system is a linkage, that is a system of links connecting moving or movable parts and to break one link may damage the whole system.

The Secretariat is a link in the administrative linkage. It is placed between the Heads of departments and the Supreme Executive connecting the two and to be of service to either. It receives the proposals, reports, returns, facts, information from the Heads of departments and studies, digests, analyses, sifts, separates the chaff from the grain and presents suggestions for action to be taken by the Supreme Executive. On the other hand, it receives the proposal for policy from the Supreme Executive, finds the facts and figures that are needed for scientific discussion of the matter in question, discusses these proposals with Heads of departments, gets information which may not be already available and after studying the matter from the relevant points of view gives its studied advice to the Supreme Executive for final decision. Collectively and individually a Secretariat performs this function, an eminently necessary and useful one. Ministries and Ministers in all systems of Government have had and benefited from this kind of help from Secretariats and Secretaries. Especially, in a system of democratic Parliamentary Government where Ministers are mostly amateur, a Minister would be helpless without a Secretary to inform and advise

him. Without a Secretary, facing the Head of the department direct, he would either lay down the law for him without any justification in knowledge or experience or be entirely at his mercy. In either case the Minister would be of no use to the Government. The Secretary breaks the shock which comes from the meeting of a know-nothing Minister and a know-all Head of the department. The Secretary on account of his knowledge and experience gained in years spent in districts and the subordinate grades of the Secretariat, would be able to put the Head of the department in his place and give the Minister confidence in himself. The Secretary is in a position to see through the

UNWISE

After the Finance Minister's recent grim recounting of the foreign exchange outlook for the coming months, it is not really surprising that imports are being more drastically curtailed than was probably thought necessary some time ago. Even so, it is no longer open to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to pretend that the cuts are not hurting, or will not hurt, industrial production or expansion. How disturbing the situation is becoming has been underlined by the need the Government have felt for curtailing the import of even such an essential item of capital equipment as machine tools. Whereas the requirements of industrial expansion clearly demand that the restrictions on the import of machine tools should be progressively liberalized, the Government are finding themselves in the unhappy position of having to cut down still further even the strictly restricted import of this essential item. It is surely permissible to question the relatively long term policies which have brought the national economy to the present pass.

We wonder whether even at this late date the Government recognize the unwisdom of starting new industries of varying degrees of utility and questionable economic soundness in the public sector without carefully estimating the consequential strain on our external resources for the import of equipment and materials. *Hindustan Times.*

partialities and enthusiasms of the Head of the department and put the Minister wise on the matters that come before him. On the other hand the Secretary would be able to explain and break up the policy proposals of the Minister and present them to the Head in a form which will enable him to carry them into effect. Far from saving time and putting an end to the frustrations of the Secretariat, the Madhya Pradesh proposal will only prolong the time between conception and birth of a Ministerial proposal. Deprived of the help of an experienced and knowing Secretary the Minister would have to be his own Secretary, get the knowledge and information that he lacks, try to get them from personal study of blue books, reports and statistics, from personal tours and inspections on the spot, consultations with all kinds of people so that he can deal with the proposals of the Head of the departments in an effective manner. More time and less efficient consideration and decision by Ministers would be the result of the abolition of the Secretariat.

Of the causes of the Madhya Pradesh proposal there can be no doubt. The delays and the other defects of the Indian Secretariat are undeniable. A remedy must be found for them not in the counsel of despair denoted by the proposal to abolish the Secretariat but in the reform of the Secretariat. And this reform to be useful must be preceded by a proper enquiry and this enquiry must be thorough and scientific, not of the petty pottering peace-meal kind effected by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. Carried out as it is by men of the Secretariat themselves it is like a patient suggesting remedies for the disease from which he is suffering. What is wanted is an enquiry into the manning, machinery and methods of the Secretariat, undertaken by experts in an expert fashion. And as the Secretariat is only a link in the chain of administration and many of its defects and deficiencies are due to its organic connection with a whole system of administration, the circumference and the centre influencing each other and as this system is more than a hundred years old and has never been thoroughly overhauled all these years we want a grand inquest of the whole administrative system of India at the centre and the circumference carried out by experts from abroad (preferably England which is more concerned with economy and efficiency combined than the U.S.A.) and from India, representatives of Government, business and public life. Such an inquest is long overdue and urgently required by the needs of administration and the welfare of a long-suffering people.

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

While vanaspati manufacturers do feel concern about the misuse of vanaspati as an adulterant of ghee, they also strongly feel that any suggested change in vanaspati must always be in the interests of vanaspati consumers.

Vanaspati manufacturers wish to assure vanaspati consumers that vanaspati will continue to be made to the highest standards of purity and wholesomeness.

For more information, write to :

THE VANASPATI MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF INDIA

'India House', Fort Street, Bombay 1

JWT-VMA-949.

A GLORIOUS CHAPTER OF HISTORY

RAJAJI'S SECOND MINISTRY IN MADRAS

By R. V. KRISHNA IYER

The first general elections to the Legislatures in India under the present Constitution of India were held from November 1951 to February 1952. Out of the total of three hundred and seventy-five seats in the then Madras Legislative Assembly, the Congress could get only one hundred and fifty-two seats, though it was the largest single party in that House. Next to it came the Communist Party with sixty-one seats and then came the K.M.P. with thirty-three seats. There were various other parties with even fewer representatives and there were also a large number of Independent members.

The Members of the Assembly who were opposed to the Congress contended that in as much as the Congress which had been in power before the general elections could at the general elections gather only 152 out of a total of 375 seats in the Assembly, the electorate must be regarded as having by an overwhelming majority given a clear verdict against the Congress and that, therefore, a Ministry should be formed only out of the members in opposition to the Congress and that the leader of the largest party in the opposition should be invited by the Governor to form the new ministry.

On the other hand, Sri T. Prakasam who had once been the Chief Minister of a Congress Government in Madras and had left the Congress and become the leader of the dissident K.M.P. in Madras, was able to bring together the members of most of the opposition groups and some of the independent members to form a United Party called the United Democratic Front (U.D.F.) with a strength of 166 members—fourteen above that of the Congress. Even as it was, the Congress Party was disunited and was urgently in need of a strong, able and loyalty-compelling leadership which would not only check the fissiparous tendencies within itself, but would draw new friends to it and save it from a crisis which seemed imminently to threaten its position and influence.

Economic Crisis in the State

The whole State was in the throes of a great economic crisis. For five years continuously, it had experienced a failure of both the South-West and the North-East monsoons and had suffered a lamentable failure of food crops. The Government had resorted to rationing of food but this had not alleviated the

discontent or the sufferings of the people. Compulsory procurement on which it had been based had led to abuses. Food had gone underground. As rationing had been limited mostly to urban areas, the certainty of getting at least some food in towns had led to migration of rural populations to urban areas, to the registration of false names of ration card holders and to black-marketing on a large scale. At the same time, a general slump in trade had resulted in considerable distress to those engaged in handloom industry. And everywhere, there were loud complaints of corruption and mal-administration.

Call to Save Congress

Who could save the Congress Party from disintegration and the State from collapse? C. Rajagopalachari had recently retired from the Union Cabinet and had settled down in Madras. He seemed to be the God-sent saviour who could perform this miracle. The Congress Party had the wisdom to estimate correctly the popular feeling and unanimously requested him to accept the leadership. There was a clear prospect of sufficient accretion of strength to the Congress Party in the Assembly which would enable it to form a stable ministry. The Governor—Sri Sri Prakasa—nominated him to a seat in the Legislative Council and requested him to form a ministry. Rajaji was not a person who would shirk a call of duty however troublesome or onerous it may appear. He was prevailed upon to accept the Governor's invitation to form a ministry.

Addressing the members of the Congress Party in the new Madras Legislative Assembly for the first time after his election as Leader of the party, Rajaji said on the 1st April 1952: "Today somehow or other, things have turned and malignant stars have seized my fortune—really, I am not joking—really I tell you that this is what I call in my private journal, my downfall. Now it is downfall in every sense of the term. I am not referring to the promotion or demotion as you call it sometimes—but it is that I have lost my firmness of mind and I have yielded to pressure. It is downfall". He spoke about various matters of interest to the State and the legislators and emphasised the fact that in a good administrative set up, people should feel that things will go right in a government office without fear or favour. "The real

trick for that is this. You have separated the executive from the judiciary—what I want you to do is to separate the legislature from the executive". He explained his statement by adding "let no individual member of the legislature either try to improve or affect the executive. Let them (the executive) go wrong and we will get them punished.We should create a new atmosphere in which no man can say that members of the legislature are interfering".

Thus even before he entered upon his office, Rajaji made it clear that his government was to be an impartial government and a government for the whole people not a government for personalities or for a party. Legislators could not, by reason of their access to him and his colleagues in the ministry, expect any special official favours from them.

First Trial of Strength

The new Government under Rajaji assumed office on the 10th April 1952 and the first session of the newly formed Legislature was duly summoned.

The election of Sri J. Sivashanmukham Pillai as the Speaker by 206 votes as against Sri S. Swayamprakasam who secured only 162 votes made it clear that the Government had a comfortable majority in the House. The election of the Dy. Speaker by a comfortable margin confirmed it.

In the evening of the same day, the Governor addressed both Houses of the Madras Legislature, assembled together at the Assembly Chamber on the Government Estate. It was on this occasion that Mr. T. Prakasam, purported to raise a point of order and after making a speech in which he criticised the Governor's action in nominating C.R. as a member of the Legislative Council and choosing him as the Chief Minister, staged a walk-out with the members of his Party.

The validity of C.R.'s nomination to the Council and his appointment as Chief Minister was sought to be questioned in the High Court by means of a writ petition, but the petition was rejected.

On 8-5-1952, Sri P. Ramamurthi, the leader of the Communist Party directed his criticism rather against Rajaji in accepting the offer of the Governor than against the Governor for asking him to form the ministry. He said that the Chief Minister should have been chosen from the elected members of the Assembly and appealed to C.R. "to realise, in the name of posterity and in the name of democracy, that the highest democratic traditions that have been established all over the world have

been violated", "to set up a proper tradition and to resign his membership of the Council and face an election".

"My Enemy No. 1"

In a superb reply which C.R. made on 9-5-1952, he declared amidst applause that he had accepted the Chief Ministership "to save my country from the traps and dangers of the Communist Party. That is my policy from A to Z". He said: "I admit that there is great poverty in our country.....I admit that our people are uneducated.....I consider that the Communist Party therefore is a great danger to India, greater danger than to any other country". He therefore told the Communist Party in plain terms: "You have to take me as your Enemy No. 1.....and may I say you are my Enemy No. 1?" He exposed the policy, tactics and inconsistencies of the Communist Party in his inimitable way thus: "What is the policy of the Communist Party? Every difficulty in the country, every discontent in the country, every complaint in the country must be taken up, interpreted in the language of opposition to the *status quo* and to the Government, expanded, exaggerated, repeated, added to and rolled on and made to grow like a snow-ball so that the Government may get a bad name. On the one hand, they want industrialisation; on the other hand, they want cottage industries. They complain of poor men being deprived of their lands in one place and in another place, they say that lands must be taken from them and nationalised. Every kind of contradictory satisfaction to every kind of discontented men! That is the technique of Communism in India". (Cheers).

In more serious language, he appealed to the members of the Party, "by all means, put before the country your policy. But do not place traps to capture parliamentary backing for your policy. Do not tell stories. Do not exaggerate. Do not go and work up discontent and then trap people. That is my appeal".

On more than one occasion in later months, he twitted the Communist Party on their non-parliamentary methods, with such eloquence and force that at least its members were constrained to affirm more than once that they were in the Legislature *bona fide* to work democracy.

Communist G.C.M. and L.C.M.

On 3-7-1952, he again alluded to the methods of Communists. He said: "I know the history of the satellite countries in Europe. I know how the Communists are humble at the beginning, how they are smooth and oily and get into every group and try to get first

the G.C.M. as I would call it and then by multiplying it by a convenient figure get the L.C.M. (Cheers). The Communists first find out the Greatest Common Measure of all persons who have grievances and take possession of the G.C.M. and then multiply it by a factor which I call exaggeration and the exaggerated G.C.M. becomes the L.C.M., the Least Common Multiple. That is the arithmetical formula of the Communists (Interruption). I have not discovered it here. It has been discovered during the last few decades to be the process by which Communists are operating in Eastern Europe. The formula has not been discovered by the Communist Party here. The formula has been prepared for them almost like the Ayurvedic formula for the preparation of medicine. It has been prepared on the principles laid down in the scriptures of the Communist Party. It is the result of long research in human psychology. The thing is there. If you take ginger, jaggery and pepper, grind them up and put the medicine in your stomach, it produces an irritation which finally increases digestion. In the same way, they know the way to put the grievances together, find out the greatest common measure and then multiply it and make it a common policy for everybody. Then the day comes when, just as the small fishes are eaten by the big fish and the big fish alone remains, the Communist is the only Party there, and then comes a Police Raj, worse than any Police Raj that my friend Nagi Reddi has discovered. (Interruption)..... People who have left the Communist Party have written and published their experiences. I have spoken to them. I have heard them. My dear friends do not know that I am quite intimate with friends from China and Russia. Chance has given me that intimacy.....Let me warn the country and the people as to what will happen in any country where Communists are to rule. After all the fruit is the test of the tree.....Take the countries where the Communists get hold of the Government. See whether it is the same as three or four policemen standing guard in my house or whether there is not a policeman in every family. In those countries, there is a policeman in every house, not in uniform, but they are more loyal to the State than any policeman in uniform".

Question of Confidence

At this stage a Communist member was imprudent enough to ask whether "this anti-Communist tirade was relevant to the motion". The motion in connection with which Rajaji made the above remarks was one of Confidence in his Ministry. Rajaji was quite plain in his reply. He said: "The point is

this. The vote of confidence I ask is based on my claim and on my party's claim that it is dangerous to hand over the country to the United Democratic Front which is dominated by the Communist members".

On 5-12-52, speaking in connection with the Motor Vehicles Taxation of Passengers and Goods Bill, he again criticised the tactics of the Communists. He said: "Now they (the Communists) are operating in favour of the oppressed bus operators (laughter) and we are told that the Government is an enemy of the bus operators. The Communist Party is a friend of the bus operators. This is the slogan now.....I want the Communists, now that they have come into the open, to drop.....those underground tactics. Let them go to the students and say, 'we are Communists, you must join us. But let them not say, 'join the students' federation'. Let them not go and tell Mr. P. T. Rajan and other innocent people 'This is a peace movement. You shall join us'. Peace movement! No, Sir. This is not a peace movement, but a war movement..... Why try to hide facts here also?....."

On another occasion (on 12-12-52) when Sri P. Ramamurthi twitted him on his having held different views in 1946 and co-operated with the Communists at that time, he said: "Even now I admire the Soviet Government. There is no doubt about it. I appreciated the Soviet doctrine.....But its feature was liquidating all enemies to show strength and show solidarity and show progress. In the process of liquidation the violence that was necessary and the crime that was necessary for producing that large effect, we do not want here. We do not want that liquidation....."

"Inconsistency, a sign of Progress"

Answering the charge of inconsistency, he said: "I am not afraid of inconsistency. I am humble enough. I do not think I am a great man. But inconsistency is the hobgoblin of small men..... But without pretending to be a great man, I am not frightened by inconsistency. I do not think that there is anything inconsistent in development and change. The sucking baby is not inconsistent with the grown up young man who chews his food, with all his teeth. The old man is not inconsistent with the young man. It is a process of evolution". With a facetiousness all his own, he added: "I would therefore advise Hon. Members on the other side not to be afraid of inconsistency but to come over whenever they feel like it to my side (Laughter).....Inconsistency is a sign of progress. It is wrong term for changes that take place genuinely and honestly". On 20-3-53, he said that he had no prejudice against

the Communists. "In spite of everything that I say about the Communists, I am as kind to them in their special difficulties as I am to anybody else".

Before Rajaji accepted the Governor's invitation to form a ministry, many people feared that a saint like him to whom gold and clay were of equal value, might not agree to do so. An influential journal like the *Kalki* (Tamil) had stated that an invitation to Rajaji to take up the reins of Government would look as ridiculous as asking Ramana Maharishi of Tiruvannamalai to take up the post of a Commissioner of a Municipality.

An Act of Renunciation

In accepting the Governor's invitation to form a Ministry in Madras, Rajaji was committing a great act of renunciation and accepting an undoubted risk in the factious politics and economic malaise of those days—risk to his reputation and peace of mind. But he was a man of God and could not disobey the call of duty. Duty, not Self, was ever his concern.

The greatest political achievement of Rajaji's second ministry was his weaning the Communists from their programme of obstruction and violence and making them adopt the peaceful and democratic tactics of debate, deliberation and persuasion.

Firm Faith in Dharma

He tried not only to stem the rushing tides of Communism, but also to check the more insidious and lasting dangers of atheism. He thought that the stability of society depended on its being built on the strong foundations of Dharma and that Dharma in turn must be based on an unshakable religious belief and trust in the impartiality and justice of an Omnipotent and Omniscient God. Members in the opposition tried to make fun of his new role as a preacher of religion. For instance, on 30-6-52, Sri P. Ramamurthi, the Communist Leader said: "The zeal and the urge he shows today in preaching about God in every public meeting. I have not seen him before in my long public life". But Rajaji did not waver. On 3-7-52, he replied to the attacks against him of having suddenly become a religious preacher and said that "the persons who had so attacked him had not heard him before, had not bothered about what he had written or what he had said, and therefore could not have known about his views" but that "in fact I have always talked about it (religion) and preached about it and it is not correct to presume that I suddenly began to do it". He continued: "E. V. Ramaswami Naicker says, 'I shall preach my No-Godism. I shall continue to

preach it in spite of any number of Acharyas'. Let him preach it; but the two together will keep God alive in the hearts of men. I want that continuous work. And that is the meaning of the old story of the man who was anti-Narayana and who kept a bell attached to his ear so that he might not hear that name—Narayana—uttered by anybody. Even he is supposed to have been saved because he continually thought about Narayana. So there is no flinching on my part".

The teeming millions in the State rejoiced that Rajaji had agreed to form the Ministry. Sir P. T. Rajan voiced the true opinion of the people at large when on 10-7-53 he said: "I feel that he (C.R.) is not the Chief Minister of the Congress Ministry. His position is peculiar. At a very critical and difficult time, he assumed office. He should be in a position to guide, help and direct the members of the House to whichever party he may belong.....The House is willing to recognise the vast and varied experience of the Hon. Chief Minister. This is not flattery".

Love of the Country

With a party behind him which did not command a majority in the Assembly and which depended on the support of various disparate groups which had to be kept in good humour, with a yearly recurring food shortage which in the past had been accentuated by a defective system of rationing, with growing complaints of administrative inefficiency and official corruption, with recurring agrarian unrest fanned by constant Communist propaganda, with serious industrial disputes everywhere and with an emergent necessity to increase the revenues of the State, the Chief Minister had very hard work to do. And as was his wont, he worked very hard. On 12-7-52, he himself said, "let not hon. Members, neither the Leader of the Opposition nor others imagine that I am a lazy man. (Cries of 'never', 'never' from opposition benches). Let them not think that I don't look into complaints. Even anonymous complaints, even illegible complaints, I try to read, even though my eyes are poor. I read them all. And I promise that I shall pay the most earnest attention because—I say a 100th time—I am not interested in any party but I am interested in the country and in the level of morality being raised (Cheers)".

Another Vote of Confidence

But before he could fall to work with earnestness, he once again wanted to assure himself that he had the full confidence of a clear majority in the Assembly. A bye-election for a parliamentary seat in Aruppukkottai on which he

had staked the continuance of his ministry, went against the Congress and the opposition clamoured for his resignation. It is also possible that he wanted the free and unfettered opinion of even the members of his own party. That was why in spite of the successes of the Congress candidates in the two elections of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker in the Assembly, he wanted a straight vote of confidence in himself before he continued in office. In soliciting the confidence of the House, he said in express terms: "I would like every Hon. Member sitting on this side of the House to consider himself free to vote as the God seated in his heart tells him to do.....I appeal to all who want orderly progress to cast their votes like free men and responsible citizens entrusted with the fate of sixty millions of people and with hard tasks in front of us".

The Confidence Motion was passed by 200 votes 'For' and 151 'Against', one remaining neutral.

One of the first acts of his administration was to abolish food rationing. It required uncommon boldness and insight into matters to take this step. False prophets foretold catastrophe but the people welcomed it and the events which followed proved how correct a judge of human psychology Rajaji was. A sense of satisfaction passed over the State and people everywhere felt that after all relief had come. A useless and vicious system was thus ended and whenever the possibility of a revival of the system is bruited, people even now shudder at the prospect of its re-appearance.

Morality in Administration

The very advent of Rajaji introduced a new moral tone into the administration and stirred up the enthusiasm and confidence of the officials. Rajaji made it a rule that the Congress Members of the Legislature should not approach the officials in the districts and try to influence them in administrative matters. He discountenanced the policy of rewarding the persons who claimed to have suffered during the Freedom fight, by grants of land or the show of other concessions. He felt that voluntary sacrifice lost all its virtue and value, if it expected or was recompensed with a material or pecuniary reward or *quid pro quo*. He abolished the offices of Poet Laureate for the Regional Languages and when questioned in the Assembly as to what amount Government stood to gain by such abolition, he said that the fact that "an incentive to flatterers and others had been stopped was itself a gain".

The agrarian situation in the Tanjore district was approaching something like a crisis and some steps were immediately necessary to restore amity among landowners and tenants to prevent deterioration in agricultural production. He introduced legislation giving a five years' security of tenure to tenants and providing for re-instatement of certain classes of evicted tenants and for a machinery for deciding agrarian disputes between landlords and tenants. He also fixed minimum terms for *waram* and wages. Though his legislation did not satisfy extremists either among the landlords or among the tenants, it was a compromise solution which in actual working did not prove impracticable.

Separation of Andhra

The even tenure of Rajaji's ministry was however disturbed by the acrimonious manner in which the agitation for a separate Andhra province was carried on both inside and outside the legislature. Appointments to and promotions in Government service, expenditures on schemes, Government grants, even tours of Ministers were all criticised from the separation angle and no explanations given by Government were accepted as satisfactory by the separatists who openly attributed partiality on the part of Government to the Tamil part of the State and discrimination against Andhra. It was insinuated that the Government and particularly C.R. were standing in the way of the formation of an Andhra Province. And

C.R.'s strong stand that Madras cannot be the headquarters of the Andhra State was put forward as proof of his relentless antagonism to the formation of the Andhra Province. The agitation for an Andhra Province was brought to a head by a 'fast unto death' undertaken by Sri Potti Sriramulu. He was not dissuaded from undertaking the fast, but was hailed as a martyr to the cause. His death was followed by serious riots resulting in damage to Government property in more than one place in Andhra and the Government of India had then to expedite the processes of dividing the composite State of Madras into Madras and Andhra.

In the meantime, C.R. was cruelly accused of having been the indirect cause of Potti Sriramulu's death. On 12-3-53, in his reply to the debate on the Governor's Address, C.R. had to plead: "I do not think that I am responsible for his death. I think there are others at whom I can point my finger and say, These have killed him". He continued: "But it is not useful; it is not necessary and does nobody any good". He then pointed out how the method of agitation by fast was out of place in a democratic context. He said: "I firmly reaffirm that this method of self-immolation is not the way to progress under a democracy. It is not democratic, it is anti-democratic, it is autocratic. It is one man trying to dominate by his will and by his power of suffering over everybody else apart

from reason and apart from the merits of the situation, and I think we should not encourage it. This is not the first time I say this. I have told my master, Mahatmaji, this very same thing. It should not be encouraged. It is a grave crime, a very grave crime to kill a nation's democracy by these methods and by encouragement of these methods. It is a great crime to allow this method of intimidation to grow and to bring romance to cover it. This is my firm conviction".

Regarding his attitude towards Madras City he was outspoken: "I do not want to place the burden of a difficult thing on other people. I must take it on myself.....I do not wish it to be left to others, to newspapers and political whispering galleries, to go on saying that I caused all these things and that I kept myself back, that I am a hypocrite and that I am making other people raise objections while I myself hold the same views but am just holding my tongue".

Tribute to Prakasam

Eventually, however, the creation of a separate Andhra Province was accepted by the President of India, and a draft Bill on the subject was referred by him to the Madras Legislature. Then C.R. himself moved in the Assembly on 14-7-53 that the House recommends that the Andhra State Bill 1953 be introduced in Parliament. The motion was passed on 16-7-53. And C.R. while winding up the debate on the resolution, thanked the members of the Assembly for debating on the motion "without acerbity or incident" and said "in particular, I am very grateful to my old colleague, Sri Prakasam, for having sweetened the atmosphere in the manner in which he did,—which is possible only for a veteran like him". But unjust accusations were continued against him for one thing or another even afterwards, for instance, on the question of division of assets and liabilities, so much so that C.R. was, on 21-7-53, tempted to cry, "like a good Hindu, I feel that it is some past sin of mine, some Karma, for which I have been brought into this matter".

At the meeting of the Assembly on 30-7-53, there were special validictory speeches on the eve of separation of the Andhra State. C.R. again said of Sri Prakasam: "I do hope that he will come here now and then. This is his place. We are his brothers. We have fought, grieved, suffered and enjoyed together and this parting is a great pain to some of us, older people.....Younger people forget one another. But how can I forget Prakasam? I cannot do it and I hope he will not forget me".

He said: "The secret of creation is that God divides Himself into many and He wants them to come together. That is gravitation, affection, love, friendship, electric attraction and everything". Only C.R. could speak such words.

Help to Flood Stricken Andhra

The Andhra State came into being on 1-10-1953. In the month of August of that year, there had been unprecedented floods in the Godavari which had caused numerous breaks in the banks of that river and great havoc in the town of Rajahmundry and in other places in the East and West Godavari districts. Men and cattle had perished and considerable damage to crops and other properties had occurred. Under directions from Rajaji, immediate steps were taken to provide food, shelter and clothing to the people rendered homeless; free grants were made to the poor and loans were advanced to the middle class people—all on a generous side. Seeds and manure were supplied to the ryots at concessional rates and liberal takkavi loans were granted. When the new Andhra ministry took charge of the new Andhra State on 1-10-53, they were thus enabled to feel that normal conditions had been restored. The manner in which Rajaji dealt with the situation caused by the floods was an eloquent testimony to the impartiality, efficiency and expeditious character which characterised his whole administration.

Elementary Education Reforms

Another question which created much controversy at the time and must have caused some grief even to the intrepid heart of Rajaji was the fierce and often ignorant criticism which was directed against a well-meant scheme of Elementary Education which he attempted to introduce and which educational experts had pronounced to be feasible. The main features of the Scheme were:

1. that the children need not be in school for a whole day and need be there only for half the time as before;
2. that the reduction in the hours of their attendance at school would enable children to be educated in two batches and thus double the number of children who can be taught in the existing schools and
3. that during the hours of freedom from attendance at school, the children should be provided with some useful and productive work.

The charge against the Government which had accepted the scheme and particularly against C.R. its author, was that the scheme was intended to perpetuate the caste system and the supremacy of the so-called Aryans and that

it would ruin poor and educationally backward people.

A Government Motion moved by the then Education Minister, Sri M. V. Krishna Rau, that the Modified Scheme of Education be taken into consideration was debated at great length and ended in uncertain voting in the Assembly. An amendment that "the scheme be dropped" was put to the vote and the division ended in a draw, 138 for and 138 against. It was declared lost by the casting vote of the Speaker. Then there was another amendment to the effect that the scheme be referred to an expert committee of officials and non-officials in the educational field. This amendment was carried by 139 votes for and 137 votes against. The result was hailed by the opposition as a major defeat for the Government.

On 30-7-53, the day next after this voting, Mr. T. Viswanathan who was then the virtual leader of the opposition raised the question whether after this defeat the Government could continue in office. The Speaker who rightly understood the limits of his authority and jurisdiction said: "I cannot give a ruling on that issue. It is for the Government itself to judge. The Speaker has nothing to do with it. If the Hon. Member wants, he can bring in a censure motion". Thereupon, Mr. Viswanathan actually gave notice of a privilege motion on the subject of omission of Government to resign after their defeat on the Education motion. The Speaker took time to study the issues involved and eventually wrote to Sri Viswanathan that he had disallowed the motion.

The very appointment of an expert committee to examine the scheme was an admission of the strength of the agitation in the State against the scheme.

Laying Down Office

It was clear that the responsibilities and cares of the high office he was holding, made more heavy by the meticulous care with which he personally looked into the details of all cases which he had to decide, were telling upon his already weak health. In spite of his sickness, he attended office until March 1954 when he was prevented by illness from doing so. Then anxious questions were put in the Assembly as to the state of his health. On 24-3-54, Mr. C. Subramaniam said: "There has been a communique in the papers this morning about the Chief Minister's health. He has recovered from his illness, but still he continues to be weak". In the meantime, rumours had begun to be spread that there were attempts within the Congress Party to replace him by another leader and that he had

himself written to the Prime Minister asking for leave to resign his office. On 25-3-54, he attended the Assembly and made the following statement:

"The newspapers whose profession it is to gather news have, so to say, shown an undue and an almost indecent desire for an interesting event to happen..... I may mention that I really wish to be relieved on account of my physical condition. It is not easy for a man at my age to overcome illness so quickly or expect to overcome it repeatedly. I do wish to be relieved and I must make the best arrangement possible. The reports in the newspapers are partly true, because they express my wish. Partly they are not true, as they go beyond the facts. I have to consult the Party. I have to consult the Leader of the Congress at Headquarters. I have to consult the Prime Minister.....That is the position today".

Sri K. Kamaraj Nadar was elected as the Leader of the Congress Party in the Madras Legislature and on 13th April 1954, became the Chief Minister of Madras. And Rajaji again became free from the trammels of office.

On 10-5-52, Mr. C. Subramaniam had declared in the Madras Legislative Council: "The biggest political event that has happened in recent times in our State is the coming back of our revered leader, Rajaji to Madras Politics (Hear, hear)". When on 13-4-54, he laid down his office, the people of the State regarded his retirement as one of the saddest events in its history. For nearly two eventful years, he was at the helm of affairs of the State, saved the State from famine and civil commotion, instilled peace and hope into the troubled hearts of its despairing citizens and established his own right to be regarded as one of the greatest administrators and parliamentarians of all times. He never sold the truth to serve the hour nor paltered with Eternal God for power. Speaking in the Madras Legislative Council on 30-3-54, Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, the then Leader of the Opposition in that House, fully expressed the unanimous sentiments of the people of this State when he referred to him as follows:

Saviour of the State

"As soon as I arrived in Bombay, the reporters of some of the dailies there showed me a notice that our Chief Minister, the Leader of the House, was likely to lay down his high office. I am not indulging in any conventional phraseology when I state that I received the news with sadness. As the Leader of the Opposition for the last two years,

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SQUABBLES AND OPPORTUNITIES

By POTHAN JOSEPH

When Germany attacked Russia Mr. Truman expressed the hope of severe slaughter so that the maximum number of Fascists and Communists could be blotted from the face of the earth, the whole lot leaving the field for comfortable democracy and the American way of life. There are many people in India who in the struggle between Congress and crypto-Communists on the one side and the miscellaneous parties on the other, profess indifference, allowing them all to reduce themselves into an inert lump by the time of the 1962-elections, like a pair of snakes attempting to swallow each other from both ends and coming to a dead heap in the middle. The imprecation "A plague on both your houses" cannot, however, be the epilogue.

Truman's dream did not materialise since the fight for survival extended over a wider periphery. The major damage of the intelligentsia remaining indifferent in 1961 lies in the opportunity for loose and lootful administration by the holders of power who swear by the name of Mahatma Gandhi without any relevance to the spirit of his mission and example. When party-devotees pay homage on solemn occasions at Rajghat, some from far away countries like Pakistan and China, besides Gandhiji's own kinsfolk at home, one might wonder what exactly crosses

I can say without exaggeration that no one has greater parliamentary gifts. No one has so maintained the traditions of high parliamentary life, and no one has preserved the dignity and status of the House as he has (Hear Hear). Sir, as the Leader of the Opposition, it is my duty to refer to the great contribution made by the Hon. Chief Minister to our State, to the country and to this House, and to express our real sorrow that he has made up his mind not to continue with the responsibilities with which he has been saddled. I say "saddled" deliberately for I know that it was not his choice. We shall miss him very much in the particular place where he is sitting but I express the hope and the honest prayer that he will continue to be with us for many, many more years and that we shall have the benefit of his ripe wisdom and advice. May the Almighty, whose hands we all are, shower His choicest blessings on him and give him a long life of happiness, of good health, of cheer and of encouragement in his old age".

the mind of eminent men bowing at the shrine. I can speak of the sentiment of at least one Cabinet Minister who is now involved in party feuds as a dissident one day and then again as a Nehru-loyalist next, that in his pious trance he recalls Mahatma's teachings which in his mind constitute the message that the Congress ruling party should be perpetually in power. Any change, he feels, would "cause pain to his soul".

When the Messiah of an age disappears rump-apostolates emerge to maintain the tradition of fighting against schismatics who favour fresh organising for the destruction of nepotism and corruption in the ecclesia. The very word "nepotism" is derived from the practice of some Popes nominating their relatives and close adherents (dubbed nephews) to high office and gross self-aggrandisement. Opposition was deemed heresy.

One of the grave results of prolonged factions in the Sixteen States comprising the Indian Union is the creation of a graft-ridden interregnum when Ministers and their clients are uncertain of the future. What would a prudent man of the world do in the circumstances? Mahatma did not leave behind him a class of immaculate saints to administer self-government nor did Dominion Status of his early vision with compromises and safeguards, contemplate permanent single-party rule when absolute power tended absolutely to corrupt. During his life-time India had experiences of the Advisers' regime and interim Ministries proving that the period of suspense could well be characterised by plottings for individual advancement and prolonged tenures for exploitation. We are now having a similar suspense-period when people long intoxicated with power and accustomed to clannish self-seeking, have persuaded themselves of their indispensability. When they speak, they boast of what they have done; what they now are doing; what they intend to do, if they are re-elected. Naturally, they tend to popularise the fiction that they are in a fever to serve the country, whilst their critics and opponents are scorned as medievalists who cumber the earth and cry for political liquidation at the poll. The expression "Enlightened Self-interest", had never been relished by Mahatma Gandhi. The way some leaders now construe Gandhiji's teachings and further claim what he would

have done in changed circumstances, has become so familiar in propaganda that out of respect for his memory, it would be well to evaluate national trends in terms of remedial action against moral decay.

The squalid exchange of words in Parliament about the collection of funds in the period of all the freedom-struggles emphasises the importance and urgency of a change. Since defence and foreign affairs are exclusive subjects under the blanket "Confidential", we are bound to steer clear of generalizations on those topics. We cannot ignore the dictum of the Prime Minister that our foreign policy is but the projection of successful domestic administration; there is the dual comfort in that kind of complaisant reasoning. It is premised that India's commitments or rather her non-commitments by way of foreign policy have exalted her prestige in the eyes of the world. But we are apt to exaggerate the influence actually exerted in the progress of neutralist diplomacy. If triumphs are responsible for "rethinking" they are put forward as being co-ordinated with higher standards at home. It is therefore implied that innovations of Planning, reckless borrowing, deficit-financing, run-away prices, original designs in agricultural schemes, the introduction of land-ceiling, the priorities granted to heavy industries at the cost of the present generation etc., etc.,—all these compose a collective chapter of glowing success, and brightening the chart of foreign policy, thus making for dual prestige. Actually the big gap of party-discords in the States and absolutism at the top induce leaders of the ruling party to make hay while the sun shines, the sun blinding politicians at State-level and presenting the temptation to sacrifice efficiency and rectitude.

Mr. H. M. Patel, I.C.S. (Retd.) has in a timely brochure drawn attention to the drop in administrative efficiency and the growth of bloated establishments. A short paragraph is worth quoting:

Another important cause for inefficiency is the anxiety of the Government to concentrate its attention on projects that are titanic, glorious and magnificent. The Government seems to overlook the fact that there are a great many ordinary matters which need to be settled and which though they do not make for headlines, are yet matters the solution of which makes a difference to the ordinary citizen. If the government

THE BELGAUM CONVENTION

The following are excerpts from the welcome address delivered by Sri T. P. Daver, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Belgaum District Swatantra Party Convention held on November 27. The Convention was inaugurated by Sri Rajaji.

After attaining independence, the Congress in a burst of enthusiasm and impatience to achieve great things, appointed Planning Commissions which "planned for ever increasing participation of the State in the industry, trade, commerce and even agriculture and handicrafts, with the aim of helping the State to gain totalitarian suzerainty over the whole gamut of our social and economic life". These Commissions have been drawing up a series of over-

would bring themselves to look upon the efficient discharge of their duties by the civil servants at all these lower levels, they would make a very distinct contribution towards achieving administrative efficiency.

In the uncertainty of the interregnum, Ministers as well dissidents are bound to make the best of their opportunities. They are busy deciding on State-allotments for the third Five-Year Plan; and these amounts are not utilised on any weekly or monthly dribbles. Those in power could assign large sums for long-term expenditure since the total to be advanced by the Centre is in the blueprint of the complete plan of easy absorption. Those who have a hand in the game are under the inducement to list expenditures in advance on several ventures and sign contracts with the aid of permit-touts.

In the capital example of Orissa which has drawn well in the Central "Lucky Dip" a considerable amount, we are told of the political deadlock being solved after the budget-session signalled by a separation of the Congress-Ganatantra Alliance. The probability is that in the interval, none of the participants in the fight are going to sleep over grants and loans on offer. Beanfeasts tend to be held in anticipation. And foreign nations have given us more than a hint without regulated economy and some orthodox principles of financial solvency, there might be unforeseen difficulties in living on their doles. Let hearts leap up when we behold rainbows in the sky, but heads must remain firm and steady in mortgaging the future.

ambitious quinquennial plans far beyond the financial capacity of our country and to implement these, huge foreign debts have been incurred, heavy deficit financing leading to inflation has been resorted to, and crushing, crippling taxation, higher than ever before, has been saddled on the people. They have bitten off more than can be conveniently chewed and digested. The large foreign debts constitute almost a permanent liability on posterity and a good slice of the country's revenue is expended on servicing these debts. The heavy deficit financing has brought in its train the spiraling of the prices of foodstuffs and other necessities of life beyond the control of government which, despite its quixotic efforts such as State Trading, various controls, permit and rationing systems have not hitherto been able to hold the price line. Taxation has become all-pervading. Talking of direct taxation; if you earn you pay Income-tax, if you earn more you pay Super-tax, if you save what you earn you pay wealth-tax, if you spend what you earn you pay Expenditure-tax, if you give away, you pay Gift-tax, if in disgust and despair you die your heirs pay Death Duties and Estate-tax—there is no escaping taxation in this country at least for the present generation. The lot of the businessman, tradesman and industrialist is a hard one. The heavy taxation leaves him little incentive for effort towards higher production. There is no end of Government interference with his business. He is hedged in all around by rules and regulations and licences and permits which later in their turn have created a fertile soil for widespread corruption of Government employees entrusted with the grant of these permits, licences etc. He lives in an atmosphere of uncertainty and is constantly assailed by doubts with regard to his future being threatened with the nationalisation of this industry or that and the frequent changes of laws and regulations over which he has no control. Profit motive is regarded as a crime and his natural business enterprise and initiative are killed and quenched.

Direct taxation having now reached almost saturation point, the Government have now turned to indirect taxation in the form of Excise Duties on various consumer goods industries which fall heavily on the poorer sections of our population as such taxation affects them directly by increases in the cost of their daily necessities. We had been promised self-sufficiency in food production at the end of the First 5-Year Plan but this

hope has not even yet been fulfilled although we are almost at the end of the Second 5-Year Plan.

There has been an enormous increase in State administration expenditure necessitating heavy and ever heavier taxation of the people. The honest pay their taxes and suffer. The dishonest resort to diverse methods and stratagems to evade payments and try to corrupt tax-collectors.

There has been illegal expropriation in the name of "land ceilings", and the property of the citizen has been made non-justiciable. Our Constitution has been amended several times without any regard for its sanctity, on the slightest pretext with a view to give more and ever more power to the government as against the people.

The Government's socialistic pattern of society is aimed, we are told, at raising the standard of living of our people. Now, it is well known that at the present day the highest living standard is to be found in the United States of America, the keynote of whose domestic policy is to allow full and free play to private enterprise. Another outstanding example of the achievements of free private enterprise is the phenomenal rise and industrial progress of post-war Western Germany. Is there any reason why this successful policy of these countries should not be adopted by us?

This is the present lot of the common man in this country. His prayer for deliverance from his over-zealous and over-enthusiastic friends who with scarce regard for his troubles and tribulations at the present day have been holding out to him the glittering promise of happiness and plenty for the future generations, has been answered by a kind Providence with the launching of the Swatantra Party with an intellectual giant and eminent elder statesman for founder-leader.

The principles and policies of our party should be acceptable to any unbiased and impartial observer. It is recognized that the best Government is the one that governs the least and allows maximum freedom of action to its people. This is the most attractive principle adopted by our party.

Talking of present day local conditions, we regret to find that though our friends in the world of commerce, trade and industry are loudest in clamouring and complaining in private, against the policies of the Government, they, for reasons best known to themselves, are not coming forward with the enthusiasm one would expect, to join our party. They seem to adopt an attitude of hesitancy, a policy of sitting on the fence. Shall we hope that now at

least inspired by the presence of Rajaji here amongst us this day, they will come forward in their hundreds and thousands to join and co-operate with the Swatantra Party which is their only salvation?

We realize that opposing the Congress graced by the great Prime Minister and its vast financial resources is

indeed a difficult and uphill task for our young party but with the awakening of our masses and the support of our middle classes there is no reason for despair. The Congress has often been supported by many voters as the lesser of two evils as they have felt that the only other alternative to it is a Communist Government. They now have the

Swatantra Party to pin their hopes on for achieving their aspirations and dreams. The middle classes consisting mostly of self-employed people like traders, businessmen, artisans, farmers, professional men and others—the backbone of the nation—especially have everything to gain by rallying under the standard of the Swatantra Party.



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STRAINS AND JOLTS TO THE NEHRU LEADERSHIP

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Nobody who had anything to do with the long drawn-out struggle on the chequer-board of Congress politics in Uttar Pradesh can claim to have come out unscathed. If initially Dr. Sampurnanand made matters difficult for his friends as well as for himself by certain blazing indiscretions, those who had at a very late stage decided to "bung in" Mr. C. B. Gupta, the newly elected President of the U.P.C.C., as the Leader of the Congress Legislature Party, which is to say, as Chief Minister in succession to Dr. Sampurnanand, were none too discreet in going about the matter. From the very beginning it was clear that there was no disposition on the part of either 'power-bloc' to make up with the other. In the circumstances they should have been allowed to have it out.

Whether such a course was desirable or not from the point of view of party solidarity, it would have been politically democratic and morally straightforward. Fantastic attempts were made—and fantastic results produced. For, the much-advertised unanimous election of Mr. C. B. Gupta was the sheerest make-believe, the Ministerial wing having proclaimed its unwillingness to be a party to the formation of the Ministry, and made no secret that it had but committed political harakiri with open resentment and complete disgust. Hard words were uttered and bitter statements made—and even names were freely mentioned. Dr. Sampurnanand strongly criticised the Congress President for having made himself responsible for the postponement of the election by two days. Perhaps, but for his frantic telephonic intervention at the last hour, apparently under pressure, the poor Congress President seemed to be nowhere in the picture. Mr. Nehru, rather unwisely, persuaded himself to take over the command in ordering about the affairs in his home-state—and there was an impression that he had overplayed his hand. When even his letters to Mr. C. B. Gupta and Dr. Sampurnanand failed to do the trick, Mr. Gobind Ballabh Pant had to rush to Lucknow to use his personal influence rather than persuasiveness in somehow saving Mr. Nehru from discomfiture. To bring what seemed to be an impossible situation under control, he was driven to the extreme length of having had to talk about repercussions, national and international, and the ugly impression that

was bound to be created all the world over if his own State paid no heed to Mr. Nehru's personal wish. And nobody was impressed by the latter-hour argument that Mr. Nehru's was no directive but only a wish. "The directive might be legally binding", he was reported to have said, "but it was not as sacred as Mr. Nehru's wish". All this special pleading made no difference to Dr. Sampurnanand's men; they were bitter over the "imposition" of Mr. Gupta and would have no truck with him at the Treasury Bench level. There were also loud lamentations as well as caustic comments. A Deputy Minister spoke of a saint having been martyred while a Parliamentary Secretary with a longer memory briskly recalled such 'casualties' on the Congress front: a formidable list, indeed: Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Acharya Kripalani, Rajrishi Purushottam Das Tandon, and now Dr. Sampurnanand. What happens inside the Congress, we will be told, is an internal affair. But it has been so much of a market-place affair that it is impossible to dismiss it as of no consequence to larger politics. This is not the end of the Congress drama in U.P., there are yet more scenes to be enacted. All that the country knows for the present is that Congress reputations lie buried on the banks of the Gomti.

The U.P. episode is an extremely ugly one. From Mr. Pant's pious protestations in Lucknow, one could not help drawing the inference that people had not, not even Congress men had, the old readiness to fulfil Mr. Nehru's wishes or carry out his behests. They have somehow ceased to be "sacred", to use Mr. Pant's touching word. In the proceedings at the Lucknow rally, there was also painful evidence of a certain defiance of the Prime Minister. West Bengal's unanimous disregard of his commitments in respect of the transfer of Berubari to Pakistan, is another disturbing development and dangerous pointer. West Bengal was consulted on Berubari, maintained the Prime Minister in the Lok Sabha, in the course of his speech on the 'Indus-Water Treaty' while the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Dr. B. C. Roy, on the floor of the House in the State Assembly, categorically denied that the consent of the West Bengal Officials was taken before the Centre decided to cede a part of Berubari to Pakistan. All that makes no edifying spectacle. A most difficult situation

has been thus created for the Prime Minister, for he cannot possibly think of not honouring the Nehru-Noon Agreement while he can honour it only at the peril of losing the goodwill of the sentimental Bengalis who are already sore over the Assam affair and the Centre's handling of it. It is equally certain that Pakistan will not make things easier for our Prime Minister of the certain knowledge that he got into the soup (and soup rather too fishy). If there is no challenge as such to the Nehru leadership, the varied strains to it are telling heavily on its sway and sweep.

Some of these jolts to the Prime Minister seem to be coming from even the most unexpected quarters. Nobody could least imagine that, of all persons, our honoured President, would choose a public forum to raise delicate and difficult constitutional issues. That such loud thinking as the President had done caused a stir in certain quarters was beyond doubt. "There are people who question the constitutional propriety or wisdom of the Head of the State", commented the *Tribune*, "raising the issue of the powers of the President under the Constitution", though it tried to mollify the sentiment by talking of it only as "a matter of academic interest". The President no doubt made it clear that he had "no particular question, much less an incident in view". There were others who thought that the President raised the issue a day none too soon. The *Times of India* story that the President had in fact sought legal opinion on two specific points, emphasises his sense of uneasiness over the limits to his powers. The Attorney-General was credited with the advice that on both the points referred to him, the President was bound to accept the advice of his Ministers. The very fact that the issue, though academically disguised, was publicly raised, cannot perhaps be divested of its significance. It incidentally brings into focus the relations—and the nature of relations—between the President who was assailed with doubts and the Prime Minister who was not apparently so assailed. Pandit Nehru was very firm in Parliament that the President's name should not be dragged into any controversy. But the controversy that there is now bound to be, over the powers of the Indian President, can be said to have been initiated by the present incumbent himself of the highest office in the country. No written constitution is permanent or absolute. Our own has been amended off and on. It is always good to be armed with expert counsel and authoritative interpretations. Mr. Nehru will not fight shy of any, whatever be the enthusiasm—or lack of it—for such a study.

MILITARY PARADISE AND REALITY

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

The U.S. newsmagazine *Time* which sells news and views in easy-to-digest capsules, carried last week an eminently quotable description of one of the many utopian military settlements of U.S. armed forces scattered from Germany to Okinawa. It said:

"The tightly knit settlement of 15,000 U.S. citizens—mainly Air Force dependents with a sprinkling of Army folk—stands on a wooded hill-top above the baroque German city of Wiesbaden (Pop. 250,000) at a bend of the Rhine River. In this slumless paradise, each officer's or noncom's family is assigned a completely furnished, one-to-five bedroom apartment in buildings erected for them by the West German government. Some 600 bachelor officers and civilians are housed downtown in the rambling American Arms Hotel. Nearly 400 single girls take their ease in the \$ 2,760,000 Amelia Earhart Residence Hotel...."

In this paradise milk sells at the equivalent of 70 naye paise a quarter. There are five night clubs with free floor shows. U.S. cars are available at prices far below those in the U.S., and petrol costs 66 naye paise per gallon. If the paradise-dweller is bored with the 18-hole golf course, he can try a pleasant few days skiing at Berchtesgaden. The 350-bed Wiesbaden U.S. Air Force hospital sends no bills to any patients except for maternity care, which costs about Rs. 7 a day.

The U.S. Government pays West Germany over Rs. 365 crores a year to keep such paradises going and to support the 250,000 U.S. troops in West Germany. Some Rs. 95 crores are spent

in Britain. In fact, a sizable portion of the Rs. 19,760 crore U.S. defence budget for 1960 is used to support U.S. forces abroad, who are followed by their wives and children. These dependents amount to 484,000.

It is believed that the support of forces abroad is one large factor in the deficit in the U.S. international balance of payments, which has led to large gold losses and doubts about dollar's future strength as an international currency. In a desperate move, President Eisenhower ordered the number of U.S. military dependents reduced to 200,000 by July 31, 1962.

Right on the centre of the U.S. political stage is the balance of payments position. This balance reflects the difference between total payments to and receipts from foreign sources resulting from a nation's international transactions. The current deficit of balance of payments in the U.S. is believed to be a consequence of the far-flung military and aid programme and contributions to the common defence of the western world. There is a net decline of gold stocks of Rs. 214 crores since 1957.

Three weeks ago President Eisenhower said that "a definite improvement in our balance of payments situation is mandatory" and announced an emergency programme to save Rs. 475 crores a year in overseas spending. Besides ordering reduction of U.S. servicemen's dependents abroad, he wanted reduction of purchase of foreign goods by U.S. Government agencies.

U.S. Secretary of Treasury, Robert Anderson, claims that he has tried all along to improve the U.S. balance of

payments by persuading countries like West Germany and Japan to lower trade barriers against U.S. goods, take a bigger share of the running of U.S. military establishments and to give aid to developing countries. Anderson and Under-Secretary of State, Douglas Dillon went to West Germany two weeks ago in a well-publicized mission to persuade the West German Government to provide urgently some Rs. 300 crores to support U.S. troops in West Germany.

In Europe, particularly in West Germany, and even in the U.S. there is disagreement over whether the U.S. deficit problem is as serious as the Eisenhower administration has made it out to be. The West German Government does not think it is. Surprisingly, this view is held by some economic officials of the State Department of the U.S. Christian Herter, The Secretary of State was not himself very enthusiastic about the Anderson mission to Bonn.

The situation has been described by a London source thus: "When a rich uncle, well known for his beneficence, turns to his most opulent nephew to touch him for a liver, everyone, even the nephew feels there is a certain obligation to help him out. But the demands for a larger contribution to defence and aid which the Americans put to Bonn this week evidently went far beyond what the well-lined German relative was prepared to pay".

And so the Anderson mission went back almost empty-handed, except for some promises of increased aid programme to developing areas and of repayment of U.S. post-war loans. The failure, and the speculations arising out of it confronts the U.S. and the new President with a spate of political, economic and financial problems which require immediate remedies.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR CITY WATER SUPPLY

Sir,—When a problem is taken up, one is likely to be so obsessed with one's own needs and one's own point of view as to ignore the fundamentals. Take for instance the question of augmenting the supply of water to Madras City.

It is being naively stated that the cost of making the waters of the Cauvery available will be about Rs. 30 crores only. Where is the money to come from—from foreign sources, the Union Government or the Madras State? With interest or without it? Are the charges for interest and amortisation, if any, to be borne by the Centre or the State or the city?

If the city is to pay for the tune, what are its resources? To understand this matter one should know the amount now being recovered by the Corporation as water-tax along with the general taxes, the amount realised on account of excess supplies; the rate of charge at present and the rate to which it should be increased and the citizen called upon to bear.

The above points are so commonplace that one has to be apologetic in bringing them forward for consideration. Without giving thought to this aspect of the problem, it is premature to congratulate the sponsors of the Cauvery scheme on this concept. For the matter of that, has not the idea of making the surplus waters of the Krishna available to the city been broached and abandoned even before its practicability was considered?

Is there no other solution? On the analogy of the idea of birth-control, why should not steps be taken to limit any further expansion of the city and its population and industrial establishments and hospitals for long-term patients, educational institutions for adults required to be kept away from the city limits? Why not centralised suburbs or satellite towns? Cannot the Red Hills reservoir and Satyamurti Sagar made to impound more water? What has happened to the numerous wells which were dug during the last scarcity year or are they still servicing? K. V. IYER.

MISLEADING

Sir,—When Sri S. K. Dey, the Minister for Community Development, stated at the first meeting of the National Co-operative Farming Advisory Board at New Delhi, that Co-operative farming was just an extension of the joint-family system and hence not an idea which was new to India, it is obvious that he is either ignorant of the form and the

working of the joint-family system or is deliberately misleading the people at large.

The basis of joint-family system as every one knows is nothing but love. The member at the helm of affairs gets that status by the consent of all the members of the family whereas the President of the Co-operative Farming Society acquires power through elections in opposition to at least a strong minority. In the former the work starts with a genuine unity of interest in the common good of the family whereas in the latter it starts with dissensions.

Even the economic principles on which the two systems are based are quite different and do not meet at any point. The system of Co-operative farming works out on the principle of "equal return for equal labour". In this system the children, the physically disabled and incapacitated and the women who are engaged in house-hold work will not get any return. Joint family system not only does not depend upon the above principle but also on the principle of "work according to one's capacities and payment as per his needs". The principle on which the joint-family system is based is "work or no work, receipt according to one's necessities and one sacrificing for the other". Under the latter system there will be complete freedom and people work for common interest whereas under the system of Co-operative farming not only that interest lacks, but also there will be always factions which are beyond solution.

Rousseau, the foremost revolutionary of 18th century describing the differences between the family and the State said: "All the difference between the two societies is that, in the family, the gratification which paternal tenderness derives from a consciousness of benefiting those who are the objects of it makes full amends to the father for the care he bestows on the children; while in the State, the pleasure of commanding takes the place of that love which the chief does not feel for his people".

Co-operative farming society constituted as per a model advocated by the Government and run mostly under the official direction as at present is nothing different from the State in essence and therefore is devoid of that parental care with which the joint-family is protected. On the other hand it serves as an apparatus to undermine the interests of the members, who opposed the President at the time of elections and therefore

there can be no comparison between the two systems. P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU.

RAILWAY COACHES

Sir,—In recent months there have been reports about the export of railway coaches to Ceylon, Pakistan etc. This is when third class passengers are undergoing hardships. Whenever there is demand from the public for additional compartments or additional trains on any section, they are told that, due to the dearth of coaches and locomotives, any addition would not be possible.

The Railway Minister announced in the Lok Sabha that the Indian Railways had achieved self-sufficiency in respect of passenger coaches and locomotives, and that the two factories in India had increased their production capacity far ahead of schedule. When such is the position, why are only a few new coaches now running on the lines, though many existing coaches have become old and leaking during heavy rains? What prevents the railways from replacing all the old coaches with the newly constructed integral coaches?

It is not for the railways to explore the possibility of export at this stage, when the travelling public here have not been provided with new coaches in replacement of old ones.

Madras-23. N. V. R. SWAMY.

PUBLIC SECTOR OR CONGRESS SECTOR

Sir,—Rajaji is reported to have said that the term "Public sector", in contrast to "Private sector" in Indian economy was misleading as it did not refer to the public, but to the State, and should, therefore, be termed the "State sector". Perhaps even this is misleading, as it refers really not to the State, but to the "Party in Power". For, in a truly democratic set-up, the State is the elected executive of the public, even as in the private sector the management is the elected executive of the shareholders. It is a denial of the value of the elective system to postulate an antithesis between the interests of the electorate and its elected executives, notwithstanding occasional lapses. The real objection to the "Public sector" is not that it is—"State sector", but it is a "Party sector", using the machinery of the State to promote, at public expense, the interests of the Party in power, which in India today happens to be the Congress Party. Rarely, if ever, is a Party in power believed to do anything which was not—primarily, if not exclusively—for the profit of the Party. If a King of France claimed to be the State the Party in power in a democratic set-up based on the party system claims to be the State! P. KODANDA RAO.

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THE DEMAGOGUES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The falsehood assiduously and almost successfully spread that capitalists and, therefore, capital are enemies to the people must be cleared if we desire true progress and happiness. The short-lived pleasure that arises from the successful operations issuing out of hatred and jealousy is not happiness or a step towards progress. It is really suicidal.

Capital is that portion of wealth which is applied to the production of more wealth, as seed grain is that portion of the harvest which is kept and applied to the production of more grain. A good farmer knows the value of good seed grain. A good statesman ought to know the value of capital. Anything done to discourage the building up of capital is a suicidal policy. It may be pleasant to eat up the seed grain, be it one's own or another's accumulation taken in force or by the use of the power of the State. The pleasure derived from consuming the grain robbed from another is as transient as it is illegal. What follows is permanent privation. The socialist attack on capital will result in national loss and the drive towards equality will prove to be a drive towards suicide. When people are enslaved or oppressed, a so-called 'national purpose' may be cultivated. But when a nation is civilised and free, the policy of forcing energies into a single channel giving it the name of a national purpose is a technique employed by tyrants and totalitarian demagogues. It destroys the real source of progress, viz.,

enterprise. The ambition of dictators is unquenchable. Like fire it feeds on itself. They pretend to know the national purpose better than the nation itself, and give that name to their own mad follies and ambitions. By reiteration and fraud they make the nation imagine that it is their purpose. Thus do dictators (and they are of various types) kill individual initiative and enslave people before leading them to ruin.

The Argument for Liberty

The argument for Liberty is not an argument against organisation. It is an argument against all exclusive privileged monopolistic organisations against the use of coercion to prevent others from trying to do better. Organisation is likely to be beneficial and effective so long as it is voluntary and is imbedded in a free sphere. To turn the whole of society into a single organisation built and directed according to a single plan would be to extinguish the very forces that shaped the individual human minds that planned it. With the technological reasons of control now at the disposal of governments, we are not far from the point where the deliberately organised forces of Society may destroy those spontaneous forces which have made advance possible.

F. A. HAYES in the

All dictators fly the Socialist flag. They tell people in their shrill tones that Socialism is people's welfare, and that their mission is to establish general happiness through socialism. Fundamental rights, they declare, should be violated in order to achieve the national purpose. Any one who protests is by them dubbed an enemy to social welfare and in order to suppress arguments they take power to suppress people.

It takes a great deal of courage and sacrifice to oppose this, especially when a start is given to the demagogues and they are entrenched in power. But there is no way to save the nation from enslavement and ruin except by firm resistance and the education of the people to reject the fraud and deprive the demagogues of their power.

PAYABLE IN RUPEES

114 million dollar aid is to be repaid in rupees. It is not earmarked to pay for export of goods from India and will not be a charge on balance of payments. So the rupees will be spread out in India by America and it will directly add to the inflation. The advantageous appearance of the arrangement is a delusion. It will be a movement that places American business within the frontiers of Indian economic life. The East India Company took and dealt only in rupees when it had not yet become the ruling sovereign of India.

C.R.

Current Comments

There is no breed known as Afro-Asians comparable to the Eurasian stock that was evolved during Western expansion; but in modern alignments, we have a category representing the "Afro-Asian" Front which by the fast accession of liberated countries has developed group-politics. In the United Nations, they have created the weight of group-politics with nothing to debar entry except the Veto of one of the Big Five as in the case of Mauretania excluded from the one hundredth seat in the world body. Valerian Zorin, the Russian delegate, refused consent unless Outer Mongolia were admitted. Pandit Nehru, for his part, in a foreign policy speech sponsored the claims of Inner Mongolia, another distant region whose cause we have been called upon to support. A case of distorted perspective in which India has figured, officiously in bulk, is the Congo where our moves have not clicked well, in spite of Rajeshwar Dayal replacing Ralph Bunche as representative of the U.N.O's Secretary-General whom the U.S.S.R. wishes to liquidate. The Afro-Asian candidate has not fared well, and even within the Afro-Asian coterie there has been lack of unanimity despite India's back-stage activities and formula-drafting versatility. When a member of the Lok Sabha suggested that Indian women and

children had better be evacuated from Leopoldville, the Prime Minister lost his temper and challenged the Lok Sabha to say why wives and daughters should not remain there on the spot when their husbands and fathers are on duty facing perils in the throes of non-involvement.

The members bowed to the conundrum; but all the same, there is sense in the age-old dictum "women and children first" when there is danger. When London was blitzed, British women-folk and the little kids were removed upcountry, not to mention the vast numbers shipped to Canada. From medieval times, a shipwreck meant the lowering of the life-boats under the cry "Women and children first". It is not a question of Afro-Asian bravery that is the test, but the impulse of chivalry and humanity that accounts for such precedence. Mr. Nehru was, however, firm in his stand as if it were a case of Berubari honour with him to see that there is no sign of retreat when India takes a hand abroad in the display of astute diplomacy and indomitable foreign policy. Most Indians would, however, think it better to look to their security first on the natural feeling that the weak must not be exposed.

In a weighty speech on the role of the Civil Service Mr. C. D. Deshmukh advised officials that their supreme duty is to function without ever acting against their conscience for the sake of promotion or betterment of their prospects at the hands of changing Ministers. Indirectly, it is a reproof to the present practice of transient climbers interfering with the regular routine so that rules could be twisted for profit and patronage exercisable during brief authority. If the lecture is read between the lines, many Ministers, long-term or short-term in their scrambles, are bound to consider their own conscience as

they flit up and down to solve State-problems at the feet of the High Command.

The transfer of Goa is emotionally of less relevancy than the fate of a smaller enclave in the frontier of West Bengal. Indeed Mr. Krishna Menon's solution is to wait for the collapse in public disgrace of the Portuguese Empire when Goa would find itself automatically absorbed into India; but against such a sanguine prediction before the Third Plan is completed a mild degree of opposition or indifference seems to have been stirred even in Goa as reported recently by newspaper correspondents from India. Movements have their peaks and dumps in emotional strength, a fact well known to Mahatma Gandhi who could recognise weariness in freedom-battles. It is true that in 1955 strong-arm rule in Goa provoked the plan of non-violent raids across the Goa border; indeed they had the private blessing of some leaders who later funkled leaving a few martyrs for the jail. That Goa would ultimately find itself integrated with India in her march to success cannot be doubted as a proposition; but if we are going to step up measures to retrieve the territory, there is no point in our publicising the inevitable decline of Portugal so that "Indian personality" could rise, like Marius from amidst the ruins of Carthage.

A haze of uncertainty surrounds Planning Estimates, and it was a surprise to see the New Delhi announcement that its size had been enlarged by an additional outlay of Rs. 190 crores, despite the Finance Minister's S.O.S. about need to slash imports in order to balance a foreign exchange shortage of Rs. 750 crores. The declaration of a fresh excess was incredible; but a footnote explained that it meant sanction to States to raise extra resources by autonomous taxation without any strain on the Union in the role of Santa Claus. Permission for States to tax themselves is as good as the schoolboy bid: "Go. Eat your own food."

PARKINSON'S SECOND LAW

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The savages described by Montesquieu who, to get at the fruit, cut down the tree, are about as good financiers as the advocates of this sort of taxes.

—J. R. McCULLOCH

"I place economy among the first and most important of virtues and public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared. To preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with public debt. We must make our choice between economy and liberty or profusion and servitude. If we run into such debts, we must be taxed in our meat and drink, in our necessities and comforts, in our labour and in our amusements. If we can prevent the Government from wasting the labour of the people, under the pretence of caring for them, we will be happy."

—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The laws made by kings and legislatures are not immutable and may be disobeyed by rebellious people. But there are laws which are in the nature of Vidhi and which are immutable—like the law of conservation of energy or Newton's laws of motion. Constitutions have invested governments with unlimited powers of taxation. But though the power is 'unlimited', there are limits beyond which when taxation is taken it becomes dangerous and even fatal. Northcote Parkinson calls this his second 'law'. When the Finance Minister of India mournfully confesses that additional taxes are inevitable, and proceeds to investigate the possibilities of putting heavy taxes on the very poor by levying excise duties on commodities which they consume in one form or another, it is a clear indication that Parkinson's second law is in operation.

Northcote Parkinson has become famous by his odd-looking but wise opinions which went contrary to orthodox error and to which he gave cynically-shaped expression and pleased a suffering and thinking world. His latest book* is worth reading. He has written it to show that there are limits to the collection of revenue and that "evils multiply when these limits are ignored". The positive purpose of this new book is to show that "a greatly reduced revenue would bring about an improvement, not a decline, in the public services".

Mathematics has its unchangeable laws. People working in the concrete world, of which mathe-

*"The Law and the Profits" by Northcote Parkinson. John Murray, London 1960.

matics is the inexorable abstract, are prone to make miscalculations leading to disappointment and consequent misery. Parkinson has defined his second Law—that when there is a rise in receipts, be it of individuals or of governments, it is silently absorbed, leaving the recipient barely in credit and often in fact with a deficit. Whatever the revenue may be, there will always be the pressing need to spend it. Individuals at least pause to consider what the income is. But those in charge of public finance ignore the total of their income and consider only what they would like to spend.

During times of emergency public authorities spend lavishly without thought of limits. When the emergency ends, there is no reversion to economy. Governmental income remains at its war time or emergency level and peace-time expenditure rises to meet it. There is no limit to departmental and technical luxuriance. The public revenue is regarded as limitless and expenditure rises eternally to meet it. The various devices which are supposed to check expenditure fail to do so, being wrongly conceived and imperfectly motivated. We must devise a new plan, says Parkinson, to achieve economy.

As a first step, says Parkinson, we must reverse the whole process of governmental finance. Ministers should not begin by ascertaining what the departments need. They should begin by asking what the country can afford to spend. What proportion of the national income should the government demand? What proportion of the individual's income

can the government safely take? There is a limit, beyond which it is dangerous and a limit beyond which it is fatal. Historical fact and economic theory, says Parkinson, both clearly indicate these limits.

Parkinson suggests a machinery for reversing the present financial practice and for the creation of an incentive for cutting down national expenditure. It is of course contrary to all present ideas. He suggests rewards, titles and exemption from taxation for citizens and officials who successfully propose deletion of any expenditure. All such saving should be utilised to reduce the National Debt and not simply go to another department for being spent by it.

Parkinson admits that the reform of national finances suggested by him will be strenuously opposed:

"Freedom is founded upon ownership of property. It involves self-expression in terms of architecture and art. It cannot exist where the rulers own everything, nor even when they concede some limited right of tenure. But the modern belief is that spendable income is a concession by the State. The taxation which is intended to promote equality, the taxation which exceeds the real public need, and above all the tax which is so graduated as to prevent the accumulation of private capital, is inconsistent with freedom. Against a State which owns everything, the individual has neither the means of defence nor anything to defend. For the normal human being who is not a creative artist or scientist by profession the means of self-expression consists largely of rooms to modify and gardens to tend, trees to plant and offspring to rear. Losing these opportunities for expression, the individual loses individuality, freedom and hope.

The reform will be faced inevitably (says Parkinson) by a closed phalanx of civil servants representing one of the strongest vested interests in the world. Their opposition, though passive, will be formidable. To all proposals for a proper system of accounts they will reply with a pitying smile that it was tried once at the War Office, found wasteful and long ago abandoned. They will then retire behind a smoke-screen of technical mysteries, muttering that public finance is a more complex matter than is generally realized".

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NAVARATNA RAMA RAO

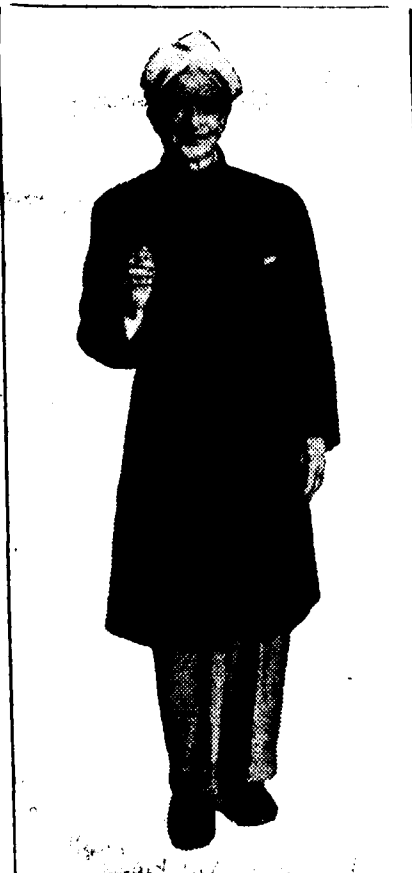
Navaratna Rama Rao and I met in 1892 when we were both in our early teens in the Central College, Bangalore. I sought him out and left a letter in his room on the top of an eating house, asking for his friendship. Eating houses were of wretched quality in those days and students who had no home in the city hired wretched rooms to sleep in and ate poor meals in what were called hotels which were as far from the hotels we know now as a twelve anna rush mat is from a Persian Carpet. My letter must have been a very boyish document. But in the romance of adolescence it was a serious adventure. I was attracted by his brains, his brightness, his loveable exterior, and by his being better read than all the rest of us in the college and as fond of great English literature as myself. Rama Rao accepted my offer and we were friends from then until death parted us on 27th November 1960 after sixty-eight years of unbroken attachment. We read a lot together—Byron, Shakespeare, Scott, Robert Louis Stevenson, Thackeray, Dickens and many other classic authors' books. Mostly he read for me. He was the greater connoisseur between us two and his taste was superb and guided me like a mesmerist. We laughed and enjoyed humour and talked metaphysics and educated each other continuously. Our friendship was an astonishment and mystery to our college mates but they tolerated it and gathered round both of us in admiration.

My boyish instinct was right and I am thankful for it. Our mutual affection made us nobler and better and stronger and happier than either of us would have been without it. We were each the external life of the other as Valmiki puts it in respect of Lakshmana for Sri Ramachandra. All life is a mystery and I realise it more and more every day as one after another of my friends and colleagues pass out and I am left in increasing loneliness. Life is a mystery but love is the greatest mystery in it. Dear young men and women

who read this, do as we two did, Rama Rao and I. We swore to ourselves each in his own mind that we should be friends for all life. And so we were all these nearly seventy years, one soul in two bodies and two lives in each body. This kind of friendship will keep you from sin, from all kinds of meanness. It will protect you, like a guardian angel, against all evil, all unhappiness, all stepping down from the ideals of romantic youth.

Rama Rao's life and mine ran on different tracks. What if? We were ever together, though others did not see it. Whatever each of us was doing and wherever we were, we were together in spirit. Pothan Joseph wrote last week "I know he is in deep mourning for a friend in Bangalore who had become a part of his own being". That put it as briefly and truly as any English words can do it. Those who have not experienced true and full friendship must think it all nonsense. God bless them.

I saw my friend under Death's black shadow on the ninth of



November. The poison had gone to his head. He smiled in recognition but he was above the region of pain and away from normal expression. He was in delirium, uttering high things about the affairs of the world, about truth, and about many other things all incoherently. It was heart-rending to watch his best and most admirable intellect involved in incoherence. I asked a daughter-in-law of his who sat by his bed to sing a Purandaradasa Kirtana. She did it beautifully. My friend's eyes glistened. He stopped speaking and weakly struggled to bring his palms together in prayer. I helped him to do it. He looked grateful and sank into worship and silence. Never did I feel so happy.

The doctors gave up all hope and it was only a matter of a couple of days according to them. But he appeared to revive and astonished the medical men for a few days. Exactly a fortnight after I left him on the thirteenth of November to go to Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnatak, I got a message on the last day of my programme when I was in Belgaum, that all was over. I made an all-night car journey from Belgaum to Bangalore and reached at dawn. But before that, the previous evening, my friend's body had been according to ancient custom reduced to ashes, and I could only walk round that cruel heap and make three perambulations for a last physical act of love. As the Isa Upanishad rishi sings "the breath had left to join the universal air and the body had turned into *Bhasma*", "O mind", as the rishi continues, "remember that only the works remain, only the works remain".

*Om Krato smara Krtam smara
Krato smara Krtam smara.*

And I returned from the cremation ground praying as the rishi did

*Agne naya supathaa
raaye asmaan
Visvaani, deva,
vayunaani vidvaan*

O, Fire, thou who knowest all the paths, lead us in the right path, cleanse us and save us from sin, we entreat you over and over.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

THE LONG ARM OF THE BUREAUCRACY

By S. NARAYANASWAMY

It is fascinating to observe how versatile, indeed how multi-purpose are the weapons that fill the armoury of a democracy. There is an advantage available to a democratic system of Government which is denied to any other ruling caucus, in that a democracy can erect a mascot or a totem pole in the centre of its dust-raising arena and call it the "Common Man's Welfare". The totem pole has this difference from its authentic Red Indian counterpart, in that it has many pegs—and on these pegs a democratic administration hangs legislative enactments, after the manner of a laundryman's line in such rapid succession that neither the people for whose good it is intended nor the judiciary who are called upon to interpret them from time to time nor even the rank and file of officers who are asked to administer them, are able to keep track of these enactments or "the rules framed thereunder".

There is no field in human affairs which Government think cannot be traversed by legislation, no department of economic activity that does not need to be "regulated", no field of genuine endeavour in respect of which Government should not assume power of interference. All this is being done ostensibly to protect the "common man from exploitation by unscrupulous people". In the process these legislative enactments and rules framed thereunder, have been steadily concentrating power, which means and includes the power of veto in the hands of Central Government Officials, to an extent and in a manner that has begun to cause the deepest anxiety to those engaged in economic activity in the country. I will discuss here only one sector of legislative effort which is topical and is richly illustrative of the tendency to tie ourselves into complicated legislative knots, namely Public Company formation.

It is not my thesis that Public Companies should function without regulation or legislative control and drift like a ship without pilot or rudder in tempestuous waters. Nobody wants chaos, least of all those engaged in economic activity, but it is too late in the day to persuade even the unsophisticated that the alternative to over-Government is anarchy. It seems important to state obvious things to obviate indignant and well-worn remonstrances from those who have succeeded in concentrating economic power in the stately "Bhavans" of New Delhi.

Capital Issue Control started in the years of World War Two as a war-time measure to check mushrooming of Company floatations—taking advantage of the then prevailing inflationary and boom conditions. However, in the years of India's incipient freedom, we converted these emergency ordinances into legislative enactments—a new way no doubt of turning swords into ploughshares. We took time and trouble to draw up a Companies Act that has become the most voluminous of our statutes and certainly bears evidence of a herculean effort to make the law comprehensive. The Act imparts to the Company management community, the eerie feeling of treading perpetually on grapes. Managerial groups naturally seek such security as they could afford, by appointing law officers as part of their permanent staff, where they do not pay large retainers to law firms to keep them out of harm's way. Often one Company assistant is kept see-sawing between the Company's office and that of the lawyers all the time, carrying files. Companies are in large measure resigned to the few "Thou shalt" and the innumerable "Thou shalt nots" of Company Law.

Capital Issue Control has been steadily augmenting the field of their regulation and this is pre-

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sumed to be in response to parliamentary clamour. It has been assumed that curtailment of freedom of economic activity by a systematic pyramiding of regulations would import a new discipline into Company affairs and protect the investor. The Capital Issue Control has recently been exercising the power to decide (a) How much of the capital shall be equity and how much preference (b) What ceiling rate of dividend preference shares shall carry (c) Whether additional share issues should be at par or at a premium and if the latter how much premium (d) the tenure of managing agency for which Company Law has fixed a ceiling period (e) What the scale of remuneration should be for Managing Agents and their minimum remuneration and the remuneration of Managing Directors (f) sitting fee of Directors where they have failed to draw it at the rate fixed in the Articles of Association, out

of consideration for the Company in its early years of unprofitable working.

They have latterly been placing a ceiling on brokerage payable in respect of new issues, without so much as a reference to Stock Exchanges, which are today statutory bodies and the Finance Ministry is represented on their Managing Committees. The economics or the lack of economics involved in such arbitrary fixations do not apparently seem relevant to those who fix them.

The Finance Ministry are now reported to be in the process of assuming powers (a) to permit or veto firm allotments and to subject them to a stipulation of non-negotiability over a period and (b) to fix a ceiling of a two months' period between closure of list and posting of allotment letters.

The success of isolated capital issues made in the last few months has had an infelicitous psycholo-

gical impact on Finance Ministry Officials and the larger needs of industrial development of the country, which pre-supposes large mobilization of savings towards equity capital of Public Companies seem to have receded into the background. A negative approach to the entire problem probably based on subjective personal prejudices against certain tall poppies of the industrial world has influenced ruling and regulatory fervour in recent months. The Capital Issue market does not oblige Governments or entrepreneurs by being in its best form when capital is required. It is as capricious as the typhoons of the China Sea and at least two successive Union Finance Ministers of proved acumen went round the country, finding out how capital formation could be revived and found that popular enthusiasm for new capital issues could not be coaxed back to its once exalted tempo, by verbal assurances which they gave in their public utterances.

All regulatory fervour in this context is based on facile assumptions as to financial weather and it will be unwise for Government to impose greater strain on our entrepreneur community than it is already confronting, starting from the stage of industrial licensing. The taxation pattern of today is not exactly an overwhelming incentive to entrepreneurial effort—but to make public industrial Company promotion one long obstacle-race is to cork off the springs of enthusiasm and constructive economic effort.

To the Ten Commandments of Jesus Christ we have been adding these 13 years, thousands of obscurely worded commandments through legislation. We appear, moreover, to have acquired a vested interest in augmenting that large policing force which is required for even tardy enforcement of these laws. Is it not time to think of creating those positive wealth-creating units, which will pay the taxes that alone can sustain this ever swelling law enforcement force?

STATE INTERFERENCE IN COMPANY ADMINISTRATION

By M. R. MASANI

Given below are excerpts from the speech which Sri M. R. Masani delivered in the Lok Sabha on 16th November 1960, in the course of the debate on the Companies (Amendments) Bill 1959. The excerpts deal particularly with the two important clauses—Statutory Audit and contributions to political party funds, and are remarkable for their clarity of thought and powerful presentation.

When Government appointed the Sastri Committee on 15th May, 1957, the terms of reference were: (1) to overcome certain practical difficulties in the working of the Companies Act, 1956; (2) to remove such drafting defects and obscurities as may be interfering with the working of the Act; and (3) to consider what changes in the form or structure were necessary or desirable in order to simplify it.

The present Bill has very little in common with these three objectives. As it goes away beyond the terms of reference of the Committee on whose report it is presumed to be founded, it cannot claim any true lineage from that background.

What has happened is that second thoughts have intervened and the Bill has changed its character to a very radical extent. These second thoughts are, unfortunately, of a doctrinaire nature. And that is that it is not you or I or the man in the street or the man in his home or any of us who knows what is good for him but the Government of the country; that none of us is a fully grown adult who knows how to run his business; that, even when we are trying to make a profit for ourselves and to improve ourselves in life, we are such fools or we are such knaves that the constant intervention of the police and the Company Law Administration is necessary to stop us from going astray. This is a pernicious doctrine on which many of the provisions of the Bill are based; and this doctrine poses very squarely the issue between those who believe in joint-stock enterprise and those who believe in State monopoly capitalism, even if it comes step by step, eating into the vitals of the very system.

Co-operation in Industry

What is joint-stock enterprise? It is the application of the principle of co-operation to industry and business. It is the coming together of small and big people scattered throughout the country in different walks of life with different ideologies because they believe that there is a demand or a want for a certain commodity or service on the part of the people of this country and that that want should be met. And,

that in meeting that want, they will make a profit as a result of their efficiently meeting that want. That, is the application of the principle of co-operation to business or industry. And, if there is one kind of co-operation that is successful or deserving of support in India, along with others, it is joint-stock enterprise.

The shareholders of a company are full-grown citizens of our country knowing what they are about, that they are the best judges of their own interests and not a set of bureaucrats or politicians in office and that, therefore, control of their activities under Company Law should be the minimum—as little control as possible and as much freedom for them to function as is possible. Judging by that principle, the Bill unnecessarily over-regulates and interferes in matters with which the Government of our country and the law should have no concern.

Usurping of Authority

The theory of the Bill, on the other hand, is that the Company Law Administration and the officials who make it up are rather better judges of the interests of the shareholders than the shareholders themselves. A new ruling class has come into existence, a class of bureaucracy and State management trying to usurp the authority of those who could and should be allowed to run the company.

I shall give the example of clause 70 which relates to statutory audit which the Government can direct at any time that they wish. The clause here says: "Where the Central Government is of the opinion that the affairs of any company are not being managed in accordance with sound business principles or prudent commercial practices"

Every businessman and every sensible man knows that no other businessman is always prudent or sensible. Every businessman will disagree with another businessman about something. When one manager is replaced by another, he starts trying out new policies. One business consultant will recommend one measure, and another will recommend quite a different one. There is no foot-rule or measuring yard as

to what is sound business principle or prudent commercial practice. Everyone has his own concept of soundness and prudence. Now, the Government or the Company Law Administration, after having come to that very interesting decision, can direct a special audit.

All the joint-stock companies are the property of their owners, whether their capital is subscribed in the market or whether five people get together in private. It is no business of the bureaucracy or the Minister of the day to sit in judgment on whether the owners of a certain property—farm or shop or factory—administer that property by prudent practices or not. Every grown-up citizen in a democracy must take on his own shoulders that amount of responsibility. Abraham Lincoln spoke a hundred years ago on this and said that the Government cannot do for the people what the people must do for themselves; he enunciated a truth a hundred years ago on what sound administration should do.

Risk-taking Inherent in Business

We are talking about grown-up people who invest their money in a company, public or private. They must be allowed to administer the property according to their conception of prudence. If they incur a loss, it is their loss. The whole essence of joint-stock enterprise is that people must learn to risk their capital to make a profit or to make a loss. It is not part of the Government's business to stop people from making a loss because that would kill and cut at the root of the principle of risk-taking, which is the essence of free enterprise. But the trouble with the socialist pattern is that it does not accept the grown up character and adult nature of the individual human being.

An Objectionable Practice

This attempt to sit in judgment as to whether the affairs of a company are being run on sound business principles or prudent practice is highly objectionable. The same principle will tomorrow

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row be applied to a kisan and he will be told: "You have got 20 acres of land. You are not growing as much out of it as we thought that you should grow. Or, you are not growing the crops which we want you to grow. So, we shall take it away and pool it in a co-operative farm".

This strikes at the root of the safeguards given under our Constitution. Either we stand by the Constitution and say that private property is sacred and belongs to the person concerned and he can do what he likes with it or we say that the Government will sit in judgment through our bureaucracy on every one of us and see whether or how we spend the Rs. 10 in our pocket and whether it is right or wrong. This is the thin end of the totalitarian wedge which lays down the principle that Government knows better what you should be doing with your money. It is a highly objectionable principle in any free society.

The second test is that the Government must be satisfied that the company is being managed in a manner which is not likely to cause serious injury or damage to the interests of the trade, industry or business to which it pertains. In other words, I may be running my business very effectively. But if it hurts somebody else, on behalf of that somebody else who cannot face fair competition, you go and put me in fetters. The laws of competition are the best correctives to anti-social behaviour and to unproductive enterprise. It is the law of the market, the law of supply and demand, the laws of the free competitive society that are a sovereign check on unproductive enterprises and anti-social practices.

When a man does not run his business in a prudent way, he has to shut it down and somebody more effective who can serve the country better takes his place. That is how the country advances by eliminating the incompetent and corrupt and by supporting and rewarding those who are enterprising and productive. Once you kill this competition, you are heading for such a state capitalist system as Mr. Djilas, the communist of Yugoslavia, has so well described in his book—*The New Class*—where a more exploitative and oppressive class of State capitalists replace those who they claimed were exploiters themselves.

Danger to Reputation

So, a Government directive can ruin the reputation of a business. It can be told, let a special audit take place; after it is over and it is found no harm is done, the company will be cleared. That argument betrays great ignorance of the very delicate mechanism of the market. If it becomes known that the

Government has directed a special audit in the affairs of a company, that company's name is mud from that moment onwards. It is no good if after one year it is cleared from the charges. The very fact that the Government have intervened over the head of the management of a company will destroy its reputation and it will be too late to do anything about it. Similarly, the appointment of a statutory auditor is an insult and a reflection on the ordinary auditor who will be honourably doing his job. So, an action which is capable of being construed as libellous of an enterprise or an auditor can be taken at the whim of a bureaucrat, a Deputy Secretary to the Government speaking in the name of the Government of India.

Essential Safeguards

I therefore suggest safeguards which are compatible with elementary equity and justice. The first safeguard that I suggest, is that, before you have a statutory audit, give the company a chance to listen to what you have against it and to give a reply. The second safeguard is that when the special audit is completed a copy of the report should be given to the company. As it is, a man is judged but the judgment is not given to him. The judgment is hidden from him and the Government acts on the judgment behind his back. What kind of rule of law, what kind of equity are we trying to operate, not against criminals but against law-abiding citizens carrying on the country's business? The safeguard is—present a copy of the report to the company as soon as it is available. The third safeguard is, when Government decides to have a statutory audit, let the company have a right of appeal to a court of law to set aside that audit, so that the court of law will be able to decide—not a deputy secretary of the Government—whether or not there is a *prima facie* case for an enquiry.

Contribution to Party Funds

The present position is that a company can, by the general body, vote away unlimited amounts of money to any political party or funds. On the other hand, Clause 293 says that the directors of a company can, without sanction of the general body, vote away every year, Rs. 25,000 or five per cent of the net profits, which may go to lakhs of rupees in some big companies, to political parties or funds.

It is true that the shareholders who want to give away half their money to the Congress Party may give it and, it may be argued, "Why should we stop them?" They are grown up people. I agree, but was that the basis of the contract? When I subscribe to the shares

of a company and later on, when the company modifies its articles to open the door to political contributions, I may be told, "You sell out your shares and go away, now that your eyes are opened". How many shareholders do that? When a man subscribes to the shares of a company, he subscribes to the major purpose mentioned in the memorandum which is to produce certain goods or to render a certain service and thus to make a profit. In other words, he does not think that his money is going to be distributed to the coffers of any political party, whatever it may be, and I object equally strongly to whichever party it may go.

Under clause 203, the directors are given the discretion, without reference to the shareholders, to vote away five per cent of the profits—it may go into several lakhs a year in some companies.

The practice in other countries varies. I am not saying that all democratic countries, all decent countries, curb corporate contributions. Let me quote two leading democracies, the United States and the United Kingdom. In the United Kingdom, there is no ban on corporate contributions. Companies are allowed to contribute to political funds without let or hindrance, though recently, Mr. Gaitskill, the leader of the Labour Party has expressed the view that in his opinion that should stop. In America, on the other hand, there is a ban. There are laws that prevent any corporate enterprise from voting corporate funds to any political campaign, committee or fund. In fact, they go further and put a ceiling on individual contributions also, and no American citizen can pay more than 5,000 dollars a year to the same political party more than once a year.

Improper Use of Corporate Funds

There are three or four very good reasons why it is bad for the country if corporate enterprises' funds are allowed to be raided or levied for this purpose. As I said, first, the purpose is that the funds are meant for production. Every rupee taken away from investment in business and given to a political party, to that extent does not help production of the goods and services for which the company was formed. If we agree that maximum production is what we want—and we all agree, from our Prime Minister downwards—then surely, anything that we do to stop money from being diverted from the purpose of production to the purpose of fighting campaigns and elections is a good thing. It is a wrong use of money which was dedicated to a particular purpose.

Secondly, if you are allowing a company to give away their money, they are not going to bear the loss. They will

pass the burden on to the consumer, because the donation to the political party will become part of the cost of business. It will be like an advertisement; like a public relations campaign. It will be added to the cost of business. So, in the end, the consumer pays; the price goes up and the consumer will suffer, and the inflationary tendencies will further be aggravated. If we want the consumer to be protected, then there is no reason why a company should be allowed to add the cost of political patronage to the price that it puts to the consumer.

Then, what about the minority shareholders? Suppose a majority of a company's shareholders are for party A and a minority are for party B, then, are supporters of party B to have the humiliation and the annoyance of seeing their money going not to those whom they want to help but going to their enemies whom they want to see defeated? Are they going to allow the shareholders contracting out? That proposal was made and that was not accepted by the Minister. As was pointed out earlier, under the British Trade Unions Act, if a member of a trade union happens to be a conservative and belongs to a union backing Labour, he has a right to say: "My money must be contracted out and not a penny out of it should go to the Labour Party". Are we going to accept an amendment on the floor of the House to the effect that a minority shareholder can say: "Not my money"? I can understand that. It is a palliative for those whose feelings would otherwise be outraged at their money being used for causes which they do not like and which they hold in abhorrence. And yet, you will force the minorities to give money, to agree to the wishes of those in the majority.

Most democratic parties in India, agree that we should keep party elections, party labels, etc. out of panchayat elections and elections to municipal and local bodies, and that the major political parties should only fight the battle at the Assembly and the Parliamentary level. While this happy trend of thought is being spread by many this Bill takes party strife into joint-stock enterprises which have so far been relatively free from party strife. I can imagine that, if this Bill is not amended, in the next few months, you are going to get groups of shareholders in major companies campaigning on behalf of their respective political parties. The Boards of Directors will be approached by petitions and counter-petitions saying, "we want the money to be given to party A". Somebody else will come and say, "We want the money

to be given to party B". So, you will make the Board of Directors and the company meetings a cockpit of political warfare between the elements who want their particular party to be supported.

Money power cannot be eliminated, but money power should be limited. Individual citizens should put their hands into their own pockets, whether rich or poor, to help the party which they want to support. That is necessary. Political parties do want funds. But the citizen, as a citizen, has to contribute and not put his hands into somebody else's pocket which happens to be a shareholder's. That is what I am objecting to.

No Voluntariness in Payment

Finally, I come to the actual state of affairs in which we live. We live in a controlled economy. If this was a *laissez faire* State, you may say: "What has got a company to do with Government, and they may do whatever they like". But we are living today in a State where the power of life and death over the fortunes of business enterprises is in the hands of Ministries of the Government. If we are told that this contribution will be a voluntary gift, we have a right to suspect and to be sceptical and ask: "Will the contributions be really voluntary?" If I am a businessman, I know that by pleasing a particular Minister, I can get a licence, I can get a permit and that I can get other facilities, and then, it is asking too much of my human nature to expect me not to say: "I will go and offer him a donation to his party in the hope that I shall get a *quid pro quo*". That is exactly what is happening. This is what the people of India believe is happening. So, there is no voluntariness about corporate contributions in a controlled economy. In a controlled economy, it is viewed with suspicion and it is felt that there is coercion.

I do not want to generalise, but I know businessmen who have told me that, at the time of the last general elections, they were asked by emissaries of the Congress Party to pay so many rupees per loom in a weaving mill and so many rupees per truck in the case of transport companies. I am told that if in that election this amount per truck was X thousand rupees, it has now become 3X or 4X thousand rupees per truck in the case of certain States in the South and collections are being made per truck, and looms will no doubt follow in the next few months. I am not saying that my honourable friend opposite knows this or connives at it. But when we are legislating for all kinds of people in authority and all kinds of

citizens, and when we show so much suspicion about private businessmen and try to stop them from becoming anti-social, we have a corresponding obligation to see that those in office, those in power and authority in the country, also have reasonable checks put on them so that power is not abused.

Company Has No Ideology

So we come to this that a company today does not subscribe because of ideological purposes. A company has no ideology because it has no one-thinking-mind. What it subscribes, it does so, because it hopes to get something in return or it is coerced to do so. And this is the beginning of a very vicious kind of vested interest. We talk so much of vested interests. Here is a new vested interest which I at least see growing before my eyes and it is growing in a controlled economy, a vested interest of those in Government and their hangers-on and satellites in the ranks of business, people who work together for the exploitation of the common people and the community's needs. It is a vested interest—I do not care how many business people are in it—which needs to be checked, and I think if we amend the Bill in the way some of us have suggested, we shall strike a blow at the further development of this vested interest which is worse than any other in our country.

Mr. Justice Chagla, in his judgment, had made two suggestions. One was this: "The least that Parliament can do is to require the sanction of the court before any large amount is paid by a company to the funds of a political party". Naturally, there is no question of going to a court of law for approval if the Bill is passed as it stands at present. The other requirement that he has suggested also is, unfortunately, not in the Bill; that is, advertising immediately the fact of the donation.

Capitalist Stooze No. 1

I see nothing wrong in having good industrialists and good businessmen among my associates. But since the Prime Minister seems to think that this is a useful way of smearing political opponents, let me say this that if, unfortunately—and I do hope that he will still consider our plea—if, unfortunately, the Bill stands as at present and the Government defeat in this House the amendments that we seek to move to stop this mischief, then who will be able to blame any man in the street who, by the same logic, says that the capitalist stooze No. 1 is nobody but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the leader of the only party that wants corporate funds to be used for political purposes?

THE NEW PHASE IN U. P. POLITICS

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The Congress feud in Uttar Pradesh is supposed to have ended; only the ending was by no means happy. From the view-point of party solidarity, it settled nothing. Despite pressure from Delhi, no Sampurnanand-Gupta concord could be achieved. There was no atmosphere for any kind of re-union between the two warring sections. It was beyond anybody to build the image of the Congress as a happy family.

It is a monotonous, if somewhat exasperating, feature of Congress dispensation, that its dear ones who happen to have been disowned by the electorate, are variously rehabilitated for their good as well as for the furtherance of party ends. There is thus little surprise if the twice rejected Mr. C. B. Gupta could, under the highest auspices, do the kind of leap-frogging that he did, over the devoted head of Dr. Sampurnanand. Mr. Gupta, however, had been allowed to wallow in wilderness till he compelled attention by silently capturing the U.P.C.C. and posing the question: 'Now What?'

It was then that the High Command displayed a sense of realism and Mr. Nehru thought it worthwhile to back Mr. Gupta against Dr. Sampurnanand. And luckily for Mr. Gupta, Dr. Sampurnanand, in throwing out an unnecessary challenge on the eve of election to the Presidentship of the U.P.C.C., had committed a blazing indiscretion which could be exploited to his discomfiture. Mr. Gupta became the more acceptable of the two contestants for the leadership of the Congress Legislature Party in the State as he seemed to be more likely to deliver the goods in the next elections. And for a party so much in a blue funk now, there could be no weightier consideration. Mr. Nehru too was deeply inclined to think of first things first. Everything

else came next to the fortunes at the polls.

So, he had to stake his word, however indirectly, and prevail upon Mr. Pant to intervene directly, so that Mr. Gupta might be imposed on the State without the facade of party unity being too much impaired. Mr. Gupta had to his credit a sizable vote but the seeming unanimity was unreal and deceptive, for, Dr. Sampurnanand's men abstained from voting for tactical reasons while making no pretence that they were all irrevocably against the Prime Minister's (and the Home Minister's) nominee. When these defiant nineteen (or whatever the number is) will kick up a rumpus on the organisational front is a different matter though it is perhaps only a matter of time. In any case they would stand aloof and watch the show rather than do anything positive to make the Gupta experiment a success. While the intellectually cynical and slightly rigid Dr. Sampurnanand may choose, in his present mood and temper, to revive memories of Kashi Vidyapith, Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi and others will be more practically inclined and usefully occupied. They will miss no opportunity to see that the path for Mr. Gupta is beset with pitfalls and his apple-cart upset a day sooner than later.

The hour having struck for him, Mr. Gupta, however, started giving a new look to the State. He could not have made a better beginning than to persuade Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani to forsake her career in Parliament and give the feminine touch to the U.P. Ministry. He may have other surprises in store. Like the Maharajas of old who, on their accession to the throne, became suddenly generous out of an irrepressible sense of jubilation, Mr. Gupta suggested to the Governor to release the detenus in the State. And then he asked his colleagues to dispense with big cars and also to reduce their salary by a couple of hundred rupees. Luckily for U.P. his head did not, as a result of any uneasiness because of the weight of the 'crown', stop brimming with ideas. He even suggested that two Ministers could live in one bungalow.

For all this show of austerity he must have expected loud cheers. But while some were exasperated, many felt amazed. Mr. Gupta may be a well meaning man but he seems to have misread the mood of the country. What would at one time have passed for good gestures, now appear like cheap stunts.

The days are gone when the people of India could be easily misled by pretences, hollow of pompous.

Ministers are judged, not by their modes of conveyance but by certain other standards. The whole pattern of ministerial existence must fit in with the smallness of the car or vice versa, and neither in the one nor in the other, should there be an element of fake as an easy device for just creating an impression. If in a big State like U.P. Ministers persuade themselves to move about in smaller cars, what about the smaller states where Ministers still prefer the bigger ones? And why should Congress Ministers draw less in U.P. than elsewhere? The whole approach to the subject of ministerial standards is, as Mr. Nehru would say, "petty". The Gupta approach makes no sense. It should matter little how much a Minister draws, if he is worth it, for he cannot of course draw more than what is ordained. It is wrong to think that a Minister becomes more acceptable on a lesser salary. There may be men—particularly among Congressmen—who would love to serve the country, free of cost, if only they are made Ministers!

Mr. Gupta should revise some of his ideas. They are queer, if not quixotic. The idea of putting two Ministers in the same bungalow—irrespective of the strength of the family units—cannot be otherwise described. Mr. Gupta should not forget that every other Minister, like him, has not the advantage (if advantage it is) of being a bachelor. Presumably Ministers would like to have a little privacy. One certainly does not like to run the risk of being closely watched, least of all by another Minister. It does not work. Mr. Gupta's ideas do not tend to make peace: they are not conducive even to harmony. They have certainly no bearing on ministerial efficiency which is the end in view.

As the *Hindustan Times* pertinently pointed out, "the economies which result from such demonstrative acts of self-abnegation", as Mr. Gupta has in mind, "are always illusory". They do not even impress people: if anything, they irritate them. If this is the Gupta technique for making the Congress popular in U.P., its wide-awake electorate is least likely to be hoodwinked. He and his Congress colleagues elsewhere should do some active re-thinking. What the country wants is not cheap Ministers, much less Ministers who make themselves cheap, but a clean and efficient administration. It is only those who cannot offer it that waste their time and ingenuity on vote-catching devices. Perhaps they impress Mr. Nehru—and the other 'bosses'.

BIRDS ON BOOKS

By SRIVATSA

Books are not only means of communicating ideas but also objects in themselves. With many booksellers the latter consideration prevails most, and we may ask with "wise old Khayyam" with regard to another object;

"I often wonder what the Vintners buy

One half so precious as the goods they sell".

Another class of Philistines, with even less excuse for its obtuseness, merely orders a collection of books as part of the "furnishing and decoration" of a house. The obverse side of the medal is the fine and grand Elzevir and Aldine editions, magnificently bound and adorned, each costing a small fortune. These productions (in the full sense of that term) acquire their value quite as much from the reputation of the binder or the artist as from that of the author. In all these cases, there is the danger of the real purpose of the book being lost or obscured in extraneous issues. But that appears to be a risk that has to be undertaken in a mainly commercial civilisation.

There are, however, certain other bibliophile events or occurrences in which the student does well to take interest. It was an occasion for all who set store by books when Penguins recently celebrated their silver jubilee. Economists and such other unamiable people may wrangle about their importance as the first "paperback". This jargon is part of the new superstition by which books, it seems, are to be "brought to the common man" through cheap reprints and other esoteric devices to manufacture which trusts are set up elaborately. This attempt is made naturally in a so-called "socialistic society" in which everything has to pass the gauntlet of that fearsome, because ill-balanced and power-drunk, individual, "common man". To acquiesce in it is to vulgarise and cheapen literature. The true student will cherish the Penguin for quite different reasons.

The first Penguin was "Ariel" by M. Andre Maurois. That was an indication that the series would reprint not only the accepted classics but also those which, while popular, were not easily obtainable. There are many degrees of greatness in literature, as in other endeavours of life. The first is available easily, but not the second. The reader

would have had either to pay a large sum or possess his soul in patience, to procure copies of those books which, being worthwhile, are not commercially popular and are, therefore, not taken up by prominent booksellers. M. Maurois' fascinating biography, or romance of Shelley belonged to this class, and it was, therefore, welcomed with open arms when it was made available so cheaply. The early promise has been more than fulfilled. It might perhaps be an exaggeration to say that one could form a library of such books with the help of Penguins and Pelicans alone, but such a collection would be far from contemptible. It is unlikely that, but for Sir John Lane, most Indian students would have been able to read Mr. Edmund Blunden's "Undertones of War", C. E. Montagu's "A Hind Let Loose", Merriman's "Barlasch of the Guard" (a lovely little book, this, especially to those who are fascinated by Napoleon and his times) or Sir Max Beerlhom's "Zuleika Dobson". This last illustrates the service which the Penguins render in regard to cost. Sir Max's books tend to be expensive, and the story of the explosion which the damsel's advent in the famous seat of learning created could not generally be read but at the cost of, say, a guinea. Here was Sir John Lane offering the book for the easy equivalent of about two shillings.

But the real service of the Penguins lies in making many worthy but rather unknown authors known to the reader. I have referred to "Barlasch of the Guard". This is a fascinating historical romance. It is surprising that it should not be better known. Its story is set in Danzig at the time when Napoleon intends to invade Russia. He himself appears for a while in the town, in fact, on the very day of the heroine's marriage with an officer of the French army quartered in Danzig. He rides into the mysterious East. But the manner in which his influence persists, when he himself has disappeared in the Russian mists, swaying the fortunes of everybody in Danzig must extort the admiration of experienced novelists. There is no elaborate article, but there is the dauntless Barlasch of the famous Guard. He takes the heroine under his wing and he takes in his stride the fact that his host, involuntarily, of course, is a member of the *Tugendbund*, the secret society which is always plotting

against the Corsican. But it would be unjust to discuss the story. To the reader interested in good writing and imaginative reconstruction of the past, "Barlasch of the Guard" is a feast in store.

Merriman, however, is only one of the authors rescued, as it might be said without exaggeration, for posterity by Penguins. There is Mr. Lynn Doyle, the chronicler of strange Irish goings-on. "Lobster Salad" and "Ballygullion" entitle him to dispute primacy of place with Martin and Ross. Then, there is "The Cardinal's Snuff-box" by Harland. This novel of Italian life by an American will not be everybody's cup of tea, but there is certainly some obscure kind of charm in it. "The Quest for Corvo" by Symons is a queer book on a queer individual, who at one time called himself Father Rolfe. Nor should Georges Simenon's books of mystery, which introduce Inspector Maigret, be scorned. Scotland Yard and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have monopolised our attention to the neglect of the Surete and the French police. The latter are certainly worth some attention.

With regard to the Pelicans, the rather unwieldy cousins of the Penguins, some reservations might be justly



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made. At least in the early days, they seem to have come too much under the influence of Left-wing "intellectualism" that very unlovely thing. The result was that the poor bird was apt to flounder a bit. It looked as if it was designed to promote socialism. But wiser counsels have prevailed, and it is now more catholic. It has almost taken all know-

ledge for its province and, I believe, there is no respectable branch of knowledge at least an introduction to which will not be found sheltering under the wings of the Pelican.

It is, thus, that these two birds and some other members of the aviary have laid us under tribute. They are growing costlier. Time was when six-

pence could suffice for one of them. Today their price is to be counted in shillings, and there is some vexatious refinement about "double books". It would, however, be a mistake to look upon the Penguin or the Pelican as a cheap source of knowledge, instruction and entertainment. It is best regarded as a minor, unpretentious university.

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THE CHAOS IN THE CONGO

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

The long night of chaos in the Congo drags on. It has become darker and deadlier. It envelopes not only the fourteen million people of this strife-torn land but many millions throughout the world.

The lurid glare of savagery, intrigue and blackmail which preceded the arrest and ill-treatment of Patrice Lumumba, the Prime Minister of the Congo, has obscured some basic and fundamental facts, which require recapitulation. Lumumba was democratically elected Prime Minister of the Congo by the duly elected Deputies of the Congo Parliament in the last week of June 1960. He defeated Kasavubu in a straight contest.

The U.S. news-magazine *Time* which was by no means friendly to Lumumba reported in June: "With the Premiership safely in his grasp, Lumumba offered to make Kasavubu President—a chiefly ceremonial office under the proposed constitution. To everyone's surprise Kasavubu accepted". President Kasavubu thus owed his position to Lumumba. It was Lumumba who had all the democratic sanction behind him—not Kasavubu, not Mobutu.

Kasavubu whom the West supports, is a tribalist, and his loyalties are rooted in the Bakongo tribe which is strong in and around Leopoldville, the capital of the Congo. He favoured a loose federal system for the Congo government, so that he might preserve his regional influence.

Lumumba whom the Soviet bloc supports, is the nearest approach to a national hero. A *New York Times* correspondent reported on December 5 that "unlike President Kasavubu's political-tribal machine, Lumumba's following is strong among varied ethnic groups". The young and volatile Prime Minister wanted to form a central government which would rise above tribal loyalties. He formed a cabinet of 38 men, representing every political shade, from the extreme right to tribal conservatism.

What was really wrong with Lumumba? He was unpredictable, demagogic, they said. Was that all? No. He was too radical and forward-looking for the conservative Belgian interests. And therefore Belgians in league with the disgruntled political opponents of the Prime Minister, were able to incite the Congolese soldiers to rebellion. They were able to spread the seeds of chaos by circulating rumours about Lumumba's reported decision to invite the Russians to replace the Belgians.

The seeds of chaos grew fast, so fast that even before the intoxication of the independence celebrations was over, the Congo was plunged into monstrous confusion. "Kill Lumumba" and "Kill all whites" were some of the slogans the mutineers shouted. The Belgian government sent troops into the Congo in contravention of all international laws.

It was at this stage Lumumba invited the United Nations to come into the Congo to restore law and order and to get the Belgians out. The U.N. rushed men and materials in a dramatic bid to establish peace. The soldiers and civilians under the U.N. command have reportedly done a fair job, but the political leaders and the foreign agents

have managed to keep the Congo in a permanent political mess.

Colonel Mobutu, an inconsequential army clerk who became colonel overnight, was being groomed by Belgians, the British, French and American interests to take over control of the administration. Mobutu who now runs the administration with the help of Belgian-educated students, is a creature of the Western embassies. Col. Robert Sinclair, the British Military Attache played a prominent part in this intrigue. The French Ambassador, ignoring all protocol, stooped so low as to visit the inconsequential Colonel.

Clearly the U.N. in the Congo has lost face. Mobutu has become a force to reckon with. Several diplomats in Leopoldville have bitterly complained that a person of Mobutu's ineptitude should have been helped by the U.N. to consolidate his hold over the armed mob called the Congolese National



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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PARBOILED RICE

Sir,—A recent item of news, according to the Union Food Minister, is that if all the rice in the country was parboiled five lakhs more tons of rice would become available for consumption. The figure looks big but what increase does it represent with reference to the total quantity of raw rice?

Apart from the question of mere nutritiveness, other factors like personal habits, sentiments and religious feelings come into play. For instance, certain communities in the south consume raw rice only on grounds of religion.

It must be remembered that in matters of dieting, personal habits play a great part and it is not easy to bring about changes. Some time ago the Government threw out a suggestion that if more fish was consumed, the demand for cereals would diminish. What happened to this idea or the synthetic rice produced by the Research Institute? Let us remember that even inanimate machinery require particular kinds of coal or oil fuel for yielding optimum return. Is it wise to subject the human system to the whims of nutrition pedants and

fanatics and bring about deterioration in public health and human efficiency?
K. V. IYER.

FROM RAJGHAT TO A TIGER SHOOT

Sir,—It is a far cry from Rajghat to a tiger shoot, but that's what our government with Pandit Nehru and Rajen Babu at the helm have planned for H.M. The Queen.

We worship at the temple or the church, and having placated God with our offerings, we go OUR own way. We say pious things on appropriate occasions about God and Gandhiji. But there ends everything, but our conscience is soothed. So, even a heinous

and revolting thing like the slaughter of the gorgeous beasts of our forests purely for fun and pleasure we do not consider is against the principles of our Dharma, ahimsa or non-violence.

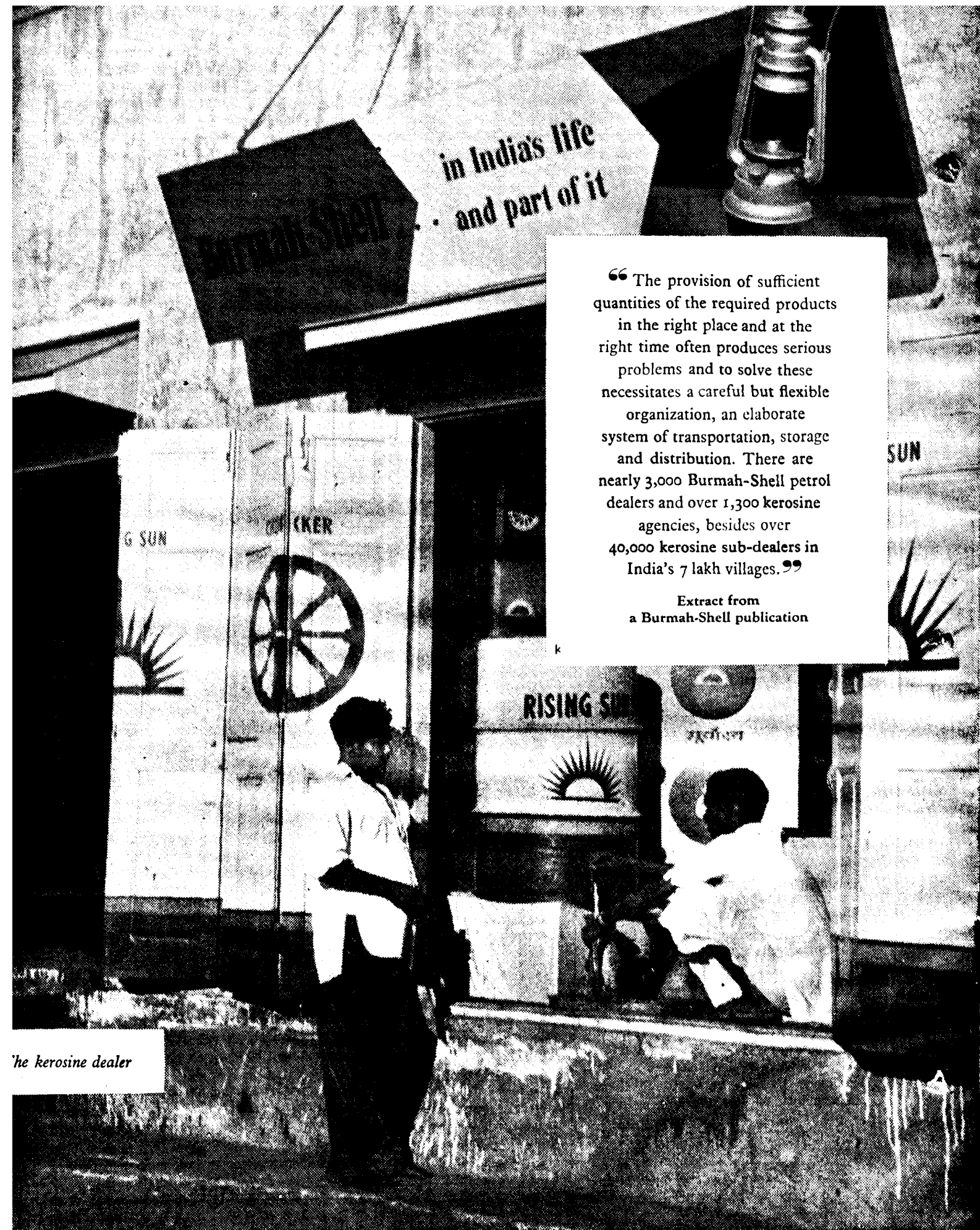
We inaugurate with pomp and show our Wild Life Preservation Week and Cow Protection Week with the utmost self-righteousness, and even hysterical over same in our fanaticism, but the Tiger Shoot for The Queen we accept as a matter of course and in keeping with the dignity of our belief and pronouncements.

The Government of India which is responsible to consider the feeling of the people of the country should not go out of the way to arrange and include a tiger shoot in the programme of our royal guests and should cancel same. It will make us all happy and nobody will shed a tear.

Dr. I. E. J. DAVID.

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The kerosine dealer

Army. U.N. participation in a Congolese parachute-jumping exercise and a mammoth parade last month gave respectability to Mobutu.

He is planning to form a new government and with Kasavubu's assistance, he is soon assuming the proportion of a military dictator. The West is unfortunately backing this dictator, just as it has backed many other fallen dictators.

Lumumba has all along welcomed all democratic solutions. He welcomed the U.N. General Assembly's decision to send a conciliation committee. He is in favour of a referendum or a revival of the parliament. But the West which swears by democracy is frightened of the Congolese parliament. The U.S. has been loud in its support to Kasavubu. Constitutional questions recede before the needs of the cold war. The U.S. decision to advance all the money required by the U.N. in Congo has led to suspicions in many quarters.

Like all other tyrants, Mobutu will have his end. Whether Lumumba dies in captivity, returns to power or retires from politics, there can be no way of stifling the voice of the people—the parliament of the Congo. And the West must recognise this very elementary lesson of history. But quite often we forget the most obvious.

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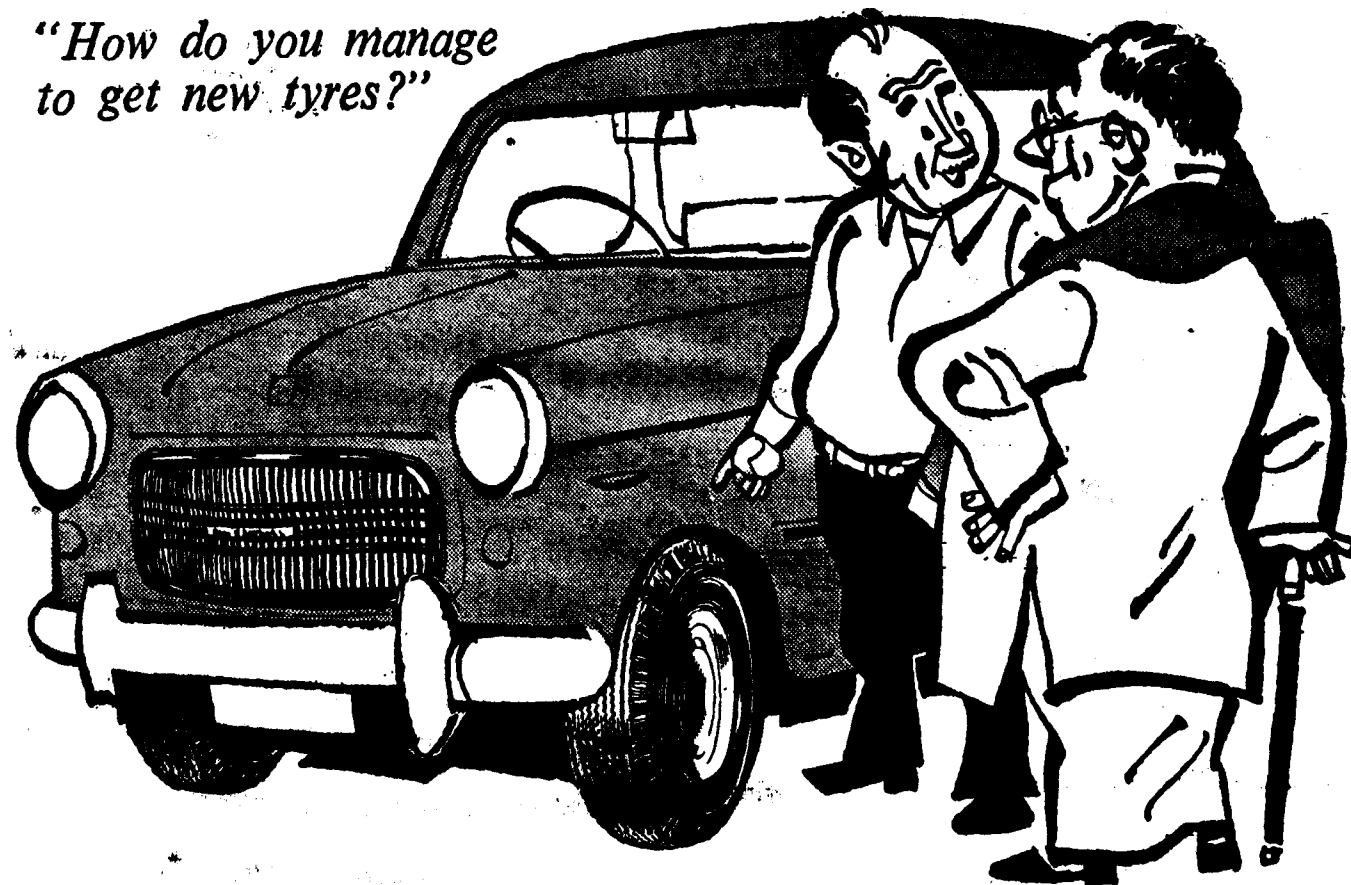
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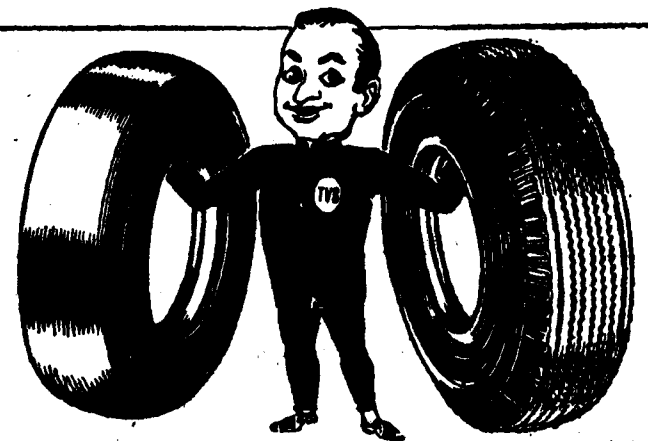


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LET US MIND OUR OWN BUSINESS

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The Prime Minister considered that 1960 was a bad year but hopeful for India because among the good things, the biggest was the establishment progressively in the States of Panchayat Raj. He had apparently missed the statement of Sri Raghaviah to the evaluating team of the Congress Parliamentary Party that Panchayat Raj in Andhra had introduced "too many feuds, murders, group bickerings, political partisanship and caste prejudices". He demanded a high powered commission to study the results. In India, we too frequently confuse the means with the ends. In the name of the Welfare State, the Government during the last twelve years have increased the administrative staff nearly six fold. Now in the name of democratic decentralisation, it is setting up throughout the country popular representatives, ostensibly to check but practically to frustrate the administrative staff. In the meanwhile, there are few signs of welfare. The Second Agricultural Labour Inquiry Report has just disclosed that the average earnings of agricultural labourers have dropped from Rs. 104 to Rs. 88. The Ninth National Sample Survey has disclosed that 50 per cent of the population lives on less than eight annas a day, 60 millions living on five annas and less, 40 millions on four annas and less and 20 millions on two annas and less. The total unemployment in the country, according to Prof. Mahalanobis adds up to 45 millions daily, which the Sample Survey

confirms. What the people therefore want is more employment and less government, more income and less democracy.

What is happening indicates that the people are really getting even less democracy. In the U.P. the Prime Minister has imposed the Party boss as Chief Minister against the wishes of the Congress Legislators, not to speak of the public which twice had rejected Sri Gupta in the elections. In Bengal, the Chief Minister and the Congress Party have been disciplined to support the transfer of Berubari, which they had been passionately opposing. An opposition member said that the Chief Minister had changed from a lion into a mouse. Constitutional powers seem to have lost their meaning and democracy itself appears to be a camouflage for the supreme powers of the Prime Minister. His approach is the simple one, that what he does is the best and does not admit of argument. In respect of Tibet, while admitting that the position may be worse than the colonialism India was endeavouring to end by supporting the resolution of the Communists in the U.N. he would not commit himself to judge China. In respect of the President's claim for his written powers under the Constitution, the Prime Minister has shown a lofty disdain. Similarly over Rajaji's proposal that there may be Presidential rule before the elections, he has declined to enter into any argument. Though the Prime Minister is a person of the highest endowments,

in a democracy, he cannot set himself against and above everyone else. Even if he is not cut down to size by the inevitable compulsion of events, he is failing to realise that the position he has created for himself will be inherited by others less endowed and inspired, so that even the name of democracy will perish in the land.

What is happening round the world indicates how much on the razor's edge democracy is now standing. In Congo, Laos and Nepal, the conflict seems to have arisen from exactly our pattern of democracy, between titular rulers and ruling Prime Ministers. Governments are stable, according as power is definite. Even a bad constitution is better than an ambiguous one which allows conflict between different authorities, ultimately solved by the armed forces. The independence which so many countries have won is therefore threatened by the constitutions with which they have begun.

Otherwise, the upheavals round the world, which for a single week are perhaps a record, seem to be the result of the very peaceful co-existence which the Prime Minister has welcomed. Co-existence can be peaceful only when every country confines its interest and interference within its own boundaries. In this sense, the United Nations have unwittingly provided a forum, not for international co-operation but for international competition. Every country seems to be deriving strength from

Current Comments

The Government is saying and doing so much that no one seems to be able to look below the surface, particularly for economic implications, which are ultimately of greater significance. Though so much has been spoken and written about the details of the Company Law Bill, no one raised the question why Company Law was necessary. It owes its origin to the Control of Capital Issues, which was found necessary for channeling limited supplies to production necessary for the success of War. Those responsible for Food and Industries, knew even at that time of the delay and distortion which official interference imposed on natural commercial impulses arising from the law of Supply and Demand. After the

meddling in the conditions of other countries, in spite of the charter provision that the domestic affairs of each country are beyond the purview of the U.N. Unfortunately India set the fashion of crusading for the interests of other countries as a self-appointed guardian of democracy. In the conditions of cold war, this has started an aggressive tendency for partisanship in the affairs of every disturbed country. In Korea, Suez, Lebanon, Algeria, Congo and now Laos, Nepal, Ethiopia, the real protagonists are those of the cold war. Disarmament may not change this pattern unless there is a complete "detente" by every country of its interference in the affairs of any other. This may involve the end of pacts and military bases on one side and of military and economic domination of satellite countries on the other, but in its absence, all talk of peaceful co-existence is only self deception, if not worse. On our part, there is too much to do and undo within our own borders, to allow us the luxury of master-minding the conditions of the world. Our best foreign policy is to mind our own business.

War, the Control continued because, first, other controls were not relaxed and second, because of ideas of Planning, which were beginning. Subsequently, the potentials arising from restriction, politically for the Government and economically for those already in the field made both accept controls as natural to the economy, and Company Law, as a consequence, to reduce the abuses of monopoly. As profits increased, rules were elaborated, which while they increased power for the Government, were justified in the interest of the consumers. Who pays for all this? First there is the cost of legislation; the present Bill, starting from May 1957 is so exactly as Government wanted it that it could have been passed then without the subsequent waste of words and time. Secondly the cost of administration, increasing with the complexities of the law to which there is no end, a new tribunal now being contemplated, is borne by the tax payer. Thirdly the contributions to political parties are borne not so much by the shareholders, whose profits continue but by the consumers who have to pay the consequent high prices. Fourthly in respect of the Special Audit, the damage to the reputation of the shares of the Company is borne not by the management at fault but the shareholders. Fifthly the restrictions through licensing of new companies, not only reduce industrialisation but create conditions of monopoly which increase prices and reduce quality for the common consumer. The loss both to production and consumption could be avoided simply by removing all controls so that capital which is now abundant can enter industries which are required in the country. In the ensuing competition, the producers will only have to satisfy consumers with lower prices and better qualities, with no costs and distortions from Company Law.

This seems simple but all true things are simple when one cares to find them.

The economic significance of the statements which the Prime Minister endlessly makes, is difficult to assess. Speaking at the UNESCO Seminar on Urban Development, he bemoaned that modern constructions were vulgar in the background of slums in towns and hovels in villages. It did not occur to him that with 750 crores, half of the provision in the Third Plan for Heavy Industries, a subsidy of one fifth of the cost, say Rs. 250 would activate the construction or reconstruction of 30 million houses. All countries subsidise housing and that our plans have so far failed to do so, shows how little they are for the common man and for felt needs. The Prime Minister could only think of a tax on Land Values, as if this is not already collected through income tax, to require to be separately assessed and directly discourage enterprise in Housing. At the National Productivity Council, without much relevance, the Prime Minister maintained that there should be more technical education for extending industrialisation. He forgot that at the end of 1959, the unemployed in the Live Registers were 14,000 in the industrial supervisory services, 105,000 in the skilled and semi-skilled services and 68,000 in the educational services. It is just reported that 70 pilots trained at a cost of Rs. 85,000 each are unemployed. If Government discourages private enterprise, technicians will be a burden and not the foundation of industrialisation. In the Public Sector, though the Minister denied there was anarchy, he has not yet met the challenge that the return to capital is about 0.3 per cent even though the loans for the investment carry a rate of interest of 4 per cent. The public pays the difference, even though the same money invested in housing and other labour intensive works would have created hundred times as much employment.

OUR FOREIGN LOANS

We have plans for investment and expenditure during the third five-year plan period. We have plans for taxation to meet the cost. We have plans to mop up all savings for the use of the public sector. We have plans to borrow from all the nations of the world both separately and collectively. All this we have, and Prof. B. R. Shenoy has untiringly exerted himself to show where these plans are all wrong.

But there is one thing not touched as yet publicly. What are the plans to repay the debts borrowed from abroad? I wish the Planning Commission or someone else on behalf of the Congress Party explained to the public in what way the thousands of crores borrowed from America, Britain, Japan, Germany and other prosperous countries are intended to be repaid by our sons and grandsons. Is it intended to beg for write-off? If a country not ravaged by war but only mismanaged by ambition is to ask that the debts be written off, what will it amount to in prestige and in independence? Why did we not ask for gifts, but plead-

ed for aid through loans? If we must repay in order to retain prestige and independence, what are the plans for repayment?

What are the goods we hope to produce for the markets of the creditor-nations? Surely we have not gold enough to send; then, have we hopes of making commodities suitable to those markets? If so, let us have a clear look at the prospects. What are the commodities we plan to export? We would like to see a list of items and quantities which would at least problematically and prospectively suffice to repay the loans, principal and interest.

Judging from the difficulties already felt in the matter of payments I feel for my part that it is a hopeless business. We are trading on the cold war without realising the consequences of that rake's progress. I would like to be corrected and consoled. As I see the picture for the future generations, it is not one that inspires confidence in repayment, but one of entire loss of prestige and possibly of independence in the real sense. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

The Finance Minister's statements to the Consultative Committee of Parliament are more confusing. In view of the expected short fall in foreign loans, he considered that increase in Commodity Taxation would be necessary for the Third Plan. The first consequence of this will be a further increase in prices for consumer goods, which may be the more harsh, if grain prices, which supply their income to 62 per cent of the population, tend to fall as the Food Minister indicated from the downward trends which have begun. Secondly higher prices by reducing the market, will restrain industrialisation. Thirdly inflation, which the fall in grain prices may have reduced will be artificially maintained, making Government plans and private projects unnecessarily expensive. The Minister's hope that exports would improve is not supported by reports, first,

that Ceylon, which did not withdraw as we did in 1952 from the International Tea Market Board is increasing its exports, even to Russia, at our expense and second, that our coffee production which is marketed by the Government is becoming unsaleable. If Government would leave trade to its own resources, the quality and quantity of our exports which have fallen from 732 crores in 1951-52 to 580 crores in 1958-59, would improve.

The single and simple conclusion which emerges is that Government should confine itself to its own business of governing without using the money and credit of the public to compete with private trade and industry which is willing to risk its own money, may be to earn profits for itself in an open field, but also to create wealth and employment for the country. PROXY.

THE NEPAL BREAK-DOWN

It is easy to pull an old house down but not so easy to erect a habitable house over the debris. We have a clear demonstration that driving the Ranas out of power in Nepal, although it was pleasant business when it was done, was not a wise step. India was very instrumental in this.

Of course there is a philosophy justifying errors and consequent ruin and misery which claims that only that way lies progress. It is too easily taken for granted that reform is not possible except through the ruinous process of miscalculation and avoidable misery. Leaders prone to idealism but inept in execution indulge in these experiments and give them the name of Revolution and when the consequences are too sad for explanation indulge in self-pity. The people of Nepal wanted good government and that could have been easily achieved with the help of India. But instead, it was thought that the people thirsted for parliamentary government in place of the firm rule of the Ranas and everything was done to destroy the latter, root and branch, leaving a thoroughly mismanaged situation for the world to draw lessons from, and for the Communist powers to manipulate on our borders.

So has Congo demonstrated the same sad truth—that it is not so wise to give up what you have in hopes constructed in the clouds with exaggerated notions of democratic capacity available to take the place of what is destroyed.

A penetrating analysis of the present situation has been furnished by a British correspondent who, after a scathing attack on what the Indian representative of the U.N. Secretary-General, and his colleagues are doing in Congo, winds up that the time has come "to end the rudderless neutralism and the artificially preserved anarchy" which prevails in Congo.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

PRIVILEGE MOTION AGAINST RAJAJI

The Andhra Legislature Privilege Committee recommended and the Assembly accepted the unanimous recommendation that the privilege motion against me should be dropped. I tender my respectful thanks for this decision. Apart from the technical but not unimportant question of whether it would be right to raise a question previously disposed of by the Speaker in Parliament and place it before the local Assembly to be voted upon, it is good that the question of privilege itself has been properly disposed of by the Andhra Assembly.

In the interests of democracy it is necessary to guard the freedom of expression of political opinion. To put that freedom in jeopardy by making it an issue of privilege to be decided by the legislative assembly's majority vote would be to place a fundamental freedom in the arbitrary hands of the very authority against whom the criticism is directed and on whose express behalf the prosecution is launched. It would be a clear case of prosecutor being made judge and a judge against whom there is no appeal allowed. Where freedom of political opinion is concerned it is not consistent with the fundamental struc-

ture of parliamentary democracy to vest any authority with the power to treat any opinion as an attack on its special privilege and to be the final arbiter on the issue.

I expressed the view (and still maintain it as the only right view) that Legislative Assemblies should at least be truly representative of all the productive occupations and the constructive energy of the people, if they should be vested with power to interfere with production and distribution, a power which under all circumstances is of doubtful expediency. In a Socialist State persons who do not do anything in the production or distribution of wealth and who are therefore not adequately informed on the subjects concerned, have no place in an Assembly which will in an ever-increasing measure try to control and regulate all production, all distribution and all consumption of the material goods on which both national and individual life depend. The public pronouncement of this view was deemed by the Speaker of the Andhra Assembly an insult to the present members of his Assembly. It is good that the Committee of Privileges and the Andhra Assembly refused to accept this opinion. C.B.

A BIRTHDAY GREETING

Today's your birthday—so the rumour goes;

And you are eighty-one—or eighty-two:

A public figure whom the whole world knows,
A secret soul whom no one ever knew.

No one? But Gandhi knew you, didn't he?

You kept his conscience, strove with him for truth,
Practised non-violence, struggling to free
Old India, and to restore its youth.

And others knew you, too. But they are gone

Into the shadows. Of those who in the past
Taught that the truth alone could make men free
You are the living symbol—and the last.

So count no years. Don't fritter time away—

But say the things which only you can say.

—M.F.

PROTECTION OF COORG COMMITTEE

The following resolutions were adopted at a very largely attended conference held in Mercara (Coorg) on November 15, under the Chairmanship of General K. M. Cariappa:

This Conference of all sections of the people of Coorg assembled at the Mercara Municipal Hall, under the Chairmanship of General K. M. Cariappa, views with grave concern the proposal of the Government of Mysore for the construction of high dams at several places in Coorg and in particular, across the Haradur river, Cauvery river and Hemavathi river and a large storage reservoir in the upper reaches of the Laxmanathirtha river during the third five-year plan period. The Conference wishes to emphasise that the construction of the proposed high dams and storage reservoirs would result in the submersion of nearly a third of the fertile region of Coorg consisting of valuable wet-lands, developed coffee, orange and cardamom plantations and even whole villages—thereby also rendering the rest of the adjoining areas marshy and uninhabitable and seriously disrupt the existing communications, destroying the very life of Coorg and effacing its name, altogether.

This Conference is also convinced that the huge capital investments involved in these ill-conceived projects would be wasteful and extravagant having regard to the limited resources available to the Government of Mysore to implement its plans and are wholly unnecessary and prejudicial to the interests of the country.

This meeting therefore emphatically records its opposition to the hazardous and costly scheme proposed by the Government of Mysore and respectfully requests the Government of Mysore to desist from proceeding further with the above schemes and to save Coorg from utter destruction and ruination.

With a view to effectively bring home the discontent of the people for the decision of the Government, a special committee of the following gentlemen with power to co-opt more members, is constituted on no-party basis and this committee is to be called "Protection of Coorg Committee".

The Committee is hereby authorised to take such steps as are necessary or expedient to save Coorg from utter destruction arising from the construction of high dams.

THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

By SHIVA RAO

There are two aspects of the question recently raised by the President concerning his own powers under the Constitution: (1) are they exercised to the full under the existing provisions; and (2) should they be strengthened by an amendment of the Constitution?

Three Articles prescribe in some detail the powers that the President wields. Under Article 74, the Council of Ministers, at the head of which is the Prime Minister, will aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions. Under the same Article, the question whether any and if so what advice was tendered by the Ministers to the President shall not be enquired into in any Court. The following Article gives the President authority to select the Prime Minister who, on assuming office, chooses his colleagues. The Cabinet as a whole, described as the Council of Ministers in the Constitution, is collectively responsible to the Lower House.

Again, according to another Article, after a bill has been passed by both Houses of Parliament, the President may return it to Parliament (provided that it is not a money bill) with a message in favour of its reconsideration either as a whole or in respect of specific provisions; he may even suggest the desirability of introducing certain amendments. Parliament is under an obligation, according to the Constitution, to reconsider such a bill in the manner proposed by the President. If, however, Parliament insists on passing the bill again with or without the amendment, only then is the President obliged under the Constitution to give his assent.

The late Sri B. N. Rau, who was the Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly, argued that on the basis of Article 75, even if the President acted otherwise than on ministerial advice, the authority of his act could not be challenged in a court of law. Therefore, there was no legal obligation cast on him to accept ministerial advice—except to the extent that such a convention may be regarded as binding. He regarded it as significant that one of the provisions of the Irish Constitution has provided that "the powers and functions conferred on the President shall be exercisable and performable by him only on the advice of the Government, save where it is provided by this Constitution that he shall act in his absolute discretion, etc."; and further that "no power of function conferred on the President by law shall be exercisable or performable by him, save

only on the advice of the Government". The fact that the Indian Constitution did not copy this provision he mentioned as being deliberate. Similarly, he drew the inference from the wording of the provision of Article 111 that in certain circumstances at least the President may exercise his authority, irrespective of ministerial advice.

Nevertheless, on a careful review of all the relevant provisions of the Constitution, Sri B. N. Rau came to the conclusion that under a system of responsible government such as we have in India, the President, in the enjoyment of his authority "to be consulted, to encourage and to warn", can be something more than a figure-head. It is fair to add, however, that he had suggested at an earlier stage of the Constituent Assembly's proceedings, that the President should be vested with certain discretionary powers, apart from the normal ones of choosing a Prime Minister and the dissolution of Parliament. He thought that such matters as the appointment of judges, the protection of minorities and the suppression of widespread disorder might properly be added to the list. To quote his argument:

"Of course, it may not be always possible for the President to use his discretionary powers. Thus, a Ministry may threaten to resign if in the exercise of discretionary powers, he overrules them; in that case, the President can do so only if he has the support of the Legislature and can get an alternative Ministry enjoying its confidence. Failing this, he can dissolve the Legislature and appeal to the electorate in an extreme case. Thus, the discretionary powers will at least give the President a chance of appealing to the Legislature and, in the last resort, to the people".

Was the President to rely entirely on his own judgment in the exercise of his discretionary powers? Sri B. N. Rau had proposed the establishment of a kind of Privy Council on the Irish model to advise him in this field.

The Privy Council, so constituted, would have consisted of:—

(1) *Ex-officio* members: the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, if any, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Speaker of the House of People, the Chairman of the Council of States and the Attorney-General.

(2) Every person able and willing to act as a member, who shall have held the office of President, or the

Not Socialism but Greed

"Wholesale nationalisation is the hall mark of the totalitarian State". Referring in particular to motor transport, Smt. Amrit Kaur, Ex-Minister of the Government of India, has said this.

She stressed at a recent Congress of Motor Unions that she favoured private enterprise because "she believed in initiative whether individual or co-operative and because most of the private operators belonged to the lower or the lower middle strata of society".

We have reasons to think that during this pre-general-election year, the Ruling Party will also favour the maintenance of a large corps of private transport licensees, for it is a rich and easy field for collecting money for the party election chest.

Apart from the motives of the election year the States normally desire to nationalise bus and lorry transport, not because of any allegiance to the socialist pattern, but because of greed. This greed will of course be suppressed during the season of collecting funds for the party and every promise will be made of preservation of the right to obtain licences for transport business. C.R.

office of Prime Minister, or the office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

(3) Such other person, if any, as may be appointed by the President to be members.

The Union Constitution Committee which considered these two proposals came to the conclusion that the President should have no such discretionary powers; and, in consequence, the creation of a Privy Council consisting of elder statesmen not belonging to an active political party was regarded as unnecessary. These two proposals, if implemented, would be an invaluable device, widening the President's sphere of authority but at the same time exercising through the Privy Council a wholesome check. Writing on the problems of corruption in the administration and of the imposition of the President's rule in a State, I had suggested last year that a Privy Council more or less on the basis of Sri B. N. Rau's proposal, could advise the President before a final decision was taken.

SOCIALISM AND INFLATION

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

While the people are demanding swift and effective action on the part of Government to bring about a lowering of the prices of essential commodities, official spokesmen on the highest levels speak only of *holding the price line* at the best. They are too fearful of dislocating current priorities and bringing trouble to those who benefit from the present situation. And so far as the supreme policy-maker, namely, the Prime Minister is concerned, he does not show any awareness of the need to change his policies to give relief to the common man. He is content that the goals of rapid industrialisation cannot be attained without high sacrifices by the present generation. It is all in the

game and must be borne patiently, if not with a grin!

There is no economic alternative to the adoption of a long term of *detente*, reversing inflationary procedures decisively. The stoppage of deficit financing altogether, the drastic curtailment of public expenditures, effective steps to increase agricultural production, a lowering of taxation levels on essential commodities and the stimulation of incentive to entrepreneurs are necessary to halt the price line. But even these are only temporary palliatives so long as the economy is dominated by the Government's Socialist policy as embodied in its five-year plans and in the near future in its co-operativisation or collectivisation of agricultural operations which are being legislated for at present in many States.

Inflation and consequent high prices are inherent in socialism of the Marxist variety that has been adopted by the Government. Hence neither holding the price line nor subsidies will be of any avail to counteract the distressing effects of inflation and high prices so long as current socialist policies are kept in force. It is socialism that is the head and front of the basic offence and should be attacked lock, stock and barrel if we are earnest in bringing relief to the people and restoring the health of the economy. Inflation consists in adding to the paper money in circulation (beyond the restrictions of gold or other fiduciary backing) by public expenditure beyond tax and loan resources. Any addition to the money supply by the Government in wrongful exercise of their monopoly of money issue (over and above taxes and loans withdrawn from public circulation) will increase the demand for goods and so increase their prices, more or less. Created money thus adds a powerful reinforcement to the trend towards high prices already initiated by high taxation and the proliferation of the bureaucracy and extravagant expenditure.

Such inflation can be indulged in by non-socialist Governments as well. Democratic Governments tempted to please the electorate and pressure groups by affording them "something for nothing" are prone to indulge in excessive spending. But socialism is the worst offender in this respect, especially socialism of the variety we have adopted in India after the Soviet model (except for violence and formal regimentation). For the differentia of such a socialism is the policy of nationalisation or cen-

tralisation of all economic power in the hands of the Government as a matter of faith.

Karl Marx pinned his faith on this pivotal recommendation on account of his principle of class-war necessitating the abolition of the capitalist class. Nothing short of the liquidation of the class owning and managing capital can enable the working class, according to Marx, to step into its position of sovereignty. This was essential according to him, to assure the working class of the full benefits of machine production. All surplus value should accrue only to labour, for labour was the only source of economic value.

The State should take over all production, distribution, exchange and arrange for consumption by all workers in accordance with principles of mechanical efficiency. The full possibilities of mechanisation can be realised, according to Marx, only through such centralisation of economic power and privilege.

We in India are proceeding in significant steps along this road. The Imperial Bank and Life Insurance Companies are already nationalised. The State has reserved what it calls key industries—steel, transport, communications, minerals, oil etc. for its own exclusive sphere in accordance with the Industrial Policy Declarations of 1948 and 1956. It is true that we have a mixed economy yet with some place left for private enterprise within the limiting and regulating framework of the Government's plans and policies. But it is a diminishing sector, while the public sector is an expanding one. The conclusion of this process is the complete or almost complete destruction of the private sector entailing the abolition of the capitalist class and private property in the means of production, as a matter of principle.

Such centralisation of economic power (which is the essence of socialism) naturally enhances the inflationary potential in the country. Even ordinarily, Government spends more on goods and services of equivalent quality and quantity than private enter-

"Control gives rise to fraud, suppression of truth, intensification of the black market and artificial scarcity. Above all, it unmans the people and deprives them of initiative: it undoes the teaching of self-help". MAHATMA GANDHI, quoted by Prof. W. H. Morris Jones of Durham University in his paper on Mahatma Gandhi—Political philosopher.

preneurs. In addition to this tendency socialist Governments release further irresistible forces making for higher payments for the same work or product.

For they control essential lines of production—such as transport, communications, minerals, cement, oil, sugar and many other commodities and industrial raw materials. Private industry will have to reckon with the high prices brought about by Government management in raw materials and transport. Our Government is now being tempted to enter the banking field as well in order to have fuller control over the financial resources of the country, forgetting that it would effectively reduce savings.

In fact, complete centralisation will render all economic calculations of costs and profits or losses really meaningless, since all prices will then be settled by Government agencies without the operation of the free market. All incentives to economy and efficiency which consists in obtaining the best results in quantity and quality by skillful management will be frustrated. The distortion in the economy will render even high salaries unsatisfactory as the prices of essential commodities will soar high without relation to costs. In Soviet Russia, the worker no doubt gets what appears to be a high salary from 400 to 600 roubles per month. But he does not get the benefit of it, since ordinary goods like shoes cost around 300 roubles, a lunch 15 roubles, a suit length of cloth some 700 roubles and so on. To get a comparable basis, students reduce costs to the hours required for manufacture in different countries. The Soviet citizen has to spend much more by way of work and time than his counter parts in capitalist countries to obtain equivalent goods! This is the result of socialist economics.

Diversion of resources to long term and intermediate goods not susceptible of immediate consumption starves the common consumer of goods of daily use. His standard of living does not rise with all the accumulation of production to heavy and military industries.

India has adopted this pattern and consequently we have a scarcity of consumer goods especially, food and cloth, housing materials, and medicine. Planning and socialism of this kind are therefore inseparable from high prices and the temptation to resort to more and more inflation (free addition to the currency by fiat). The Third Plan is twice the size of the Second and is scheduled to have deficit money of Rs. 550 crores. Resources failing, it is more than likely that it will be exceeded to something

like the last Plan figure of Rs. 1,200 crores. Some fear that it may exceed even this figure as the short-fall is estimated at over Rs. 2,000 crores!

The Soviet plans were conditioned by their antagonism to the old world consequent on their doctrine of class and imperialist war. They had to give priority to military industry and industrial and technological self-sufficiency.

But we in India have no necessity for copying the Russian Plans and their distortion of the economy and their dictatorial suppression of the liberties of the people. We can have a Plan for consumer goods: food, clothing, medicine, industrial raw materials (agricultural and mineral), housing, transport and priority to full employment by widely dispersed industries built on a small scale.

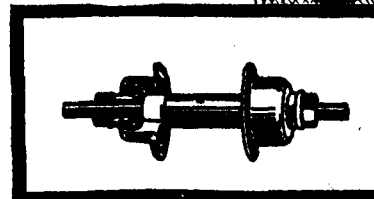
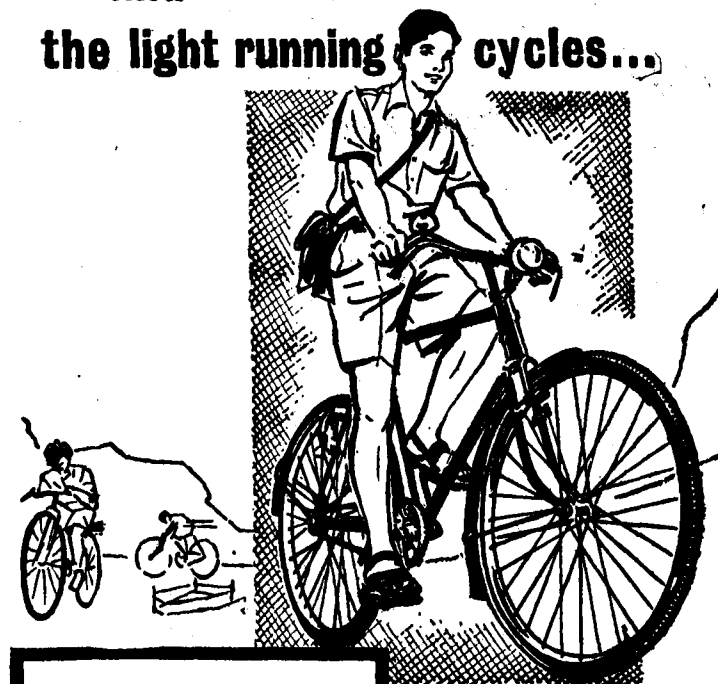
Heavy industries could be added gradually. We have no excessive

motive for achieving self-sufficiency in any line except food. The Soviets had to aim at self-sufficiency because of their rejection of world trade till recently. We can plan without sacrificing the present generation of the people unduly, being free from the compulsions that operated in the Russian revolutionary scene.

We have to mobilise public opinion against the present type of socialism if we are to combat inflation. The present governing group will be unable to halt or lower the general price level so long as they do not abandon their socialist policies.

Inflation can thus be halted only if socialism is halted. All other measures are mere palliatives, ineffective and in some cases like rationing of food and cloth, positively harmful. Controls bring black markets and increase misery without producing abundance which alone can bring relief and lower prices.

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SOMETHING LIKE THE HOOVER COMMISSION

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

The Commission that I suggested recently for enquiry into and reform of the whole administrative system of India should be modelled on the Hoover Commission of the U.S.A. Even the U.S.A. in spite of its wealth and ability to afford costly and elaborate administrative machinery, felt the need for overhaul of that machinery with a view to reducing costs. There had been such Commissions of enquiry into administration since the Cockrell Committee of 1887 but the deepest probe into the administration was that undertaken by the Hoover Commissions—two of them—soon after World War II. The Commissions were created by unanimous vote of both Houses of Congress, the first working in 1947-1949, the second in 1953-58. Each was composed of 12 members, 4 nominated by the President, 4 by the Vice-President, 4 by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, each of them was to nominate 2 men from public life and 2 men from private life. Each of these Commissions was authorized to select its own chairman and each chose the same man—Mr. Herbert Hoover. An engineer by profession and eminently successful in it, he came to the notice of the world when Mr. Woodrow Wilson asked him to organize relief to war-torn Belgium at the end of the first World War and he was appointed Director of Relief and Rehabilitation of Europe on behalf of the allied Governments. He was introduced into U.S.A. administration as Secretary of Commerce under Republican Presidents, Harding and Coolidge. He was himself elected thirty-first President of the U.S.A. It was fortunate for the Commissions that they got such a proved administrator and organizer for their Chairman.

There was a difference in scope of the two Commissions, the first Commission was authorized "to study and investigate the present organisation and method of operation of the departments, bureaux, agencies, boards, concerns, offices, independent establishments and instrumentalities of the Executive Branch of the Government" and with regard to actual governmental activities it decided "it is not our function to say whether the system should exist or not but to see if it can work better". The second Commission was called upon to consider the growth of the Government, especially of the Defence Department after the Korean War, and

on account of the crushing burden of taxes to examine the whole organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. By the Act signed by President Eisenhower on July 10, 1953, the second Hoover Commission was charged by Congress with the duty to promote economy, efficiency, and improved service in the transaction of the public business in all the executive agencies by

1. recommending methods and procedures for reducing expenditures to the lowest amount consistent with the efficient performance of essential services, activities and functions;
2. eliminating duplication and overlapping of services, activities and functions;
3. consolidating services, activities, and functions of a similar nature;

The Bankruptcy of Socialism

Gone are the doctrinaires, the 'scientific' socialists, with whom I delighted to agree on the campus of Columbia College, or whom I heckled on the soap box in Union Square. All the theories of Karl Marx have been laid to rest by experience. Even the nationalisation of industry, once the top priority of all socialist programmes, has lost its lure. In England the labour unions have learned that a strike against a nationalised industry is a strike against the government. The inefficiency of a bureaucratically controlled plant is too obvious to warrant discussion. In every country the socialists have become office-seekers aiming to get hold of the reins of government by parliamentary methods and for no other purpose than to enjoy the prerogatives and perquisites of office. Power for the sake of power is their aim.

FRANK CHODOROV.

4. abolishing services, activities, and functions not necessary to the efficient conduct of government;

5. eliminating non-essential services, functions, and activities which are competitive with private enterprise;

6. defining responsibilities of officials; and

7. relocating agencies now responsible directly to the President in departments or other agencies; so that not only the machinery of the administration but the functions and policies of Government were to be examined in the interests of economy and efficiency in administration.

The *modus operandi* of the two Commissions is worth noting. Both the Commissions used the Task Force method. That is, bodies of experts and other men of experience and authority were found to study one or the other branch of administration. Thus the second Hoover Commission called in the aid of 18 Task Forces each dealing with one subject like Budget and Accountancy, Paper-work, Personnel Problems, Business Organization of the Defence Department. In all about 200 men served on the Task Forces and Committees of the Commission. The Task Forces were given a completely free hand by the Commission. Each was only to find the facts and make such recommendations as it believed were required in the light of the facts. The Task Forces gathered their information wherever they could find it—from the material available in official records, in reports of previous Committees or Commissions on administration, from reports of professional experts paid for if necessary. On the reports of these Task Forces were the final report and recommendations of the Commission based. Towards the making of the report and recommendations the organizational genius and experience of Mr. Herbert Hoover contributed the help and finishing touches of a leader, testified by a resolution of appreciation passed by the Commission on the conclusion of its labours. A saving of 10 billion dollars in the cost of the Federal Administration was estimated by the Task Forces and the Commission and realised. And the Commission did not cost even 1 million dollars.

It is this kind of Commission enquiring into the whole system of administration from the centre to the circumference with a view to reducing the cost and promoting the efficiency of administration that is wanted in India. If the Congress Government will not do it, for this reason alone the people ought to put another Government in its place.

THE TALISMAN

(Condensed by M. S. Kalyanasundaram from a science fiction story by Eric Frank Russell).

The planet Earth became a problem, with its seam-bursting population as well as explosive social, economic and political ideologies. The World Government decided to encourage large scale emigration to planets belonging to even remote stars, and to bear the initial expenditure. Such transportation became possible as Einstein had been scrapped and velocities much greater than that of light stepped down from science fiction into the world of reality. And so, the Great Explosion took place, to be followed by minor ones.

A few centuries after the G.E., a space-ship, more than a mile long and chockful with all kinds of gadgets and gadgets, out on a tour of inspection of the vast Earth Empire, landed on a planet many thousand light years away. The ship carried an Ambassador and his essential Secretariat, the crew under Captain Grayder and troops under Col. Shelton, making a total of about 2,000.

The aerial view, taken before landing, showed the planet to contain small townships of poor development, scattered far and wide, and with fields and gardens immediately around them. No cities were visible, much less of a metropolitan magnitude; and industries appeared practically absent.

The Ambassador took it ill that the people of the nearest town, although aware of the landing of the giant ship and possibly also of its importance, showed neither curiosity nor fear, much less respect. After conferring with the Captain and the Colonel, he sent James Harrison, an engineer, to go and find out all about the town and bring some of the local officials for dinner, with their wives if possible.

The natives, who called themselves Gands spoke English, but found it difficult to understand the American slang and oblique diction; and their literal interpretations often led to ludicrous errors. Life there was simple and straight, lying and thieving were unknown; words like police, court and punishment were un-understandably foreign, materials and services were bartered, 'ob' (short for obligation) being the current coin, most productive and commercial activities were, by implication, confined to the community immediately around, there was no government or officialdom either at a local or a general level, people voluntarily performed community services or personal chores and piled up obs for future

use, naturally preferring such recipients for their assistance as would be useful to them in return later. Raw land could be marked out and cultivated by the first man who staked the claim; and developed land if deserted due to death or other reason, could be owned and worked by the first man who offered to do so, without having to pay anything for it. The same applied to industrial and commercial concerns and so on.

The Gands pooh-poohed the claims of suzerainty of the Earth Empire and called the Earth-men anti-Gands. Their plan to deal with anti-Gands was to ignore them entirely, whatever the consequences be. They claimed to possess "the mightiest weapon ever thought up by the mind of man. We are Gands, see? So we don't need battleships, guns and such playthings. We've got something better. It is effective. There is no defence against it And there's nothing secret about it. You can have it free any time you want. Any Gand would give it to you for the asking. Like to know why? Because it works one way only. We can use it against you—but you can't use it against us at the same time".

The essence of the weapon was reduced to "F-I.W.", meaning: "Freedom—I won't". To accept or to reject was the birth-right of each individual. Plaques with the inscription "F-I.W." could be seen all over the place.

"What is a Gand anyway?" asked Harrison during his second visit.

"An inhabitant of this world, of course".

"I mean, where did they dig up that name?"

"From Gandhi," said Elissa.

"Who the deuce was he?"

"An ancient Terran. The one who invented The Weapon".

"Never heard of him".

"That doesn't surprise me," she remarked.

"Doesn't it?" He felt irritated. "Let me tell you that these days we Terrans get as good an education as—"

"Calm down, Jim". She made it more soothing by pronouncing it "Jeem". "All I mean is that ten to one he's been blanked out of your history books. He might have given you unwanted ideas, see? You couldn't be expected to know something if you have been deprived of the chance to learn".

"If you mean that Terran history is censored, I don't believe it," he asserted.

"It's your right to refuse to believe. That's freedom, isn't it?"

"Up to a point. A man has duties. He has no right to refuse those".

"No?" She raised her tantalizing eyebrows, delicately curved. "Who defines those duties—himself or somebody else?"

"His superiors, most times".

"No man is superior to another. No man has the right to define another man's duties". She paused, eyeing him speculatively. "If anyone on Terra exercises such idiotic power, it is only because idiots permit him. They fear freedom. They prefer to be told. They like being ordered around. What men!"

"I shouldn't listen to you," protested Sergeant Gleed, chipping in. "You're as naughty as you're pretty".

"Afraid of your own thoughts?" she jibed, pointedly ignoring his compliment.

He went redder. "Not on your life. But I—". His voice tailed off as Seth arrived with three loaded plates and dumped them on the table. "See you afterward," he reminded Harrison. "Got something to say to you".

Later, Seth said, "People here honour their obs as a matter of economic necessity and not from any sense of duty. Nobody gives orders, nobody pushes anyone around, but there is a kind of (*delectably balanced and tacit*) compulsion built into the circumstances of this planet's way of living. People play square—or they suffer. Nobody enjoys suffering—not even a numbskull".

In the meantime, there was much beating of the breast and tearing of the hair on board the ship. Batches of 400 had to be permitted according to Regulations to disembark on shore leave. Many got drunk and disabled and many others got to appreciate the new way of life and the power of the new weapon, and decided not to return to the ship. Some who returned started practising "Won't" on their officers, and promptly got locked up. The bosses were worried; but no military action could be taken as "Regulation 148 says that a hostile world is defined as any planet that systematically opposes Empire citizens by force".

When the number of the absentees threatened to incapacitate the ship, the Ambassador had to accept a diplomatic defeat (with no battle fought) and order immediate departure.

Harrison, now master of a recently abandoned machine shop, saw the giant ship fade down to a point and then to slightly nostalgic nothing. Elissa also stood by and watched—with gratitude

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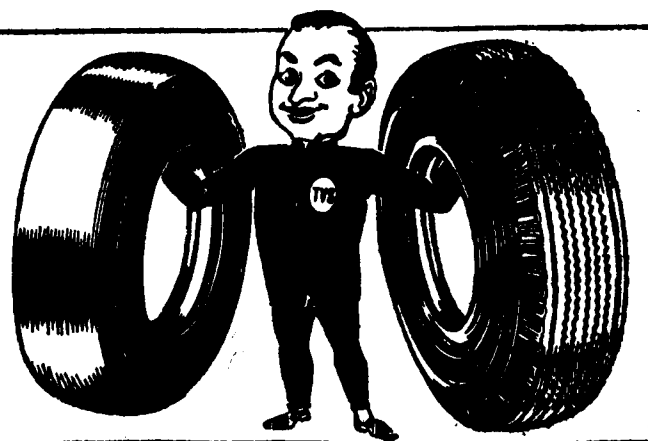


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CAPITAL COMMENTS

THE PRIME MINISTER'S LATEST SURVEY AND STYLE

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The Prime Minister's latest press conference once again meant a global survey while it was doubly important as the last of its series in the year that is fast reaching its inevitable end and has received his verdict on it. Reviewing the world scene, he had a mild dig at those accustomed to take a short term view of "mighty questions" in an almost "beatific state of mind", and personally felt thrilled as he thought of the last 40 or 50 years of the Soviet Revolution and its impact on the world, and of what had been "a fascinating spectacle of mental phenomenon". Indeed, he felt quite excited about it all while he was no doubt uneasy about the immediate present, with strains and stresses everywhere, and tensions mounting particularly in the Congo, in Laos and in Algeria. He had yet no occasion to tell us anything either about the coup d'etat in Ethiopia or the State of Emergency in Nepal. He, however, briefly alluded to the Red Summit meeting at Moscow and welcomed its stress on peaceful co-existence "in so far as that goes". And he was quite enthusiastic about the top appointments made by the U.S. President-elect.

Some of these relieving features apart, he had no doubt in his mind that 1960 proved to be a bad year. There was, however, an important, indeed significant, proviso. It has been a bad year from the international point of view, a good one. For, notwithstanding some ugly developments, here or there, "the balance was very definitely in favour of good and advance" and too, "not only in the context of the present but from the point of the future". He was apparently in no mood to take too serious, much less to gloomy, a view of either the developments in the Punjab or the occurrences in Assam or the tensions in West Bengal. There was nothing more than casual or ephemeral in them. What really made difference to Indian destiny was the emergence of panchayat raj and he found to his joy "something quite exciting happening there". Once it was the prospect of co-operative farming in India that gave him a sense of ecstasy: now it is the advent or revival of the panchayats. Let it be clearly understood that Mr. Nehru has already caught a glimpse of the India of his dreams, months ahead of the next elections! It is for the

countryside now to wake up from its torpor and realise that its future lies with the Congress and its supreme architect.

It was good to find the Prime Minister in no way jittery about the Bengali reaction to the Berubari question. There was no question of not fulfilling the Nehru-Noon Agreement: it must be fulfilled "for a variety of reasons": it will be, irrespective of the feeling in West Bengal or elsewhere and of Dr. B. C. Roy's peculiar difficulty in having to reconcile his loyalty to the Prime Minister and his stake in the home-state. May be there is a risk of the ground in West Bengal slipping beneath Dr. B. C. Roy's feet but the risk has got to be taken in the fact of greater risks on a larger front. Parliament will soon set the seal on Mr. Nehru's commitment, except that Congressmen from West Bengal will be allowed to voice their feelings and vote as they choose. But the rest of the Congress M.P.s will be "whipped" into voting *en bloc*, for the transfer of Berubari to Pakistan, and the bosses have already taken care to see that no single non-Bengali Congress M.P. will leave the station for any reason and on any pretext. This should hardly be surprising when one was familiar with the phenomenon that even in regard to the Company Law (Amendment) Bill, which made some restive over company contributions to political parties, Congress M.P.s were rounded up by the Whips and forced to disregard qualms of conscience, if any.

The Congress will not give up any advantage that it has over the other parties if only because they have made an issue of this or not. Mr. Nehru has profited by experience. He would not even be drawn into argument over these matters. He is particularly careful when it is one of having a brush with the founder-leader of the much-maligned Swatantra Party. At the Press Conference he seemed to weigh every word in his references to Rajaji, if only to make his own position very clear:

I do not propose to deal with Rajaji's various announcements, pronouncements, suggestions and the rest. He is in a great, big, position. He is entitled to say anything, reasonable or unreasonable, logical or illogical. I do not propose to say anything. It might make me enter into a controversy with him.

Here is Mr. Nehru's new technique in sharp contrast to the old tirade. But is it because Mr. Nehru thinks that Rajaji need not be answered—or cannot be? There won't be, it seems, an answer to this question either.

The Prime Minister, however, reluctantly, discussed the President at the Press Conference, if only because others "have made too much" of the President's outburst at the Law Institute. It was but "academic" as the President himself said on that occasion and "casual" as the President subsequently "hinted" to the Prime Minister. Light was, however, shed on the issue which was raised, however casually, as it has since become highly controversial. We are told, and with us, it seems, the President too, that there is no question of either referring the matter to the Supreme Court or of amending the Constitution and that the President is no more, if also no less, than the crowned head of the United Kingdom. That should end the controversy and the speculation. There is a feeling in some quarters that the President should not either have raised the question of his powers in the public at all, or, hav-

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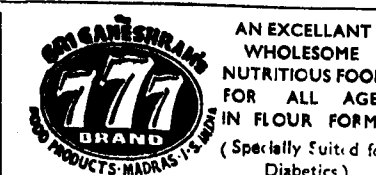
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ing once raised the question, should not have let it peter out into something merely casual. One question shot at the Prime Minister at the Press Conference was: "Why on earth in 1960, at the end of his term of office, the President has suddenly raised this question about his powers?" The Prime Minister's answer is revealing: "How am I to answer

this question?" And in reply to other questions he said: "How can I answer on the President's behalf? I cannot argue this matter with you". All this is not very edifying, indeed.

One got the impression from the Prime Minister's Press Conference that he was very much inclined to feel strong. He said something revealing,

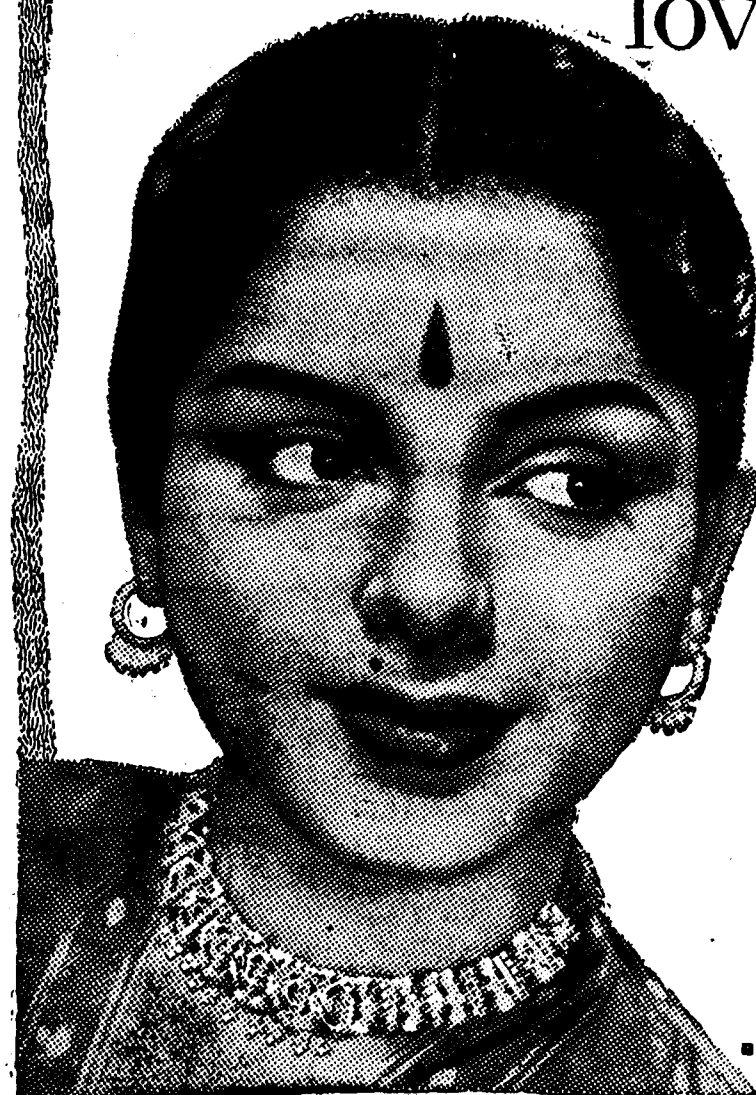
though incidentally within the context of the U.P. politics:

"There has been too much talk of my prestige suffering. I hope it is made of stronger stuff than that". What is "a good year" to the country cannot be a bad one to him. One should await the Bhavanagar Congress for its own version of this spell of optimism.

Vijayalakshmi, star of Subhas Movies' ALUKKORU VEEDU

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SEASON OF HOPE AND DESPAIR

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

This is traditionally a period of hope and reunion, of peace and goodwill throughout the Christian world. This is also a sad and perplexing period. The world remembers this season Jesus Christ who sacrificed himself on the Cross some 2000 years ago for the sins of man. The world will also remember the ever-widening gulf between man and Christ.

In this season of hope, men are driven to despair in the Congo and in Algeria, in Ethiopia and in Nepal, in Laos and many other areas. Laos was one of the countries where last week the fierce and uproarious illogic of the times manifested itself in sharp details.

This South-East Asian kingdom—no bigger than Andhra Pradesh in area—full of Buddhist temples and peaceful villages, is now in utter chaos. The dark clouds of war in Laos cast their shadows not only on its 30,00,000 people (hardly twice the population of Madras City) but also on many millions outside. Laos is a helpless pawn in the East-West struggle for world supremacy and is a dramatic reminder of the ceaseless fight the Soviet Union and the United States are waging in many parts of the world.

In this global struggle the U.S. had suffered early this year many severe blows at vital points. In Japan the violence in June 1960 against a new security treaty with the U.S. and the humiliation of having to cancel an official visit by President Eisenhower were painful blows. In South Korea, the U.S.-backed regime of Syngman Rhee had collapsed earlier, with no trace of it left behind. In Laos, a pro-Western Government was overthrown and a neutralist Government came to power. The prestige and influence of the U.S. was at a low ebb.

In politics, as in personal life, time blunts the edge of passions. Humiliation and disgrace are now forgotten and have given way to prestige and even glory. The general elections in Japan in October showed that the people were behind the party which followed a pronounced pro-U.S. policy. In Korea the U.S. enjoys a favoured position. And in Laos the neutralists and pro-Communists were pushed out last week by forces loyal to the West.

The synopsis of the Laotian play is as follows: The independent kingdom of Laos was set up by the Japanese on the eve of their retreat from South-

East Asia in 1945. When the French returned for their short and unhappy post-war role, they restored to power King Sisavang Vong who was deposed by the Japanese earlier.

The Pathet Lao (The land of the Lao) movement was left in possession of the two Northern provinces of Phongsaly and Samneua by the 1954 Geneva agreements that were supposed to bring peace in Indo-China. The Pathet Lao is a pro-Communist movement and is led by Prince Souphanouvong. In 1953 Pathet Lao invaded Laos. The Geneva agreement provided for the withdrawal of the forces into the two provinces and the establishment of an international commission composed of representatives of India, Canada and Poland to supervise the accord.

Early in November 1957, the Pathet Lao Government finally agreed with the Royal Government on a political settlement. The pro-Communist force of 1,500 armed men was to be integrated into the Government army. The two Northern provinces were surrendered to Royal Administration, the Pathet Lao was reorganized into a lawful political party called the Neo Lao Hakkat and two members including Prince Souphanouvong, entered the Government.

The new party won a third of the seats in the National Assembly in the country's first general election held in 1958. The Laotian Government ordered the international commission to leave. The peace with Pathet Lao was short-lived. The neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma resigned in July 1958 on the

State and the People

"I believe there are still some people who think that a democratic State is scarcely distinguishable from the people. This, however, is a delusion. The State is a collection of officials, different for different purposes, drawing comfortable incomes so long as the status quo is preserved. The only alteration they are likely to desire in status quo is an increase of bureaucracy and of the power of bureaucrats".

—BERTRAND RUSSELL,
In "Sceptical Essays"

ground that he had lost faith in the Pathet Lao.

A strong anti-Communist Government under Sananikone came into being. In 1959 May trouble broke out and the Pathet Lao forces refused to be integrated into the royal army. Fighting has been going on for many months. On August 9, 1960 an army battalion commanded by Captain Kong Lee staged a military coup and overthrew the pro-Western regime of Somsanith which was formed in June after the general election held in April. A neutralist Government under Souvanna Phouma was formed.

This Government was prepared to come to terms with both the pro-Western forces under General Nosavan and the Communist forces under Souphanouvong. But negotiations failed. The rightist forces were concentrated in the southern districts and they built up an army to retake Vientiane, the capital. Marshal Sarit of Thailand, an uncle of General Nosavan, gave liberal help to the nephew. The complex interplay of family relationships in the Laotian crisis is of less consequence to the outside world than the intersection of the cold war into it.

Laos is of strategic value and forms a buffer that separates China and North Viet Nam from four non-Communist nations. The U.S. and the Soviet Union are vitally interested in this area. The U.S. has given more than Rs. 140 crores as aid, mainly in military aid for the Laotian army. No other country has received more per capita U.S. aid than Laos.

After the August coup, the U.S. at first suspended aid and later announced that the suspension was a mistake. The New York Times said on December 11 that "Washington's role in the Laotian crisis has been somewhat ambiguous". While professing support to the neutralist regime of Phouma, the U.S. was sending aid to the rightist troops rather than to the legally constituted Government. There were reports of U.S. volunteers fighting alongside the rightists, and a Pathet Lao radio report on December 16 said twenty U.S. officers and men were among the casualties suffered by Nosavan's forces.

The Communists are on the run. The neutralist Premier has left the country. The Russians were active and had rushed weapons and planes to the neutralist-Communist forces in Vientiane. The West has won a battle in the cold war. But what about the battles yet to come? This is not the end of the Laos crisis.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR IMPOSITION OF HINDI

Sir,—I refer to the letter of Sri S. Perumal published in the issue of 26-11-60. There is no order compelling anybody to attend any Hindi class. No order has been issued stating that those who do not pass the Hindi tests will be awarded penalty. The fact is that a 'Hindi teaching Scheme' has been started by the Government and examinations are held twice in a year in order to afford facilities for those of the Government employees who are anxious to learn Hindi. Under this scheme Hindi classes of various standards are conducted departmentally and before each session of the classes, a circular is issued calling for names of those who are desirous of attending the classes. There is no compulsion whatsoever in this respect. The classes are conducted during office hours. The individuals who offer to attend the classes are given many privileges as 'off' from the work, grant of special leave etc. But some people make misuse of these facilities. They volunteer their name to attend the Hindi classes. But when they are released from their work to attend the class they just go out for a stroll or chat with their colleagues in the canteen and return to their work at the appropriate time as an obedient student returning from the class. If the Head of the Department issues notice of warning to such people, does it mean imposition of Hindi? The penalty referred to by Mr. Perumal is not for those who refuse to learn Hindi, but for those who offer to attend the classes but do not and misuse the time given for that purpose.

Certainly, for those who volunteer their names, 'attendance in Hindi classes is as much a duty as any other work assigned to them,' as the classes are conducted during the office hours. Below is an extract from the Ministry of Home Affairs. Office Memorandum No. 2/16/594(S) dated 6-10-59 to the Ministries of the Government of India:

(v) While the enrolment of trainees is entirely voluntary, it is expected that they will maintain a regular attendance since these classes are held during office hours and attendance in them should be a part of the duties of the trainees concerned. Attendance has to be punctually and regularly marked and absentee lists should be prepared by the teacher and submitted to the Liaison Officer every week with a copy to the officer in over-all charge of the scheme. These officers are ex-

pected to take immediate action to investigate cases of absentees and take necessary action to ensure regular attendance.

Whether Hindi should be introduced in the Government Offices or not is a different issue. I should not be mistaken to be advocating the cause of Hindi. But be advocating the cause of Hindi. But arguments should be based on facts to fight any evil.

N. BALASUBRAMANIAM.
Bombay.

INFLATIONARY FINANCE

Sir,—The working of the Refinance Corporation for Industry sponsored by our Central Government shows how Congress socialism feeds Capitalism in practice. As on 31-12-1959, this Corporation had its own capital of Rs. 2½ crores and a borrowing of Rs. 5 crores from the Government. With these resources amounting to Rs. 7½ crores, it made loans to the extent of only Rs. 85 lakhs. When it could loan out Rs. 85 lakhs, from its own capital why did it borrow Rs. 5 crores from the Government? The puzzle in the matter does not end here. From its resources of Rs. 7½ crores, the Corporation has placed 680 lakhs in deposit with certain big banks, and kept about Rs. 2½ lakhs in current account with bankers.

The Government has lent to this Corporation rupees five crores at 1½ interest. This amount was taken from the tax-payers' monies or from the Government's loans which would have cost them from 3 to 3½ per cent by way of interest. Having borrowed from the Government at 1½ per cent interest, the Corporation would have earned at about 3½ per cent on its deposits of Rs. 680 lakhs with big banks. The Corporation's Profit & Loss Account shows that it has earned Rs. 27½ lakhs by way of interest on its deposits with banks, while it paid only Rs. 8½ lakhs as interest on its borrowings from Government. Hence, it would appear that the Government was making a present of about Rs. 19 lakhs to the Corporation from the tax-payers' monies.

The layman and the tax-payers would like to know how socialism is promoted by such financial manipulations under

Socialism, though it lives as an ideal, is dying as a programme. DEAN INGE.

which Government takes interest at 1½ per cent from the Corporation and the Corporation earns net profit of Rs. 20 lakhs by loans at 5 per cent and deposits with big banks at 3 to 3½ per cent. This will explain how the Corporation is enabled to pay a dividend of 4 per cent to the shareholders who are big banks, though it has lent to industry only about ¼th of its resources. The Government is financially patronising the Corporation and the Corporation again is financially patronising the big banks though the Corporation has been established for the purpose of promoting industry.

Kumbakonam.

BANKER.

INDIA'S COMMITMENTS

Sir,—To beg, borrow or steal have been long recognised as legitimate methods of acquisition; a fourth appears to have been recently added viz.: Blackmail. The several African countries recently assembled appear to have solemnly passed a resolution that it is the duty of the Have-countries to provide amply for the economic, social, political and other varieties of well-being of the Have-not-countries i.e., advocated a sort of Socialism or Socialist pattern of society on an all-world scale.

Before falling into this trap, India has to consider what her Dharma is according to her tradition. An appraisal of her action in the past and plans for the future would be of use in this connection.

Some years ago, our Prime Minister announced emphatically that India was not to import foodgrains from abroad after two years from that date. Our Food Minister now states that no foodgrains will be imported after the finish of the third Five-Year Plan. Again the Government have been getting loans from all directions on certain conditions, one of which is the pattern of refund. Now when the time for the first item of refund is nearing, the Government state that they have secured a respite and that a certain lender-country has agreed to accept a smaller instalment. And yet our scale of borrowings does not appear to have slackened. On the other hand our Finance Minister proudly proclaims that after ten years, India will have no need to borrow, the beauty about this forecast being that this particular person is not likely to be in the same seat to answer.

Should not India reduce her borrowings, cut her coat to suit the cloth and try to maintain self respect among nations? K. V. IYER.

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THE DELUSION OF COMMUNIST - CONGRESS OPPOSITION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"What this country—or any democratic country—needs is one party which holds things steady and a second which shoves things along. Neither should be crazily radical or stupidly stationary. If they understand each other's language and are moderately patient about each other's ways, they can go on for years—even generations—supplementing each other's efforts as British Conservatives and Liberals used to do".

Thus columnist William E. Bohn of the *New Leader* correctly summarizes the political wisdom of decades of modern experience. He says this in emphasizing the need for a change in American politics. He is not happy with the present two party structure system in America which divides votes between the Democratic and the Republican party. The real necessity "for this campaign-battered country" he says, "is a genuine, blown-in-the-bottle Conservative party". He does not think that the Republican party has been filling the required role. Mere clannism is not a two-party system. The Congress party in India may be opposed to the Communist party in India. But it is just tribal warfare, not that counter-balance of approach which democracy needs.

'Progress' cannot be wise unless balanced by a spirit of Conservatism. The two functions cannot be combined in the same party although each group may claim to do it in the desire to hold exclusive power. If we do not have

true balance we shall find industry and labour not pulling in a team; we shall not have a sound money policy; we shall be where we are today in India, on the road to a terrain where we shall not know what to do and will depend perforce on foreign 'advice', irresistible advice coming from the wise men of creditor-countries.

The two counter-balancing forces in modern politics should both

be led by leaders, capable of learning from each other.

History has records to demonstrate that one of the biggest fallacies of critics and analysts is to ascribe views to birth and education without taking proper count of acquired wisdom born of experience and reflection. High-born men have very often been radical and 'plebeians' have been conservative. The true vitamin of progress is responsiveness. The enemy of progress is obstinacy.

A real two-party system would alone furnish the healthy opportunity for beneficent osmosis. There would be no osmosis but meaningless dilution if we cut out the dividing membrane.

We in India would be committing the greatest mistake if we deem the Congress and the Communist party to be a balancing system that can support the working of democracy. Both have hitched their wagons to all-round State control. Individual incentive and freedom must be powerfully represented by a political party led by wise and good men. Otherwise enterprise will be choked. There can be no national progress without the fullest freedom and encouragement for individual enterprise. Bureaucratic trade and industry, for which both Congress and Communists stand, will lead the country into a morass. The bureaucrats will draft beautiful apologies and explanations for every tragedy but the suffering people cannot live on such explanations.

Guilty Socialists

In the old days, the principal enemy of public enterprise was, no doubt, those who disapproved socialism. Now, it is socialists themselves. For it is socialists who refuse to consider seriously the peculiar requirements of the modern productive enterprise, whether public or private; who decline to give it the autonomy it must have; who destroy it by meticulously passing on its decisions and thus forcing upon it an intolerable and unworkable centralisation; who decline to see that the organisation of public enterprises must keep pace with new conditions and new tasks; who are careless about the standards to which management of the enterprises must be held; and who, on occasion encourage workers and consumers to appropriate the surplus on which expansion and growth depend and without which there will be stagnation. Above all, it is socialists who are responsible for the paralysing belief that success is a matter of faith, not work.

PROF. GALBRAITH.

Current Comments

In the Berubari affair there is a major misconception both on the part of the people and in the statements of the Prime Minister. The executive at the head of a democratic State is entitled to negotiate treaties with foreign powers, but they would be valid only if ratified by Parliament. They are entered into subject to that condition. In the proceedings relating to ratification in Parliament there could be no question of honour or prestige of the Prime Minister concerned, because the agreement was always understood or ought to be understood to be subject to Parliament's approval. The Prime Minister's claim that his prestige should be saved was therefore wrong. Obviously he was suffering from a misunderstanding of the constitutional position. His prestige would be involved and could be pleaded only if he did something entirely within his power and someone sought to nullify it through Parliament. For instance if the P.M. invited the Queen of England or some other important person and someone sought to make Parliament annul the invitation, it would be a valid case of prestige in jeopardy. That is not the situation when dealing with what the P.M. does subject to Parliamentary ratification. To claim prestige as a basis for ratification would be undemocratic.

Our Constitution has made no provision for ceding territory to foreign States. It has made provision only for inter-State adjustments of boundaries. A Constitutional Amendment is necessary to enable cession of territory to a foreign State. This is what the Supreme Court decided. Amendments are now being made in the Constitution to obtain power for cession of territory. We must in this connection remember the status of the States in the constitution. India is a Union of States and not a State divided into administrative provinces. Any cession could therefore be made by the

Union Government only with the consent of the concerned State Legislature. Treaties of cession should therefore be ratified not only by Parliament but by the State Legislature concerned, that is to say, whose territory is affected. Any amendment ignoring this principle would be inconsistent with the structure of the Union of India according to the original Constitution.

"This is an era for women" said Madam Prime Minister of Ceylon. She hopes that the women of India would soon 'elect' a woman Prime Minister after Mr. Nehru gives up his office. Mrs. Bandaranaike would be killing really two birds in one shot, if for instance Pandit Nehru were to be succeeded by his daughter or sister. For, it would be establishing the wisdom of the hereditary principle as well as be a repudiation of the Salique Law of Succession against women. Her advice would be supported by her own example.

If women's rights, minority rights and all other revolts against oppression of the weaker elements of society were to be successfully negotiated in the appointment of the Prime Minister of a continental democracy and a Muslim P.M., a Harijan P.M., a Catholic P.M., and all the rest in the queue of minority and inferiority-complex sections in our continent were to be put in office it would take some time indeed before we get a competent and satisfactory ruler to guide the affairs of our country.

The fallacy of mixing up the general with the particular is a far too common error in the affairs of men. What we want is good Government. What we lack is production. If we forget these goals and aim at equalization and look upon it as the main purpose, we are likely to go dismally wrong. Mrs. Bandaranaike should look upon her case as exceptional and be satisfied; not make herself the text for a sermon in other countries.

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SIDELIGHTS ::

Mr. Nehru announced in his latest press conference that Rajaji has none of these. He is big in the sense that he is of national importance. The factors contributing to this importance are his knowledge, experience, probity, ability, clarity of intellect, vision and judgment and distinction of achievement in varied and multifarious spheres. By many he is regarded as the greatest living Indian. Such a man, when he does not speak of private domestic affairs, but poses public issues comprised in government, is entitled to be taken seriously and answered responsibly by the head of the administration if it has any pretension to democratic character. The Prime Minister's summary disposal of Rajaji as reasonable or unreasonable, logical or illogical, is sheer escapist evasiveness. Such strictures can be predicated of anything and anybody on earth, and have no meaning at all except that they provide a cover of spurious virtuosity for arrogant repudiation of executive accountability to public opinion. If reason and unreason are mixed up, it is for the Prime Minister to deal responsibly with the reasonable part of the mixture instead of seeking to find in the alleged mixture itself a shield for absolutism.

The distinguishing mark of democratic government is its accountability to public opinion. It is established with the support of public opinion and when that support is lost or withdrawn, it ceases to exist, and another party takes over as the ruling party and forms the government. In between the rise and fall of governments, public opinion is continually operative, shifting its loyalty in varying degrees from one party to another in accordance with the impression produced by their respective leaders in public debate and controversy over the important national issues of the day. For the head of a government, to decline to be drawn into controversy, or refuse to answer criticism, abstaining from public discussion on the issues involved in governmental policies, is to deny democratic responsibility.

When the Prime Minister calls Rajaji a big man, the allusion is not to his physical size, or the extent of his wealth or property, or his command over any exten-

sive executive machinery. Rajaji has none of these. He is big in the sense that he is of national importance. The factors contributing to this importance are his knowledge, experience, probity, ability, clarity of intellect, vision and judgment and distinction of achievement in varied and multifarious spheres. By many he is regarded as the greatest living Indian. Such a man, when he does not speak of private domestic affairs, but poses public issues comprised in government, is entitled to be taken seriously and answered responsibly by the head of the administration if it has any pretension to democratic character. The Prime Minister's summary disposal of Rajaji as reasonable or unreasonable, logical or illogical, is sheer escapist evasiveness. Such strictures can be predicated of anything and anybody on earth, and have no meaning at all except that they provide a cover of spurious virtuosity for arrogant repudiation of executive accountability to public opinion. If reason and unreason are mixed up, it is for the Prime Minister to deal responsibly with the reasonable part of the mixture instead of seeking to find in the alleged mixture itself a shield for absolutism.

If Mr. Nehru will not answer Rajaji, whom else in India can we expect him to answer? The privilege of not answering responsible criticism belongs to autocratic monarchs. Prime Minister Nehru may claim such a privilege as a preliminary manoeuvre in angling for a dynastic succession to power in the country, with the ruler established as a dictator who is a law unto himself and answerable to no critic, however big he may be. He has rushed forward to denounce the King of Nepal for dismissal of his Ministers, thus giving a set-back to democracy. It is odd he is not conscious of his own predicament. The King has merely dispensed with the trappings of responsible government and the stereotyped mechanism for assessment of public opinion such

as the ministry and the legislature. It is clear however from his explanations that his action has not been without a meritorious, righteous purpose, namely, saving the country from the Ministers' Communist-inspired depredations, dispossessing without compensation many owners of property with a perfect legal right to it. That is why perhaps the press has acclaimed him and rallied spontaneously in his defence, in resentful defiance of Mr. Nehru's didactic and interfering mentorhood.

In India, we have all the trappings of democracy. But its essential spirit is absent in practical administration, thanks to a power-mad Prime Minister whose conceit is so stupendous that he has no use for any opinion other than his own. He has so much authority concentrated in himself that all ostentatious safeguards of democratic freedom have been practically reduced to nullity. Everybody pays court to him without trust or confidence or conviction, in dread of the political and economic consequences of his displeasure on their position and interests. We are no better off than Nepal, except that we have the doubtful privilege of bearing the enormous cost of the huge paraphernalia of representative institutions from which the democratic spirit has been systematically exorcised by the very arch-priest professing to honour them.

Senator Kennedy will be installed in the White House, official residence of the Presidents of the United States, on January 20. The White House is an exquisitely proportioned elegant building. It has no extensive grounds. It has a small lawn in front. Passers-by in the street can have a good look at it. Not to be too far removed from people in general would appear to be the distinctive keynote in the planning of this mansion, its architecture, appointments and decorations. There is a manifest air of opulence. Every human comfort is looked to. But there is neither wastage nor extravagance of living space, nor that superfluity of structure and dimension which is frequently indulged in by the vulgar rich merely to im-

press onlookers with their own importance. Every Monday the White House is thrown open to the public. Streams of visitors come in, wander around, and go away with a gratified sense of belonging. Nowhere do they come across any outrage to propriety arousing resentful feelings or throwing them out of rapport with government or President.

No. 10 Downing Street in England corresponds to the White House in the United States—it is the nation's repository of power. Its exterior seems to have been expressly fashioned to hide its importance from public view. Inside it is constructed to serve as a place of work for the Prime Minister, with emphasis on convenience and efficiency. Economy is practised with conscientious rigi-

dity. The British in their own country are great sticklers for under-doing the externals of things. They have arranged therefore for a deliberate shortage of accommodation in the House of Commons. Even the palace of their King is modest in size, style and outward facade. Many minor zamindars in India have more flamboyant residences.

Rashtrapathi Bhavan the residence of the President in the capital of India, is the last word in the reckless squandering of money in vulgar and purposeless and even positively inconvenient huge-ness. It was built by the British to overawe a subject nation. With the advent of Independence it should have been converted into a museum. It is not made for living but to make an impression. One

cannot help feeling like a pigmy within its outlandish halls. Its superfluous excess of living space has become a symbol of governmental flight from economic standards. Everything that they do now is to make an impression. The snobbery of throwing away good money in this poor country to make it look grander than it is has become the main pre-occupation of its rulers, fit concomitant of the extravagant and stupidly wasteful housing they have provided for the President and Governors.

After two months in the General Hospital, I was discharged this Friday. I went in great pain, and sometimes I thought I had reached the extreme limit of physical suffering. But the good doctors treated me with great care and skill and restored me to normal condition. The good that doctors do is beyond return or payment. For the relief they give one can only thank God; which I do with eternal indebtedness for the kind and gentle ministrations of the doctors, staff, nurses and attendants.

While I was in hospital, the sad news was conveyed to me that Sri V. V. Sastri, of the advertisement department, Kalki, was no more. We were friends for I don't know how many years. He was a unique character. He had a talent for making friends and keeping them. His friends were not fair weather companions, but staunch props in hard times. They would do anything to give him pleasure. In his own chosen occupation he was a master. His rough exterior concealed an artistic temperament of exceptional nicety. He had many kinds of expertness, ranging from cooking to music, and was of a deeply religious disposition. He was a profound Vedantic Scholar. He knew large passages of Telugu Bhagavatham by heart and his ecstatic recitations were, to devotees with an insight into his nature, a perennial delight to listen to. He had rich resources of enjoyment and philosophic comprehension of varied graces of the art of living. Those who know him well will never recover from his loss. SAKA.

WHO MAKES FOREIGN POLICY?

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The Prime Minister's defence of the cession of Berubari has raised the question of the responsibility of Parliament for foreign policy. Before the Chinese occupation of Tibet and of 12,000 square miles of Indian territory, the Parliament did not even indulge in post-mortem examination of foreign policy. The settlement of the Canal Waters dispute and the cession of Berubari, for the first time has made Parliament question the authority of the Prime Minister to commit the country, not only without the approval but even without the knowledge of the Parliament and the people. At the same time the Parliament has taken no notice of the country's attitude to Congo, Algeria, Laos and Nepal, as if the policy was entirely for the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister to decide according to their personal inclinations. Even if this abdication reflects humility on the part of the Parliament to the Prime Minister, who has acquired an international stature, it makes the country dependent on the judgment of a single man, unsupported and uncorrected by others, in matters, which affect its political and economic independence. The Prime Minister, conscious of this, sought to justify himself by British practice, gratuitously condemning the American practice of checks and balances, as colonial and out of date. He forgot that Antony Eden had to resign when he wrongly presumed the approval of Parliament to his Suez policy. He forgot that the American Constitution is younger than the British and that the principle of checks and balances is the basis of modern democracy to prevent individual supremacy and to assure the sovereignty of the people through the interplay of differently constituted authorities. Even if Mr. Nehru is our best authority on foreign affairs, he is creating a position for his successors who may not have the same qualification. But we are not

even sure that Mr. Nehru is our best authority.

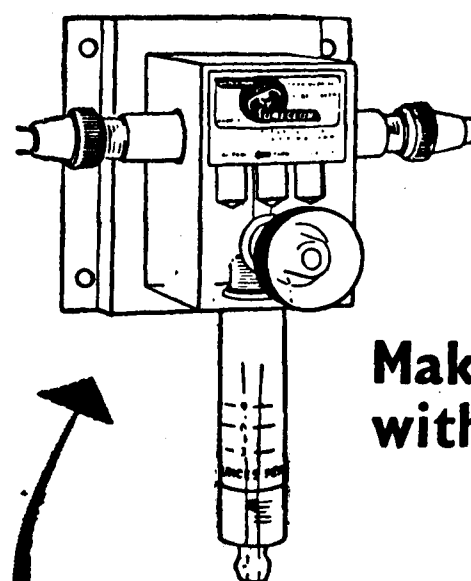
In respect of the Chinese occupation of our territory, he kept the knowledge to himself for five years. If he had taken the Parliament and the public in his confidence, not only would the occupation have been curtailed, as it was, when China became aware of the indignation of the Indian people, but even the subjugation of Tibet might have been obviated. In Congo, at present, the Defence Minister's vehemence overlooks that the dispute now is internal, outside the purview of the U.N. If he is crusading for democracy, and against army dominance, the U.N. and he should have intervened in Egypt, Pakistan, Burma, Iraq, Sudan, when Parliamentary Government was overthrown. He has not paused to inquire if the U.N. should interfere in India, should the President dismiss the Prime Minister, as he is entitled to do under the Constitution. He did not explain how the U.N. could disarm Mobutu, without the operations of war against the army he commands and the people who may be backing him and the President in power. If there are Belgians in Congo, there are the British in India, because they know the language and the conditions to render services which other nations cannot. It is for our Parliament, after considering these aspects, to decide if India should take an aggressive part in what is not its special responsibility and what has made other countries accuse India of being a cat's-paw of Communist powers.

In Laos also the dispute is internal and according to international law, the de facto position, when it is stabilised should be accepted. Statements before the dust has settled not only suggest partisanship but will prejudice our nationals and country with the Government which ultimately prevails.

In respect of Nepal, the disapproval which the Prime Minister expressed, particularly when he himself recognised that the change which has taken place will be good for some time, not only creates an unnecessary antagonism with a neighbouring country but may impede its quick assumption of authority not only in the interests of its own people but also in the interest of India which it is buffering against the Communist aggression from China.

All this fallibility illustrates the necessity for the Parliament to assume its responsibility for Foreign Policy. Public opinion as expressed in the Parliament is both a support and a corrective of the policy of Government. It may not be possible for Parliament to consider details but the principles both of political and economic policy are fully within its competence. Broadly, there may be politically, neutrality of the Swiss or Swedish kind, with charity to all and malice to none, in the domestic affairs of other countries. If this implies an embargo on the speeches we are endlessly making here and in the U.N.O. it will increase the respect of other nations for us as a great country, which reserves judgment. In respect of disputes between two or more countries, no commitment should be made in the U.N. before Parliament has an opportunity to discuss and give a mandate. This would not only enhance the value of our support but remove the impression that in every dispute, we are on the side of the Communists. In economic matters, Parliament must first consider and decide on the volume and sources of loans and aid, so that we do not find ourselves burdened to the point of losing our self respect and independence. The terms also deserve to be carefully considered because what appears cheap like the Russian loan may be in the end more costly, when component parts which only they can supply are increased four times in price. Similarly in respect of trade there is glib assumption that Communist countries are willing to take

(Continued on page 11)



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TWENTIETH CENTURY STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

By S. S. BANKESHWAR

Twentieth century which began as the century of democracy has now become the century of the totalitarian revolt against democracy. Though early twentieth century looked forward to the irresistible expansion of freedom, democracy and abundance, we are now looking back to totalitarianism, to concentration camps, to mass starvation and to atomic war. The characteristic early twentieth century struggle of the working class against the business community has now been dwarfed by the struggle of the free society for its very existence against totalitarianism. We are being delivered through the incompetence of the Right into the hands of the totalitarians of the Left.

The grounds of our civilisation are breaking up under our feet and familiar ideas and institutions are vanishing as we reach for them, like shadows in the falling dusk.

Frustration has been the hallmark of this century—the frustration of triumphant science and technology, the frustration of the most generous hopes, and of the most splendid dreams. We are today passing through an age of confusion, uncertainty, anxiety, insecurity, and wild and fierce fanaticism. Twentieth century is an age of conflict.

The only conflict which matters today is the conflict between freedom and slavery or the conflict between democracy and totalitarianism and it behoves all who care for freedom, whatever their particular views may be, to join in defence of it. Democracy and totalitarianism have been struggling for the minds and hearts of men. Communism and fascism—the two totalitarian forces have risen in this century to challenge the very conception of liberty, freedom and democracy.

The basic issues at stake are our culture, liberty, freedom and democracy. The basic issues at stake must be first made clear. Confusion only helps the totalitarian enemy who naturally only tries to spread it. If, for instance, he can mobilise for his own nefarious purpose the most understandable longing now felt by the vast majority of mankind for peace, so much the better. If the nefarious use of words like 'people', 'democracy' and 'peace' can be promoted again, so much the better. These words themselves lose thereby their true meaning, and the cause of their opposites is strengthened. The cause of reaction whether of the Right or of the Left has thus gained more

from mental confusion of many liberals than from sheer stupidity of the so-called reactionaries.

Once the basic issues are made clear, than it is not difficult to find the solution. The remedy lies in the revitalisation of our faith in freedom and unconditional rejection of totalitarianism. We must know our enemies unmistakably and study their policies, methods, and tactics. Finally we must lighten the darkness of liberal minds and adopt a positively militant programme with a view to annihilate the enemies.

It is true we cannot fight ideas with guns. But it is equally true that we cannot fight guns with ideas alone as many Europeans have learned the hard way twice in this century.

The worst fallacy is to think that military force by itself constitutes a guarantee against totalitarianism or totalitarian aggressors. The next worst fallacy is to believe that economic failure invites aggression from without. We may do well to remember that Czechoslovakia succumbed to totalitarianism twice within a single decade because of her prosperity. We are today confronted with a spread of a ruthless Communist totalitarianism. The propagation of opinions at home by Communists and their fellow travellers is undermining our faith in democracy and sapping our capacity to resist foreign tyranny. A fanatical minority is engaged in a cruel conspiracy to end for ever the whole conception of a society based on freedom. We must not under-estimate the awful potentialities of totalitarian conspiracy. A superior loyalty to a foreign government disqualifies a citizen for service to ours.

The present policy of our enemy, viz., International Communism is a policy of kicking at our doors. If our doors fly open, it will move in. But if the doors are locked, it will not dare to break down our doors, at least for the present, because it does not want to get itself involved in a fight with us or our friends who might come to our rescue in case of an attack from without.

Our policy towards International Communism should be a policy of locking our doors against aggression. But locking the doors alone is not enough. If the conditions inside our house are intolerable and chaotic, then someone in our house might admit her by stealth. So the locking our doors must be accompanied by the cleaning up of our house. Our policy must secure the

inhabitants against the desperation which breeds totalitarianism, by seeking to restore them to a state of economic and political health.

Our much boasted foreign policy does not seem to exhibit any knowledge of our enemies or their policies, methods and tactics. I have no doubt that the hearts of our rulers are in the right place. But I fear their heads are too often muddled and full of confusion and sentiment. They are living on slogans and clichés.

We must avoid the extremes of intimidation and appeasement. If we intimidate Soviet rulers, we will be only inciting the people behind the totalitarian regime. The Russian people would certainly rally to the defence of their nation as they have done in the past against external aggression. We must not supply Russians with any legitimate basis for tension in which case Russia will not be able to conceal her monolithic compulsions under the mantle of external crisis. A period of world stabilisation will open up fissures within the sphere of Soviet influence and accelerate the disintegration of Soviet power. This will force the Soviet regime to redouble its use of discipline and terror to arrest the integration. We must allow its own internal contradictions to take care of Russian totalitarianism, meanwhile keeping our own powder dry.

The best way to deter the politburo from any reckless course is for us to forge a moral integration with the democratic bloc so that at any moment of decision, the Soviet General Staff will advise the Soviet rulers against war on the ground that Russia will have no chance of winning.

If we appease Soviet Russia, we will be only strengthening those who find in our soft answer arguments for increased wrath. There is no better means of making our enemy ask for more and more.

Surrender to totalitarianism—whether the surrender of our military strong points or the surrender of our values—is the most certain road to the destruction of our society.

Terror is the essence of totalitarianism. Normal man in the long run instinctively organises himself against terror. This fact gives the champions of freedom their great opportunity. Man is instinctively anti-totalitarian, but it is necessary for wise policies to mobilise these instincts early enough to do some good. Our problem now is to make democracy the fighting faith. We must recharge our faith in democracy with some of its old passion and principle. History has equipped our literature with ideas and knowledge to construct a society—where men will be both free and happy.

REJUVENATION

By BHIKKU

I am the same 'I'—Am I?—that played with urchins in this street sixty odd years ago and to whom this box of a house with its cow-dung polished front was a mansion. The personal identity inundated with the bondage and physical torments of the years got strangely blurred as I wended my way into my great grandmother's village, and therein I answered a subliminal call that would not be denied. It is on this doorstep that I strained my eyes to catch the first glimpse of the temple procession. The elephant with its ears flapping, mantled with a multi-coloured silk cloth announced itself with clanging bells. The drummer boy astride on his little bullock pounded away on his drums. I wasn't too sure that the enormous demon and demoness that danced in the van of the crowd with glaring eyes were altogether fakes in spite of the diminutive human feet that were visible below. Gay flags and festoons preceded the pipers of music that puffed their cheeks and pushed out their bellies in the abandon of musical virtuosity. And lo! I got propelled by my great-grand uncle into the centre of the din where I dutifully prostrated and penitentially clapped my cheeks before the god and goddess, smothered in chrysanthemums, as the lighted camphor was waved before them. Where, however, has gone that acceptance of the verity of Puranic episodes—the churning of the milky ocean and the descent of Ganga on the matted locks of Siva—the way my mind then adroitly skipped over their (Puranic) incongruities with life as it was lived and with the laws of physics? One way of marking age in humans is by the degree of demolition of faith in faith and the polishing of the mind with layer on layer of knowing and cynicism. All the same, the affections have a way of overtaking reason when one is in the sixties and old sanctities start throbbing dormant chords, revealing new significances. May be, it was this trait that made a child of me once again as I sought to trace, one after the other, the lineaments of the village, as it was lacquered in memory. I could see the gnarled trees and the unpretentious temple gopuram and on the side, the tank—Oh! could that dirty little pool with slimy scum be the unfathomed deep that I stepped down into with trepidation and in which the little fish tickled my feet! Further on, the thick bamboo grove in which a little stream tunnelled its dark way is all gone and the place is starkly built

over—changes which I unreasonably grudged. I pushed further afield in eager identification of remembered features right to the ends of my little world: the river which seemed then to be a very Noah's flood, with strange monsters that pulled little boys in and drowned them. The spring on this side of the river stood as of yore, stillly jewelled with red water lilies, mottled with sunshine which filtered through an overhanging peepul tree, a circle of snake-gods girdling it at its base.

After some enquiries I learnt of the existence of a third-remove relative as the current incumbent of the village accountants in familial succession of my forbears. I had to skirt a corner in making my way to his dwelling and there I felt a quickening, seeing the cows lying about chewing the cud lazily and crows cawing in sultry infrequency as on the afternoon when I played truant to the pial school and stood confusedly at a loose end fearing the arrival of my grand uncle and

yet hoping for it to relieve me from my dubious and half-regretted escapade and with that came the sobering thought that it had not been really all roses and treacle and that there were shames as well as crowings, not the less poignant because they have long since lost their edges. The trivial things bridge the chasm of years with greater realism than the big events. It was with some diffidence at having to narrate my antecedents to a stranger that I could recount my remote cousinship to my relative as he was much younger, was of a practical mould and quite unprepared for the descent of an unheard of being claiming common heredity. But there was a fragile, widowed great aunt of four score years and more, an apparently cumbering relic in his household whose demeanour spoke of neglect and penury and when I made my identity known to her, she made such a picture of tumultuous welcome, with mingled toothless smiles, tears and trembling upraised hands in wonder that such things can be that she had kinsfolk who made a common pool with her of hoary incidents and long dead kinsmen. For a while the years were washed out and recollection whet-



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ted by the occasion intoned many a submerged circumstance and person. It was a mellow world that we re-lived in, where every one played by the rules and the rules if rigid were also fences of protection and supports in a trammelled life-journey, a world of simplicity and platitudes.

Modernity, however, would not be pushed out for long as my cousin of the third remove now accepting my relationship at its face value wanted subtly to make known to me his no less emphatic claim to urban sophistication than myself, by turning on his very new radio set which let out a blast of Indianised jazz tunes. He was no doubt a little bemused at my preference and eagerness to go out and see sticks and stones, an enthusiasm which was less than decorous for one of my age.

Most of one's life is determined by the day to day circumstance and it is accepted in passivity. The groove rounds off and dulls sensibilities, kills living experience and the savour of fine and pleasant things: distant noon-day temple music, the gambols of puppies and children in the street, a long-parted friend sailing in unexpectedly, tucking inside bed clothes in the twilight of a cold drizzly morning for a last lazy squirm, the sweet smell of grass and earth as it drinks in thirstily its first summer shower and such many others, until an illness or some special trigger talismanically opens a door and you see things newly washed and set in a flood of light.

As I relived my infancy in the scenes of my great-granny's village, the conundrum of my body's lonely march in time, lumbering its way with creaky joints and wheezy breath showed itself in such violent contrast with the workings and feelings of my mind that could still twinkle a beam of glee at the recollection of the way I frightened a fellow urchin with impersonating hobgoblins and gnomes, I wondered indeed where-in is my entity and whether it is really any different for the precipice of half a century in-between. May be there are accretions of sadnesses, regrets, aching emotional tangles, high-lighted little triumphs all gathered in my wayfarings and eking out for a living. Are these not mere moss and lichen overlaying a basic continuity, the mazes of which are strung through with an Ariadne's thread? Oscar Wilde's paradox runs: "The soul is born old and grows young; that is the comedy of life. And the body is born young and grows old; that is life's tragedy".

OFFICIAL HARASSMENT OF BUSINESSMEN

The following memorial from the Kumbakonam Merchants' Association (Kudanthai Varnagar Kazhagam) to the Government of Madras illustrates how businessmen are harassed by official regulations to the detriment of peaceful trade:

The members of our Kazhagam are greatly agitated over the following.

As in past years, many of the members of the Kazhagam continue to import their requirements from dealers outside the State. Such members have registered themselves under Section 7 of the Central Sales Tax Act and obtained certificates of registration in Form B as per Rule 5(1) of the C.S.T. (Registration and Turnover) Rules. The inter-State purchases of the members were effected only after the issue of declarations in Form C as per Rule 12(1) of the above Rules. Consequently the out of State sellers had charged the members tax only at the rate of 1 per cent which the members were paying. All these years the local officers or the Commercial Taxes Department took no objection to the above practice. As these officers had been year after year checking our accounts and other records they had full knowledge of the practice and the particulars of the goods covered by our certificates of registration. We would further point out that in fact, under the provisions of Rule 5(1) a duty is cast on the officers to satisfy themselves that our applications for registration fully and correctly contain all the required particulars. While so, recently and quite suddenly, the officers of Tanjore District, chiefly those from the Kumbakonam area, sprung upon the Kazhagam members a surprise and a shock by starting penal action under Section 10(b) of the Central Sales Tax Act. The provocation for the action is said to be our failure to get noted in the certificates of registration taken by us a complete and exhaustive list of the hundreds of articles in which we deal.

The Kazhagam would respectfully point out that the Form B Certificate does not provide

Not far from the invention of fire we must rank the invention of doubt. For it is out of doubt of the old that the new springs; and it is doubt of the new that keeps invention within bounds.

THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY.

enough space to contain the names of all the articles to procure which the members may have to resort to out of State dealers. Neither could the members at the time of the registration have anticipated that they may have to import at some future time a particular article instead of purchasing the same locally from another importer. Further no instructions had been issued by the local officers that an exhaustive list has to be furnished by us as an annexure to our applications for registration. Even a generic term like 'groceries' or 'oilman stores' or 'hardwares' may not satisfy the officers that a particular article is included in the said term. In fact as per the information of the Kazhagam, dealers in South Arcot District have been subjected to infliction of heavy penalties on the ground that arecanuts will not fall under the classification of groceries. We would regretfully point out that a penal drive of the above kind has become a common feature of the Madras Division and we have not heard of similar threats in the jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioners at Madurai and Coimbatore. The Kazhagam has therefore grave reasons to fear that the penal drive recently instituted in Tanjore District is discriminatory. The Kazhagam cannot but turn to the Hon'ble Minister for protection against what we would regretfully call prosecution recently set afoot against the merchants.

That the view of the officers is unsupportable and illegal may be noticed from the fact that mere inadvertence will not constitute an offence under Section 10(b). Yet several dealers are now called upon to pay a penalty amounting to 10½ per cent of their purchase turnover. If the merchants are driven in hundreds to seek the protection of courts of law their business will be seriously affected by wasteful and needless litigation.

The Kazhagam therefore humbly prays that instructions may be issued to the local officers to suspend their penal drive and the whole matter may be examined by Government to find whether their action was justified. The Kazhagam is further anxious to wait in deputation to represent the above and other grievances of the merchants so that the administration may really improve in tone instead of bringing the law into contempt.

We pray that this representation may receive the urgent and immediate attention of the Government.

A MONTH IN WESTERN EUROPE

By D. ANJANEYULU

What could anyone possibly see of Europe in about thirty days? The thought of such a hurried trip might seem almost as amusing as hurtling round the world in eighty days. So, within the limited time at our disposal, we were prepared for a few fleeting glimpses of the highlights of Western Europe, and a little of Eastern Europe. Flying mostly by night and sight-seeing by day, we managed to have a fling at a dozen leading capitals starting from Helsinki and winding up with Berlin, covering world centres like London, Paris and Geneva in-between. A day or two was all that we could spare for most of them, except London where we were able to stay for a week and the two sectors of Berlin, where we spent five days, before flying back to Moscow, *en route* to Leningrad where we set out on this trip.

The dominant impression that an Indian visitor would get anywhere in Europe is one of general prosperity. In the bigger cities the cafes and restaurants are always full to the door-step and the shop-windows are crowded with attractive goods of all kinds, shoes, textiles and woollen fabrics, cosmetics, watches and jewels. The prices, however, would seem exorbitant by Indian standards, even in London. Only you do not come across the long queues, which are a regular feature in the U.S.S.R. While no country in the West is much better off than Russia in the matter of food and employment, the difference in the sphere of housing accommodation and in the availability of consumer goods is obvious even to a tourist in a hurry.

The tourist cannot fail to experience other differences touching his avocation in particular. As most of the conducted tours in the Soviet Union are in the hands of the Intourist Organisation which caters for the needs of diplomatic personnel, official visitors, conference delegates and tourists from abroad (who had paid for travel and sight-seeing in advance in their country's currency) a private individual who does not happen to fit into any of these categories, would necessarily find himself left to rely on his own resources, which must be very limited indeed, in most cases. Tourism in Russia is just in the early stages of development and has not yet reached anywhere near the standard obtained in Britain, France, Italy and Switzerland or even smaller countries like Belgium and Denmark. It is possible in most of these places for the tourist rushing from his hotel to

jump straight on to a sight-seeing bus about to move on its drive round the city. We did that in London, Vienna and Rome, without bothering about the tickets, which could easily be had later on from the guide, in the course of the journey. The only noticeable difference here is that the English motor-coach would move away on the stroke of the minute, full or half full, it matters little, while the Italian counterpart would not mind waiting for about half-an-hour, to gather its full complement of available tourists. In Prague, where tourism is controlled by an organisation called Cedok, similar to the Soviet Intourist, we were able to secure one seat and one standing place for us two on the bus with great difficulty; and we had to be thankful for the small mercy as there were many others who could not get even this, in spite of some patient waiting.

The need for communication poses few problems even for an Indian who knows no European language other than English. English and French are the two languages known to the educated (in addition to their own) in almost all countries of Western Europe; and between the two the former has stolen a clear march over the latter in recent years. In West Berlin we were lucky to have for our guide a young woman who could easily outshine her male counterparts in London, in her fund of information as well as her flair for expression in English. If you happen to lose your way to the hotel, it is possible to get some guidance from a passerby who is likely to know some English, at least, enough for the purpose. People in Russia are equally considerate to strangers, or more so perhaps, but they are frankly surprised how there could be any adult walking the Russian soil without learning to speak the Russian language. That you had come only on a brief holiday (and had no plans, for the present at any rate to settle down there) would be hardly enough to satisfy them. Only a solemn promise to learn their language before making your next visit (if and when, you are not sure) might earn you a half-hearted acquittal. A little fluency with the Russian tongue (sometimes even the few operative expressions) might well serve as an open sesame to many places beyond the reach of one with no natural talent for picking up foreign languages. A similar effect is unimaginable in London or Paris, where the language issue does not loom so large.

But, knowledge of a particular language, or the want of it, may not mean everything where the people have certain deep-rooted national traits and collective responses. In London, for instance, it would be almost impossible for a stranger to get any help in the metro or on the roads in finding one's way to the place he wants to go. The directions, of course, are all written somewhere, though you might require another's help to understand and follow them. My experience has been that Paris and Moscow (or any other city, for that matter) are far more hospitable to newcomers in this respect. The French are more warm and human in a personal way, in spite of the language barrier. The British are supremely impersonal, even when they are kind, as a matter of duty. The Russians are, paradoxically enough, as bustling and gregarious as the Americans who are always eager to share any stray thoughts that might occur to them with their neighbours on the bus or at the restaurant.

To one who was having his first contact with the West, soon after his visit to Russia, there is also obvious a refreshing variety in the food served in restaurants and in other aspects of life, in addition to a general air of gaiety all round. There are well-managed vegetarian restaurants in cities like Geneva, Paris and Stockholm, not to speak of London, where you could get any food of your choice from French delicacies and Russian caviar to Indian rice and curry, Chinese spaghetti and Japanese specialities. At a neat little restaurant called 'Vega' in Geneva we had the finest table rice and an appetising variety of spiced curries. People in all the cities of Western Europe seemed to be enjoying themselves to the full, draining life to the dregs, though we did not have any occasion to visit the night clubs which are talked about a great deal. It is clear that the cities keep late nights and some, like Paris for instance, never go to sleep at all.

There is little that money cannot readily buy anywhere in the West from cosmetics and other consumer goods to tape-recorders and television sets. (We cannot say the same thing of Russia, where shoes and textiles are snatched away like hot cakes and there are long waiting-lists for motor-cars). Provided you have some pounds sterling or dollars with you, you will have no problems that you cannot easily solve in your journey. You can get the local currency at any place—at the air-port, the railway station, the hotel, at the tourist agency and at the bus terminus. Tips are compulsory and go by the respect-

able euphemism of services, which are generally added to your hotel or restaurant bill. The taxi-cabman would take you to task if you did not add 15 or 20 per cent, as the case may be, to the meter charge. Fractions have a way of being rounded off even with Russian taxi-drivers, but tips as such are neither asked for nor even accepted.

The pace of recovery from the devastation of the last war is incredible and the new look that every city wears makes it difficult for the visitor to imagine the extent of ruin caused. Not that poverty and unemployment do not exist, in spite of the growing prosperity in general. But the hunger and malnutrition and destitution persisting in some

parts of the East (Asia) are practically unknown to the West. The marked cleanliness of roads and public places is made possible by a high degree of civic sense. The remarkable fact is that all this has been achieved without shutting one's eyes to some liberal values held dear by man from the dawn of civilisation.

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LET US CLEAR THIS FOUL ATMOSPHERE

By K. SANTHANAM

Sri K. Santhanam made a few trenchant observations on the subject of companies' contributions to political party funds during the debate on the Company Law Amending Bill. Given below are extracts from the speeches delivered by him in the Rajya Sabha on December 12 and 15.

In the economic sphere, a public corporation or a company must function in the same way as a local body in the political field. We do not want the local bodies to get into party politics. I cannot see why the Government of India want the companies to get into party politics. I am unable to appreciate the argument that the Government companies are not entitled to contribute to political purposes while the private companies should be empowered. They are not really private companies. They should be considered as public trusts, and they should function as such and they should not dabble in politics. The shareholders are bound to be of many parties. Why should the majority of them say that the minority should be overruled? A private company should function in the same way as the companies of the Government of India. They should not take part in politics. I do not believe that by so doing the organisation to which I have the honour to belong, will suffer in any way. It is a calumny to say that the Congress is going to suffer if the companies are not allowed to subscribe to political parties. I have no doubt that if the Hon. Minister will take courage and say that the companies shall not contribute for any political purpose, the organisation to which he and I belong, will be much stronger. But now what is the immediate effect of the new clause, Section 293-A, that he has introduced through clause 100? It is said that no company shall be able to subscribe more than Rs. 25,000 or 5 per cent, whichever is larger. Supposing a company has Rs. 1

WHO MAKES....

(Continued from page 5)

payments in rupees, when this consideration is not all important when they have to pay more to us for imports than we have to pay for their exports.

In view of the importance of foreign commitments not only for the present but the future, the whole country must make its contribution. The responsibility of the Parliament is specially great because of its default so far.

crore of profit, then it can contribute Rs. 5 lakhs. It can contribute not merely to political parties but it can set up 20 candidates to Parliament and give Rs. 25,000 each for their election. I think when the companies realise the power given, many Members of Parliament may be set up purely as the representatives of the companies. Is it what the Hon. Minister wants? I do not think so. It is time for him to take courage in both hands and say that nobody or no company which is in the nature of a public trust should subscribe anything to any political party, person or purpose.

If all the old sections relating to Government control and all the new clauses relating to Government supervision and control are to be properly applied, I am afraid, the present machinery will not do. The whole machinery of company administration should be reorganised and there should be regional offices. The offices of the Registrar and the offices of administration should be combined. As in the case of the Income-Tax Act, there should be circles for the administration of this Act where responsible officers are located to scrutinise these companies and then enforce the Act. Unless this is done, I am afraid, you cannot expect improvement. Many representatives of companies are already here in Delhi. It has become a normal feature for every big company to appoint here a representative on a very high salary. I think soon the Hon. Minister will have to establish, what I may call, a "Contact Colony", almost as a rival to the Diplomatic Colony we now have here. I think in this matter the whole administration should be decentralised. No representative should be allowed to interview anyone in the Commerce Ministry or the Central Office here. Everything should be done regionally. They should discuss all the cases that come here on merits and they should be disposed of according to the law. Even otherwise there is a lot of suspicion of corruption creeping into this capital and I do not want that this company administration should add to this. I do hope something will be done to reorganise this Company Law Administration. I would even like to have the Central Government estab-

lish a statutory body so that even the Minister will not be responsible. Have a statutory body established with branches all over, in the same way as or on the analogy of the Reserve Bank of India which has its branches. In that case these companies will be able to play a part which may be even greater than what it is today. Probably if the administration can be properly reorganised, the need for a public sector may diminish. After all, why do we want the public sector? We want it because we do not want public funds to be mismanaged by people who become managing agents or managing directors or managers. If the Companies Act is properly administered, then every company will be forced or persuaded to function as a public trust and then we can allow these companies to start all the industries and run them in a manner which would contribute to the economic development of this country. Therefore, I would suggest that as far as possible, those powers by which the Central Government takes discretion to increase remuneration, to increase the term of appointment and all such things, which benefit individuals and groups of individuals, should be surrendered and they should make the provisions legally tight so that there would be no opportunity for manipulation and wire-pulling.

It will cause a great deal of harm. Speaking as a Congressman, I think this contribution is going to do a great harm to the Congress organisation, because what is going to happen is, if any company gives any contribution to the Congress, it will be advertised in all the Press throughout India. When it gives to the Praja Socialist Party or to the Communist Party or to the Swatantra Party, it will be in some back page in some remote corner. So the impression will be given that it is only the Congress which is getting the subscriptions and that all the other

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VALEDICTORY

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: With one more year fast slipping beneath our feet and about to recede into the limbo of oblivion, the hour strikes and the mood chimes in, for the customary valedictory. What kind of a year has it been? Fair or foul? Or just doubtful? Perhaps it is not reasonable, much less realistic would it be, to expect it not to bear the impress of the post-war pattern of time, with its own perplexities and peculiar portents. The face of 1960 is very much its index, indeed.

There have been world-wide convulsions amidst a bewildering variety of coup bids, successful or otherwise, in a number of countries and major eruptions in the whole of the African continent, marking a new, if also dangerous, phase in history. While everything seemed to go on well for a promising turn in international diplomacy, Paris witnessed the burial of all hopes, the incalculable Khrushchov having blown up the Summit Conference and flung Eisenhower outside the region of negotiations. That was in May last. Nor was there any revival of hope when he later led the Soviet delegation at the U.N. General Assembly. There he raised his raucous voice and mighty fist against the Secretary-General while Mr. Nehru's bid for the Khrushchov-Eisenhower talks as a way out of the

thickening tension, proved to be of no avail, despite the combined rally of the uncommitted nations. And beyond the U.N. lay China with a will of its own and utterly impervious to world opinion. Even Russia had to reckon with China's peculiar ideological rigidities while the stark fact however remained that 1960 has in no way affected "the monolithic character of international Communism". As the year was drawing to a close, there was the somewhat sad spectacle of a colossal figure on the international stage gradually fading out. With the rout of the Republicans whom he had twice led to victory in U.S.A., a chapter in history closed. There was, however, the widest enthusiasm for the rise of Kennedy as the shining symbol of youth and hope, in a world too much dominated by aged and tired leaders. But as the Kennedy era is really to be inaugurated in 1961, 1960 will survive in our memories as only, or mainly, a year of smouldering fires across the vast spaces of the earth and seething discontent nearly all over.

And how has India fared during this twelve-month? We are still up against the great wall of China, with the writing on it making a most ominous reading. According to our Prime Minister who knows more about it, the border issue with China is not a matter of yes-

parties are not getting the subscriptions, while the truth may be quite the opposite. Therefore, I think that even in the interests of the Congress organisation this thing should go. I am sure that in his heart of hearts Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri would himself like this to go, but he has been tied up with all other kinds of pulls and he has had to submit to this restriction.

I am sure that it is the Congress organisation that is going to suffer by this clause, because all the other opposition parties now put on the mantle of virtue. They say that they do not want the contribution. I am sure they are going to get contributions as much as, if not more than, the Congress. They want this clause to be passed, but they want to oppose it here and have it passed by the Congress. That is the whole strategy of the opposition. I think we are playing into their hands. I am sure that without these contributions by companies, the Congress will be much stronger.

I want that our business and corporate sector should not be torn by dissensions, should not have this contro-

versal issue at all. They should concentrate purely on their work, on making the most of the economic opportunities which our planning has opened to them. Instead of that, we are throwing this bone into their midst, and in every company in every Annual General Meeting this is going to become one of the controversies. It is not going to be an unanimous decision in any company.

There will be some shareholders opposing and there will be some shareholders supporting, and all these contributions are going to be given by a majority, and probably many people will go to the courts with all kinds of writs and petitions, and this is going to be a headache.

I am sure that the conscience of all Congressmen throughout the country is against this contribution. They do not want it, but somehow the organisation has got into a rut and it is not able easily to come out. Once more I wish to utter a word of warning, and I would earnestly suggest to the Minister to get the whole country clear of this foul atmosphere.

terday or of today but also of tomorrow and the day after. We in this country should be prepared to live under the creeping shadows from the Himalayan heights where the Chinese move according to plan. With Pakistan, India's relations may have improved in the wake of the Indus Water Treaty and in view of the Nehru-Noon Pact. Goa, however, still remains a Portuguese possession amidst mounting hopes of the end of Portuguese colonialism. We are very much caught up in the Congo with the best of intentions while at the U.N. and on the larger international plane, Indian prestige has received somewhat of a set-back.

Internally, the picture is quite a blurred one, with plenty of ugly patches and darkish shades. It was a mercy that the general strike petered out rapidly but there was the sternest warning to the Government that such an attempt was made to paralyse the services and disrupt the normal life of the community. There were also other threats to internal security—in the Akali agitation for the Punjabi Suba, in the Language riots in Assam and in the highly strained relations between the Assamese and the Bengalis in a wider zone. Indeed, it was because of the growing conflicts in the country and the possibilities of outbreak of violence or of sabotage that the Home Minister had to ask for the continuance of the Preventive Detention Act.

The end of the Communist rule in Kerala and the rise of Maharashtra and Gujarat as separate entities out of the composite State of Bombay were among the major developments in the year, not to speak of the Prime Minister's promise about a Naga State, though in terms of autonomy. More than anything else, it was the emergence of panchayats in villages which excited the Prime Minister to the extent of hailing it as a millennium in the country-side. But whatever be the justification for his cheery optimism about the goodness of the year from the purely Indian point of view, there is all over the land a sense of frustration, if not also of resentment over the group rivalries and faction fights in the Congress which have both made its position vulnerable and lowered all standards of political life. And as the year was reaching its end, the verdict was pronounced by an American expert, marked out for a significant role, that our Socialism was very much "out of date".

Such is the Indian landscape as the curtain is about to drop down over 1960. And whether the passing year leaves us satisfied or makes us apprehensive or just thoughtful, perhaps depends upon individual reactions—or fancies.

THE GERMAN VERDICT

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

मा गृहः कस्यस्विद्धनम्

ISOPANISHAD

The free society is not to be built on envy —LIONEL ROBBINS.

'A humane economy' is the title of this recent book by Wilhelm Ropke.* This internationally acclaimed economist leads an epic attack against the economy and polity which the present Government of India have unfortunately adopted as the panacea for all our ills.

As against socialism, Wilhelm Ropke champions an economic order ruled by freedom in the shape of free prices and free markets. He explains how this is the only economic order compatible with human freedom and with the rule of law, the fundamental conditions without which life can have no meaning or dignity. People may be led by humane convictions to declare themselves in sympathy with socialism, but they fail to see what this ultimately means. It means a social and economic order which destroys human freedom.

The technique of socialism is economic planning, nationalisation, the erosion of property and the cradle-to-the-grave welfare state. The irrefutable testimony of the last fifteen years shows that the technique of the age-old free economy leads to well-being, freedom, the rule of law, and the more even distribution of power and to international co-operation.

There is profound ethical reason why an economy governed by free prices, free markets and free competition implies moral health and plenty, while the socialist economy means moral sickness, disorder, and lower productivity. The free economic system releases and utilizes the forces inherent in individual self-assertion. The so-

note: * *A Humane Economy* by Wilhelm Ropke translated into English by Elizabeth Henderson: Henry Regnary: Chicago, 1960.

cialist system suppresses them and wears itself out in opposing inherent natural forces. A government which, in peace time, relies on exchange control, price control, and confiscatory taxation has little, if any, more moral justification than the individual who, as against it, defends himself by circumventing or breaking the law. Economic policy should be adopted to man, not man to economic policy. This is humane as well as politically wise. The Socialist intellectuals suffer from the *libido dominandi* and nurse open or secret ambitions to occupy positions of command in the economic system they moralise for. Their eye is on power while they pretend compassion.

The socialist ideal is marked by mass and concentration. Individual responsibility, life and thought are to be smothered. It wants collective thought and feeling. The small circles—from the family up—with their human warmth and natural solidarity have to give way before mass and concentration, before the rootless amorphous conglomeration of people in cities and industrial centres, before the anonymous bureaucracy of giant concerns, and ultimately of government which holds this crumbling mass together through the coercive machinery of the welfare state, the police and the tax screw. The home is to be substituted by the street. As against this, we ought to stand up for decentralisation and de-proletarianization. People need to be taken out of the mass and given roots again. We shall save ourselves only if more and more of us "have the courage to take counsel with our own souls in the midst of the socialist and planning bustle and to bethink

ourselves of the firm, enduring and proved truths of life". It is in this religious conviction that Wilhelm Ropke writes this book.

Communism has had its day. As a spiritual and moral power it is certainly on the decline. The external military power of the leading communist states is no doubt greater than before. But if we correctly interpret developments in satellite countries as well as in Russia itself, we can see that the communist faith and appeal have entered a phase of decline. But though it is a fact that the star of communism as a substitute for religion is declining, we have the development of a new Gorgon's head. What we have to fear is the communism of the non-communist governments, the creeping inflation and the psychological deterioration closely connected with inflation in states following the welfare state policy in their apprehensions about communism to success at the polls. Personal comforts are more highly rated than freedom, law, and personality. The individual means less and less, mass and collectivity more and more, "the net of servitude which hems in personal development in the welfare state becomes ever denser, more closely meshed and inescapable. The centre of gravity of decisions keeps shifting upwards from the individual, the family and the small compact group up to anonymous institutions. The power of the state grows uncontrollably. Demagoguery and pressure groups turn politics into the art of finding the way of least resistance and immediate expediency or into a device for channeling other people's money to one's own group. Law and the principles of law become uncertain.

Once the individual had an inalienable right to life, liberty and property. But today in the "free world", the last named pillar is badly dilapidated. Few realise that its fall would pull down the pillar of liberty as well. The remaining pillar, the right to the inviolability of life cannot long stand alone. If property is

degraded into precarious *de facto* possession depending on the whim of government or on the voters' favour, if property becomes a hostage in the hands of those who own less or nothing, if property together with its inseparable concomitant, the law of inheritance, ceases to be one of the primary rights which need no other justification than that of *dharma*, then the end of free society is in sight.

No great perspicacity is needed to recognize the close kinship between lack of respect for property and indifference to the value of money. Erosion of property and erosion of money go together. Resistance to this process of deterioration has been successful in Switzerland, Belgium, Italy and Germany. These have extricated themselves from the morass of inflation and economic controls. The striking success of Germany in this direction is met with silence among the protagonists of controls, or with statistical juggling. Arguments are brought up by some that currency reform and Marshall Aid were the 'good fairies' rather than the market economy, or that it was all due to the special fact that Germans were a hard-working, frugal and thrifty people. These evasive explanations have all been set at rest. The German success with the market economy has put collectivism on the defence. The German recovery is due to the courage and good sense which liberated the economy from the fetters of planning which had hampered or paralysed the incentive and regulatory effects of free prices and free competition. As a result of the German success, nationalization and planning, the catch phrases of the immediate post-war period, have lost their appeal, and even in the socialist camp the response is now weak where the voters are intelligent and mature.

Economic freedom like any other freedom requires eternal vigilance. As Goethe said, it must be conquered anew each day. "Residues of collectivism like unexploded mines are lying scattered

about even in the countries liberated from controls". People are still in the habit of taking refuge in official regulations whenever a new problem turns up. They still tend in the name of economic and social security, to heap new tasks on the government and thereby new burdens on the tax payer. Again and again we see ourselves cheated of the hope of reducing to tolerable limits the crushing weight of taxation, which in the long run is incompatible with a free or even moderately sound economy and society. Governments' budgets seek to absorb a high percentage of the national income through various kinds of compulsory contributions. This reinforces inflationary pressure and has a disintegrating and ultimately paralysing effect on the economy. Households and firms make financial decisions with an eye towards the tax-collector rather than towards the consumers and the market. Incentive is weakened at all levels and in all spheres. "Saving is depressed below the level necessary to finance growth-investment without inflationary credit-expansion. The rate of interest loses its essential efficacy because as a cost factor it takes second place after tax payments". The combination of over-expansion of public expenditure and the re-orientation of its purposes in socialist directions constitutes a source of continuous inflationary pressure.

The government, spurred by the vested interests of the civil service, tries to acquire more and more management of industries and trade, and seeks to create strongholds of public power, monopoly and party patronage. It fosters an irrational, hostile attitude towards

The new machines and new ways brought with them no new wisdom. They did not establish in the people a new kind of integrity. The new vision was an economic one, without moral and spiritual accompaniment.

E. R. Zeitlow
in THESE SAME HILLS.

everything that goes by the name of capital or entrepreneur, with a stubborn misconception of the latter's task and the conditions in which he can function.

Concentration is the great evil of our times: concentration of the power of government and administration, concentration of economic and social power under the state, concentration of decision and responsibility which become thereby more and more anonymous, unchallengeable and inscrutable, concentration of people in organizations, towns and industrial centres and firms and factories. The common denomination of the social disease of our times is concentration. Collectivism and totalitarianism are the extreme lethal stages of the disease. The bloated Colossus of the state, with its crushing taxation and boundless expenditure, is chiefly to blame for the inflation that is a chronic evil of our times.

An excess of government intervention deflecting the national market economy from the paths prescribed by competition and price mechanism, an accumulation of prohibitions and commands, the blunting of incentives, official price-fixing and restrictions on primary economic freedom necessarily lead to mistakes, bottlenecks, inefficiency and failure of performances, and imbalances of all kinds. With the proliferation of intervention, they end up in general chaos. The disturbances caused by intervention are taken as proof of the inadequacy of intervention and become a pretext for yet more and stronger intervention.

Wilhelm Ropke quotes from Tocqueville who saw what was coming:

"The government covers the surface of society with a network of complicated rules, minute and uniform, through which the most original minds and the most energetic characters cannot penetrate, to rise above the crowd. The will of man is softened, bent and guided. Men are not forced by it to act, but they are constantly restrained from acting. It does not destroy, but it prevents existence. It does not tyrannize but

it compresses, enervates, extinguishes and stupefies a people, till the nation is reduced to nothing better than a flock of timid and industrious animals of which the government is the shepherd".

The dominating motive of the welfare state today is not compassion but envy. The language of the old paternal government is becoming a screen that hides the new crusade against anything which dares exceed the average. be it income, wealth or performance. In the name of economic equality and to the accompaniment of the progressive blunting of individual responsibility a substantial part of private income is constantly sucked into the pumping engine of the welfare state and diverted by it with considerable friction-losses. Everything into the same pot—everything out of the same pot—this is the ideal.

The individual and his sense of responsibility constitute the secret main-spring of society, and this main-spring is being broken by the welfare state. "It is surely the mark of a sound society" says Ropke "that the centre of gravity of decision and responsibility lies midway between the two extremes of individual and state, within genuine and small communities of which the most indispensable primary and natural unit is the family. And surely it is our task to encourage the development of the great variety of small and medium communities and thereby of group assistance within circles which still have room for voluntary action, a sense of responsibility and human contact and which avoid the cold impersonality of mass social services".

If the state increasingly takes upon itself to hand out welfare and security on all sides, first to the advantage of one group, then of another, it must degenerate into an institution which fosters moral disintegration and prepares its own eventual doom.

People do not always realize that when they turn to the state for the fulfilment of their wishes, their claims can be satisfied only at the expense of others. A money claim on the state is always an

indirect claim on somebody else whose taxes contribute to the sum demanded. It is a mere transfer of purchasing power through the medium of the compulsory powers of the state. The more widely the principle of the welfare state is applied, the closer comes the moment when the giant pumping engine turns out to be a deceiver of everybody and becomes an end in itself, which eventually serves no one except those who make a living out of its manipulation, namely, the bureaucrats. These naturally have an interest in obscuring the facts.

Today the time of illusions is past. It has become clear and it is widely realised especially in Great Britain that if one seriously wishes to put the welfare state to practice, one has to use taxation to stir up income distribution at all levels and has to draw even on the lowest income groups to help finance the cost (through indirect taxes as in this country if it is impossible to levy direct taxes on the poor). The money is conjured from people's right pocket into their left, with a detour via the treasury and the enormous friction-losses entailed thereby.

"It has become clear that there is a price to be paid in the form of costs of the ever-increasing state machinery, of a blunting of the will to work and of individual responsibility. Vexation at the top and envy at the bottom choke civic sense, public spirit, creative leisure, neighbourliness, generosity and genuine sense of community. What will remain is the pumping engine of Leviathan, the insatiable modern state".

The welfare state must be dismantled except for an indispensable minimum and the money thus saved left to non-governmental forms of social services. The party in power wants the machinery of the welfare state to remain so that through that machine it may perpetuate itself at the cost of the taxpayer. We have to defeat this partisan purpose. We cannot give up economic freedom and hope to save other freedoms. Market economy

and the revitalisation of *vaisya dharma* are what will activate economy and preserve human freedom. Wilhelm Ropke does not use this Indian term, but this is exactly the code of ethics which he pleads for, describing it in western terms.

It is not poverty that leads a nation to communism, but the break-up of traditional values. And this condition is being rapidly brought about by the present rulers of India.

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Motor vehicle Dealers & Automobile Engineers

**SUNDARAM INDUSTRIES
PRIVATE LIMITED**
Pudukkottai - Madras - Coimbatore
Tyre Retreaders



MADRAS MOTOR & GENERAL INSURANCE COMPANY LIMITED, Madras

**SOUTHERN ROADWAYS
PRIVATE LIMITED**
Madurai
Passenger & Parcel
Road Transport Undertaking

**SUNDARAM MOTORS
PRIVATE LIMITED**
Madras-Bangalore-Secunderabad
Dealers: Fiat, Plymouth, Fargo, Leyland
& Ferguson Tractors

**INDIA MOTOR PARTS &
ACCESSORIES
PRIVATE LIMITED, Madras**
Distributors of
GM Parts & Accessories for all India

**MADRAS AUTO SERVICE
PRIVATE LIMITED**
Madras-Bangalore
Distributors of Motor Parts & Accessories
**SUNDARAM FINANCE
PRIVATE LIMITED, Madras**

T. V. SUNDARAM IYENGAR & SONS PRIVATE LIMITED, Madurai

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