

952.

SWARTYA

VOL V

NO. 3

August - 1960

71.
m2, N253.
N60.5
143691

143691 3.60 MADRAS JYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. V. No.

14 SEP 1960
MADRAS, AUGUST 6, 1960

Price 15 nP

DISCOVERY OF NEHRU

The Andhra Pradesh Election Committee has been declared invalid by the Congress Working Committee and a fresh election has been ordered. It was over the election of this Committee that a dispute arose between the Chief Minister of the State and Sri A. C. Subba Reddi, one of his Ministers. Sri Subba Reddi was forced to resign, as the Chief Minister deprived him of work by taking away his portfolios. The Congress Working Committee's decision now amounts to a vindication of the constitutional stand taken by the ex-Minister, but it is a rather barren decision without life or purpose. If the logic of the decision is to be respected, Sri Subba Reddi should be deemed entitled to restoration back to the office of Minister from which he had been ousted. By giving the ousted Minister moral support without administrative backing, and the State Chief Minister administrative backing without moral support, the Congress High Command have once again exhibited the dichotomy between preaching and practice which has undermined Congress prestige and morale in recent years more than any of its other failings.

Another characteristic decision of the Working Committee is the annulment of the Poona resolution of the A.I.C.C. leaving to the Congress President the right of nominating the members of the Working Committee. Hereafter one-third of the members are to be chosen by election. This innovation is advertised as an attempt to harmonise democratic princi-

ples with Congress practice, but no constitutional pandit in the Congress-fold seems to have cared to look into the incongruity of an executive body like the Working Committee, owing responsibility to the A.I.C.C., superseding a considered decision of the latter while professing allegiance to democratic principles. Moreover, if democratic principles are to be honoured, how can a system of election limited to one-third, serve the purpose? It will only prove that if the Congress is one-third democratic, it is two-thirds undemocratic; and as it is the dominating trait that sets the tone of character, the character of the Congress will continue to be overwhelmingly undemocratic. We can understand a small percentage of seats being left for nomination to provide for the representation of otherwise unrepresented elements. But to make selection by nomination the main method, while yet professing devotion to democracy and its standards, is an example of casuistry which only illustrates to what extent deceit has become normal politics with Congress propagandists.

Democracy extends the sphere of individual freedom, Socialism restricts it. Democracy attaches all possible value to each man; Socialism makes each man a mere agent, a mere number. Democracy and Socialism have nothing in common but one word: equality. But notice the difference: while democracy seeks equality in liberty, Socialism seeks equality in restraint and servitude. —DE TOCQUEVILLE.

The panel for probing into corruption announced by the Congress President affords one more example of characteristic Congress play with lofty aims. Sri Jagannatha Das is the one member of the panel whose integrity and reputation are equal to the responsibility now thrust on him. But if he is to fulfil that responsibility adequately, he is entitled to the service of colleagues commanding greater public confidence. The Madras Chief Minister's ability to pull wires is eloquently demonstrated in this 'finalised' panel brought to light after so much pompous elaboration by the Congress President, as also the latter's ready susceptibility to 'advice' from quarters deemed influential to build political strength. To what a pass has this once-great office of Congress President come, that its present holder is not able to make a single move without some patent ulterior motive coming at once to the fore to nullify it! His panel to probe into corruption will make corruption secure and scare away evidence. When authority is charged with malpractices, judges too close to authority whose professional hopes are built on authority's favour, will only immunise corruption with their expected verdicts and make things much worse than before.

This is a time of crisis for the nation's leadership, and camouflage will not serve it any longer. Whether Nehru has 'discovered' India or not, India has discovered Nehru. He has made a mess of the nation's affairs. Administrative standards have been demora-

lised beyond redemption. Education has been ruined. The soaring prices have made life dreadful to common people. There is discontent everywhere. Even the territorial integrity of the country has not been protected. There is no talk any longer of the recovery of Ladakh. Taxation has reached an all-time high, with little to show in return. Of the huge sums spent on the Plans, the major part has gone down the drain through inefficiency, waste and corruption. By every test of commonsense, the Nehru leadership has failed to justify itself.

Yet the Congress plans for perpetuating itself as the ruling party. Its strategy is clear. It wants to gather to itself such an amount of power that nobody can stand up in dissent, and with money extorted with such power it plans a mass bribery of voters. The collection work has begun, and as generosity to Congress is profitable, and refusal to pay may be disastrous, no party can compete with the Congress either in the collection of funds or putting voters under undue pressure. There can be no fair elections without the Congress stepping down from office and leaving things in charge of a caretaker government for a period of at least six months in advance of the polling. All parties should now concentrate on this demand for the sake of fair elections.

THE PRESIDENT'S POWERS

There has been a controversy whether the President of India is obligated to act on the advice of his Council of Ministers. Article 53 of the Indian Constitution vests in him the executive power of the Union of India, which "shall be exercised by him directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with the Constitution." Article 74 says that there "shall" be a Council of Ministers, with the Prime Minister at its head, "to aid and advise" the President in the exercise of his functions. Article 56 contemplates the impeachment of the President for violation of the Constitution. Taken together, these Articles obligate the President to exercise power according to the Constitution but do not obligate him to act on the advice of his Ministers.

ERRORS IN THE RESOURCE CALCULATIONS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

An examination of the Third Plan finance leads to certain points of a grave nature. The Plan is based on a wrong assessment of expected national savings and on a consequent underestimation of the required foreign aid. The amount of money that will have to be printed with its inflationary effects will be much greater than what is assumed now.

Experts do not estimate the national savings as assumed in the Plan. There are obvious fallacies in the calculations of the Planners. Experts have reason to believe that unless resort is made to physical restraints and compulsions adopted in Communist countries, the assumed national savings for the Plan period cannot exceed Rs. 5,900 crores. The Plan contemplates an investment of Rs. 11,250 crores if we do not exclude as the planners have wrongly done the expenditure on overheads and social services inherent in the Plan projects. If we estimate national savings at Rs. 5,900 crores, the deficit in resources would be Rs. 5,350 crores.

As against this deficit of Rs. 5,350 crores, the Plan visualises foreign aid estimated at Rs. 3,200 crores, from which if we subtract what is to be consumed by buffer-stocks of foodgrains and

by repayment for past foreign aid, we shall have a foreign aid figure at Rs. 2,500 crores. Thus there will be an uncovered deficit of Rs. 2,850 crores which must be met by fresh and additional taxation and printed money.

The errors that vitiate the Plan computation are the inflated rate of savings applied to an inflated estimate of national income, underestimate of the outlay needed, by disregarding expenditure on social services and administrative overheads entailed by the Third Plan investments, and unrealistically assuming the cost of the required imported machinery, material etc., in the coming uncertain years, and lastly, ignoring the adverse effects of fresh taxation and increased inflation on the expected savings. These grave defects will no doubt be more elaborately examined by experts and exposed in due course. But public opinion should not in the meanwhile mislead itself into complacency by the handouts of Government. When Government undertakes to make calculations in advance of all phases of life during the next five years of 400 millions of people, it is easy to make errors in calculation, with incalculably disastrous consequences by way of inflation and chaos.

If the latter were the case, no occasion can arise for his impeachment, as he would be merely rubber-stamping his Ministers' decisions. It follows, therefore, that in rejecting the advice of his Ministers and acting on his own responsibility, he would be acting in accordance with, and not in violation of the Constitution and would not be liable to impeachment.

Very eminent authorities, like the late Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, had however insisted that the President was obligated to act on the advice of his Ministers on the analogy of the British convention of Parliamentary democracy which India had adopted. If that were the intention, it might very well have been put in the Constitution, on the analogy of the Japanese Constitution which, in explicit terms, vested execu-

tive power in the Cabinet and required the Emperor to act on its advice. A convention, however well-understood, cannot prevail over the Constitution and can operate only when the latter is silent. The Indian Constituent Assembly did not hesitate to give constitutional status to several British conventions like the Cabinet, the Prime Minister, etc. It put in the Indian Constitution the restrictions on Fundamental Rights which the American Supreme Court imposed by its judicial decisions. There was nothing to prevent it from stating in the Constitution that the President shall act on the advice of his Ministers. As things stand, the Indian Supreme Court is likely to uphold the Constitution as against the convention, if occasion should ever arise.

—P. KODANDA RAO.

ABSURDITIES OF THE POLICY OF LAND CEILINGS

By S. K. ROY

Two examples from real life may be given to illustrate how little we should interfere with individual freedom in handling the problem of the landless labourer. Three Adibasi brothers inherited about five acres of land which they were cultivating jointly, sharing the produce equally. The eldest of them married a girl with a little education in a mission primary school, who got employment as an ayah. He sold his land to be near her and served as a labourer near by. Another one worked in a motor car garage as a cleaner in the off-agricultural season and gradually blossomed out into a driver. He farmed out his portion of the land to the third brother in return for half the produce of paddy. Deficiency of rainfall in two successive seasons made it impossible for the third brother to carry on. For want of sufficient fodder one of his pair of bullocks died. The two brothers farmed out their land on a half-produce basis to a villager and thus the third brother became a landless labourer. He found employment as a labourer on the farm of a gentleman resident in the suburbs of a town, not far away from his eldest brother who had bought some lands from the price he got for his own. By his wages as a labourer and with the earning of his wife he was able to get more lands adjoining to what he had already got. He is now an independent farmer, though his wife continues to serve as an ayah. One such example of independent effort is worth dozens of mollycoddles set up by land ceilings and service co-operatives. But the story does not end here. The third brother took a leaf out of his eldest brother's book. Though he had not the advantage of a semi-educated wife bringing in a regular income, she did earn as a casual labourer. Their ambition was the modest one of a home on a bit of land which the eldest was agreeable to sell him, with enough to spare for a vegetable garden. This writer watched the efforts of the couple and when by working in spare time they were able to set up a mud cottage and aided by the man's employer with some timber, for the roof and doors, to complete it, their joy was worth going miles to have seen it. I wonder whether the protagonists of land-ceilings and patrons of the landless labourer have any ideas of the sturdy independence and moral incentive behind such a story.

The other example is of a family of Muslim weavers (jolahas) who own

over forty acres of land between five brothers with 28 mouths to feed, all diligent workers including the women and children. When not engaged on the land, they work on the loom. As they have enough cattle for their farming in addition to tow cows, they use their dung manure as fertilizer. By traditional methods, their farm produce is enough and to spare as security for lean years. The supervisor of the co-operative society in the village tried to induce them to sell part of their produce, as prices were more than favourable, but they resolutely refused, on the ground that the stored paddy was an insurance against the rainy day, rather against the non-rainy year. An inquisition into the affairs of such a family for land-ceilings would be a crime. We grant that these farmers may be helped to better farming.

The irrefutable indictment against the policy of land-ceiling is the fact that in the different States of India different lands have been placed on the ceilings. This is naturally and obviously on the ground that God has not made all soils equal. Rainfall is also very different in different parts. Irrigation facilities and possibilities are also very unequal. Add to these such factors as the nature of the soil, its composition, temperature, water level, its content in nitrogen, phosphorus, calcium and antibiotic matter, and its structural geology. How intricate the problem is may be seen from the present writer's own experience. In two adjoining plots that he possesses, the production is very different. The reason for this could not be discovered till it was found that the plot of lesser productivity had, eighteen inches below surface, a laterite subsoil bed which drained away the water slowly. In about a total of 8 acres of cultivable land that he possesses, he has four or five kinds of land with diffe-

A NECESSARY EVIL

At best public services are a necessary evil. At worst they have a malign tendency against which an alert community must exercise eternal vigilance. Even when they serve the most important ends, such services are sterile. Government is powerless to create anything in the sense in which business produces wealth.

in *The Affluent Society*.
JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

rent degrees of productivity. Different levels of land ceilings in different States, and in different areas of the same State are also profoundly moderated by lands that produce the foremost commercial articles of export such as cotton, jute, sugar, tea, coffee, rubber, coconut, even cashew-nuts. Is it possible to have an organisation for fixing land-ceilings which will not have the worst features of a bureaucratic administration—corruption and the like?

As a farmer I cannot but strongly condemn the Government's land ceiling policy of distribution of surplus lands in plots of five acres, co-operative farms, compulsory consolidation. It is based on the security policy of subsistence-farming. It appears to aim at giving the farmer, at the best, a standard of living something like the stability of a wage-earner. Producing for family consumption, as the jolaha family mentioned above did, was the question of major significance. In this particular case the major article of consumer goods was made at home, with yarn purchased from the commercial market. The cloth manufactured at home was a minor item to help out in purchase of consumers' goods—but it was all just subsistence, scarcely for marketing. Farmers and their fellow-villagers who are casual labourers or itinerant industrial workers migrating to industrial towns and coming back on the land are all attracted, naturally and rightly, to a higher standard of living. Fortunately for India, her main food crop, paddy, does not need much of protection against deterioration. So the farmer has to be encouraged to store his paddy against the lean years like the jolaha family whose position is much above the average. The problem with most is to keep enough for seed for the next year's sowing and to select his seed for greater yield. For this purpose the average farmer needs more land not less. The five-acre mentality for the landless labourer or refugee out of surplus lands obtained by land-ceilings will not solve this problem, even with the assistance of so-called service co-operatives. If bureaucrats are going to make all the decisions for the farmers, including the amount of land they should possess, pretty soon our farmers will cease to have any of the privileges or opportunities enjoyed in replying on their own initiative. What is needed in our country is to switch our farmers from the agriculture at the "subsistence" level to that of producing more and marketing more of produce, so that they may get value for consumers' goods, enjoy better housing and save for security. But this type of agriculture will not come either by land-ceilings or by spoon-feeding.

143691

36, N 300 11005

36, N 300 11005

SIDELIGHTS ::

Just administration is the basis of good work. If good work diligently done, is justly rewarded, employees will give of their best. The Congress Government in India today suffers from rampant injustice in the administration. For promotion and reward, it is not merit, intelligence, qualifications, experience and character that count, it is whether the employee belongs to Sri Jagjivan Ram's community or whether he is related to the Prime Minister or some other power-wielder. (The *Current of Bombay* published recently a formidable list of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru's relatives, near and remote, elevated to high positions in Government service without proper qualifications over the heads of other employees not so influentially connected, but much more worthy and better entitled to such positions).

What can be the mental attitude of an official when he finds that it is no use working hard honestly, that recognition, promotion and reward go by other considerations? If he is a spirited person with a decent pride, he will refuse to submit to injustice, resign, and seek service elsewhere. Otherwise he will stay on, but without interest and enthusiasm in his work. He will do as little as he can manage to, without losing his job.

There is a lot of controversy now as to whether the recent strike of Central Government employees was justified or not. For determining justification, the particular demands put forth by the trade union leaders are considered. It is also objected to that public sympathy is not with the strikers. The public, of course, are interested in the services they get, and the more indispensable these services are for normal life, the greater their opposition will be to any strike cutting them off. Postal and railway strikes can never hope to be saved from public hostility.

A strike however does not represent the whole picture of suspended work. It is only the visible

culmination of a process that has other varied forms of intangible, unmanifested incubation. For one strike that occurs once in a way, there are thousands of employees carrying on, rebellious and discontented, cherishing the spirit of strike in their hearts and souls. Who can blame them? They will be less than human if they fail to feel hurt at the affronts and indignities put upon them as a matter of regular policy by communally-mad Ministers of the Jagjivan Ram type. Jagjivan-Ramism is the fountain source of the rankling demoralisation that has its final explosion in strikes. It is easy enough to pass an ordinance and pick and choose indigent unfortunates for punishment as saboteurs guilty of acts of violence. But who will punish the source-authors of the whole tragedy of these times, the unprincipled dispensers of power devoid of human values, treating the assets of the nation as if they were patrimonies to be distributed to their kindred, the guilty men delighting in killing souls and taking pleasure in the dreadful pastime of forcing honest work out of fashion with inhuman, discriminatory rules and practices? While the small fry are hunted and made an example of, the greatest saboteur of all, the originator in essence of the worst violence and mischief of all, goes scot-free to reign in undisturbed honour, to cultivate afresh with more noxious seeds of injustice the soil for discontent, disgust, hatred, indiscipline, disruption and demoralisation, equivalent in their devastating effects on the economy to ever so many strikes which no ordinance and no steam-roller application of official terror can localise or counteract adequately.

Of all sections of the community, Government employees are closest to the administration, and they have a more intimate knowledge of its realities, so that they are better fitted than all others to test the pretensions of official propaganda with the actual facts

of day-to-day government. Led by the Prime Minister, other deities of the ruling party have fallen into the practice of equating progress with expenditure, and they are lost in admiration for themselves (and seek the support of the voters) over the thousands of crores they have already spent on their Plans and the vastly enlarged expenditure they have envisaged for the next Plan. It is only the Government employees who know, as a matter of their own direct daily experience, what a large facade of imposture screens the extravagant Congress claims for dispensation of public good. Here is a remarkable illustration of the manner in which governmental expenditure is allowed to be swelled by wastefulness, incompetence and sheer folly. (It is from an article of Prem Bhatia in the *Times of India*.)

Despite pious resolutions in favour of economy, there is no real effort by the Government, either at the Centre or in the States, to keep bureaucracy within manageable economic limits. Take the Central Secretariat in New Delhi, for example. There is absolutely no diminution of the extravagant scales of staff prescribed many years ago for Ministers, secretaries, joint secretaries, deputy secretaries and under secretaries. In no other country of the world is Parkinson's law being tested so effectively as in India. While departmental budgets rise in consequence, the proportionate increase in expenditure is not reflected in improved conditions for the workers. Considering the mad race for expansion, the Government cannot possibly provide much better wages for its employees in the foreseeable future.

A plain sample of precept taking precedence over example is the unwillingness of Ministers, big or small, to live in the simplicity they daily preach. If you turn over the pages of Delhi's Telephone Directory, you would be amazed at the staff requirements of most of Mr. Nehru's colleagues. Practically every Minister of the Cabinet is assisted by a private secretary, an assistant private secretary and a minimum of two personal assistants not to mention the armies of peons, dispatchers and *daftaries*. Even Ministers outside the Cabinet claim what can only be described as a lavish scale of clerical assistance. Deputy Ministers who do not have more than two hours' work

(Continued on page 15)

PEACE WITH HONOUR

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Slant in the policy of State Ministries is to a considerable extent determined by the weekly letters sent to Chief Ministers by the Prime Minister who surveys the progress of events from his Crow's Nest (some call it Ivory-tower) in New Delhi. Though some Cabinet members and heads of departments speak sternly about the punitive consequences incurred by strike leaders, I understand that the cue of amnesty runs through his last communication to the Chief Ministers in order to neutralise the bias towards severe disciplinary action. Peking has been busy in its propaganda about the strike describing the situation in offensive terms and picturing Nehru as something of a capitalist lucky bent on putting down the rights of workers in India. The accounts have been so provocative that the Prime Minister would have been justified in banning the New Delhi bulletin of the Government "China Today."

While the facade of strict accountability is maintained, we should be on fairly firm ground if compliance with the Prime Minister's directive amounts to a decision to treat by-gones as by-gones. As we know, the Central Ordinance of the President had in advance legitimized emergency action to be taken in the event of a deadlock. Some even question whether such a procedure had the element of conciliation which trade union leaders claimed was on the point of success. In his public remark on his return from Jorhat, the Prime Minister is exceptionally moderate and compassionate in his judgment. He would not be unhappy if the Blimps in the bureaucracy called him "Clemency Nehru". The first reaction of permanent officials who find spanners thrown into the machinery of administration would be the meting out of exemplary treatment which really means vindictive punishment. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the moral effect of strike leaders pleading that drastic action should be taken against them and their leadership, whilst the participants of the strike should be spared. Is not such plea for vicarious suffering significant?

The demi-official answer is that certain classes of strikers should be cashiered for good because they belong to the security services and they had also, some of them at least, committed acts of violence. With his faith in the sanctity of ahimsa, an important mediator, Mr. Asoka Mehta, would not condone resort to violence. Granting that the strikers were credulous dupes, it may

be that a few, more daring than the waverers, tampered with delicate equipments, or that by the interruption of vital messages caused loss to the Government, but all the same the quantum of guilt cannot be determined by specific deeds of defiance in a five day story and the sources of abetment. That it was a disastrous type of strike with suicidal potentialities cannot be questioned but in the aftermath it is questionable whether novices on strike were conscious of it as a "challenge" to the Nehru Government. It is now obvious that the Prime Minister in his public utterances does not don the mantle of righteousness in a clash with a long-term origin.

With his characteristic sense of introspection, the Prime Minister has groped his way into the conviction that the clasp had not been totally unprovoked. Downright resistance against arguments based on a tripartite truce on wages and the commitments of the First Pay Commission had not been fully honoured. Whether Labour Minister Nanda and Finance Minister Morarji Desai meant the same thing in their conception of obligations is doubtful, though on the latter's return some kind of a compromise that quickened the calling off is apparent. After all the Government of India is the biggest employer of labour and there is no squeeze of private interest of foreign incitement.

If some leaders with extra-territorial enthusiasm betrayed antipathy, the matter turned out to be of crucial concern to the Ministry of Home Affairs, where Pandit Gobind Vallabh Pant is accustomed to have his own way. Anything savouring of disorder is to him a defiance of democratic authority and a menace to public safety. If, therefore, he favours deterrent awards in order to prevent any policy of intimidation in the future, we should not be surprised at the personal equation, or his steam-rolling tactics.

The grace with which the dispute has been concluded could be spoiled by acts of petty reprisal. Since it is in the nature of a domestic struggle for subsistence standards, the emotional aspect of it should not be belittled. The policeman in such a plight of cross-purposes in our internal economy obeys orders under a strain because the maintenance of the price-line and the real value of the Rupee is as much his interest as that of the employees in some other category. Once it is granted that the upheaval was not in the nature of an uprising as witnessed in Kerala,

any act of accommodation by the Government cannot be construed as political appeasement. That all is not well is attested by the Prime Minister's prompt initiative in outlining a plan of wages that affords compensation against the vagaries of the price level.

The idea of adopting the Whitley Council pattern of regulating discipline and giving substance to allowances against fluctuations has been virtually accepted by the Central Government in place of the dreary demand about tightening the belt. Some of our professional economists who dogmatise on our industrialisation seem almost to imagine that higher standards of living to which we aspire are naturally accompanied by a regime of higher prices. The proposition is utterly fallacious and goes flat against the canvassing of Small Savings whose worth depends on the question whether what is given to the Government out of thrift is really a store of value that does not depreciate. Incentive in economic operation depends on fair play, which means economic stability.

If there is the trace of a vindictive sequel, we should not discount a blow to efficiency through a disgruntled staff who could by deliberate slackness or through searing memories prove a drag at a time when cheerful application to daily problems in our transition stage is absolutely indispensable. If the Government have benefitted by becoming aware of the need for steadfast prices, the natural effect would be the curbing of inflation and deficit financing even at the cost of postponing spectacular ventures in the craze for what Pandit Nehru himself once described as "gigantism". The strike was of course as big a mistake as the General Strike in Britain in 1926 when Pandit Nehru was there in the United Kingdom as a witness. I beg to be excused for a long quotation from his *Autobiography* just to underline the collective impact of a defeat in a strike.

"I was vastly excited, and my sympathies were naturally all on the strikers' side. The collapse of the strike, after a few days, came almost as a personal blow. I saw the haggard and pinched faces of the men and women and children and, more revealing still, I saw many of the strikers and their wives being tried in the local or county court. One case especially angered me: three or four women, with babies in their arms, were brought up in the dock for the offence of having jeered at the black-legs (now called 'volunteers' in our country). One reads often about class justice and in India nothing is commoner than this. But somehow,

I had not expected to come across such a flagrant example of it in England. It came as a shock. Another fact that I noticed with some surprise was the general atmosphere of fear among the strikers. They had definitely been terrorised by the police and the authorities, and they put up, very meekly, I thought, with rather offensive treatment. It is true that they were thoroughly exhausted after a long struggle Their spirit was

near breaking point. But still, compared to the poor Indian worker, there was a world of difference—the British miners had still a powerful organisation, the sympathy of a nationwide, and indeed world-wide, trade union movement, publicity and resources of many kinds. All these were lacking to the Indian worker. And yet that frightened and terrorised look in the two had a strange resemblance."

The psychological analysis is equally applicable to Indian workers in a similar predicament. Conceding for the moment the paramountcy and prerogative of the party in power, it is not now an issue about tempering justice with mercy by faultless authority, but of creating better conditions in the build-up of the Welfare State on which Parliament, by formal resolution, had set its heart as the national will. Let him that is without sin cast the first stone.

Ours
IS A LAND
of ancient culture
and tradition of
exquisite handloom textiles
famous all over the world.

To its length and breadth
now
WE INTRODUCE
the most modern quality Cottons
with an international reputation
for everyday use in every home.

DRILLS
COATINGS
TOWELS
BATH MATS
LONG CLOTH
BED SHEETS
BED TICKINGS

PRINTS
SHIRTINGS
NAPKINS
BLANKETS
CASEMENT
PILLOW CASES
FURNISHINGS

DAMASK TABLE LINEN

THE **BOMBAY DYEING** & MFG. CO. LTD.

...with an 80-year-old tradition of making quality cotton fabrics.

Available at all the Better Shops

80CS-30

A STUDY IN FREE VS. 'CONTROLLED' ECONOMY

By Prof. B. R. SHENOY

Member, Panel of Economists, Planning Commission

A visit to East and West Berlin is, as I now find it, a pilgrimage. I would recommend it to economists who are still wavering on the relative potentialities of freedom and State regulation, to administrators who think that controls are indispensable for accelerated economic growth and to ministers, legislators and politicians who believe that India's economic salvation is not possible without centrally directed five-year plans.

The contrast between the two Berlins cannot miss the attention of a school child. West Berlin, though an island within East Germany, is an integral part of West German economy and shares the latter's prosperity. Destruction through bombing was impartial to the two parts of the city. Rebuilding is virtually complete in West Berlin. Vacant plots are often used to raise crops. Buildings still in damaged condition are rare. The residential areas, including flats for workers,—of varying floor space, they are not chawls—and the shopping centres radiate boom conditions. In East Berlin a good part of the destruction still remains; twisted iron, broken walls and heaped-up rubble are common enough sights. The new structures, especially the pre-fabricated workers' tenements, look drab.

The main thoroughfares of West Berlin are near-jammed with prosperous looking automobile traffic, the German make of cars, big and small, being much in evidence. Buses and trams dominate the thoroughfares in East Berlin; other automobiles, generally old and small cars, are in much smaller numbers than in West Berlin. One notices cars parked in front of workers' quarters in West Berlin. The new phenomenon of workers owning cars, which West Berlin shares with U.S.A. and many parts of Europe, is unknown in East Berlin. In contrast with what one sees in West Berlin, the buildings here are generally grey from neglect, the furnishings lack in brightness and quality, and the roads and pavements are shabby, somewhat as in our cities.

The contrast applies, too, to shop windows. The departmental stores in West Berlin are crammed with wearing apparel, other personal effects and a multiplicity of household equipment, temptingly displayed. Nothing at all comparable is visible in East Berlin.

East Berliners visit West Berlin to take back un-noticed whatever goods they can buy. The food shops in East Berlin exhibit cheap articles in indifferent wrappers or containers and the prices for comparable items, despite the poor quality, are noticeably higher than in West Berlin. Walking into a restaurant in East Berlin, one finds the same contrast. The stranger's doubt whether payments will be received in West marks is soon dispelled. They are accepted with a twinkle in the eye. Coffee and ice-cream cost 3.10 marks; to economise on foreign exchange, coffee is heavily mixed with synthetics; genuine stuff alone is served in West Berlin and it may be had for half the price.

The frontier between East and West Berlin is nominal. There are no passport formalities as a normal practice. Foreigners, in particular, may move across the frontier quite freely. Generally, there are police guards only on the Eastern side. On the underground railway, movement between East and West is virtually free; the change in the uniformed station staff indicates the passing of the frontier. The generally shabby clothes of the people coming in is another evidence of the entry into East Berlin.

Visiting East Berlin gives the impression of visiting a prison camp. The people do not seem to feel free. In striking contrast with the cordiality of West Berliners, they show an unwillingness to talk to strangers, generally taking shelter behind the plea that they do not understand English. At frequent intervals one comes across on the pavements uniformed police and military strutting along. Apart from the white armed traffic police and the police in the routine patrol cars, uniformed men are rarely seen on West Berlin roads.

But Communist party men are eloquent. They have a ready explanation for the contrast between East and West Berlin. West Berlin is part of the dollar

There is nothing so degrading as the constant anxiety about one's means of livelihood. I have nothing but contempt for the people who despise money. They are hypocrites or fools. Money is like the sixth sense, without which you cannot make a complete use of the other five.

—SOMERSET MAUGHAM.

empire! For propaganda effect, American capitalists are pouring money into West Berlin; once this blood transfusion ceases, West German economy will collapse. East German prosperity, on the other hand, rests on solid foundations—hard and devoted work of East German workers. Though progress may be slow, it will endure.

This is a grossly misleading explanation. It is not true that West German prosperity rests on foreign capital; nor is it superficial and temporary. Though foreign aid played an important part in speeding up reconstruction in the initial phase, even so, aid between April 1948 and the end of 1954 was of the order of 6-7 per cent of the gross investment of the period. Foreign aid has played a much more vital role in the progress of planning in India; it accounted for 23 per cent of the investment in the public and the corporate private sector in the first three years of the Second Plan. It is much more true to facts to say that, as in the case of Canada, continued German prosperity attracted foreign capital, rather than that this prosperity rested on foreign capital. In recent years, there has been a net outflow of German capital, which amounted to DM 1.64 billion (Rs. 185 crores) in 1959, and yet German prosperity continues on the up-trend. Share values in Germany since 1951, keeping pace with the national product, have risen at an annual rate of 28 per cent, in a background of comparative price stability. This would not happen if the economy lacked in soundness and stability.

For an explanation of the contrast of the two Berlins, we must look deeper; the main explanation lies in the divergent political systems. The people being the same there is no difference in talent, technological skill and aspirations of the residents of the two parts of the city. In West Berlin efforts are spontaneous and self-directed by free men, under the urge to go ahead. In East Berlin effort is centrally directed by Communist planners, who do not lack in determination for speedy progress; the urge to progress is particularly strong, if only to demonstrate the potentialities of Communism to foreign visitors to the two Berlins. The contrast in prosperity is convincing proof of the superiority of the forces of freedom over centralised planning. It is difficult to resist the inference that workers in East Berlin, deprived of the incentives of full property rights over the fruits of one's effort, are loath to put in their best.

This is reflected in the unabated emigration from East to West Berlin. The emigrants have to leave behind all

their assets, save the clothing they wear and such valuables as they may carry unobtrusively. The route they take is usually the underground railway. Once in West Berlin, the emigrants are assured of hospitality at the reception centre at Marienfelde. Depending on choice, job availability and background, they then leave to the several parts of West Germany. The largest bulk of the emigrants is within the age groups of 18 and 45; the urge to leave is great among technicians, professional men and intellectuals. While the population of West Germany is growing, that of East Germany is declining. Communists can never give a satisfactory explanation to this strange phenomenon of workers, by self-choice, abandoning their paradise, leaving behind kith and kin and possessions, to start life all anew in a decaying community dominated by capitalist exploiters.

The flow of traffic, human and financial, is predominantly one way, from East to West Berlin. This is reflected in the glut of supply of East marks and in the exchange rate in the free market. One West mark buys 4-1/4 East marks, the official rate being one to one. Conversion at the free rate may be effected at banks or money changers at important railway stations in West

Berlin. This explains the twinkle in the eye when East Berliners receive payments in West marks at the official rate.

Theatres, news-stands and book-shops in East Berlin exhibit home products and propaganda material on the achievements of Communism. For a breath of fresh air and for the news, literature and amusements of the free world East Berliners visit West Berlin. Out of sympathy for them, Bonn and West Berlin subsidises cinema houses to permit their accepting payments at par in East marks, the amount of the subsidy being of the order of 10 million marks a year.

The contrast in achievements, which has widened with time, is a heavy strain on Communist nerves, and, doubtless, is a factor in the "Berlin problem". To begin with, East Berlin was better fed and clothed than West Berlin. With the coming of Professor Erhard's free market policies in 1948, —when he threw "into the waste paper basket, in one swoop, hundreds of decrees promulgating controls and prices" —West German economy began to boom and soon overtook East Germany.

Statistics of West German progress testify eloquently the superiority of the forces of freedom. The gross national

product of West Germany expanded at an annual rate of 17 per cent during the past decade, —a world record for a sustained rise at this high rate—and West German wages rose, during the same interval, by about 90 per cent. The international payments of the country were chronically in deficit, calling for doles, when "planning" prevailed; since the restoration of freedom to the producer and the consumer, the payments position has shown rising surpluses, German exports forging ahead from the fifth to the second place in the world.

That an innate conflict exists between freedom and progress is a delusion which is clouding the vision of policy makers in many countries, including our own. Policies ensuring economic freedom, in every case, have rescued economies from semi-stagnation, to which controls and statism had condemned them. The examples of West Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Japan, Hong-Kong and, more recently, France demonstrate this. West Germany has achieved, in less than ten years, more economic well-being for the citizen than Russia had done after 40 years of ruthless regimentation. Communism makes for sectoral, not general, progress.

"THE STRAND"

By QUINTILIAN

For an Indian who was attracted to English literature in all its various aspects when he himself was in the first flush of youth about twenty-five years ago, no more precious gift could be conceived than "The Strand". In strict terms this was only a magazine, but to the enraptured reader it was nothing less than a little argosy. There is nothing like it now. Those English magazines which still survive the rather heavy mortality that has overtaken them as a class are either noisy and boisterous or too "intellectual". With the passing of "The Strand" there also seems to have passed the species of short story magazines of which it was the exemplar. One may perhaps derive some consolation from the "Argosy", but it is conceived on different lines.

"The Strand" was worth its cost (which, in those distant days, was rather heavy). It was a fat, succulent issue. Its cover, containing views of the famous street in London from which it derived its name, always glistened. But even more appetising were the names of the principal authors whose stories it contained. In its earlier days its principal glory was Conan Doyle. It was in its pages that Sherlock Holmes was born, detected, was killed in a ravine, was rescued from a ravine, and then finally retired to keep bees on the Sussex Downs and write monographs on the ashes of cigars. Mr. Wodehouse also scintillated in its pages. I remember reading many stories of the immortal saga of Jeeves in "The Strand". Always the illustrations, often by distinguished artists, added to the enjoyment of the story. There was once a frontispiece of George, one of Mr. Wodehouse's lesser known characters, registering amazement when he met an escaped lunatic who gravely told him that he was glad he liked the weather because he had specially ordered it for him, which was worth a gold mine.

It will be really impertinent to discuss Conan Doyle or Mr. Wodehouse here. The reputation of both has extended far beyond the confines of the magazine which they adorned. But there were others, whom one may call lesser authors, who also dispensed cheer. There was Denis Mackail, who was of distinguished literary lineage. His sister is, I believe, Angela Thirkell, who might be considered a modern successor in some respects of Jane Austen. Their father was Prof. J. W. Mackail, the well-known literary critic. Denis Mackail himself wielded a light pen. His stories were charming, if slight.

His young men and young women (who were not always necessarily in love with each other, for he was acquainted also with other passions in their literary working) were creatures interesting to read about. Warwick Deeping possibly arouses no strong feelings of adoration in his readers nowadays. He was never spectacular. But there was a certain deftness in his very homeliness which commended him. It was all very soothing without being insipid. Old memories of many pleasant hours spent with him returned when I found recently many of his books in the British Council Library.

But "The Strand" went positively scarlet with Rafael Sabatini. He dispensed full blooded historical romance. To youthful enthusiasm it was not clear why he was not revered like Alexandre Dumas or Stevenson or even, to go the highest, Walter Scott. It is no longer a mystery now. However, I think that the neglect of this rousing writer by modern readers is not justified. Through his pages there thundered delightfully handsome cavaliers riding noble steeds, there slinked the crafty and hypocritical Roundheads, and when he crossed the Channel he gave largely of glittering lords and enchanting ladies. His principal hero was Captain Blood, a perusal of whose adventures is still rewarding. Captain Blood was a pirate on the blue seas. But his cruelties were perpetrated only at second hand, while his gallantries were immediate and engrossing. One could traverse with him the seas of the Caribbean, watch him fascinated as he performed unexpectedly and gloriously and emerged scatheless from his innumerable dangerous adventures. He was emphatically a man to capture attention. Yet Rafael Sabatini appears to be neglected today. A book of his does, it is true, appear in the Penguin series, but it is not a satisfying example of his art. In "The Strand" he dispensed his delights with gratifying regularity. Many of the illustrations, decked in handsome colours, did him justice.

I have only relatively vague recollections of H. de Vere Stacpoole. Yet I remember that his subjects were the Dutch Mynheers of the East Indies, then possessions of Holland. These were stolid, unemotional men who, nevertheless, were equal to all emergencies. Their relations with the "natives", who were depicted as shifty, unreliable, yet charming creatures, afforded much scope for his fancy and inventiveness. One has only to compare him with Mr.

Somerset Maugham, who has also dealt with these classes of beings to realise his deficiencies. But these were not very perceptible to enraptured youth and will, I think, not distress even the mature reader unduly. He transported you to a strange new world, and that was reward enough.

The magazine had delights other than fiction. Mr. Ashton-Wolfe (if that is the correct name) used to scarify his readers with stories of the Paris Surete. Many eminent statesmen of the day wrote instructive and valuable, if also slightly dull, articles, which often became homilies. An exception was Lord Birkenhead who, true to his reputation, wielded a trenchant pen. Then there were acrostics and other puzzles, which had the disadvantage of being recondite and obscure.

These were only some of the delights of the magazine. There were many

INDO - COMMERCIAL BANK LIMITED

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar
K.C.S.I., D.C.L. (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business transacted efficiently and quickly. Attractive rates on deposits which may be ascertained on application.

S. Krishnaswami,
Secretary

SIGHT TESTING MACHINE

Long, Short, Middle Age Sight Astigmatism and other refractive errors that cause weakness to Sight quickly diagnosed with SIGHT TESTING MACHINE & corrected with suitable spectacles. No drops used. Sight tested on all week days.

ANGLO AMERICAN OPTICAL CO.
68, Commercial St., BANGALORE

PHONE: 4229



Ready for use in

3 MINUTES!

"Dhideer"

Rice IDLI

○ Dosai ○ Mysore Bonda ○ Vadai
○ Tomato Sambar & Rasam
○ Tomato Soup & Pepper Water

Manufactured by:

SRI GANESHRAM & CO., Madras-1

Phone: 5365

Stockist: ASHOK STORES
183, Lansdowne Street, Calcutta

BHAVAN'S JOURNAL 6th ANNUAL NUMBER

Issue Dated August 7, 1960

CHIEF CONTENTS

KULAPATI'S LETTER ON: Trusteeship in Social Relation - Its Nature and Meaning - Gandhian Concept —by Sri K. M. MUNSHI

SITA VIVAHA (Adhyatma Ramayana)

NARADA BHAKTI SUTRAS (Translation)

SAUNDARYA LAHARI of Sankara Bhagavatpada (Selection)

RASA-KRIDA from KRISHNA LILA TARANGINI

KRISHNAVATARA —by Sri K. M. MUNSHI

PATHS TO PEACE — H. H. Jagadguru

SRI SANKARACHARYA of Kanchi

SANATANA DHARMA — H. H. Jagadguru

SRI SANKARACHARYA of Sringeri

CULTURE: WHAT IS AND WHAT IS NOT?

—SWAMI SIVANANDA

DOES THE GITA JUSTIFY WAR?

—by MAHATMA GANDHI

MAN MUST LISTEN TO THE MUSIC OF MORAL LAW

—PRESIDENT RAJENDRA PRASAD

4 Colour Plates: Radha-Krishna; Bhuvaneswari; Subrahmanya; Buddha-Sujata; Sakuntala

Over 160 pages

Price: nP. 50 only

Available from all News Agents & Railway Bookstalls or direct from

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, Chowpatty Road, Bombay - 7

TIRUVALLUVAR —SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

RAMAYANA AND THE COSMOS OF OUR CULTURE —DR. C. P. RAMASWAMI Aiyar

WHAT LIFE HAS TAUGHT ME

—SRI B. P. SINHA, Chief Justice of India

GARLAND OF DEATH —SRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM

AMERICA'S INTEREST IN INDIA

—AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH BUNKER

WHO SHALL GUARD THE GUARDIANS?

—DR. P. A. SOROKIN & WALTER A. LUNDON

YAKSHA PRASNA (New Serial)

—SRI K. BALASUBRAMANIAM Aiyar

DADABAI NAOROJI —PROF. A. R. WADIA

MILITARY EDUCATION —SRI H. M. PATEL

CARE OF YOUR CHILD'S EYE

—DR. B. Y. PARARNJAPPE

TAPASVINI (or the Lure of Power) Serial Novel

—by Sri K. M. MUNSHI

other famous authors who added to the gaiety of the nations, though it happens that their names escape my memory now. One would have thought that such a store-house would always survive. The decline, I think, began during the war; certainly, after it. It became truncated in size. What was more disastrous, the quality of its pages suffered. There was no longer the old God's

plenty of stories. Instead, there appeared mere cleverness, mere meretriciousness. In time came the dreaded announcement that "The Strand" would cease publication owing, it seemed, to the uneconomic costs of production. It will always remain one of the minor literary reproaches of the present generation that it permitted this glorious magazine to disappear. Its absence is

"keenly felt" not merely in the conventional phrase of politeness. It is a fact that nothing like it has appeared since. Many magazines dispense unreadable cleverness. The "highbrow" publications are meant for coteries. The world will search in vain for a publication, of satisfying size, handsomely produced, and above all with short stories by most of the first writers of the age.

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



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

SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT

8.267-X52

A product of Hindustan Lever Limited

HYDERABAD LETTER

GROUP CONFLICTS IN ANDHRA PRADESH

HYDERABAD: The warring groups in Andhra Pradesh Congress are now well poised for the biggest show-down since the formation of the enlarged State. Their battle ground will traverse the length and breadth of the State at every level of the Congress organisation. If their plans go right, the fight will be carried into the citadel of government itself.

The threatened show down stems from the decision of the Congress President, with his deep political roots in Andhra, to annul the election of the Powerful Pradesh Congress Election Committee. Ex-Minister A. C. Subba Reddy had to quit the Cabinet because of his desire to secure a strategic place in the Pradesh Election Committee. Now it appears that in ejecting Sri Subba Reddy, Sri Sanjeeviah was almost throwing out his Ministry along with his former colleague.

As the first Harijan Chief Minister in India, Sri Sanjeeviah initially received the greatest consideration, but there is now a concerted move to caution him betimes of the pitfalls ahead of him if he associates too closely with suicidal group conflicts.

Under the grand strategy finalised at Tirupati in the presence of Sri Sanjeeva Reddy, the fight for supremacy is to begin at the organisational level. The reconstitution of the Pradesh Election Committee would provide an immediate opportunity to assess the relative strength of the two dominant groups, one of them led by Sri Satyanarayana Raju and the other owing allegiance to Sri Sanjeeva Reddy. Sri Sanjeeva Reddy is said to be ready to return to his flock if necessary. The long term advantage of capturing the Election Committee would be to dole out Congress tickets to candidates of one's choice and thus ensure sufficient backing for capturing the future Ministry. A strong hold on the Election Committee would enable a group to swing the loyalties of the present lot of legislators to its side. Thus with the Election Committee coming into its hands, the aggrieved group would pose a real challenge to the Sanjeeviah Ministry. The Allori group is prepared to concede four of the nine elective seats in the Election Committee to its rivals while the Sanjeeva Reddy group hopes to wrest at least six of the seats. Almost all the districts in Rayalaseema and a major portion of coastal Andhra, it is claimed, are on the side of the non-Ministerialists. Too many disgruntled politicians in Telen-

gana, with a number of ex-Ministers thrown in, tend to tip the scales against the official group. The strategy will unfold itself further in an attempt to overthrow the present Pradesh Congress leadership with Sri N. Naroatham Reddy at the helm.

The battle for the Ministry may be won without a fight at all if the overtures reportedly made by Sri Sanjeeviah prove fruitful. Informed circles hold that Sri Sanjeeviah is in a mood to reshuffle his Cabinet and accommodate the nominees of the aggrieved group by dropping out two of his present Ministers. Sri Sanjeeviah's solution may not prove unacceptable, as it will save the Sanjeeva Reddy group from the opprobrium of throwing out a Harijan Chief Minister. Sri Sanjeeva Reddy, who is said to be none too happy as Congress President, would welcome a respite in Pradesh politics in that it would clear the way for him if he chose to return after the elections. It is however a matter for speculation as to how the Congress itself would fare in the next general elections in the face of the deep seated discontent generated by its policies.

The sudden swoop of the Special Police Establishment (SPE) attached to the Union Home Ministry on the Hyderabad Stock Exchange has caused considerable stir here. The raid of the SPE is connected with the alleged fraudulent disposal of Telengana securities worth Rs. 2 crores in November, 1955. A top official of the Finance Department is believed to be involved in these transactions. The official has since been rewarded with a prize post in a public sector undertaking. The State Government has been aware of the questionable deal ever since the late Sri Kala Venkat Rao unearthed it while he held the Finance portfolio for a short while soon after the merger of Telengana with the Andhra State. Sri Venkat Rao's efforts to pursue the matter were foiled by powerful communal interests. It does little credit to the State Government that the Union Home Ministry was compelled to intervene and order an enquiry by the SPE. The involvement of the Hyderabad Stock Exchange was the result of the manipulation of market quotations by unscrupulous brokers to depreciate the value of the securities and thus induce the official of the Finance Ministry to sell away the securities. The buyers of these securities were later found to have earned a big margin by reselling

the securities in Calcutta at higher than par prices. SPE has seized documents and registers incriminating prominent businessmen of the city. —D.N.

NANJANGUD TOOTH-POWDER
ALMONTINE
IMPROVES STRENGTH
SUBALA
HEALTH SYRUP
FOR HAIR PROTECTION
UNITED CONCERN
54, BUNDER ST., MADRAS-1
One stockist recognised for a town

JEEVAMRUTHAM
HEALTH & STRENGTH
MADRAS-17

ENGLISH LANGUAGE

INDIA DEMANDS Rs. 3/-

GENERAL CARIAPPA, RAJAJI, NEHRU
C. P. RAMASWAMI IYER, K. M. MUNSHI
C. D. DESHMUKH, MIRZA ISMAIL Etc.

MATHAI'S PUBLICATIONS, BOMBAY-7

For a trusted Treatment

for
DIABETES

Contact or write to:

MANAGER

ANANDASHRAMAM

VANGAL P.O., TRICHI DT.

MADRAS STATE



Vital to India's
planned development

ACC and SANKAR Brand Cements

build HOMES • FACTORIES
HOSPITALS • SCHOOLS...

For your cement requirements contact any CMI stockist or
The Cement Marketing Company of India Private Limited,
175/1 Mount Road, Madras.

For free technical advice on any concrete construction write to
The Concrete Association of India, 175/1 Mount Road, Madras.



THE CEMENT MARKETING CO. OF INDIA PRIVATE LTD.
The Associated Cement Companies Limited • The India Cements Limited

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

THE TWO MEN AND THE ISSUES

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

For the United States of America the present is clearly a period of introspection. The dramatic reverses suffered by the U.S. in recent months in the cold war and the amazing growth of Soviet economy and science are disturbing many Americans. The U.S. is losing its leadership of the Western alliance, some of them believe, and is even lacking in a sense of national purpose.

These fears and forebodings will figure prominently in the election campaign. But more than all this, the young, vigorous and untrammelled outlook of the two Presidential candidates—Democratic Party's John Kennedy (43) and Republican Party's Richard Nixon (48)—will give a new dimension to politics in the U.S.

Many observers have noted several similarities between the two contestants. But both Kennedy and Nixon are something new in terms of Presidential politics. Although young, they have had a great deal of experience, both of them very similar. Both became members of the House of Representatives at the same time, after the election in 1946. Nixon became a Senator in 1950, Kennedy in 1952. Both are ex-Navy officers.

Neither of them has ever worked with his hands or lived on a farm. Their entire professional lives have been spent in the U.S. Congress. Both are obsessed by an urge to make good. With Nixon it is the ambition of a poor boy to excel, to rise above his humble beginnings. As for Kennedy it is an ambition to prove that he is not a rich idler. Both men are controversial within their party and have brains, skill and personality.

But these similarities will fade away from public view when the campaign gets started. The two men will take positions and propagate views as far apart as possible from each other. One of Kennedy's favourite themes would be the failure of Republican leadership to bring glory and give strength to the U.S. The Republican administration has been described by Kennedy as "eight years of drugged and fitful sleep under President Eisenhower." He observed "Courage, not complacency, is our need today—leadership, not salesmanship."

Kennedy has the support of organised labour in the U.S. His espousal of their cause in the Senate has won him their support. In the recent steel strike

Nixon had made a rather stage-managed effort to appear as the champion of labour, but he failed to make a good impression.

Another important factor in favour of Kennedy is his running mate (a purely American expression to signify the Vice-Presidential candidate). Lyndon Johnson, the Southern Senator, will help Kennedy to get the support of Southerners who are proverbially conservative.

Kennedy has his weak spots. He is a Catholic and in all U.S. history no Catholic has ever ascended the Presidential gadi. Nixon has assured that religion will not be an issue, and many observers believe that Kennedy's reli-

gion will play only a small part in the elections.

Kennedy's lack of experience in the art of government will be a handicap. Although he has been a legislator for 14 years, unlike Nixon he has had no direct experience in government. It has been pointed out by some observers that his over-efficient, powerful machinery may create suspicion and resistance among many Americans. Both the Democratic candidates are exceedingly rich—Kennedy by birth, Johnson by marriage.

The Republican Presidential candidate, Richard Nixon, is a powerful opponent. The first thing in his favour is his vast experience in the art of government. For the past eight years, he has helped to shape government policies, and never before has a Vice-President been such a full participant in administration. Most Americans respect

(Continued on page 14)

SAVE FOR PROFIT AND PROPERTY



RATIONAL CURI - H. M. C.-1

MONTHLY 'DRAWS' — FIRST FRIDAY - EVERY MONTH

STARTING DATE: 27th JULY 1960

Rs. 10/- PER TICKET — 240 MONTHS — 1000 TICKETS

UPTO
Rs. 10,000/- AWARDED EACH ALTERNATE MONTH TO OWN YOUR HOUSE

IN OTHER MONTHS—'DRAWS' OF SMALLER PRIZE AMOUNTS

DATE OF FIRST 'DRAWS' 5th AUGUST, 1960

Class II Group	Curi Amount	Fixed Discount to be Foregone by Prize Winner	Monthly Repayment Instalment	No. of Months
A	Rs. 360	Rs. 45	Rs. 15	24
B	Rs. 480	Rs. 60	Rs. 20	24
C	Rs. 600	Rs. 75	Rs. 25	24
D	Rs. 1,200	Rs. 150	Rs. 50	24
E	Rs. 2,400	Rs. 300	Rs. 100	24

By Order of the Board — M. S. SRINIVASAN, Secretary
Repayment Instalment Commences After You Get Prize Amount. Before That
SAVE Rs. 10/- ONLY per month and enjoy BIG and UNIQUE benefit:
For a free copy of prospectus, rules and regulations Apply: Head Offices
HOME MUTUAL CHITS PRIVATE LTD.
RADHANAGAR — CHROMEPET

CAPITAL COMMENTS

THE CRISIS AND CONGRESS EXPERIMENTS

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Though Parliament will be busy for some time with issues nearer home, because of the strike and its aftermath and the situation in Assam, the Akali demand for Punjabi Suba and the Naga Affairs, it is not unlikely that before the end of the present session, China will again call for attention. Not less important than the exchange visits between the Chinese and the Indian official teams, the report on China in the larger context by a man of the eminence of Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery, on return from his recent visit to China where he had direct, intimate talks with Mao-Tse-Tung and Mr. Chou-En-Lai. From both the Chinese leaders he seemed to have had assurances that China wanted peace and was not interested in aggression. The assertion that according to the Chinese leaders, China will commit no aggression "outside her legal frontiers" does not necessarily mean much as there is room for controversy over what her "legal frontiers" are supposed to be or what she claims as her own "legal frontiers". And so long as controversies rage over any disputed territory and settlements are not in sight, the general situation is bound to be tense.

The border dispute apart, it is a matter for grave concern that, in the Field-Marshal's considered view, "India is not too well placed at the present time to live on equal terms with her great neighbours." With considerable sympathy for India and not wanting in appreciation of Mr. Nehru's leadership, he is appalled by the rural poverty in the country. He is also inclined to think that unless Mr. Nehru settles the Kashmir issue and strikes friendship with Pakistan, he will not be able to achieve much. Field-Marshal Montgomery finds something vitally or woefully missing in India, namely a sense of national unity and a common purpose among the people. And he is

forthright and frank in saying that "Mr. Nehru would be well advised to lose no time in tackling these problems", if India is not to lag behind China and lose in the process. It is Mr. Nehru's responsibility as well as opportunity. It is India's ill-luck that he is not at his best in a crisis. It was Mr. Subash Chandra Bose who wrote to him to say:

"When a crisis comes, you often do not succeed in making up your mind one way or the other—with the result that to the public you appear as if you are riding two horses." Nor is it enough if he takes a decision; he must also act, firmly and resolutely.

"He laughs best who laughs last", says an adage. Inside the Congress it is now Mr. Nehru's privilege to laugh last and best, having had at last his way on the question whether the Congress Executive should be partly elected or not. The man who found himself deserted by his colleagues in the Working Committee and virtually isolated, is now told that he could lay down the law, irrespective of their earlier, deliberate collective stand. There was perhaps no other way of effacing from the public mind, more particularly beyond this country, the impression that Mr. Nehru's hold on the men around him was rather slipping. It was really no issue of confidence: Mr. Nehru himself said so. If yet the High Command desired to square it up with Mr. Nehru whose stand in Poona it had refused to understand, it was not because of any belated conviction that he alone was right or wise, but because of an irrepressible desire to give no 'talking points' to Congress critics who had perhaps read into the Poona incident more than met the eye. It was a voluntary, though unconvincing, surrender as 'a sop to cerberus', without any qualms over the merits of the case.

There was a time when the Congress Working Committee was wholly elected.

But it occurred to Congress leaders that the system of nomination by the elected President would be in conformity with both democratic procedure and his own prestige and privilege. The era of nomination had begun, thus making it easy for the elected President not only to take those in whom he reposed confidence but in keeping out those not wanted, for one reason or another. If Congressmen could ever be made to feel that their President was not thrust on them but was one of their own choice, nobody would have possibly asked for a change. For, to tell the President that the Working Committee should be partly elected is to express a little want of confidence in the man who is supposed to have arrived there because of their very confidence in him. By the change now being effected, "as an experiment" (to use Mr. Nehru's phrase), future Congress Presidents will have to endure, sometimes, the collegialship of those whom they may not have liked to touch with a barge pole. Perhaps nothing like an experiment; certainly nothing like an experience. At any rate till Mr. Nehru gives another lead, the Congress will abide by his wishes—and be done with it.

The Congress President had a surprise to spring when he announced the panel of the "five eminent jurists" to inquire into corruption charges against Congressmen in responsible positions. The names of Mr. B. Jagannatha Das, Mr. P. N. Saprui, Mr. G. S. Pathak and Sardar Hukam Singh had already figured in press forecasts. Mr. Tiruvengkatachari is the dark horse of the team in the public eye, but those credited with horse-sense should not be in the dark for a minute longer when they care to know all about him. Apart from his professional distinction, he is one of the best connected men in the country, both as a son (of Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari) and a son-in-law (of the late Mr. N. Gopalaswami Iyengar). It is hardly surprising that double-barrelled guns should boom louder. Mr. Sanjiva Reddi is yet to find two more 'jurists', they say. Possibly they will be located outside the South and U.P. which are already well represented.

and has preserved it. Nixon has said: "Militarily, economically and diplomatically we maintain... a position of strength unparalleled in the history of the country."

Despite the importance of the issues facing the nation, there will be personal attacks like the one Kennedy launched on Nixon. "His party", said Kennedy, "is the party of the past—the party of money. His speeches are generalities from *Poor Richard's Almanac*."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE WAY OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Sir,—I wish to draw the attention of those concerned to the following: I received arrears of pay from 1-4-56 during November 1959 for which Rs. 62 was recovered from my salary as income tax by my department (Railways). Later on I was asked to apply for refund of the same as arrears of pay cannot be subject to income tax. Our department which was very quick to recover the tax without prior consultation of the Income-tax Department simply washed off its responsibility by asking me to apply for refund direct!

Accordingly I sent my application for refund of the tax on 22-2-60 by registered post (with acknowledgment due) to the Income Tax Officer, Salaries Circle, Kilpauk. But I am yet to receive the acknowledgment. I personally approached the department concerned dealing with refunds of tax after vainly waiting for one month and found that my application was safe. I was assured that I would be getting the refund order by post in a day or two and I was told that I need not go over there again. I have not yet received it and I am completely in the dark regarding the state of my application! If a man fails to pay the tax he is subjected to a lot of harassment. If they fail to refund tax who will question them?

Thus our public service goes on and on!

—S. KRISHNAMURTHI

SMALL FARMS

Sir,—Sri N. G. Ranga, Chairman of the Swatantra Party, is reported to have emphasized the indispensability of small farms. This however is not properly realised by many in authority. The small farms and the large scale farms stand almost in the same relation as cottage industries to large scale industries. For example, a small farmer can multiply improved seed and sell it to a large scale farmer. Even as independent units, well organised small farms have greatly helped to improve the standard of living of the tiller. As early as 1935, I (as the then head of the Agricultural Department in India) was firmly convinced of the truth of this assertion of Sri Ranga in spite of the fact that the public at that time was led to believe that agriculture was not a paying business on a small scale. My conviction was based on facts that came to light after the Government of that time had tried the method of small farms on an extensive scale. The crux of the whole success of such small farms

lay in supplying on loan at a reasonable cost the urgent needs of the farmer in time and in giving him free agricultural advice as regards crop diseases and use of improved seeds, etc. For this purpose, the Government had to keep depots and store-houses in selected villages and loans had to be issued before sowing time and recovered after the crops were harvested, either in the form of grains or cash. The system worked so well that within three to four years, the farmers whose families at the outset were in tattered clothes and bore hungry and anxious looks could wear decent clothes, look well fed and happy and thanked the administration for making the world worth living for them.

—V. A. TAMHANE.

A YEAR'S PROGRESS

Sir,—On 1st August 1960 the Swatantra Party enters its second year of public service. It is really very difficult to believe that this party is only one year old because it has accomplished within the short period of one year many great and good things. The very announcement of the birth of the party by its founder Sri C. Rajagopalachari, (on 4th June 1959) led to serious heart-searching among the rank and file of the ruling party. The party has also received very encouraging response from the masses as well as the intelligentsia. It may be recalled that among the first few eminent public figures that greeted the formation of this party were Prime Minister Nehru and Veteran Congressman Sri M. S. Aney. Rajaji's three-day tour of Gujarat was enough to compel the mighty Congress Government to change its earlier decision about the bilingual State of Bombay and people witnessed to their pleasant surprise the birth of Maharashtra and Gujarat States. The National Convention of the Swatantra Party held at Patna was an unprecedented gathering and the founder's triumphant tour of Northern India attracted world-wide attention. One great good that this party has achieved is the awakening of the intelligentsia. Lawyers' associations have begun to take keen interest in public matters. Educationists are getting the guts to prevent political interference in their sphere. Not only in economic affairs but even in foreign policy the Swatantra Party has given the right lead. Today we find the wisdom of Mr. Nehru's Panchsheel being questioned by one and all. Eighteen months ago nobody would have dared

SIDELIGHTS

(Continued from page 4)

a day must have a private secretary and two personal assistants. In fact, each Minister has come to acquire a sizable private secretariat of his own whether or not he needs it all the time.

Bad government, injustice, and incompetent and dishonest Ministers have made Government service unendurable for worthy men. Strike or no strike, much worse than the disastrous wastage of a strike has become a permanent feature of Government offices now, thanks to unprincipled Ministerial misgovernment. Let Mr. Nehru know that admiration for the standard of administrative rectitude of the old British Government has become universal in the country now, on account of dissatisfaction with himself and his Ministers. "Things are what they are and their consequences will be what they will be," said Mathew Arnold. The strike is the inevitable consequence of a killing atmosphere for which Mr. Nehru is responsible as much as anybody else, and the consequential end of this phenomenon cannot be treated in isolation from its causative origin. Draconian ordinances will not dispose of the strike. Only restoration of justice in the administration can. The strikers are already victims of bad government. To punish them further now is to inflict on them cruel penalty for the administration's failure. If the Prime Minister has any introspective capacity or balance of judgment left, he should annul his fantastic ordinance, withdraw the prosecutions, let the men go to work, all of them without exception, and apologise to them and to the country for having demoralised the administration with atrocious standards and wrong choice of Ministers and created conditions of service impossible to abide by for self-respecting men. —S.A.K.

to do so. Today wherever you go the subject of talk is invariably the Swatantra Party. The very name of the party has captured the imagination of our people. Swatantra is sure to replace the Congress Government in 1962.

—K. VEDAMURTHY

(Continued from page 13)

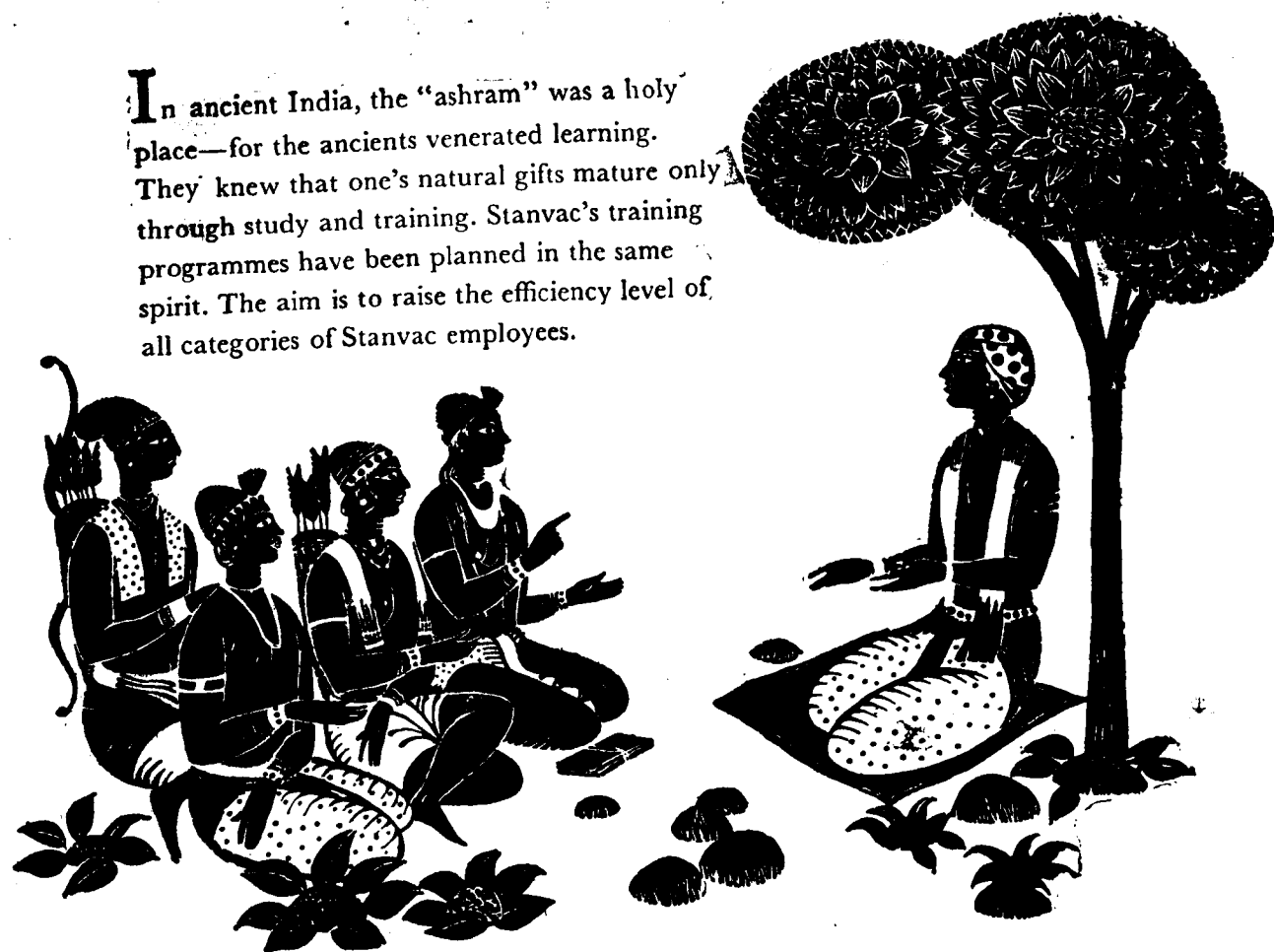
experience and make a fetish of it. Nixon's close association with President Eisenhower has transmitted to him some of Eisenhower's past glory although now Nixon is slowly trying to unhitch himself from the old guard of the Republican leadership.

Apart from these considerations, the basic question in the minds of most Americans will be: Which candidate can meet the Soviet challenge better?

The Democrats have accused the Republicans of bankruptcy and have said that the present impasse is due to the negativism of the administration based not on initiative but on reaction to Soviet moves. The Democrats call for clearer action in foreign relations, more government activity to stimulate the economy and a broader Federal welfare programme.

The Republicans say that the Eisenhower administration achieved peace

In ancient India, the "ashram" was a holy place—for the ancients venerated learning. They knew that one's natural gifts mature only through study and training. Stanvac's training programmes have been planned in the same spirit. The aim is to raise the efficiency level of all categories of Stanvac employees.



In 1959, Stanvac expended more than 48,500 man-hours to train employees in 30 subjects, ranging from basic courses in Business Management to advance courses in highly specialised phases of marketing and technical branches of refining and exploration. Last year, as many as 18 Indian employees were sent overseas, for advanced training, while 22 employees received assistance for higher studies.

Moreover, Stanvac training programmes are not designed for employees only. To enlarge the trained personnel pool—a matter of national importance—Stanvac extends its training facilities to key groups outside the organisation. In pursuance of this policy, Stanvac provides training to Government-sponsored personnel. The number of such people trained in 1959 totalled 40.



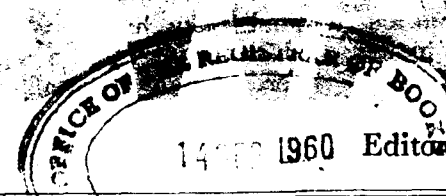
STANVAC —participating in the country's progress

STANDARD-VACUUM OIL COMPANY Incorporated in the U.S.A. with Limited Liability

PSWOC-104/60

Printed by R. Ananthanarayanan at the Kalki Press, Kalki, Madras-10 and published for Bharathan Publications Private Ltd. by T. S. S. Editor: KHASA SUBBA RAU

KARAJYA



Vol. V. No. 6

MADRAS, AUGUST 13, 1960

Price 15 nP

INDEPENDENCE DAY REFLECTIONS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Gandhiji waged a campaign for the substance of freedom and said he would accept it even if Britain were not willing to grant Independence in the strict legal sense. Today we might reverse the proposition and ask the question whether, although we have Independence, have we the substance of freedom? The Swatantra Party's view is that the Ruling Party has deprived Independence of the substance most essential for citizens.

That the organisation going by the name 'State' is necessary for modern human existence and progress must be conceded. But it is erroneous to assume that modern expediency demands the omnipotence of the State. Its power must be strictly limited if the citizens should feel and enjoy the sense of freedom. Ultimately in that sense, felt and enjoyed, lies true happiness; not in the 'standard of life' which can be achieved and enjoyed even in a servile State.

In a Socialist polity the State claims all power and what may remain untouched is left to the citizens. In a free polity the citizen has freedom and what power is needed for orderly co-operation is given to the State to be exercised against the citizen. These two conditions may, when put in words, seem very much alike, but in reality they are poles apart. In fixing the limits of power between the State and the citizens the citizen should be the primary and the State the secondary concern. If we proceed on the opposite basis

we shall have minimum freedom for the citizen and maximum power for the officials and the Ministers elected to power. But if we follow the proper rule, viz. that the citizen's freedom should be the primary concern as the Father of the Nation wanted, we should have a free economy and a free polity and minimum power vested in the State for necessary control and check of anti-social elements.

Not only was the Father of the Nation interested in minimum government, but the Constitution-makers who gave us the law in 1950 laid down the frontiers very clearly when they wrote down directive principles for a Welfare State and at the same time an obligatory chapter of Fundamental Rights. The ruling party has decided that India should be a Socialist State, which means that in the disputes between the citizen and the government the decision should be in favour of the latter. The Constitution has been amended in several respects to this end. In many matters even the Constitution as amended is being roughly handled and there is a slogan that the courts should march with the times in order to allow this rough handling.

Independence Day should be a day reserved for serious reflection and self-examination, and for free and frank criticism. Republic Day, 26th January, may be a day of ritual and rejoicing but Independence Day, 15th of August, should

be a reminder for introspection and criticism. The greatest need of the people is good government and the ruling party has signally failed to give it to the people of India.

The administration has deteriorated in efficiency, sense of justice and integrity. This deterioration is due to the improper intervention of party bosses and under-bosses in order to deflect the course of just and impartial administration. The Services have lost their old strength of character and are unable to stand up to the pressure put upon them by political managers.

The citizen's freedom is at its lowest ebb after thirteen years of Independence. The ruling party in India can ruin any man or group of men engaged in any trade or industry, a thing that is inconceivable in America or England, whatever be the displeasure provoked. The ruling party has devised an *ism* to cover up all faults and failures. This *ism* serves to raise undefined hopes and confuse and deceive the people, and to cover up intimidation, injustice and tyranny.

In a Welfare State, so called, the power of the ruling party is enormous, and if it chooses, it can perpetuate itself defeating all opposition at general elections. The period just before the election is utilised to pile up deceptive bribe-measures and to collect election funds for defeating all opposition parties. That in other countries where the parliamentary sys-

em of democracy prevails there is no provision for an interregnum at the time of general elections is no argument in a country where the ruling party holds a rope round the necks of everyone concerned in business, high or small, and where public funds are utilised so as to appear as gifts from the party for the special welfare of the poorest classes whose votes can be secured hereby. This practice of doubtful propriety can be stopped only if we have a constitutional law by which for a period before the elections a care-taker government should be put in charge of the administration.

LESSONS FROM SUMMIT FAILURE

Some way must be found so that the interests of ordinary men and women throughout the world are more effectively represented whenever the great powers gather in conclave for discussion.

In some cases, particularly in disarmament negotiations, the answer might be to have neutral countries like India as full participants. In other cases, the United Nations might have observers present. There is a great deal to be said for holding summit meetings regularly at normal sessions of the United Nations Assembly. This would both reduce the exaggerated melodrama which surrounds them at present and insure that the great powers take more account of world opinion. Incidentally, one by-product of the summit failure has been greatly to strengthen British feeling—which was already unanimous in both parties—that Communist China must be brought into normal diplomatic intercourse as fast as possible. Though its present policies are detestable, its physical power and political influence are far too great for the United Nations to continue pretending it does not exist. And to leave China isolated from the major organ of world opinion is to throw away one of the few available opportunities of exercising some influence on its development.

DENIS HEALEY in *The New Leader*

AN ECONOMIC MAXIM

"We must do what we can with what we have"

—ALBERTO LERAS.

THE TWO CHALLENGES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

We are told that the contributions made by companies to the ruling party are voluntary and therefore the law should not prevent it. First let us see what this argument means before I proceed to meet it.

If the commercial and industrial companies 'voluntarily' contribute huge sums to the Congress Party, then who is the rich man's party? Was it not a lie then to call the Swatantra Party the rich man's party or is it claimed to be only a subsequent development and a new wind-fall?

Are the donations to the Congress indeed voluntary? Have not some of the directors of these companies expressed disgust at the pressure put? What was the force that impelled voluntary promises so much before the elections? Who called the gatherings together at which a huge sum was underwritten?

செலாடு திருக் இடுவென்பது பாரும்
செலாடு திருக் இடு

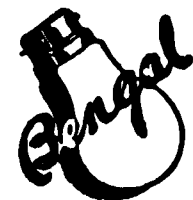
The ruler's request for gifts from his people is like the armed highway robber's demand couched in the language of politeness.

What is given to a prince who wields power is given in fear. Will the Congress Ministry give a public pledge before collections are made that they will not victimise those who do not give? This may be of great use if sincerely given.

The arguments in answer to my challenge about the Congress stepping out of office and giving the care of government to a non-party administration for six months before election time are equally fallacious. Where the ruling party has enormous powers over the economic life of the country and can ruin any one who incurs its displeasure or is suspected to have done it, it is impossible to have fair elections if the party is in power during election time. Parliamentary government is one thing, but the power of a 'Welfare State' administration alters the situation. Where the ruling party holds a noose

round every businessman's neck, (which is worse than the spear referred to by Tiruvalluvar) the votes given cannot be deemed as free votes. My proposal is not based on want of faith in the people as argued but on want of faith in the Congress Party, for which I have ample grounds.

The law in America against political contributions by companies is a sound law, and it is absolutely essential in India. Again if fair and free elections are to be run in a country with a Welfare State economy with regulations and licences and permits controlling all business, the ruling party must vacate for a period before the election. Otherwise it is easy for a party to perpetuate itself through the executive and legislative machinery which it can handle to its advantage. Especially is this the case when the people are not experienced in the many devices employed by political parties in power and do not know to distinguish between the State and the ruling party.



The Nation's Best

BENGAL ELECTRICALS CO.
MADRAS-17 — BANGALORE-3

RAM MOHAN
TRAVEL SERVICE

THE FOREMOST NAME

In National and International

TRAVEL
FOR 32 YEARS

Kempegowda Rd., BANGALORE-9
362, N. S. C. Bose Rd., MADRAS-1

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Press all round seems to be satisfied with the latest statements of the Prime Minister and the President on the official language issue. I agree that the President's order is not "inconsistent" with the solemn and specific assurance given by the Prime Minister on the floor of the House. But being not "inconsistent" is not the same as containing all that had been said by the Prime Minister.

The statement of the Prime Minister contained the definite assurance that the imposition of Hindi in place of English will be done only with the assent of the people of the non-Hindi areas. This very important part of the statement should find a place in the Presidential order. The omission of such a striking principle cannot but be deliberate. The Press appears to be of the opinion that after the recent explanations there is no room for any confusion now. I agree with Mr. Frank Anthony that the order of the Home Ministry running in the name of the President does require amendment in this respect. The important assurance given by the Prime Minister that in this matter the majority voice should

not prevail but that of the non-Hindi people, should be made clear in modification of the articles in the Constitution. The whole of that chapter should stand deleted. But at present the least that should be done is that the important part of the Prime Minister's statement expressed in unprecedented and clear terms but deliberately omitted in the order should be restored to life and effective force. The recent explanations do not achieve this. This should not be lost sight of in the satisfaction rightly felt at the withdrawal of an ill-conceived and discourteous demonstration.

The unity of India stands to lose as a result of tinkering with the *status quo* in respect of the medium of communication among the States and the official language of the Centre, and the various experiments contemplated in University education. All those interested in the unity of India have been protesting but an unreasoning ambition to push Hindi forward stands in the way of realisation of this danger and the Congress Party has not summoned up the needed courage to declare against Hindi.

THE STRAIT-JACKET

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Welfare State is the postulate of the Constitution of the Union of India: not Socialism. The difference between the two is the difference between a jacket and a strait-jacket. The former is worn for comfort, the latter is intended to restrict the movements of a person suffering from a violent form of insanity. Much of the advertisement done on behalf of Socialism and a great deal of its vogue in under-developed coun-

tries is traceable to the confusion between Socialism and the Welfare State, people equating one with the other. There are many ways of organising and maintaining a Welfare State other than the strait-jacket method known by the name of Socialism. The Conservatives have done it in Britain and America had been at it too. Socialism gives too much power to the State which must be exercised through highly paid officials. The

members of the bureaucracy at various levels become the masters of the economic life of the people. They hold together like a clique. Their contacts with those who for a profit produce and distribute and do other services required for the life of the society, result in various forms of corruption, concealed monopolies and exploitation.

These are turned to good use for political power-purposes so that the same group manages to remain in uninterrupted power although it is called a democracy.

Democracy can flourish only under certain circumstances. It requires conflict as well as social cohesion called 'affection' by Aristotle. It requires conflict, for otherwise the *Ins* would never get out. It requires social cohesion, otherwise the *Outs* would be waging perpetual civil war as the Dravida Kazhagam in South wants it. Social cohesion, Aristotle wrote, is more important than even justice. Developing classes and class jealousy for the purpose of votes is fatal to democracy.



Ready for use in

3 MINUTES!

"Dhideer"

Rice IDLI

○ Dosai ○ Mysore Bonda ○ Vadai
○ Tomato Sambar & Rasam
○ Tomato Soup & Pepper Water

..... Manufactured by:

SRI GANESHRAN & CO., Madras-1

Stockists: NEW MADRAS STORES

12A/13, W.E.A. Karol Bagh,

NEW DELHI - 5

SIGHT TESTING MACHINE

Long, Short, Middle Age Sight Astigmatism and other refractive errors that cause weakness to Sight quickly diagnosed with SIGHT TESTING MACHINE & corrected with suitable spectacles. No drops used. Sight tested on all week days.

ANGLO AMERICAN OPTICAL CO.
88, Commercial St., BANGALORE

PHONE: 4229

SIDELIGHTS ::

A hero, at whose shrine I worshipped, had the weirdest notions of economics and finance. He lived on loans. Borrowed money filled him with the same exhilaration as earned income. To do him justice, his personal wants were few, and he was neither greedy nor acquisitive. Always there was some public purpose round which his loan-raising campaigns revolved. No sooner did he make a sizeable collection, than mysteriously from somewhere experts would come to help him spend the money in the quickest possible time. Sometimes, instead of a loan, he would go in for capital to start a company. But loan or capital, it made little difference to him. He was as little troubled by anxiety over a debt to be repaid, as by the obligation of having to pay a dividend to justify the flotation of a company. The money of other people which he spent was colossal in the aggregate. While the spending lasted, the activities connected with it were prodigious. But none of the institutions he took on hand flourished. They were crushed under the burden of the debts raised to keep them going. At the end of it all, there was nothing to show for all the effort that had gone before. The net outcome was nil.

Pandit Nehru with his squandermania reminds me nowadays of this my hero of old. He has the same joyful attitude to the raising of loans, the same sense of achievement and fulfilment. But borrowing is no longer confined to national boundaries. It has become a global adventure. Ministers of the Nehru Government go about from country to country seeking loans. Our indebtedness to the United States alone upto now is a billion dollars. In the case of individuals, when income determines expense, care is exercised in spending, and every effort is made to see to it that each rupee of expenditure gives back its rupee's worth of benefit. This is what is called good

husbandry, avoidance of insolvency. But when spending has little to do with income, the restraints of prudence that go with good husbanding are broken. Spending is then indulged in without reference to solvency or even benefit.

In two recent issues of SWARAJYA, a correspondent made out, purely from official documents, some terrible examples of reckless extravagance on the part of Sri V. K. Krishna Menon, habitual recipient of the Prime Minister's plaudits for ability and efficiency. In the case of an individual, such reckless extravagance would have meant ruin straightaway. What produces ruin individually, cannot create something different in national economy. The ruin is there, all right, only its effect is deferred, covered for the time being by the illusory plenty of borrowed money.

The Five Year Plans place spending first. The quest for resources comes later. In human affairs, limitedness of resources stimulates wisdom in spending and ensures economical management. When this is the case, reckless extravagance of the Krishna Menon pattern would be automatically shut out. But when the psychological effect of limited resources on spending is removed by making spending the main thing, as in the case of the Five Year Plans, there will be cover provided for any amount of squandering, and parliamentary control over annual budgets is reduced to a nullity. The budgets become merely a procedural formality registering decisions already taken earlier elsewhere. Mr. Nehru claims that the future is being built up by the lavish expenditure of the present on the Plans so largely met from loans. That is precisely what my hero also used proudly to proclaim. He did not live to learn from experience when his paradise of hopes crashed, leaving

behind only chaos, misery and confusion.

A recklessly extravagant indebted man can build a palatial mansion and cut a fine figure in society with borrowed money. But his spectacular magnificence is itself a contributory factor hastening his ruin in the direct ratio of his advertised ephemeral opulence. Similar in character are Mr. Nehru's Five Year Plans. It is not prosperity they are preparing for the future, but bankruptcy, the inescapable nemesis of unrepayable debt.

Mr. Nehru's El Dorado of the future, built on the Five Year Plans as foundation, bids fair to be a phantom of illusions. For the present, advance signals of its promised advent are forbidding and frightening. More and more of debts, heavier and heavier taxation, the wastefulness of parasites, the corruption of the time-serving, the extravagance indistinguishable from treasonable misappropriation, of pampered favourites, the ceaseless expansion of bureaucracy, more intense concentration of executive power, less and less of freedom for individual initiative, soaring prices eating cruelly into the daily essentials of people's lives,—these are the dreadful and tangible and immediately patent fruits of Congress economic planning under the Nehru banner.

Professor B. R. Shenoy, one of our few independent economists, who has not yielded to the allurements of regimented economic thinking in Nehru's India of the Socialist pattern, has made a critical study of the exploits of Indian Planners in an article contributed to the famous American periodical, *Fortune*. His findings may not disturb the Prime Minister to whom his favourites are more important than the nation's interests, and to whom nothing seems to count now so much as his own continuance in power. But to others genuinely interested in the future of the country, Professor Shenoy's article is a call to

(Continued on page 13)

THE DIRECTION OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY FROM A CORRESPONDENT

Changing horses in mid-stream is never regarded as an act of wisdom, even in normal circumstances. What should one say when the substitute horse is at best a "dark" one, and the stream is not a placid rivulet but a raging torrent, full of eddies and dangerous under-currents?

This reflection is provoked by the report, more or less officially confirmed, that Mr. R. K. Nehru, India's Ambassador in Egypt, will shortly replace Mr. N. R. Pillai as Secretary-General of the External Affairs Ministry. It was originally a special post created, in the early years of our Independence, for a special reason.

When Mr. Girja Shankar Bajpai retired from the I.C.S., the Prime Minister, impressed by his vast experience and knowledge and remarkable talents, was anxious to retain him in service. For many years he had been Secretary of the Department in the Government of India dealing with the problems of Indians overseas and later was, for a time, a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of the same subject. Immediately prior to retirement, he was the Government of India's representative in Washington for about three years, during the latter half of the Second World War.

It is understandable that the services of such a man should have been utilised in the early years of our Independence. There was ample justification, therefore, for the creation of the post of Secretary-General in order to accommodate Mr. Bajpai. His grasp of many problems of international significance was sound and realistic. It was not his fault, but rather India's misfortune, that his advice was not accepted on vital matters by the Prime Minister.

Particularly in regard to China, after her illegal occupation of Tibet, Mr. Bajpai had no illusions left about China's expansionist aims. Had his advice prevailed, India would not have recognised her sovereignty over Tibet. Mr. Bajpai was opposed to anything further than the recognition of suzerainty, subject to Tibet's right to complete internal autonomy. Secondly, Mr. Bajpai's insistence on the reopening of an Indian Consulate at Kashghar in Sinkiang and on China's acceptance of the MacMohan line as prior conditions for the Sino-Indian agreement of 1954 was an indication of his anxiety and fears about China's long-term aims. As is now obvious in retrospect, the Government of India erred grievously at every stage in rejecting his advice.

Mr. Bajpai ultimately left the Ministry (to take up the Governorship of Bombay) in a mood of frustration and deep disappointment. On his retirement, Mr. N. R. Pillai assumed the burden of being the Prime Minister's chief adviser in the sphere of foreign policy. A less forceful person than his predecessor in office and without his exceptional flair for diplomacy, Mr. Pillai has nevertheless proved, with experience, an able guide in a difficult post which calls for immense tact and great industry.

We are now going through a process of negotiations at the official level with China in regard to our border disputes. How long the present phase will last no one can tell with certainty. It is significant, however, that both the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister have made it clear that our dispute with China is not likely to come to an early termination. In these circumstances, one cannot but view with grave misgivings the reported changes that are taking place at the top level of the External Affairs Ministry.

There was ample justification, as pointed out earlier, for Mr. Bajpai's appointment as Secretary-General; and sufficiently good reason for Mr. Pillai's elevation to that post on Mr. Bajpai's transfer to another sphere. But it is difficult to see any valid reason for the proposed appointment of Mr. R. K. Nehru as Secretary-General. He is due to retire from the I.C.S. in the course of the next few weeks. His appointment as Secretary-General will therefore necessitate his being given an extension for not less than a period of two years, because it is inconceivable that a man can hold such a key post for a lesser period.

To cite an analogy (which may be useful in dealing with this point) Mr. H. M. Patel was made Secretary-General of the Finance Ministry and functioned in that capacity until he vacated the office. No successor was, however, appointed and the post disappeared with him, presumably for the reason that no one was deemed competent enough to take over-all charge of the numerous ramifications of that Ministry.

A similar consideration should apply to the post of the same kind in the External Affairs Ministry. Lack of exceptional talent and experience is not the only ground for the suggestion that the post should be abolished, following the example of the Finance Ministry. Mr. R. K. Nehru, as India's Ambassador seems, like Sardar Panikkar, to have been greatly impressed with China's friendly feelings for this country and

Premier Chou En-lai's sincerity. It would be relevant—indeed it is necessary—to ask for the publication of the reports made by these two representatives of India during their terms of office in Peking. Recently, the Labour Opposition in the House of Commons sought to censure the Government for appointing Lord Home as Foreign Secretary. The objection was against a peer being selected—one, moreover, associated in the comparatively distant past with Mr. Chamberlain's "appeasement of Hitler" policy.

In India we are not dealing with a dead past in relation to China. For several years to come, we may have frequently to review our policy in the light of developments. If a Secretary-General in the External Affairs Ministry has to be appointed (though the reasons for the retention of the post are utterly unconvincing), at least let it be a man with obvious qualifications for the post; and one whose past record in China is beyond doubt or challenge.

The American Senate has followed the useful practice of screening individuals proposed for key posts. Our Parliament should claim a similar right and make sure that the man chosen to be the Prime Minister's Chief adviser on foreign policy is from every point of view a worthy candidate.

What must cause deep misgivings is that Mr. Pillai's departure from the External Affairs Ministry may be followed a few weeks (or months) later by Mr. S. Dutt's giving up his present post as Foreign Secretary for a diplomatic assignment abroad. Mr. Dutt, who had his early training under Mr. Bajpai, has throughout his career been an External Affairs official. For mastery of details and ripeness of judgment Mr. Dutt has few equals in the Government of India. It seems to be the height of imprudence to deprive the Ministry—and the country—of the services of two such officials at a time when experience and a capacity to reach independent conclusions should count for more than anything else in a situation full of risks.

INDO - COMMERCIAL BANK LIMITED

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar
K.C.S.I., D.C.L. (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business
transacted efficiently and quickly
Attractive rates on deposits
which may be ascertained on
application

S. Krishnaswami,
Secretary

CAPITAL COMMENTS

THE BOMBAY CHALLENGE TO THE CONGRESS

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: For some time Congressmen have been busy persuading themselves to believe—and trying to convince others—that the Swatantra Party has, in the country's political scheme of things, ceased to count, if it had not in fact ceased to exist. Indeed, the more sprightly among them claimed that the Swatantra Party was dead even before it was born. It is now an interesting sight to find them scratching their devoted heads and discussing the implications of the challenge from Bombay where the Swatantra Party showed not only signs of life but a decided proclivity for some kicking.

Congressmen in the aggregate are by no means conspicuous for quick or clear thinking. But to do them justice, they are not so dense as not to recognise that the Swatantra Party is, in one respect, extremely lucky. It has at its head one whose eminence is beyond cavil. Seldom in history do we find a party leader whose brains and character are equally priceless. A party which has so rare a man as its leader, even if it has little else to its credit or advantage, cannot be treated lightly by its opponents, however powerful or insolent. The opponents of the Swatantra Party, whether of the extreme left or of the Congress, have ignominiously failed to kill it by ridicule. They are just wondering what it is up to and, above all, what its incomparable leader has up his sleeve.

For all their airy talk or breezy confidence they know that they have to reckon with a leader who, as a political strategist, has none to approach, let alone equal him, in this country. The issues he has now raised in Bombay are of vital importance and far-reaching consequence. To ensure free and fair elections, Sri Rajagopalachari has asked Mr. Nehru to step out for six months before the elections—and then measure his strength. Whether it is a reasonable demand or not, it is a deadly challenge. He knows better than anyone else that no popularly elected Government ever recognises the moral compulsion of the deliberate sacrifice of a supreme political advantage. But he also knows that in asking for it, with the certain knowledge that there will be no compliance, he has advertised, to the world at large, that the

Congress has not the ghost of a chance of returning to office without the advantage of sticking to it and making doubtful use of its undoubted opportunities. And he has already created some confusion in the ranks of Congressmen who shudder at the very idea of going to polls other than as a party in power. It is also not unlikely—if anything, it is very probable—that all non-Congress elements in the country will make a common cause in demanding Congress withdrawal from office on the eve of the elections. But it is out of the question that the Congress which wants to rule the roost as long as it can, will commit political *harakiri* to convince the world that it does not believe in political aggrandisement or monopoly. However piqued he may feel as a result of Sri Rajagopalachari's challenge, Mr. Nehru will not—so his men swear—walk into the Bombay trap and run the risk of courting wilderness. He will not encourage any talk of a care-taker government as he is prepared to take care of the Government. At the next press conference he will surely turn down the Swatantra demand or challenge—and also, for aught one knows, shout at the talk of "mass bribery and an easy victory."

Nor can Sri Rajaji expect the Congress Government to enact a law prohibiting public companies from contributing to political funds—and thereby cut the ground under its own feet. He knows, JUNIUS feels sure, Omar's charming lines:

..... Why, ne'er a peevish Boy
Would break the Bowl from which
he drank in joy;
Shall He that made the Vessel in
pure Love

And Fancy, in an after Rage destroy!
No, it will not be done, for it cannot
be done. One's interests come first in
life; they come first, last, always in
politics.

This question of party funds that Sri Rajaji has raised is a most ticklish one. It was at one time thought "barely polite" in British political circles to talk "above a whisper about party funds". Never were they obtained by ordinary appeals or means. Patrons were found, having been liberally rewarded with 'honours', on a scale corresponding to the content of the contribution while,

for a wonder, the (British) Prime Minister was kept, as a rule "actually ignorant" of the transactions. There was J. A. Spender's warning that "we shall be no better but a great deal worse off, if instead of having to induce rich individuals to contribute for the sake of honours, parties are in a position to draw large funds from industries."..... Any student of history who knew anything about the sale of honours and the replenishment of the party 'war-chest' under Lloyd George, shudders to think of the evil in its extreme form. Lloyd George was asked, through *The Times*, by Lord Rosebery about the Election Fund: "What is this sum, how was it obtained, and what is its source?" Next day from 'Lloyd George's Office came "the curt reply":

We do not think it necessary or desirable at the moment to comment on Lord Rosebery's letter further than to say that the Fund which Mr. Lloyd George controls was raised in a way that does not differ from that followed by the Conservative Party or by the Liberal Party in the days before the Coalition, and that all along it has been devoted to legitimate party purposes.

Yet one knew then and more so later that Lloyd Georgian defence of the fund was a public scandal.

The Congress has its Lloyd Georges—at least miniature, who are supposed to have a free hand for the collection (and operation) of the election fund, with the Prime Minister kept at a respectable distance so that his sense of political morality may not be put to too heavy a strain, while he could, however, always, be trusted to defend his colleagues in the worst straits. But Sri Rajaji's suggestion, a challenging one, to keep public companies safe from political pressure, is so wholesome and so reasonable that Mr. Nehru should have no difficulty in giving the matter his serious consideration. Yet it is not as easy as it seems; for, the party bosses who are adepts in filling the Congress coffers (of course, for service to the country) will ask him, as indeed they were supposed to have asked him before, whether he wanted the Congress victory at the polls or not. If he did, well then, it was not expected of him to be too squeamish. Sri Rajagopalachari will be told that the Congress cannot just order its affairs to suit his taste or convenience. He is, however, entitled to the gratification of having done a public service in emphasising that "the financing of politics is one of the unsolved problems of democracy" and that the Congress is not the party to care more for values than for votes.

WANTON TORTURE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Imagine a conquering suzerain like Genghiz Khan offering at the point of the sword an option: "You people now integrated as part of my Dominions should choose between the acceptance of my religion in place of yours or learn my language outright as that course also would promote the solidarity of all the peoples of my Empire".

Were I in the position of a listener, I would go plump for religious conversion rather than a course of education "enriching" the Tartar language by mastering it through a grind in grammar, vocabulary and idiom. Those who are horrified at the notion of my apostasy belittle certain considerations. We have a variety of religions which in all its colours and shades comprise a wide spectrum of beliefs. In India, for instance, there is a religion which manages without a God while at the opposite end there are cults of animism with marginal provision for bowing down to "wood and stone". Next, there is a Christian sect that believes in the second coming of Christ as an accomplished event and who claim to live in the reign of bliss as against the faith of the Jews, the Chosen People, still awaiting the promised Messiah.

In religion there are diversities of operation but same is the spirit; and there is hardly any fertility-cult that in its past spared the priesthood from the duty of blood-sacrifice and infanticide. It is not a flattering pageant in the history of *homo sapiens* that we see, although the word itself stands for the "intelligent one" whose stock branches away, carrying the torch of reason from the darkness of his ancestors.

In the pious code of Genghiz Khan, there might have been many savage practices and arts of vindictive witchcraft composing his tribal observances. But even so, the call for faith is in terms of realisation more evocative of sober response than the acquisition of a barbarous language, though quite "the King's English" of the time.

In the zest of India's Constitution-making twelve years ago, the people of the Hindi-speaking areas installed their mother-tongue of diverse dialects as the official language of India in order to oust that so-called slave language known as English and further consolidate the nation permeated with pride of the past and of Indian culture. Genghiz Khan had no need to have his way with any snap-vote because His Majesty was the embodiment of the law, rendering any Constituent Assembly superfluous. Considering the choice

offered, I recollect that the religion held by me was the religion into which I had been born and not a formulation selected by me by laborious research in comparative religion. Chance found me in that camp, and the wisest of men tell us that all religions are one.

In the language of Western proselytism, all roads lead to Rome; Life is the beginning and Death the end. As for methods of propitiation, the Deity is there for all to approach by different routes. I have heard erudite linguists argue that both Hindus and Moslems contemplate the same God in worship, some speaking of Rama and others of Raheman. For them Allah and Brahma are the same, and who am I to say that varying appellations in monotheism constitute heresy or that

worship of many gods is a contradiction against the Greater Synthesis or conceptions of the Absolute? All concede that God is TRUTH but Jesting Pilates in the world have not been able to identify the image. As for the image in question, it is a moot-point whether as between God and Man, who represents the image. Turning in my mind the offer of Genghiz Khan (the Paramount Power of the time) and the welter of theological notions, I could, without batting an eyelid, persuade myself that all religions being true of the same purpose, I could, without any violent wrench of the heart, shift to a convenient specification. In experience students change their hostels and adults their clubs without any convincing reasons. And conviction is a subjective affair which has seldom any place in sociological adjustments.

I have spun out all this rigmarole to buttress my case that I would rather



Trayophane the wonder material for modern packing protects your products from MOISTURE

When packed with Trayophane your products remain factory fresh and the product packed is seen, as Trayophane offers 96% TRANSPARENCY

Pack in Trayophane & Protect your products—"Factory fresh Goods" are sold faster.

RAYON TRADERS PRIVATE LIMITED

GRAMS: "CELYARN" 61, SEMBUDOSS STREET, MADRAS-1.

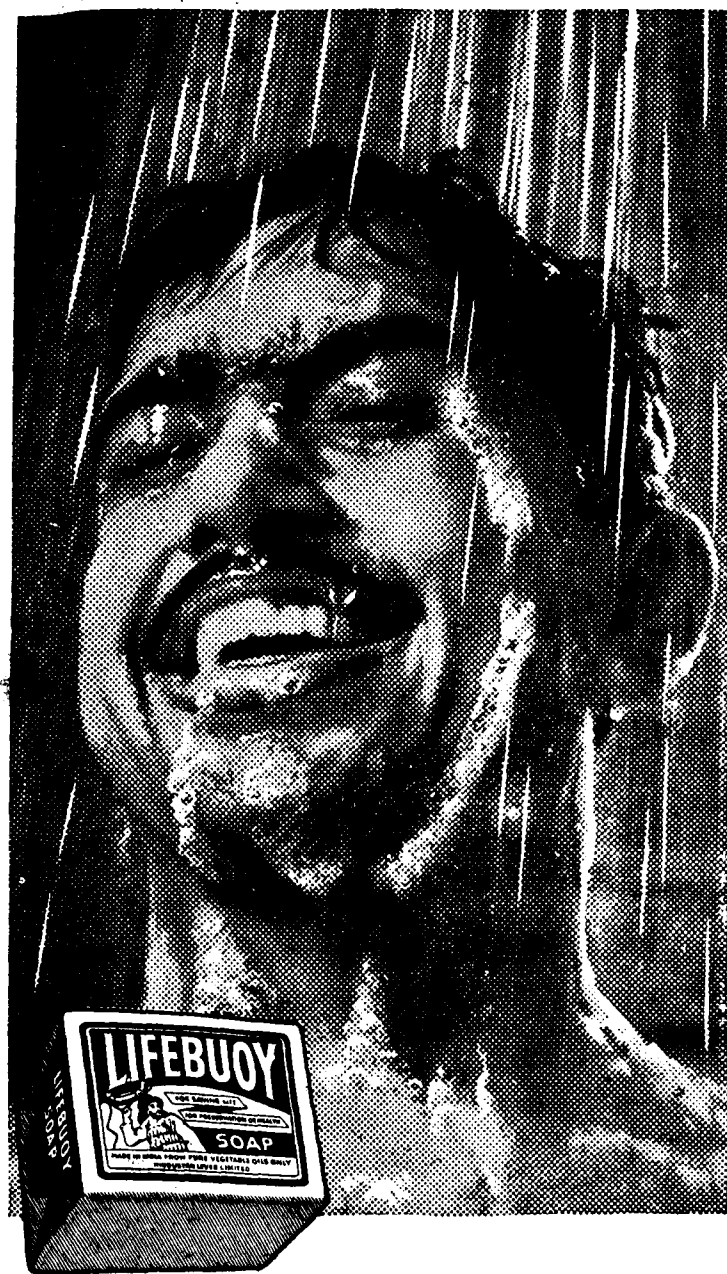
PHONE: 2164L

BRANCHES:-

Phone: 253. Grams: "CELYARN"
68/416, Main Road, SEVAPET, SALEM.
Phone: 598. Grams: "CELYARN"
114/A, South Masi Street, MADURAI.
Phone: 3441. Grams: "RAYONS"
United India Bldg. Avinasi Rd.,
COIMBATORE.

R₄

BT-24-54



Where there's
LIFEBOUY
there's health!

It's a thrill, it's a joy—a bath with LIFEBOUY!
For that exhilarating feeling of freshness...for the sheer joy
of it—there's nothing like LIFEBOUY SOAP!
And that rich LIFEBOUY lather washes away the germs
In dirt—everyday dirt that nobody can avoid picking up,
The whole family stays healthy with LIFEBOUY!

August 13, 1960

change my worship-group than undergo the agony of learning the abracadabra of a sterile lingo to make myself eligible for un-handicapped citizenship in an enlightened country under the rule of One Man, One Vote.

Is then your religion absorbed with your mother's milk of such light account to you? Certainly not. But look at the alternative. I might be found to be an absolute dud in mugging up the abracadabra aforesaid, but at the same time I am interested in living a full life during my sojourn on earth without too much of the experience known as "tightening the belt" for the affluence of posterity which hasn't done a thing for me. Every incident of conversion is an act of apostasy when observed from the other end of the telescope. But the kind of chauvinism that demands the sort of speech I should learn by a capricious dateline is for me a kind of despotism worth subverting.

The Great Khan's Falcon-Adviser, Kublai Khan, thought it a mighty idea that for every Kerala waterman mugging up Tartar speech, a Chenghiz muleteer should learn Malayalam, whereupon the Mighty Monarch said with simple commonsense: "I don't see why two people should torture themselves as if in reciprocity for no earthly benefit whatever". In the struggle for accommodating myself to environment I could also consent to take some drug to change my complexion and so eliminate pan-African prejudice. Plastic surgery might alter my profile a bit, but science has not caught up with the colour problem.

To descend from the ancient to the modern, the problems of artificial accentuation of languages with regionalism allotted, and the enthronement of an ill-evolved form of speech to arch over the level of pernicious conflicts at the grass roots—well, it is all a nightmare-picture by the test of utility and unfettered natural progress. To stunt the growth of English is worse than to wipe it out of sight.

English is still a common denominator in inter-State communications, the channel of All India intercourse, and the distinguished medium of world-contacts and scientific advancement. Such being the case, would it not be wise not to control the pace in this matter of enforcement by gazing at the clock-dial? President Rajendra Prasad is impatient with his scholastic directives to hasten the Hindi millennium, but it is never too late for second thoughts.

The classical teaching about statecraft and human welfare runs: "The office of Government is not to confer happiness but to give men opportunity to work out happiness for themselves."

August 13, 1960

SWARAJYA

9

THE MOST CHRIST-LIKE OF CHRISTIANS

By S. T. KASIRAJAN

Nearly two thousand years ago, St. Paul spoke of those who are "fools for Christ's sake." Since then many men and women have marched down the corridors of history, renouncing their comforts to serve their fellowmen. To that group of fools belongs Albert Schweitzer, described by Mahatma Gandhi as the most Christ-like of all Christians.

It happened in a market place at Colmer in Upper Alsace. Schweitzer was looking at the statue of a Negro. The image haunted him, for it symbolised for him the white man's brutish injustice to black men. "Is it true that we exploit the Negroes", thought Albert Schweitzer, "and their standard of living is at a sub-human level?"

He arrived home. He chanced to read an article about the Congo in a magazine: "While we are preaching to these natives about religion, they are suffering and dying before our eyes from physical maladies, for which we, missionaries, can do nothing."

He was grief-stricken. His soul was on fire. He felt mortified, of course for no fault of his. What he thought then, was recorded by him at a later day: "A heavy guilt rests upon us for what the whites of all nations have done to the coloured peoples. When we do good to them, it is not benevolence; it is atonement".

On the same afternoon, he took a vow to throw in his lot with the poor sick blacks in the disease-cursed Equatorial Congo and serve them.

His friends were stupefied. They fumed and fretted. Albert, they said, was throwing away a great opportunity of leaving his imprint on the sands of time. Even at the age of thirty, he had written an excellent book on J. S. Bach. He was a renowned Biblical scholar and a favourite of European audiences as an organist. He had almost established a philosophical dynasty for himself.

Albert Schweitzer answered them in one word by quoting Goethe: "In the beginning was the Deed".

At the age of thirty-one, Schweitzer entered medical school, and for seven years worked like a galley slave. He was on the threshold of becoming a physician and surgeon when something happened to the delight of his friends. He fell in love with a pretty girl, and it seemed that the man who lived laboriously scorning delights would be caught in the meshes of matrimony,

and would pack up his pet project. But they miscalculated. The river of life runs a different course with the mighty and the bold. Schweitzer went to Helene Bresslau, the daughter of a Jewish professor and bluntly proposed: "I am studying to be a doctor for savages. Would you spend the rest of your life with me—in the jungle?" His beloved answered: "I shall study to be a trained nurse." Then how can you go without me?"

So they married and started on Good Friday of 1913, the bride and groom, on a journey of mercy to a distant Negro tribe. What a wonderful honeymoon! Was there ever one such before?

They reached the disease-infected Lambarene. Albert's heart quailed when they came face to face with a land replete with snakes, pythons and puff adders and ravaged with sleeping-sickness, dysentery etc., a world swarming with disease-laden mosquitoes and tsetse flies, termites, and inhabited by a people who were a feeble apology for humanity.

Was there any plot of land fit to be a site for a hospital? There was even no place to keep the medicines. There was, as one might say, "no room for them in the inn." The doctor found a chicken-coop, and in desperation

claimed it as his hospital. The operating-table was an old camp-bed. Work began in right earnest.

The doctor's life in Lambarene became one long benefaction. The hospital has been expanded beyond recognition. Not a day passes without something being added, or enlarged or improved, or re-equipped. Lambarene has indeed become a place of pilgrimage.

The difficulties the doctor had to encounter were legion, not only the impediments caused by Nature—vegetable Nature, animal Nature, insect Nature—and the natives, but also by the official stupidity of the French Government, for when war broke out, the Clemenceau Government shipped the good physician back to France and consigned him to an internment camp! When the war was over, he found himself again in Lambarene. As late as 1946, he spoke of how it was impossible for him to leave the place of his life's work. "I ought to be thirty instead of seventy. But thank God I am passably robust".

This man is wrapped in an aura of shyness, and shuns the glare of publicity. But good deeds are self-propagated even as the fragrance of the rose is. He was found out and his exploits and escapades caught the eyes of the world. He was awarded the Nobel prize for Peace in 1952.

In the midst of all his multifarious activities, the good doctor found time

(Continued on page 11)

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA LTD.

THE LARGEST INDIAN JOINT STOCK BANK

(Established 1911)

Head Office: MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD, BOMBAY-1

Madras Office: 308-309, LINGHI CHETTY ST., MADRAS-1

Suburban Branches:

Addison Buildings	MOUNT ROAD
Victory House	MOUNT ROAD
China Bazaar	GEORGE TOWN
Ramakrishnamath Road	MYLAPORE
Mint Street	SOWCARPET

SAFE DEPOSIT LOCKERS AVAILABLE
AT OUR ADDISON BUILDINGS BRANCH

(air-conditioned)

D. S. SASTRI
Agent, Madras

N. K. KARANJIA
General Manager

LET US TAKE A WALK



'Walk and be happy, walk and be healthy,'
said Charles Dickens. 'The best
of all ways to lengthen our days is to
walk steadily and with
a purpose. The wandering man knows
of certain ancients, who have
staved off infirmities and dissolution by
earnest walking — hale fellows close upon
eighty and ninety, but brisk as boys.'

Bata

Bata Shoe Company Private Limited



DISINTEGRATION SINCE PATEL DIED

In the last nine years since the Sardar died, the policies pursued by the Congress have resulted in creating disintegration of our national life. The Congress preached unity and practised linguism. As a first step it carved out linguistic States under mass coercion on the plea of reorganising the administrative units. Then in the second step it surrendered itself to militant linguism; it failed to enforce effectively the safeguards for the minorities. In the hands of Congressmen, language is not a medium of expression. The linguistic minorities in some States are being looked upon as aliens. Linguistic chauvinism has become rampant. The 14 national languages to them are no longer interdependent media inspired by common nationalism. Each language, as viewed by many Congressmen,

is an instrument of an isolating and a dividing force. It is admitted that in the ugly episode in Assam, some Congressmen took an active part in the persecution of the linguistic minority of the State. What has happened in Assam is not an accident. It is the outcome of the processes encouraged by some leading Congressmen in the State whose sense of national solidarity is replaced by parochial assertiveness.

Another disintegrating factor, fostered by the Congress, has been its unwillingness to function, when in power, in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution. It has no national appeal to the people. It only tries to present an artificial unity by keeping strife-ridden State Ministries together, by manipulating its patronage and power. There is distrust between Congressmen and

Congressmen of the different States; their regional rivalries mar national harmony. And the Congress High Command maintains the mockery of a hollow unity by getting the Centre to distribute heavy doles among the States, all of which, like so many Oliver Twists, want more and more. And this in the name of welfare!

Even the Chinese aggression, played down by the Prime Minister, has failed to shake the Congressmen out of their self-complacent struggle for internal power. Thus the disintegration that we see around us is heading towards totalitarianism. For, as history shows, people love honest politicians with a sense of mission. But between corrupt, power-mad politicians and honest, efficient army men, people have been known to prefer honesty and efficiency.

—K. M. MUNSHI.
(From speech at General Council meeting of Swatantra Party in Bombay).

D. M. K. AND THE LANGUAGE ORDER

(The Madras and Central Governments have been quite properly agitated at the prospect of a black flag demonstration organised by so powerful a body as the D.M.K. when the President visits Madras next week for Republic Day.

The D.M.K. have chosen to exploit an important grievance: the Hindi policy in general and the President's controversial Order in particular. Accordingly the Home Minister and the Madras Finance Minister have made simultaneous statements assuring the public that the Order does not bear the interpretation put upon it, and that it is entirely in line with the Prime Minister's statement last year.)

Unfortunately, there is good reason to doubt these reassurances. The day it was issued, the Order aroused suspicion, and it has been criticised ever since. In fact it has revived the anti-Hindi agitation which the Prime Minister's statement had deflated. Would it not be best, then, to withdraw the offending Order and replace it by one in which the doubters' criticisms have been met?

The feeling is gathering strength in all non-Hindi areas, and especially in the southern States, that the President's declaration requires definite clarification. In a very reasoned and logical statement on the matter Dr. Krishnaswamy, M.P., analysed the President's declaration in great detail and pointed out where exactly it fails to live up

to the assurances of the Prime Minister. Irrespective of their political tags, all must agree with Dr. Krishnaswamy's considered view that the Presidential statement does go behind the Prime Minister's repeated assurances.

(It is no wonder, therefore, that the D.M.K. in Madras State has decided to launch on a vigorous protest, seeking modification of the President's declaration. It so happens that a Party which is notorious for its extremely narrow outlook and parochial tendencies has now adopted, on this subject of English and Hindi, an attitude which reflects the feelings of the entire mass of people in all the four South Indian States. It is therefore likely that a good case may be defeated by wrong patronage.

Rajaji has pointed out in no ambiguous terms, in the Tamil weekly *Kalki*, the dangers of the present situation. There is not the slightest doubt that the assurances given by the Prime Minister have deliberately been given the go-by in the President's carefully-designed declaration. Public feeling all over Mysore State is definitely in line with the apprehensions voiced by the D.M.K. But public feeling in this State is notoriously non-vocal on vital matters, and there is a danger that the case may go by default on this vital subject of the future of English and Hindi.

There is, therefore, urgent need for those who would work in the public

interest in the Kannada region to make their stand known in an emphatic manner. It is too much to expect Congressmen in this State—98 per cent of whom do not know even the Hindi alphabet but all 100 per cent of whom are Hindi-enthusiasts(1)—to do anything which would ruffle the feathers of the High Command in far-away Delhi.

—MYSINDIA.

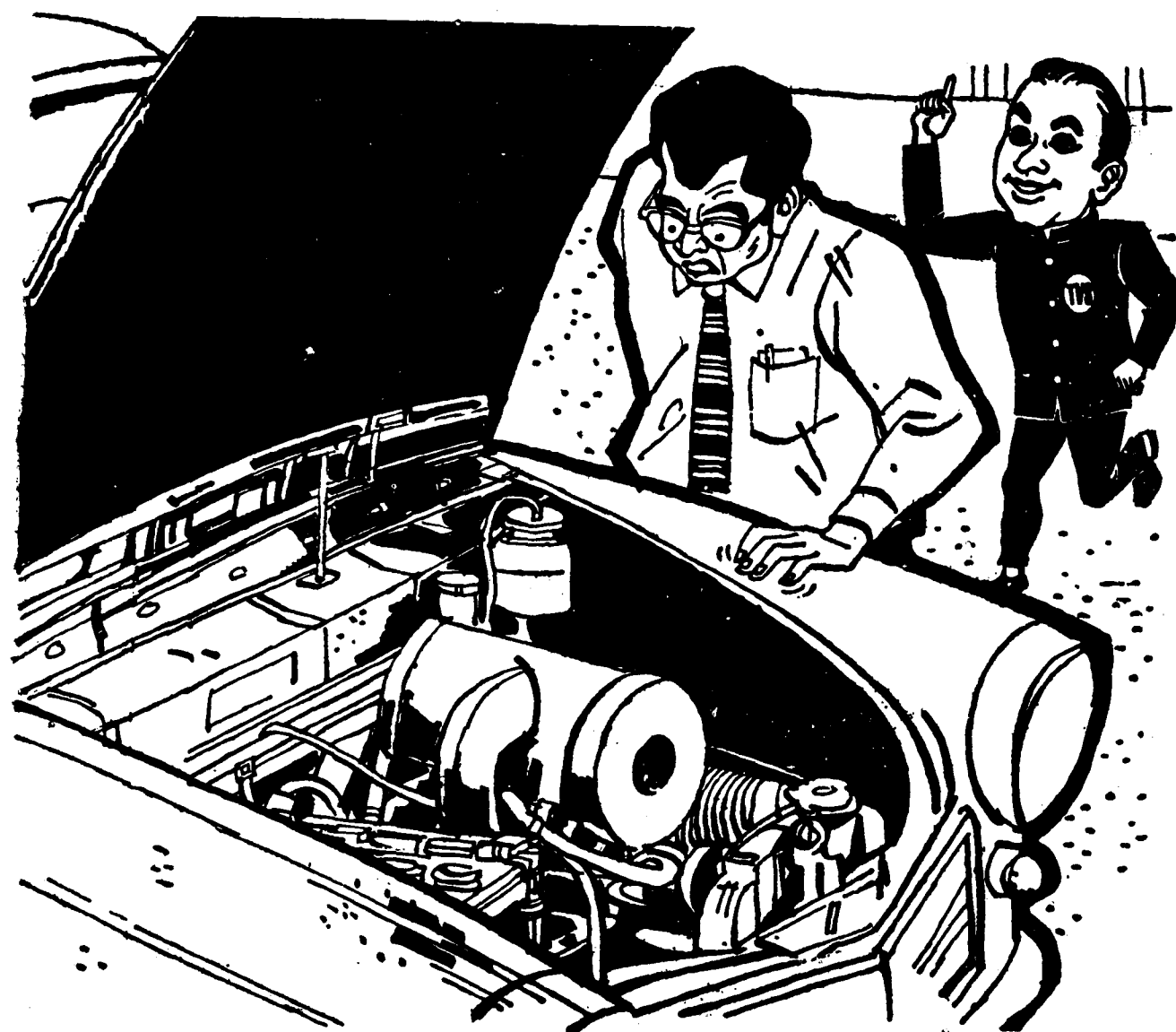
The Most Christ-Like of Christians

(Continued from page 9)

to write some monumental books which have been translated into various languages. His book *"My Life and Thought"* is going to be translated into Tamil.

His theory of reverence for life is no new doctrine, but the times have given it a new urgency. He knows full well the futility of pure speculation and he has no use for speculative philosophy. His philosophy is very simple. "There is", he writes, "an essential sanctity of the human personality, regardless of race or conditions of life. If that ideal is abandoned, the intellectual man goes to pieces and that means the end of culture and even of humanity."

"Only through love", he says, "can we attain to communion with God". In the words of J. Fescotha, "his warm heart irradiates", "that positive, illimitable love which is based on reverence for life; and in all that he does, reverence for life not only ensures for him a universal audience but makes of him, for all mankind, an incomparably important human being and one whose goodness-in-action has no end."



TROUBLE under the bonnet?

MADRAS AUTO SERVICE

specialise in servicing automobile
electrical equipment and radiator



THE SLIGHTEST defect in the electrical system of your vehicle can immobilise it. Take no chances. Have the complete electrical system checked by Madras Auto Service periodically.

We specialise in tuning engine; cali-

brating speedometer; checking and re-pairing panel gauges, starter, generator and radiator; rewinding armature.

We fabricate and supply (from ready stock) radiator core or assembly for all popular makes of passenger car or truck.

INVTYS-MAS-1099

MADRAS AUTO SERVICE PRIVATE LIMITED (Unit of TVS) Madras - Bangalore

SIDELIGHTS

(Continued from page 4)

action for termination of the present disastrous leadership and its replacement by a wiser and less dangerous one. Here are some of the Professor's devastating judgments on the prevalent methods of "planning" in India:

The Government's own programme of planned investment is contributing to inefficiency and to the misuse of resources.

Increased investment is resulting in relatively less product. The worsening of the employment situation in India is directly related to the misuse of capital under Central planning.

Central planning, plus big government spending, must also be held responsible for what is perhaps the most troubling aspect of the Indian economy—namely, inflation.

During the first Five Year Plan, foreign aid actually utilised amounted to 450 million dollars. During the first three years of the second Plan, such aid was more than tripled and reached 1.56 billion dollars. There is no doubt that such aid has kept the economy going and has patched up the effects of mistaken policies. But it must be asked by both the receivers of the aid and the donors whether it has really been used effectively toward the ends it is supposed to serve—i.e., real capital formation and a rising standard of living for the people. Here the answer is discouraging.

The servicing of debt is a manageable problem if productive capacity is being increased. It becomes an intolerable burden on the people if the debt is incurred for wasteful uses. The current thinking of the Indian Planners seems to be that debt service can be met by increased borrowing.

Present planning measures are clearly breaking down, yet India is now contemplating a third Five Year Plan more grandiose than those that have preceded it. The obvious threat is that in trying to carry through this new effort India will adopt ever more stringent totalitarian controls with consequent loss of individual and political freedom.

Enough has been written by Professor Shenoy to show that the present sort of Planning we are having is an intolerable burden and is only leading the country to ruin. If emotional involvements are set aside, it is clear that it is

now a patriot's duty to rid the country from the fatal grip of the present misguided rulers.

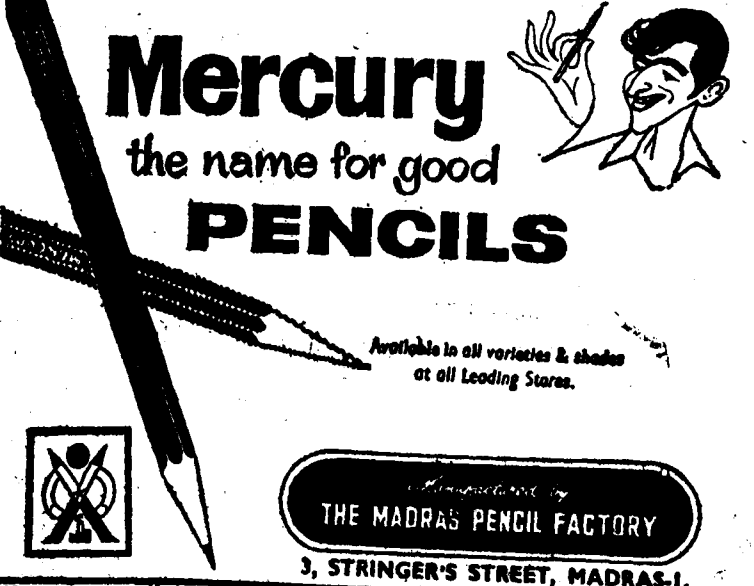
The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, in protest against the President's order on Hindi, threatened to receive him with black flags on his arrival in the City. The objectionable thing about this order was that it omitted to include the most important part of the Prime Minister's earlier assurance in Parliament that Hindi would never be imposed without the consent of the non-Hindi speaking people. It is fortunate that the D.M.K. abandoned their black flag demonstration plan on assurances from the Home Minister that the President's order meant no deviation from the Prime Minister's pledge; but certain established trends in the Government's way of dealing with popular grievances call for comment.

They seem to be impervious to mild requests and polite forms of appeal. It is only when agitation is intensified to assume unpleasantness that they show any signs of response to public opinion. The creation of Maharashtra and Gujarat as separate States came in response to riots—gentler methods of persuasion went unheeded. Encouragement of disorder and violence is implicit in the Prime Minister's refusal to allow a

debate in Parliament or in the alternative to appoint a judicial inquiry over the recent outrages committed in Assam. Nagaland was created almost overnight as if out of respect for the violence of the hostiles. An illegal strike was needed to bring the authorities to some comprehension of the urgency of relief to Central Government employees. All these things become precedents for the belief that normal means of approach for redress in difficulties are lost on the Prime Minister and his heart can be touched only by recourse to extreme means involving illegalities, disturbance and violence.

The President is not different from the Prime Minister as an exponent of governmental responsibility. He only gives his signature to policies decided on by the Cabinet. Why should an assurance, clear and unambiguous, of the Prime Minister, already received with satisfaction, be omitted in an essential respect in an order of the President, provoking discontent and protest and calling for explanation and clarification again and again? The appearance of correcting the error is offered by the Prime Minister as if in consequence of the D.M.K.'s threatened discourtesy. This too conforms to the pattern of only yielding to illegality.

—SAKA.



Mercury

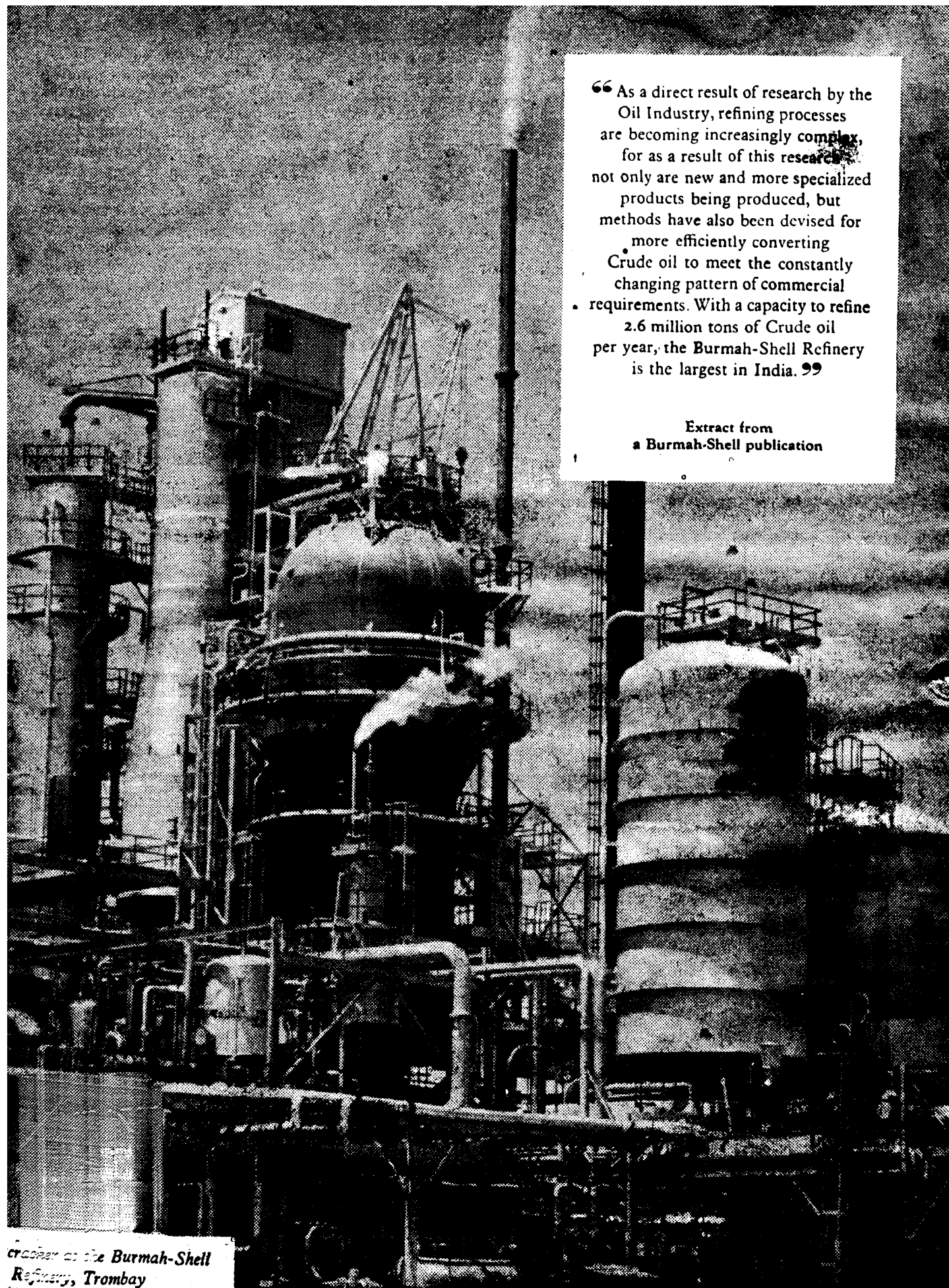
the name for good

PENCILS

Available in all varieties & shades at all Leading Stores.

THE MADRAS PENCIL FACTORY

3, STRINGER'S STREET, MADRAS-1.



“As a direct result of research by the Oil Industry, refining processes are becoming increasingly complex, for as a result of this research not only are new and more specialized products being produced, but methods have also been devised for more efficiently converting Crude oil to meet the constantly changing pattern of commercial requirements. With a capacity to refine 2.6 million tons of Crude oil per year, the Burmah-Shell Refinery is the largest in India.”

Extract from
a Burmah-Shell publication

cracker at the Burmah-Shell Refinery, Trombay

August 13, 1960

SWARAJYA

15

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BEHIND THE MASK OF DEMOCRACY

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

The race is on. More and more countries in Africa will emerge into freedom from the shadow of colonialism. In the context of this historical development, the experience of Asian and African countries which have already gained independence is of considerable value.

There are many dangers on the road from freedom to progress. The tyranny and lack of freedom evident in some of the newly-independent countries are sometimes ascribed to the historical process involved in the transition of colonial territories to sovereign states. This is not wholly true.

An examination of the internal situation in these two countries reveals disturbing tendencies. It has become increasingly difficult to understand, much less appreciate, the policies of the Indonesian government under Dr. Sukarno. Last Saturday, August 6th, the Indonesian President Dr. Sukarno announced the creation by statute of a "National Front", a new political organization designed to help the completion of Indonesia's national revolution. The Front, which has President Sukarno as chairman, has three-fold aims: to consummate the Indonesian national revolution, to establish a just and prosperous society and to bring west Irian within the authority of the republic. It would base its programme on the principles of guided democracy, guided economy, Indonesian socialism and national identity—all of which are empty words meaning very little to non-Indonesians.

What all this means to outsiders is that the National Front is only a cover for the many ills that beset Indonesia. Sukarno had said a few weeks ago, after his return from a long foreign tour: "I have only two superiors above me, first, God Almighty, and secondly, the people's Consultative Congress". Since the people's Consultative Congress did not exist then, he was being very modest.

With the swearing-in of the new *Gotong Rojong* (mutual aid) in Parliament a month ago, Sukarno's guided democracy was believed to have scored a victory over its opponents. The principal opposition was from the new Democratic League, formed when Sukarno was abroad as a protest against his plans for a single-party state. But the rightists in the League are supporting him. This rapprochement between the

rightists and Sukarno upset the Communists, who accused the Sukarno Cabinet of having failed to implement its three-point programme, and demanded reorganization of the Cabinet and the State organs. Sukarno passed a regulation assuming full powers to supervise, guide and even dissolve any political party.

The real answer to this came from Minister of Defence Nasution. Within hours of publication of the Communist party statement attacking the Cabinet, Jakarta's military administration banned *Harian Rakyat* for publishing it. The editor of *Bintang Timur*, a nationalist daily was severely reprimanded for publishing the report of the shooting of two Chinese women by Indonesian soldiers.

It was announced two weeks ago that a committee headed by Foreign Minister Subandrio had produced a report on "basic ideas on the function of the press in the atmosphere of guided democracy." The political parties, Dr. Sukarno and the army are playing a dangerous game which can lead to an explosion. Behind all this hide-and-seek is the distressing failure of democracy and the eclipse of freedom—if ever there was freedom in Indonesia. The army is in control of the administration and Sukarno's own independence is getting limited. Since the people's consultative congress is an impotent organ, Sukarno and Indonesia could be saved only by his other superior, God Almighty.

The situation in Pakistan, another country which has enjoyed the fruits of freedom for over a decade now, is equally disturbing. Writing in the American political journal *Foreign Affairs*, President Ayub Khan of Pakistan declared the other day that the Parliamentary system of Britain was unsuited to Pakistan. But he says he is not opposed to democracy. It must be suited to his people. He has manufactured an indigenous democratic system known as "basic democracies". He would like to divide Pakistan into 40,000 constituencies of one thousand persons each to elect local councils. His "basic democracies" are only partly elected and he would like these to elect Parliament and possibly the President.

Again, Ayub Khan's "basic democracies" is a feint to cover many unpleasant truths. All the talk about demo-

cracies cannot deceive close observers. There never has been any democracy, basic or otherwise, in Pakistan. There never has been a general election. After Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated in 1952, there were six Cabinets in five years, all of them mere puppets in the hands of a few powerful men. President Ghulam Mohammed and his successor Iskander Mirza were both utterly undemocratic men who created and dismissed Cabinets as they wished. Mirza did not allow the new 1956 Constitution to operate. These men feared the electorate. Without giving the people a chance to express themselves, there can be no democracy.

The Constitution commission set up by Ayub Khan is a boomerang. The questionnaire prepared by the commission has been before the people for over two months now. Demands for the establishment of a Parliamentary form of Government were heard from all quarters. Doctors, students, lawyers, politicians, editors, professors and, most shocking of all to Ayub Khan, even the mullahs, have advocated elections and the setting up of a Parliament.

This demand was met by the Government with a communique which said: "The Martial Law authorities warn all such people that objectionable activities of this nature will not be tolerated and the full force of the Martial Law will be brought to bear against them."

The behaviour of Pakistan is in many ways similar to that of Indonesia. It is difficult to offer an explanation. The problem is not merely an offshoot of disimperialism. Corrupt officialdom, self-seeking politicians, ambitious military leaders and economic disabilities create tyrants. Many countries which put on the mask of democratic institutions are ruled by autocrats who develop new techniques and give sweet-sounding names to tyrannical systems. The new nations of Africa and Asia are in the midst of temptations and require strong will to guard freedom.

For a trusted Treatment
for

DIABETES

Contact or write to:

MANAGER

ANANDASHRAMAM

VANGAL P.O., TRICHI DT.

MADRAS STATE

On this

MEMORABLE
DAY

Let us all pay tribute to our artist weavers for upholding India's traditional fame in the world of beautiful textiles. India's handlooms offer a rich treasure of vivid colours and varied weaves, every region of the country making its exclusive contribution.



DA 60/288



THERE IS LASTING BEAUTY IN
**HANDLOOM
FABRICS**

ALL INDIA HANDLOOM BOARD
Post Bag No. 10004, Bombay.

SWARAJYA

Vol. V.

No. 7

1960

MADRAS, AUGUST 20, 1960

Price 15 nP

THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ISSUE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

I am glad the issue of forcing English out and substituting Hindi in its place has once again come up to active notice. It was crude to put forth the threat of a far-from-decent demonstration at the time of the President's visit to Madras. But ambivalence, discourtesy, disorders and riots, however greatly and sternly deprecated, do seem to be the only effective means to induce rethinking on the part of the present Government of India. This is unfortunate but, alas, true. The language issue has been brought into focus again in that way.

This issue should be settled by reason and unbiassed non-party thinking, not to be settled by votes and certainly not to be settled by party discipline and package loyalty to Congress. The Constitution is the concern of every one in the Union, the concern of the least as much as of the largest part. The minority's protection, its only and final protection, is the Constitution. It is therefore pre-eminently the minority's charter, even if the majority may sometimes want to by-pass it. Similarly the official language of the Central Government is not the concern of the majority but of every one in the Union. It is a joint and several concern. Just as a family in the Hindu law cannot, by a majority bar a member of it claiming his rights, and even a single junior member could challenge all the others and stand up against the whole family and claim his right, the voice of the people cannot be

drowned by the noise of the Hindi speaking people, even though these be larger than any other single language group.

It may be good to remember in this connection that the Hindi speaking people are not a majority

COUNTERFEIT NOTES

"The forged notes constitute only a microscopic proportion of the genuine notes", said the Finance Minister in Parliament last Monday. The very large number of counterfeit hundred rupee notes seized so far do not indicate that the quantum of spurious notes which must be in circulation is negligible. Microscopic is a word that does not fit in with what is reported to go into a crore. Those who receive money for raw materials supplied in the countryside cannot get any satisfaction from the proportion that their own victimization bears to the total amount of good hundred rupee notes in the country. Deficit financing helps to keep the ratio down, no doubt! But in all conscience even Government must admit that the quantity of counterfeit notes seized is unprecedented in volume. It is an evil, horrible in its own right so to say, and cannot be minimised by stressing the proportion of it to the notes printed by Government in pursuance of the policy of liberal deficit-financing.

—C.R.

as is commonly supposed. Indeed if the dialects of Hindi, among which there is not always peace and concord, be taken into account the numerical claim of the Hindi protagonists is much reduced. But this is irrelevant in the present context.

The unity and the smooth running of life in India with its fifteen or more languages require the continuance of the medium which the people have been managing with, for the last many progressive decades viz., English. It is fallacious to mix up feelings of reverence, pride or classical love to interfere with a question of mere mechanical present purpose. Let us not choose the official language for Central and inter-State purposes, as a young man chooses a sweetheart, but on more reasonable if less romantic considerations.

No one will question the use of any language that finds its natural premier position in the bazaar and the common places of human intercourse. Let it be what is best suited for that purpose. But when we come to administration and policies of large import, the conversation, be it speech or be it writing, between State and State and therefore at the Centre must be through a medium that has hitherto served well and will continue to serve well with ease and with the least output of fresh human energy, voluntary, or compulsory. I claim it is English and English alone.

What is the public answer to the question? We have it already. No referendum can give a truer

answer than the present circulation of newspapers in India. The English language dominates easily in that field and without any political or party interference. The papers published in the English language command by far the largest circulation, and this is growing every day and not diminishing, even when we are engaged in controversy over the imminent ascendance of Hindi on the throne. All newspapers that may be classified as All-India papers are running in English. Not a single Hindi paper can claim to be of All-India character. What more proof can we find or demand for the concrete reality of fitness and expediency? That the most convenient and the most efficient medium for the discussion of policies of administration and State business is English is proved conclusively by the newspapers test. I called to witness this same dumb but convincing fact some time ago publicly and there was no answer or counter-claim. There is no answer possible.

And so I beg of those who have the good of the country at heart irrespective of party policies and local electioneering advantages to vote for Truth on this grave issue. I say again this is my private battle, not the Swatantra Party's battle. I stick firmly to the view that English and English alone should be the Central and inter-State official language so long as politicians and other people interested in public affairs throughout India prefer to buy and read English newspapers.

The request of the non-Hindi people is just and is supported further by the fact that English has worked and has been tolerated for over a century with no bad effects.

Bilingualism is a good compromise on paper but not in practice. It can be indulged in for the purpose of proclamations, notices and laws being printed for the public. But to let people working in the same office run in chaotic manner with a free choice between two languages is not conducive to efficiency, speed or economy. It is unreliable and

wrong unless our very object is to create discord and inefficiency and introduce political quarrels in administrative offices. It is strange that this is not realised and people talk of a bilingual solution of the issue. Bills and Acts of the legislature and the Ordinances of the President should of course be published in both English and Hindi. All promulgation of that sort should be bilingual or multi-lingual but not the actual work in offices. I repeat, the only commonsense solution is to let the *status quo* remain. We have eaten and found the pudding good. Let us not change and buy trouble. Let English continue as hitherto with the local languages at all those levels where they are necessary. The work in all the administrative offices and the courts have been running efficiently on this basis. They will be in complete disorder if anything new be attempted.

I was labouring for the right words to put it in when I wanted to say that there are some things in which the *whole* and not only a majority have the right to be satisfied, wherein a part has greater right to object to innovation than the majority can urge in favour of a change. A friend sends me by a strange coincidence the following passage, just as I was writing this, which he came across in the course of his study of the history of English literature:

"Where security of person and property are preserved by laws which none but the *whole* can repeal, then the great Ends of Government are provided for, whether the Administration be in the hands of One or of Many. Where any one Person or Body of men, who do not represent the *whole* seize into their Hands the Power in the last Resort, there is properly no longer a Government but what Aristotle and his Followers call the *Abuse* and *Corruption* of one. This distinction excludes arbitrary Power in whatever Numbers, which I look upon as a greater Evil than Anarchy itself".

This from one of Dean Swift's little known pamphlets puts the principle in impressive and clear language such as only Swift and Dr. Johnson wielded among English writers. There are some things that must be authorised by the

Whole and not by a Part however big be the size of the latter, where the smaller part must be treated with the same respect as the larger part, and without whose consent no innovation can be tyrannically introduced by force of numbers.

I am glad the Prime Minister has re-affirmed his original assurance in unambiguous terms. His words "till such time as the non-Hindi people want to change it" can well be called the *magna carta* of the non-Hindi people. But the words should go as a definite amendment and addition to the Order on language already issued in the name of the President. They could not be treated as rhetoric or surplusage, yet they were omitted when the Order was framed. That error should now be rectified in order to remove all doubts.

THE FLAG CODE

The Government of India have issued a Flag code telling people what to do and what not to do with the National Flag. The first and most important article in the code should be that neither National Flag nor any plausible variation of it should be used for the ruling party's party purposes and electioneering campaigns. *Organiser* has the following note on the subject:

"But there are quarters with whom misuse of the State Flag has become too frequent to admit of corrective restraint just with the aid of platitudinous do's and don'ts. *Nagarik* has in mind local Congress bosses who deliberately exploit the resemblance between *Charkha* and *Chakra* and use or misuse either, as and when it suits their purpose. He has personally seen Congress election booths, brazenly bedecked with State Flag buntings. The fact that it is Congress-controlled *Khadi Bhandars* which are generally constituted sale depots for the Chakra flags renders the performance of such wrongful practices easy. Convention may be a cure for ignorance or even negligence, but where misuse is wilful and purposeful surely something more is required."

—C.R.

COMPENSATION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

We are told that a 'panel' set up by the Planning Commission has expressed dissatisfaction with the land laws on the anvils of the various States and has in regard to compensation suggested 40 to 50 per cent of the market value of the land acquired by the State,—not for any public purpose for which land is wanted but in pursuance of its Socialist policy.

The compensation proposed in unabashed terms is half the value. This expressed ratio is a public confession that what is being given is not really compensation but something else not contemplated in the relevant article of the Constitution. The proportion of 50 per cent or any other percentage of that kind is not what the article in the Constitution as amended describes as 'principles' but proof of an unprincipled programme of expropriation without paying the compensation that is justly due.

A leading newspaper, bemoans the intervention of this 'panel' with its gratuitous advice and calls it a 'fifth wheel'. It is not quite certain who is bent on greater injustice and more authori-

tarian policy, the various State Ministers with the majorities behind them and trying to befool the electorate or the Planning Commission's panel. Ten times the land assessment, for instance, may be much smaller than 50 per cent of the market value and both would be a flagrant violation of the intent as well as the letter of the Constitution. Compensation is compensation and must be true compensation, not an arbitrary sum called by that name by the vote of the majority party in the legislature. The absence of words like 'just', 'fair', or 'due' before the word compensation in the Constitution should not be interpreted to mean that anything fixed by arbitrary will is compensation. The absence of an adjective leaves the substantive in its true and full sense. Everyone knows that compensation should compensate and not merely be a fraction of the real value. Indeed true compensation should include a solatium for compulsory deprivation, over and above the current market value. Market value too has now become the plaything of party policies and totalitarian power, but that is another matter.

THE PRICE LINE

'Holding the price line' is good. But what is good is not holding the line by ordinance or physical compulsion. Where the price has risen by reason of greed and conspiracy among sellers, one can understand pains and penalties imposed by the omnipotent State. But when prices have risen on account of what the State has done and is doing according to plan, the thing to do is to look into the causes and amend the error there. 'Fair' prices cannot emanate from the will of an official or group of officials or from the consumer's estimate of his own purse. The fair price for any article depends on the cost of production and transport and other incidental expenses. The cost of production rises with the rise of the price of raw

materials and of the labour employed. There may be vicious circles in operation, but they cannot be cut and put out of action by official fiat or prosecution. A fair price can be evolved only by actual competition among persons engaged in the production. Calculations in Secretariat rooms are likely to go all wrong and more often wrong by reason of politics than even through ignorance, which, too, is not negligible.

All the talk about holding the price line will finally lead to rationing and all its annoyances and inefficiencies and to the great monster, the black-market. Indeed the black-marketeering experts and middlemen, are eagerly looking forward to 'fair price' orders and the introduction of rationing. That

THE ILLS OF THIS ILLFARE STATE

A retired Executive Engineer in Mysore writes to Sri Rajaji:

I am full of sympathy with your movement of forming the Swatantra Party as an opposition to the Congress Party but I feel that as the latter is deep-rooted and can procure any amount of funds to fight the elections, by virtue of its power over the capitalists, it will take a long time before your party will be powerful to oust them out. Meanwhile, why should you not alleviate some of the bitter grievances of the masses, under the present regime, caused by their omissions and commissions? These should be advertised to the masses suggesting alternative solutions. You perhaps will be able to prepare a voluminous charge-sheet against them but I have listed only a few grievances here:

(1) Their inability to hold the price line of foodstuffs, cloth and other commodities.

(2) Their inability to increase food production in spite of wasting crores of rupees which does not reach the ryot.

(3) Their inability to govern properly as the administration has become utterly slack due to want of discipline and due to corruption in the ranks owing to undue interference of their own men with the executive.

(4) The utter neglect of the minority communities who constitute about 40 per cent of the whole population, by the major communities in every State, who monopolise all the advantages. Since the Ministers too belong to the major communities, the minority communities are distinct from backward and scheduled castes who are looked after by the Harijan Minister. Hence a Cabinet Minister has to be appointed in every State to look after the welfare of the minority communities, exclusively.

As regards the first 3 ills, the solution seems to be only martial law, and I suggest that you recommend to Pandit Nehru, President Ayub Khan's method as that only brought order out of chaos in Pakistan and that too, so quickly.

kind of holding the price line is just what they desire.

The legitimate and true way to hold the price line is to remove or at least reduce what causes the prices to go up. But the Socialist Government will not be agreeable to a straight-forward diagnosis. For that may mean revising the Plan, loss of prestige, change of policy, confession and possibly abdication.

—C.R.

SIDELIGHTS ::

Soon after a forthright declaration that there would be no further division of the country and no more formation of new States, Mr. Nehru yielded to the demand of the Nagas and announced the creation of India's sixteenth State, Nagaland. Doing something diametrically opposed to the spirit and letter of earlier pledges and assurances has become, by now, the recognised pattern of the Nehru leadership. The Prime Minister started as a vociferous opponent of the principle of linguistic division. Almost overnight, without a word of explanation, he gave administrative sanction to the very principle he had condemned, and brought into vogue the system of linguistic States. Almost in the same breath he ushered in bilingual Bombay. His speeches then were full of perfervid perorations on the beauties of bilingualism. Sometime later, without a warning, bilingual Bombay was split, and the Prime Minister poured forth rhapsodies of benign blessings on the new unilingual States of Gujarat and Maharashtra. Mr. Nehru indulges in public in spirited tirades on casteism. Yet he has permitted casteism to be exploited by his colleagues in Government as the basic principle in the recruitment and treatment of the administrative services. There is no uniform standard of justice, applicable equally as between man and man, in these services today. They are divided into privileged and victimised sections in accordance with the respective caste denominations of their individual members. That is why industry and initiative have been killed and six employees are needed now to do less efficiently the same amount of work done by one before the advent of the Congress regime. Mr. Nehru beguiled the public with the valiant pledge that not one inch of Indian territory will be allowed to be occupied by any foreign aggressor. History already mocks at his pledge. Over 30,000 square miles of our soil have been seized

by the Chinese, and for all practical purposes there seems to be no plan in contemplation for recovery of the lost territory. A caustic critic has asked the Prime Minister how many square miles in his arithmetic make one inch of Indian territory, and received so far no reply. The other day Mr. Nehru gave the public assurance that now the borders of India are perfectly safe. The very next day one read in the newspapers that there has been another Chinese incursion.

It has become difficult for anyone endowed with intelligence to take the Prime Minister seriously in view of the chronic contradiction between word and deed that has become the established staple of his administrative record. Judged by results he does not deserve to continue. That he still continues is an indication of the preponderance of party interests over national welfare in the deliberations of our parliamentary institutions. The governments are being progressively run by Congressmen for the Congressmen, observed Sri K. M. Munshi at the Swatantra Party Convention at Coimbatore this week. It is as an instrument of the selfish interests of a party organisation that has lost its character as the guardian of national interests that Mr. Nehru retains his position today in the government and in the legislature.

Bengal is an example of the developing apathetic attitude of the people towards the Congress government and leadership. The Governor of that State had to abandon this year the customary Independence Day reception. This breach in tradition was not a matter of choice. The reception was not held because it could not be held. It could not be held because no guests could be had to respond to invitations. Bengal turned its face away from the Independence Day celebrations as from a symbol of slavery that had become insufferable. To rea-

lise the intensity of this revolt, one should turn to the atrocities against Bengalis, reminiscent of the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy, committed in Assam, with a Congress government in power.

Acharya Kripalani's *Vigil* publishes a ghastly account of the happenings in Assam. Here are some excerpts:

"What strikes as astounding to any decent citizen is the complete silence of the Congress V.I.P.s on the offences against the women and children, even on the bestialities of gang-rape perpetrated on the girls and women by taking them forcibly away from their houses with pre-arranged plans. Trucks were ready, weapons were ready, fire-setting petroleum was ready—all from before. The blitzkrieg operations, even by students at places, were performed without the least interference from the guardians of law and order."

"There have been other stories of girls being ravished, children thrown into the burning fire of blazing huts, of mutilation of women."

"What is the price to be paid for a Congress election victory in Assam? How many girls' honour?"

These outrages do not seem to have touched the conscience of the Prime Minister as the head of the ruling Congress party. His one concern seems to be to protect his organisation electorally from the adverse effects of the Assam holocaust. How else is one to interpret his manoeuvre of evading discussion in Parliament over these matters on the ground that the present atmosphere is too tense? The atmosphere is tense because the outrages are inhuman. While in this case he wants time, in respect of Nagaland, he decided a national issue as though it were a simple matter of settling the tenancy of some unimportant private property of his own. Mr. Nehru has lost the faculty of dealing with public and national affairs in a manner different from the exclusively personal handling given to private property affairs, and this incapacity arising from too long a tenure of office, makes him authoritarian and totalitarian, and unsuitable for the restraints and deencies of democratic leadership. SAKA.

COTTON POLICY

"The Government's approach to the textile manufacturers is different from its approach to the cotton growers. It is persuasive with the industrialists and peremptory with the agriculturists" says H. M. Patel (by no means an ignorant critic), reviewing the recent policy statement of the Union Minister concerned. The industrialists are prospective fund-providers for the Congress. Hence the persuasive approach. "The growers, whether of cotton or foodcrops, are not organised and the Government can set class-hatred going among the rural population, tenants against owners, land-less labour against tenants, Harijans against caste Hindus and so on, and by that means, together with the leviathan funds collected from industrialists and companies, solve their election problems."

As a result of wrong policies cultivation goes from production of foodgrains to sugarcane, cotton, groundnut and other cash crops, until we definitely and shamelessly turn to foreign aid for feeding the nation. It is said that a project is afoot for building godowns for storing the American grains that must arrive. This is but wise. Wiser still it would be to import Americans to build these warehouses scientifically designed to keep off deterioration and loss. We may certainly expect these corollaries if not at once at least upon the next disclosure of mismanagement, which may be explained away as microscopic in relation to the huge quantities imported. There is advantage in centralisation. We get a huge reference-base so that any mismanagement can be shown up as microscopic. —C.R.

OVER-OBSESSION AND REALISM

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The thesis that if all the countries of the world remain non-aligned, war could be obviated and conversely that security-pacts amongst like-minded nations or regional alliances in defence would spell dangers of conflict, has been a fixation with Prime Minister Nehru who stoutly contends that even before Indian freedom, India had a foreign policy. During the freedom-struggle and the annual formulation of demands drafted for the Congress, Jawaharlal Nehru had (since his European tour of 1925 and his attendance of the Brussels Conference as a spokesman of India, conveniently at hand) always assumed a special role, namely, moving a resolution on foreign policy in the Congress pandal despite the incongruity that a dependent country could never have foreign relations. A survey of the international situation had grown to be an academic custom and a personal concession since it didn't do any harm but appeared to plume up the agenda. During the discourse in fluent repetition, what C.R. would call an obsession blew out of size. I refer to the sound generalisation uttered by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari at the Bombay session of the Swatantra Party's Council last July, when apart from the obduracy of the ruling party on certain de-siccated issues, he drew attention to an increasing risk in India's evaluation of her position in the world-flux of eddying events: "It is not right to be over-obsessed with an emotion that everything we may do may lead to general world war. We shall keep in mind that the aggressing party has as much interest in evading war as we have". The chronic belief underlying Nehru's penchant for wizardly uniqueness in foreign policy is that we have an extra-bodhisattva obligation in daily averting war: we are special custodians of peace by the writ of fate and that in foreign

countries, people are getting more and more appreciative of the part played by India in maintaining the peace-line.

The first obsession stems from Obsession II and accounts for the pet notion that even before the advent of freedom India had given her teaching on the *ultima thule* of foreign policy through the medium of Jawaharlal's resolutions and speeches even long before 1942. The drama therefore conforms to the prologue.

The peak-craze for monitoring the peace of the world is often reflected in solicitations to figure in truce-missions, the latest being an I.A.T. expedition to the Congo (the first of its kind, as boosted by the official hand-out) which "will fly and maintain the United Nations' C-119 Packet Aircraft". Pakistan must be rubbing its eyes, missing the extra-territorial honour whilst other Bandung Powers do not seem to have dreamt of the opportunity for prominence. India is still short of personnel to man the border violated in the Himalayan range, but in her responsibility for world-accord, the prosecution of foreign policy seems to have entailed the sparing of mechanics to assist the C-119 packet aircraft (UNO). India, as an architect of cosmic concord, has never been a laggard; but it is nevertheless a symptom of what C.R. would regard as proneness to over-obsessions.

A similar obsession of a much more bulgy kind can best be illustrated by a Montgomery approach; and Montgomery is a friend of India who only a few months ago stayed as the Prime Minister's personal guest in Flagstaff House, with pictures put out of their discussions in camera on the world's future. After a hop to China, Monty gave his opinions on civil matters with no little finality as at the time of the last British elections (October 1959) when he announced: "Anybody who



TIK-20

A TATA-RSON PRODUCT

KILLS BED BUGS

votes Labour should be locked up in a lunatic asylum".

The peril to the security of India through lingering *status quo* is insignificant, though smuggling is a problem inseparable in maritime countries; but we by a certain habit of mind, fomented ever since 1947, go into a blue fit about foreign enclaves as a matter of alluvial principle, namely, that a foreign foothold is flagrant derogation of sovereignty after India's "hardwon freedom". By way of conserved emotionalism, would it be wrong to put the question whether we are not in the drift of an obsession when we have a lot more to do than in demanding that Lisbon and Paris should vacate aggression in a dead set, whilst China under our very nose is turning the heat on us, marching forward and seizing 35,000 square miles for a start in Hans expansionism through the Tibetan highway sportingly ceded by India in per Panchshila chumship? What would happen if the emotional dissipation over Goa and attempts at boycott and vain trade-strangulation, were allowed a pause? I believe this sense of an intolerable wrong and abomination about alien presence on sacred soil is the hang-

over of high-school education early in the century when we all learned that Western invaders crept through the coast by initial landing: Portugal in Surat and Calicut, France through Masulipatam. The invincibility of sea-power used to be our postulate. There is the impulse of sub-conscious race-memories in Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon's feverish concern in his allotment of crores to strengthen the naval arm firmly integrated with air-power to avert any repetition of history. The British in their over-all consolidation didn't bother or regard the coastal dents as doors carelessly left ajar. Salazar may misgovern Portugal, but his militarism is no worse than Franco's Fascism. The Goa question and Pondicherry urgency, keep sparking off excessive feeling, because from the third-form a new generation has been taught that cession is a self-evident, sequel to British evacuation.

In the Lok Sabha, the Prime Minister warmed up on August 4 and stressed that we are not on talking terms with Portugal. Spain has diplomatic relations with England though Gibraltar is here as much as Goa is ours, but still unsundered for reasons of historic apa-

thy not worth a fight to rectify. Many pro-Goa volunteers impatient of police action grumble at Jawaharlal's expense, whispering that if the Sardar were alive he would have walked into Goa and planted the tricolour. In terms of speculative history, it is quite as conceivable that he might let it well alone, for the time being, and concentrate on more serious violations of *Panya-bhoomi*, strictly reducing superanties of reproof for the security of the world. Barring metaphors, they are no more ulcers on the face of India than Hong Kong and Macao on the face of China: are they then squeeze-worthy pimples? Even the obsessee must scratch his head.

Speaking of spots on the skin, our Prime Minister despaired in London, since he didn't know what to answer when ancient centuries were recalled, the Pope allotting the East to Portugal and the West to Spain: the comic touch is there but it is today of a cobweb of no interest. The Chinese are in no hurry to seize Macao nor Australia to bag Portuguese Timor. They survive as archaic relics, and they do not evoke the fury of recent trespass nor the comparison of old maps traceable to the days of Captain Cook. The emotional surge whipped up with recollections of Albuquerque and French outrages on the Coromandel coast are disproportionately developed and staged.

The Field Marshal fears that India is badly placed in the balance of strength in her neighbourhood, hoping to flourish, separate and serene, in a live terrain where China has dynamic elements of solidarity compared with India's supine features of unity. He assigns Formosa to Mainland China with not even a remote dream of a plebiscite for 12 million *Formosians*, but Monty paused to make a remarkable statement: "Hong Kong is British and if any one touches Hong Kong there will be War, with a capital W". And China does not make a fuss about it, as we do about Goa and Portuguese enclaves and the non-de-jure dilemma of French locations. War with a capital W (Monty's phrase) is not in focus, because, frankly speaking, there is a lot of over-obsession in this enclave question as compared with the swallow-up, in affable progress, far away in the Northern Frontier—with 200 years of Bhai-Bhai friendship. It must be a tedious sight in heretics, this straining at gnats as a diversion of the eyes to the drama of swallowing camels. Pluming himself on non-violence, the Prime Minister predicts that the Goan problem will "solve itself". Why then tear passion to tatters over what is round the corner, over-obsessed?

THE P. M. AND PUBLIC OPINION

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

Pandit Kunzru raised a far-reaching question regarding the democratic conscience of the Prime Minister when he asserted that public opinion was opposed to the continued functioning of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon as Defence Minister. It is clear that the people have no confidence in him in view of his antecedents as a regular Communist in London for years prior to Indian independence. Nor has his record as Defence Minister, especially since the aggression of the Chinese into our borders, been such as to inspire confidence in his will to defend Indian security vis-a-vis Communist aggressors.

Apart from members of opposition parties in and out of the Parliament, even several spokesmen of the Congress Party have expressed doubt and suspicion of the Defence Minister's role vis-a-vis the Chinese invaders and the armed forces generally.

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru is the respected President of the Servants of India Society and a liberal leader of well-informed views and sagacious judgment on public affairs. He is not a "professional opponent" of Congress or of Pandit Nehru.

But the Prime Minister's reply was staggering and raised the whole question of the spirit and letter of democratic functioning under his lead in this late phase of his career. He repudiated the suggestion entirely and denied that it could be said with any plausibility that the Defence Minister was distrusted by public opinion. "What is public opinion?" he asked. "Can the handful of opposition members in Parliament be regarded as better spokesmen of public opinion than his own party men?" As for newspapers, they are mostly moved by big business. In the circumstances, the Prime Minister declared that he regarded himself as entitled to represent public opinion better than others!

This answer derives added point and meaning when we remember the Prime Minister's remark sometime ago that he was more than a prime minister! He was obviously referring to his position in the public imagination, particularly that of the masses, as a national liberation leader and the heir of Gandhi. No doubt a plebiscite may still vote dictatorial powers to him as a charismatic leader of the people!

From the standpoint of democratic form, there is no doubt that the Prime Minister is right. He has an overwhelming majority of members of Parliament to support him on all issues put to

them. Party discipline and voluntary conformity stemming from a personal ambition will secure such a rally of Congressmen behind Pandit Nehru.

But the question cannot be dismissed whether in this and other grave issues, the Prime Minister *does actually* enjoy the willing support of the general public for his dubious ventures and policies. In the matter of the Defence Minister—who is right, the Prime Minister or Mr. H. Kunzru?

A fair assessment of all the expressions of opinion, party and non-party, through the press and platform, pamphlet and poster and cartoon (as well as demonstrations before Parliament and the P.M.'s house and processions in the public streets of many towns throughout the country) indicates that in this matter (and the P.M.'s policy towards Red China generally), the forms of democracy are opposed to its spirit and substance. The gulf between the P.M.'s policy and public sentiment is plain and undeniable.

This situation obtains in essence in regard to all the crucial issues of the Prime Minister's ultra-radical Socialistic pattern of society which has turned out to be only an ante-chamber to regular Socialism of the Kremlin variety, barring so far only the element of police terror and compulsion.

Can it be claimed that the thousands of Congressmen who dutifully lifted up their hands at Avadi in 1955 in support of the "Socialist pattern of society" realised what they were doing? Had they understood the implications of the pattern or structure that they were asked to write into the Congress Constitution cheek by jowl with the Co-operative Commonwealth? Did they realise that the two mantras were contradictory to each other, on the cat and rat analogy—*marjala mushka nyaya*?

It is well-known that the bulk of Congressmen themselves have made no intellectual attempt to understand the implications of Socialism. No less a Congress leader than the redoubtable Mr. Hanumanthayya of Mysore said on the platform of the first founding Convention of the All-India Agricultural Federation (a sponsor of the Swatantra party) at Bangalore that the Socialist Pattern of Mr. Nehru was contrary to the Indian traditional Dharma, was unnecessary as a political gospel and will go the way of Akbar the Great's Din Ilahi.

And at the Nagpur session of Congress the socialist pattern of land reforms with its Communist features of

liquidation of property and abolition of peasant proprietorship in due course elicited open opposition on the part of prominent Congress leaders like Mr. Charan Singh. Those in touch with these affairs derived the impression that "socialist agriculture" was not favoured by a majority of Congressmen though they passed the measure under the Nehru diktat.

If this policy does not command the willing support of a majority of Congressmen themselves, it goes without saying that it fares worse with the general public. Innumerable land holders' associations led by the All India Agricultural Federation (and many on their own initiative representing the bulk of opinion in rural India) have mobilised opposition to the official land reforms.

The leading newspapers of the country issuing from State Capitals and enjoying wide national coverage as well as small weekly papers of independent intellectuals like *Swarajya*, *Thought*, *Mysindia* and *Indian Libertarian* have expressed considered criticism of these land reforms. Here again the formal majority support to Mr. Nehru in Congress and Parliament departs from the spirit of democracy.

It should be remembered that the sections of the public participating with adequate information in the formation of public opinion on official policies are very small in numbers in relation to the vast magnitude of the total electorate, which is mostly illiterate. The sections actually expressing themselves intelligently on public affairs are not inferior in representative status to Mr. Nehru and his Congress machine.

Thus today on crucial matters, the dissident opinion is more faithful to public sentiment and thought than the party machine. To challenge this judgment Mr. Nehru has only to withdraw the party whip and allow his supporters in party and Parliament to follow their own conscience and vote as individual citizens. Far from doing this as



cup full of cheer

SPENCER'S TEAS

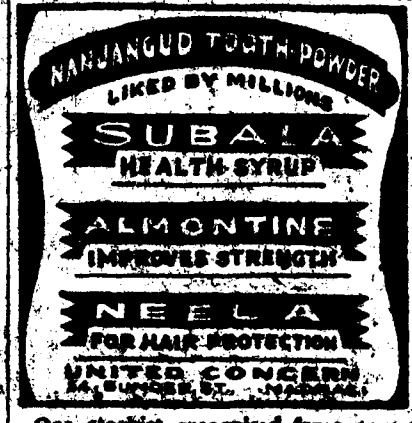
Spencer's Teas Being Picked on The Estate are Noted for their Freshness and Aroma

For you and your Family to be cheerful

Buy Spencer's Teas

SPENCER & CO. LTD.

MADRAS & CALCUTTA



NALANGUD TOOTH POWDER

LIKED BY MILLIONS

SUBALA HEALTH SYRUP

ALMONTINE

IMPROVES STRENGTH

NEELA

FOR HAIR PROTECTION

UNITED CONCERN

One doctor recommended for a reason

bona fide gesture to prove his superiority as a democratic leader, the Prime Minister insists on mechanical conformity, lately even going the length of asking dissidents to leave the party! This deprives them of the democratic privilege of converting the majority to their views.

It is true that democracy can only proceed by *majority rule*, as a *practical rule of thumb*. This pertains only to the form of democratic machinery and parliamentary government. Leaders should not take undue advantage of the permissive authority of majority rule to camouflage dictatorship behind a democratic facade.

Every association serving a definite function in society has the tendency, human nature being what it is, to develop into a *closed interest*. Parliament and party have an inherent psychological urge to develop into the leading pressure group in the country. They are a strong temptation to perpetuate themselves in power through unfair manipulation of democratic conventions and forms, such as majority authority and party discipline, nomination of electoral candidates and distribution of "spoils" among supporters

and contributors to party and campaign funds.

In view of these *racketeering* trends in built-in democratic machinery, it is the moral obligation of democratic leaders to follow the spirit of democracy instead of exploiting its letter for personal and party advantage. John Locke, the major founder of (rational, decent) democracy in the modern era has sounded a clear warning in this matter. He has said that the parliamentary group should not try to perpetuate their own power by loading Parliament with their own subservient followers through corrupt means. Burke laid down that the parliamentary representative should use his own conscience and judgment rather than become a passive *mouth-piece* either of leaders or of constituents or pressure groups. A member of Parliament, in his opinion, was *no mere delegate* charged with communicating the specific messages of electors, or submitting passively to the dictates of party leaders. He must offer an independent personality striving ever to increase his capacity to *evolve* in each concrete case the best policy to be pursued by Parliament for the *national welfare as a whole*, including in it the

permanent element of value that may be contained in the partial interests of the constituency or other pressure groups or class claims.

Majority rule should emerge only as a device for settlement of issues after the fullest attempt has been honestly made to arrive at a true consensus or near-unanimity. No opinion should be sought to be suppressed, stifled, drugged, intimidated, divided, weakened and cheated or bypassed in dishonest ways.

Rousseau distinguished between the *general will* and the *will of all*. The former indicates the true will for common good, which will, when adopted, actually issue in the realisation of the true permanent interests of all citizens. That such utterances of the general will are discoverable through patient exchange of opinion and honest analysis of complex issues led by insight and experience is the *basic faith* on which democracy as a form of government is predicated.

Contrasted with this general will is the will of all which is an artificial compromise among conflicting interests, an *amalgam* yielding unwilling dominance to one among them. Today Mr. Nehru is ignoring the true general will of the nation and is becoming increasingly content to secure dominance to his party machine to carry out his own Socialist pattern in public policy.

On linguistic reorganisation of States, on the reliability of Shauk Abdullah, and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, on the Soviet pattern of the Five Year Plans, on inflation, on taxation adventures like the expenditure and wealth taxes, on land reforms under the Communist pattern of land to the tiller, on the increasing role of the public sector and nationalisation, on the failure or success of the much-boasted *Panch Sheela* foreign policy, on the failure to check corruption in high places (which has reduced Congress to the condition of the Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek before his collapse), on the freedom given to international Communism to develop the Communist Party of India—let the Prime Minister allow Congressmen a free vote. And let him answer the criticisms urged by intelligent and informed sections of public opinion (through party media, associations of functional bodies like chambers of commerce and agricultural organisations), on the level taken by them, viz., on the level of logical appraisal in terms of facts, experience and possible outcome on public welfare and democratic freedoms.

This and not party dragooning is the criterion of democratic government based on discussion and public opinion.

HOLDING THE PRICE LINE INDEED!

By S. NARAYANASWAMY

Just as particular sartorial fashions and vogues hold the field for a time, certain phrases and slogans get a strong grip of the popular mind. For instance, we have been hearing for the last six months about the "take off" stage in our economic development—an alluring aerodynamic metaphor used by an American economist on which many of his Indian counter-parts and officials have frequently drawn. Now the talk is about "holding the price-line". Ministers at the Centre and at State levels, planning commissioners and labour leaders have all been talking of the importance of holding the price line. This talk at Ministerial levels is accompanied by hints or threats of control measures, if prices are not held in leash but allowed to run away. One can understand this as a counterblast to what is felt by the party in power to be interminable trumpeting by the opposition parties about the hardships of inflations and current high prices.

But one is inclined to ask, what is the bright idea of Government men talking of holding the price line—after having allowed or contributed actively to the process of inflating production costs? Manufacturing industries everywhere in the world have to determine selling prices of goods on the basis of their production costs and their production costs have ceased to be matters within their control. Let us see what the factors are that are basic contributors to production costs in the textile industry. It is raw cotton and in the sugar industry it is sugar-cane. Then there are wages to be paid to the workers. There are transportation costs in regard to raw material and finished goods. There is electric energy to be paid for, to the supplying source apart from special fuels such as furnace oil or coal in certain industries like steel. There is depreciation to be provided on plant and machinery, which is getting to be more and more expensive and spares and stores which cost correspondingly more, but which nevertheless have to be got fully replenished from time to time if serious interruptions to production are not to occur. There are excise duties to pay to the Central Government and sales taxes to State Governments, before the end product reaches the hands of the consumer. This is by no means a comprehensive catalogue of the factors that contribute to costs but may be regarded as basic factors.

What has been done to keep down raw cotton or sugar-cane costs all these years? Recently, and more particularly after the textile industry increased its installed capacity in India, there has been systematic shortage of raw cotton and the ceiling prices that are supposed to obtain are not enforced and only now there is talk by the Indian Central Cotton Committee of enforcing ceiling prices. We have been indenting on Egyptian or American cotton to meet the shortfall in indigenous production. We cannot hope to control the price of imported cotton nor can Government subsidise such purchases for the Indian industry. All they can do is to arrange for barter deals as in Egypt against our tea exports or foreign credits at Government-to-Government levels such as the PL-480 cotton deals. Thus, there cannot be very purposeful control over raw cotton prices. In the case of sugar-cane, legislative enactments at Central and State levels to protect the cane growers have fixed minimum prices for sugar-cane and this is by no means the full story. In addition to a minimum basic price for cane, cane growers are today paid a supplementary price based on factory recovery of sucrose content, which may be called the recovery bonus when it is only a certain percentage. In our own part of the country, this is based on the SISMA formula—being a formula evolved by the South Indian Sugar Mill Owners' Association. The sugar-cane price contributes to between 65 to 70 per cent of sugar costing today. There is no monopoly here and nothing depends on the factory owner's sagacity or shrewdness in purchasing his raw material. Government intervention in the past has effectively frozen prices at levels that cannot now be monkeyed with. The manufacturer by the same token in other industries has by and large no control over raw material prices and it is not likely Government can introduce or administer controls over large unorganised sectors of agricultural production.

Then there are wage payments made in industries, in the inflating of which those who administer our country have a direct responsibility. In the last few years, whenever there was a strike, which was very often caused by increase in living costs and a consequent agitation for higher wages, the Government intervened and found it much easier to bring pressure on employers to settle the dispute by conceding the

majority (where it was not the entirety) of labour demands, than to tell labour about what the industry could afford—because such a course involved a major political risk in loss of adult franchise votes. Such "pressurized" settlements took little account of the affordability or the economics of our industries and the management had but a Hobson's choice in such matters—because they dare not go counter to what the Government, who license and provide power and facilities to industries, ask them to do. The industrialist cannot pay the increased wages asked for, except by raising the price of the end-product, to accommodate the higher wage bill—which he proceeded to do. Government pretended not to notice the increase in the hope that the consumer, whom John Stuart Mill called "the forgotten man of political economy", would not remonstrate. In settling labour disputes in the last decade, expediency and the line of least resistance, rather than the ultimate economics of the settlement, were the guiding principles. In the result we are reaping the whirlwind in general high prices. This is not to say that labour did not deserve better wages—particularly in the inflationary background of our affairs—but that the illusion persisted in the highest quarters, that because the industrialist was indiscreet

Spencers' answer

for

CHILLS AND COLDS



ACHES AND FEVERS



NO QUESTION BUT

C.A.Q.

REGD. TRADE MARK

There is only one
C.A.Q. and
SPENCERS make it.

AVAILABLE IN CAPSULES
AND IN LIQUID FORM WITH
ALL CHEMISTS

SPENCER & CO. LTD.

10, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, DELHI AND BRANCHES

SIGHT TESTING MACHINE

Long, Short, Middle Age Sight Astigmatism and other refractive errors that cause headaches to Sight quickly diagnosed with SIGHT TESTING MACHINE & corrected with suitable spectacles. No drops used. Sight tested on all week days.

ANGLO AMERICAN OPTICAL CO.
92, Commercial St., BANGALORE
Phone : 4229



August 20, 1960

enough to live and dress flamboyantly, the added wages demanded would come, as it were, out of his trouser pocket. Actually it came out of the pockets of millions of people, most of whom are incredibly poor. We had meantime wage boards galore being appointed.

As for transportation costs, these have gone up too—though perhaps not in the same proportion as raw materials or wages. They also add, if not in a major way, to costing.

Electric energy charges, both from hydel and thermal sources (both belong to the electricity boards of the respec-

tive States) have recently been upgrading was the result of higher wage bills incurred now by the boards—apart from higher cost of stores and spares involved in the maintenance of plant, machinery and transmission lines. The "high cost coal" surcharge levied on thermal area consumers has put up

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



GRANNY APPROVES: The experience of a great many years leaves Grandmother all smiles at the wonder Laxmi has worked with SUNLIGHT SOAP.

Laxmi knows that it needs only a little SUNLIGHT to do great piles of washing. And she has learned that shirts, sheets, towels, everything comes out wonderfully white and bright with Sunlight.

And SUNLIGHT's rich, abundant lather cleans out every speck of dirt, without any lagging! Why not use SUNLIGHT SOAP for your family wash?

SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT

A product of Hindustan Lever Ltd.

August 20, 1960

SWARAJYA

11

THE PERILS OF PROSPERITY

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

energy charges by about 70 to 80 per cent in Madras State. May be it is not very different elsewhere.

Miscellaneous fuels like furnace oil and coal have also gone up in price.

Depreciation has gone up in direct proportion to the high cost of plant and machinery and the need for such large provision makes for increase in production costs.

On top of all these come excise duties by the Central Government and sales taxes by the States, both of which have been going up steadily.

If component factors in industrial costing cannot be prevented from rising, what exactly is the nature of the control which the industrialist can exercise over the cost of the end product? He can only keep his margin of profit in check and provide for reasonable efficiency in production and effect general administrative economies and these will make but a small impression on price levels. Holding the price line involves insuring against rises in component factors that account for over 95 per cent of price levels. What are the chances of Government being able to exercise control over foreign exchange prices and foreign machinery replacement costs?

With a continuing programme of deficit financing that augments money supplies with the public, what are the chances of keeping foodgrain and basic consumer food prices in check and consequently of wages in industry?

It would be good for those who talk so glibly about holding the price line, with all the zeal of converts to a new creed, to pause and ask themselves: What are the inflationary probabilities of the Third Plan, which has taken credit for resources that may not materialize on the scale or within the time estimated; and what are the chances of our increasing our reliance on a certain printing press in Nasik for finding the money that for instance our public sector enterprises may fail to produce in the way of profits? Meantime, what is it the merchant and industrialist can do beyond making gestures of the type the textile industry made last week by reducing prices of yarn and cloth by a small percentage which is indeed very welcome. Is it not time to find out what is the stage beyond which he will throw up his hands to declare his helplessness and in that context, how correspondingly helpless Government will be, before the consumer public can be expected to take seriously Government's promises to hold the price line?

Jobs in search of workers, instead of workers in search of jobs, is not a common phenomenon. In West Germany—that fabulous country of 54 million people, which rose out of the debris of world war 2—half a million jobs are vacant. There are four times as many jobs looking for workers as there are workers looking for jobs.

According to the National Labour Office of the West German Government, last month 524,000 jobs remained vacant, and only 119,351 persons were registered as job-seekers, with half available for part-time or limited employment. About 10 million workers, almost half the West German labour force, have received about 7 per cent average wage increase in 1960.

A black market in employment is reported to have developed in the competition for securing workers. The more talented and skilled workers, lured with offers of hidden bonuses and other special attractions. The employment boom has attracted foreign workers, and over 60,000 of them—largely Italians—are working in West Germany now. If an additional 30,000 were to arrive, they could all find work immediately.

The situation in West Berlin, an enclave inside East Germany, had not been so bright, partly because of the stream of refugees from East Germany. But, according to the West German Labour Office, even West Berlin achieved "full employment" status in July. Only 21,000 West Berliners were seeking jobs, while 18,800 jobs were unfilled.

This rosy picture has its dark and dangerous patches. West Germany's full employment has caused official concern, because of the inflationary perils it brings. Twice in the last fifty years the German currency had been reduced to scrap of paper, and adult Germans who remember those grim days tend to become apprehensive. There is evidence of increasing uneasiness in West Germany about the economic boom, expertly controlled for the last five years by top German economists led by Dr. Ludwig Erhard. The boom is beginning to get out of control. Even prosperity has its perils.

Two weeks ago—on August 4—Chancellor Konrad Adenauer summoned several of his Ministers and Economic Advisers to discuss the implications of the country's economic prosperity. The meeting came to the conclusion that there was no reason for special con-

cern, and a communique issued at the end of the meeting assured the people of the soundness of the German economy. But some authorities are reported to have privately admitted that they were indeed concerned about what would happen to price levels after a series of wage increases due in September.

Chancellor Adenauer is reported to have told his economic advisers that few things could be more damaging to the ruling Christian Democratic party's prospects for the 1961 elections than a year of rising prices. The monthly report of the West German Central Bank published a few days ago, provided little hope that the price line could be held without difficulty.

This is not a sudden or new development. For some months now the nation's economic authorities have been worrying lest the boom smash through the roof of stability. The labour shortage together with other developments, has triggered a new debate on the wisdom of reducing the work week and new warnings over over-expansion that might transmute the boom into a bust.

In fact, even about a year ago Dr. Erhard, Minister of the Economy, had warned against over-expansion of some industries, because he feared that productive capacity could run too far ahead of markets and lead to lay-offs and idle factories. The economic experts are now thinking in terms of devising effective methods of checking over-expansion and controlling the boom, which they have successfully held over the past decade.

The latest survey of industrial developments during the past ten years reveals magnificent gains. The Economics Ministry which conducted the survey, seeks to prove with the help of facts and figures that the big boost in the wages of the German worker has been a genuine increase and not an

(Continued on page 14)

Ready for use in
3 MINUTES!
"Dhudeer"
Rice IDLI
O'Donai O Mysore Bonda O Vadai
O Tomato Sambar & Rasam
O Tomato Soup & Pepper Water
..... Manufactured by
SHI SANKARAN & CO., Madras-1
Phone: 5365
Stockist: **ASHOK STORES**
165, Landowne Street, Calcutta

Scruffy and Smarty

Scruffy: "I am kicked out every time. How is it you are always received so well by the clients?"



Smarty: "It is not that you are a bad salesman. But look at your clothes..."

Scruffy: "What do you mean? I am here to sell my products and not my clothes!"

Smarty: "But the client judges your product by his first impression of you. So you must dress well. Preferably with BINNY'S. They Quality Control their production. Defects, invisible to the naked eye, that might have crept into the cloth are carefully eliminated at every stage of production. That is why BINNY'S suitings look smart and last long."

BINNY-
a great name in textiles

BINNY'S manufacture nearly 90 million yards of cloth every year. Here are some of the varieties they make:
Shirtings - Khaki Drills - Bleached & Dyed Drills - Anticrease Suitings - Tussorees - Union Fabrics - Towels - Silk Saris - Rugs - etc. etc.

REMEMBER, you can buy all your requirements of BINNY'S fabrics at our controlled rates from authorised BINNY'S Stockists who display this Sign board.



THE BUCKINGHAM & CARNATIC COMPANY LIMITED
THE BANGALORE WOOLLEN, COTTON & SILK MILLS COMPANY LIMITED
Managing Agents: BINNY & CO. (Madras) LTD.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

AFTER THIRTEEN YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Another Fifteenth of August has come and gone, not even amidst the traditional ceremonial all the land over. West Bengal preferred to wave no flag, shout no 'jai' and distribute no bouquets on the day, out of sullen resentment against the sweeping tide of anti-Bengali sentiment from the banks of the Brahmaputra. At the latest press conference the Prime Minister wished that, as a day of dedication, the Independence Day was kept above "internal conflicts, troubles and sorrows" so that the people might stick to the basic idea of Indian independence and Indian unity. Yet the Bengalis not only in West Bengal but even outside, had no enthusiasm for the Independence Day. There were others too who, for other reasons, had no use for it except for other purposes. To the Akalis in the Punjab and at the Capital, it was a day of 'protest' or a 'Pratigraha Day' for the achievement of Punjab Suba. It was thus that the Prime Minister addressed the citizens on that memorable morning in an agitated mood and with rather a heavy heart. And if only at the end of his speech he asked any young man what he thought of it, he would have heard the same reply that on one occasion Sir Edward Carson received from the precocious 18-year-old Churchill: "I should conclude from your speech, Sir, that the Ship of State is struggling in heavy seas."

It is a sad commentary on the nation's affairs that thirteen years after the country achieved its Independence there should be such wide-spread discontent and gloom as one finds now everywhere. And this despite—or is it because of?—the fact that all these years the same Government has been in power, under the same leader. It is highly relevant that the Prime Minister makes no secret of the fact that things are "in a bad way". How bad they were, for instance, in Assam, we can at once know from Mr. Nehru's own admission at the press conference. While at Shillong, he said that he found the atmosphere so thick with excitement as to suddenly begin to feel the loss of grip on his sanity. We may make some allowance for exaggeration; yet there is no question that he knew what he had to experience and endure. If such is the unenviable plight of the Prime Minister that he had to summon the

best in him to overcome a near-mental collapse, it is hardly surprising that the average citizen or the common man feels perplexed and puzzled and can make nothing out of the Prime Minister's eloquent exhortations to him to get excited over the Third Plan and be ready for the big adventure. One is not easily convinced that the millennium is within sight and that one should not meanwhile mind sweat and stress, toil and tears. A call to the people for endurance in the cause of the country is always legitimate, but any such call to sacrifice depends for its success on the faith in the cause that is created in the people. The Plan is not without its crusaders but they have dismally failed to stir the mass-mind because of their wrong policies and ill-conceived measures. But Mr. Nehru is very much like the man who, being in the middle of the stream, cannot turn back nor can be easily rescued.

It is, to use one of Mr. Nehru's popular epithets, "astounding" to see how things are going wrong and plans awry all around. One morning thousands of middle class persons (mostly Government employees) wake up to be told that all their deposits and savings have gone down the drain for no fault of theirs. The sudden closure of the Palai Bank was a bolt from the blue. It fell very heavily on vast numbers of the Southern community, reducing them to the direst straits. There was panic in the city and a furore in Parliament, the Swatantra leader, Mr. Ranga, having vigorously spear-headed the attack on the Reserve Bank for its lack of vigilance in watching the Palai Bank all these years despite indications of improper functioning. The Minister for Revenue, Mr. Gopala Reddi, stoutly defended the Reserve Bank while earlier at the press conference Mr. Nehru loudly praised it as an institution of world renown. It is however a sad development that the confidence of the public in banks is for the time badly shaken.

One finds opposition to the Government mounting on all sides, not least because of a general rise in prices. The average housewife is the most implacable opponent of the Congress regime. Being completely dis-illusioned, she has developed a contempt for Congress pretensions and governmental profes-

sions. It is her day-to-day difficulty in keeping the pot boiling that largely accounts for the scare which had recently led to the general strike. In the parliamentary debate on the strike, the Swatantra leader, Mr. M. R. Masani, sought to drive home the point that the Government's present pattern of planning accounted for the inherent inflation and the price spiral and the consequent discontent culminating into a clash. But an angry Mr. Nehru thought that he answered Mr. Masani when he lectured on "the chaotic private enterprise system". With a sure reliance on the vote, Government spokesmen could always afford not to answer their critics at all. When during the debate on the strike much was made by them of their excessive regard for the Pay Commission Report, the Socialist leader, Mr. Nath Pai, in a speech of crashing brilliance retorted thus: "Did not the Government flout the recommendations of the First Pay Commission? Did it not treat with contempt the recommendations of the Law Commission and completely pigeonhole them?" There was, of course, no reply to this when the Home Minister wound up the debate. It is such unrealistic atmosphere that sometimes tends to make Parliamentary proceedings purposeless and men cynical.

It is the utter lack of regard on the part of the Government for the Opposition view-point, for press criticism and for public opinion that is making its position peculiarly vulnerable. They cannot get away with this kind of imperviousness for long. Little wonder that Acharya Vinoba Bhave—no competitor for any Cabinet position—compared the Government with a particular type of glass which breaks into pieces when touched. It does not really help the country if the Prime Minister is so touchy about criticism, from whatever quarter. Advised by well-meaning men not to criticise the Government too much in the open, the Acharya is reported to have returned a classic answer: "I am neither the wife nor the daughter of the Government to correspond with them confidentially." As a servant of the people, he offered only to talk to his masters. And he is now publicly asking them to open their eyes to the ugly, grim fact that what is emerging out of the Congress Government's gigantic planning is an "illfare State". It is too bitter a pile to swallow. After thirteen years of freedom the people are waking up to realise that the Nehru wand is "just a twig of wood, with no magic in it" and that powerful leadership is not the same thing as wise statesmanship.

The Perils of Prosperity

(Continued from page 11)

adjustment to higher prices. The survey discloses that (1) industrial production in West Germany has increased four times faster than in Britain or the United States, and (2) wages have risen twice as fast as they did in the U.S.

While industrial production in the U.S. and Britain has increased in the past decade by 35 per cent, in West Germany the increase is 130 per cent. The rate of increase of wages was twice as fast as in the U.S. The Economics Ministry compares the price index of today with that of 1950, which is equal to 100. The present index is 121, compared to 147 in Britain, 121 in the U.S. and 136 in India. Although there is a jump of 21 points in few years, the Economics Ministry tries to prove that prices of essential commodities are lower today and workers can buy them for lesser effort and shorter hours of work than in 1950.

Comparative working hours in 1950 and 1960 for a large number of commodities are tabulated to illustrate that wage increase is real. Here are a few examples. If a worker had to work over 27 minutes to earn enough money to buy a pound of sugar in 1950, he now works only 15 minutes for it. Bread, butter and potatoes cost less today than they did in 1950. The comparative fall in motor car price is striking. The famous Volkswagen (people's car) costs 1561 hours of work today, while it cost 3946 hours of work 10 years ago.

There are also other figures which the Government could proudly publicise. Export and import figures speak of unbounded prosperity. The German Federal Republic (West Germany) exported last year goods worth 41,000 million marks, an increase of five times compared to the 1950 figure. Imports increased three times. The balance in favour was 5000 million marks.

Next to the Soviet Union, West Germany is the most powerful economic force in Europe. Although it is not self-sufficient in food, its industrial potential is enormous. It has an aggressive economic policy and its foreign aid and trade programmes are increasing. Without much fanfare, the first destroyer built in West Germany since world war 2 was launched a few weeks ago. The first twelve U-boats are under construction. West Germany's holdings of gold and foreign exchange reached a record of the equivalent of Rs. 3325 crores in July. The demands for motor cars are so high that dealers are selling cars now for delivery in July 1962.

Most people are cleanly delighted with the boom. The signs of growing

Sir,—The country is very much beholden to your correspondent who in his two articles (9th and 18th July) under the caption "Reckless Extravagance" threw a flood of light with facts and figures on the financial dealings of Sri V. K. Krishna Menon when he was the High Commissioner for our country in London. The heart-rending account is an eye-opener to most of our intelligentsia. The most curious feature of this sorry mess is that though the Prime Minister must have known the whole thing he never thought fit to call Shri Menon to account or to take any action against him. On the contrary he has appointed him Defence Minister, and the Defence Minister is, by all accounts, the P.M.'s right-hand man and confidant in spite of the utter disapproval of Parliament.

It can easily be seen that the loss caused to the Indian exchequer by Shri Menon's 'negligence' comes to about 20 lakhs of rupees besides the amount involved in the Jeeps scandal which may come to some 20 lakhs, the whole reaching the staggering figure of about 40 lakhs of rupees.

When a single top-ranking officer of the Government of India could cause such heavy loss to the Indian tax-payer, one reasonably wonders how much loss in the aggregate would have been caused since the country attained Independence by the various officers entrusted with the power of spending public money on the various projects. The Government of India never seems to have bothered about this.

In your illuminating editorial headed "Squandermania (9th July) you ask, "Was he (Sri Krishna Menon) actually screened and protected" and state that "this would be the inevitable conclusion if steps are not taken at least now to fix responsibility for the gross cases of negligence in his High Commissioner-ship now brought to light." May I venture to hazard the guess that as sure as anything no such action will be taken against him. People have only

prosperity are on display 'throughout West Germany—in shopwindows, on highways, everywhere.

Despite all this, the perils of prosperity are now the concern of the economists. It will soon be the concern of everyone. The over-expansion of industries, the rising price level, and inflation are serious threats that West Germany faces today.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

RECKLESS EXTRAVAGANCE

to cry out: "Save us from our Congress friends!"
Secunderabad. V. C. S. IYER.

SCHEDULED CASTE PRIVILEGES

Sir,—Sri Jagjivan Ram's action in the matter of reservation of posts to members of the scheduled castes and the rights given to them in the matter of promotion is unfair. It deserves condemnation. Backwardness is considered to be a virtue and merit recedes and ceases to have any value. This causes much concern and indignation to those who want justice and fair-play in administration. The views of Gandhi on this question must be read by the Minister concerned and other Congressmen who profess to be true followers of Gandhi: "For administration to be efficient it must be in the hands of the fittest. There should be no favouritism. If we want five engineers we must not take one from each community but we must take the fittest five even if they were all Mussalmans or all Parsis. The educationally backward communities will have a right to favoured treatment in the matter of education at the hands of the National Government. But those who aspire to occupy responsible posts in the government of the country can only do so if they pass the required test."

The people who utter the name of Gandhi and profess to follow his example will do well to remember his advice in this matter. Otherwise they would be committing a grave sin.

R. S. RAMAN.

REVENGE MANIA

Sir,—Now that powerful voices have been raised against the victimisation of the Central Government employees who went on strike I am sure that a halt would be cried to the revenge-mania that has taken hold of the heads of several departments. It appears that the orders issued to the departments are not quite the same as those publicised through the press-statements issued from New Delhi, but then, this does not come as a surprise to the people of the country who have learnt from bitter experience spread over the last 13 years that double standards have come to stay in the present governmental set-up.

The strikers have lost their pay for the period of strike and appropriate

departmental punishment is also being meted out to them. As such, it is heart-rending to learn that an apology is also being extracted from the officials. In certain office, apology-forms and suspension orders were kept side by side on the officer's table. The ex-strikers were summoned one by one and ordered either to sign the apology without a murmur or protest or else take the suspension order and walk out of the office. A real apology should be a voluntary expression of regret coming out from the heart and what indeed would be the sanctity of a roneed form with a dotted line provided for signature? One can only infer that the senior bureaucrats of the Government of India have provided an opportunity for the chota bureaucrats to derive some sadistic pleasure by humiliating the already heart-broken employees. And since the discretion in the matter of repressive measures is said to have been left to the heads of departments, the punitive measures vary in intensity from department to department, which just goes to show that some heads are more swollen than others.

It would indeed be a gesture of magnanimity on the part of the Government of India if he only come forward with a general amnesty for the strikers and usher in the forgive and forget spirit. "GOODWILL".

STATION MASTERS' FLIGHT

Sir,—The reported move of the Railway Board to merge the cadre of Section Controllers with that of Station Masters on Rs. 200-300 grade for their future promotion to Rs. 250-350 grade in addition to their existing channel of promotion is retrograde in character, and calculated to suppress the aspirations of the already neglected cadre of Station Masters. To give a lopsided promotion to the Section Controllers at the cost of Station Masters is without precedent or parallel, since the fact remains undisputed that the Section Controllers en masse are elevated to the grade of Rs. 200-300 either from the recruitment grade of Asst. Station Masters, Asst. Yard Masters and Guards (i.e. Rs. 80-170) or from the bottom-most rank in the intermediate grade, (viz., Rs. 100-185) by-passing those in Rs. 150-225 grade because of the 40 year age restriction prescribed for selection to the post of Section Controllers. When the present system of reservation of a certain number of posts in the higher grade for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes coupled with the direct recruitment for the intermediate grades in the Station Mas-

ters' cadre had resulted in unmerited hardship for an employee appointed and continuing as Station Master, this reported move of merging the Section Controllers' cadre with that of Station Masters is bound to result in the closure of all chances of promotion for Station Masters over and above the grade of Rs. 200-300. A Station Master lingering in the grade of Rs. 200-300 after 30 years of service at the age of 50 or 52 cannot but view this move with heart-burning. This lopsided promotion envisaged by the Railway Board in favour of the Section Controllers is tantamount to virtual blockade of all avenues of promotion for the Station Masters even on the verge of retirement. Even from the administrative point of view, this move of the Railway Board will not result in well administered stations; it may result to otherwise, because of the lack of all round experience on the part of Section Controllers compared to Station Masters conversant with the administration of Stations for years together. Will the Railway Board kindly heed to this appeal and set aside this merger move?

M. G. RAJAGOPALAN,
Secretary, All India SMs &
ASMs Association,
Chingleput Branch.

COMPULSORY HINDI IN DELHI UNIVERSITY

Sir,—The Government of India, by the Home Minister's announcement in Parliament concerning the position of Hindi, seem to realise the difficulties the people in non-Hindi regions may experience. The lack of a well-laid policy concerning the position of Hindi as the future official language has resulted in various non-governmental bodies imposing a compulsory test in Hindi for those who did not know Hindi. At present the Government of India do not propose a compulsory test in Hindi either before or after recruitment, to the Central services. If that is so, what significance are the non-Hindi people to attach to the compulsory test in Hindi imposed by the Delhi University on students migrating from non-Hindi parts of India?

The Delhi University, since 1955, has prescribed a compulsory test in Hindi, which is different from Hindi as an optional language, for students who have not passed any recognised examination in Hindi. Thus this compulsory test in Hindi is intended only for Tamilians, Bengalis, Punjabis, Andhras, Mysorians, etc.

A student who passes in all subjects but fails only in this compulsory test

in Hindi, is not eligible for degree, scholarships, and post-graduate study.

The Delhi University is a university maintained by the Central Government and all the Ordinances made by the Delhi University are subject to the approval of the President of India in his capacity as Visitor.

If the introduction of compulsory Hindi for Governmental employees at this stage is not considered to be fair, shall we allow knowledge of elementary Hindi to be the sole determining factor to the whole future of a non-Hindi citizen of India—including academic pursuits?

A B.A. (Pass) candidate of the Delhi University in April, 1960 secured 626 out of 1100 marks and third rank in the University. He is not even a regular student, but appeared as a private-teacher candidate. He failed in the compulsory test in Hindi and hence became ineligible for degree, scholarship and post-graduate study.

The President of India, who has given his approval for the compulsory Hindi provision (Ordinance No. IX, Section 2(1) of the Delhi University), has got powers under Clause 31(6) of the Delhi University Act 1952 to annul any Ordinance which might have been passed by the University.

New Delhi. R. NAGARATNAM.

INDO - COMMERCIAL BANK LIMITED

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar
K.C.S.I., D.C.I. (Hon)

All kinds of banking business transacted efficiently and quickly. Attractive rates on deposits which may be ascertained on application.

S. Krishnaswami,
Secretary

For a trusted Treatment
for

DIABETES

Contact or write to:

MANAGER •

ANANDASHRAMAM

VANGAL P.O., TRICHI DT.

MADRAS STATE

ATUL

• DYES

• CHEMICALS

• PHARMACEUTICALS


THE ATUL PRODUCTS LTD.

 Atul, via. Bulsar,
Western Railway.

SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. V. No. 8

MADRAS, AUGUST 27, 1960

Price 15 nP

COMPANY CONTRIBUTIONS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The report of the Select Committee and the dissenting notes attached to it disclose an interesting situation the like of which was so far not seen in India at any time. All the political parties in the country—all but the Congress party—have expressed the view very strongly that companies should be prohibited from contributing funds to political parties. The Congress alone is in a different and objecting to the ban. The Congress insists that it should continue to be supported by money 'donated' by companies whose every action in the course of their business waits on the pleasure and displeasure of the leadership of the party which now controls government and the bureaucracy. The latter has now been accustomed not only to obey government orders but to co-operate in their party matters too. Not to speak of victimizing orders, even delay with the appearance of time spent in investigation is enough to ruin a business. Under these conditions which prevail in this country at the present moment, no wonder that every party that wants free elections wants the prohibition of companies' donations to political party funds.

The ruling party puts forward its claim to collect funds from companies, unabashed by the irresistible inference to be drawn from this attitude—that it depends for success on the large contributions of rich companies and on governmental power such as is held in a regimented economy.

The controls on imports, exports and distribution are enough to squash any business at any time.

The People's Representation Act puts certain ceilings on expenditure by candidates, and has other elaborate provisions but the Congress party collects funds from its fat oxen and spends the money—God knows how—so as to nullify all these ceilings and restrictions so elaborately laid down at Dr. Ambedkar's instance. Every other party objects to this collection of funds by the ruling party. But in a shameless manner the ruling party has retained the amendment in the Select Committee. And if payments to the ruling party for election purposes should also be made free of income-tax as some have suggested there is nothing more to be done for perpetuation of one party rule.

A certain newspaper has distinguished itself by coming out with laboured arguments in support of retaining the right to collect funds from companies. It asks why companies alone should be prohibited and not other bodies such as social service organisations etc. The answer is so plain that it is surprising how such a question is asked in the editorial of a leading newspaper. The answer is that where there is plenty of money to be extorted by the ruling party, the prohibition is called for, and not in the case of other bodies. Companies dealing with crores are not in the same position as charitable and other

public associations. The attempt to complicate a plain issue with such puzzles is futile. The law in America was passed after considerable experience and the law in India should be far stricter if we want even the semblance of fair elections in this country.

It is not only funds but power and authority which make elections unfair. It is absolutely necessary that the ruling party should retire from the exercise of the powers in a regimented economy for a period before the elections, if we do not want an automatic re-election to power of the same party time after time. In an economy such as we have, where thousands of crores, raised here and abroad, are handled by industrialists and others under the more or less direct regimentation of the ruling party in every detail, we cannot but expect absolutism and unbroken single party rule, if the suggestion that there should be a break during election time is not accepted.

Incidentally there has been a Solomon's decision furnished on the question of who is the rich man's party, Congress or Swatantra. Congress insists on rich companies' donations being available and resists any attempt to prohibit it. Its plea makes plain who is the rich man's party and what a lie it was for Congress to tell the poor and illiterate folk in the country that the Swatantra party was the rich man's party. Where a person or party is found to have indulged in deliberate untruth, it is no longer worthy of confidence.

PAKISTAN AND INDIA

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"It is a sad thing that a people as warm-hearted as the Russian people—and I know from experience that they are warm-hearted—should be represented by a government that is as cold-hearted, as brutal, and as hard as it has shown itself to be."

So said Henry Cabot Lodge on July 26 in the U.N. Security Council. On the same day and at the same place Vasily Kuznetsov, Deputy Foreign Minister of Russia, said about the American people:

"The American people have friendly feelings towards the Soviet people but the government circles of the U.S.A. conduct a hostile policy towards the Soviet Union."

Here is a problem for political philosophers. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of either of these statements. The paradox of the so-called atomic age is that two nations are good and of kindly temperament and each knows this of the other and solemnly affirms it; and yet the governments that rule these two nations are determined to be enemies and eternally to suspect each other of treachery and vote huge sums for this purpose.

The problem of the world is how to solve this paradox. For, the paradox affects the peace of the world and not only of the two nations.

There must be something wrong in the ordering of things under democracy which makes this contradiction between people and government possible. Democracy must be admitted to have failed in a vital matter if there is such a serious gap between the will of the people as admitted by friends as well as enemies on the one hand and the policy of the governments on the other although established by the consent or at least assent of the people concerned. It is not a transitory feature that may be explained by a time lag between public opinion

and government. It is a continuing and persistent phenomenon. It is the substance of what is called the Cold War.

It cannot be—or is it?—that nations put people in charge of their affairs who think and feel and do the opposite of what they themselves think and feel, deliberately by way of cautious supplement.

Or, is it that responsibility itself makes people less of human beings than they were when they were ordinary citizens without the responsibility of government? If this be the case, what shall we do about it? It is not an unimportant detail, but one fraught with grave consequence.

It is an intolerable evil that two masses of human beings should have feelings of kindly brotherhood towards each other but that they should be prevented from acting according to their nature by the governments that they respectively appoint for themselves, and worst of all, that the two peoples should feel wholly impotent about it. Both government and people submit to the paradox as inevitable. The consequence is that the governments make a deliberate effort to remove the paradox by bringing people to think as their governments do! The governments have enormous power and effective instruments for this conversion. The cure in

this case is certainly worse than the disease, for it substitutes friendliness by suspicion, fear and hatred.

What has been said about America and Russia applies also to Pakistan and India. The explicit admissions made by Henry Cabot Lodge and Kuznetsov may not be paralleled in the case of Pakistan and India, but there is enough in the national consciousness of the two peoples to make a parallel.

Independence and responsibility appear to create a situation in this respect worse than what prevailed before Independence.

An obvious alleviating remedy that suggests itself is more tourism than prevails now among neighbours. The craze for visiting distant countries may partly be diverted to near travel in order that the Governments of the two neighbouring countries may feel less suspicious and afraid of one another. After all, independence should be a condition conducive to happiness and freedom from anxiety. The ultimate aim is happiness and anything that goes against to it is not good however attractive it may be. The aim arrived when nations should think out and be ready for parting with some of independence if thereby more happiness and more permanent freedom from anxiety could be obtained. World-government at the end, and meanwhile treaties of mutual assistance must replace isolation and the independence based on isolation.

KERALA AGRARIAN RELATIONS BILL

By A. NARAYANA PILLAI

Sri C. Rajagopalachari had said that, in his opinion, with the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly, the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill, which was pending before the President of India for his assent, had lapsed. In support of his view he cited the relevant articles of the Indian Constitution, pointed out the law and practice in the British Parliament, and quoted some Indian precedents. His statement has set the people enquiring as to the legal effect of the dissolution of the Assembly

on bills pending before the President for his assent.

Sri Chandrasekharan, the Law Minister of Kerala, has, with reference to this view of Sri Rajagopalachari, stated that it was untenable, without even trying to meet the arguments and authorities advanced by Sri Rajagopalachari. According to the Law Minister, the President would not have returned the Bill with his amendments, if the Bill had in law lapsed, as a result of the dissolution of the Assembly.

(Continued on page 13)

SIDELIGHTS ::

Four hundred and twenty-six ladies of Shillong have sent a petition to the Prime Minister complaining of official inaction in the recent riots and atrocities in the State. "We fail to understand", they say, "why the rage of the people fighting over the language issue fell on innocent women and girls who never had done any harm to anybody." And they pointedly ask the Prime Minister: "What good is there in becoming and remaining a Prime Minister of a country where the chastity of woman has no value evidently?" This call to conscience should impel Mr. Nehru to abandon spectacular and propagandist moves and go into the whole question of the Government's language policy and collateral divisive innovations with contrition and humility in a spirit of faithfulness to truth and reality. They have let loose a Frankenstein of injustice in the pursuit of destructive and subversive slogans, depending on their power to control it. It is now found that they cannot control it, and the horror of the dead, unnumbered victims is irredeemable, such as the women of Assam have experienced. If further terror and tragedy are to be averted, the present wrong policies should be retraced. This is not a matter of understanding but of courage, of un-selfseeking pursuit of the public and national good.

If the proposed legislation in connection with the President's Hindi Directive is to implement in legislative form the assurances given to the non-Hindi speaking people by the Prime Minister, it will be welcome. But if it is only for hastening administrative action on the Directive as it was issued, it will only aggravate matters and create a situation worse and more bitter than the present. The President has lost his status as a representative of the whole nation as a result of the partisan attitude on this issue which he assumed in recent speeches. There are also

complaints that certain Ministries of the Centre go on persisting in administrative measures nullifying covertly the public assurances of a fair deal to the non-Hindi speaking people. A Central Government employee writes:

"In spite of all the assurances by the Prime Minister and the President of India that Hindi will not be imposed on any one, here is what is being done in the Central Government departments. We are required to send a report, once in six months, indicating how many persons already know Hindi and how many are willing to attend Hindi classes organised for the benefit of Central Government employees. One can easily imagine the fate of those who are 'not willing' to attend such classes. In effect all the employees declare their willingness to learn Hindi. If this is not imposition of Hindi what

At question hour in the Madras Legislative Council on August 16, Dr. A. Sreenivasan asked the Health Minister to state the personnel of the committee constituted for selection of students for admission to the various medical colleges in the State. Sri M. A. Manickavelu, the Minister, could easily cope with this request for information. So he gave a straight answer mentioning the names of the members of the committee: Sri V. Subrahmanyam, retired High Court Judge (chairman); Dr. A. B. Marikar, Superintendent, Government Hospital for Women and Children (member); and Dr. K. L. Sarathy, Assistant Director of Medical Services (member-secretary). But when the Minister was asked to state the principle on which the personnel of the committee had been nominated, he apparently could not cope with the question. For he merely repeated what he had already stated. He said that "usually a committee of three members is constituted by the Government for selection of candidates for admission to the Gov-

ernment medical colleges every year", adding that "the chairman of the committee is generally a non-official or retired Government officer of high status." One searches this answer in vain for any statement of principle governing the constitution of the committee. The description of a usual or general practice is not the same thing as the definition of a principle.

Even more odd was the Minister's reply to the next question. He was asked: "Is it a fact that all these years there has been a convention that one of the deans of the medical colleges should be included in the personnel of the committee?" The Minister's answer deserves to be quoted in full. "Yes, Sir", he said. "Previously the dean was the member-secretary. But this is an outmoded convention which we have been following. There was no point in having a dean of a particular medical college on the committee, when admissions are made for all the medical colleges. So, we thought that another person who was dealing with medical education could very well be the secretary".

It is difficult for the lay understanding to follow the nimble intellect of this Minister in its labyrinthine involutions. To be outmoded is to cease to be followed. How can a "convention which we have been following" be characterised as an outmoded convention? A meaningless jumble of words like this is no answer worthy of a responsible Minister in an august assembly like the Legislative Council. If there was no point in having a dean of a particular medical college on the committee when admissions are made for all the medical colleges, how is the objection met by going in for someone who has no connection with any medical college at all? It makes no sense. There might have been some sense in the point raised by the Minister if he had appointed all the deans to the committee, or con-

stituted a separate committee for each medical college.

The Minister's answer to the next question simply takes one's breath away. I can only describe it as an example of amazing, unbelievable cerebral confusion.

Dr. A. Sreenivasan: Does the Hon. Minister think that a professor in the diseases of women or a director of public health knows much more about medical education than the head of a medical college?

Sri M. A. Manickavelu: It is all a matter of personal opinion. It is freely said that doctors differ just as watches differ.

It is an axiom patent to all sane minds that the head of a medical college is expected to know more about medical education than most others less intimately connected with it. How is this axiom negated by the maxim that doctors differ or watches differ? What is the relevant connection between the two? Just because the Minister has picked up a tit-bit about the propensity of doctors and watches to differ, is he entitled to rub it in as a reason for denying an axiom accepted as just, true and reasonable by all level-headed men? It makes as much nonsense as to say that the Sun does not rise in the east and it is "a matter of personal opinion" because "it is freely said that doctors differ just as watches do".

When Dr. Sreenivasan asked whether "a political motive is involved in the exclusion of the deans, because all of them belong to a particular community, the Minister answered,

"Only when attention was drawn to this. It all depends upon the sort of spectacles through which the whole thing is seen".

It is something that the involvement of a political motive could not be denied and was accepted by the Minister at least after "attention was drawn" to it. As "motive" is something which springs from one's own mind, there can be no colourable extenuation of it from any sort of spectacles that others wear. The

Minister's pose of virtuous innocence is therefore unconvincing and will deceive nobody. Pretending ignorance over what the whole world knows and deplores as evil will only stamp a Minister as hypocritical with a vested interest in that evil, and it will certainly not enhance his credit.

Over this same question of political and communal motives in the ordering of the administration, how different and refreshing is the attitude of Sri Manickavelu's counterpart in Andhra Pradesh, Sri P. G. V. Raju holding the same portfolio! In a speech at Hyderabad this week he "regretted that there was a tendency to be influenced by caste or communal adjustments in the matter of even development plans. Schemes should not be thought of to provide for our own men or for benefitting a particular section. They should rise above parochial, regional and caste differences and lay the foundation for an enlightened State". Here is the right spirit for a Minister of the Government to work with, and though it is rare nowadays, it will be honoured wherever found, and responded to with respect by a grateful public, in proportion to its rarity. Comprehension of an evil in its proper measure is the first step to its removal and every genuine reformer acts this way. There is only worthless tinsel in the white and shining gloss of propaganda with which rampant corruptions are covered by their interested upholders, exuding piety. Worse than wickedness even is sanctimonious humbug.

The following further questions and answers during the Madras Council's question hour are worth the reader's attention:

Dr. A. Sreenivasan: Will the Government consider for future guidance, the desirability of including one of the deans of any of the medical colleges in the City of Madras in the committee, because deans are supposed to be conversant with educational matters?

Sri M. A. Manickavelu: The difficulty is that there are so many deans. If we include one dean, the other dean thinks, 'How is the other dean better than I'.

Dr. A. Sreenivasan: If that be so, may I know why the Principal of the Engineering College, Guindy—there are many engineering colleges—should be a member of the committee for selection of students for admission to the engineering colleges for many years? How can the Government have two standards?

Sri M. A. Manickavelu: That is a different subject.

Dr. A. Sreenivasan: I suppose the principle must be the same for all kinds of education. Because, the Cabinet is one and one Minister is as responsible as any other Minister in matters connected with the policy of the Government.

Sri M. A. Manickavelu: That principle I agree with. But what I do not agree with is this. Engineering subject is a different subject from medicine. So all that pertains to engineering should not ipso facto apply to medicine. There must be some difference or other between the two.

Dr. A. Sreenivasan: The Hon. Minister says that engineering is a technical subject. Medicine is also a technical subject. What applies to one must be applicable to the other.

Sri M. A. Manickavelu: In the medical institution we give medicine. Where is the necessity to give quinine in an engineering institution?

Engineering is different from medicine, and there is no necessity to give quinine in an engineering institution, and so no dean of a medical college was admitted to the admission committee! Can anything be more fantastic? We have here in this series of answers a sample of the enormity of prevarication, evasion, illogicality, hypocrisy, and underlying it all, arrogance, of which a Minister of the Government is capable in dealing with legislative questions in the present Congress regime. As a study in individual, idiosyncratic aberration, it provides good entertainment. For the public purpose which question hour in our legislatures is expected to serve, its value is nil, and it represents an immense wastage of public time and money. SAKA.

TERRORS OF TOTALITARIAN PLANNING

By PHIROZE J. SHROFF

Once there lived an ambitious young man of good intentions who, seeing the terrible ravages caused to the human frame by tuberculosis, determined to free humanity once and for all from the scourge of that dread disease. He was not a medical man but that did not matter. He waded through numerous bulky tomes on medicine and after cogitating over what he had read came to the conclusion that calcium, sulphur and iron compounded in certain proportions must speedily cure T.B. in all its stages. Then he announced to his fellowmen that he had discovered a never-failing cure for T.B. and invited the sufferers to put themselves under his treatment. Unfortunately, the very first patient who was expected to live for two years died within fifteen days of starting his treatment. But this did not discourage him in any way and he went on administering his nostrum to his patients with grim doggedness. When his hundredth patient died speedily after the administration of his drug, the patient's relatives became restive and questioned him about the efficiency of his miracle drug. He said that there was nothing wrong with the drug, but that it was the patients who were to blame. He said that theoretically the drug was perfect and that it was for the patients to fit themselves to the drug and not for the drug to fit itself to the patients. In his opinion the patients, instead of getting themselves cured by his drug, had died prematurely of malice aforethought to discredit him and his panacea.

The exploits of the aforesaid self-taught leech pale into insignificance before the achievements of our halo-wearing leaders. Our planners inspired, instructed, led and fed by Prime Minister Nehru and his Government are determined to eradicate what they call the disease of poverty from our land. Their great guru had read a lot in the days of his immaturity and comparative irresponsibility about the magical effects of Socialism to cure poverty. So the guru and his disciples not only beat the big drum of Socialism but do all in their power to ram Socialism in its numerous manifestations down the throat of the nation. They make war on property rights of the people. They take steps to enforce ceilings on agricultural land. They bring about the nationalization of insurance and air transport. They frown on private road transport which is comparatively cheap and efficient. They usher in legislation which hampers trade and industry in

a hundred different ways. They sponsor and bless the State Trading Corporation which expands its activities and throws fresh tentacles around the trading activities of the nation. They control credit, investment and normal business of the people and have recourse to measures which affect the contractual relations between the people. They become instrumental in inflicting a crushing burden of direct and indirect taxation on the people.

All these and similar other things they do in the name of the Socialistic pattern of society. They do all these regardless of consequences because they know that according to the books and specially the pamphlets they have studied they cannot be wrong. The great guru says he is not an economist but keeps on taking innumerable vital decisions which affect the economic life of the people to their detriment. The guru and the disciples shout from the house-tops that the twentieth century without the enforcement of a Socialistic pattern of society is a contradiction in terms.

In the meanwhile because of the administration of false and noxious economic nostrums the people's plight continues to worsen. The general standard continues to deteriorate in such essentials as food, clothing, housing and transport. There is an acute shortage of different varieties of consumer goods. Unprecedented inflation stalks the land. Industrial disputes sap the economic life of the nation. Corruption in all its myriad forms thrives in the land. Parkinson's Law operates with a vengeance and a top-heavy administration sits ponderously on the shoulders of the nation. Bureaucratic paperwork increases, stifling all efficiency and initiative. The tyranny of forms paralyses enterprise and economic activity. Misguided and frustrated youths resort to indiscipline and hooliganism as a pastime and a national hobby. The law-abiding citizen, finding himself cribbed, cabined and confined, longs for the day when he can pursue his legitimate activities in peace without governmental regimentation. To add insult to injury, politicians and their pets lying on the lap of luxury preach austerity to the suffering people.

The great guru, however, and his cohorts of planners, proteges, disciples and drummer-boys are not at all dismayed to behold this grim picture of economic and social reality. They know that their text-book talisman of a Socialistic pattern of society cannot be wrong.

Seeing that the man-made plan is the supreme deity, people must bow at its shrine in all humility. In a Socialistic pattern of society, which in many particulars is another name for Communism, people must fit the plan and not vice versa. The great guru is determined to bring about a great revolution in the country, whatever that may mean. His name must go down in history as the greatest remaker of India for at least 50,000 years to come. The suffering of the people is something which must be taken in the stride, not by the planners and the favoured politicians, but by the people themselves. Spending other people's money has become not only a fine art but has been glorified into a virtue. In their haste to bring about a rapid industrialization of the country our leaders forget that totalitarian planning not only inhibits freedom but corrodes the moral fibre of the people. In our planned economy, there is a conspicuous absence of economy. If our leaders realize in time that totalitarian planning must necessarily lead to totalitarianism in all other spheres, the country will be saved from a great catastrophe. Our leaders who swear by democracy must refrain from doing anything which may pave the way for a totalitarian dictatorship. Persistence in a wrong course of action is not consistency but a mulish obstinacy which will spell disaster for an orderly and democratic progress of our country.



The
Nation's
Best

BENGAL ELECTRICALS CO.
MADRAS-17 — BANGALORE-3

SIGHT TESTING MACHINE

Long, Short, Middle Age Sight
Astigmatism and other refractive
errors that cause weakness to
Sight quickly diagnosed with
SIGHT TESTING MACHINE
& corrected with suitable
spectacles. No drops used.
Sight tested on all week days.

ANGLO AMERICAN OPTICAL CO.
88, Commercial St., BANGALORE
PHONE : 4229

2,02,000 WEAVERS AT WORK

Started on 12th August 1935 with only 43 Primary Weavers' Co-operative Societies having 1000 looms, the Madras State Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society has now 993 Primary Weavers' Co-operative Societies with 2,02,000 looms. The well-known Co-optex Fabrics of the Society are distributed through 288 Selling Units throughout India.

Co-optex
HANDLOOM
FABRICS

Silver Jubilee Week
20-8-60 to 26-8-60

A Special additional rebate of 4 nP. (10 nP. including the usual rebate of 6 nP.) in the Rupee will be given in all our units during the week.

The Madras State Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society Ltd., Madras-8



SISTA'S

A GOVERNOR'S PRIGGISH ALARM

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Like an old Cambridge don who reveres conventions, Governor Sri Prakasa has been startled out of his cosy chair on hearing Rajaji's proposal that commencement-procedure should be altered for the next term to answer new conditions without in any way distorting the purpose of the ceremony. What is this new-fangled demand that the sacred Constitution should be touched when there is no specific provision for a care-taker's interregnum of six months before the next elections? Where is it stated in Dicey that such liberties could be taken? Is there any precedent in American history when the President vacated office six months in advance of November 8, the crucial date of quadrennial elections? Was it ever done in France since the reign of the guillotine? Neither in the annals of Spain nor in the tradition of Cuba has there been any such instance of a vacuum in authority. Why didn't he seek to insert a proviso permitting such a course when matters were being thrashed out in the Constituent Assembly?

The Cambridge don felt scandalised at the change in hoary routine when the sanitary engineer in charge of full repairs of plumbing had but suggested a new approach to the Hall when the black-gowned procession of professors and pedants could perform all inauguration rites with prospects of better health for the residents in the campus. Governor Sri Prakasa feels outraged that so well-read a man should ever have claimed a prelude of impartial conditions when whole libraries could be made to speak against this anomalous variation in theme.

That a man of C.R.'s learning and experience should have been driven to making such a demand against textbook pandits implies that conditions of free and untainted elections with no unfair party-racketeering have factually ceased to exist, and that for the safety of the progress of democracy, such a parliamentary innovation involving sacrifice of power for just six months would alone, in the current context, stem decay. If it is a scandal it is a salutary scandal, since it tends to clear the drains of vested interests and to equalize opportunities of appeal in a situation where the zeal of self-perpetuation by the party in power has become a menace to the intentions of the Founding Fathers who had contemplated a system providing for alternations in leadership as a safeguard against monolithic totalitarianism.

But the Cambridge academician has not had his answer to the perpetual bugbear question: "What did Gladstone say in 1886?" It is not of much importance what Gladstone said in 1886; no, of no more importance than the design of Gladstone-bags in a century of plastics and fabrics that give us modern works of art as space-saving containers in light travel. In my school-days, an old teacher used to tell us that Gladstone chewed each morsel of food thirty-two times and preserved his health. Old man Gladstone, aging, tackled the roast-beef of Old England with vigour interrupting his own conversation and giving a full grind to the gums in an era when dentistry was in primitive practice, presumably a hobby of the village blacksmith or the horse-shoe mender. The miscellaneous menu given to us boarders did not require any such effort as our *dhal bhat* would melt in the mouth; so that, in that matter also, we couldn't turn Gladstonian, especially the juniors at the bottom of the table who would bow (in Dickens jargon) over a short meal after the saying of a long grace by the house-master. Imitation should not bear us down into cess-pools of fetish device.

As to the query about the country going to the dogs in the six months of party-moratorium, we may rest assured that during President's Rule, the Secretariat can look after us without the slightest fear of a Batista upheaval, the cause of Fidel Castro's insomnia. A woman-politician, yet a novice, bears a burden which two top-architects of India's future, manage to uphold with bated breath. Mr. Nehru and Mr. Menon between them account for the business of the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and Defence Minister. In Ceylon, Madame Bandaranayake looks after all the three portfolios. In fact when Pandit Nehru before his sub-Himalayan holiday of 1958 toyed with the idea of retiring for a while to give youngsters a chance, secret confabulations about filling the threatened gap took place without panic in New Delhi's caucus-rooms. The precarious theory of indispensability then suddenly struck Nehru who then changed his mind and staved off any interlude of President's Rule. The Establishment is still there: any brag about "No Abdication" would be puerile.

If Sirima Bandaranayake can carry three heavy portfolios like the hand-bag she constantly slings, in Queen Elizabeth style, with cool steps, our Presi-

dent at a crisis of empty chairs can make it: yes, as Churchill once said, if necessary, alone.

The temporary cure for mass-worship, party-grabbing and apprehended bribery (through the white-painted machinery of racketeering and ticketeering) is a modification of method frankly suggested by the Swatantra leader. It is assumed that the spirit of good sportsmanship and democratic interest in an equal fight, has not been totally burnt out.

Morley once told Indian Moderates that a fur-coat useful in Canada would not suit the conditions of Indian summer. Prime Minister Nehru often asks us to mould our practices to suit our own factual conditions: and the conditions essential for a free election have turned so rotten through monopolist enjoyment of power that excuses come hollow—excuses like saying that safeguards appropriate to us are not found in the U.K. or the U.S., and that incorruptibility is guaranteed by the functioning of the Election Commissioner and by opportunities of arguing before election tribunals for years on end, after polling day. Did Governor Sri Prakasa even dream as a member of the Constituent Assembly that Article 161 of the Constitution (which is claimed to confer absolute powers unquestionable in courts) that he would ever have occasion, as a provincial satrap, to invoke it for the relief of Commander Nanavati? "Circumstances alter cases as broken noses alter faces".

The law which C.R. wants to see modified for a clean fight would be but a one-clause amendment. It would be a historic measure in the introduction of political hygiene in India, a measure highly overdue. Only a rather priggish evaluation of the proposal would suggest that there is something monstrous in the change.

After all, the Sabbath was made for Man, not Man for the Sabbath.

CONSULT

RAM MOHAN
TRAVEL SERVICE

For All Bookings

Air - Sea - Rail

Kempegowda Rd., BANGALORE - 9
362, N. S. C. Bose Rd., MADRAS - 1

You are a wise man and a wiser father. You are making sure that the new shirt will fit your son next year too when he will have grown bigger. You have an eye on his future.

Along with his physical growth, however, the boy will grow mentally. And you have to plan for his larger future. He will of course have to have the best in education—with possibly a few years of higher training abroad. All that will need a capital sum.

Be as wise as you are now and make sure you will have the necessary funds at the proper time. Life Insurance is the easiest and surest way to do so. Put by a little in an Education Policy, now and guarantee the best education for your son and the finest of future careers.

make it a little bigger



There is no substitute for **LIFE INSURANCE**

August 27, 1960

SWARAJYA

9

INIQUITOUS LAND LEGISLATION IN ANDHRA

By Prof. M. VENKATARANGIAH

The Andhra Agricultural Tenancy Bill, 1960 is styled, "A BILL to regulate the relations between landlords and tenants of agricultural lands". Its net effect if passed into law in its present form will be to do away in most cases with the class of landlords and make the tenants the proprietors of land on payment of only nominal compensation.

Under Section 25 of the Bill a class of "protected tenants" is created. A person becomes a protected tenant in respect of any land if he (a) has held the land as a tenant continuously for not less than six years before 1st April 1960, (b) if he has held land on 1st April 1960 as a tenant under a person owning more than three family holdings.

It is not clear whether a person has to satisfy both the conditions before becoming a tenant or only one of them—either the first or the second.

If it is the latter the condition is most unprecedented and unfair. Generally rights of occupancy are conferred on tenants who happen to cultivate the same piece of land for a fairly long period—twelve years or more. In this case one becomes a protected tenant with all the privileges associated with that status even if he has held the land for six months or even less. The only condition he has to fulfil is that he is a tenant on 1st April 1960.

To draw in this connection a distinction between a person owning more than three family holdings and one owning less than that is unfair especially when a ceiling has been fixed in respect of lands that may be owned. If a person, for instance, owns 19 acres of 'A' land and had given all that on lease to tenants who hold it as tenants on 1st April 1960 his tenants become "protected" and under Section 27 the ownership of all the 19 acres becomes vested in them. If, on the other hand, there is another person who owns only 18 acres his tenants do not become "protected" and he continues to enjoy the ownership. It is unjust that ownership of only one acre more or less should create such a difference. The distinction which the Bill creates between "protected tenants" and "ordinary tenants" is extremely arbitrary and has no basis in justice or equity.

The mere fact that a person was a tenant for six years before 1st April

1960 entitles him under the Bill to certain privileges which are considered unnecessary in the case of one who becomes a tenant and remains a tenant for six years after the commencement of the new Act. Is there anything sacred about 1st April 1960? Were the tenants who held lands before that date subject to any disability to which tenants after the commencement of the Act will not become subject? Was the disability so serious as to be compensated for by making tenants virtual proprietors at the expense of the legitimate landlords? The answer to all these questions is an emphatic No.

The distinction that is proposed to be drawn between "protected" and "ordinary" tenants is unjust for another reason.

It is merely an accident that most tenants have been in the occupation of the same land for six years before 1st April 1960. Owners of those lands had every right to evict them and resume the lands for personal cultivation if they had not been prevented from doing so under the Tenancy Act of 1956 which was extended after its expiry in 1959 from year to year. Owners were thus compelled to give their lands on lease to the same tenants from year to year. But for this compulsion many of them would have started personal cultivation. It was the landlords who thus suffered a serious disability under the Act of 1956. And now, over and above this disability, they are deprived of their rights of ownership for a nominal compensation.

The compensation is nominal because the price at which the "protected tenant" becomes the owner of the land is only six times the rental in the case of irrigated lands from sources other than wells. Under the proposed Bill the rental is one-fourth of the gross income and this comes to 1-1/2 times the gross income. No one would regard it as fair compensation. The compensation which the Government has to pay when it takes over lands in excess of the ceiling fixed is three to five times the gross income. It is unreasonable that the compensation should be only 1-1/2 times in the case of lands taken away by "protected tenants". There is nothing to justify this kind of disparity. It works out at one-eighth to one-tenth of the current market price.

The objectives of any tenancy legislation are usually recognised to be (1) the fixation of reasonable rentals and (2) security of tenure for tenants. It was this kind of legislation for which the landlords were prepared. They reconciled themselves to the reduction of rentals from half to one-fourth of it because they would be getting some income. They had no idea whatever that their property would be confiscated and that they would get no income whatever. But the creation of the class of "protected tenants" has belied all these expectations. For one acre of land whose market value is Rs. 5,000 they will now get about Rs. 500 to Rs. 600. Even this will not be paid in a lump sum but in sixteen half-yearly instalments of Rs. 50 to Rs. 35. Imagine the plight of old people who invested their hard-won savings in land expecting some income on which they could maintain themselves in old age. They lose both income and property.

It is clear therefore that the Tenancy Bill, so far as the clauses relating to "protected tenants" are concerned, goes beyond the ordinary objectives of tenancy legislation. Instead of regulating the relations between landlords and tenants it does away with the class of landlords without paying a reasonable and fair compensation to them.

The idea of "protected tenants" originated in connection with lands in

INDO - COMMERCIAL BANK LIMITED

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar
K.C.S.I., D.C.L. (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business transacted efficiently and quickly
Attractive rates on deposits

• which may be ascertained on application

S. Krishnaswami,
Secretary

For a trusted Treatment
for

DIABETES

Contact or write to:

MANAGER -

ANANDASHRAMAM

VANGAL P.O., TRICHI DT.

MADRAS STATE

Telengana where most lands were owned by rich jagirdars. There is no analogy between owners of ryotwari lands in Andhra and the Telengana jagirdars. The former are owners of small areas of land, especially after a ceiling was fixed. They belong mostly to the lower middle class. Those of them who did not personally cultivate their land were persons who got some

English education and who took to service. Many of them are not in receipt of pensions. Whatever savings they made while in service were invested by them on lands—an investment which was regarded as quite legal and legitimate. They were not like zamindars on whom the East India Company conferred rights of property. They are persons like those belonging to the lower middle

class that are being expropriated under the new Bill.

As the distinction drawn between "protected" and "ordinary" tenants is quite arbitrary, and as it leads to the expropriation of persons who belong to the lower middle class the best course is to delete the sections dealing with "protected tenants" and recognise only one category of tenants.

When
a woman
knows
she is
being
admired

Across a crowded room, you're
conscious of admiring eyes . . .
Suddenly, you are sure of your loveliness!

Film star Savithri knows that to be
her loveliest a woman needs a lovely
complexion. 'That's why I trust fragrant
LUX,' she says. 'Its mild, creamy lather
keeps my skin smooth, radiant!'

Be your loveliest, too — with LUX!

THE PURE, MILD
BEAUTY SOAP
OF THE FILM STARS



Savithri, star of A.V.M.'s KALATHUR KANNANNA

A HINDUSTAN LEVER PRODUCT



SHIFTING THE ZOO TO GUINDY

By M. KRISHNAN

The long-neglected Madras Zoo is in the news once more. They are again thinking of shifting it to Guindy Park, near Raj Bhavan.

They thought of this move about two years ago, and then apparently gave up the idea, and planned to acquire land adjoining the present site, so as to expand the zoo, in a 4-lakh scheme. And now my newspaper tells me in an editorial, in a warmly commendatory editorial, that they are thinking of shifting it to Guindy, and have a scheme that will cost 11 lakhs and occupy 20 acres.

It is said that the environmental conditions at the present site are bad for the animals, and responsible for the high rate of mortality obtaining among them. I would like to point out that while environmental conditions do vitally affect captive animals (and even free ones), environment and mortality are by no means so directly related as envisaged by the Corporation and the writer of that editorial in my newspaper. Life is rarely so simple, and in any zoo we are dealing with life under complex, artificial conditions. Circus animals, which never get half the freedom that zoo animals do, and which are subject to much close confinement and frequent journeys, often live long and are in splendid condition; they get what few zoo specimens do, individual care, even a measure of companionship, and regular work. Again, in an American zoo where the inmates are provided with every possible amenity, and quite a few luxuries, and looked after with care and competence, they found the rate of mortality shooting up; investigating the cause, experts came to the conclusion, after scientific tests and changes of diet, that the main cause was that the creatures did not get enough relaxation, and that they were unable to stand the stress of life in a zoo.

However, it is true that smoke from railway engines cannot do any good to man or beast. The question is whether there is such heavy pollution of the air that we are justified in attributing the many recent deaths at the zoo to this cause. During many visits to the zoo in the past few years, I have not been able to notice the smoke in the air at all, except as a visual phenomenon in those areas immediately adjoining the railway. The argument that the animals are disturbed, too violently and too often, by the noise and bustle of a big railway station in the imme-

diately neighbourhood, is less valid; animals usually get used to such noises, just as we do. The truth is that the actual cause of the high rate of mortality in our zoo cannot be definitely stated, from the data available—I realise, of course, that there is a post-mortem on each death, but still what I say is true, as the autopsy often discloses no definite cause. Neglect, especially during the earliest stages of any illness, infection from preventable sources, poor drainage, and even disturbance by curious or expectant humanity, have all probably contributed quite as much to the high rate of mortality as the poor lay-out of the zoo and environmental factors. I am not prepared to annotate the last sentence, but would like to add that I intend no reflection whatever on the staff in charge of the zoo.

However, it is easier and less costly to remedy existing defects than to shift to a new place which may not offer the animals many of those amenities which they now enjoy, or which they can enjoy in their present setting when conditions are improved. If, after a careful study of the question, the Corporation is convinced that the shifting of the zoo to another place will really help, I am all for such shifting. But the 11 lakhs and the 20 acres of the reported scheme both strike me as being most crippling inadequate. In planning to build a zoo anew, ample provision must be made for spare runs and paddocks, so as to allow for the periodical sterilisation of the soil. And if the zoo must be shifted, why shift it

to Guindy? Guindy is far away, there is already a Children's Corner at the Park there to cater to the needs of the local children (and visitors), and there are other complicating factors.

Guindy Park is the site of a unique project—it is the place earmarked for the location of the first National Park for the animals of the open country and scrub jungles in India. This is a project of far greater popular, scientific, and national importance than any zoo. There is hardly sufficient space for the project here, as things are, and the few acres needed for the Children's Corner were ceded on the definite understanding that there would be no further demands on the limited space—a representative of the Madras Corporation was, I believe, among those present when this project was discussed, and decided upon. The zoo would certainly take up much more than the 20 acres it might need for the accommodation of its animals, if it were to be located at Guindy Park—a broad insulating belt would be needed to prevent the spread of infectious diseases from the captive to the free animals, and it would be no easy task to create such a belt. The idea of a zoo next to a National Park does not appeal to me, but I quite realise that there will be plenty to whom it will seem a capital ideal. However, the fact remains that every cent of available land at Guindy Park has already been earmarked for the National Park, and that there is no space here for a zoo. It should be realised that when the National Park scheme is developed, space will be needed to provide visiting humanity with amenities, and attractions.

And where is there an assured supply of fresh-water in Guindy Park? A zoo is a thing that needs plenty of fresh-



Indian Lion — Madras Zoo

water, and not only for the animals to drink. I doubt if anywhere away from its present location the zoo will be able to command the water resources that it has now, but if it must be shifted, why shift it to Guindy Park whose xerophytic, thorny vegetation is ample proof of the natural lack of water? I heard, or read, something about a scheme for bringing in salt-water from the sea, but the sea, even the estuary, is far away and it would be a most needlessly expensive scheme to lay pipelines to bring in the salt-water, which can, at best, only meet a small part of the zoo's requirements—unless the scheme also includes a giant distilling plant.

I think the Corporation would do well to reconsider its plan for shifting the zoo; instead, the zoo can be improved in many ways, retaining its present, central location, and certainly it would help to acquire more land for it. I believe I am correct in saying that some suggestions for the improvement of zoos in India, and the avoidance of unintended cruelty to animals in zoos, were communicated to the Madras Zoo sometime in 1956.* Few of those suggestions have been tried out here. In

addition, I think it would be a good idea to replan the zoo (irrespective of its location) in such a way that the native animals are, to the extent possible, separated from the exotic specimens—in practice, all that this would entail would be the division of the mammalian, avian and reptilian sections into two compartments. By this simple method, the visitor to the zoo (whatever his or her age) could get to know the commoner animals of the country without the effort of remembering the details furnished in each board. I would also suggest the exhibition of the more common animals, such as the hare and the fox of South India (rarely seen in our zoos), and a really big paddock for gaur, say, some 4 to 5 acres at least in extent, planted with well-grown forest trees and shrubs to provide adequate shade, and with a stream of water running through, if possible. If all this cannot be provided, and room for a small herd of gaur cannot be found, I think the zoo should give up the idea of exhibiting this superb wild ox—it is positively cruel to keep a highly gregarious, forest-loving beast confined by itself in a small, shaded paddock.

* NOTE: Some of these suggestions for the improvement of our zoos, and the suggestions for the avoidance of unintended cruelty to animals in zoos, were made by me, when I addressed the conference of Zoo Superintendents in Mysore by special invitation, in 1956. All these suggestions were unanimously approved and recorded, and communicated to all zoos.

INFLATION

Inflation is the great confidence-trick which the State plays upon the public. Whenever inflation occurs the full responsibility for curing it must be with the existing Government. The only proper way to prevent it is to neutralise some part of the existing purchasing power. If, through ignorance, timidity or political expediency, the Government does nothing, a large section of the people are robbed directly. If the Government attempts to deal with the problem by exercising physical control over the flow of raw materials, labour and capital, then the people are robbed indirectly and they further run the danger of finding their freedom swept away.

—JOHN JEWELL: "Ordeal by Planning"

Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill

(Continued from page 2)

tion of the Legislative Assembly that passed the Bill. This is begging the question.

The Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill was passed by the Legislative Assembly of the State and was then presented to the Governor who reserved the Bill for the consideration of the President. The Bill was thus pending before the President for his assent when the Legislative Assembly that passed it was dissolved. We have to enquire as to what is the effect of dissolution on this Bill.

The relevant Articles of the Constitution are Articles 162, 196, 200 and 201. What these articles say may be briefly referred to here.

So far as the Kerala State is concerned, the legislature consists of the Governor and the Legislative Assembly. Every bill has to be introduced in, discussed and passed by the Legislative Assembly. The bill so passed has then to be presented to the Governor for his assent. The Governor then shall declare either that he assents to the bill, or that he withholds assent therefrom, or that he reserves the bill for the consideration of the President. The Governor has also the option to return the bill, as soon as possible after the presentation of the bill to him, together with a message requesting that the House will reconsider the bill or any specified provision thereof, and, in particular, will consider the desirability of introducing such amendments as he may recommend in his message. When a bill is so returned, the House shall reconsider the bill accordingly; and if the bill is passed again with or without his amendments, and presented to the Governor, he shall not withhold assent therefrom. When a bill is returned by the Governor for the consideration of the President, the President shall declare either that he assents to the bill or that he withholds assent therefrom. He has also the choice to direct the Governor to return the bill to the Assembly, together with a message similar to the one mentioned above in the case of the Governor. The Assembly shall then reconsider it accordingly within a period of six months from the receipt of the message. If it is again passed with or without amendment, it shall be presented again to the President.

Thus there are two distinct stages in the passing of a bill. One, the introduction, discussion and passing of the bill in the Legislative Assembly, and the other, the presentation of the bill, so passed, to the Governor for assent, when he has three options, viz.

assent, dissent, or return of the bill with his message for reconsideration. In the first stage, when the bill is before the House, and is pending there, if a dissolution takes place, the bill lapses. Lapse of bills pending before the Legislative Assembly, is dealt with in Article 196. That Article, relating as it does to the legislative procedure in the House, deals only with the cases of pendency in the Legislative Assembly. That Article does not therefore deal with bills pending before the Governor or President for his assent.

Though there is no express provision in the Constitution that a bill, pending before the second agency in the passing of a bill into law, would lapse on dissolution of the Assembly that passed it, it has to be taken, on the analogy of a lapse, on the dissolution of the Assembly, when a bill passed by it is pending in a Council where there is a second House, that it would lapse. The argument, that the absence of a clear provision to that effect may be considered as proof of the intention of the Constitution that such a bill does not lapse, cannot be accepted because it is also an inference from a particular circumstance. On the other hand, there are clear indications, in the Articles in question, pointing to the fact that the bill, pending assent, would lapse on the dissolution of the Assembly. Some of these indications are the following:

(1) Proviso to Article 200 speaks of "reconsideration" by the House or Houses. Reconsideration necessarily implies that the House must have considered the bill once already. But dissolution has put an end to the House that considered the bill previously, and the House that deals with a returned bill in such cases is a new House which has not considered the Bill before. The Legislature which is called upon to "reconsider" a returned bill cannot mean, as some contend, the permanent entity called "the Legislative Assembly" which is a part of the legislature of the State, in which case there will never be a dissolution of the House, but can only mean the body of actual members who can alone consider and decide.

(2) How can a new House, which has not considered the bill previously and passed it, be asked to "reconsider" the bill in respect of the amendments recommended by the Governor without the right to consider and decide other portions of the bill also. It is not a bill considered and passed by them; and it would be strange and really wrong to compel a new House which had no responsibility in the formulation of the bill to discuss and pass the amendments only, without the right to shape the bill as a whole to their liking. So the

return of a bill for reconsideration can only be to the House that passed it. Therefore on dissolution of the House, the bill pending before the Governor or President should be taken to have lapsed.

(3) As to the question whether assent to a bill could be given by the Governor or the President after the dissolution of the Assembly or not, Article 200 makes a distinction between the time at which assent could be given or withheld, and the time when the return of the bill can be made. For, the proviso to Article 200 says that the return of the bill should be made as soon as possible after the presentation of the bill to him for assent. These words are not there in the body of Article 200 and indicate that the intention of the Constitution was that the return of the bill should be to the legislature that passed it.

It is true that there is a conflict in this matter in the views of commentators of the Indian Constitution. But the provisions of the Constitution as well as the procedure followed in the British Parliament, upon the basis of which our procedure was modelled, make it clear that the makers of our Constitution contemplated that the bill to become law should have passed through all its stages up to the final assent in one and the same Assembly.

The absurdity of the opposite view can be made clear by an illustration. Take, for instance, a case where a bill passed by a Legislature House is presented to the Governor for assent, and he returns it to the Assembly, and that Assembly is afterwards dissolved, while the returned bill is pending before it. There can be no doubt whatsoever that in such a case the pending bill will not survive the dissolution, and cannot be considered by a new Assembly formed after that. The mere circumstance that the return was made after and not before dissolution, or after the formation of a new Assembly should not be allowed to make any difference.

There is considerable justification to think that a bill, passed by the Assembly and pending for the assent of the Governor or President, would lapse, if the Assembly that passed the bill is dissolved in the meanwhile.

The undoubted British practice is that bills pending for the assent of the Crown lapse on dissolution of the House of Commons and Royal assent given after the dissolution would have no effect.

As Sri Rajagopalachari has pointed out, the effect of a dissolution on a bill pending assent and the right of a new legislative body to consider a bill returned, arose for decision in Madras in

and now...home to a bath
with refreshing
HAMAM
the family soap

...and it lasts
longer!



A TATA PRODUCT



THY-5

DALDA FORUM

IS FAT really FATTENING?

YOU: Isn't fat fattening?

NUTRITIONIST: Not as fattening as you might think.

YOU: How do you mean?

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

YOU: I don't understand.

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

YOU: I see.

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

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

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

YOU: Is this a scientifically tested fact?

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

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

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

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

YOU: But what are the direct sources of fat?

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

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

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

YOU: Nourishing?

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

YOU: I see...

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

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

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

SRI DHEBAR'S DEFENCE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

connection with the Madras Hindu Religious Endowment Bill of 1923. The bill was passed by the then Legislative Council and was presented to the Governor for assent, but was returned by him for reconsideration by the Council. In the meanwhile the Council which had passed the bill had become dissolved and a new Council had come into being. The remitted bill was considered by the new Council and passed in 1925 and the Governor gave his assent. Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyer wrote an article in the Madras Law Journal questioning the validity of the new Council considering and passing the returned bill, passed by the previous Council, and establishing that the new Council had no such power. Suits were also filed in the High Court questioning the right of a newly elected Council to reconsider and pass a bill which had been passed by its predecessor before dissolution. Thereupon, the Government came forward with a bill to validate the old Act. That bill also was passed into law. The suits were therefore withdrawn. Article 196 of the Constitution cannot be said to have changed the law as it had stood in 1923.

Thus a bill passed by the Legislative Assembly and pending before the President for assent would lapse with the dissolution of the Assembly that passed it, and the President for whose consideration the bill was reserved by the Governor could not in law effectively direct the Governor to return the bill to a new Council to be called 'reconsideration', when the House that passed the bill stood dissolved and the present House had never 'considered' it.

Since it is a matter of great constitutional importance, it would be well if the Kerala Government takes fuller legal advice before they precipitate matters and place the bill with amendments for the consideration of the new Legislative Assembly. Anyway, the matter could be finally set at rest only by an authoritative decision of the Supreme Court.

Sri U. N. Dhebar has offered his reactions to my challenge to the Congress Party that it should relinquish and withdraw from Government power six months before the elections. He pleads hard for retaining power during the elections and seeks to divert attention from the point by the cheap argument that my challenge implies a confession of no prospects for the Swatantra Party. There is not the slightest attempt to deny my charge that Government power is used to collect votes and to collect funds and put the money thus collected into the elections defeating the provisions of the People's Representation Law.

He does not touch my other challenge that companies' funds should not be drawn upon to keep the ruling party in unbroken authority. He does not touch that subject presumably because he has no answer to the immorality of that procedure.

Sri Dhebar draws his inference which can be tested in the elections. I draw another inference to which there can only be an answer from conscience viz., that the Congress leaders confess that they cannot hope to win unless they retain and use governmental power and the public exchequer at the time of collecting votes; they confess also that their pull depends on huge funds conveniently extorted from companies doing big and small business under their party Damocles's sword.

The fact of the matter is that Congress has got used to living and thriving through the Chief Ministers and Deputy Ministers and the administrative machine. Without these it feels like an orphan. This parasitic existence is a denial of the freedoms that make up democracy. My proposals are to free democracy from these abuses.

Sri Dhebar harps on the claim that Congress has an ideology and the Swatantra Party has none. The

Swatantra Party's very name indicates its ideology. Its ideology is freedom in the truest sense. That the Congress keeps body and soul together drawing sustenance from the administrative authority it was entrusted with and which it uses for its own party advantage every day and every single hour has been made plain as a pikestaff. That it has not given good government is widely felt. The first duty of an alternative party is to replace it. The Swatantra Party depends on cohesion on certain fundamental principles and on free will and not coercion through whips and threats going by the name of "party discipline". The moral deterioration in Congress has reached such a level as makes its leaders blind to the implications involved in their plea for holding office and exercising administrative power over the voters during the election period and in their opposition to the protection of companies' funds from the raids of Congress Ministers for running their elections.

Sri Dhebar should remember that for every ounce of administrative power mis-utilised for party purposes and every roll of hundred rupee notes secured for the party through that means, there is a countervailing loss of moral power which must one ultimate day bring the Congress to disgrace. Indeed if Sri Dhebar could read men's minds he might even now see what the people think of the Congress apart from Sri Jawaharlal Nehru. What was once the object of love and veneration now lives on the power to ruin people entangled in business, on fear instead of reverence and love.

THE RUSSIAN RIDDLE

I cannot forecast to you the action of Russia. It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma; but perhaps there is a key. That key is Russian national interest.

—WINSTON CHURCHILL (in 1939).

Ready for use in
3 MINUTES!
"Chideer"
Rice IDEI

○ Doosai ○ Mysore Bonda ○ Vadai
○ Tomato Sambar & Rasam
○ Tomato Soup & Pepper Water

Manufactured by:
SRI GANESHRAM & CO., Madras-1
Stockists: **NEW MADRAS STORES**
12A/15, W.E.A. Karol Bagh,
NEW DELHI - 5

TEN WONDERFUL YEARS:
backchat from a forward-looking company — 1



THE ALUMINIUM INDUSTRIES LTD

"L'aluminium," said the man from Montreal.
"Oui?" (French for 'O, yeah,') replied the gleam in our eye.

And we were sold down the river. Only the river turned out to be a lake—Lake Ashtamudi. And on its picturesque, palm-fringed shore, we set up plant facilities for

Single track mind

making aluminium wires and cables...so that at the flick of a switch you have all in your power!

That was way back in 1950.

Then, as now, we're loyal to the light metal.

The Alind plant was installed with the closest technical collaboration of Aluminium Laboratories Limited, Montreal, leaders in the aluminium conductor field.

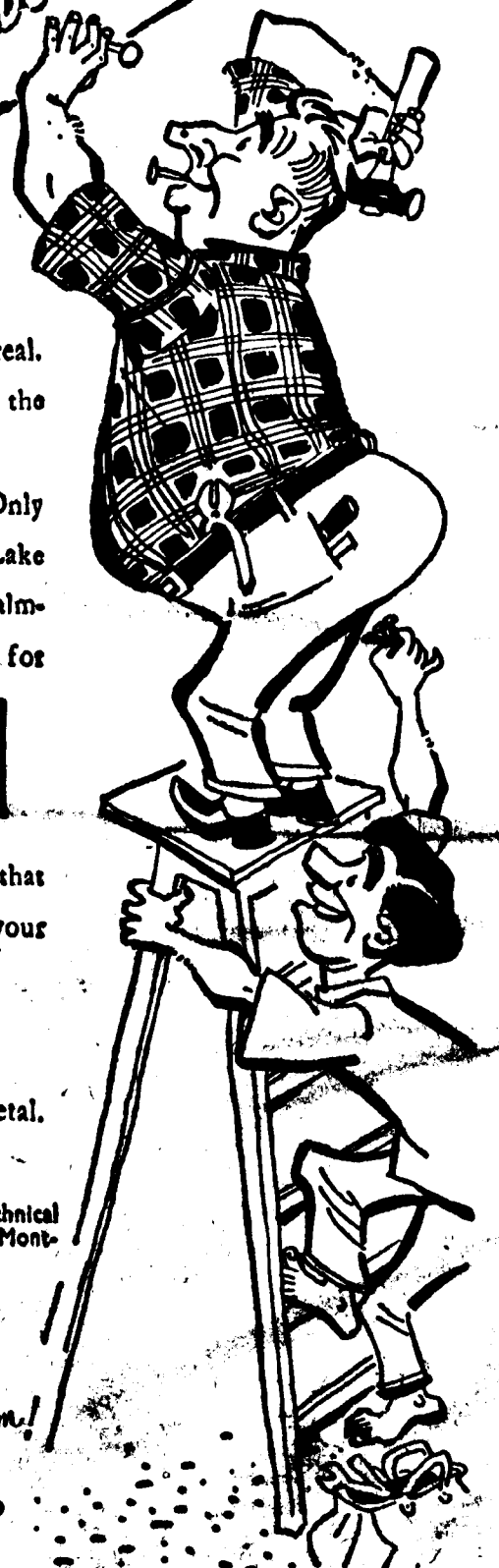
ALIND a power for good
in the world of aluminium!

THE ALUMINIUM INDUSTRIES LIMITED

Registered Office: Madurai (Kerala)
Plant No. 1: Kundera, Ponnani, S. Kottam (Odisha)

Managing Agents:
Sethasayee Brothers (Priv.) Private Ltd.

Printed by R. Ananthanarayanan at the Kalki Press, Kilpauk, Madras-10, and published for
Education Publications Private Ltd. by T. Sadasivam. Editor: K. SUNDAR RAO.



143690.

IL
802, NSIST
N60.5