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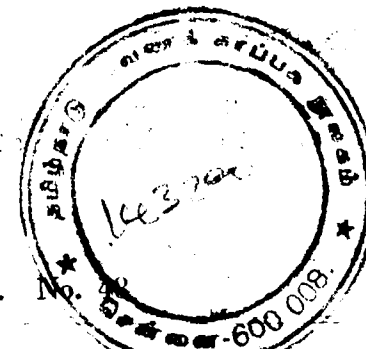
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MINISTER'S APOLOGIA FOR CONGRESS

In an article contributed to *India Quarterly* Sri Humayun Kabir, Central Minister for Education, devotes some space to a criticism of the Swatantra Party. He contends that the basic ideological weakness of the Swatantra Party lies in its "placing its main emphasis on an element in the Indian character which is being steadily weakened", and that this makes it "essentially a party of the past rather than of the future." What is this element in the Indian character to which Sri Kabir refers? It is the element of "individual liberty and personal property", to put it in his own phrase. He assumes that the Swatantra Party emphasises this element, and by doing so it strengthens individual values in its ideology and objective. The Congress, on the other hand, we are told, strengthens national values. The argument by which the Education Minister arrives at this gratifying declaration is worth reproduction in his own words: "The steady entry of the State into different sectors of industry and commerce and even more the acceptance by the State of new responsibilities of administration and service have inevitably meant a strengthening of the national as distinct from the individual values."

Why inevitable? Sri Kabir seems to have subscribed to the extraordinary thesis that the acceptance by the State of new and extended responsibilities is in itself proof *prima facie* of the strengthening of national values so far as the ruling party running the State is concerned. Experience completely belies this thesis.

At the present moment, the State under Congress auspices has taken on land ceiling legislation with the avowed object of promoting equality by distributing surplus land to the landless. Much play is made in Congress propaganda on the national value of this legislation. But a little scrutiny reveals the utterly untenable character of such a claim. In Madras State sugarcane cultivation is exempted from the operation of the proposed ceiling law. It turns out that there are very few sugarcane factories in the whole State. The exemption from ceiling, applicable to sugarcane growers, though put in the plural for deceptive purposes, is designed primarily to benefit a single individual, and that individual is one who has richly earned this special discrimination in his favour with rich aid to the Congress in its electoral campaigns.

Waste of money on B.C.G.

B.C.G. Vaccine, freeze-dried or liquid, made in Madras or imported, I assert for the hundredth time, is of no value whatsoever. It is sheer waste of precious public funds to spend anything on this programme. There will be just as many and just as few cases of T. B. among the same number vaccinated with Cooum water. If anyone object that I who express this opinion am a layman, I ask him to read the *British Medical Journal* of June 6, 1959 wherein an article entitled "The case against B. C. G." finds the place of honour.

—C. R.

This is the sort of national value which is found exemplified in Congress practice, and the Minister's glorification of his party's ideology must only be set down as a hypocritical pretension that has no basis in fact. On the very face of it, it is absurd to assume that the entry of the State into this or that sector of activity is presumptive evidence of the national value of its operations. The State covers a nation territorially, but as an instrument for the exercise of power it connotes no axiomatic implications of national value. At the present moment the State in Turkey represents the despotic will of a single military commander. If Sri Kabir's logic is to prevail, by the mere fact that it has assumed new responsibilities of administration and service, it deserves to be acclaimed for the strengthening of national values thereby subserved.

Sri Kabir's division of Indian character into individual and national on the basis of value for apportioning it between parties to glorify one and deride another according to his own choice, is a distortion of historical reality, but even that has not served his purpose. We have seen to what a wretched dimension of exclusive individual favouritism the alleged national value of Congress ideology has sunk in the case of the Madras Land Ceiling Bill. Good and evil remain mixed in the springs of human behaviour, and no nation's character can be twisted into permutations to suit the requirements or sustain the credit of any political party. That an attempt like this should be

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made at all on behalf of the Congress by one of its leading lights betrays the moral instability and unashamed intellectual perversion to which that organisation has sunk in its orgies of self-laudatory propaganda.

In Rajaji's leadership Sri Kabir sees clarity of vision and powerful intellect but not the gift of capturing the imagination of the masses. Pontificating on national leadership the Minister lays down the dictum that an individual achieves it "not only through his own contribution in the direction of the national urges but also through his capacity to sense and interpret the stirrings in the nation's subconscious and unconscious mind." Apparently Sri Kabir wants to impress on his readers' minds the superior capacity of the Congress for this sort of national leadership.

But it is only a caricature he has brought out illustrating the effect of seeking to interpret the stirrings in the nation's subconscious mind without intellectual guidance and clear vision. Because these stirrings have been interpreted in this way, the immediate quick returns of placating greed and hatred have been accorded higher priority in Congress programmes than administrative justice with the long-range objective of enduring popular happiness.

The grand and pretentious ideology of the Congress is only a cover for selfish misrule, hypocrisy, corruption and deceit. It is based on attitudes of hatred, and the hungry are sought to be fed on hatred instead of on honest work. The Swatantra Party has no use for any pretentious competition which mingles greed and hatred into expropriatory vote-catching campaigns. It seeks to make a start in national renovation with the restoration of administrative justice, as it is convinced that no paradise based on injustice can endure. It is a tribute to the moral calibre of the Swatantra Party that the Congress is being forced now to make probes into its affairs where previously white-washing had been the rule.

EASY IS NOT ALWAYS GOOD

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Turkey has furnished yet another warning to lovers of democracy that there is a point of misgovernment at which all power crumbles like a house of cards. The military have taken over the governance of Turkey. As in similar cases elsewhere there is an immediate promise of good government and a solemn assurance that democracy will be soon restored—when and under what conditions rests on the standard of popular character and stamina prevailing.

General Gursel has issued advice that soldiers should abstain from politics. It is a cruel joke, coming as it does from a soldier who has displaced the civil power. Probably it means that the Dictator notifies that he will deal severely with any attempts on the part of other generals to displace his authority. Authority acquired by the instrumentality of physical power is bound to be in fear of displacement and act cruelly against any rival attempts.

It is a curious accident—or is it?—that dictatorial regimes are multiplying under the Western umbrella. Of course in all these cases there is the promise to hold "free" elections as soon as circumstances are favourable and meanwhile loyalty to NATO and CENTO is guaranteed. People will be wondering how long these Alliance organizations can hold together if they rest more and more on nations living entirely under authoritarian rulers. Things look very firm in such cases and negotiation is easier with them than with parliamentary democracies. But appearances are not always reliable and there may be as quick and easy a second coup as the one that preceded it.

Personal diplomacy is easy when both the negotiating parties are dictators and need not wait

for parliamentary approval. The inherent difficulty of the situation in the recent abortive attempt at a summit conference was the absence of this even condition on both sides. Khrushchev was completely free to press for anything or agree to anything. But Eisenhower was not so free in that way. His great personal popularity notwithstanding, he could not be free to do things without approval from the U.S. Senate and from the unpublished advice of the official hierarchy that manages affairs in America. This unevenness of freedom on the two sides was at the bottom of the failure. Khrushchev innocently asks, how can I trust the man who spoke so sweetly but does so wickedly? The Russian leader was wrong in appraising the President's personal character on that basis and getting excited. He was dealing with a person who worked under restrictions which he himself was free from. He seems to have seen and appreciated Eisenhower's difficulties when he had time to get calm after returning to Moscow.

While dictators can negotiate easily and come to terms speedily, what is easy and quick is not always sound. At any rate in order to make negotiation easy we should not seek to write off democracy and encourage the evolution of authoritarianism. Of what use is peace if there is no freedom for the people and if peace rests on authoritarian rule? Incidentally, our Prime Minister's holiday is marked by very unfortunate events wherever he touched. The press has been taken over by Nasser, and Menderes is in prison. Sri Jawaharlal Nehru will no doubt return home a very educated man and give an impressive lecture to our people to be vigilant and calm. It is good to be calm but it is not easy to be vigilant. Authoritarianism is progressing pretty rapidly.

SWATANTRA PARTY

BOMBAY CHAIRMAN'S REPLY TO HUTHEESING

Sri Murari J. Vaidya, in reply to Sri Raja Hutheesing's criticism of the Swatantra Party in his letter resigning from it, writes: Sri Vaidya, is the Chairman of the Organising Committee of the Swatantra Party in Bombay.

From the outset Sri Hutheesing seemed to be in two minds about his own ideology. This was evident even when he made his speech at the session of the Convention held on August 1 and 2 in Bombay in 1959. It was evident that he could not forget his loyalty to Socialism and while he was apparently in favour of organising a Democratic Opposition he did not seem to realise what it meant or how it should be done. His association with the Swatantra Party has been in fact brief because he was away from the country for quite a long time now. He could not attend the Patna Convention of the Party for this reason. For the last few months he took no active part in the work of the Party in Bombay. All the same, we may have liked to have him as a friend and colleague.

His fear that "the programme of the Swatantra Party if put in practice would subject the Indian people to economic chaos and ruthless exploitation and put off all hopes of peaceful economic development" is merely an expression of his brand of Socialism and has no relation whatsoever to the Party's policy. Chapter IV of the statement of the

Party's policy states quite enough to make all such fears baseless. The Party stands for the fullest development of the country's resources through the enterprise and initiative of the people. The Party does not stand for what is known as 'laissez faire'. It stands for free endeavour regulated by such State action as may be necessary for preventing and punishing anti-social activities and for the protection of the weaker but useful elements of society. The role of the State is the vital one of creating and sustaining an environment in which the genius of the people can fulfil itself. The Swatantra movement is a revolt from the total State-ism which the Congress Party is implementing. It does not stand for leaving weaker elements unprotected or anti-social tendencies unchecked. But the interference of the State for these purposes should not become an over-whelming all-round state-control crushing the initiative and freedom of the individual as at present the Congress policy has done.

The Party holds the view that planning must be carried on within the limits of the Constitution and that the proper organisation for planning the affairs of the nation and submitting an annual programme is the Cabinet responsible to Parliament and that while the Government may resort to such expert assistance as it desires, there should be no other body making policies affecting the life of the nation. The Party is opposed to any extra-constitutional body being vested with powers as has been enjoyed by the present Planning Commission largely because it is presided over by the Prime Minister.

As regards Foreign Policy and Defence the Party believes that the aggression perpetrated by Communist China has created a new situation and that the concept of non-alignment in relation to China has no meaning except surrender to aggression. It is not quite clear wherein or how Sri Hutheesing differs from this position beyond his vague attachment to the Prime Minister's policy of non-alignment without reference to the present situation.

Sri Hutheesing was free to leave the Party which he voluntarily and freely joined at its very inception without making unfounded statements to confuse the general public.

MASTER TARA SINGH

It is easy *ex parte* to formulate apprehensions to justify the use of powers to detain without trial those whom one does not like. But these *ex parte* pronouncements are unconvincing. India's international reputation in respect of the Rule of Law has been badly damaged by the unwise and highhanded action of the Punjab Government arresting Master Tara Singh and ordering his 'detention' without trial in a close prison. The issue of Punjabi Suba is different entirely from the issue of whether this repression is justified. In fact those who oppose the Suba should be the first to disapprove of the application of the Preventive Detention Act to a political movement. It is wrong in itself and is a very bad precedent.

Those who were in the earlier stages of the struggle for Independence and were old enough to understand values apart from a mere spirit of revolt and adventure had occasion to appreciate the wonderful part the Sikhs and in particular the Akalis played in that great campaign. They must be sad today to see how the Government is dealing with them for making a demand which, whether it is conceded or not, it is certainly legitimate to make.

This sort of repression is not the way to nurse unity and loyalty at the frontier or to impress potential enemies with our strength of resources for defence. From this point of view no worse choice could have been made than selecting the Sikh community to bear the brunt of arbitrary authority. —C.R.

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VALUES

Planning in the large sense must have a value base. Values differ according to the philosophy of life that governs a people. If we sit down, says Professor Adolf Berk, and write out a list of values that should be realised and then arrange them in order of priority putting first things first, and secondary and non-essentials down in the middle and at the bottom respectively, we get a 'plan'. Our philosophy of life must give first place to a life of freedom. Production or distribution without freedom suits Communism. It does not suit India. Employment for all is necessary in India. State-production and distribution administered by officials appointed to the purpose cannot fit into the philosophy of life of the Indian people and is therefore unsuitable. —C. R.

SIDELIGHTS ::

Sri Anantharama Dikshitar of Sengalipuram has been expounding Ramayana in Kalki compound. The present series commenced forty days ago and will be completed this Friday. But there is no rest for Sri Dikshitar. The end of one series is for him only the beginning of another. For two years now he has been giving the benefit of his unique exposition of Hindu epics to one suburb after another of this large city, in between occasional tours to more distant places on account of invitations, frequent and insistent, that could not be denied. Sri Dikshitar's cultural empire is now co-terminous with all of India's territory where Hindus dwell who can understand Tamil.

It was at Triplicane that I listened to Sri Dikshitar for the first time. I accompanied Sri Rajaji to the place of meeting. Rajaji is a little apprehensive of the effect of a crowd on the air we breathe, and he likes to avoid mixing with large concourses of people in closed enclosures in densely populated regions. So he was not too ready at first to attend Sri Dikshitar's discourse and I believe it was my pleading that overcame his hesitation. A single attendance was enough for him to get into the spirit of the thing. Thereafter unless prevented by illness, or other insuperable reason, he never stayed away even for a day. Rajaji's regular attendance as a Dikshitar-listener and his occasional five-minute commentaries on the text and teaching have had an exciting effect on thousands of others. It is as if the public taste, which used to delight in ultra-modern agnosticism, has been moulded into a new and different morale, and religion itself, till lately derided as unfashionable, has once again recovered its traditional status of respectability.

A towering presence leavens a whole multitude with a little of its quality, and Sri Dikshitar, sensitive to the nuances of pervasive

influence in the atmosphere, has often acknowledged with joy the multiplied importance and significance derived by his own work from Rajaji's mere presence. He felt that a million people listened to him through this one man. Even at lower levels, audience-reaction is a vital contributory element in shaping the character of a speaker's thought and expression. Speech is not complete until it has found a listener. The listener completes the circle of expression by transmuting art into life again. Varieties of listeners, congregating in different places, have with their varying qualities of receptivity, given to Sri Dikshitar's teaching multitudinous values. At Triplicane, his listeners, mostly poor and with lives laden with difficulties, brought ready-made mentalities to absorb with gusto unlimited doses of *bhakti*. At Kotwal Bazaar it was a community of merchants and they went in for doctrines that repaid rectitude with prosperity. They were attracted to virtue in the proportion of the price it ultimately paid to the practitioners. In Mylapore the people were wealthier and more sophisticated and seemed to take Sri Dikshitar's God and things of the Spirit through an intellectual filter that they could not wholly cast away. At Kilpauk, the larger number were women decorated in fascinating colours and children without a care in the world. They had the joy and attractiveness of their kind, God being to them the Giver of all things to Whom is due as devout offering all that belongs to man. The atmosphere here was one of plenty and liberality, happiness and competitive salutation. Here the adoration of Sri Dikshitar is as of a divine deputy, and the very ground he treads on is kissed reverently by his faithful devotees.

Though each may take from Sri Dikshitar what may most suit his mood, the general pattern of his teaching has little in it of expe-

dient casuistry. On the other hand, an unbroken continuity of principle runs through it all, like a sustaining string. Sri Dikshitar is fond of repeating again and again the Mahabharata story of how Gandhari blessed her son Duryodhana on the eve of the Kurukshetra war. She said that truth and dharma go together, and where dharma is, there God's grace also is, and victory is sure to follow. Sri Dikshitar has made out of these three, *satya*, *dharma* and God's grace, the basic objectives of the Hindu way of life and offered it to us as the grand message of the epics and the scriptures and the Vedas. It is the burden of his song that this can be learned and practised only with the help of the good and the great who can be considered to be the modern representatives of the ancient sages of the Hindu faith.

The Ramayana or any epic of the moment that Sri Dikshitar happens to discourse on, is to him only the starting point in the programme of the day. There is no limit to the expanse he can traverse. His knowledge is oceanic. He knows by heart everything worth knowing in Sanskrit, and out of it all he has fashioned a repository of stories conveying the main substance of their teaching. The stories are driven home with relevant recitations in the original. With his magnificent intonation, the sound itself of the recitation lives in the listener's memory as a joy for ever. One of Sri Dikshitar's stories about Ravana tells how all thought of evil fell away from the mind of the *rakshasa* when he merely put on the disguise of Sri Rama. If the infectious power of virtue even if put on as an appearance is so great, what is one to say of the potent influence of genuine devotion? In Sri Dikshitar, preoccupation with God is continuous, the only change being from study to meditation and from meditation to exposition. It is no wonder therefore that the perfection of qualities caused by such unceasing immersion in holiness should have made him one of the most powerful influences for good in our time. —S.A.K.A.

A JACK OF ALL TRADES FROM A CORRESPONDENT

Mr. E. H. Potter, who frequented India House in London some years ago, was an exceptionally talented individual; a real jack of all trades, and at least in Mr. Krishna Menon's view, a master of them all. Whenever there was a contract in the offing, Mr. Potter was prompt to call at India House for an interview with Mr. Krishna Menon, then our High Commissioner.

Jeeps, arms, ammunition, bombers, steel plates, whisky (for the Indian Army), the acquisition of the Gaiety Theatre for the expansion of India House—it did not matter what the quest was: Mr. Potter was ready and willing to take on the job.

The jeeps contract was only one of several transactions. In 1948, the Government of India was in urgent need of jeeps and arms and ammunition. Both Hyderabad and Kashmir were causing worry to the Government, and the Defence Ministry in New Delhi was frantic in its efforts to secure from anywhere in the world such equipment on a large scale.

Mr. Krishna Menon offered to come to the Ministry's rescue and worked, not through the usual channel of the Indian Stores Department attached to his office in London, but through Mr. Potter. 2000 jeeps, he was told, were urgently needed for the police action in Hyderabad.

Mr. Potter was, of course, prepared to supply them, but dictated his own terms. He had no money and was not going to be bothered by the normal formalities of a penalty clause, etc; these had to be waived to his advantage. "Antimistants" (his firm) had practically next to no capital. Mr. Krishna Menon advanced to him £81,000 in August 1948 to facilitate purchase of the jeeps. They would only be reconditioned jeeps, said Mr. Potter—but, really, he assured the High Commissioner, as good as new. The Defence Ministry, being completely in the dark as to the details of the con-

tract, asked if with the jeeps would be made available three years' spares. Mr. Potter was, as usual, prepared to undertake their supply as part of the contract.

The dates of the different evolutionary processes of the contract are very interesting. It was signed in London in July, 1948. Usually, the Ministry, on whose behalf the High Commissioner in London acts, is supplied with a copy of the contract as soon as it has been finalised. But in this case, despite several reminders, the Defence Ministry could not obtain one until the following February.

Meanwhile, the terms of the contract kept changing every few weeks (and always in Mr. Potter's favour) after its acceptance by both parties. Mr. Potter did not favour the jeeps being inspected by the usual inspectors of the High Commissioner's office: he preferred "Hunts", and Mr. Krishna Menon gave his approval to this departure from normal practice. "Hunts", it was agreed, would inspect every jeep before its despatch to India. In fact, the £81,000 advance was made on the assurance that 500 jeeps were ready for shipment to India and "Hunts" would certify every one of them.

But no jeeps left on that date the European port from which they were to be sent to India. Mr. Potter sought another alternation in the contract; could a new firm, "Lloyds", take the place of "Hunts" as the inspecting agency? Permission was, of course, readily forthcoming. Was it necessary, then asked Mr. Potter, encouraged by this concession, to inspect every jeep? It seemed (to him) such a needless formality; would not a ten per cent random inspection be really adequate? Yes, of course, said Mr. Krishna Menon.

By October 1948, the resistance in Hyderabad had collapsed, and the Defence Ministry was no longer in such a desperate need. What was happening in London between Mr. Krishna Menon and

Mr. Potter was a well-guarded secret, even from the Ministry. Before the end of the year (1948) another advance was made to Mr. Potter by Mr. Krishna Menon to enable him to fulfil the terms of the contract, the total being £172,000.

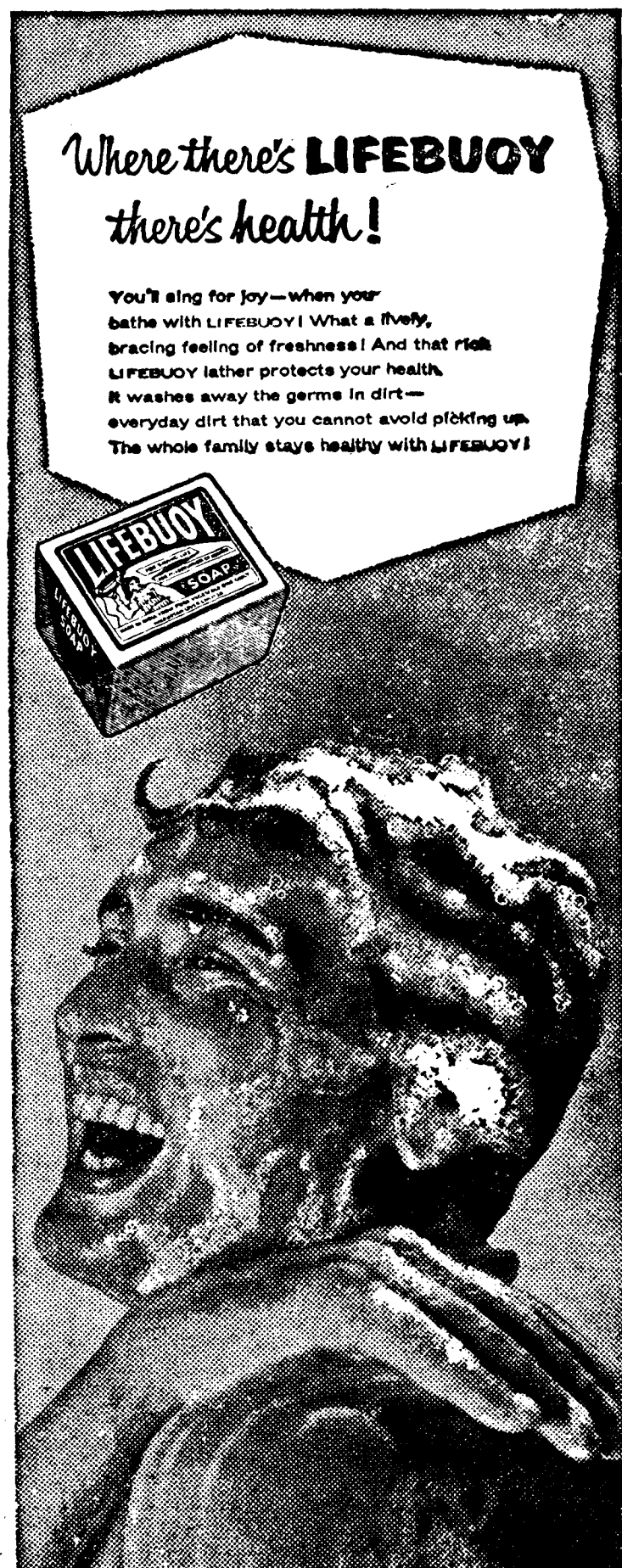
At long last, in March 1949, the first lot of jeeps, 155 in number, arrived in Madras. And what jeeps they were! The Defence Ministry sent its technical expert from New Delhi to inspect them. In his grading, A meant excellent, B was good with minor repairs, C stood for serviceable with a good deal of repair; but D meant in need of thorough overhauling, while E was fit for scrapping. The report was a shock to the Defence Ministry; no jeeps were in A or even B and a small number in C; but the majority were in D or E.

Another shock was in store. The expert asked Mr. Potter's representative (in whose presence the inspection was carried out) for the spares. There were none. The Ministry expert produced the list of standard spares which the Ministry had innocently believed (not having been favoured with a copy of the contract for seven months), would accompany the shipment.

Mr. Potter's representative declined to accept the Ministry's list; the cost of spares, as specified in it, would mount to £200,000 while the contract had mentioned spares whose cost would not exceed £20,000.

That, however, was not the last of Mr. Potter for the Defence Ministry. It had, earlier, asked for rifles and ammunition for use in Kashmir (before the conclusion of the cease-fire agreement in January 1949). Mr. Krishna Menon entered into a new contract with another firm (Knott and Co.) for this equipment worth nearly £2 million, its issued capital being no more than £100! The Defence Ministry did not know at the time that this new firm's spokesman was again Mr. Potter. It was only told that if the supplies were not delivered in India by the end of 1948, it could cancel the order.

June 4, 1960



By January 1949 (after the Kashmir cease-fire agreement) the need for the equipment had disappeared. The Ministry instructed Mr. Krishna Menon to cancel the order, since no supplies had reached India. Moreover, Mr. Potter's quotation was over £11 per 1000 rounds, while the British War Office was able to get them at less than £4.

That did not satisfy Mr. Potter—nor Mr. Krishna Menon. There might be, the latter said, as a penalty for cancellation a demand for £60,000 as compensation; but Mr. Potter was generously prepared to drop it, provided that he got a new contract for steel plates.

So a new Ministry came into the picture, that of Industry and Supply which wanted 24,000 tons of steel plates for our Railways. It was discovered (after the contract had been made) that Mr. Potter was as usual going to be the supplier. About £ 33 and odd per ton was his quoted price for Belgian steel, and the Ministry accepted his offer in March 1949, on the clear condition that the supply was to commence almost immediately and be completed within a year.

When nothing arrived in India even so late as September of that year, the Ministry cabled to Mr. Krishna Menon to cancel the contract. Just too late he replied, because only a day or two earlier he had committed himself to its being irrevocable.

The steel plates finally started arriving in India in dribbles in December 1949. Mr. Potter was in no hurry, as steel prices were falling all over Europe. An Austrian firm (from whom he was actually purchasing his requirements) was willing to sell the steel direct to India at less than £29 per ton—more than £4 lower than the price the Ministry had agreed to pay Mr. Potter. But he brandished his "irrevocable" contract in the Ministry's face and proceeded to fulfil it all through 1950, at his own leisurely pace.

That—and much more—is the interesting story of Mr. Potter. Precisely how much he got out of India's revenues, no one is likely

MISADVENTURES IN KERALA—II

By M. KRISHNAN

Here is letter No. G1-5030/59 dated 8/18-2-60 from the C.C.F., Kerala, to me (as a member of the Indian Board of Wild Life) in full, faithfully copied:

"Sub: Tour to Periyar sanctuary"

Sir,

The Kerala Forest department will be happy to arrange a trip for you in the Periyar Wild Life Sanctuary as well as in the Sunghom Range forests (old top slip range of Madras) for wild life photography if you are agreeable to prepare a note on the Fauna of Kerala and give the department copies of the successful photographs taken by you in the Wild Life sanctuary.

All accommodation and travel arrangements within the forests will be attended to by the Forest department.

I felt flattered by the insistence of the Kerala Forest Department on a faunal note by me, but I could not possibly accept this offer, though I was very keen on visiting the Sungam Range (only later, in May, did I come to know that it is no longer the wild-life paradise that it was once) and the challenge of a long photographic trip after wild life attracted me powerfully. For to accept this offer would mean getting film for about Rs. 800 (no easy feat), and the spending of from Rs 1,300 to Rs. 1,500 over and above the cost of a fortnight's study tour of the Periyar Sanctuary; besides, a man like me who makes his living so very spontaneously cannot lightly afford several weeks away from professional work, and the several weeks needed for the intensive preparations for such a trip.

However, here was an unsought opportunity to do some ambitious wild-life work, and I felt I should explore it further. So, I did the only thing that a photo-journalist can, in the circumstances. I asked two editors if they would pay me Rs. 800 for three features, illustrated with the pictures I hoped to get in Kerala, so as to enable me to accept the offer of the

C.C.F., Kerala, in a modified form, and this they gladly agreed to do. On February 23 I wrote a very explicit letter to the C.C.F., Kerala, which, I pointed out, was not in acceptance of his offer but one seeking a modification of its terms.

First I pointed out that as he knew, no doubt, his government had already arranged for a stay of two weeks for me at the Periyar Sanctuary, and promised free accommodation, boat, etc., and that it was not a photographic trip that I had planned. His proposition was something very different, and attracted me, but first I had to do my ecological studies at the sanctuary. However, there was no point in prolonging my stay at the sanctuary by weeks, and I could try for pictures along with my field studies, extending my stay there by a week if necessary to get the photographs. I also informed him that the photographs would be the important thing in the job he had suggested, and that I would need to bring a full battery of equipment including processing kit, and all my cameras and accessories.

I informed him that the costs of such a photographic trip would be considerable, and that a tremendous lot of preparatory work was also necessary, and asked if he would pay me Rs. 700 to meet a part of my actual additional expenses.

I said that neither I nor anyone else could, from a few weeks' stay at two places, write a note on the fauna of Kerala, which was distinctive (especially in its avifauna), but that I could do a note on the Periyar Sanctuary, illustrated with photographs taken at the sanctuary and at Sungam Range.

I pointed out that while wild-life photography, the way I did it, was also a question of luck, much work could be done to explore and create photographic opportunities. Machans and hides

near trees in flower or fruit attracting birds could, for example, yield results; I asked if he could arrange for such opportunities, and specially asked if the red silk-cotton would be in flower in Kerala in April and *Machilus macrantha* in fruit. I asked for a riding elephant at Sungam Range.

Finally, I asked for a definite and detailed reply by March 3, whether or not my terms were acceptable to him, as I needed time for preparations.

In his letter of 29-2/1-3, 1960, sent by Express Delivery, the C.C.F. wrote that with reference to my letter he had "suggested to Government to sanction payment of Rs. 700 to cover part of" my expenses, and that the sanction would be intimated to me in due course, that it would be enough if I prepared "a note on the Periyar Wild Life Sanctuary supplemented with other valuable information you observe" (sic), that the trees mentioned by me would be in flower in April in Kerala (they were not—both were far gone in fruit), that "arrangements for bird and animal photography can be made as suggested and suitable guide provided", and that a riding elephant would be provided at Sungam.

Note that though the payment of Rs. 700 as a part of my actual expenses was, to some extent, contingent, the other assurances were specific.

Nevertheless, to make assurance doubly sure, I wrote to the C.C.F. on March 8 to inform him that I was accepting these modified terms, that I had already made arrangements for the film needed and had entered on other preparatory work, and that my wife would, as usual, be accompanying me as my assistant. I added that we would be arriving at Kottayam on April 2 with several boxes of fragile equipment needed for the job and that I therefore wanted a jeep and trailer, or other suitable transport, to meet my train, to convey us and the things to Periyar—Kottayam is the railway station nearest Periyar. I enclosed a detailed and explicit note on

the putting up of machans for bird and wild beast photography at Periyar and Sungam, and asked for preliminary reconnaissance of the areas, to enable me to start on the job immediately on arrival.

On March 23, having had no reply to the above letter (it does not call for a reply, except as a matter of courtesy), I wrote again to the C.C.F. to say that I had booked the tickets and would be arriving at Kottayam by the Cochin Express at about 5 p.m. on April 2, that I was a stranger to the place and that therefore I hoped that he would not fail to send someone to meet me with the transport.

Some days later, having been advised by a friend in the Kerala Forest Service that courtesy required that I should write to the D.F.O., Kottayam, to tell him of my arrival at Kottayam, as he would probably be making the arrangements for my transport, I wrote to Sri P. T. Devassy, D.F.O., Kottayam, to say that I would be arriving at his place on April 2 at about 5 p.m., that I had a lot of bulky, costly and fragile equipment with me (cameras alone to the value of about Rs. 14,000) which could not be accommodated, along with my wife and me, in a jeep, and that therefore I wanted either a jeep and trailer or a truck.

We arrived at Kottayam at 4-50 p.m., and got our luggage on to the platform. A Deputy Ranger met us, with a jeep. No, he knew nothing about my having asked for a trailer in addition, or a truck. Asked how our things (very much on display on the platform) and both of us could get into a jeep, he instantly agreed that this was quite impossible, but then what could he do, he was only a Deputy Ranger, and what was more, he had been sent by the Game Warden at Peermade to meet us and take us to Thekkady (where the Periyar Sanctuary begins) and not by the D.F.O., Kottayam, though the jeep was the latter's. I requested him to put me in touch with the D.F.O., Kottayam.

and within five minutes he was back with the D.F.O., Mr. Devassy. I explained my predicament to the D.F.O. and inquired if he had not received my letter. He had, but he had been asked by his Chief only to spare me his jeep, and there it was. I could take it or leave it. That was his attitude. I could understand neither his attitude nor his brusque manners, and tried to reason with him. Surely, I said, he could see for himself that we could not load ourselves and the things, costly, fragile equipment liable to damage if roughly treated, into one jeep—after all, I had come there to do some work, gratis for his department, and had been assured of transport. I had written twice to his C.C.F. for adequate transport, and also to him (Mr. Devassy), and surely he would agree At this point Mr. Devassy grew suddenly more brusque and halted me. He was not interested in all that. He had been requested to spare his jeep, and there it was. He didn't see why I was making all this fuss. He would have me know that his jeep had folding seats, and that all my precious luggage could be safely loaded into it. At this juncture I asked how we were to get to Thekkady, if the jeep was to be packed tight with the boxes—I hoped, against hope, that he would at least offer to run his jeep twice to Thekkady. Well, said Mr. Devassy, he would help me to hire a taxi to take me to Thekkady, at my expense. When I protested and said that it had been explicitly agreed that transport would be provided, he asked, with heavy sarcasm, if I expected him to pay for my taxi.

I saw no point in further palaver with this hostile and unhelpful officer, and wished him good-night. Strangely enough, that only served to irritate him further. What! So I did not want him any more? I assured him that if all he could do was to say that he could not help, I saw no reason to detain him, and he left us in a huff—taking his jeep, with folding seats, with him.

I requested the Deputy Ranger, still with us, to get me some telegraph forms—I had the rather impractical notion of sending an express telegram to the C.C.F., explaining our predicament and asking him to rush me help. I asked the station staff if there was a train back to Madras the same night, and learnt there was not. When I returned from this inquiry I found that our things had been shifted further up the platform—my wife told me that in spite of her protests, several porters speaking Malayalam excitedly had descended on the luggage and moved it further up, to clear the platform, and that the gadget-bag containing my best camera had been dropped. Thanks to the heavy padding of the sides, the lens was intact, but the cord of the focal-plane shutter had snapped, rendering my favourite *Superponderosa hors de combat*. At this stage the Deputy Ranger returned with the telegraph forms, and helpfully suggested that the trunk telephone would be quicker, and that there was a telephone office at the station—a suggestion which I welcomed. I went to the telephone office with him, and finally we had the C.C.F., Kerala, at Trivandrum, on the line—at 6-23 p.m.

I told the C.C.F. who I was and he began effusively with a "Welcome to Kerala!". I told him that I had had a very fine welcome, indeed, and was stranded at the railway station due to lack of adequate transport, in spite of my two letters to him and a more explicit letter to the D.F.O., Kottayam. I told him that the D.F.O. had had the crust to suggest to me that I could engage a taxi to take me to Thekkady at my expense, and asked if his promise to provide transport still held. He said that it did, and I asked him to rush me help from Trivandrum. He asked me not to be unreasonable, and to hire a taxi to Thekkady, in addition to the jeep and assured me that he would ask his Game Warden at Peermade to pay for the taxi—or may be the said Game Ranger at Thekkady. On my inquiry he assured me that I

would not be asked to pay for the taxi. I told him that I was a stranger to Kottayam and did not know where to look for a taxi, that there was a Ranger by my side to whom he could pass on instructions, and that I was handing over the receiver to said Ranger. Thereafter all I could hear, at my end,

was the one word 'Sir' uttered from time to time by the Deputy Ranger, in various tones indicative of alert and instant compliance with the wishes of his superior.

The Deputy Ranger told me that he had instructions to get a taxi for me, for which payment

would be made at Thekkady, and that since he had to go 5 miles to get the departed jeep, it would take at least two hours for him to get back. It was 9 p.m. by the time we left Kottayam station in a taxi, the jeep being loaded with the less delicate of our things and the Deputy Ranger.

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RLJ-128

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A NEW ERA IN TURKEY

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

Some time ago a Turkish newspaper in Istanbul published a three-column photograph of an elderly colporteur philosopher sipping a glass of tea and smoking a cigarette—apparently his last. The caption said the picture represented "bygone days." It did in more than one sense; for, a generation of placid peace has disappeared in Turkey.

In the absence of their beloved coffee, which is barred as an import, tea has become the popular beverage of the Turks. But even tea costs about Rs. 20 per kilogram (2.2 pounds). And in the absence of freedom, agitation has become a popular occupation—a costly occupation, no doubt. It has cost in the past month several people their lives and many others their jobs.

In the demonstrations that began on April 28 and the police action that followed, about a dozen people lost their lives and many hundreds were injured. President Celal Bayar, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and many other ministers lost their jobs when they were arrested last Friday, May 27, by the armed forces. The bloodless (three children were killed by stray bullets!) *coup d'état* made many millions heave a sigh of relief and joyous crowds danced in the streets of Ankara to celebrate the fall of the Menderes government.

It was indeed a nightmarish political life that came to an end last week. About two months ago when former President Ismet Inonu, leader of the Peoples Republican Party, was on a political tour, the government asked the army to stop his tour by force. In protest, three senior army officers resigned and were arrested by the government.

About a month ago, a law passed by the ruling Democrat Party majority in the legislative assembly gave extraordinary powers to a special commission investigating what the government called the destructive, illegitimate and subversive activities of the opposition Republican party. The opposition led by Ismet Inonu, declared the commission illegal. In an angry mood the Democrats expelled Inonu from the assembly for 12 Sessions. This triggered the month-long riots which led to the military taking over the civil administration. A new era has thus begun in Turkey.

Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, exuberant, resourceful, energetic and optimistic, was the force behind Turkish politics for the past ten years. In spite of some small measure of material

progress, Turkey is in a mess today. "Shortages are the mark of progress," declared Menderes once. Turkey had slightly benefited from twenty months of the "stabilization programme" recommended by western monetary experts in August, 1958. But in recent months there has been a relapse into painful economic maladies.

The 1960 budget, which is 22.3 per cent higher than last year's with no increase in revenue, is far from balanced. The Menderes government put too much emphasis on big projects and too little on consumer goods production. The new road bridge on the Bosphorus would cost about Rs. 24 crores, a shipyard at Istanbul would cost Rs. 9 crores, a steel mill Rs. 110 crores, and a shadowy project called the cadastral air survey of Turkey would cost Rs. 23 crores. Meanwhile, many factory buildings put up at enormous cost remained idle for want of raw materials.

Turkey has an army of 500,000 men. A population of 26,000,000 cannot support such a big army, in spite of the very liberal assistance the U.S. is giving Turkey. Many people do not seem to realize that the great Ottoman empire is dead for all time and that it is prudent to cut the coat according to the cloth.

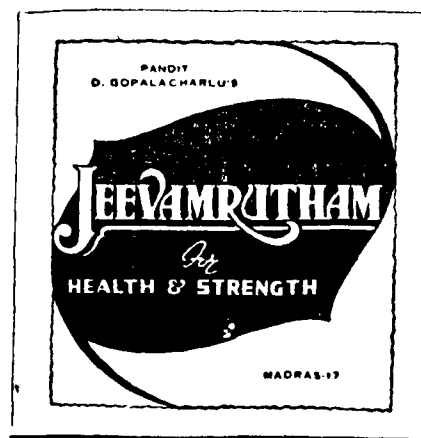
One of the tragedies of Turkey is that she has rushed from centuries of feudalism into the modern industrial age by skipping some of the intermediary stages of development. Compounded with this disability was the importation of a peculiar system of democracy, wholly alien to the soil, by Kemal Ataturk who established the Turkish Republic and ruled the country from 1923 to 1938. His chosen successor Ismet Inonu, was beaten at the polls in 1950, and obeying the popular mandate, turned over power to the Democrat party leader, Adnan Menderes.

The new Prime Minister believed that Turkey needed him and that he was destined to lead Turkey to greatness. But his pompous programmes did not bring much progress, although he was able to get liberal funds from his western allies. He got himself involved in defence treaties with the west, and Turkey's northern provinces are dotted with American bases. There is a big radar station in Turkey which has been used to observe Soviet movements and which in 1958 tape-recorded a conversation between two pilots over their inter-communication system.

The U.S. has given the Turks more than Rs. 950 crores in military and economic aid since 1947. Italy last year gave them a bilateral credit of Rs. 28 crores, and West Germany gave Rs. 24 crores credit. Turkey has also received limited aid from the Soviet Union. A large sheet glass factory and Rs. 3-1/2 crores worth of equipment have been given by the Soviets. In fact, Menderes was due to visit the Soviet Union in July.

Most of the aid received were used to finance big projects of doubtful value or to keep the army in trim. Even those who were prepared to forgive Menderes for rushing the economy of the country too fast were less willing to forgive him for rushing democracy backwards.

The army has now promised to hold fair elections and has entrusted the task of making a new constitution to eminent professors. It has announced its complete neutrality in the following terms: "The army is not linked with any man, any party, or any faction." Turkey's allies hope that there will be yet another chance for democracy in Turkey and that the younger generation which brought about Menderes' fall would realize its tremendous responsibilities. The cry of *hurriet* (freedom) will ring hollow if Ismet Inonu, the army and the intellectuals do not bring peace and eliminate corruption and shortages.



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BOOK REVIEW

VITHALBHAI PATEL

Vithalbhai Patel had captured the hearts of his countrymen as few Indian political leaders (especially of the Gandhian era) have done. He was practically unknown before he entered the Central Legislative Assembly—the ploughboy from Gujarat who became the first Indian President of the Central Legislative Assembly (his career was a kind of Indian version of the transformation from the log-cabin to the White-House), the stormy petrel who had originally played the role of a Parnell in Indian politics, the Speaker (known as the President in those days) who upheld the traditions of his illustrious office with charm and dignity and the familiar patriarchal figure with his flowing beard. Here were clear labels to identify a new type of politician, the Gandhian hero, who was engaged in a battle royal with the Imperial Government, using its own artillery to defeat it.

Vithalbhai Patel was born on the 27th of September, 1873, at Nadiad and had his schooling at Karamsad. But his early career at school did not leave behind it any immediate token of the great reputation which was to come to him almost unbidden in his later career. In fact, he had passed the University School Final Examination in 1891. Later, he had passed the District Pleader's Examination in 1895, practised for a while at Godhra before switching on to Borsad (Vallabhaji Patel also joined him at Borsad). In order to improve his prospects, Vithalbhai joined Lincoln's Inn and was called to the Bar in 1908. This certainly gave him a good start, since it enabled him to join the chambers of Mr. Inverarity. However, he was more interested in political questions and became a member of the Bombay Legislative Council in 1913. Among his colleagues in the Assembly were men of such varied talents as Sir Pherozshah Mehta, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Raghunath Paranjpye. In those days, the powers of the Council were limited since the Governor presided over it and constituted the ultimate authority in matters of procedure and the regulation of debates. And it stands to the credit of Vithalbhai Patel that he successfully piloted the "Elementary Edu-

cation Bill" through the Council and the Select Committee.

As is well known, the most notable event in the earlier days of Non-Cooperation for which Pandit Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das were primarily responsible, became known as "Council Entry". The idea was to obstruct the Government from within the legislatures. Vithalbhai Patel, who had distinguished himself as the President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, entered the Central Legislative Assembly in 1924 as Deputy Leader of the Swaraj Party. It was perhaps a strange irony of fate that a person whose avowed purpose was to wreck the Constitution found himself to be the fountain of constitutional authority in 1925 when he was elected President of the Central Legislative Assembly. This was his finest hour. As Mr. Chagla writes (in his interesting Foreword) "the Assembly over which he presided was one of the most brilliant that has ever come together in the Council Chamber in the whole history of India. Men like Motilal Nehru, Jinnah, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Rangaswami Aiyangar, Bipin Chandra Pal, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas, Sir Harisingh Gour were only some of the names in the galaxy who then adorned the Legislative Assembly."

Soon after he was elected as President of the Assembly, he had changed the ceremonial which was followed when the Viceroy entered the House. It was the practice for the President to vacate his chair and sit among the members during the period of the Viceroy's visit. But Vithalbhai sat in his chair and called upon the Viceroy to address the House. During Vithalbhai Patel's visit to England, the Earl of Birkenhead (who was then Secretary of State for India) refused to take any official notice of Vithalbhai Patel's stay in London, since Vithalbhai did not call on him first. Indeed, it was at the intervention of His Majesty King George himself that Lord Birkenhead agreed to meet Patel. This little incident had an interesting sequel. Vithalbhai Patel refused to "take any cognizance of the presence of Sir John Simon in Delhi" since Sir John had not called on him first! Vithalbhai had cancelled the press passes issued to the "Times of India" and the "London Daily Telegraph" since the correspondents of these two papers had published dis-

paraging remarks about the chair. And he also administered a rebuke to the Commander-in-chief (Sir William Birdwood) since he was absent during the time his speech was discussed in the House. Vithalbhai had also irritated Motilal Nehru by handing over a substantial part of his salary (Rs. 1,625) to Gandhiji (to be spent on some constructive activity). Motilal Nehru was upset that he could not use it for the Swaraj Party funds. However, Vithalbhai's attitude was correct since if it had been diverted to the Swaraj Party fund, Vithalbhai's neutrality would have been open to question.

It is rather unfortunate that Vithalbhai Patel was not able to realize his two great ambitions. One of his ambitions was to be elected as the President of the Congress Party. But this was not possible since Gandhiji had cast the die in favour of Vallabhaji Patel. And he also wanted to represent India at the Round Table Conference. Indeed, the very idea of convening such a conference was mooted by Vithalbhai in his conversations with Lord Irwin. As Mr. Chagla says, "he was the architect of the very idea of India's political destiny being moulded at a conference between British and Indian representatives." But Vithalbhai could not represent India at the Round Table Conference since the Congress had nominated Mahatma Gandhi as its sole representative. Soon after his resignation, Vithalbhai was connected with a 'foreign cloth boycott committee', which led to his arrest. Vithalbhai had commented sarcastically "I have earned my peerage and pension". When a Speaker resigns his post in England, he is elevated to the peerage and is also given a handsome pension. And Vithalbhai was awarded six months' rigorous imprisonment!

Vithalbhai's visit to the United States (in 1932) was one of the highlights of his career. He was officially received by the Mayors of such important cities as New York, Boston, Worcester, Detroit, Chicago, Wichita, San Francisco and Sacramento. This was because America has always supported the cause of Indian freedom. The Gandhian salt campaign has been justly compared with the Boston tea party. Indeed, the concept of American freedom has been immortalized in Longfellow's well-known poem dealing with the midnight ride of Paul Revere. Woodrow Wilson's sympathetic gaze over the Eastern horizon and F.D.R.'s contribution to Indian freedom evoke memories of Lafayette's contribution to American freedom, Byron's contribution

to Greek freedom when he died at Missolonghi and Napoleon III's impact on Italian freedom. Vithalbhai Patel's speeches in America which advocated the cause of Indian freedom remind us of the historic letters that Sir Subramania Aiyer and Lokamanya Tilak had written to President Woodrow Wilson.

Mr. Gordhanbhai Patel writes in a

temperate style and his account of Vithalbhai's last days in Vienna (he died on 22nd October, 1933) is particularly moving. The author has offered us a painstaking and fully documented study of Vithalbhai Patel's career. One cannot help recalling what Sir Winston Churchill wrote in his memorable work on "Marlborough, His Life and

Times", as we reflect on Vithalbhai Patel's career—"The stern compression of circumstances, the twinges of adversity, the spur of slights and taunts in early years, are needed to evoke that ruthless fixity of purpose and tenacious mother-wit without which great actions are seldom accomplished."

—A. RANGANATHAN.

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FEAR OF OPPOSITION

By S. Y. KRISHNASWAMY

It is theoretically admitted on all hands that an opposition is part of the apparatus of democratic Government, and that it plays a vital role in presenting to the public through Parliament and otherwise the alternatives available for achieving the goals of good government. It is almost part of the official machinery of government in that it is a potential government and hence such expressions as "shadow cabinet" which means in effect the persons who are likely to become Ministers if and when the opposition party comes to power. This responsible position occupied by a political opposition in a free country is not often realised, and failure to realise it is a result of political immaturity and inexperience. It is also the result of certain historical antecedents to the attainment of political freedom, in respect of countries which have recently emerged into freedom from foreign rule.

Political inexperience can be cured fully only by time. Till the major parties in a country have had their turn at being the government, the public cannot get the feeling that every party is a potential government. In a country like India, in which the public have seen only the Congress Party in power, the feeling that other parties also have the same political status is conspicuous by its absence. To a small extent, the Communist Party has created this feeling in a corner of India, but largely the public feel that the opposition parties and the Congress cannot be placed on the same footing. Partly, the question begs itself. None of the opposition parties have gained sufficient unity or strength to command public attention. Till they do so, they have little chance of achieving a numerous membership of the legislatures. But they can do so, only if the public have confidence in them. This is like saying that one cannot swim unless one gets into the water and that one cannot safely get into the water unless one knows how to swim. How is this vicious circle to be broken? Only by the fissiparous minor oppositions sinking their petty differences and chalking out a major programme and presenting it to the public through men who command their attention. This is a laborious task in a country which has seen but one party in power, but one sees no alternative.

Political immaturity and historical causes join together. During the years before the British rule, India knew only one form of government, namely,

monarchy. The existence of ancient republics here and there is but chicken feed for the research student, and the glories of village autonomy a kind of tonic for a suffering people. The conquest of other kings within the realm was elevated to the level of a dharma, preceded by such rituals as the horse-sacrifice, and so the history of India became a tale of warring kings. A semblance of order was sought to be kept up by elevating certain codes of conduct as being dharma above the caprice of the monarch of the moment, but how far the kings, backed by their armies, showed respect for it, is again a matter of doubt. One may speculate as to how far the preoccupation of the Indian intellect with the Hereafter has been the result of the woes here below, a kind of prospective optimism that has made the present bearable.

When the British took over the administration of the country, they brought peace and order. In course of time, the movement for political freedom established itself in the country and an opposition to the rule of Britain grew. But this was not political opposition as understood in a democracy. It was revolutionary opposition, a movement to overthrow the established order, to remove the entire fabric of the government. Naturally, the authorities considered such opposition to be treason and treated the political movement for overthrowing the British rule as beyond the pale of law and order. When the movement took a serious turn, it was sought to be put down by means of force.

Recent political knowledge of opposition to government in India centres round this movement for the attainment of freedom. The knowledge thus gained continues to the present day. The habit of considering political opposition as being opposition to the government itself, and as being a dangerous movement against the established order, has not worn off. This habit explains, to a large extent, the fear that responsible citizens entertain in respect of opposition parties. They think that these parties are in opposition to the government itself. The distinction between the government and the party in power has not permeated the political consciousness of the Indian people.

The Congress sedulously fosters this wrong view. While the leaders of the Congress declare that they welcome an opposition and profess to tolerate it as a generous parent would tolerate an erring child, in practice the Ministers

throw out a threat here and a threat there and kindle the latent fear in the people. The powers of the State are so wide at the present time, that it is possible, with ostensible impartiality, and merely by the exercise of the discretion vested in the administration, to use severe financial sanctions against the trading and industrial classes, on whose contributions political parties largely rely. So we have the phenomenon of individuals privately saying that they welcome the opposition and at the same time praying that their contributions may be kept secret and anonymous. One fears that the party in power has also fallen into the political error of considering itself to be the government and not a government.

This error has entered the services also. It is one thing for the services to be loyal to the government of the day. They have to carry out the policies laid down, after advising the Ministers, at the formulation stage, of the advantages and the disadvantages of any line of action. But the officers need not display party loyalty as some seem to be doing. If the government were wise, they should discourage such zeal. It will react on them some day. Nor should the Ministers use the officers and the machinery of government for party purposes, like tapping telephones and censoring letters, at the same time saying in public that such is not the fact. All this surreptitious information-gathering is generally purposeless in the end, as the history of the Congress itself shows. The mass will is not subject to the minor restraints of the administration.

The mistake is thus on both sides, on the people as well as on the government of the day. Both have inherited the same revolutionary tradition and both have fallen into the error of mistaking the party in power for the State itself. It is difficult to think of a remedy for this state of affairs, which augurs ill for the future of democracy and government by party, other than the coming into power of other parties. The Communist regime in Kerala led to many disadvantages and dangers, but it brought another party into power. Perhaps that is to be the way in the future also, not the capture of the Central Government by an opposition party, but the gradual replacement in the States of the Congress by responsible parties which believe in the democratic way of life and government. A party that once enjoyed power is a very desirable opposition because of the responsibility that it will develop in criticism, and the confidence that it will inspire among a politically immature and fear-filled people.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

RAJA HUTHEE SINGH AND SWATANTRA PARTY

Sir,—I was one of those who participated in the Preparatory Convention of the Swatantra Party held at Bombay in August last. At the commencement of the second day's private session of the delegates, Mr. Raja Huthee Singh came forward to place before the gathering his views on certain matters. He prefaced his address by saying that he had already discussed the points with Sri Rajaji over-night "and had surrendered his judgment to him" but all the same wished to place his views before the delegates. Sri Rajaji intervened and said that he did not want any one to surrender his judgment to him as he was already over-burdened and that Mr. Huthee Singh had every right to his own views in the true spirit of Swatantra!

The discussion was on Planning. Mr. Huthee Singh was trying to make out a case for unrestricted State planning through unlimited foreign aid and foreign loans as opposed to rational planning commensurate with the country's own resources, capacity and urgent needs, for which the Swatantra Party stood. This was felt clearly to be an attempt to push Socialism through the back door and, except for a lone voice, Mr. Huthee Singh was practically shouted down by the vast gathering until Sri Rajaji appealed to them and secured for Mr. Huthee Singh a patient hearing.

Now Mr. Huthee Singh says that he had expected the Bihar Convention of the Party to clarify some of the doubts he had expressed earlier on some of the points like industrial policy, planning, the State's role in industry, Trusteeship and foreign policy and that he is extremely disappointed with the Party's programme finalised at the Convention. All the points raised by Mr. Huthee Singh had been very carefully considered and discussed fully in the delegates' meeting and the Party's Manifesto adopted at the Convention is the result of the deliberation of the representatives of all sections of citizens including representatives of labour. The Manifesto is clear and precise on all points. While Mr. Huthee Singh has every right to hold his own views, his difference cannot be due to lack of clarity in the Party's programme.

It is also apparent that Mr. Huthee Singh has not read the Party's Manifesto with as much care as he claims to have done; for, if he has, he would not have failed to note the words "with adequate safeguards for the protection

of labour and against unreasonable profits, prices and dividends in those cases where there is no competition or where competition is not adequate to secure the necessary correction" when complaining that the Swatantra Party relied on free competition as sufficient safeguard against profiteering, high prices, inadequate wages, etc. There is also no warranty for him to imagine that the Manifesto contemplates that public utilities like water supply, electricity, etc., should be left exclusively for private enterprise from the mere fact that only the railway have been mentioned as an item of nationalised industry by way of illustration.

This is the gentleman who had proclaimed openly that he had surrendered his judgment to Sri Rajaji! To the best of my recollection Mr. Huthee Singh did not even attend the Swatantra Party's Patna Convention where he would have had every opportunity to press his points.

Coimbatore P. S. KRISHNASWAMY.

ELECTION EN BLOC

Sir,—Under the heading *Stidelights* in last week's issue of SWARAJYA one reads these words: "An election implies the verdict of a constituency on a candidate. If it is to have any meaning, each voter has to exercise his mind on each candidate To present a panel of ten candidates for election to a committee of ten is a double fraud on freedom of elections." These observations are based on *apriori* reasoning and are eminently sound. It may interest your readers to know that Section 263(1) of the Companies Act, 1956 endorses your observations and runs as follows: 'At a general meeting of a company a motion shall not be made for the appointment of two or more persons as directors by a single resolution unless a resolution that it shall be so made has first been agreed to by the meeting without any vote being given against it.

Egmore K. V. IYER.

LAND CEILING

Sir,—The Chief Minister of Madras addressing the Tanjore District Ryots Conference at Mayuram on 1st May is reported to have said that a suitable amendment would be inserted in the Land Ceiling Bill, now under consideration of the Select Committee, to the effect that no single tenant should cultivate more than 3 acres (including

his own land). This is stated to be intended to make the land available for distribution to a greater number of tenants. This is being done obviously with a view to catching votes for the Congress Party at the next general election and not with a view to maximising production. In other words, lands are to be distributed to paupers and indigent tenants and not in accordance with the standards of efficient cultivation and increased production.

We have experience of petty tenants handling uneconomic holdings and leading a hand to mouth existence. They have neither the capital nor the aptitude or the energy to do anything. The little that they raise on the land would not be sufficient to maintain themselves and their family; consequently they become habitual defaulters in payment of fair rent. They pose the worst problems to the ryotwari owners. It is just an invitation to the owners to make a gift of the land and save themselves the onus of paying kist to the Government. The Government do not seem to be actuated by a genuine desire to deal just and squarely by all sections of the people. When property acquired justly under law does not get protection, then the Fundamental Rights provided in the Constitution are of little avail.

Bangalore

S. KRISHNASWAMI.

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A PLAN WORTH CONSIDERING

After the sabotage of the Summit conference at Paris, the prospect of any resumption of negotiations between the East and the West for avoidance of war and preservation of world peace seemed to have been indefinitely destroyed. But quite unexpectedly the Soviet Union has taken the initiative in placing before the United Nations a detailed plan for disarmament. The logic of the Soviet Plan is unexceptionable. They argue that today fantastic sums are being squandered on armaments. "Some types of modern bomber aircraft cost more than their weight in gold. The armaments race is becoming a senseless waste of human labour and material resources." The funds now being spent by States for the production and accumulation of weapons would alone suffice, says the Russian Note, "to put an end to hunger throughout the world."

Their proposals for saving waste of resources on armaments are sensible and forthright. There is to be general and complete disarmament carried out in stages in four years. Within this period all stockpiles of nuclear weapons of mass destruction are to be destroyed under international supervision. Armies are to be reduced to the level required for internal policing. The U.N. is to maintain an international police force to be employed whenever and wherever necessary for the preservation of peace. All armies and military installations stationed by any nation outside its borders are to be withdrawn or liquidated. War offices are to be wound up. These

measures, the Russians contend, will save the world from war and the threat of war and ensure that mankind will live without fear in peace.

Under the proposed Plan, the international ballistic missiles are to be first destroyed. As Russia enjoys a reputed superiority in this type of weapons, the offer to destroy them indicates the voluntary surrender of a great military advantage, and to that extent reveals indubitable good faith. The Russian Plan cannot but be accepted as very fair by genuine lovers of peace, and the Western powers will reject them at their own peril. By rejecting them they would enable Mr. Khrushchev at one stroke to live down the discredit of his arrogant antics at the Summit and establish himself as a more genuine protagonist of peace than his Western Summit partners.

President Eisenhower's "open skies" proposal, scheduled to be brought up before the United Nations, may be considered to have been already killed by the Russian move. The open skies plan is a device for securing facilities by agreement for espionage in foreign territory. So long as the armament race goes on, there will be military secrets to hide, and the nations concerned will not relish having such secrets spied into by potential enemies whose avidity for getting at them may be expected to be the highest. The only way of getting rid of international espionage, and the bad blood engendered by it, is by means of

disarmament, for disarmament will remove the need for secrecy itself and will place the nations that have accepted it, in the happy position of having nothing to hide.

While the Russian proposal is on its merits a worthy one, its virtue is limited by China's position in the international power alignment. If China is not drawn into the orbit of disarmament plans, the threat to world peace would not disappear, it would still remain, perhaps greatly, augmented by the greater opportunity for domination presented by a disarmed non-Communist world. With China out of the United Nations, every plan for peace, however attractively formulated, will have to reckon with an uncontrolled armed pocket not amenable to world opinion, from which aggression might spring at any moment and spoil the atmosphere for peace.

THE RUSSIAN PROPOSALS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Mr. Khrushchev's comprehensive proposals for ending the cold war have been published. It is suspected by American diplomatic opinion to have been prepared before and for the purpose of the summit conference at Paris. If this be true, it is indeed a pity that the conference was not allowed to meet and discuss the eminently reasonable and realistic scheme but dispersed after an

WHAT THEY ARE TAKING US TO

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

angry scene over an incident which had no relevancy to the issues before the Summit meeting except as an additional example demonstrating the need for an agreed scheme to end mutual suspicions.

The atmosphere has been greatly fouled for good understanding or for any reasonable approach, however good any scheme put forward may be. There can be no doubt in an outside observer's mind as to the highly reasonable, realistic and just proposals embodied in the Russian proposal now presented to the public. But there is not a single American Democratic or Republican politician or official who will look at it as it should be viewed and examined. There is far too much anger and resentment in the American air to allow such calm consideration. Much the best way to deal with it would be to refer it to the Harvard University men who brought out the great book, "World Peace through World Law", for an academic examination and impartial comment. The prevailing atmosphere may have infected Harvard too, but it is the best place we can find for the much needed examination of the scheme. It is a forlorn hope that it is possible to have another "Summit" meet for tackling the problem. As an Indian caricaturist has very truly and beautifully presented it, the situation now is the Prodigal World returning home to the U.N. The problem of world peace must be tackled in its legitimate forum, viz., the United Nations and for this purpose an examination of the Russian scheme by Grenville Clark and Louis B Sohn with such assistance as they may need from the U.S. Government would be the best thing that can be done now with it. We had placed great hopes on the personal diplomacy of Eisenhower and Khrushchev but those hopes having ended in nothing, the Russian scheme now published offers a good start for the U.N. to take the matter up. Let us hope that it will not be dismissed out of hand by anger and suspicion.

The inherent contradictions and basic errors in Congressmen's policies occasionally get revealed by their own statements. Shri B. D. Jatti, Chief Minister of Mysore has done some hard thinking and he has come to two conclusions, one, that the biggest problem in our agricultural economy is the smallness of the holdings, and two, that co-operative farming is therefore the only solution for our land problems. If the malady to be tackled is the small size of the farms in our country we must first see what has led to this through the ages, before we proceed to discover and apply a remedy.

The absence of industries in the rural area which could absorb the growing numbers in the families devoted to agriculture and the laws of inheritance relating to real property have led to this problem. It should be obvious then that it was wholly wrong to give way to the demand for further multiplying the sharers of landed property by giving equal rights to daughters and sons. The problem of our girls is marriage and not property. By the law conferring inheritance right on daughters the fragmentation is doubled at one stroke. Before any solution was found for the evil of uneconomic holdings the reformers have doubled the mischief.

Again, instead of encouraging and devising measures for bringing about voluntary transfers of small holdings so that economic farms may take the place of uneconomic ones wherever they exist, the trends of land policies have resulted in a general unwillingness to buy any farm land. Uncertainty is the worst enemy of enterprise. People are not willing to increase the size of their holding, lest they fall into the net of ceiling laws some day and lose the money invested in such ventures. People naturally feel that it is safer to bear with present evils than stake good money on an un-

certain future. One result of the uncertainty of land laws is that bank deposits have increased.

Next let us consider the land ceiling idea from another angle. If in the vast Indian desert of small and allegedly uneconomic holdings, we have a few oases of large holdings, is it good policy to strike even these down or chop them up? Assuming that we decide upon a reasonable ceiling, how long can it last? The next partition in the family will make it a tenth of what is now declared as permissible ceiling. The holdings will in a very few years dwindle in size with accelerated speed and all the oases converted into desert sand. Removal of inequality with a vengeance, and instead of solving the problem of holdings, multiplying the problem!

In considering the question from the purely agro-economic point of view, we should not bring into the argument likes and dislikes or a consideration of the persons involved. The problem must be looked at only from the agro-economic angle. All holdings will get rapidly diminished in size and soon there will not even be the exceptions to the prevailing uneconomical size of holdings. If we are not able to find a solution or if we are not able to put into execution a solution that may overcome the malaise, is it good policy to add to and increase the problem by breaking up even the farms that are now large enough? Is it not just passion devoid of wisdom? Is it good to anticipate the work of family expansion and the inevitable breaking up of landed property through the effect of inheritance laws, and produce at once by law what is bound to come fifteen years hence as a result of sharing?

What Sri Jatti has envisaged must make us think even harder than hitherto. The inevitable conclusion will be that Congress policies must lead to compulsory collectivisation, which means transfer of good land under good and

INVITEES ALL
By POTHAN JOSEPH

As if startled by the recollection that he had neglected an important engagement pending for years, President Rajendra Prasad has under Cabinet advice decided to visit Moscow instead of letting the Kremlin wait any more in suspense. Most people in India would regard the tour just after the Summit crash as jarring and ill-timed but then when one wakes up to the assurance of an appointment, it is not gentlemanly to delay. It is a common experience that when we ruminate sleepless at nights, we recall that there is a letter to answer, we hurriedly write out the reply and feel relieved of having discharged an obligation which when neglected might be taken for rudeness.

We do not know exactly when and where Rajen Babu first received this Moscow invitation. If it was given at the time when the Bulganin-Khrushchev partnership appeared in India, protocol could not have been meticulously fulfilled, because Bulganin had been the Prime Minister of Russia and Mr. K the party secretary; neither of them the President of Soviet land, namely M. Voroshilov.

diligent peasant ownership to State or quasi-State management with its corollary of indifferent attention and uninterested management. The peasantry will become wage-earners, with the inevitable discontent issuing out of wage earning status, work without owners' interest and all the evils associated with industrial labour.

The only right solution for making uneconomic holdings into larger ones is a conservative plan of encouragement of voluntary sales and mergers; and this encouragement can issue only when certainty replaces uncertainty in land-values and with the opening up of country-wide small industries in order to absorb and reduce the pressure on land.

The land ceiling laws and other laws which treat owners harshly and look upon them as an anti-social section of the people accelerate the process of deterioration of land values and discourage buying and merging. The final result will be agricultural chaos. Nothing better could be planned if we wanted an acceleration of the pace of Communism.

When the question of an invitation to Queen Elizabeth was raised at a London press conference, the Prime Minister said, archly, that it was for the President of India to issue such an invitation, and Rajen Babu has now done it as a belated gesture in the eyes of the Pakistan President, who had done it first. Possibly when Marshal Voroshilov toured India last year at the head of an unwieldy retinue of 80 guests, the head of the State in Russia, namely, the Marshal, pressed his counterpart in India to pay a visit, in which case formality would have been fulfilled. After all, President Rajendra Prasad believes more in the tradition of the Buckingham Palace than the breezy conventions of the White House, because we read that there will be a Minister in attendance as in the case of the British sovereign travelling abroad, the honour here being assigned to Sri Jagjivan Ram, an honour open to the happy comment that in India discrimination goes in favour of scheduled castes and backward classes. No less than 30 members of the party including the press-chorus will tour the Communist country. Furthermore propriety is maintained since the present President of the land is Leonid Brezhnev, which guarantees official parity, although out of personal courtesy due to an old friend, Rajen Babu might drop in at the old Marshal's dacha on his way to Moscow University to receive a doctorate in *honoris causa*. Come to think of it, the excuse of an old invitation for a Bhai-Bhai show at the present juncture is something of a tawdry exaggeration.

Every one of us in this vale of life is till the end, an invitee to some function or other. If we dine, the guest at the time of parting says thanks to the host and invites the family in return. If any one has the luck to go abroad at national expense in the name of culture or anarchy, he would find himself in a shower of invitations for the future which he reciprocates by a warm proposal that people of the host country should all visit India for mutual appreciation and the lowering of tensions. Whenever I am abroad I ask people I meet that they should see India, constantly duplicating the message printed on India's travel posters to attract foreign exchange in return for Panch Shila goodwill.

There is of course a little difference when it comes to the cost of finan-

ing by potential guests. I cannot afford to pay for the journey of any acquaintances whereas in the case of "Visiting Firemen", nominated by Governments, it is a case of everything found. Imagine the pleasures of perennial holidaying on three conditions. It must be an "all found" programme, somebody else footing the bills all the time. Secondly, there should be security for the job at home, payment to the Bank as usual on due date and the daily batta admissible for satyagrahis abroad. Then again one attraction for being a perpetual invitee on the rounds is that there is daily batta without actual expenditure. There could be a lot of other pickings since the total could be credited at home, the host country insisting on paying for radio set or the camera you wish to fetch back as tokens of esteem. A statement in Parliament recently revealed that by way of T.A. a Central Minister was pocketing Rs. 136 per day as compared with the daily income of the average Indian, namely 72 paise. The salary of the Satyagrahi passes intact to his bank if not invested in premium bonds or deposited in Swiss banks. What deters us from accepting invitations is the burden of our daily grind to earn a livelihood and the means needed for spree abroad. Because of the difficulties of making both ends meet we are not in a position to accept the invitations that converge on us from far and near.

Life consists of a series of invitations and in America you hear cries of "You are always welcome". But who is to pay the fare and be sure of retaining the remunerative job at home against official plots? Some of us like to be in the role of "self-invitees" as we angle for gate-crashing cards at functions. Life would be one of grand song if all invitations could be answered by physical presence. In Congress Committees eminent leaders are put down as "permanent invitees". In a way we are all in the traffic of life permanent invitees welcome for mutual sponging if time could be spared and expenses guaranteed. India's message that we should be calm in times of crisis could of course be presented at banquets when the President is hailed in the Kremlin, but the question whether in the current pressure of invidious circumstances Rajen Babu's appearance should be deemed happy must remain a matter for controversy. To plead compulsions of an old invitation would be to float a sorry defence. Who will deny that time had been out of joint when invitee Mr. Nehru rushed to Ankara to issue a joint statement with Prime Minister Adnan Menderes which in 24 hours proved ludicrous in the extreme?

SIDELIGHTS ::

Mr. Nehru declared at Poona last week that "India was powerful enough to defend herself against China." If she is powerful enough to defend herself against China, is it out of choice that the Prime Minister has surrendered thousands of square miles of Indian territory to the Chinese aggressor? Surrender of territory out of necessity by a country not strong enough to defend itself is understandable. But surrender by not using strength even when the country is strong enough to defend itself is unforgivable. Mr. Nehru's foreign policy has led him to this predicament.

Yet he claims that his policy has succeeded. "Even the half-witted would say so", he asserts. And in a style worthy of Mr. Khrushchev, he lashes at his critics who do not regard the loss of Ladakh as an achievement of success for Mr. Nehru's foreign policy, arrogantly thus: "Some people who considered themselves very clever could not see what even the half-witted people could."

It is a pitiable position for a leader, after having failed to defend his nation's frontiers, to affect the language of victorious fulfilment. This is Mr. Nehru's position now. When in addition he falls foul of his critics who want better methods to be employed for the nation's protection against aggression, in no vocabulary of sane men will his action be described as wisdom. It is now clear from his Poona speech that he has no further programme other than talk for recovering the occupied Indian area on the border from Chinese control. His definition of what he plans to do is worth quoting in his own words: "When war is ruled out, being too terrible, the other way is to talk. There is no other alternative to this, and so, by the logic of circumstances, and by compulsion of events, one is driven—if you don't

Mr. Nehru has thus informed the Chinese that they need expect nothing more than talk from his side to deal with the aggression that has already taken place. Would it be half-witted to conclude that an aggressive, expansionist Communist power would only be encouraged to further aggression if assured in advance that they have nothing more to fear than talk? India stands confronted with the menace of further Chinese aggression plus absorption in the Communist bloc as a consequence of Mr. Nehru's policy. When the Prime Minister makes emotional play, as he did in Poona, on the "particular position" he occupies in India, he fails to realise that it is a position already overstrained. The aspirations of the people of India have ceased to be symbolised by their Prime Minister. They aspire to keep their country free from aggression but they have already realised that Mr. Nehru has failed to keep aggression in check and they have nothing to look forward to except further Chinese occupation from a continuance of his leadership.

Let the Prime Minister realise that it is the universal national sentiment now that he has let the country down. His attempt to make up for failure with offensiveness will not go down the throat of an alarmed and disillusioned country. The nation longs for a leader of the calibre of Sardar Patel. The Sardar would not have betrayed national safety by harping on friendship for a country guilty of aggression. He would have placed the interest of the nation above the sanctity of non-alignment and friendship, for a hostile power.

On the record of the last four years, in particular silent acquiescence in Chinese aggression keeping the country in the dark about it, Mr. Nehru should have been thrown out and impeached, as indeed any Prime Minister in

similar circumstances. He owes his continuance in his present particular position to the demoralising effect on his party of the excessive concentration of power in his hands. Their concern for the national interest has become dimmed by the attraction of profitable subservience to an all-powerful leader. But the sources of power themselves are slipping from Mr. Nehru's hand and he cannot save them indefinitely with flourishes of conceit. These can be of no avail when the hero has become a practitioner in heroics and an erstwhile adoring nation has become reluctantly sensitive to the change.

Here are some revealing excerpts from a *Times of India* report on Acharya Vinoba Bhave's peace mission:

Acharya Vinoba Bhave extolled the bravery and courage of the dacoits during his mission. They were "men on the wrong path". They were honest, straightforward.

In village after village he told the dacoits how good they were—except for choosing the wrong vocation.

As the padayatra progressed, the Acharya took to emphasising the good qualities of the dacoits and at Arubah he asked the police not to obstruct dacoits who might wish to "surrender" to him.

The rank-and-file Sarvodaya workers adopted Avtar (a minor dacoit who had come to join Vinoba's flock) as a mascot and assumed the attitude of a "parallel Government" determined to solve a hitherto insoluble problem. Never before in the long history of the ravines have dacoits been so sought after by unarmed seekers.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave has denied that the dacoits who surrendered to him during his peace mission had been given any assurance by him. The purpose of this disclaimer is somewhat damaged by the activities of Sarvodaya workers associated with him. As an example of this dichotomy between leader and followers, the following disclosures from a Gwalior report of June 4 published in *The Hindu*, will serve:

The dacoit Kachera of Bahadur's gang had surrendered to Acharya Bhave last week and was taken into custody by the police the day after

MISADVENTURES IN KERALA - III

By M. KRISHNAN

We reached Peermade, some 20 miles from Thekkady, at midnight, and in spite of the lateness of the hour stopped to inform Sri K. I. Mathew, the Game Warden (who lives there) of our arrival, as the Deputy Ranger said that we should do so, the Game Warden being the officer in charge of the sanctuary—moreover, I wanted to know what work had been done on my suggestions for machans and preliminary scouting. I apologised to the Game Warden for waking him up, assured him the delay in getting to Peermade was due to no fault of mine, and asked if he had received my note. He had, but only 3 or 4 days previously; moreover, he was new to the place, having taken charge only recently. I thought (and still think) that my note could have been read and fully comprehended in 15 minutes, but said nothing. He said something about there being choice of accommodation for me at Thekkady and some 'Inspection Bungalow', but I had no wish to keep him awake longer than necessary. I spent precisely 11 minutes with him, and he said he could not call on me at Thekkady next morning as it was a Sunday and he had to go to church, but would meet me between 12-30 and 2-30 in the afternoon—I suggested the hour as I would be at home then.

We reached Thekkady at 1-45 a.m. on April 3, and had to wake another sleeper, Sri T. P. George, the Game Ranger. He said he had reserved the 'Inspection Bungalow' for us, but this cottage was occupied—the alternative accommodation, a cell about 10-foot square inside the Game Ranger's Office, with no lights or water supply, was unthinkable. So finally, having reserved the 'Inspection Bungalow' for us, the Game Ranger roused yet another sleeper, its occupant, who graciously abdicated in our favour, and we moved in. It was past 2-30 in the morning when we could get to bed at last.

Next morning, after we had unpacked and settled down, I learned that the cottage we were in belonged to the Madras P.W.D., and that unless special permission was obtained for us to stay on there, we would be asked to quit in a week. The Game Ranger assured me that he had no idea that I would be at Thekkady for 2 or 3 weeks, and no instructions regarding accommodation for me; he had only instructions to give me a boat free of hire, and to accompany me for one or two days—the reservation of the 'Inspection

Bungalow' had been done by him on his own initiative. Nor had he received any instructions regarding the putting up of machans for my work. I felt staggered to hear this. The non-provision of adequate transport at Kottayam was something that could be explained as an oversight but I could conceive of no explanation for the fact that no arrangement for our accommodation had been made, in spite of long and short notice of our arrival at Thekkady and the assurance by both the Joint Secretary, Agriculture, and the C.C.F., that accommodation would be provided—nor had the Game Ranger, the only local authority, any instructions about the other amenities promised to me. Since April 3 was a Sunday, I could not post a letter to the C.C.F. that day, but on April 4 I sent him a D.O. letter marked 'Urgent', and asked for an immediate, telegraphic reply. I said that I was comfortably established, but was told I might be asked to shift, and asked him to secure permission for me to

stay on where I was, since I had unpacked and to pack again would take much time and effort. I informed him that I had already spent Rs. 1,500 on this trip, and that irrespective of this, on principle, I would not spend a pie on any of the facilities promised by him—the local authority could not provide any machan for me, in the absence of instructions from him. I was there, at Thekkady, to do some work for him out of my interest in wild life, and with no thought of profit or remuneration, but could do nothing unless he co-operated by keeping his promises in letter and spirit. In order to avoid the painful situation experienced at Kottayam, I asked him to give me either two jeeps, or a van said to be with his Conservator at Quilon, for taking us and the equipment to Sunganam at the end of our stay at Thekkady. Since I felt unable to comprehend this total failure of promised provisions, I offered the C.C.F. a clear line of retreat, in case he had developed second thoughts in the matter—I asked for a telegraphic reply on the point whether he wanted me to go on with the pamphlet work or not, and assured him that I was prepared to



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Why do we cook our food?

NUTRITIONIST: There are many reasons why we need to cook our food. For one thing, cooking generally helps improve the appearance of food. For another, it develops new flavours in it. Even some animals prefer cooked foods when given a choice.

YOU: Is this why we cook our food?

NUTRITIONIST: More important, of course, is the way cooking helps to stimulate the flow of digestive juices during eating. And it destroys many dangerous germs and parasites. So cooking makes eating safer.

YOU: But doesn't all this destroy the goodness of what we eat?

NUTRITIONIST: On the contrary. Cooking is useful for practically all meats, vegetables and cereals—if only because it makes food more digestible.

YOU: How does it do this?

NUTRITIONIST: Let's start with vegetables. Raw vegetables contain indigestible starch and fibrous substances. Cooking softens the fibres and the starch, and makes them more easily digestible. This is roughly what happens when fruits ripen. Cooking, therefore, follows nature's way in vegetables.

YOU: But surely cooking also destroys some valuable substances in vegetables.

NUTRITIONIST: Yes, unfortunately. In vegetables, cooking can destroy some mineral substances and vitamins. But this can hardly be helped. On the other hand, cooking predigests foods—does not over-burden the digestive system.

YOU: Do we cook meat for the same reasons?

NUTRITIONIST: Generally speaking, yes. Heat softens the protein in meat and so makes it easier for assimilation. And meat has to be cooked to destroy dangerous germs which might lurk in meat that is not fresh or hygienically stored. Cooking also brings out the flavouring ingredients in meat—makes it taste much better.

WE: This is all very well. But sometimes, cooking makes food lose its flavour.

NUTRITIONIST: True. A lot depends on how you cook. The way you cook can save or destroy the flavour of food.

YOU: Well, I know that.

WE: But if the food doesn't taste as it should—does not retain its natural flavour, then it is not only because of the way it is cooked, but what it is cooked with.

YOU: What do you mean—'what it is cooked with'?

WE: You see, the cooking fat you use is very important. Certain cooking fats and oils impose their own taste on foods. Others, like DALDA Vanaspati, help foods keep their natural flavours.

YOU: How does DALDA Vanaspati do that?

WE: To begin with, DALDA is a bland fat. That is, it is odourless and tasteless. So it adds no flavour of its own to the food.

YOU: Yes?

WE: DALDA is double-refined to a high degree of purity. It brings out all the delicate flavours of food. All it does is add energy and nourishment to your diet.

YOU: How is it nourishing?

WE: Seven hundred International Units of Vitamin A and 56 IU of Vitamin D are added to every ounce. These are the vitamins that protect the skin, bones, eyes and teeth and keep them healthy. And all the goodness in DALDA is retained because it comes to you in hygienically sealed tins...

YOU: In that case, we have chosen our cooking fat well. We use DALDA Vanaspati for all our cooking—we've done so for two decades, in fact.

WE: More and more people are taking to DALDA Vanaspati every day. Can you wonder why?

June 11, 1960

treat the assignment as cancelled if he was not keen on the job.

On the evening of April 4 the Game Warden called. He could only offer the comment "Some bungling at the top", when told of the situation I was in—he was the Game Warden and had nothing to do with the accommodation of guests. Nor could he help in any other way.

On most days a boat was available and we worked hard, but with no great success. I had brought a specially designed sectional hide with me from Madras, and I was satisfied, by personal inspection, that at several places there were wonderful opportunities for photography from a machan—only, no machan could be provided. Everyday I hoped for a telegram from the C.C.F., but nothing came.

On April 8, I was asked to quit by the Madras authorities, who wanted the cottage for one of their officers. I wrote a long and circumstantial letter, marked 'Most Urgent' to the Joint Secretary, Agriculture, with a carbon copy of the letter marked to the C.C.F.; I explained that I was sending out this letter in duplicate as I wanted whichever of them got my letter first to take prompt action; I requested both of them to treat the letter as a S.O.S. message. I explained how I was being evicted and exhorted both of them to implement their promises to me—I pointed out that at Thekkady, at any rate, the Joint Secretary had also assured me of accommodation. I said that never, in my long experience of governments, had I known anyone invited to do an honorary job for it so ignored and embarrassed by a government.

I could have turned back to Madras, but I had spent too much money on this job already. Moreover, I was too far in it to quit now. I have never given up any assignment merely because it was tough.

I refused the offer of a Madras Government officer to find me comfortable accommodation. I was there as the guest of the Kerala Forest Department, and the responsibility of finding living and working space for me was that department's.

So, more as a matter of Christian charity than as an official obligation, the Game Ranger (a very likable and experienced man, with authentic knowledge of the local fauna) gave us the cell within his office which we had scorned originally. Here we stayed 12 days, and in that confined space I got to know each crack and crevice in every wall intimately. There was a tiny lavatory-cum-bathroom attached to the cell, but the door of this had a crack 4-foot high by about 2 inches across,

rendering privacy difficult. Water had to be brought, by the bucket—later I engaged a water-carrier. I have purposely refrained from saying anything about the troubles we experienced getting something to eat—the promised governmental help, of course, was withheld. However, I must say we experienced much personal kindness from the people around us, and that we much enjoyed our outings in the sanctuary.

On April 12, I was offered the opportunity to bale out of Kerala with all my equipment, but naturally I did not take it. By this time a message had reached us which roused our hopes: we were told that it was due to the preoccupation of the C.C.F. and everyone in the Forest Department with a crisis (i.e., encroachment by squatters) that I had been forgotten, and that very soon everything would be set right.

It was on April 12 that something else also happened—when enlightenment came to me. That morning two men, arrested on some grave forest offence, were detained in the room adjoining our cell which was full of records. I

asked one of the clerks if it was wise to keep desperate men in such a place—they might, out of sheer spite, destroy some valuable records. He replied that the room where offenders were usually kept was not available, and stupidly I asked him which room it was. He pointed, reluctantly, to our cell. Everything became clear at once—the bolts on the inside of the doors that wouldn't bolt, the padlocks on the outside, the heavy bars of the window—yes, everything was crystal clear. Promptly I sent the following express telegram to the Joint Secretary, Agriculture:

REFER LETTER EIGHTH STOP STAYING LOCKUP GAME RANGERS OFFICE STOP IMMEDIATELY IMPLEMENT TWICE PROMISED ACCOMMODATION OTHER STIPULATIONS STOP NEEDLESS EXPENSE DAMAGE EQUIPMENT DUE NON-FULFILMENT PROMISES YOUR SIDE. PLEASE URGENTLY SEND SEVEN HUNDRED PART EXPENSE MONEY BADLY NEEDED

There was, of course, no reply or other response.

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THE GOAL OF "LAND REFORMS": SOCIALISATION

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

There is even yet among informed critics of the present "land reforms" before the legislatures of the country, an insufficient realisation of the authentic Communist purpose embedded in their pattern. There is a one-to-one correspondence perfect in every detail between the strategy and tactic of "our land reforms" immanent in their very pattern (and even terminology such as "land to the tiller") and the land reforms introduced in Communist countries beginning with Soviet Russia. Unless this is fully realised and the ideas implied challenged in principle as well as practical results, criticism will not be effective and convincing.

There is no use pointing out that the reforms will affect production not only in the immediate future but permanently as they flout the natural instincts and incentives of human nature. This is known to the reformers but ignored in favour of their ideological goal of socialisation. They hope to make up for loss of the peasant's incentive by large scale mechanisation, whether in co-operative (holdings, collectives) farms or government farms (sovkoses). The motive is to eliminate private property in land, for according to the Communist theologians—Marx, Lenin and Stalin, the peasant is the most obstinate capitalist of all with deep attachment to the individual proprietorship of land. The supreme goal of Socialism (Communism) is to socialise all means of production—industrial, commercial, transport and agricultural. This overall purpose is dictated by the motive of eliminating the class war supposed by Marxist doctrine to be inherent in the private ownership of the means of production. Ownership enables capitalists to annex surplus (production) value largely to their own benefit. Surplus value can go to labour only if it owns the productive apparatus and thus eliminates the needless exploiting middle class of private producers.

The industrial policy resolution of 1948 revised in 1956 makes this goal clear as regards the industrial and commercial spheres. The objective is to socialise industrial capital gradually, with mixed economy being tolerated as a matter of tactical convenience for a time.

The present "land reforms" are intended to apply the principle of socialisation to land: the other half of production, namely, food grains and agri-

cultural raw materials. The upsets and disturbance to productive effort meanwhile for some years are expected but accepted as inevitable for the realisation of the supreme goal of Socialism (Communism)!

The strategy is directed to socialisation. Tactics permit some zigzags and delays and allowances to individualist instincts. The slogan of "land to the tiller" governs the tactics from A to Z. The first stage is marked by the abolition of feudalism. In India this is represented by the abolition of the zamindari system—a ready-made policy applied on the morrow of independence in 1948.

The tactics as defined by Lenin are—to abolish the large landlord with the help of the middle and small farmer, who are promised shares in his land. The zamindar is the first class thus dispossessed. The principle of giving compensation is a matter of detail and does not count from the standpoint of the goal in view.

Next come the landlords below the level of zamindars. Large peasants should then be subjected to ceiling legislation and middle men owning but not directly cultivating lands eliminated. In order to give land to the tiller, intermediaries are to be eliminated notwithstanding any economic function they may be fulfilling such as providing capital and know-how.

After ceiling operations reduce the mass of landholders to the status of small and middle peasants, they will be herded into co-operative or collective farms (joint co-operative farms) with the bait of greater shares consequent on large scale mechanisation which will be rendered possible by large holdings. Co-operatives are explicitly mentioned by Marx and Lenin as decoys to induce the peasants to accept the loss of individual property in land in the hope of better incomes.

Co-operatives will be saddled by party-nominated managers and other officials and the formal democracy of the co-operative will in practice be substituted by party dictatorship.

The motive of the co-operative tactic is to deprive the peasant proprietor, middle and small, of his ownership of his own harvests which at present he is free to dispose of at will, part for consumption and seed and part for the market.

The harvest of the co-operative farm will not belong to the individual farmer but collectively to the society! The State or governing group will then be able to retain as much of the harvest as they please giving the farmer-member the lowest remuneration possible—hardly above subsistence level! Individual farms give freedom to the farmer. Co-operativisation or socialisation will give freedom on the contrary, to the State! Land is given to the tiller only to be snatched from him later through converting him into a member of farming co-operatives (or collectives).

It is thus that the tactic of co-operativisation is used to deprive the farmer of his individual ownership and is the thin end of the wedge of full socialisation of land.

To counter the Government's arguments in favour of present "reforms" by pointing to loss of production and disorder in land relations etc., is not enough. Democrats have to combat the dogma of socialisation in every way—principle, psychology, agricultural process, social relations in agricultural economy and the best legal order calculated to elicit maximum production and progress on a permanent basis.

To object, as many do, that the imposition of ceilings on land holdings will inevitably create a demand by sufferers for similar ceilings on industrial and other urban incomes is futile, for it cuts no ice with the ruling party!

For the goal being full socialisation (which means the abolition of all private property, not only agricultural), the leaders of the party reply that the turn of urban incomes will come in due course! The correct and effective thing to do is to challenge the very principle of socialisation of property in the means of production as the goal of State policy.

Marxism sees "social justice" as possible only through such socialisation, which alone abolishes the class war by eliminating the class of capitalist owners! Democrats see social justice on the other hand as consisting in equal opportunity for all through the possession and wise use of property. The right to private property is thus the indispensable pathway for the realisation of freedom for all, rich and poor.

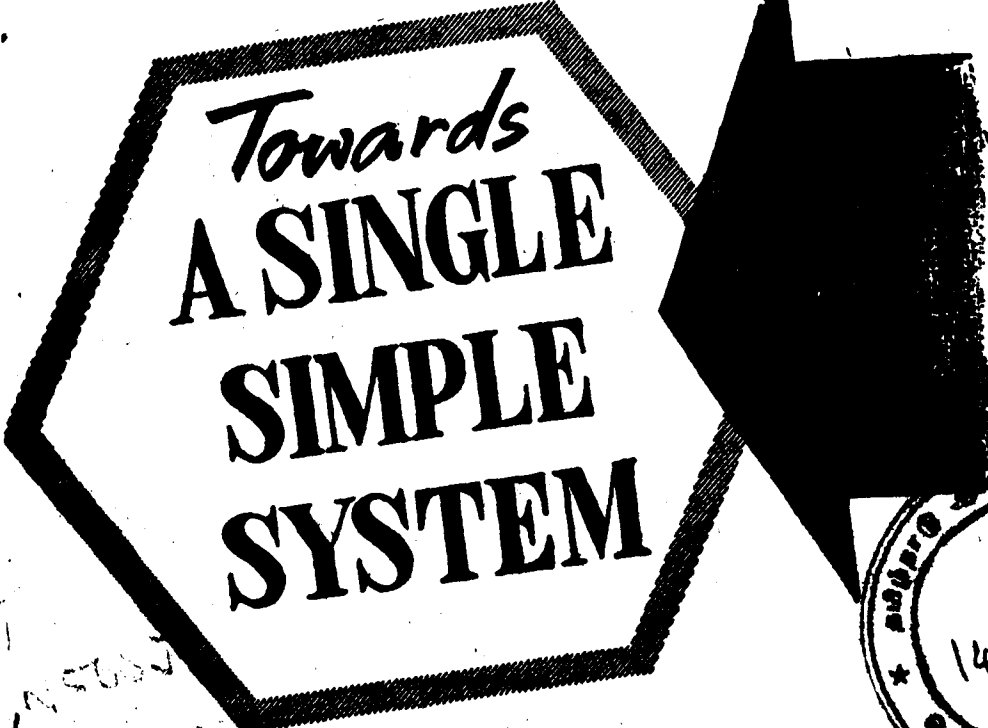
The next aspect of "land reforms" is to provide for the State's appropriation of the harvests. For this purpose, co-operative farms are linked in Communist tactics with the policy of monopoly State trading in all agricultural products, food grains as well as commercial crops and plantations. Monopoly is assumed in order to fix prices for the

convenience of the State! Monopoly enables the State to supply urban areas with grains and industries with raw materials at minimum cost—in fact, at a cost that affords only subsistence incomes to the farmer! Communist industrialisation with its unnatural pace, is based on a grim exploitation of the farming population by the State through co-operative and monopoly purchase,

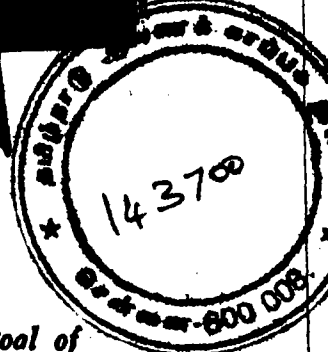
unheard of in capitalist economy, in ruthlessness and thoroughness. Thus all our arguments of the hardships brought on by State trading in food grains fall on deaf ears and the dread policy will be enforced on the people in due time as an organic part of "land reforms"! For, the combined goal of all these aspects of policy is socialisation of property in land so that the planning and

executive power of the State can be unchallenged by any pocket of owners retaining freedom of operation!

Thus the several aspects of "land reforms" fall into place as organic parts of a single strategy with its own tactics directed to the realisation of the Socialist Totalitarian State. Intellectual and moral attack should therefore be directed to the pattern as a whole.



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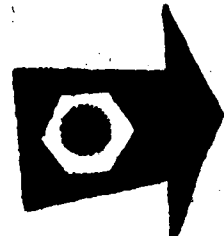


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BOOK REVIEW

EUROPE IN WAR AND PEACE

The years 1914 and 1939 are the outstanding landmarks of this century in the history of Europe in particular and of the world in general. The former would seem to separate the world of the 19th century from the present century as we have come to know it. The latter represents the first link in a chain of events leading to the advent of the atomic age. The post-Victorian smugness, as well as the Edwardian lethargy and elegance, had received a rude jolt in what has been described as a year of destiny—1914. But, the old political Europe, with its balance of power, still remained, in a way, the hub of the universe between the wars. It was no more to be so at the end of the Second World War. Its face was changed out of all recognition and the two great powers, Britain and France, have had to make way in the councils of the world for the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The fascinating story of these eventful years is told by a journalist who combines a flair for foreign affairs with a gift of vivid expression, and a diplomatist who had been able to watch more than one earth-shaking episode from a ringside seat.

James Cameron is a seasoned journalist whom the readers of *The News Chronicle* know as a knowledgeable commentator on world affairs. He is an inveterate globe-trotter who had taken Africa and the resurgent countries of Asia in his stride. His tacy pen does ample justice to the year 1914, which began its days in England rather deceptively in bright weather under a cloudless sky. The Liberal Cabinet under Asquith was hardly conscious of the goings-on in Europe, pre-occupied as it was with the problem of Irish Home Rule and the violent channels in which it found expression. The people were blissfully unaware of the world outside, losing themselves in search of harmless diversions at holiday resorts, urban parks, night clubs and music halls. None was prepared for the crazy upshot of episodes in the distant Balkan States. Not a man there was in England who could gauge the repercussions of the unfortunate incident in which the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria and

his morganatic wife were murdered in the Bosnian township of Sarajevo by a Serbian youth. As the author puts it, the bullet which escaped into the gullet of Ferdinand had sealed the fate of Serbia. Its effect were, in fact, more far-reaching than that. It was the first spark in the conflagration to be.

Though the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia was felt in England to be too truculent, it was none too clear in the early stages if they should at all jump into the arena where Austria and Germany—and Turkey later—were ranged against France, Russia and other powers. The Kaiser was, for all his belligerent postures, believed to be a man of peace and the German cousin had equal faith in English neutrality. England's duty to France (who had to help Russia who in turn rushed to the aid of Serbia) left her no choice and the German invasion of Belgium had forced her hands at last. The boys of the British Expeditionary Force took the whole thing rather as a joke marching lazily into Flanders to the strains of Tipperary. Almost everyone expected the ugly interlude not to last more than a few months except Kitchener and perhaps Grey, the Foreign Secretary, who saw the "lights go out of Europe." But, a brief experience in the trenches at Ypres, Ghent and Namur in Flanders and at Mons and Amiens in France was enough to open the eyes of the young soldiers to the grimness of the bitter conflict. The horrid squalor of the trench warfare, in which the wounded had to be abandoned gangrenous and verminous, must have shocked the sensibilities of even the hardened fighters.

Anglo-French co-operation took a little time to work itself out on the fields of battle. There were some initial hurdles. Understanding was not easy. The Chief of the British Forces, Field-Marshal French, knew no French. The British in general had no high regard for the French in action. And the sentiment was generally reciprocated. There were personal factors too. General French and his Chief of Staff, Haig, did not think much of each other. The latter was often straining at the leash and his initiative was more often checked than encouraged. The shortage of munitions was so acute that Field Marshal French complained about it almost openly, and the Northcliffe Press spear-headed a violent campaign around it.

While the Allies were badly outnumbered on land, the British supremacy at

sea had more proofs in the war. One of the earliest naval victories was snatched by them at the Battle of Falkland Islands off the Southern-most tip of South America. Aerial bombing had its ceremonial beginnings. Two or three coastal towns like Scarborough were heavily shelled and the U-boat 'Emden' scared people as far as the coast of Madras. The anti-German campaign took a virulent turn forcing the very loyal and efficient Prince Louis of Battenberg to quit his office as First Sea Lord (few bothered to remember the well-known fact that British royalty was more than fifty per cent German in its blood). The name had to be suitably Anglicised by the father before the illustrious son could spread its fame far and wide in the East. The spectacled Indians and Muslims were in evidence on the field, and the help of the Indian princes was forthcoming. Towards the end of the year, both sides were so obviously tired that the Christmas truce was celebrated by the show of lights on rival bayonets in the misty dark and the exchange of cigarettes, coffee and other make shift presents, without the approval of the command. It was still the age of the old war when it was fought with both sides observing the rules of the game. The spectre of nuclear warfare was not yet there. But the trenches were bad enough.

From the bright colours of the journalist to the subdued hues of the finished diplomat. While Cameron's is a reconstructed picture (from books, official documents and newspaper files), Kirkpatrick's is a personal record of first-hand impressions of men and events. The account begins from the beginning of the First World War and goes to the close of the Second World War, covering about four decades. It incorporates his work in a variety of positions from a junior official to the Permanent Under-Secretary of the Foreign office. In between, he had different assign-

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1. THE INNER CIRCLE: *The Memoirs of Ioane Kirkpatrick*: (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, New York, 25 shillings)

2. 1914: *By James Cameron* (Cassell & Co. Ltd., 35, Red Lion Square, London W.C.1 21 shillings)

CLOUDS OVER THE RISING SUN

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

ments at the Ministry of Information, at the BBC as head of the Foreign Service, at the chancelleries in Rome and Berlin and at the Control Commission in Post-War Germany and at the High Commission a few years later.

Germany happens rightly to be Sir Ivone's special interest. He was in that country at the most crucial times in the affairs of Europe. He watched the rise of Nazi power under Hitler from 1933 onwards and could see the flames of the Reichstag fire and hear the stamp of the troopers' jackboots on the Rhineland. Many of the demigods of Nazi hierarchy like Hess, Goering, Goebbels, Von Papen and Ribbentrop, and the mighty Fuehrer himself, were known to him in person. From his Embassy window he could look down at the armed hordes parading the streets of Berlin, striking terror into the hearts of all foreigners. Not uncommon were the instances where foreign Embassy men were manhandled for not saluting the Swastika flag. Peace was on the lips, but the air was thick with war.

The Anschluss in Austria and the Sudetan German problem in Czechoslovakia were cheaply disposed of anyhow, but the author was in the know of every inside story. He deprecates the Munich disaster as a desperate sell-out, but seems to have a rooted faith in the credentials of Neville Chamberlain. He would rather blame it on the French Premier Daladier, whom he finds too callous and irresponsible. It is his reading of the German offensive that even a timely rendition of her colonies would not have quenched the blood thirst of the high-priest, once he was on the war path. Only a strong line in good time could have kept him in check. Accompanying Chamberlain and Halifax to Berchtesgaden more than once, he had occasion to watch Hitler at his mildest as well as his wildest. The patience and statesmanship of Dr. Adenauer come in for praise in the framing of the new Constitution. He gives an interesting account of the Hess episode earlier.

His elevation to the Permanent Under-Secretaryship of the Foreign Office was a just reward of Sir Ivone's life-long work. Among the Foreign Ministers, he gives a high place to Curzon, a superb drafter, though he lived in olympian isolation. Bevin won the regard of the staff by his bluff common-sense and rugged grappling of the fundamentals. On the prospects of peace, he feels that the U.N. has only machinery to prevent war but no sanctions to enforce justice. The chapters on the Foreign Office would form a good supplement to the fine work on the subject by John Connell. —D. ANJANAPULU.

The cherry blossoms that inspire and bring sunshine to Japanese hearts have made their brief appearance this spring also. But this year a horde of vicious problems has also appeared on the Japanese scene. Indeed this smiling and prosperous nation of 92 million people is today in the grip of painful political convulsions.

For the last many months opposition to the revised security pact between Japan and the United States, to Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi, and to U.S. President Eisenhower's visit has been steadily increasing in volume. Last January when Kishi announced his decision to go to Washington to sign the new security treaty, violent demonstrations had broken out. Over 27,000 demonstrators had clashed with the police and students had protested in their own way by mass urination at the main entrance of the Diet (Parliament).

Kishi is as determined now as he was then to get the treaty ratified by the Parliament. He got it endorsed by the lower house on May 20 in a stormy, post-midnight session. The vote on the treaty was taken after 500 policemen had forcibly removed the socialist opposition members from the legislative chambers, following the attempt by the leftists to prevent the House from meeting by violent "sit-down" tactics in the corridors. The treaty will be ratified automatically by the upper house of the Parliament, if it does not take any action within 90 days from the date of endorsement by the lower house. June 19 happens to be the 30th day and it also happens to be the day when Eisenhower reaches Japan.

The indecent and undemocratic haste with which the treaty was rushed through the lower house triggered a new wave of demonstrations. Last Saturday, June 4 over 1 million Japanese took part in protest rallies, demonstrations and strikes. Another huge demonstration is scheduled for June 11. In fact these protest activities seem to have become part of normal life in Tokyo.

The immediate opposition is to the new security pact which was signed in Washington last January 19 by Kishi and Eisenhower. The treaty is to run for 10 years, and its ten articles pledge that (1) both nations will take action to counter the common danger, if the forces of either are attacked in Japan, (2) prior consultation will be held between the two before deploying U.S. forces from Japanese bases to other places in the Far East and before in-

troducing nuclear weapons into the country, and (3) Japan is released from further contribution (now Rs. 14 crores a year) for the support of U.S. troops in the islands.

Government circles claim that the new treaty is more favourable than the old one signed in 1951. The new treaty can be terminated by Japan after 10 years. The old one could be annulled only by the U.S. These minor concessions do not satisfy the opposition which is totally opposed to the presence of U.S. armed forces in the country. There are now 75,000 U.S. troops in Japan which is smaller in area than Bombay State. Another 50,000 U.S. troops are stationed in Okinawa, a major U.S. air base over which Japan holds nominal sovereignty but lacks civil jurisdiction. Three of the "black jets"—the Japanese name for U-2 planes—are stationed near Tokyo. Also, U.S. sea forces deployed against China operate out of Yokosuke, the big U.S. naval base south of Tokyo.

Leftists and extremists argue that the presence of U.S. forces could conceivably put Japan into an unwanted war. The U-2 plane incident and the Soviet threats gave topical force to the argument. The Japanese have not forgotten the mass destruction and suffering that followed the atom-bomb blasts in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In fact people are still dying from effects of the atomic explosions nearly 15 years ago. It is no wonder that the Japanese are sensitive to threats from the Soviet Union about nuclear retaliation, if U.S. planes based in Japan flew over Communist territory.

But there are many responsible Japanese who feel that abandoning the protective umbrella of U.S. military strength might expose Japan to dangers that can become far more unpleasant than the oppressions of the present.

The political situation has, however, been complicated by the unpopularity of Prime Minister Kishi. There is more solid opposition to Kishi than to the treaty as such. He has become a symbol of unwanted militarism and even some members of his Liberal-Democratic party are unhappy about his activities.

Kishi was one of the Ministers of the Tojo cabinet which declared war on the U.S. fifteen years ago. He was arrested and about to be tried as a war criminal. But after three years of jail, he was released. He said: "When I found out I was not going to be hanged,

PASTERNAK THE POET

By J. VIJAYATUNGA

Pasternak was essentially a poet influenced by his early training as a pianist and painter. It was his lyrical poetry which brought him fame both in Russia and outside. His first book of poetry was entitled *My Sister, Life*, and consists of poems written before 1917. This was followed by *Theme and Variations*. His memories as a boy of the 1905 Revolution are found in another collection of poems entitled "1905". These were followed by *Lieutenant Schmidt*, *Second Birth*, which was not too favourably viewed in Russia was published in 1932. A verse drama, incomplete, *Spektorsky*, and *Miscellaneous Poems* preceded *Second Birth*.

A contemporary of his was Mayakovsky, four years younger. He committed suicide at the age of thirty-six.

After the publication of *Second Birth* he was employed by the State in translating Shakespeare and the folk poetry of Georgia. He remained in comparative obscurity engaged in these uncreative pursuits until the publication of *Dr. Zhivago*.

Boris Leonidovich Pasternak came from a cultured home. His father was a well-known painter and painted Tolstoy's portrait. His mother was a pianist. He himself studied music under

began to think about the rest of my life as a bonus to be wisely spent." but his detractors complain that "once minion of the military, Kishi now loudly sings the popular song of democracy" and cannot be trusted.

Kishi is determined to stay in power. His chances to stay at the top are not reconsiderable. The Japanese army is not likely to take over civil administration. For, it is a small force of 150,000 men with no political pretensions. The economic prosperity of the country is also in favour of Kishi. The Japanese people are now 25 per cent better off than they were before the war. Nearly every Japanese family owns a radio. One in every four families has a TV set. More newspapers are sold per capita than in the U.S.

But with all these advantages, there still can be a fall for Kishi. During the last few months, *Sohyo*, the powerful, 8-1/2 million-strong alliance of labour unions has been working against the government. The Communist-led student organisation called *Zengakuren* is actively organizing revolts. The climate is fertile for anti-Kishi, anti-U.S. activities. The coming weeks are truly critical as far as U.S.-Japan relations are concerned.

Scriabin, but painting had a greater appeal for him. He also completed the conventional academic courses, first in Moscow, then in Marburg. He was fifteen years old and was in St. Petersburg when the 1905 Revolution broke.

The best known poet of his day was Alexander Blok, ten years older. Pasternak himself owed little to the influence of Blok, to Laforgue, the French symbolist, or Verlaine, as some critics have suggested. Pasternak was always a "Lonely". If any influence can be attributed to his early poetry one might mention Lermontov, (1814-1841), who was banished for having displeased the Czar by an Ode he wrote. Lermontov was killed in a duel when he was only twenty-seven. Lermontov was known as the "Poet of the Caucasus".

Pasternak evokes the Caucasian scene vividly in the following poem:

Afar where clouds in
rings were coiling
Like serpents on their
eggs, more dread
Than forays of the long
dead Tartars,
A range of Chinese
shadows spread.
A row of gravestones
on a backcloth
Of paths, they were,
blocked up by snow,
Beyond the scenery of
those skies, where
Prometheus languished,
ceased to glow.

Expressionism was the vogue after the first world war, and Pasternak did

not escape it. This poem, *Thunder*, momentarily instantaneous, is from *My Sister, Life*:

And then the summer
said goodbye
To the station. Taking
off its cap.
At night for souvenirs
the thunder
Took a hundred
blinding snaps.

Blok's celebrated poem, *The Twelve*, translated into English by Prof. Bowra, breathes the very spirit of the Revolution. In strong contrast is Pasternak's wistful requiem:

Boss us then, while
the handkerchief's
Still fluttering, you're
the lady yet,
While we remain in
the darkness still
And while the fire is
not blown out.

Second Birth, published in 1932 gives no clue as to when the poet fell in love with a girl much younger:

O, how bold she was,
when hardly
Gone from her
beloved mother's
Wing, in 'jest she
gave her childish
Laugh to me and,
never offering
Opposition or impediment,
Her childish peace and
childish laugh,
Her concerns and
cares, a child
Innocent of injury

(The translations of Pasternak's poems are by J. M. COHEN.)

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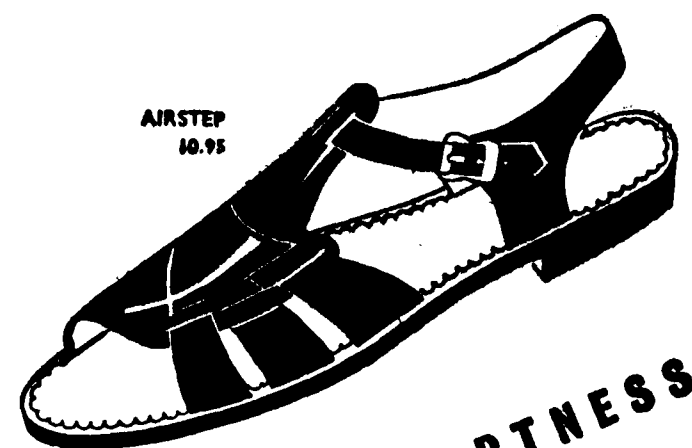
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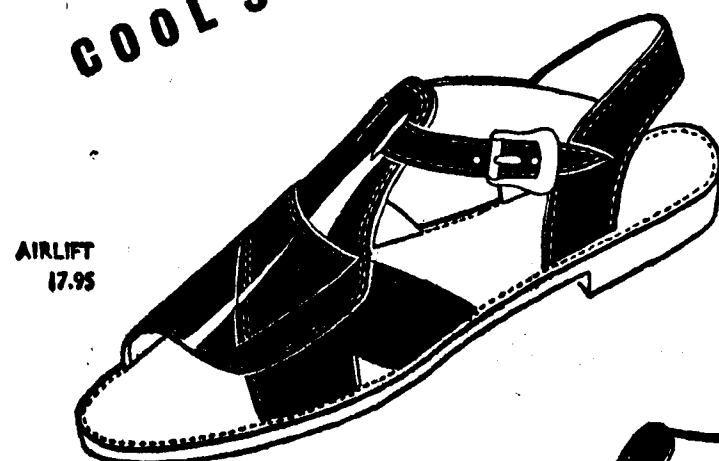
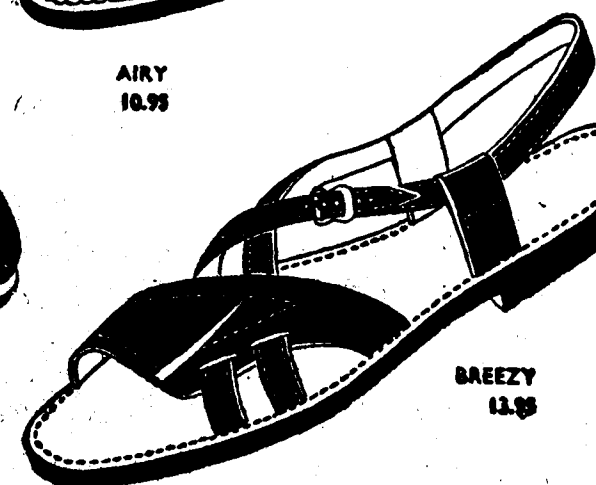
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SENSING OF NEW DANGERS

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The Prime Minister's home-return has not somehow brought to an end the uneasy suspense pervading the whole atmosphere here for some time. And there is quite an ominous look about the place. There is a general apprehension that the people are in for a jolt or two; a strange fear is working on their minds. Whether all this is due to a highly intriguing situation or just the horrid heat, it is hard to say. But it seems to be taken for granted that the only thing which seems to cope with the climate here now is day-light crime. It is hardly surprising that a lamentable lack of vigilance on the part of the administrators generally, recently elicited from the *Hindustan Times* the devastating remark that "India's is the worst administered capital in the world". It is possible that there are others who go a step, or many steps, further and make as extravagant a claim for the country as a whole.

Repression is in full swing in Punjab. By invoking the Preventive Detention Act, Sardar Pratap Singh Kalron heavily descended on the formidable Akali Chief and his men. Mass arrests and an unabashed display of might, reminiscent of older days, whatever be the provocation or justification, are not always a sign of firmness; sometimes they reveal a certain frenzy. And even in quarters where there is no sympathy for Master Tara Singh's demand for a Punjabi Suba, there is a feeling that the Pratap Singh Ministry acted none too wisely in resorting to the Preventive Detention Act for scotching all anticipated mischief. While conceding that the Government had every right not to tolerate disorder or lawlessness of any kind, the leading daily of the State emphasised that the Government should at the same time act with "wisdom and dignity" and be wary of excesses. Delhi, which is so much Punjabi, feels doubly agitated as, what would have been at any time unfortunate, is unthinkable now in view of what India is heading for, on a larger front. A trial of strength between Master Tara Singh and Sardar Pratap Singh Kalron is capable of producing an upheaval in the Punjab while a divided Sikh community can imperil national interests. Meanwhile the real question posed by the Akali challenge remains unanswered, namely, whether it needs to be

answered by administrative strength or political statesmanship.

The cumulative effect of the despatches from abroad, all converging on Chinese stiffness, whether in regard to the border problem or the larger one of peace, is that India is beginning to sense new dangers. The smear-campaign said to have been launched in the foreign press under Chinese inspiration, should convince anyone that nothing but the will of an united people and a more realistic leadership can meet the situation as it threatens to develop. But of such concentration of purpose there is yet no unimpeachable evidence. Apart from the hidden dangers lurking in Communist strategy within our own borders, the strange reluctance or hesitation on the part of the Government to mobilise the rest of the parties in the country, in an all-out effort to resist aggression before it takes a deadlier turn, is far from reassuring. The latest reports, whether from Bhutan or Nefra, are, to say the least, disturbing. In a forthright speech, on the threats to Democracy, recently delivered in Bombay, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar said that in case the State failed to get back its lost territory quickly, there was the possibility of the people becoming impatient and changing the form of Government.

It is, in the circumstances, to the credit of the Congress President that in his recent pronouncements he has been outspoken on this subject. Sri Sanjiva Reddy said in Coimbatore that, if a party—he had of course the Communist Party in mind—which would not call a country which had occupied 12,000 square miles of their territory an aggressor, still existed in the country, the people should be really ashamed of their weakness. One would however like to know, and Sri Sanjiva Reddy should himself tell us, why the Congress had not then unequivocally branded China as aggressor and why the Prime Minister would not use that term in his talks with Mr. Chou? Sri Sanjiva Reddy was doubtless also right in asking for the ejection of the Chinese from the Indian territory,—if necessary by force. But should he not have then addressed the Congress Government on the subject and wrung a satisfactory reply? The Congress President should plead for greater realism in our affairs,

SIDELIGHTS

(Continued from page 4)

his surrender. He was, however, released within a few hours following a telephonic talk between Dr. Sushila Nayar, who was at that time with Acharya Bhavé's party and Mr. H. V. Pataskar, Governor of Madhya Pradesh. Since then Kachera has been accompanying the Sarvodaya leader.

This morning the Sarvodaya workers wanted to hand over Kachera to the police but the latter declined.

Police officials in the camp are reported to have said that they had so far not received instructions to arrest Kachera.

Things have come to such a pass that for performing routine duties the police feel they stand in need of special permission. Congress rule, though replete with many types of corruption, has hitherto maintained credit in the matter of the administration of law. But this distinction is now becoming a thing of the past.

It has also been announced that the President has commuted the death sentence of two of the dacoits to one of life imprisonment. There is no duty cast on anyone except a judge to convict a criminal to death, but if the Presidential reprieve is to be exercised in a sensible manner, compassion must be supported by extenuating circumstances. Otherwise it would stand out as a crude exercise of quixotic intervention in the administration of justice. Practically every criminal convicted to death for murder would be entitled to similar indulgence before the Presidential violation of the verdict of the court in the case of the two dacoits can be considered sustainable on any moral principle. (It certainly is not sustainable in law).

The Acharya's peace mission is playing havoc with the inviolability of the law, the integrity of judicial and magisterial administration and the morale of the police. It can no longer be said in India that the law is no respecter of persons.

—SARA.

and give a surer lead, instead of posing in public a question to which the answer must come, as he should know, from quarters 'nearer home'. One more chance was missed in Poona.



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IN IGNORANCE, REFRAIN

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Humanity in its march forward in civilization came to two great institutions, Property and Religion. They came to be, not as a result of propaganda but out of universal experience of countless years. If we wish to foster human initiative and enterprise, we must protect the rights of property. If we want to restrain human appetites and produce order and co-operation among men we must have religion.

No amount of external direction can replace the magic of property. No amount of State compulsion can replace religion. Indeed the very source of energy for external direction or for State action will dry up if we tamper with the institution of property or withdraw protection from it or if we kill faith and the spirit of religion. Not external law but only the powerful sanction of fear of sin, and hope and love generated by religion can effectively keep in check the excesses of human appetites. Without religion the attempt to create welfare out of State compulsion is doomed to abject failure. This vain attempt can be boosted only by distorting the very meaning of 'welfare' and 'progress'. Progress must mean only advance towards a desirable and laudable goal. The extinction of human dignity and individual freedom in order to 'progress' vitiates the nature of progress itself. Progress achieved by losing self-direction (Swatantra) and giving more and more and finally all direction to the State, is not progress. "Know what you are changing before you start to

change it" said Ritchie Calder of UNESCO expanding the old maxim of the great French physiologist Claude Bernard—"In knowledge pursue, but in ignorance refrain." The article in our Constitution which laid down that all citizens in India shall have the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property and practise any profession or carry on any occupation, trade or business was not framed to be unwisely mauled, disobeyed and discredited within ten years of our freedom.

The checks needed against the misuse of the right to hold property must be moral checks issuing out of religion, not in a denial of the right itself. To do all in our power to weaken the universal mechanism of restraint and social solidarity viz., religion, and to seek to create a new mechanism through recently enacted laws are bound to be a dismal failure. The very process of dissent and debate through which a law must go before it is finalised weakens its potency and makes it a poor substitute for religion that has achieved universal acceptance and confirmation through common practice without dissent or debate. Statesmanship demands the conservation of helpful forces of such great potency. It is a poor intelligence that would seek to throw them away in favour of an inadequate substitute.

To the superficial eye the various penal laws may appear to be responsible for human good conduct. But a little reflection would show that what brought about the laws as well as what continues

to maintain good conduct is the conscience and good sense inside us fostered and maintained by religion. Most people abstain from lying, cheating, stealing and murder not on account of the law but on account of the sense of what is *dharma*. The punishment for the breach depends on laws, but the sanction for good conduct is not in the law but in what produced the law, viz., the inner sense nursed by religious faith and practice.

Self-government essentially means self-reliance, self-restraint, self-discipline, self-denial, self-direction as contrasted with a system of government which places unlimited power in the State and its officials to restrain, control and direct and hence compulsorily to enslave and regiment the individual.

Apart from and in addition to all other causes, the proclaimed atheism of Communist Powers lies at the bottom of the distrust of nations making negotiations and treaties with them difficult. It is not religionism, but distrust which naturally arises out of the absence of even an argument why they should not break their word when it would suit them. It is most unfortunate for the world that co-existence and peace are rendered difficult on account of the declared atheism of the Communist Powers. May India never consciously or unknowingly get into this evil condition, as it can easily, if it goes on flirting with Communist policies and secularism in increasing measure.

NEAR 'STRIKING DISTANCE' OF A TREATY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Chinese operations against India and her neighbouring territories have for the time being turned national attention to the dangers of Communist aggression in Asia, and people talk of the Cold War having been transferred to Asia. Still the main danger to humanity as a whole lies in the nuclear arms race and the deadly weapons stored in U.S. and U.S.S.R.

A treaty over the tests that is nearing completion in Geneva is of the greatest consequence to the whole world. The following extracts from what two eminent men have said very recently will be read with satisfaction all over the world. Chester Bowles, our one time American ambassador and a powerful member of the Democratic Party of America, writes in an article in a recent issue of the NEW LEADER:

The latest Soviet proposal and the Eisenhower-Macmillan counter-proposal have now brought within striking distance the possibility for a summit agreement on a nuclear test ban. Seventeen articles out of a proposed 22-article treaty have been agreed upon. In principle, the USSR has committed itself to accept a complex global monitoring and control system that will include foreign observers and inspectors operating inside Russia.

A treaty based on these propositions would be a tremendous step forward, even if it did not cover the presently undetectable small bomb tests conducted underground. It would set into motion the world's first trial international inspection system. It would initiate the process of international controls for which we have waited so long, and upon which the chances for all further progress directly depend.

About the five articles which remain to be agreed upon at the Geneva Conference, Bertrand Russel writes:

I consider the remaining differences trivial and I am persuaded that, if either the Western or the Soviet negotiators had any real wish to reach agreement, a treaty could very quickly be concluded.

Bertrand Russel says further:

Communists and anti-Communists can live together or die together, or, just possibly, arrive at the superiority of one of the two groups. For my part, I wish to see them live together, and I wish most earnestly to see them not die together. If this worst possibility is to be prevented it is not enough for each side to bristle with H-bombs ready to be fired off whenever a flight of starlings is mistaken for enemy missiles. It is necessary that each side should learn to treat the other with common courtesy and with the realization that we all live in glass houses. The calm assumption that of course the other side would cheat, but of course our side would not, is made by both sides. But to hear some champions of the West speaking, one would never guess that the other side can be equally sincere in its suspicions. Let it be granted that there are risks; but once this has been granted it should be admitted that our present course involves a far greater probability of far worse disasters than any that are to be feared from more conciliatory policies.

The following from a letter in the *New York Times* of May 30 written by Erich Kahler may also be read with considerable interest:

The people of the world are beginning to revolt against the gamble of the Big Two. They are more interested in their survival and their protection from fall-out than in the outcome of the struggle between Capitalism and Communism. All the

If we run into such debts, as that we must be taxed in our necessities and our comforts, in meat and in our drinks, in our labours and our amusements, our people must come to labour sixteen hours in the twentyfour, give the earnings of fifteen of these to the Government for their debts and daily expense; and the sixteenth being insufficient to afford us bread, we must be glad to obtain subsistence by hiring ourselves to the government to rivet their chains on the necks of our fellow sufferers.

—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

more so since they are made to realize by events in Korea, Turkey, Vietnam and South Africa how 'free' the free world actually is.

Both Russia and America have failed their global responsibility: Russia on the spot of the summit, America long before. Khrushchev has disappointed the world by his lack of restraint and his impossible demands. The Eisenhower Administration has jeopardised the reputation of America as a peace-loving nation by never taking the summit conference and the current negotiations quite seriously.

This is evidenced by the attitude of the Administration all along; the U-2 incident was just one link in a long line of careless or clearly unresponsive acts. Among the many instances that could be mentioned, recent ones include the tendency to ignore or minimize any Russian concession, the announcement of the President that he wanted to leave the summit conference after a week, the lack of any serious preparation for the disarmament discussion, the "Alert" on the eve of the conference—perhaps the most irresponsible act of all.

The danger of a surprise attack was declared non-existent by a report of the Army itself on May 4 (*New York Times*, May 5). It could not be used as an excuse for either the "Alert" or for that matter the reconnaissance flight of the U-2 just before the summit conference.

If Mr. Erich Kahler of Princeton could write in this strain it is no wonder Khrushchev thought that they had sought to fool him and so completely lost his temper.

Any way, to use the editorial language of the *New York Times*, "the leaders of the Big Two during the last week of May struck postures of moderation which dispelled much of the anxiety generated by the summit fiasco". Now that there is less tension, summitry being out, we must go back to classical diplomacy and the U.N. The Big Two should remember the responsibility they carry towards the peoples of the world and not only towards their own peoples. The rest of the world, and in particular the "uninvolved" nations should also remember their own duties and realise their own souls and not get too accustomed to the mentality of drift.

THE GITA PLAN

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

We must find a solution for the problems of economic progress in India which will steer clear of the physical compulsions adopted with 'success' in China and of the plan of expense and foreign loans leading to bankruptcy adopted at present by the Government of India. What is needed is a spiritual drive for hard physical labour as a matter of religious duty which will convert manpower into gold. The Gita gives us the clue. All work is equally noble and is worship in itself if done in a spirit of dedication. This is the Gita teaching.

This was the sanction for work in the old days. The division of all work into caste functions was based on this polity. There were not only four castes as the simplified scriptures might lead us to believe, but a hundred castes even in those days each one of which had a social function allotted to it as religious duty. There was no room for ambitions or frustration consequent on failure of such ambitions. Today for several causes that system has all but broken down.

We need a spiritual force that can be a substitute for the physical compulsions that in totalitarian countries produce the labour needed for progress. In the absence of this, our man-power is going to waste. If we could provide a non-compulsory but effective sanction we could convert our manpower into wealth and achievement. A mere appeal for hard work cannot be mistaken for a force or a sanction. If the appeal comes from a personality of eminence or holy influence it may carry to some extent the force of a duty. But our Prime Minister's appeal is not intensive or single-pointed. It loses much of its inherent strength by what he otherwise speaks or does.

The rigidity of the old caste system and the idea of superiority

and inferiority that came to be associated with it do not permit any going back to it in the present times. But the sacredness and equality in social and national value of all work enunciated in the Gita is something that we can derive out of that system and apply even in our changed world.

We must revive and reinforce the Gita doctrine of all work being equally noble and being dedicated as worship. We must revive the simple life which would enable the national exchequer as well as private capital to pay more or less equally for all honest "work of all kinds" to which each one of us is fit, or can be easily adapted. The Gita way of life and the Gita doctrine of equal worth of all tasks are the only alternatives to the physical compulsions of godless totalitarianism. That doctrine is of permanent relevancy even though the caste polity is no longer there. As long as there are functions and social values the Gita doctrine is available for application.

Free work to fullest capacity, free in the sense of freedom from external compulsion, is the alternative to the way of Communism as practised by China and Russia. Where machinery is scarce and poverty limits the use of imported time-saving implements, we must use our man-power to the fullest extent. It is stupid to cry for reduction of population without being sure of the means of progress or of the success of our plans. The human body is a most wonderful and powerful tool by itself and need not be undervalued and neglected.

The urge to work cannot arise or be expected to come out of a mere appeal from above. It must issue from an inner conviction and spiritual hunger in each one of us. And this can only be created by

religion. If we reflect on this, we shall see how great and valuable the Gita is. That precious and holy inheritance has not been put to purposeful use. We have in the Gita a real Plan for the realisation of India's ambitions. We must link our efforts, our aims as well as the means, with the Gita, which is universal in outlook. Either that or physical compulsion, these are the only two alternatives. The psychological change that Sri Jayaprakash Narayan and Vinobaji desire can only come from a religious conversion of the highest and purest type for which we must work.

The Five Year Plan with the scramble for the biggest share in it, along with an unwillingness and incapacity to bear the burden of taxation that goes with it, is no good and should be substituted by the Gita and a plan based on universal labour that was taught by the Gitacharya as the nationwide form of worship of God as well as the means of welfare in the worldly sense.



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SIDELIGHTS ::

President Eisenhower who has already left Washington on his tour of the Far East, which is to include also a visit to Japan, says:

"If the trip now ahead of me were concerned principally with the support of a regime or a treaty or a disputed policy, if it were intended merely to bolster a particular programme or to achieve a limited objective, such a journey would have no real justification. But this trip is not so concerned, not so intended. Rather, it represents an important phase of a programme whose paramount objective was, and is, to improve the climate of international understanding."

If the President's paramount objective of improving the climate of international understanding is to be realised, there should at least be a fair chance of a welcome for him in the countries visited. That this is too much to expect from Japan now is clear from the reception that awaited the President's Secretary, Mr. Hagerty, when he arrived in Tokyo last week.

It might be that the anti-American demonstrations in Japan can be traced to international Communism. Even so, they impose on the host country a terrific strain in the matter of security arrangements which the President should hesitate to impose. As the consequences of the security measures misfiring are too dreadful to contemplate, even from the standpoint of the very objective proclaimed by the President, a reversal of the projected programme would be wise even at the last minute.

When Chou En-lai visited India, Mr. Nehru's invitation to the Chinese leader was backed by the Communists, but the rest of the country stood hostile and aloof. Even in Mr. Nehru's Congress Party there was aversion for the visit and no cordiality. Unlike President Eisenhower to Japan, Chou came to India as the repre-

sentative of a hostile aggressive power that had occupied by force a considerable part of Indian territory. The world's annals perhaps contain no parallel for a Prime Minister responding to aggression with pleasantness inviting the aggressor as an honoured guest to his capital for talks. But India is not Japan, and Chou En-lai's visit passed without riots or violent demonstrations. Mr. Nehru and his guest seemed for the moment to have carried the day, but the aftermath in Indo-Chinese relations cannot be said to have taken a happy turn thereby. Mr. Chou En-lai's visit has set in motion forces that have strained public confidence in Mr. Nehru to breaking point and destroyed the picture of the Prime Minister as a trustworthy defender of his country. They have also further intensified Indian hostility to China.

Unwanted visits do not promote international understanding. They only aggravate existing tensions. America and China are not comparable in their relations with Japan and India respectively. After the defeat of war, rehabilitation and freedom came to Japan through American aid and effort, whereas India is caught helplessly within the orbit of expansionism of a mighty aggressive China. President Eisenhower may have only a minority of the Japanese to reckon with, opposed to his visit, but it is a Communist-backed minority more powerfully endowed for creating riot and disturbance than the vast Indian majority that was hostile to Chou En-lai's visit to Delhi. The Indian practice of diplomacy through invitations to heads of States disregarding internal adverse atmosphere, should serve as a warning to other nations and their leaders and not as an example to be copied or imitated. There would be little room for promoting understanding while all the resources of the Japanese Government have to be

drawn upon during the President's visit for ensuring safety of his person. The feeling would be one of achievement if the mere task of restoring him back home unscathed is successfully performed.

"It should be realised that paucity of personnel would not permit more than a certain degree of economic development and expansion of facilities", remarked Sri Kamaraj at the Nilakottai Taluk Conference on Sunday. Why is there paucity of personnel after twelve years of Congress rule? The main contributory cause is undoubtedly the unpatriotic behaviour of the generality of the Congress bosses. They have failed to put the national interests above other smaller interests. If the resources of talent in the country had been vigilantly sought and cultivated and encouraged with development facilities in technical and scientific institutions, the nation's need of personnel in the various branches of the economy would have been adequately met. But Congressmen in power have treated the country as a private patrimony for the benefit of those in whom they were personally or clannishly interested. People are taxed unnecessarily to provide benefits to favourites through underhand perversions and abuses of administrative power.

The Chief Minister of Madras still indulges in the story that the Congress party wants to tax the rich and that the Swatantra Party is the friend of the wealthy. The Swatantra Party opposes strongly the hidden and indirect taxes that are increasingly imposed and which lay a heavy burden on the poor and the middle classes. The cost of living index is the best witness of the effect of Congress taxation policy. It has gone up last week by ten points in essentials like food and clothing. The Congress hangs heavily on the rich. Its only policy towards the poor is false promises and squandering of public money. —SARA.

A PUT-UP SHOW By POTHAN JOSEPH

Time stood motionless (a momentous expression) when, at Poona, the end of the A.I.C.C. meeting was reached on the third day and a vote was taken on the question of the Reorganisation Committee's Report *vis-a-vis* the Hanumanthayya's Committee Report on the claim raised by the latter body to the effect that the elective principles should be introduced into the composition of the Working Committee which is now under Presidential nomination. Can't at least one-third of the strength be left to election? Mr. Nehru during a hot debate stood fast by tradition and spoke firmly in the first two days—but when the House at last divided Mr. Nehru was found amongst the 48 that lost the day against a majority of 148. Before all members could take in the possible significance of Mr. Nehru appearing helpless in a minority, the House dispersed, only a few perceptive members of the immediate coterie dropping their jaws, wondering if Panditji "had not been let down".

As a matter of fact, there was nothing catastrophic in the session that ended technically in confusion of issues. Nevertheless, photo-prints were rushed to the newspapers depicting Pandit Nehru raising his hand against what in other circumstances would have been called the "brute majority". The Poona session did not move an inch beyond the position already reached at Sadashivnagar, so that in point of recording, the occasion did not go beyond affording an opportunity of speech-making on the international situation, the Commonwealth Conference, the 'firm' stand against China, the warmth of the P.M.'s Egyptian visit, and the appropriateness of Panditji's presence in Istanbul for the issue of a joint-communique of democratic content just a day before the round-up of the regime and the discovery of skeletons massed in the burial of past victims. Pandit Nehru was particularly sensitive about the defence of Ambassador Atal, a Kashmiri official of high rank but who proved as a diplomat not alert enough in his sense of timing. He officiously rehabilitated Mr. Atal's prestige against the disclosures of some Indian journalists who had been currently abroad in connection with the Summit Conference and the Berlin crisis.

As far as the Dhebar Committee Report went, previous proposals were bound to be swamped. The proposition that no Minister should hold office for more than two terms was totally objectionable to placemen. A daring dis-

sident meeting the difficulty of the country losing the leadership of Pandit Pant said that the latter should be deemed as replaceable through the choice of a younger man. Surely, some device could be found to solve specific problems. For instance, when John Foster Dulles had under doctor's orders to let go his office, his insatiable fondness for power had been met for a week by President Eisenhower naming him as Consulting Secretary of State, while Christian Herter took on the job. When it comes to power and patronage there is no insoluble problem, provided division of spoils is less important than the moulding of a nation's democratic future. Pandit Nehru then opposed changes and he made sharp remarks against proposals.

One argument heard in the shamiana was that the Congress President held a unique office and therefore the Working Committee should be the full panel of his nomination. Whether the President is unique and therefore entitled to be the Epitome of multiple-functions, or because of his many-facedness in authority he must be called unique is a riddle that could be treated as being something of a metaphysical issue, but then the Poona meeting itself was unique in the history of the Congress, if only because of the boosted reason that "for the first time in Congress history there will be no official motion before the All India Congress Committee". It was in the nature of a Barmecides Feast where no dish is served, though the revels of hospitality are heard far and wide.

In the absence of any official agenda, it could not be more than a repetition of Sadashivnagar; and the Executive functioned as a smudgy rubber-stamp. All the same, the conundrum about Pandit Nehru being in the minority remains unanswered. "Others abide our question, thou art free". That is all very well for Shakespeare. Or it may be taken as proof of his appellation in a recent biography: "The Unpredictable Nehru". In the mystique of hero-worship his momentary preference for the minority crowd may pass for the Lord's *Lila*—a whimsical thing above the questioning or comprehension of devout worshippers.

A secular interpretation is that it proves that minorities are safe under Nehru Rule, and that there will be no dragooning of opinion as in some of the other countries striving to be in the limelight. I wonder whether the act of Nehru grimly raising his hand would be considered by photographers as being on a par with the snapping of the pillow-throw at the Avadi session. The normal surmise is that Pandit Nehru at Poona knew that his dissent in the form of hand-raising (hoity-toity) was an innocuous gesture. Were he dead-earnest that a quota of one-third should consist of elected members, he could have taken up the time of the House for just five minutes and delivered a vehement speech which would have won a total house, or perhaps registered a majority of 148 with 48 neutrals sitting in stunned silence over the acme of a pantomime-session. A broadcast on the Prime Minister's return could have covered the occasion, since in the summing-up of Poona, it was a case of "Business Done: Nil".

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MISADVENTURES IN KERALA - IV

By M. KRISHNAN

On April 13 I received a remarkable epistle from the Game Ranger, calling on me to pay Rs. 62-24, being the taxi-fare paid on the night of April 2/3, and rent for the occupation of the 'Inspection Bungalow'—so much for the promised free accommodation and transport, and the C.C.F.'s specific assurance over the phone that I would not be asked to pay for the taxi!

This same day I was asked a question by the Game Ranger, relayed from the C.C.F.: Would I be willing to shift to the Traveller's Bungalow at Peermade, visiting the sanctuary each day in a jeep? The Game Ranger said that Peermade was an hour-and-a-half from the sanctuary by jeep. Asked if the accommodation and transport offered would be provided free (I still had the taxi bill in my pocket!), he could only say that he had no instructions in the matter; nor could he tell me if I could get vegetarian food at Peermade. There was ample accommodation at the government guest house within the sanctuary, the Edapalayam Bungalow near which the local wild life congregated; to shift 20-odd miles further away, instead of closer in, was obviously neither intelligent nor practical.

On April 14 I wrote an ultimatum, which I could post only the next day

—afternoon one cannot catch the post at Thekkady. This ultimatum was addressed to the C.C.F., with carbon copy marked to the Joint Secretary, Agriculture—this extraordinary mode of correspondence was justified by my extraordinary circumstances. True copy of the bill for Rs. 62-24 was appended to each copy of this letter (the original bill being retained as evidence)—I made this bill (which, naturally, I refused to pay) the 'cause of action'. I referred to all my previous letters and the telegram, and said that what I minded most was neither the considerable discomfort nor the monetary loss that we had suffered, but the utter lack of response to my appeals to both of them. Granted, hypothetically, that they had been preoccupied with some crisis, there had been ample time to perform their promises to me, and anyway there could be no possible justification for their hostile silence. Once I got to remote Sungam, I apprehended that I could not even have the remedy of leaving their State without very considerable loss of property. Therefore I called on the C.C.F. either to fulfil all his promises to me, specifically listed, or to assure the fulfilment of such things as could not be immediately done, or to provide me with ade-

quate transport to take us and our things to Kottayam or Madras and help us to secure our tickets back to Madras—in the latter case, I pointed out, there was no question of paying me any part of my actual expenses, and each side would cut its losses. I said I would stay on at Thekkady till April 19, and asked for an immediate reply to this letter. Subsequently I sent the C.C.F. a telegram asking for an immediate reply. I now see that this letter of mine was as much a surrender as it was an ultimatum.

Although the C.C.F. was morally bound to arrange for my departure if he chose the second of my alternatives, and this had been pointed out to him, I did not place myself at the mercy of his tenuous sense of duty, but privately booked my tickets to Madras from Madras, by the Trivandrum Express on April 22. Then I started on the Sisyphean task of packing our things in such a way that the bulk of the equipment could be sent by the Southern Roadways van to Madras, leaving us comparatively lightly laden for retreat.

On the 19th, as I was finishing my packing, I received an endorsement (to me) on a reminder to the Kerala Government, marked 'Express' and dated April 18, from the Personal Assistant to the C.C.F., which I quote below: "Copy to Sri Krishnan with reference to letter dated 14-4-60.

The Chief Conservator of Forests will try to meet you shortly. I have to inform you that I have already addressed Government for providing facilities for your stay. Without getting specific Government orders nothing can be done in the matter.

V. Sukumaran Nair
for Chief Conservator of Forests.

I thought there was neither substance nor sense in the statement that no facilities could be provided for my stay except on specific government sanction: if that were so, neither the C.C.F. nor the Joint Secretary, Agriculture, had any business to promise or assure me of anything. However, it was not that which irritated me in this epistle but something more nebulous. Then I realised what it was, I told my wife that the words "The C.C.F. will try to meet you shortly", offended my delicate sense of style—that sentence should have read, "The C.C.F. might care to meet you shortly", or, better still, "might grant you audience presently"!

At once my wife was up in arms, justifying the C.C.F. She now knew why the C.C.F. was avoiding a meeting with me, which might well resolve all difficulties—she had analysed the situa-

tion, with her infallible feminine intuition, and his stubborn silence was really due to mixed motives. I agreed—I, too, thought it was due to something mixed, to a mixture of plain and fancy boorishness, and could find no excuse for anyone who, being so much in the wrong, had not even had the manliness to apologise. That was it, said my wife, that was precisely it. Being so much in the wrong, and sensing my rancour, the C.C.F. was naturally fighting shy of meeting me or writing to me. A guilty conscience pricks—the wicked flee when no man pursueth—and so on, and so on, and so on.

No man, however experienced or strong, has any chance with his wife in closely circumscribed surroundings, such as we were in. In the open air, perhaps—but not in a lock-up. At the end of an hour I was committed to a last attempt at saving the situation, by assuring the C.C.F. that I was keen on meeting him and willing to bury the hatchet. I learnt that the C.C.F. was now camped at Peermade, and on the evening of the 19th and the morning of the 20th I spent several hours, at the Post Office next door, trying to get him out of order. So, on April 20 I sent a special messenger to Peermade with an urgent letter to the C.C.F., in which I said that as I was packing to leave on the 19th I had received a note from his P.A. informing me that he (the C.C.F.) would be trying to meet me, that I had tickets to Madras from Madras on the 22nd but was willing to cancel them, that I was really keen on completing the job on which I had come to Kerala and felt that if we met and talked things over all difficulties could be resolved, and that I would be glad if he could meet me that evening.

My messenger was back in the evening with the news that the C.C.F. was away from Peermade and so the letter had been left with his orderly and would be delivered to the C.C.F. immediately on his return, in the evening.

I learned that the C.C.F. was visiting Thekkady with a party of 17 people, the next morning, and had ordered a picnic breakfast in the boat, and later a picnic lunch on land. I watched gargantuan preparations being made for this feast. Who says that the pomp and glory of royalty is a thing of the past in democratic India? It is still there very much.

Next morning I noticed a green-turbaned Forest Guard on duty at the roadside, directly below the little hillock on which we were. He was standing idly, and everytime he heard an automobile approaching he would stiffen to

attention, only to relax and stand at ease again as he sighted the car and realised that it was not his Chief's. Then a string of 3 cars came roaring round the bend, and the Guard clicked his heels together and saluted smartly—the cars disappeared round the corner and the man slumped back to normal, eased his belt, and crossed the road to the tea-shop on the other side. Georgius Rex had arrived.

He was there, within furlongs of us, having his picnic breakfast and lunch, and late in the afternoon he left with his party. Even my wife, who had felt so sure he would call, agreed that we had only provided the C.C.F. with an opportunity to add insult to considerable injury.

"I would like to say just one thing more about the incredible behaviour of the C.C.F. Some people, who knew him and assured me that he was a 'nice man' (whatever that means), were sure that his obnoxious conduct towards me was due to the 'fact' (of which, too, they felt sure) that he had been misled by the reports of one of his deputies about me. Well, all I can say is that the people who advanced that line of defence did not realise how damaging it was to their protegee. I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that the man who will abuse his official position and powers to harass a stranger invited by him to do a difficult and highly-skilled job for him, because one of his deputies does not like the looks or tone of the invitee, is unfit to hold any public office, even that of a peon in a government department; he should be sacked at once, in the interests of a decent and honest administration.

Furthermore, this explanation is logically unsustainable. I am a total stranger to the C.C.F., Kerala, and had little truck with any of his deputies; moreover, right at the start, immediately on my arrival and before any prejudice or pique could be set in operation, I found that neither accommodation nor any of the other promised amenities (beyond the boat) had been provided for me.

Through the kindness of a young man who befriended us, we got a hand-cart and coolies from Kumily, 1-1/2 miles away, and loaded our things on to the cart. Just when we were leaving, the rain came down in torrents, and we had to stop. Our luggage was in the open cart, covered by the sectional canvas hide I had brought with me, and after an anxious hour I found that in spite of the violence of the rain not a drop of water had seeped through the canvas to damage my cameras or film. My hide had served a purpose at last in Kerala, though not as anticipated!

We trudged through the slush to Kumily, and took various buses to reach Madras next day, where the train to Madras and a less bitter life awaited us. (Concluded).

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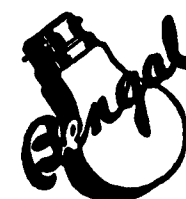
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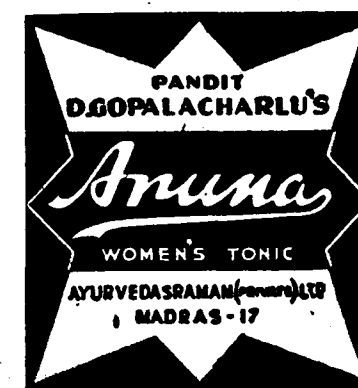
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A VISIT TO SURATGARH FARM

By V. V. RAMANA, M. P.

It had been my desire since a long time to see the much publicised Soviet-aided mechanised farm at Suratgarh. My curiosity has been further increased by the compliments paid to it by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Nikita Khrushchev during their visits.

It is said that when Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev visited India in 1955, they offered a gift of machinery for the establishment of a single compact farm of about 30,000 acres.

A place in Rajasthan near Suratgarh was selected for this purpose and was approved by the Russian experts. The extent of the land is 29,166 acres, or 48 Square miles. Of these, 23,355 acres are waste lands belonging to the Government of Rajasthan, and there was no difficulty in acquiring them. The balance has been acquired from private persons either by paying compensation or by giving them alternative lands. The soil is alluvial and the land flat. For the time being, 2,500 acres are under perennial irrigation and the rest is under non-perennial irrigation with water available from June to October. However the entire land would be under perennial irrigation with Bhakra, Rajasthan and Ganga canals. The length of the main channels is about 32 miles. The canals have been dug by the Government of Rajasthan mainly. Six tube wells have been dug but only one is successful giving 4,000 to 5,000 gallons of water per hour. Agricultural machinery worth about Rs. 80,00,000 was given, in addition to the services of four technical experts who are now working at the farm.

The layout of the farm is as follows: 22,670 acres for agricultural operations.

2,000 acres for orchards.
1,500 acres for animal husbandry.
4,500 acres for roads, buildings, channels, forest belts, etc.

The entire farm has been divided into five blocks with an average acreage of 5,000. Each block is again subdivided into units of 250 acres. Thus, there will be about 1,000 units. Each unit is being circumscribed by roads of 60 feet on two sides and 30 feet on the other two sides and is having irrigation channels. There would be three colonies at three centrally located places in order to house the workers, godowns, stores, etc., costing about Rs. 1,00,00,000. There will be a workshop near one of the colonies at a centrally located place. The total land so far brought under cultivation is 20,000 acres and the cost of reclamation per acre will be Rs. 40, excluding the charges for machinery and establishment.

The main rabi crops that are being raised are wheat, mustard taramira, gram and barley and the main kharif crops are paddy, jowar, bajra, green manure, maize, cotton and sugar-cane.

The administrative head of the farm is the general manager. Under him there are five heads of departments, an agricultural officer, technical engineer, a director of administration, accounts officer and a stores officer. Each one of them is having a host of subordinates. For example, the agricultural officer is having some farm superinten-

dents who are in charge of two or three blocks. The farm superintendent, in turn, is having senior agricultural assistants under him. The senior agricultural assistant is in charge of a block. There are junior agricultural assistants in charge of 1500 to 2000 acres under the senior agricultural assistant. The junior agricultural officer is having a number of field men who in turn are having 6 or 7 labourers under him. Elaborate is the machinery for administration in all the five branches. The Agricultural department would be having some more departments like sheep breeding and cattle breeding—one for cows and the other for buffaloes—orchards, animal husbandry and poultry.

The present strength of the personnel in the farm is about 350 permanent (technical and non-technical) besides about 500 seasonal employees.

Ultimately 25,000 acres will be brought under cultivation whose total cost of reclamation would be Rs. 10 lakhs. The total investment on buildings would be about Rs. 1,00,00,000. Flood control measures, roads and minor adjustments in irrigation would cost about Rs. 40,00,000. The cost of machinery would be about Rs. 1,00,00,000. Ultimately the capital expenditure involved would be about Rs. 2,50,00,000 which means about Rs. 1,000 per acre. When the entire land of 25,000 acres is brought under cultivation according to the programme, the annual recurring expenditure on various heads would be, Rs. 12,00,000 for permanent personnel, Rs. 8,00,000 for seasonal personnel, Rs. 12,00,000 for fuel, Rs. 2,00,000 for stores, Rs. 3,00,000 for seeds, Rs. 3,00,000 for manures and Rs. 2,00,000 for rent and water charges. This amounts to Rs. 42,00,000 (with minor variations in different heads), which means Rs. 168 per acre per annum. Depreciation on the interest on the capital investment per acre amounts to Rs. 60 per acre per annum. Thus the total annual recurring expenditure per acre would be Rs. 278.

Such is the magnitude of this central mechanised farm with its huge investment and complexities. Judging from all angles, I am sorry to state that I am thoroughly disappointed by this venture.

The Government is very clever in appointing a retired Military General as general manager of the farm. Presumably, this idea was suggested by Russian experts with a view to have regimented control over the workers of the farm. The general manager, at the conclusion of our visit, frankly expressed some of the difficulties he is experiencing. He said that in agriculture, it is impossible to work efficiently if the

normal trade union rules are applied; for, sometimes one has to work more and at other times less. If the labour rules are applied, the establishment over-head charges would increase enormously.

He further said: "Unfortunately the workers of the farm are not feeling that the farm is their own, and unless

they feel like that, there cannot be better results." But neither himself, nor our planners nor our champions of large-scale farming could realise the fact that no worker in a farm would feel that it is his own, unless the farm is owned by him. Even in countries where there is regimentation or dictatorship, efforts are still being made to

create this feeling of ownership, but in vain. So, it is clear that in large scale mechanised farming, the workers would never feel responsible and enthused and the consequence is bad results.

So, from the point of view of economy and production, the mechanised farm is not a successful venture and is undesirable.

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THE AIMS OF THE SWATANTRA PARTY

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

It is not difficult to prove how irrevocably the Congress is committed to Communism. It is enough to mention first that the policy of ceilings on land, which limit incomes in the villages for 80 per cent of the population to Rs. 60 monthly, is the beginning of the process of limiting all incomes to that level. Even if the Congress may not want it, the vote of 80 per cent of the population will compel them to straight-jacket all incomes, as inevitably as if they were doing it on principle like the Communists. If this leads to a reduction of effort, and fall in production, the consequential steps of collectivising land and establishing communes will be taken, before the Congress or the people have time to think. Secondly, it may be mentioned that the secrecy which the Prime Minister maintained for five years of Chinese occupation of 12000 square miles of Indian territory, shows his hospitality to Communism and the bias in his so-called policy of non-alignment. If public opinion has now compelled him to speak differently to the Chinese, his lack of conviction can be detected in his procrastinating attitudes. The whole policy of the Swatantra Party is to save the Congress from its drift to Communism. The approach of the party is a pragmatic one, proceeding from the economic consequences to the political causes.

(High prices reflect the economic failure of the Congress, the increase even during the last four years being 20 per cent in wholesale and 35 per cent in retail prices.) The Swatantra Party is determined to save the people from dilution of their incomes in these high proportions. The process involves, first, the reduction of taxes, and secondly, the termination of measures of a Communistic nature which are the causes of the increase in taxes. During the last four years, taxation has become an end in itself, to increase the power of the Government and drain that of those who can oppose it. Not only is the rate of direct taxation, the highest in the world but it is complicated with separate impositions for inheritance, gifts, expenditure, with the result that the rich can only survive by deceiving the Government or placating the Congress. It is however the indirect taxation which the Communists favour, that is giving the Congress the means of bleeding the whole population for its schemes. The 33 items on which excise is collected and the

hundreds on which sales taxes are paid increase the prices of the necessities, even for the poorest. The concealed nature of indirect taxation makes it the more dangerous, as the Congress can quietly increase the rate and range for promotion of its Communistic schemes. Of these, the worst are, first controls, second, State enterprises, third, increase of staff with consequential rules, interfering with what people can and should do for themselves and fourth, disturbance of private rights, frustrating initiative and investment.

In free countries, controls are wartime expedients, when supplies cannot be increased, to ration demand. In Communist countries, they are instruments of power on producers and consumers, in the interest of the ruling party. The Congress has followed Communist countries, depriving the people of abundant supplies, which the laws of supply and demand have since the war assured to all free countries. Even after food controls were given up in 1952 the Congress revived controls in 1956 to skyrocket prices, which were at the index of 86.6 in 1956 to index of 121 in 1959. All the foreign exchange, some 650 crores, would have been saved on the one hand and the income of the people would not have been reduced by high prices, if food supplies, of which the potential depends on prices, had been allowed to meet the demand without controls for industries, the controls for starting and maintaining production have so maimed them that even in 1959, which is regarded as a peak year, the increase in consumer goods was only of a meagre 3 per cent. If only the Government did not treat investors as children feckless with their money, production and employment would increase while prices and scarcities would be reduced.

State enterprises, on which the greater part of the funds of the Second Plan have been spent, are based on taxes and loans from the common people because they disengage private savings and initiative. This shift in the burdens for industrialisation is far from Socialistic, though no one seems to realise it. It is also inflationary as to prices, not because Government production is expensive and inefficient but because private savings which are not invested press on consumer goods while the loans required by the Government involve created money while savings remain idle. In respect of the inefficiency of State enterprises, it is enough

to mention that the Sindri plant employs five times as many workers as similar plants abroad which are able to land their production in this country at prices considerably below ours. The Machine Tool Factory, the pride of the government, could pay in its best year after allowing for interest on investment, a profit of only 3-1/2 per cent, while many State plants have worked at loss, none contributing anything to the current budget. Even the Railways which before nationalisation paid dividends rising to 25 per cent could credit to government as profit about 5 crores, which is less than .05 per cent. In these circumstances, the Prime Minister himself has recognised that private investment could be introduced in public enterprises to make them commercial. As far as the common people are concerned, the Swatantra Party has given an assurance that State enterprises will be limited to what private enterprise is unwilling or unable to handle. This is an assurance that the poor will not be taxed and the rich saved for the industrialisation of the country.

The Swatantra Party is against the proliferation of staff, not only because the common man has to pay taxes for it, but also because for its existence unnecessary rules and restrictions have to be imposed, which are the cause of corruption on one hand and the abortion of private enterprise on the other. The Party has confidence in the intelligent self-interest of the people, to secure their own advancement and that of the country, for which reason it would limit rules and staff to what is necessary to maintain discipline and co-ordination. Corruption is now so much the rule, that even a person of my status cannot get an electric fuse repaired without offering private payment in advance. In every department, public money is doled out to those who give a share of it to the officers who advance it. Delay has become an instrument to make everyone submit to the illegal demands of officials.

The Swatantra Party will preserve respect for private rights because that is not only the basis of society but of prosperity. The Socialistic policies of the Congress have introduced a neurotic state in everyone, making them live only for the day because no one knows what tomorrow may bring. There is even a predatory spirit because values have been destroyed in the name of Socialism and in the tradition of Communism. The Swatantra Party understands Socialism as the advancement of the interests of the common man by taking from the rich and poor what

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BHUTAN GROWS IN IMPORTANCE

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

For the strategists and statesmen in New Delhi a difficult situation is developing in the little mountain state of Bhutan; for, the clash and thunder of the cold war have reached even this far-off land.

The Bhutanese Tsongdu (Assembly) after a brief discussion on Indo-Bhutan relations, decided to address a letter to the Government of India, requesting India to correct her maps to show the border between the two countries as an international boundary and not as a provincial border. More serious than this representation is the spirit of the speeches made by some members who advocated closer ties with Tibet and revision of the Indo-Bhutanese treaty of 1949.

India's relations with Bhutan dates back to at least 1865. The extension of the border of Bhutan at the expense of Bengal and Assam in the latter part of the eighteenth century brought Bhutan into conflict with the East India Company. After a short war in 1865 peace was restored. By a treaty signed in November that year the Bhutanese government was granted a subsidy of Rs. 50,000 a year and the annexed territory was returned to India.

By an amending treaty made in 1910 the British government undertook to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan, and the Bhutan government agreed to be guided by the advice of the British government in

regard to external relations. The subsidy was increased to Rs. 1 lakh. In April 1942 it was raised to Rs. 2 lakhs.

After India became independent, the government of India concluded a fresh treaty with Bhutan on August 8, 1949. Under this treaty the government of Bhutan continues to be guided by India in regard to its external relations, and India undertook not to interfere in the internal affairs of Bhutan. The subsidy was increased to Rs. 5 lakhs a year and the government of India agreed to return to Bhutan an area of about 32 square miles in Assam.

The problems posed by the developments last year in Tibet and the influx of refugees forced Bhutan to give new thought to her relationship with the external world. Prime Minister Nehru visited Bhutan in September 1958 and discussed with the Maharaja, and his Ministers economic development plans and defence problems. After his return to New Delhi, Nehru said that if he were a Bhutanese he would be very anxious to avoid a too rapid "influx of civilization". He believed Bhutanese would, however, have to adopt themselves to it, though "not in a sudden rush."

But civilization is now coming to Bhutan in a big rush. India has agreed to build a road link between West Bengal and Bhutan at a cost of Rs. 15 crores. Bhutan will receive an additional Rs. 7 lakhs a year from India for development projects, distinct from the Rs. 5 lakhs per annum already

they can give, without the State competing with them in respect of what is within their capacities. It is this form of Socialism that has enabled free countries to establish standards for their populations which can never be reached by the brutality and godlessness of the Communists.

The Swatantra Party has already corrected the Congress which has in many directions retreated from the positions it adopted at Nagpur. It is detaching a considerable section of the Congress which is opposed to Communism. It has still to win over those who are ignorant, indifferent or apprehensive. Indifference should vanish as soon as people realise how Congress policies reduce their incomes through high taxes and prices and will destroy the cultural and material inheritance they hope to pass to their children. Appre-

hensions also have no place as Congress will be less disposed to despoil those who have the backing of a rival political party. In any case, courage, as Pericles declared, is the greatest of human qualities, which in a historical crisis for the country like the present, everyone should show if the future of their children and culture is to be safeguarded. The ignorance to be dispelled is that the Party is for the rich, when it is essentially a People's Party assuring them greater employment in an economy more fully and freely developed. The war of the Swatantra Party is on taxes, prices and laws, which limit the human spirit in the interest of the Congress Party and its ideas of the State. The Swatantra Party is bound to succeed, because economics are on its side and they have a way of revenge on politics which injure them.

available to Bhutan under the 1949 treaty. India would undertake a 4.36 crore hydro-electric project on the Jaldhaka river which forms the border between West Bengal and Bhutan for 12 miles.

India has also committed herself to giving loans of Rs. 8.5 lakhs and Rs. 15 lakhs respectively during 1959-60 and 1960-61 to enable the Bhutan government to purchase rice rendered surplus by the closure of trade with Tibet last year. India is now giving 55 high school scholarships to Bhutanese students.

In spite of all this, there is a certain heaviness in the relationship between the two countries. The presence of Chinese troops across the border and the presence of pro-Communist agents inside the country poses a serious problem for Bhutan. Closer ties with India are advocated and many Bhutanese are willing to take India's help in economic development.

But some Bhutanese would like to have more freedom in regard to their relationship with the outside world. They argue that India's guidance about foreign affairs should be advisory, not obligatory.

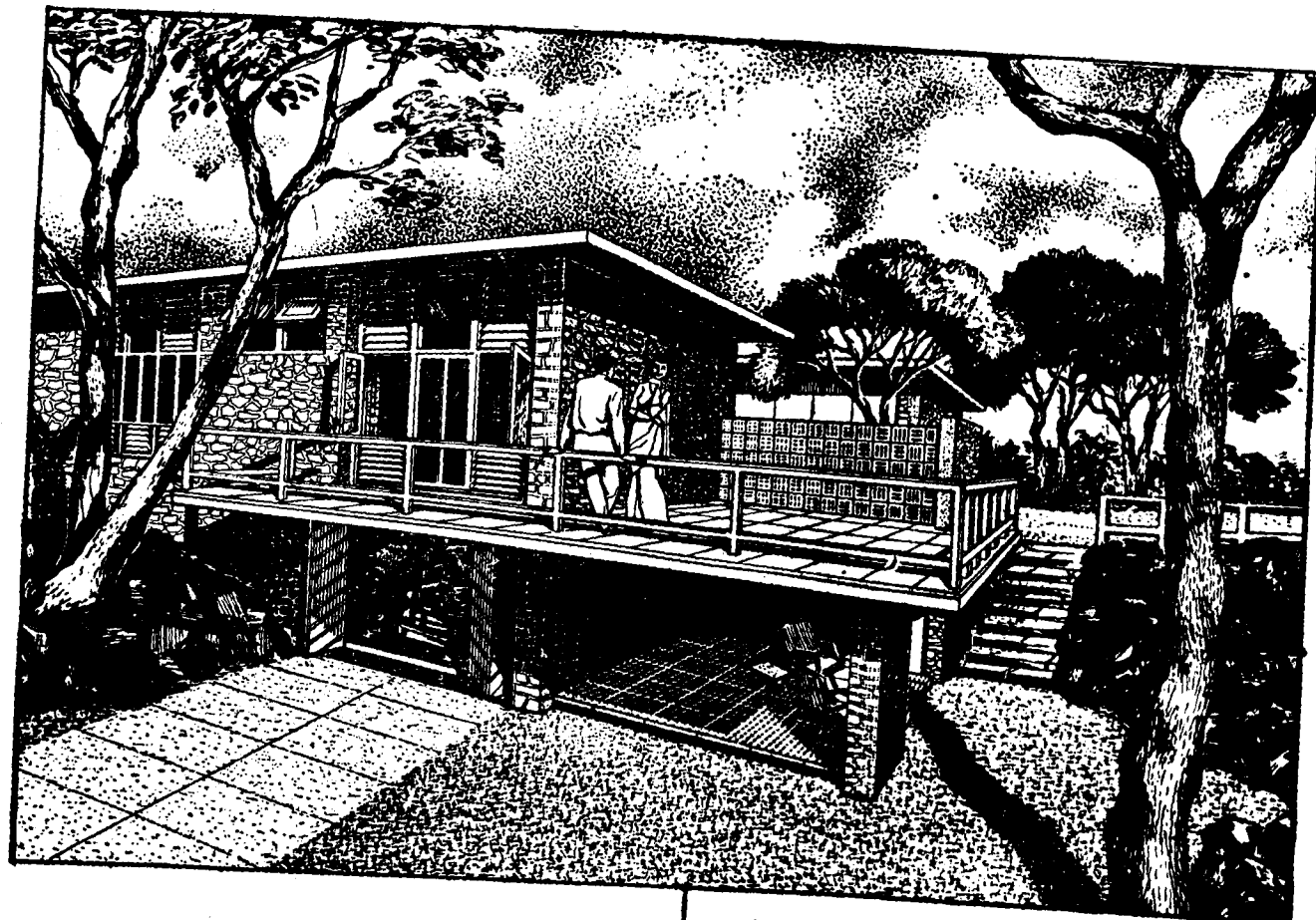
Another source of friction is trade. India has banned the import of many items of goods into Bhutan. But the Bhutanese complain that unscrupulous Indian traders are smuggling goods into Bhutan and are making huge profits at the expense of the Bhutanese. Bhutan depends on India for kerosene, petrol and sugar and blackmarketing by Indian traders is a serious menace.

Bhutan was exporting to Tibet every year 20,000 tons of rice and was importing salt, wool and silver coins from Tibet. This trade is now disrupted, and some Bhutanese advocate the resumption of this trade. Two weeks ago the price of rice per maund in Bhutan was about Rs. 15 whereas across the border the price in Tibet was Rs. 100 per maund.

Still another minor source of friction is the desire of Bhutan to increase the revenue by issuing its own postal stamps. Bhutan's request to India to sponsor its admission into the International Postal Union has not been acted upon so far by the government of India. New Delhi has also not acted on the request for British teachers to teach English language in Bhutanese schools where English and Hindi are not only compulsory languages but also the media of instruction.

It is of great importance that India should iron out these differences and keep Bhutan on India's side as a close ally.

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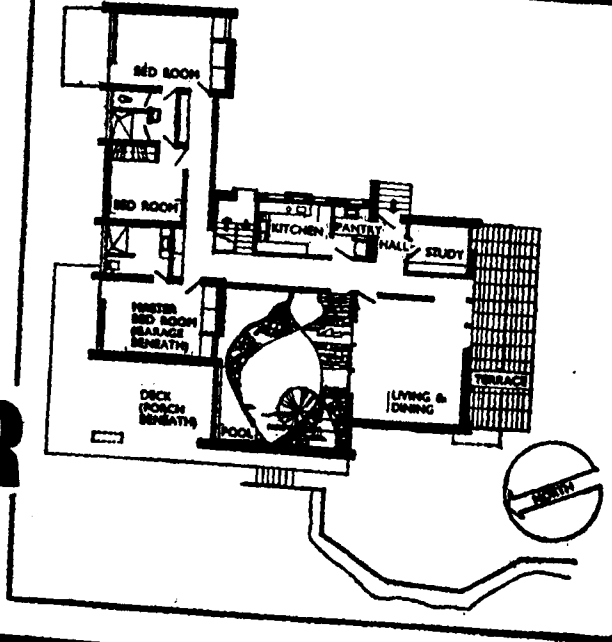
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SWARAJYA

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CAPITAL COMMENTS

PITIFUL SPECTACLE OF POLITICAL
CONFUSION

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: It is not considered to be good manners at the Capital to ask any Congress friend about Poona. It is like asking one in the West about Paris. One looks apologetic and remains glum. If, in the larger sphere of Summitry, it was a case of collapse in Paris, in the more limited context of Indian affairs, it was one of utter confusion in Poona. If the Congress President, (a much harassed man if ever there was one) claimed the A.I.C.C. session as a business-like one (as earlier he had done the Nagpur Congress), he only asked for sympathy. But he was denied it at the very hands of his party men, whether of the rank and file or at the higher rungs, for while the former cried hoarse, the latter muttered a trifle loudly. It was all pandemonium and there was general agreement that in Poona—ironically enough, in the city of the Peshwas—the Congress presented a pitiful spectacle of political confusion.

It was not merely the Congressmen who did their pilgrimage to Poona that were affected by the developments there. Nor were the total effects of the A.I.C.C. Session meant to be cleared only at the Congress counters the land over. The entire country was more than usually interested in the Congress rally in Poona as the Prime Minister was to make his first big pronouncement there since his home-return from the European tour and give a new lead to the people, in the light of the latest developments at home and abroad.

He surveyed the international scene but there was nothing new or unexpected in what he said. The world was by then far too familiar with his reactions to the ferment in Africa and to the failure of the Summit Conference. Nobody would ever grudge him the gratification that "perhaps the history of the world might have been somewhat different if India has not been there during the last few years, following her policy of peace and non-alignment". But one, everyone, was mightily interested in knowing what he proposed to do, and what he would like the country to do if, at the end of leisurely, friendly negotiations, Peking meant to flout Delhi.

Of course, he wanted us to be prepared for "all consequences that fall outside the scope of our normal life". Mr. Nehru might actually have meant

much but what he said was so beautifully vague. And it was certainly no answer to the question on China recently posed by the Congress President. The result is a sense of uncertainty, and nobody in the Congress can ever claim that an unequivocal lead was at all given to the country for meeting the Chinese challenge. We are where we have been—and at this rate we will be where we are. And for a wonder, not a single voice was raised on the Congress platform in Poona for an all-party line-up at so crucial an hour. It was rather astounding that the Congress should have relied on the ability of its Government to meet the situation without a larger understanding among the people, brought about by a realistic approach to the problem of defence and a passionate appeal to their sense of patriotism.

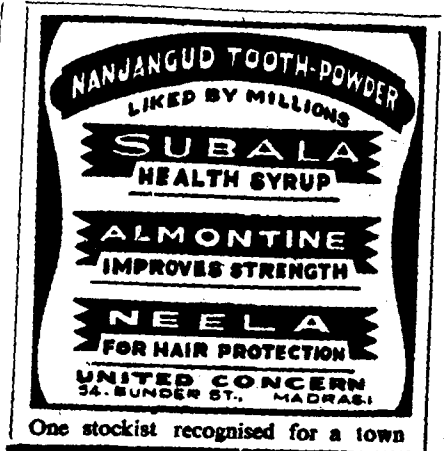
If ever there were any doubts about the disintegration of the Congress, they were set at rest by the Congressmen who assembled in Poona. That in the year of grace 1960, when, according to Mr. Nehru, the world is on the brink and according to others, India is very much more so, a party which is responsible for the administration and the security of the country, should have to wrestle with the problem of saving itself from "bogus" members, is the clearest indication of a larger deterioration. It was also revealing that Mr. Nehru made no secret of his opinion of the quality of the men who were given the Congress ticket in the past and of his open doubts about the methods of selection. He envisaged some changes though he knew not their shape at this time. And yet, it was like him, to have gone to Poona to praise the Congress with all its faults and not to bury it, to have found it very much alive though not as much kicking, and to have rated it above any other party, or all of them combined.

Members, including those of the Working Committee, talked—only talked—of re-organisation while Mr. Nehru did not understand why they talked at all of any re-organisation. Nor did he understand why there was so much of fuss about the two wings in the Congress—Parliamentary and Organisational. He would simply brush aside all this "winged" warfare. All this but showed how much at variance was his own way of thinking from that of the

party which swore by him as the supreme leader! Mr. Nehru is credited these days with an inner urge to purge the Congress; he is also at the same time credited with the desire not to precipitate any issue till the next elections. And this is just like him—the will to do something effective and the tendency or disposition not to act at once.

It was purely its own affair whether the Congress would have the same dignity as Prime Minister and Congress President or have two men, whether they would function for a year or for two consecutive years or, whether they would elect members of the Working Committee or let the President nominate them. But the way in which the A.I.C.C. went about its business, now in the open session, now in camera, and in either case amidst disorderly scenes and intemperate outbursts, with the President hardly equal to the situation and the Prime Minister so often annoyed—in the public, and at the end all lost in confusion, augured none too well for the country's leading political organisation. It was so odd to find Mr. Nehru deserted by every other member of the Working Committee over the issue of its formation by partial election. His colleagues were hardly prepared for his earlier strange vacillation and later stranger stand while he had perhaps never dreamt of such an embarrassment in any set of circumstances. But the political implications of the particular proposal apart, the incidental isolation of Mr. Nehru from his own men at the top, should be an eye-opener, as much to him as to the country. For, it is privately whispered in Congress circles, that Mr. Nehru was silently but deliberately out-manoeuvred by his colleagues in the Working Committee.

Stranger things happened in history: they may still happen in our own. Poona pointed to a party too near the precipice. It is a very thoughtful Mr. Nehru, they say, that is back in Delhi.



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AGFA IN A YEAR

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR THE HIMALAYAN FRONTIER

Sir,—The Indo-Chinese issue is essentially a territorial dispute. Irrespective of past history, China offered to accept in effect the Mac Mahon Line in the east, as desired by India, and asked India to accept the area in Ladakh, now under Chinese occupation, as Chinese and settle both issues in one package-deal. India, while accepting the former, declined the latter and insisted that China should quit Ladakh on the ground that it was Indian territory and was forcibly occupied by her.

The dispute has thus been narrowed down to the area in Ladakh currently under Chinese occupation. It is common ground that the area is practically uninhabited and that Chinese caravans between Tibet and Sinkiang traversed it for many years and that it was used for Chinese military marches also. It was not under effective Indian administration, since India did not know it when the Chinese built the roads through Ladakh and did not object to it as a trespass. It is also common ground that the area under dispute is more useful to China than to India for all practical purposes. In the circumstances India would have done well to concede it to China, if only as a friendly accommodation and compromise. It would also have been better if China acknowledged India's ownership of the disputed area, and India conceded its use to China for non-military purposes.

The question still remains if China will be content with stabilizing the present position or will encroach further into India unless contained. It is difficult to be sure. China has not expanded towards South Korea or recovered Formosa, because of American opposition. She has not expanded into South Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand because of SEATO. She has not expanded into Burma, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, but not for fear of India. Granting that China will be tempted to expand towards India, what exactly can India do? The boast that India will fight the enemy to the last citizen is too vain and puerile. India will have to retreat before the superior force of China, perhaps augmented by that of Russia, or make common cause with the SEATO and perhaps the NATO. The best that the Indian defence forces can do is to play a kind of rearguard action to delay somewhat the advance of the Chinese forces.

It would thus seem that the package-deal offered by China or a variant of it, deserves to be accepted by India be-

cause of its merits and also because of the grave consequences to her by its rejection. Practical realism should prevail when it conflicts with impotent sentiment. —P. KODANDA RAO.

MORE MONEY, LESS COMFORT

Sir,—A few days back I had to go to Coimbatore from Bangarapet. I obtained at Bangarapet one and half second class tickets after paying the exact fare at the specified counter. But when the Express steamed into the station I could not trace a second class compartment attached to the Mettupalayam series. On enquiry I learnt that there was only one general second class compartment and it was common for passengers bound for Cochin, Mettupalayam and so on till Jalarpet.

The Guard was about to give the whistle and a last minute quarrel with

Scientific Terminology

A special commission is to be appointed to evolve Scientific terminology in Hindi. This must give employment and satisfaction to quite a few Hindi scholars. But we are not so much concerned with this or with the prizes and subsidies which will be awarded to authors and publishers (much more money is wasted on less praiseworthy schemes), as with the astonishing advice of a Delhi daily that the Hindi translation scheme should take on the proportions of a countrywide movement and that other regional languages should adopt the Hindi terminology brought into being by this Hindi Commission. The other regional languages would do well to carry on with the English terms now well familiarized rather than experiment and muddle with the new coinages of the Hindi Commission. The adoption of the well-known international scientific and technical terminology will "prevent confusion and facilitate exchange of ideas among scientists in all parts of the country", not the adoption of the new terminology to be prepared in the Hindi hot-house. —C.R.

him did not gain me anything. Hence I had to be squeezed into an overcrowded third class compartment. Thus I paid second class fare and travelled by third.

Does not the responsibility to reveal the existence or non-existence of the compartments lie on the Railway Staff at the time of issuing the tickets, especially when they are specifically asked to give a particular ticket in a particular compartment to a particular destination?

Coimbatore —Y. V. VISVESWARAN.

CEILING ON DEMOCOGY

Sir,—When in the course of his recent Sankara Jayanti discourse, His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetam referred to the land ceiling legislation. It was really the outpouring of an anguished soul. Our emperors and kings in ancient India regarded themselves as *dasas* of their respective tutelar deities. It is on record that almost the first kingly act which Sivaji did was to surrender his domain to Goddess Bhavani and to take back the sword of State from the feet of the deity, vowing to rule the country in her name and as a trustee, in accordance with *dharma*. This behaviour of the royalty had a like effect on the nobility and the common people. Numerous endowments of extensive landed property were made at all levels for the temples. Out of these, offerings of *neivedya* were made to the deity in the morning, at noon and at night on a large scale. The food was purified by the very act of its being offered to God and it became transmuted into precious *prasadam* which was available to the *bhaktas* and the poor, either free or at a nominal price. Our ancestors were able to solve the difficult and ticklish problem of food for the hungry from out of the princely contributions made by the rich to temples and other religious institutions. If this is not Socialism in practice, what else is it? His Holiness observed: "Our ancestors had the firm faith that by such propitiation of Gods, there would be timely rains and consequent prosperity in the land." If, in spite of the appeal by seers like Sri Sankaracharya, the ruling party feels called upon to persist with their ill-conceived and disastrous legislation, let them return the endowments to the people who made them or their descendants. The time has come when there should be a ceiling for demogogy.

—M. G. GURUSWAMI AYYAR.
Sivaganga.

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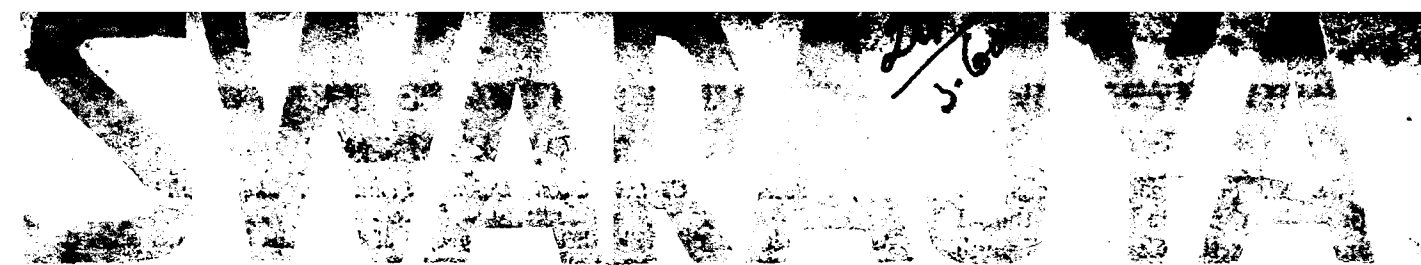
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THE GENEVA TALKS

By C RAJAGOPALACHARI

The nearer we are to an agreement which would terminate the condition of fear and wasteful expenditure on deterrence and defence against possible enemy action, the more assiduous certain elements become in devising new fears and suspicions to prevent such a termination.

A point was made by France (and it was made to appear very big) that in the last scheme put forward by Russia, inasmuch as disarmament measures were given first place above control plans, it would enable one side or the other (the suggestion was of course that Russia would do it) to deceive the world and conceal their own armaments while the opposite party would honestly fulfil the terms of the treaty and become a helpless victim. The French delegate Jules Moch asked whether Russia would agree that the treaty may provide for simultaneous and effective measures for disarmament as well as for control and that inspection teams should have power to verify the destruction of weapons and to look for hidden stockpiles. The Russian delegate at once replied affirmatively and declared that his Government would agree to this simultaneous process of disarmament and control measures. There is nothing now to prevent a diligent drive towards complete understanding. But humanity's misfortune may bring up some totally unacceptable new points of suspicion.

The fundamental evil is that whatever Russia may agree to,

there remains in the Western mind a permanent fear of being deceived, and agreement is put off. As I have often said, the mischief arises out of the declared a-moral creed of the Communists. It was an unlucky day for the world the Communists gave up God who linked men together. We must all—the uninvolved peoples of the world specially—pray for a spirit of mutual trust to replace this unfortunate frame of mind. The cause at our heart is not

• The principle underlying Mr. Gaitskill's plea that all political parties should be compelled to publish their accounts and that companies should not be allowed to spend shareholders' money on political objects deserves most cordial approval on all hands. The gifts of shareholders' money to the bosses of a party in power in a so-called welfare state holding the strings of all economic and industrial activity in the country are not really gifts. They are blackmail pure and simple both in theory and in practice.

The matter has become a disgusting scandal. If only we could record the muffled talks in companies' offices by some electric gadget, we could see how greatly disgusted the people who give are over the efforts of the ruling party even two years before the coming elections.

—C.R.

the strengthening or weakening of one side or the other but saving mankind from destruction, to the brink of which two Great Powers have taken the world in their pride of technological advance and their mutual fears.

While statesmen work for peace at Geneva or elsewhere and appear almost to have reached agreement, there are certain groups, may be, actuated by the vested interests created by the large nuclear war industry, whose honest but suspicious minds work in the opposite direction. It seems as if this treaty over nuclear armaments is almost as difficult as war itself and the chances of success as uncertain in the one case as in the other. All this has been brought about by a fatal chain of causes and effects dating from nuclear research. While a treaty to do away with nuclear weapons is in progress, attempts are being made in the direction of a greater distribution of points of vulnerability, error and accident, almost as if to invite disaster even before the climax is reached in its due course. No more dangerous policy can be conceived than this so-called nuclear plan of widespread vigilance.

It was an unfortunate day when science lifted the curtain of fundamental matter and trespassed into the green-room of creation. It seems as if outraged Nature is having her revenge. Knowledge must go into penitence and humble contrition and pray for forgiveness.

HELP THROUGH OPPOSITION

Sri C. Subramaniam tells me through a public speech that I am helping the Congress through my opposition. This is not a discovery, at any rate for me. All this was meant when I said that an opposition is necessary for the ruling party in a parliamentary democracy. The first results of a real opposition party are a greater keenness in party work and more diligent attention to all that ensures for party advantage instead of a total and lazy reliance on government influence and the advantages derived therefrom. I expect yet more substantial and really national results. I hope for a better sense of right and wrong to be induced in the ruling party and not merely greater activity by way of touring and talking and making promises to a gullible public. The natural dynamics of parliamentary rule requires a good strong opposition, two parties properly balanced against one another. The important thing to be demonstrated to public satisfaction by the ruling party is that it does not utilise its position in government for party purposes and is fighting fair. I am waiting for this. May be I have to wait long.

Monopoly is bad and competition is good not only in political work but in all work. Rare people throw their hearts into their allotted tasks whether there be any goading or not. But ordinarily, competition works a miracle. What Sri Subramaniam has seen in the work of the Congressmen for their party on account of the opposition of the Swatantra Party is only an instance of the general rule. Competition is good in all the activities that go to make national wealth. That is why the Swatantra Party opposes State management which ends almost always in ill-managed monopolistic production. The magic of ownership and competition are the psychological whips that do what physical compulsion is said to produce in Communist polity.—C.R.

THE SITUATION IN PUNJAB

By DARA SINGH

Secretary, Central Legal Defence Committee, Chandigarh

As a result of the talks between the Akali leaders and the Central Government in 1958, a scheme commonly known as 'Regional Formula' was evolved to provide a solution to the Punjab problem. Under the formula Punjab was declared a bilingual State comprising of two well-defined and demarcated zones, known as the Punjabi region and the Hindi region. In the Punjabi region Punjabi in Gurmukhi script was to be the official language upto the district level and in the Hindi region Hindi was to be the official language upto the district level. As regards the medium of instructions the 'Sachar Formula' and the 'Pepsu Formula' were allowed to stand and operate until an agreed solution in that behalf was found. Two regional committees, the Hindi region committee and the Punjabi region committee, were constituted. These were to consist of the M.L.As of the respective regions. These committees were entrusted with the task of dealing with certain specified subjects, 13 in number, like education, health and development. It was provided that the recommendations of the regional committees in regard to the transferred subjects would be binding on the legislature and in case of difference of opinion the matter would be referred to the Governor whose decision would be final.

An order incorporating all this was issued by the President of India under Article 371 of the Constitution.

But little attempt was made to implement this formula. Though the regional committees came into being and met several times, yet the spirit of working the formula was more or less lacking. The question of the medium of instruction remained a subject of controversy. The regional formula thus, for all practical purposes, came to be a dead letter.

The non-implementation of the regional formula led to the revival of the demand for the creation of a Punjabi-speaking State as well as Hariayana Prant. The people of the Hariayana Prant carried on a campaign against the compulsory teaching of Punjabi in the Hariayana Prant. The Hindi regional committee recently passed a resolution that the compulsory teaching of Punjabi in the Hindi region must go. This attitude on the part of the people of Hariayana meant a severe blow to the bilingual character of the State of Punjab. Of late there has been a growing demand on the part of the

people of Hariayana for the creation of the State of Greater Delhi, or Hariayana Prant, consisting of Karnal, Hissar, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Mohindergarh and part of the Ambala district of Punjab, the Delhi territory and the Agra and Meerut divisions of U.P. The people in the Punjabi Zone raised their voice for the creation of a Punjabi-speaking State. The Arya Samajists and the Jan Sanghites of the Punjabi region not only denied Punjabi as their mother-tongue and its script but also opposed the demand for the Punjabi-speaking State. The Punjab Government, led by Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon and the Punjab Pradesh Congress thought of opposing this demand. Sometime back Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, in his speech at Simla, advocated the merger of Himachal Pradesh with Punjab. This view he has repeated more than once. Sardar Dara Singh, the Pradesh Congress President, mooted the proposal of the merger of Rajasthan with Punjab. At the same time, the Congress leaders have been denouncing the demand for the Punjabi-speaking State as communal, parochial, undemocratic, anti-national and so on.

The Shiromani Akali Dal, a premier organisation of the Sikhs and a protagonist of the demand for the Punjabi-speaking State, held a convention at Amritsar on 22nd May, 1960. This convention was presided over by Pandit Sunder Lal of the Peace Council and inaugurated by Dr. S. D. Kitchlew. It was attended amongst others by leaders from Hariayana and also from Himachal Pradesh. The convention unanimously adopted a resolution urging the creation of a Punjabi-speaking State. It was decided to observe hartal on 8th June 1960 throughout the Punjab and to take out a procession in Delhi on 12th June, in support of the cause of the Punjabi-speaking State.

At the convention and afterwards, it was made absolutely clear that the campaign for the creating of the Punjabi-speaking State would be constitutional, peaceful and non-violent, even in the face of the gravest provocation. The protagonists of the Punjabi-speaking State were warned over and over again to be peaceful and non-violent in word and action. The Akali Dal had yet no idea nor any plans to launch a movement or a *marcha* for the

(Continued on page 14)

BEING COCKSURE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

At a Nainital function, Governor V. V. Giri told the fourteenth session of the U.P. Working Journalists Conference that the emergence of co-operative newspapers was "a clear indication that our country is on its way to the establishment of a Socialist State and Co-operative Commonwealth." On the same day the Indian Federation of Working Journalists decided to observe a National Week from October 23 to 29 for celebrating the tenth foundation-year of the Federation. The Committee also decided to request the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, to inaugurate the celebrations in Bombay and to hold functions "on a grand scale" in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and Madras during the National Week. An international seminar on journalism will be held in Bombay as a part of the programme for the celebrations. A Solidarity Day will also be observed in co-operation with the other employees in the newspaper industry.

The Senior Vice-President of the Committee announced that "the aim of the Federation was to have a co-operative newspaper in each State." The aim of the Federation is oversimplified by the espousal of an aspiring resolution when in terms of the trade-union movement itself, the effort so far represents the creation of a negotiating body with auxiliaries in different States to fight for the betterment of members in the profession who on the Rajadhyaksha Inquiry, were found to be an underpaid and over-exploited rabble, who, in the build-up of the "newspaper industry", were functioning as factory-hands without security and sharing very little in the profits of proprietorship as revealed in the course of evidence. Disclosures alerted public sympathy and Indian journalists began to see an end of serfdom and of whimsical proprietorship by demands for staff-councils in order to foster discipline amongst owners as well. Proposals have not yet been welcomed as substantial. Adjudication-procedure for victims had been framed for expeditious disposal of grievances, but experience has acquainted workers with the havoc of dilatoriness; and Trade Union pioneers like Governor Giri have counselled journalists about the snake-pit possibilities of well-intentioned favours in comparison with the advantages of direct negotiations under the prestige and protection of Union representatives sitting across the table in bargains for terms. Triennial truce-formulas give no stability in partnership in an inflationary economy for the employees of the 'newspaper industry'.

If the captains of "the newspaper industry" consolidate their forces, the organization of workers has to strengthen itself. The ideology of voluntary co-operative effort may have its appeal in various fields of national reconstruction, but the working journalist with his minimal margin of energy and material resources at the present time, should stop, look and listen.

At a meeting of journalists recently addressed by the Union Finance Minister the fond hope of "co-operative journals" built on the joint endeavour of workers protected by State-credit for the initial capital so indispensable before the "take-off" stage of any paper, was mentioned by a reporter. Mr. Morarji Desai, making no bones about it, declared that the worth of any venture would have to be tested by the speed with which the credit and capital expected for the Dream State would be returned by the gallant co-operatives who wish to publish journals outside the frame-work of Current Economy. It is true that the Prime Minister is an enthusiast about the co-operative principle, especially in his fear of vested interests capturing the press and Mr. Krishna Menon's bogey about "Jute-Ministers" throttling the Socialistic pattern. There would be no dearth of greetings during "Solidarity Week on a grand scale" next October, but I have melancholy misgivings. The Trade Union tempo of the fight should be lost if diversionary steps are taken beyond the traditional capacity of people to keep up with innovations. Or else the soft impeachment of "Utopia" is likely to be heard in defence of slower adjustments.

The Wage Board and other ancillary reliefs established that something had to be done for the noblest of professions but the sorriest of trades. The solace of pioneers that journalism is a mission and that as fighters of freedom they should glory in sacrifice ceased to have appeal when the owners were organizing to maximise their savings. Swadeshi and boycott of Lancashire-cloth had their place as a species of political pressure, but workers had already in the twenties rubbed their eyes at the sight of textile millionaires amassing wealth by the sequestration of the market. Let the country be liberated: the late Sir Ashutosh Chaudhary was responsible for the dictum: "A subject-country has no politics". The working classes were, however, awake in most European countries, and laws against sweated labour were demanded side by side with claims of participation in the

gains of toil. The master-and-servant relationship was fast replacing the structure of feudalistic economy, but the former thesis could not endure either, since the novelty of a conflict between Capital and Labour throughout the world was evolved into the formulas of Marxian doctrine in diverse degrees of gradualism towards collective, if regimented, processes, and the beautiful message of equitable distribution. The League of Nations was devised as political machinery for the preservation of peace, but the International Labour Office also came into existence, and its trends have fostered beneficial legislation without formal impairment of sovereignty. Nevertheless, moral influence began to operate.

Trade Union leadership, mostly in the red, has less staying power than the adversary. I would rather be a fool than a knave because my folly injures only myself and I dread hurting others. And in a recent trial of strength, I noticed immaturity on the workers' side in journalism whilst leadership proved itself not above intimidation, disruptiveness and enticement. Solidarity is lacking when fluidity is common experience. Gnawing at the edges of an established economy would be a hard trial for infant journalism and indigent journalists. I wonder if the statement can be sustained that "the aim of the Federation is to have a co-operative newspaper in each State."

I remember that the earlier purpose of the Muslim League had been the safeguarding of Muslim minority-interests. Pakistan had been projected as a last resort, but the Lahore Resolution converted it into an article of faith, irretrievable. The Sikhs in their plea for security whispered Khalistan, but it soon was floated as the end and aim of a defensive movement. Nothing short of a State! Resolutions thus solidify into creeds when ideology puts us off our guard in the exercise of weapons already in hand. A little more realism seems seasonable all round. Or what was begun in missionary zeal might fuse up in visionary zest.

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SIDELIGHTS ::

There are welcome indications that recently the British Government have realised that the atomic energy industry is "far from having justified its first promise. The cost of nuclear produced electricity remains very high and is still far from being competitive with power produced by orthodox means."

There is much to learn from this for the Government of India who are intending to plan for gigantic expenditure on one or more nuclear reactors. It is crazy to let prudence be overtaken by a snobbish desire to imitate progress or even to let trained personnel seize the reins of expenditure.

Referring to the commutation by the President of the death sentence on the notorious dacoit Tahsildar Singh, the writer of a letter to the *Times of India* who signs himself as *Lover of Justice*, asks: "May one, with all respect and humility, enquire on what principles the order of the President is based?" He says, further:

"It is true that the Constitution gives the President unfettered discretion to grant pardon or reprieve or to commute any sentence, but is it not an elementary principle of law that the wider and more absolute the power the greater should be the care taken in exercising it? Will the President or his advisers state for the edification of the mere citizen what were the considerations underlying the order, and what were the extenuating circumstances in the series of cold-blooded murders perpetrated by the trigger-happy dacoit? Every year scores of persons are sentenced to death for murder and are hanged. Will the President be prepared to exercise the same clemency in all those cases? If so, what will happen to the provisions of law regarding the death penalty?"

The supposition that the President has unfettered discretion to grant a pardon or commute a sentence is common but erroneous.

Rajaji when he was the Governor-General had occasion to go into this question and he tells me that the ultimate authority to grant or deny a pardon is the Home Minister. The President is consulted, and his recommendation is respectfully considered, but in the event of a difference of opinion between the President and the Home Ministry representing the Government, it is the view of the Government that prevails. It is therefore the Government officially, and not the President personally that is responsible for whatever effect the mercy shown to the dacoits in supersession of the judgment of the High Court may have on the law and order situation in Madhya Pradesh. There is room for doubt whether the Home Ministry, in being carried away by emotional response or by the political advantages of accord for Acharya Vinoba Bhave's "peace mission", gave proper thought to the responsibility of the Government for protection of the community victimised by the dacoits. Some idea of the character and extent of this victimisation may be gleaned from this news item taken from the *Hindustan Times*:

AGRA, June. 11.—Three hundred and thirty-six persons were killed in Agra district by the members of Roopa gang after the liquidation of Man Singh, according to police sources here.

Discounting the plea that the dacoits had killed only informers and police agents in their campaign of vendetta, the police held that of the large number of killed only 38 were *mukhbirs* (informers).

Describing the ferocious nature of the gang, the police pointed out that four Ahirs who had identified Man Singh's son, Tehsildar Singh, in the jail were murdered, together with seven of their supporters in their hamlet. In this gruesome killing, Lukka was also present.

The police have also repudiated the charge that Lukka became an outlaw because of their oppression.

Lukka, they say, committed theft from the field of another villager and was fined Rs. 25 by the Panchayat. Instead of paying the fine, he set fire to his stock of grain and later joined with Man Singh and murdered some members of his family.

Lukka returned to his village in 1957, and killed six more persons of the same family. Only recently, he collected Rs. 10,000 from his village. His eldest son had recently constructed a large house in Bhind and purchased 70 bighas of cultivable land.

The police also seriously doubted any change of heart among the dacoits.

A characteristic feature of the proposed probe into corruption announced last week by the Congress President is the care taken to make the ruling party master of the situation in the crucial stages of the proceedings. There will be no enquiry into any charge of misuse of power until the Congress President has satisfied himself that there is a *prima facie* case for enquiry. How will he satisfy himself about this? We are told that he will consult the Prime Minister at the Centre and the Chief Ministers of the States. If, for example, charges of misuse of power come from Punjab, the Congress President will consult the Chief Minister of that State, already enjoying a none too savoury reputation as a result of transactions denounced in High Court judgments. Is it likely that from such a source authentic moral assessments can ever emanate for fair decision as to whether in a particular case there is *prima facie* justification for enquiry? Mr. Nehru himself as Prime Minister is not trusted for dispassionate devotion to justice where his friends are concerned. There are counterparts of Kairon in the Congress hierarchies of other States whose misdeeds have somehow not come into the same sort of blazing publicity.

Then much is made of the new rule about the disclosure of assets annually by Congress Ministers and legislators and the free access

(Continued on page 14)

INDIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

By J. VIJAYATUNGA

The issue of the treatment of Indians in South Africa raised by India in the General Assembly on 2nd June 1949 under Articles 10 and 14 of the Charter, does not seem to diminish in magnitude notwithstanding the declaration of human rights by the U.N.

South Africa is one of the signatories of the U.N. Charter. But its application and interpretation of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 is a direct violation of the U.N. Charter. The Act legalises segregation and racial discrimination. This legislation discriminated in the most senseless fashion against people of Indian origin in South Africa in the matter of franchise, emigration, property rights, trade, marriage, travel and employment in public services.

At this juncture it may be useful to recall how Indians first went to South Africa. The South African colonies were, at that time, still governed from Whitehall. When slavery was abolished there was a scarcity of labour on the South African sugar plantations. The Government of Natal negotiated with the Indian Government for recruiting Indian labour for the South African plantations, and in 1860, on the basis of an agreement between the Government of Natal and the Government of India, the first batch of Indian labourers went to South Africa. At the time the British Government of Natal declared: "There shall not be in the eye of the law, any distinction of colour, origin, language or creed, but the protection of law in letter and substance shall be extended impartially to all alike." But before long South African whites began raising the racial issue and at the turn of the century there was a demand that Indian emigration be stopped. The plantations, however, kept on insisting for more Indian labourers. As the issue was becoming complicated the Natal Government set up a Commission which reported that Indian labour was essential for certain things but that the Indian "was not desirable in the colony other than as a labourer."

In 1910, the Government of India stopped emigration of Indian labour to those countries where Indians were politically discriminated against. The same year the Union of South Africa also came into existence. The condition of Indians in the provinces comprising the Union—Natal, Cape Colony, Transvaal and the Orange Free State—

became humiliating, if not intolerable, and Indians were forced to offer organised resistance.

This unhappy situation continued till 1927 when the Government of India and that of South Africa came to an agreement and jointly issued a communique to the following effect:

Both Governments reaffirm their recognition of the right of South Africa to use all just and legitimate means for the maintenance of Western standards of life.

The Union Government recognises that Indians domiciled in the Union who are prepared to conform to Western standards of life should be enabled to do so.

For those Indians in the Union who may desire to avail themselves of it, the Union Government will organise a scheme of assisted emigration to India or other countries where Western standards were not required.

Atomic Reactors

We have been told that atomic energy will be used to generate power in India and that an installation estimated to cost over Rs. 50 crores is projected in the next plan. Of course this will bring us into the "modern" line, cost what it may!

One scientist is reported to have explained the position as follows:

"With 10 dollars worth of coal in a 10 dollar stove you can get 10 dollars worth of heat. With 10 dollars worth of uranium, you can get 10,000 dollars worth of heat, but you need a stove that will cost 100,000 dollars. With 10 dollars worth of 'heavy water' you can get 100,000 worth of heat, but the stove will cost you 10 million dollars."

This was put in popular form to explain the cost situation in the utilisation of atomic energy. But the Government of India's resources are so unlimited (a borrower's source is the lender's assets which are practically unlimited) that these considerations of cost do not apply. —C.R.

Naturally most of the Indians who had been there for two to three generations were not keen on migrating. The Cape Town Agreement, however, eased the tension between the races to some extent. In 1932 both Governments reaffirmed the validity of the Agreement and hoped for continued co-operation one from the other.

When India was forced to present her case regarding settlers of Indian origin in South Africa before the U.N. in 1946 India pointed out that the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act was a unilateral rejection of the 1927 agreement and the joint statement of 1932. The South African Government replied that neither the agreement nor the joint statement constituted a treaty obligation. In the words of F.M. Smuts the "so-called agreement was only an honourable and amicable understanding rather than a binding treaty." The Indian delegate rejoined that "an honourable and amicable understanding was as binding upon honourable nations as a treaty." The Indian delegate also recalled the telegram sent by the Governor-General of South Africa to the Governor-General of India on 16 February 1927:

My Ministers desire me to inform your Excellency that they have formally approved of an agreement which has been reached between our representatives and the representatives of the Government of India at the conference which was recently held in Cape Town. They feel assured that that agreement, should it also be ratified by your Government, will be the means of establishing friendly co-operation and lasting goodwill between South Africa and India.

India's contention was that apart from the international aspect under the terms of the U.N. Charter which has as its aim the promotion of "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom," South Africa's attitude towards the Indian settlers was indefensible both on moral and political grounds.

The Union Government countered that the terms "human rights" and "fundamental freedom" were not clearly elaborated and that therefore signatories to the Charter were not bound by them.

To this the Indian delegate replied:

Do the members present here have any doubt as to what human rights and fundamental freedoms for, sex, language or religion mean? And

have they any doubt that discrimination between race and race, segregation of one race as an inferior race, violates the principles of the Charter?

India had the support of the Mexican delegate who said that by signing the Charter members had agreed to eradicate racial discrimination. The Mexican delegate considered it the duty of the Assembly to name a member which had erred in this respect.

India's case was that this unequal contest between justice and racial arrogance would not be confined to South Africa but would have repercussions elsewhere. It was a racial issue.

On 13 July 1946 India severed trade relations with South Africa and recalled its High Commissioner.

South Africa invoked Article 2(7) of the Charter which enjoins the U.N. not to intervene in matters "which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State."

South Africa maintained that no act of aggression or threat of such act was involved. South Africa further indicated that racial and minority problems existed in other countries as well and that if the Union were to impose its authority upon those countries the Governments concerned would not be able to remain members of the Union. Finally, the Union Government demanded that a ruling should be sought from the International Court of Justice. Though this proposal had some support the General Assembly rejected it.

While admitting that Indian settlers in South Africa were nationals of the country the Indian delegate emphasised the fact that their citizenship was a sham. They enjoyed no rights. Though they paid taxes, they were not represented either in municipalities or in

Parliament. In the last analysis India could not surrender her responsibility for Indian settlers in South Africa who had originally left India under Government assurances. Negotiations and agreements between the two Governments substantiated this fact.

As regards the claim of domestic jurisdiction India argued that primarily it was a moral and political issue. The issue of domestic jurisdiction had narrowed down in all countries, which were signatories of the U.N. Charter. It was for the U.N. to discriminate between what was essentially domestic and an issue whose international aspect brought it within the purview of the Charter. India did not think it proper that the International Court of Justice should be involved in a purely political issue.

The South African issue as it relates to Indian settlers remains undecided. The general *apartheid* policy of South Africa was, however, the subject of a motion in September 1952 by 13 Arab-Asian States which included India. Their memorandum drew attention to the political aspects of *apartheid* which might endanger international peace and security besides negating the declaration of human rights. The memorandum urged that the General Assembly should take serious notice of the problem in "order to prevent an already dangerous situation from deteriorating further and to bring about a settlement in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter."

Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit who led the Indian delegation to the 1952 sessions underlined the international implications of *apartheid* resulting from the violations of the Charter as it applied

to human rights. In her view the whole African continent was imperilled by South Africa's policy and she urged the U.N. to act without delay. On behalf of India she offered every assistance to the South African Government to enable it to solve the problem on a humanitarian and rational basis of mutual toleration among all racial groups. The General Assembly adopted a resolution establishing a Commission for the study of South Africa's racial policy. The report of the Commission which was submitted on October 13, 1953 was as follows:

It is neither by chance, nor owing only to the efforts of a few delegates with conviction and determination that the Charter refers to fundamental human rights, and to the part to be played by the Organization in safeguarding them, with a persistent emphasis otherwise displayed only in its references to collective measures in the face of aggression. These rights are mentioned in the Preamble, in Article I of Chapter I which enumerates Purposes and in Articles 13, 55, 62, 68 and 76. Nor is it an accident that the need for collective action to ensure respect for the dignity of the human person and for the fundamental freedoms found a place in all the major declarations made on important occasions from the outbreak of war until the promulgation of the San Francisco Charter: in the Atlantic Charter of 14 August 1941, in the Teheran Declaration of 1 December 1943, in which the United States, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics declared that they would seek the co-operation and active participation of peoples in "the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance", and again in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals..... "The truth is that the peoples of the world were inspired by a profound conviction that whenever machinery was devised to ensure collective security or international co-operation, its fundamental and ultimate goal had to be the dignity of man, if it was to maintain peace, function effectively, and answer the hopes of mankind."

Needless to say this is the policy that India has consistently advocated and followed in her relations with other countries.

The U.N. Commission condemned racial discrimination and *apartheid* and underlined the threat to internal peace and international security by the continuance of *apartheid* and race discrimination.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

OLD PROBLEMS CALLING FOR NEW LIGHT

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The place has much cooled down after weeks of gruelling heat and rising dust, which is something to be deeply thankful for, but there has yet been no change in the political climate. It is as stuffy and sweltering as ever. The Akalis are still on the rampage. They are in no mood to retrace their steps from the paths which had only led them to jails and hide-outs. Nor has wisdom dawned on them that to achieve their objective they should rely on popular sympathy and not on any kind of communal frenzy. Their demand for the Punjabi Suba which must necessarily ensure Sikh solidarity as well as evoke non-Sikh goodwill, stands bereft of both, because of the inherent weakness of the case and intemperate leadership. The Akali cause, as that of the Andhras and the Maharashtrians, was not integrated with the philosophy of a sub-national movement: it was essentially communal. For the rest, Master Tara Singh seemed to have taken Mr. Jinnah for his model, a trifle crudely, without any of his political astuteness or the adventitious aid of a third party actively interested in creating dissensions and fomenting strife internally, for its own advantage.

Whatever sympathy others had for him when the Punjab Government resorted to repression, was lost as a result of the ugly Akali demonstrations in the Capital last week. Threats to repeat them only tended to justify the measures as well as strengthen the hands of the doughty Chief Minister of the Punjab. Any help that Master Tara Singh might yet receive from the Communist Party or the PSP would be of little avail, because of the taint of rank political opportunism.

This is but one side of the picture. The answer to Akali folly is not governmental unwisdom. The feeling is growing here that the problem should not be treated as one of mere law and order and that it should not be left to the Punjab Ministry and its puissant chief and that the Centre should intervene. In other words, the Prime Minister should tackle Master Tara Singh. This is much more important a matter than that of Dandakaranya which has so much engaged the Prime Minister's attention during the last few days. It is no use harping on the Sikh leader's unreasonableness and leaving him disgruntled. No statesman can ask for any credit for getting on with extremely

reasonable persons. Statesmanship, it is said, lies in one's capacity to get on with unreasonable people. It should not be beyond Mr. Nehru to restore Master Tara Singh to freedom and peace to Punjab. The Akali leader should put his Suba in cold storage at least till India is free from bigger threats and troubles. He is an Indian first and a Punjabi next and this is the time for first things first.

Having for long maintained that it was no use thinking in terms of a permanent tribunal to go into corruption charges on what are generally no more than sweeping generalisations, the Congress Working Committee at last

persuaded itself to do something about it, lest its reluctance or tardiness to undertake, or assist in, any inquiry, should be variously interpreted as indeed it was. It is now left to the Congress President to take cognisance of complaints 'henceforth' and to set up a permanent machinery for the probe. With an air of triumph he told a Press conference in Delhi that Ministers and other Congress leaders would now be required to declare their income and expenditure to him annually. It means that these dignitaries will show their hands to the President who like the palmist will read them, for such conclusions as he may arrive at or steps he may suggest, for establishing their cleanness. If any are found soiled, the cases will be further scrutinised and examined by the panel to be nominated.

It is too early to say anything about the efficiency of the proposed measure except that one may



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surmise that Mr. Sanjiva Reddy's own hands will be full, with ever so many waiting for some kind of clearance certificate. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy may also consider the advisability of political parties, let alone individual politicians, declaring their assets as well as income and expenditure annually. The Congress should voluntarily give a lead in

the matter, so that one may know where the party fund comes from and how it is operated.

Talking of the corruption probe, it may well be mentioned that far from having lapsed into utter silence, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh was supposed to have given information about a couple of cases to the Prime Minister, for what-

ever he might like to do in the matter. This sampling out may have its merit but is not really substantial when so much was said about so many and so often—even by implication. The public should know at least something more about the cases under review, instead of being left guessing all along the line.

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SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INDUSTRY 'THE INDIAN SCENE'

Despite occasional murmurs from true Gandhian adherents, regarding the wisdom of concentrating on industrial development on the pattern of the more advanced Western countries, it is now the accepted Government policy that living standards can be raised in the main by the establishment of large scale heavy industry. It seems too late in the day to go back on this proposition, even though there are a few instances of countries even in the West that have, wisely not gone in for all-out industrialisation.

Industrial development is not a matter of running plants and maintaining them with skilled operatives. Science and technology are not static and industry in the West is all the time benefiting by the stimulus of advances in these fields. In fact it is ready to catch up with even revolutionary changes. Scores of examples can be given of how one product of industry, which has held the field for some years, has given way to an entirely new one. For example, the present anti-Malarial, Paludrine, is the successor to many others. It is not as if the raw materials and processes themselves obtain for all time. In face of competition and other factors violent changes take place. The development of ARDYL fibre as a substitute for natural textile fibres is a notable instance.

It would be worthwhile for us to examine briefly the motive force for such advances in industry. The course of development in the West has been a continual and evolutionary process, based on the ancient truism of necessity being the mother of invention. Broadly speaking, there are three distinct sources that supply the sustenance. Firstly, the big industrial cartels themselves make generous provision for technical research. I.C.I., for example, spend annually more than ten million pounds sterling on technical research. Team work is the essence and hundreds of qualified technicians are engaged all the time. A problem is broken down to various possible lines of approach by competent directors of research and all these are attacked simultaneously. In the face of all this, progress is phenomenal and the solution is reached quickly. Secondly, there are the various research institutes for particular industries financed and kept going by the firms pursuing the particular industry, often on the basis of a cess. These deal with problems of common concern. Last but not least, the universities, learned institutions and eminent scientists con-

tribute immeasurably to the growth of fundamental knowledge. While knowledge is pursued for its own sake, with no thought of gain or commercial exploitation of outstanding discoveries, industry is ever watchful to put it to practical use, often to the immense benefit of mankind. One may cite the example of penicillin.

It is therefore clear, to ensure sustained progress, we must pay proper attention to the concomitant aids to full growth. One would like to know if any serious thought has been devoted to this aspect. In the case of the various industries that are being set up, is there adequate provision for developmental work? As regards provision for general technical research that can be made available to industry, with parrot like repetition, we are asked to pin our faith in the National Laboratories. These have been functioning for the past ten years or so and one would like to know precisely what the aims are. Is it their function to establish industries from indigenous raw materials? Or is it the solution of technical problems that may be referred by industry to them? While it is true that discoveries are not an everyday occurrence, one would like to know whether there have been any substantial results so far? Have these Institutions potentialities for the future, as a result of a competent review by technicians and scientists of international standing in the particular fields, of the trends of thought so far pursued in these Laboratories? Of course there is the usual plethora of reports from these Institutions. It is reported from one of these that an efficient method for better, brighter "iddlies" has been evolved. While much may be said in favour of more salacious iddies being eaten, it is a moot point to say the least, if, this alone can be claimed as a notable achievement. Lastly, we come

to the universities. It is herein that the picture is a wholly dismal one, unrelieved by any bright patches. One has only to study the question papers of the Western universities for the Degree courses in Science to realise how advanced scientific teaching has become. It can be stated quite categorically that very few of the graduates from Indian universities will qualify to these standards. Further, our universities are being depleted of competent teachers as many of the institutions in the Public Sector offer far more attractive salaries to scientific men. With a few exceptions here and there only the second or third best are left in the universities. As if there were not enough confusion and inefficiency, language threatens to play havoc with university teaching. Truly, the manner in which politics intrudes in the field of Education is pitiful in the extreme.

And so, the picture is not altogether bright, if what we are after is sustained progress. Unless there is proper appreciation of the fundamental fact that, to catch up with the advanced West, we must have all the mechanisms for a healthy growth functioning freely and effectively, much ennui will be the result. Ultimately we will land ourselves in the position of being mere copyists constantly looking for help and sustenance to others.

Lastly, we have to pause and think over the enormous sums of money required to establish large scale industries and the wherewithal for future progress. It may be argued, why we should fashion ourselves on the pattern of the more advanced countries of the West and if there are not even countries in the West that have evolved what is good for them in a more modest manner taking their resources into consideration. True enough. It certainly is a profitable line of thought to be pursued. It is exactly haphazard thinking and the absence of clear objectives and aims in the Indian scene, that would retard progress and lead to dissipation of money and effort.

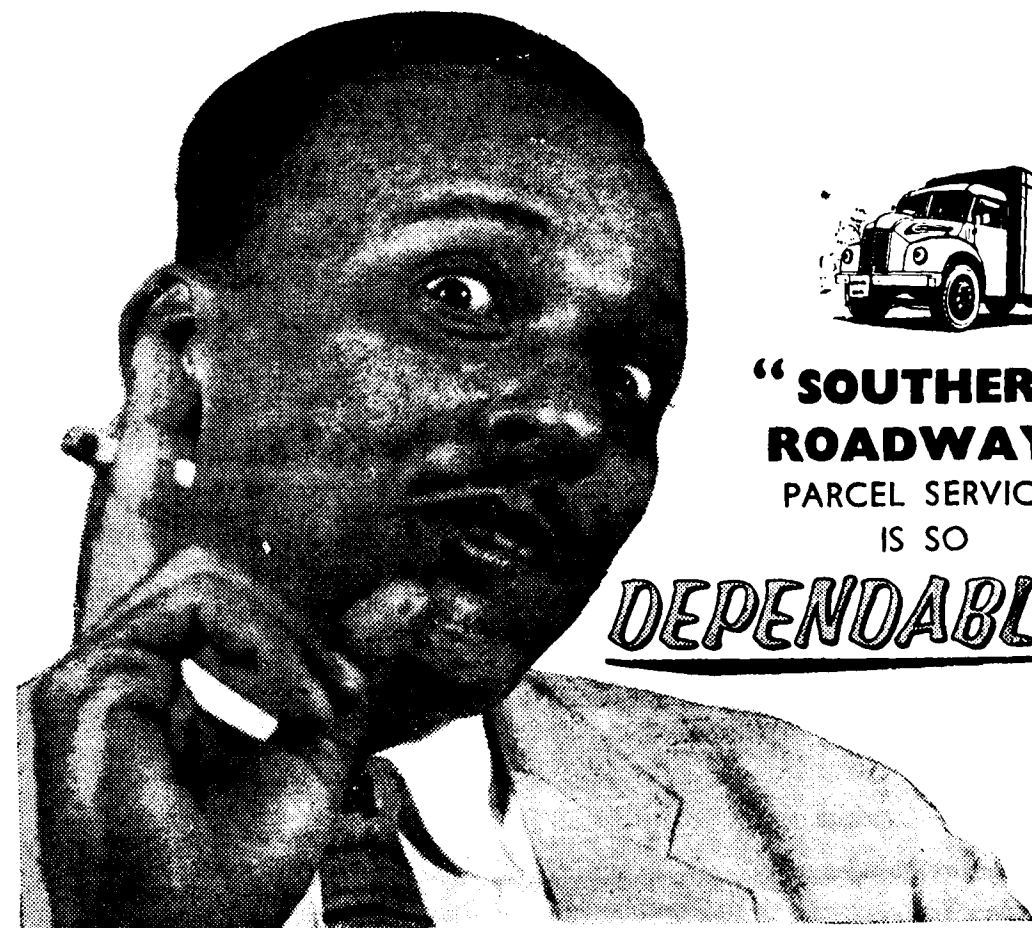
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BOOK REVIEW

VANISHING COUNTRYSIDE

The Spring issue of the *Countryman*, as ever, is full of fascinating reading for country-lovers, whether they live in the country or out of it. There are the usual exquisite touches of the simplicity, humour and wisdom of the rustic conveying the rural way of life that unhappily, to a very large extent, is disappearing by the inroads of mechanical farming, industrialization and the vast motor traffic that demands the kind of road that befits it. Broadly speaking, the peace and beauty of the English rural scene has been and is being shattered, this may be one of the reasons why the *Countryman* is so widely read in every part of the globe and particularly in England, for, in their hearts most Englishmen are countrymen and love to read about country life though the fates have decreed that they no longer are able, or rather permitted, to live it.

First Time West is an outstanding article in this issue, by Clyde Higgs whose safari of last autumn was unsponsored. He had no mission and no commitment, he simply wanted to remedy an omission—having never been West before; and so he set off for a one-month tour of the eastern half of the U.S.A. He writes that there is no such thing as a typical farm anywhere but he describes several that are individual and unique, two of them of 700 acres of which 500 were arable. He visited the world's largest certified milk farm that has been operating for the last seventy years where about sixteen hundred cows, housed in barns, are milked twice daily and fed on dehydrated grass, silage from enormous pits and a farm-mixed production ration. In Pennsylvania a 10,000 acre farm with 5000 cattle is run by a woman, daughter and grand-daughter of cattle breeders. She grows no grain but buys it at harvest-time and stores it, her grass-land is well managed. Another cattle-breeding venture of 600 acres is run by man and wife. All these farms are based on mechanics. "A trend in American farming stands out a mile: the efforts to arrange that one man should do the work of three without any inconvenience to himself." In the Pennsylvania Dutch country, however, the Amish live who farm the hard way by the "sweat of their brows". In a fifty-mile drive he did not see a single tractor—all work being done by horses.

THE COUNTRYMAN — Quarterly
Spring 1960; 3 shillings; 19 Bouverie
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"The Amish keep themselves to themselves and have no outside social contacts; their chief pleasure: are visiting one another and joining together for farm operations like corn-husking. The farmers and their families dress in black; the men are unshaven and the women unadorned. They object strongly to being photographed, as in their opinion it violates a commandment. Their farmsteads are magnificent and well maintained."

Although the writer of this article confesses that research centres were beyond him, he writes in detail about the United States Department of Agriculture at Beltsville that covers 11,000 acres with 1,000 buildings to accommodate 2,399 employees. Here the small white turkey is bred to reach full market maturity in twenty-three weeks when it is ready to cook. One of the researchers at Beltsville, Dr. Olsen, is "a bachelor married to turkeys" and has spent much of his scientific life finding out all about them. About one-sixth of the turkeys in the United States are Beltsville Small Whites.

In contrast to this immense State Research Centre is a farm of 1,250 acres that was run as a hobby by a manufacturing chemist. He lost money on it as a dairy farm and appointed as manager a German who had emigrated when he saw difficulties ahead. These two went into partnership—the German seems to have been a genius and no detail escaped him.

"The latest idea is a 'porkorium' where pigs are raised from farrow to finish; at weaning, the sow is taken away leaving the piglets to develop without change of location. The target is one man looking after sixteen hundred pigs."

At the same time these remarkable two are developing bull production, with two herds, one calving in spring and the other in autumn. At seven months the calves are weaned, kept in individual stalls in an air-conditioned building where they spend five months and are automatically fed every three hours.

On a poultry farm with egg production by automation, near Ithaca, was a building that held ten thousand birds—seven cocks to a hundred hens and "a man of sixty-eight looked after the whole lot and said he would willingly take on another outfit of the same size." In Indiana are the largest egg producers of the United States—Creighton Bros. These brothers turn out from their egg

factory half a million a day. Of their 2,000 acres, half are continually in maize—everything is done mechanically and as far as possible automatically. Farmers in the United States appear to be happy though they like occasionally to grumble and criticize the Government.

"The percentage of the American population on the land continues to fall; it has dropped from 60 per cent to 10 per cent in the past fifty years. But there appeared to be enthusiasm among the rising generation to continue farming... and many wanted to attend a university before settling down to farm."

In the closing lines of this article Clyde Higgs writes that he "saw nothing which made him want to forsake England for the eastern side of the United States of America." This sort of thing is all very well for America with its vast stretches of rich land thinly populated but it would not do for the tight little isle that is Britain and much less for the vast stretches of poor land, over-populated in India where small scale farming for the peasantry is indicated with all possible help, of course, from scientific methods and mechanisms to increase production for home and local consumption. It would be a happy sign if the percentage of the Indian population on the land were to fall and be diverted to small industries and well organized handicraft. There is work, or rather there *could be*, for all in the countryside but not land.

—NORAH RICHARDS.

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Paperbacks: Book Companies' Merger

The Times-Mirror Company of Los Angeles and The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., of New York have been merged through an exchange of stock. The agreement, signed on March 2, 1960 was announced by Norman Chandler, Times-Mirror President, and Kurt Enoch and Victor Weybright, New American Library President and Chairman respectively.

NAL, with its Signet and Mentor imprints, is the world's second largest publisher of paperback books. NAL will become a wholly-owned subsidiary of Times-Mirror but will operate as an autonomous unit.

For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1959, NAL gross sales were \$12,117,000, about double 1955 volume. For the six months ended December 31, 1959, gross sales were \$7,839,018.

Times-Mirror's 1959 revenues were above \$95,000,000 and earnings exceeded \$4 a share on the 1,152,000 shares outstanding at December 31.

"This merger with NAL furthers The Times-Mirror Company's diversification into other areas of communications, and is a logical extension of our newspaper, television, paper manufacturing, and commercial printing activities," Mr. Chandler stated.

"NAL is no ordinary paperback publishing company. It has the greatest diversity of subjects, the broadest worldwide distribution, and the highest cultural level in the field.

"We believe the market for quality paperback books has a very great growth potential due to rising cultural tastes, higher literacy rates throughout the world, increasing college enrolment and more leisure time.

"As a distinct and separate member of the Times-Mirror family of companies, NAL will retain its present management and personnel, the same policies and the same close affiliation with book publishers, authors, agents, book-sellers, and magazine distributors," Mr. Chandler stated.

New American Library was founded in February, 1948, by Messrs. Enoch and Weybright upon their acquisition of Penguin Books, Inc., from its British parent company. The Signet imprint is used for quality books of fiction and reference; Mentor for serious non-fiction and classics. Over the years, many NAL authors have won Nobel and Pulitzer prizes. The company has been very active in discovering important new writers before their fame is widespread.



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SWARAJYA

13

THE STRANGE CASE OF EICHMANN

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

Ever since Israel was born in 1948 in the midst of a hostile world, the rulers of this tiny republic have been over-cautious and always on the alert to offer resistance to all pressures. The Psalms, the book of Sacred songs in the Old Testament, has truthfully said: "Behold, he that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep."

This alertness brought Israel a reward last month. Israeli security forces tracked down and kidnapped from Argentina on May 13 Adolf Eichmann, once head of the Jewish Resettlement Department in the Third Reich, who is charged with causing the death of millions of Jews. But this aggressive wakefulness has also thrown Israel into the grip of an international controversy, the reverberations of which are heard in the United Nations this week.

Argentina from whose soil Eichmann was kidnapped by Israeli agents, protested against Israeli action and demanded that Israel should return Eichmann. Israel refused, but expressed regret if Israeli "volunteers" had violated Argentine law. This evasive reply angered Argentina, which complained to the United Nations against Israel. The security council of the U.N. is debating the complaint this week.

Adolf Eichmann, the centre of the controversy, is one of the few leaders of Hitler's Reich who escaped from Germany at the end of the last war and disappeared. He was a lieutenant colonel in the S.S., the Nazi elite corps, and was a section head of the security service charged with taking measures "for the final solution of the Jewish question in the European territories under German influence." Jewish leaders estimated that Eichmann had caused the death of some 4 million Jews in the gas chambers and crematoria at Auschwitz, Majdanek, Mauthausen and other centres.

Eichmann was captured by the U.S. army at the end of the war, but his identity was not recognized. After 18 months in Allied prison camps, he escaped to northern Germany and from there slipped out of Germany in 1950. West German, Israeli and Allied agents have conducted world-wide searches for him. During the past few years his presence had been reported in Egypt, Syria, Kuwait and Argentina.

Since 1958 he had been working as an employee in an automobile factory in Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina. He lived a quiet life with his German wife and four children. When Eichmann's presence was detected, a five-

man squad was sent from Israel all the way to the South American republic. On May 13 when Eichmann was walking home from his office, the agents swooped down on him, grabbed him, flung him into a car and rushed him to an airport where an Israeli Airlines plane was waiting to pick up Eichmann. He was flown to Israel.

The key figure in the capture of the victim was identified as a Polish Jew who escaped the gas chambers in a Nazi concentration camp. He is 37-year-old Tuvia Friedmann, whose long campaign of personal retribution against Nazi war criminals has brought him to his current Post as Director of Israel's documentary centre in Haifa. He has tracked down many lesser Nazi leaders. But a supreme moment of satisfaction came when the Israeli Prime Minister, Ben Gurion announced on May 23 the arrest and detention of Eichmann. The Nazi leader is to be tried under an Israeli law of 1950 which holds that any person who has committed "during the period of the Nazi regime in any country an act constituting a crime against the Jewish people is liable to the death penalty."

The Israeli adventure has raised some unpleasant issues. While nobody will waste any sympathy for Eichmann or regret that he has at last been brought to account for his crimes, there are many who doubt the wisdom of Israeli action. The kidnapping of a person from Argentina to stand trial in Israel for alleged crimes committed in Germany sounds preposterous. Even Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Zionist Organisation was upset by Israel's high-handedness and wanted Eichmann to be tried by an international court.

Next to Israel, the country with the largest number of Jews is the United States of America. But U.S. reaction has been generally very critical of Israel. The Washington Post said that "everything connected with the proceedings against Eichmann is tainted with lawlessness." A U.S. Government official has pointed out that the trial of Eichmann "is going to cause a serious loss of world confidence in the objectivity of the Israeli Government."

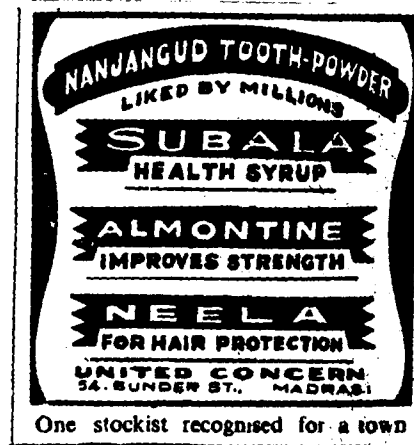
In moments of crisis most countries loose their objectivity. But Israel's objectivity seem to be almost always blinded by passions and prejudices. The bold and cunning preventive war waged by Israel in 1957 to knock out Nasser did not enhance Israeli reputation for objectivity. Only two weeks before

Israel started the war, Ben Gurion had said: "We shall never start a war. We do not believe that wars provide comprehensive solutions to historic problems."

Ben Gurion's utterances sometimes resemble the performance of fanatic Hindu revivalists who see visions of a past glory. He said once: "We have a history of 4000 years. We were driven out and dispersed about the world for 2000 years, often hated and persecuted. We were tortured and burned at the stakes by the thousands. We were expelled from England in the fourteenth century, from Spain in the fifteenth century. There were laws against us, pogroms, and persecutions of every kind. Hitler exterminated 6,000,000 of us. We never despaired. Faith is much more important than armies or riches or numbers. It is our real weapon."

But faith without the backing of reason is a dangerous attribute. In kidnapping Eichmann, Israel was guided by faith and not reason. It, therefore, today stands before the bar of public opinion as an offender. Appearing before the U.N. as an offender is not a new role for Israel. Condemned as an aggressor for the attack on Egypt, Israel had flouted in 1957 six successive U.N. assembly orders to quit Egypt. Britain and France, the fellow preventive warriors had completed their unconditional withdrawal within 27 days, while Israel had held out in defiance.

As the U.N. gets ready to debate the legality of Israeli action, the Israelis are debating about the method of trial of Eichmann. Some believe that the trial should be held in the glare of television cameras, so that the new generation of Jews would know what the old generation went through. There are some others who believe that a public trial will do no credit to Israel and will only create new tensions. One hopes that Israel would temper faith with reason.



SIDELIGHTS

(Continued from page 4)

sibility of the disclosed information to the public. If the corrupt could be depended upon to furnish evidence for their apprehension, the new rule could be hailed with delight. Actually they combine care and discretion with acquisitiveness, and it is rare for their illegal assets to be accounted for in their own names. Their tracks are covered by relatives. But in the Congress probe, relatives are left untouched in a matter-of-fact way, delightful to all whose main problem is the secretion of ill-gotten wealth. "Of course", says the Congress President, the disclosures of assets and liabilities to be insisted on hereafter will not include those of Ministers' relatives!

The demand for enquiry into corruption has come out of Congress failure to steer clear of it. It is no answer to the demand to devise a form of enquiry which leaves to some Congress authority or other the right to determine whether the enquiry should go on or not. A corrupt party cannot be its own judge and the proposed Congress probe is in effect a worthless white-wash leaving the position exactly where it has been hitherto. Only an independent tribunal, completely free from Congress influences, can give a certificate of probity worth looking at to Congressmen charged with abuse of power, and the Congress probe advertised by Sri Sanjiva Reddi gives promise of no such tribunal. Corruption is not a party matter but an offence admi-

APT WORDS

"Experience shows that never in history have concessions to an aggressor helped to ward off the threat of aggression". These were Gromyko's words at the Security Council on May 28. They were not addressed to the Prime Minister of India in disapproval of his Chinese diplomacy! But they do apply and very aptly. Non-alignment policy when pursued in spite of provocative aggression and kept up in favour of an aggressive neighbour means just surrender. A very good slogan under one set of conditions becomes a hopelessly poor policy in another state of things. There is nothing so poor in diplomacy as to do things only when forced to do so, much behind the appropriate time. Values change rapidly and an alignment that may be welcomed now may soon become just a drug in the diplomatic market. C.R.

nistratively punishable, and a party which seeks to set itself up as a judge of corruption usurps the function of the judiciary as Communist parties given to totalitarian outlook are wont to do.

—S.A.K.

THE SITUATION IN PUNJAB

(Continued from page 2)

achievement of the objective of carving out a new State.

Despite the solemn assurances of a peaceful, non-violent and constitutional campaign by the Akali Dal, and despite the fact that nothing had so far happened in the State justifying any drastic action by the Government, Master Tara Singh was arrested on the night of 24th May, and detained under Section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act. A good number of prominent Akali leaders and workers were also arrested on that night under Sections 107 and 151 Cr.P.C. for apprehension of breach of peace. The arrests are continuing till this date. The arrested persons are re-

quired to furnish security bonds in the amounts of Rs. 1 lakh, Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 30,000, obviously beyond their means, in many cases. Persons arrested under Sections 107 and 150 Cr.P.C. have been transferred to jails far from their places of arrest. Special magistrates with powers to try such cases throughout the State have been appointed. They are to try these cases in the jails. The trial of these cases in jails far off from the place of residence of the arrested persons means a virtual denial of the right of legal assistance and of leading defence evidence. On one pretext or the other, the newspapers have been gagged and some presses have been sealed. Special steps were taken to check the march of people from Punjab to Delhi to take part in the procession on 12th of June in order to lay the claim that the procession was a failure and the movement has fizzled out. Threats and methods of intimidation were resorted to by the authorities to make the hartal on 8th June a failure, and on the 9th we saw reports in the papers that the directive for the hartal had little response. The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee is a duly elected (statutory) body for the management of Sikh shrines. Over 100 members out of a total of 140 have been arrested illegally under Section 107 and 150 Cr.P.C. Heavy interim securities have been demanded. The Press of the S.G.P.C. has been attached under Section 145 Cr.P.C. The working of a duly elected body has thus been virtually paralysed.

On the one hand there is a complete ban against the publication in the newspapers of any news or other matter in favour of the campaign for the Punjabi-speaking State; on the other, there is full freedom to the press and persons of all types to do propaganda by speech or written word against the Akhali Dal and the campaign for the Punjabi-speaking State. Daily we find reports of speeches and statements in the newspapers condemning, in certain cases in the most provocative terms, the demand for the Punjabi-speaking State and the Akali Dal.

The Punjab is today for all practical purposes a Police State where the magistracy is subordinate to the executive. There is a reign of terror. The use to which Section 107 Cr.P.C. is put is something very novel.

It is conceded that it is quite valid and constitutional to urge for the creation of a linguistic State but in Punjab such a demand which is on peaceful and non-violent lines is being ruthlessly suppressed.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
DEMAND FOR PUNJABI SUBA

Sir,—In the recent Congress meeting at Poona, it was decided that there should be no more reorganisation of States. Government acceded to the legitimate demand of the Andhras for a separate State only after the valuable life of Potti Sriramulu was lost. The States of Maharashtra and Gujarat were formed only after many had sacrificed their lives. The services of an experienced and able Finance Minister who differed with Mr. Nehru on this issue, were also lost.

Such being the case, the demand for a Punjabi Suba by Master Tara Singh may be considered before many lives are lost by police firing, etc.

Nagapattinam. V. R. RAJAGOPALAN.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY

Sir,—It is an admitted fact that in the context of China's aggression on our Himalayan border, with our Government not being able to do anything to prevent it, our foreign policy of non-alignment and non-violence has been proved to be a dismal failure. Even now, without taking urgent steps to meet the crisis, Mr. Nehru falls foul of

those who dare to criticise his policy. Dr. Raghuvira (Congress) who has inside knowledge of Chinese expansionism has characterised our policy as 'cogistic righteousness', utterly removed from realities.

What then is the remedy? Prof. M. Venkatarangaiya who is an authority in these matters has expressed the opinion in a current brochure that unless we seek military aid from the U.S.A. and Great Britain, we can never overcome the Chinese menace. Otherwise we run the risk of extinction as a nation.

May I suggest that in order to ensure success for the policy suggested above General Cariappa, our former Commander-in-Chief (now in retirement) may be taken into the Cabinet as Defence Minister in place of the present gentleman.

Secunderabad. V. C. S. IYER.

FORGOTTEN PROMISES

Sir,—The other day a visitor to Bangalore went to the City Railway Station, ten days before the intended day of his departure, to book first class reservation for himself, his wife and child.

In fact, he is an officer of some importance entitled to a pass for himself and his family. But he was told that some days previously several Ministers had booked for themselves all the first class accommodation available on the train he intended to travel by on that particular day. This gives rise to two questions. (1) Why should Ministers in a 'Democratic Welfare State' have preferential treatment over other people inasmuch as they are conceded the privilege of reserving their travelling accommodation some days before any member of the public could claim to reserve his? (2) In the days of the 'Freedom struggle' these very men, who today have constituted themselves into a privileged class, talked of travelling only by third class and, in the event of their being invested with high office by the votes of the gullible people they then wooed, not accepting more than Rs. 500 a month as ministerial salary. Have they forgotten all that? What value is then to be placed on their oft-repeated, sanctimonious platitudes such as that they are "humble political workers", and with what conscience do they dare to call upon the people to make sacrifices when, in reality, often their own conduct, as in this and many other instances, is quite contrary to what they preach?

CAPTAIN KHURSHED LALKAKA.
Bangalore.

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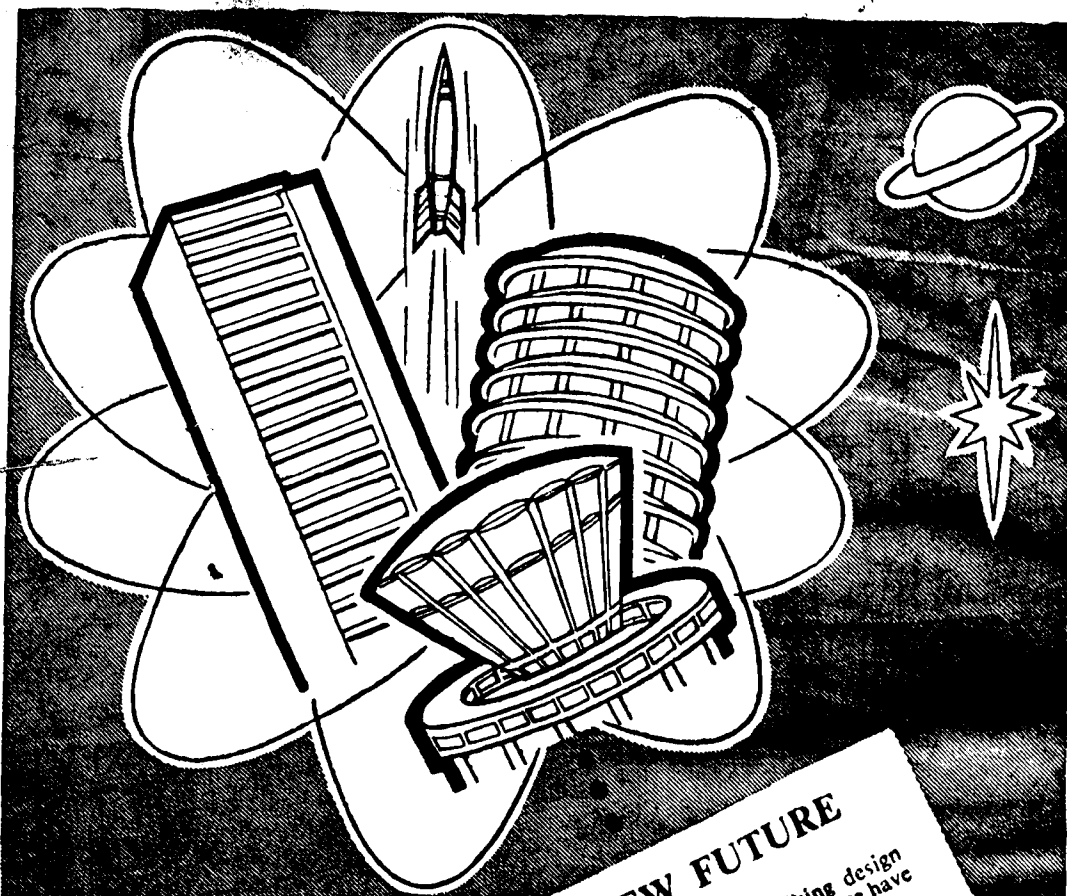
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