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THE INDUS BASIN WATERS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Many sad things and bad things have happened recently but a very good thing that has happened this year as far as we in India and Pakistan are concerned is the settlement of the Indus-Basin waters dispute.

Much was done during the British days which it is as well we remembered; many things now planned had been conceived and partly planned during those days. As a striking example there is the Ganges Canal about which Dalhousie wrote in 1856 that there was not a single canal in Europe of half its magnitude. In 1937 the Ganges canals were 8000 miles in length. The Godavari system was 2500 miles. The Punjab of the pre-partition days (1940) had nearly double the area of irrigated land in Egypt. 50 million acres, one fifth of the total cultivated area in "British India" were served by Government Irrigation works.

An intricate network of canals draws its water from the Indus and its five tributaries. This water is of supreme importance to the economies of India and Pakistan. Difficult riparian problems arise out of this sharing of waterways cutting across international borders. The delimitation of the frontiers between India and Pakistan in 1947 left a line which cut across a complicated system of rivers and canals which constituted the lifeblood of the two peoples.

The World Bank dealt with the problem with consummate patience and tact. An agreement has been reached and neither side can claim to have won a victory. It is truly described as a victory for

reasonableness and commonsense. The disputants made important concessions towards the final solution. Both have called off argument and agreed to make the best possible use of their joint water heritage. Some years ago the World Bank proposed that the two Governments should agree to divide the Indus water system on the basis that the three Eastern rivers, Sutlej, Beas and Ravi should be for the use of India and the three Western rivers, Indus, Jhelum and Chenab for the use of Pakistan. This is the centre-piece of the present settlement. It will be necessary to construct works to transfer supplies from the Western rivers to meet the needs of the areas in Pakistan which have hitherto depended on supplies from the three Eastern rivers. After that transfer, the entire flow of the three Eastern rivers will belong to India and be available for fuller development. India has therefore agreed to contribute to the cost of the necessary works involved. We may look upon the whole of India's share of the cost as spent for the development of East Punjab. The Water Treaty will therefore embrace a big engineering project. The estimated total cost of the new works to be constructed is in the order of Rs. 500 crores. The benefits, irrigational and political, planned to issue out of this and in particular towards the development of the East Punjab States make the project cheap at that price. India's contribution to the cost has been agreed. The constructions will take ten years. During this transitional period there will be an

equitable scheme for distributing the waters. The financial arrangements have been planned to avoid imposing heavy additional foreign exchange burdens upon India and Pakistan. A large part of the contributions from other Governments will be in the form of grants or loans repayable in local currencies. The World Bank itself will lend up to about Rs. 50 crores. Canada, Australia, Federal Germany, New Zealand, U.K., and U.S.A. will make foreign exchange grants. Construction contracts will be open to competitive bidding and general supervision of the work will be in the hands of the World Bank. The foreign exchange contributions will be usable for purchases anywhere in accordance with normal World Bank operations.

The Aswan High Dam project and the help to be received from U.S.S.R. for that purpose have become famous on account of the Cold War implications. The Indus Basin will not play any key role in global politics. But its utility and significance are not the less on that account. The Indo-Pak Water Treaty is important in its own right and the two countries may well congratulate themselves on the settlement as a precursor to a more closely knit bond of mutual understanding all round which is so necessary in the interests of both countries and specially in regard to their defence against foreign aggression. (With acknowledgment to the National and Grindlays Review from which the greater part of this article has been taken.)

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AN APPEAL TO AMERICA

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

We were never in history so near to a happy consummation, yet we have more than ever before hatred and suspicion hovering over the good signs. Whatever be the mystery of Russian good conduct, let us not lose the chance that has now come almost like a miracle for world peace. Let us forget Paris and forge disarmament and push the cause of peace forward by saying Yes to the Russian proposals. There is plenty of work to be done yet to make the peace abiding, but here is the first step that has to be saved from being lost. Pride and Fear, Narrow-mindedness, and Stupidity, and Despair must all be put aside ruthlessly; for these are greater enemies than those whom we call enemies.

Brinkmanship we have had enough. No more varieties of it, or Heaven's sake! Let us do some thinking and follow reason.

Here is a Power, with strength demonstrated, great strength without doubt, greater than the strength of any one else according to all obvious estimates, offering terms for lasting peace, in which the cleverest and most suspicious cannot find any flaw. Let us not be afraid of peace, because we have been too long in the cold war and got used to it. Do not harp on the possibility of treachery. Human fellowship would be impossible on

the basis of an incorrigible Pearl Harbour complex. Let us be careful, but let us not be impossible. Against Pearl Harbour, the story of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is an unforgettable memory. Let the one cancel out the other and let us put our signatures on the Russian proposals. There is no need and no room for the invention of alternate proposals. Let us give the prize to Russia for originality if with that concession we can secure

peace and save the shameless waste of resources on armaments that cost their weight in gold and which should never be used, and which a hungry world is waiting for use otherwise, in a hundred ways to make this planet happy.

Let the proposals be examined by people who have spent many decades over the problem of World Peace and World Law. Let us ask them to improve and fill them up properly. Do not be frightened by the fears of the professional warriors.

ANDHRA LAND CEILING BILL

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Andhra Pradesh Land Ceiling Bill is open to the same fundamental objections as other pieces of proposed legislation designed to deprive a minority of the people of their landed property in an arbitrary and discriminatory fashion. The total exemption from ceilings of land held by religious, charitable or educational institutions, of efficiently managed farms, consisting of compact blocks on which heavy investment or permanent structural improvements have been made and whose break-up is in the opinion of the Revenue Divisional officer likely to lead to a fall in production is conceived in the realistic spirit of not disrupting existing production for the sake of visionary benefits to be derived by reducing the disparities in the ownership of land. Having been able to see light thus far, it will be wondered why it is not clear to the framers of the Bill that the imposition of a ceiling on any class of land holdings and the consequent diversion of productive land into hands ill-equipped to do the job would imperil the national economy gravely. Even the Planning Commission's panel on Land Reforms has conceded that a fall in agricultural production is "likely to result" and envisages

a "temporary period of adjustment", during which the causes for the expected fall in production may be removed by State and State-sponsored Co-operative agencies.

Thus the *Hindu* in its carefully written and able editorial. The italics are mine. The large powers given by the italicised words to executive officers and like provisions in all the Bills will surely lead to favouritism and political pressure and what is worse, all forms of blackmail skillfully developed as we "progress" politically on democratic lines.

The long questionnaire issued by the Madras Government to elicit public opinion is calculated to confuse and hypnotise all those under threat of expropriation. It is necessary for people living under democratic forms of Government to remain alert and vigorous under the most depressing conditions and not allow themselves to feel that all is over, but fight hard like free citizens for a change either in the laws that are oppressively imposed or for a change of Government. The characteristic element in parliamentary government is that no oppressive measure is unchangeable and no one need despair if there is energy and vigilance among the people.

LOOK OUT

It seems as if our banners are in danger of being snatched away, for, the Prime Minister according to reports, on June 22 at Surat, explained the goal of a "Socialist society" thus:

"Government did not want to distribute poverty among forty crores of people. Neither did they want equal distribution of wealth among all.

"We want to give equal opportunities to every one to find his own level and help increase the strength of the country.

"We want to produce more both in the agricultural and industrial sectors, both big, medium and small-scale industries" (*The Hindu*, June 22).

The Swatantra Party is having premature success! "No equal distribution". Then what really is the purpose to be achieved by the Land Ceilings muddle proposed in all the States at the instance of the Centre? The genius of our peasantry is against this playing about with the ownership of the fields which they love as they love their wives and their bullocks and their cottages. The guardian spirit of our village life protests against this lawless project of driving the

best agriculturists out of their villages and sending them to find new and safe places to live in among city folk. The angel of food trembles at what will happen if the yields and the supply for urban consumption go down. The wheat from America is not going to help us out of this proposed wreckage.

If you do not want to distribute poverty, if you do not want equal distribution of property, if you wish to keep the motion of wealth going and maintain the consequent flow of energy, enterprise and invention, if you wish every one "to find his own level" and help the total strength of the nation, then, drop the Land Ceiling plan with all its inherent muddles and injustices.

If you indeed have realised the value of private small and medium-sized industries, do away with the craze for the constricting and choking restrictions and let the nation work without having to struggle with the monopolies of party-men and their especial friends.

—C.R.

UNITY OF INDIA JEOPARDISED
BY LANGUAGE POLICY

A statement on the question of the official language of India has been published on behalf of the Association for the Advancement of the National Languages of India. It is signed by Dr. Naresh Sen Gupta, Narendra Dev, Triguna Sen, Sudhindranath Datta, Radharani Devi, Prof. P. K. Guha, Buddhadeva Bose, Pramathanath Bisi, Prof. Nirmal Ch. Bhattacharyya, MLC, Kazi Abdul Wadud, Principal Khagendra Nath Sen, Abu Sayeed Ayyub, Dr. Atindranath Bose, MP, Vivekananda Mukherjee, Maitrayee Devi, Protiva Bose, Sagarmoy Ghose, Amlan Dutta, K. K. Sinha and Hiran Kumar Sanyal. The text of the statement is given below:

The Association for the Advancement of the National Languages of India has given its consideration to the notification which was placed before Parliament by the Union Home Minister, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, on April 27, 1960, containing the directions of the President on the question of the official language of India. The Association places on record its disappointment

at these directions not being distinct and clear in their implications, and showing a pronounced bias in favour of Hindi, which would establish the Hindi-speaking people in a specially privileged position, and mean a grave injustice to the peoples speaking languages other than Hindi. The Association expected that the President would categorically accept the principle which was announced in open Parliament by the Prime Minister (on September 4, 1959), that no attempt will be made to replace English by Hindi without the consent of the non-Hindi-speaking peoples of India. The Association takes strong exception to the Presidential directions suggesting that after a short period Hindi is to be set up beside English as an alternative medium of examination for the all-India Services, and to the fact that the other national languages have not been considered for this purpose at all. This will certainly give to Hindi-speaking people an advantage over others and this introduction of a double standard in all-India Services might even jeopardise the unity of India.

The Association requests the President to make his directions clear with regard to the maintenance of English as an associate official language for an indefinite period, according to the promise given in public by the Prime Minister. It also urges upon the Government of India not to give to the development of Hindi financial assistance disproportionately larger than the corresponding amounts spent on the other national languages of India.

People Full of
Admiration for Rajaji

In a letter to Rajaji, Sri Arundchand, M.P., writes:

I have just returned to Delhi after a month's tour of Himachal Pradesh when I visited the Districts of Mahasu, Bilaspur, Mandi & Chamba and also addressed public meetings at the three places last above-mentioned. Wherever I went the people evinced good interest in the Party and were full of admiration for you. I quite realise the difficulties with which we are beset at the moment and the almost unlimited power which the Congress wields through its hold on the administration of the country; but I also feel that destiny has, with a purpose, chosen you as our leader at this critical juncture in India's history and God willing you will lead the Swatantra Party to ultimate victory!

As a humble soldier of the cause I will try to do whatever lies in my power in furthering the Swatantra message.

Gallons and Litres

Hidden Measure of Taxation

It may be noted that every 'reform' of weights, measures and coinage involves also an indirect increased levy on the public. The latest Sales Tax Ordinance levying new rates of Sales Tax on petrol and allied commodities and kerosene considerably increases the tax under cover of a mere adjustment of rates to litres from gallons.

All these 'reforms' should be honestly and explicitly called taxation measures, and not put forward as ancillary to a reform of weights and measures.

—C.R.

Rescue From Slough of
Barbarism

Civilization can only revive when there shall come into being in a number of individuals a new tone of mind independent of that prevalent among the crowd and in opposition to it, a tone of mind which will gradually win influence over the collective one and in the end determine its character. It is only an ethical movement which can rescue us from the slough of barbarism and the ethical comes into existence only in individuals.

—ALBERT SCHWETZER

SIDELIGHTS ::

I first heard of Sri Vinoba Bhave forty years ago from a dear friend, Digumarthi Hanumantha Rao, now no more. Hanumantha Rao was not known to fame but he was a truly great man. After some years in the Servants of India Society, he was drawn to the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi and joined him as a member of the Sabarmathi Ashram. I came across him in my native district where he had been assigned social work in connection with the Congress constructive programme when the first tidal wave of Non-co-operation swept over the whole country. Already by that time he had developed an integrated practical philosophy of life that left no room for self-seeking of any kind. He had a passion for nursing, and gave himself diligently in gentle ministrations to his fellowmen. He was incapable of any falsehood or petty thought. His features were plain and ordinary, but so noble, serene and sublime was the cast of his mind that it seemed to shed a lustre on his face and make it look magnetic and at times even positively beautiful. Nobody who came under the spell of his unostentatious goodness ever forgot him. When he passed away in the prime of life, the Mahatma wrote a moving obituary eulogy in *Harizan*.

He told us a great deal of the Mahatma as he knew him at close quarters, and of Kasturba. It was in one of his narratives that Vinoba's name cropped up. It was then an unfamiliar name. But in the limited circle of his acquaintance, Vinoba seemed to have made his mark already for thoroughness of application to the job on hand. Gandhi cherished the dignity of manual labour almost as an article of faith. Vinoba, it would appear, chose the grinding of corn as his special branch of manual labour and devoted to it hour after hour of tireless toil. In grinding of corn he was indefatigable and established a record that none could beat. As one listened, it almost seemed as though India's

first Satyagrahi of the future worked his way to the admiration of the Mahatma with his prowess at the grinding stone.

It was many years later that I had my first and only *darshan* of Acharya Vinoba Bhave, as he had by then become to millions of his admiring countrymen. It came about through an invitation to meet the great leader that Sri Satyanarayana of the Hindi Prachar Sabha had sent to some of his friends while the Acharya was on a visit to the city. Distinguished men carry about them a certain stamp of personality which is conveyed to the understanding of those they meet, and it is in the light of this that they are remembered ever afterwards. In the case of the Mahatma, notwithstanding his loin cloth and the utter simplicity of the life he led, there was a regal air which commanded attention and extracted loyalty. He never fenced or prevaricated when confronted with inconvenient questions. He took them up as a starting point of investigation and ventured forth on a voyage of discovery, wherever it might lead him. If in this process he had to burn some boats, he did so unhesitatingly. The resplendence of truth shone in all he did, and gave him as leader of men, a glory unparalleled. An overpowering majesty was the impression that Sri Aurobindo made not only on devotees but also on sceptics. With a glance of his benign compassion Sri Ramana Maharishi could transport all who came near him to a heaven of bliss. In the presence of His Holiness of Kamakoti, one forgot the turmoils of everyday existence and felt wholly at peace with oneself and the world. Sri Jawaharlal, the demagogue par excellence, apostle of secularism, democrat, internationalist, a figure of charm and the idol of crowds, is at his best with large audiences. People are attracted to him as to a shrine of success. While the success lasts, their allegiance is secure. Will it survive reverses of fortune? His gospel of hectic change, fed on

superficial excitements, makes no appeal to intellectuals with a vision of the future beyond the moment, as they see in it no fostering of character as a defence against defeat serviceable for all time. The passion of partisanship roused by Sri Jawaharlal is a sentiment without depth. A large dose of scepticism is mixed with it, and we see faith in him crumbling with the advance of the Chinese in the North. Quite different is the impression that Rajaji makes. His stock rises in conditions of adversity, when he strikes one and all as wisdom resting on an acute intelligence.

As for Acharya Vinoba Bhave, he has now attained the glamour of sainthood. When rulers pay court to a wandering ascetic, a saint is made. Thenceforward he is imprisoned within the expectations pertaining to that exalted status and becomes a figure of awe. Acharya Vinoba Bhave was a comparatively untrammelled person at the time I saw him. A few chelas were in attendance. The setting of the reception room was mundane, even propagandist. One felt completely at ease.

I asked him about the significance of his *bhoodan* movement for such as I who could neither give nor receive land. He pointed to one of his chelas and said, "Ramalingam here will answer your question." (I am not quite sure about the name Ramalingam but that is my recollection). I said that I was interested in the Acharya's views as he was the architect of *bhoodan*, but if for any reason he was disinclined to answer my question, let that be the end of the matter, I did not desire to go to anyone else. Before leaving I referred to Hanumantha Rao, saying we had a common friend in him. I asked the Acharya, "Do you recollect Hanumantha Rao?" He uttered not one word in reply. He just looked into the far distance, with an intense gaze. I had gone to Acharya Vinoba Bhave like a pilgrim to a temple of worship. I now left him somewhat disappointed. All these years I have been trying to cast off that disappointment.

—SARA.

SCHIZOPHRENIA OF THE CONGRESS

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Is the Congress suffering from a split personality, particularly since the Communist gods it was tending to worship have failed it in its territorial rights in the northern borders of India? There is a let-up on co-operative farming, land reforms, State enterprise and trading, in a practical if not the theoretical way. Select Committees are likely to hold up most bills, though the excuse may be offered to the electors that the stymie is from the objections raised by the Swatantra Party.

Sri Manubhai Shah seems to be incapable of this subterfuge. An employee of the Delhi Cloth Mills, who found politics in Saurashtra a stepping stone to Ministership of Industries in the Centre, he cannot overcome his beginnings. In his speech to the Andhra Pradesh Chamber of Commerce, he has committed himself to contradictions which reveal not only his personal conflict but that of the Congress.

From his experience in industry, he very correctly said private entrepreneurs had the initiative, dynamism and leadership and they should start heavy, medium and small scale industries. If one looked at the rapid industrialisation of other countries, it could be seen that the progress was maintained by the industrialists themselves and not by the government.

Having said so much, which was indisputable, even though the Congress has reserved heavy industries wholly and medium industries largely to itself, Sri Shah reverted to the voice of his party and declared: "The Government is testing the patience of the industrialists and the industrialists, on their part, should test the patience of the Government. Let us see who wins ultimately."

The questions to be considered are, first, how the Government are testing the patience of the industry, and second, what will be the result if the Government win. The Government are testing the patience of the industrialists because its Labour Ministry is backing 2.2 million unionised workers for wages which are four times the size of wages of unskilled labour, on the only ground that the industrialists should be soaked. The elementary intelligence that the whole country and not the industrialists are paying for this preferential treatment has not dawned on the Minister who has not outgrown his status as a trade union leader. The Ordinance he threatens against mill-owners for enforcing the rise considered feasible by

the Wage Board is against the common people who will pay more for their cloth and against new industrialists who cannot enter the field and reduce prices against such odds. Secondly, the Government are trying the patience of the industrialists by their controls, which leave petty officials the arbiters of how industries should be started or run. The Minister confessed that once industrial licences were abandoned for rolling mills, no one was interested in them. The Minister failed to appreciate that it is the monopoly which the licences assured to favoured industrialists against the economy and the consumers that goes today by the name of industrialisation. In open conditions no industry can survive the policies of the Government. The story is the same in trade. The licences given by the Government are the basis of fortune. Just today, when I wanted to obtain zinc sheets, the stockist wanted me to pay in cash as he was selling at Rs. 20 against the Rs. 11 fixed by the Government, which he could not afford to record in a bill. In these circumstances industrialists and traders tend to sit pretty on what they have without any impulse to new enterprise. Thirdly, patience and more than that, confidence is tested by the Socialist policies of the Government which threaten to straight-jacket the income of every one in the same way as ceilings are limiting the income of landowners. The prevailing mood is to enjoy what is in hand rather than risk it for appropriation by others in the future in the name of Socialism. Fourthly, industry is being tried by taxes which are attracted by any profits made, irrespective of the risk on which they are based. When the State stands ready in the attitude of *heads we win, tails you lose*, new industries can come in only on the basis of monopoly against the common people. Such industrialisation is not only limited by the resulting high prices, which the common people cannot pay but is inefficient and illusory. Just today, I found that the Indian-made oil springs could not bear half the weight of my car. It is only in circumstances of free enterprise that industry can reach the appropriate volume and quality. Under present circumstances, the Government will win against industry but the victory will be over its own illegitimate children.

In two other details, the Minister betrayed the unconscious truth which must be hanging on him; first, that consumer goods should be developed. In

their absence, the purchasing power which planned expenditure is creating tends to press on food, causing the inflation which has been a persistent feature of the Congress Government. There is however little prospect for the consumer goods industry so long as the Government controls make raw materials dear and scarce and Government taxes place finished products out of the price range of common people. Secondly, the Minister showed uncertainty about the wisdom of appointing to a commercial corporation, the Praga Tools, two directors, one a President of the Pradesh Congress, another a Vice-Chancellor, who had no experience of industry. The Congress however believes that if a man can become a Minister without any qualifications, anyone can become anything provided political interests are served.

A country with a population of 400 millions deserves a Government of the highest intelligence. The elected Ministers even when rarely they are intelligent like Sri Shah, are overborne by ideologies of the Congress Party, which all too readily have fallen into the current Communist pattern. If the Minister wants industrialisation, he must forget Communist theories and allow free enterprise not only help but the rewards related to its risks. It is only thus that the rich can be induced to invest for the benefit of the poor they will employ. If unemployment is the main problem of our economy, under-investment arising from the hostile policies of the Government is the cause of it. Sri Manubhai Shah is realising dimly the failure of this policy; he has now to understand and remove the causes of it so that industrialisation will be for the people and not against them.

The Blue Mountains School

A residential non-sectarian co-educational school will be opened at 'Dilkush Mahal' Ootacamund in February 1961, with provision at first for 40 girls and boys between the ages of 7 and 10 years. The medium of instruction will be English, with Hindi as the second language, leading up to the Indian (formerly Cambridge) School Certificate examination. Vacancies also, with free residence, for two keen young teachers.

Prospectus on application with postage stamps for 30 n.p. from

F. G. PEARCE

Sharnock

OOTACAMUND, NILGIRIS

OUR PROGRESS TOWARDS AUTOCRACY

By Prof. DWIJENDRANATH MUKHERJEE

In order to judge whether we have enough liberty and freedom, we should first examine the history of Communist countries like Russia. During the first World War the people started civil war inside Russia. During the civil war, because of emergency all sorts of controls were put into action. Liberty and freedom in any action, whether economic or otherwise, were denied. In 1921 after a period of strain and civil war there was a strong desire among the people for relaxation of controls and for liberty. If such relaxation was made completely the Communist Rule faced the danger of imminent collapse. In order, therefore, to meet a bit of the general demand and divert the attention of the general population from the main demand, certain economic concessions were granted and some relaxation of the more severe forms of State repression was permitted. Yet not even the slightest relaxation was made in the basic principle of the Soviet Government, i.e., the party-control. As a matter of fact, the party apparatus which was loosely knit till then, was consolidated and made into a most modern form of putting the party into control of everything. Since then, the Communist leaders have made it plain that they will not tolerate any kind of relaxation

on the grip of the party apparatus on the whole life of the country. And though Lenin created institutions as a semblance of democracy, they were controlled by the party and were not the freely elected bodies which they purported to be. The Soviet trade union councils, Law courts and the like, all these were placed in the grip of the party. Except occasionally, at all levels of the party hierarchy, officials and delegates were generally elected in accordance with the instructions sent down from above. In the party organs, though they met regularly as laid down in the rules, except at the lower levels, evidence does not suggest that the meetings were centres of any real discussions. The Soviet leaders believed that the true course of action must be determined scientifically, or in practice by the leader or leaders who may be in power for the time being. This view has been consistently held since Lenin. Lenin first threw Russian Social Democracy into confusion by proclaiming that social consciousness cannot be developed by the workers and the people themselves, but must be brought to them from outside.

Now let us examine whether we are not following the same course in India also, and, if so, to what extent. Of

course, there is complete liberty permissible in India to express an opinion or to stand for election against the ruling party. But let us see how in actual practice it works. At the time when India was under the rule of the British, everybody had one aim, and that was to do away with foreign rule. Therefore, everybody united and formed themselves into the Indian National Congress, excepting a minority which was associated with the Communists. At one time or the other, even the Communists professed that they were against foreign rule. So, more or less everybody was of the same aim, and this gave such a great impetus to the Indian National Congress that it grew to be a very strong party. It still continues to be the strong party.

After the termination of British rule, it was the idea of the Mahatma, who was the real builder and architect of this party, that it should be disbanded and good men with meritorious service should come forward as independents to take charge of the Indian Government, so that real democracy might be established. But this action was never allowed to be taken. Those interested in the party machinery did not like the idea of disbanding the party and losing power. On the other hand, to a great extent they knit the party machinery to a greater solidarity and started following the same pattern as is being followed in Russia. In India also the leaders in charge for the time being, decide what is good for the masses. It is not the Parliament which is the supreme body, but it is the ruling party which is the supreme body and decides what is to be done in the Parliament. The decisions taken at the top, like Russia, are accepted by the party when the Congress meetings are held. Once the directions from the top are accepted by the party, the Parliamentary section of the party is required to follow it up rigorously. If a few hold members care to differ, they are booed down and called names and dubbed representatives of the vested interests.

Slowly this party machinery is getting a grip on the whole life of the country. Let us take, for example, the recently inaugurated programme of Co-operatives. There are examples of so-called voluntary co-operatives in Communist countries, but in actual working there is neither freedom nor voluntary acceptance of the principle. Recently East Germany started the formation of farm co-operatives. A farmer who had recently arrived in West Germany and applied for asylum, was interviewed in this connection. He said that he was a fruit-grower about thirty miles from Berlin.

The Communist collectivising crew moved on him. They always came two at a time. They told him how a collective farm would really belong to him. When he did not sign up with the first pair, they told him that others would come later, and they did. The others who came threatened him by reminding him what happened to those who did not follow the party line. Some were sentenced to life imprisonment for sabotage, and others suffered in various other ways. One fine morning he found suddenly that the police had set up a post right in front of his house. They stayed there all the time. He started getting letters from the authorities complaining that he was not co-operating and that he was supporting the enemies of the peace. Finally he became exasperated and told them to take away his land and let him go back to the trade of plumbing which he had learnt as a boy. But that was forbidden too. They told him to stay on the farm. So, one night he ran away from the farm and migrated to West Germany.

Another similar refugee described that when he could not give in to the arguments of the Communist officials and sign up to collectivism, they applied pressure through his daughter. She had just finished schooling but she could not get a job anywhere nor was she admitted into college. She was told that she would not have any problem if her father would do the right thing. So, he also gave up and decided to go West.

Once collectivisation is started, no one knows where it ends. We find, in China, after converting the farmers into communes, they started converting urban population and making them join urban communes. A baby at the age of two months is taken away from its mother and handed over to the nursery. The parents are permitted to meet their children only on Saturdays. Once a family enrolls in an urban commune, it is almost impossible to leave it. Utensils are all turned over to the Street communes. New utensils could not be purchased. Each family must give up its ration card to the communes. Without ration cards, the basic commodities cannot be purchased. It is reported that with the introduction of communes, many stores dealing in the basic commodities have been closed purposely. One Westerner reports that he saw housewives queueing outside the shops before 5 a.m. to buy food in limited quantity. The planned reduction in the number of shops and the extent of supplies forced additional families to move into commune mess halls. A member of the commune cannot buy freely whatever is available in the district stores.

The local committee for organising the people's economic life determines which family has the right to buy a new blanket or a straw mat. This system is called equitable distribution of necessities. A worker no longer decides how he will spend what he earns. The representative of the street committee helps him with his budget and determines how much should be saved. A working wife gets an average pay-equivalent of about Rs. 50 per month, but she is permitted to put most of this into the saving account. Savings can be tapped only after securing the consent of the watch-dog committee. That is how we start with the voluntary co-operatives and end communes.

The Indian National Congress has also started with voluntary co-operative societies. People have already been told that those who do not agree with this aim should get out of the party. Farmers or those affected have not been asked to express their opinion. There is opposition to this move in rural areas but it is being ignored. The Congress hierarchy prepared the programme at the top. Directions went out that this should be passed and the party decided in its favour. Now it is being imposed on the Parliament and other State Governments have to carry it out.

Ceilings on land have been introduced in all the States. Directions have gone out from the top that this programme has to be fulfilled. Even the Planning Commission which is a Commission appointed by the ruling party has planned in favour of the ceilings on land holdings. But nobody has cared to consult the people in general. Let us take the question of the so-called reforms introduced by the ruling party in the shape of various laws, which may be called collectively as Hindu Code Bill. When it was first introduced that there was great opposition to it and even the President of India was against such a law. In spite of this well-known opposition, surreptitiously, one by one, every change originally included in the Hindu Code Bill has been passed and made into a Law affecting the lives of the whole of the people of the country. The action was so quietly taken that people are realising it only now and already in Punjab there is a great opposition against the succession laws which are part of it.

Mahatmaji always repeated during his life that it was better to die than to lose one's freedom. Are we really free? Are we progressing towards Democracy or are we progressing towards autocracy, the autocracy of one-party rule, and specially the rule by its leader?

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LAISSEZ FAIRE - WHERE?

By WARAN

Mr. Nehru suggested sometime ago that it would be a good thing if the leaders of the Swatantra Party undertook a tour of foreign countries to find out whether any of them was following the principle of *laissez faire*, the implication being that its leaders are not aware of the latest developments in foreign countries. The Oxford dictionary defines *laissez faire* as "government abstention from interference with individual action, specially in commerce". It is not true to say that the Swatantra Party does not want any official interference with trade, commerce and industry. This is what the Party says on this subject: "The party stands for the principle of maximum freedom for the individual and minimum interference by the State, consistent with the obligation to prevent and punish anti-social activities, to protect the weaker elements of society and to create conditions in which individual initiative will thrive and be fruitful. The Party is, therefore, opposed to the increasing State interference of the kind now being pursued."

In the sphere of industry the Party says that it "believes in incentives for higher production and expansion inherent in competitive enterprises with adequate safeguards for the protection of labour and against unreasonable profits, prices and dividends" while in agriculture it expresses its firm opposition to collectivisation and bureaucratic management of the rural economy.

The Party is certainly not opposed to State interference as such but only to that kind of interference which aims at the glorification of the State and the suppression of the liberties of the individual. In the name of planning, there has been in recent years too much of official interference with normal economic activity which, far from doing good to the country, is causing serious concern to all thinking people. As Rajaji says, "the State is becoming a gigantic entity by itself, menacingly poised against the citizen, interfering with his life at all points, mistrusting the people, imposing restrictions, introducing a series of controls and regulations, stepping into the fields of agriculture, industry and trade, creating an army of officials, tremendously increasing the cost of administration and, therefore, the taxes paid by the nation, and hypnotizing the people with slogans that are mistaken for thought and wisdom, a scheme of government in which it is taken for granted that the citizen is ignorant of what is his own interest."

As to the charge that the leaders of the Swatantra Party are unaware of the economic trends outside India, an analysis of the economic trends in the outside world will show that except in Russia, China and other parts of the Communist empire, in all the other countries there is an increasing realisation of the fact that nationalisation and concentration of power in the hands of the Government will not be in the best interests of economic prosperity and that progress can be best achieved only by giving the maximum incentive to the people. The United States provides the classic example of a country which has made unique progress by following the principle of maximum freedom and minimum interference. In West Germany the spectacular recovery has been made possible because of the liberal policy followed by Dr. Erhard. In Japan also the official policy has been one of giving as much encouragement as possible to individual enterprise. In Britain there has been a definite swing against further nationalisation and even the Labour Party appears to have come to the conclusion that more good can be achieved by State regulation than by outright nationalisation.

As Mr. Arthur Larson has pointed out in his book, "What We Are For" public opinion in all industrialised countries outside the Communist bloc has turned "overwhelmingly against nationalisation".

In the following table, the results of public opinion poll conducted on this question are set out; the first two opinions are put together since they are on the side of free enterprise and the "don't know" response, being negligible, is left out.

Name of Countries	Leave Them Alone or Regulate But Don't Manage	Take Them Over
Australia	88%	5%
Britain	84%	8%
Netherlands	83%	5%
Sweden	81%	5%
Canada	81%	5%
Austria	77%	13%
Germany	77%	4%
Norway	73%	3%
Denmark	73%	4%
France	72%	14%
Belgium	66%	7%
Italy	63%	19%
Brazil	61%	10%
Japan	45%	18%

It will be seen that in these countries the majority of public opinion is

in favour of big industries being left alone or regulated but without State management and that only a very small section wants nationalisation. It may be argued that these countries are all well developed and that therefore the principle of non-interference cannot be applied to India where there is a great leeway to be made up. But this is an argument in favour of the Swatantra Party and not against it. The very fact that India is an under-developed country shows that the maximum freedom should be given to the Private Sector to utilise its talents and resources so that the pace of economic development can be accelerated. The problems of poverty and unemployment in our country are so colossal that they cannot be solved in a reasonable time merely by the efforts of the bureaucracy alone or by the efforts of the Private Sector alone. It is only by the combined and co-operative efforts of both the sectors that it would be possible to bring about the desired results quickly.

This does not mean, however, that the State has no room for economic activity. There is certainly considerable scope for State action, particularly in matters like development of communications and transport and provision of social services, etc; and even in the sphere of industry there is much work to be done by the State by starting industries relating to defence and also other industries which involve large capital and high technical skill and which are beyond the capacity of the Private Sector.

What is essential is that the cold war between the two sectors must cease. The Government should not merely tolerate the Private Sector but should also actively and positively encourage it. The Swatantra Party is doing a useful service by focussing attention on the evils of excessive State regulation and the country will gain greatly if there is a better appreciation of the complementary roles of the State and the individual in developing the economy.

If, as Socrates said, all men in the world should come and bring their grievances together, of body, mind, fortune and lay them on a heap to be equally divided, wouldst thou share alike and take thy portion? Or be as thou art? Without question thou wouldst be as thou art.

—ROBERT BURTON.

TIME TO PAUSE AND THINK

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

Last week Field Marshal Montgomery said in his concluding article in the London *Sunday Times* on his recent visit to China that he met few people in the Far East who had not read "The Ugly American". This revealing and clever novel by William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick indicts American diplomacy in the Far East with incompetent men squandering billions of dollars but getting detested for their patronising ignorance. Montgomery added that most people with a knowledge of Asia reckoned that the novel contained much truth.

Lord Montgomery has no great reputation for sound judgment regarding political issues. Nor have his dramatic and dashing junkies to Moscow and Peking won the admiration of many thoughtful Western observers. Although he is dismissed with scant attention by political theorists, his conclusions and observations nevertheless influence large sections of public opinion in Britain. What is more, his reaction to the policies of the United States reflects the feelings of increasing number of people not only in Britain and Europe but also in Asia and America.

The recent experience of President Eisenhower in the Far East has focussed attention on these policies and a lively debate is now going on in the U.S. The hostility and criticism encountered by the U.S. in Japan has bewildered Americans and they are trying to find a meaningful explanation. The U.S. has always been most generous and has helped almost every country in the world, including many Communist States. It believes that it is defending freedom and is keeping the world safe from tyrannical systems.

Why then should people in free democracies oppose the U.S.? Why are Americans, as a nation, not able to win friends or keep friendships? One explanation is that International Communism, the arch enemy of the U.S., is fomenting trouble for the U.S. throughout the world. The U.S. official reaction to the Japanese situation was summed up thus: A well-organized leftist group financed and directed by Moscow and Peking was at the back of the riots. U.S. President's Press Secretary, James Hagerty, believed that Communists were directing the opposition in Japan. The U.S. State Department argued that to retreat before the agitation of a Communist-led minority would be certain to

weaken pro-U.S. forces in Asia. Therefore the President must keep his date with Kishi.

This cannot be accepted as a wholly satisfactory explanation. Speaking in the U.S. Senate last week, Senator Fulbright said that the opposition of Japan to the Japan-U.S. security treaty "is by no means confined to the Communist-oriented elements." He added that a great number of "literate and highly-motivated people also had opposed the pact—wrongly in my view."

The official attitude gives undue importance to the ability of Communist agitators to foment trouble everywhere. By throwing the blame for all failures on International Communism, the U.S. is closing its eyes to realities and losing the sympathy of well-meaning critics.

The advice given by Douglas MacArthur II, the U.S. Ambassador in Japan, illustrates the danger involved in taking this short-sighted attitude which leads to wrong judgments and failures. He had strongly urged that Eisenhower's visit should not be dropped. On his advice, the State Department's Far Eastern experts predicted that the rough treatment received by Hagerty would rally pro-Western Japanese and shame the police into more effective action against the rioters.

The events of the last fortnight have proved that Hagerty, MacArthur II and the State Department were all wrong. They saw only Communist opposition. Some Americans have put all the blame on MacArthur and have demanded his recall. But by merely replacing a few diplomats the situation will not improve. There are other basic factors that require attention.

It may be recalled here that President Eisenhower's visits to Europe, the Middle East and India had raised his prestige and that of America as a peacemaker. He went to these countries just before the summit conference when American diplomacy for a short while tended towards conciliation. Naturally America represented "peace with justice and freedom" to millions of men hungering for peace.

The visit to the Far East was different. The crash of the U.S. spy plane, the blow-up at the summit and the thundering threats of retaliation by the Soviets compounded with the already unpopular postures of U.S. diplomacy, created a most uncomfortable situation. The U.S. officials did not understand

that although the U.S. had poured tons of dollars into Japan and Okinawa, the people of these areas feared that the presence of about 125,000 U.S. soldiers on their soil was a threat to peace.

Senator Wayne Morse, an influential Democrat, said last week in the U.S. Senate: "The greatest mistake our country has made in the Pacific is that the foreign policy there is dominated by the United States. As long as the situation is dominated by the United States in the Pacific, the cause of peace is greatly jeopardised there." Senator Morse is a confirmed critic of the present U.S. administration. But his words will be echoed by many dispassionate observers.

What is true of the Pacific is also true of other parts of Asia, of South America and Europe. The patronising attitude adopted by misguided officials is winning enemies for the U.S. and friends for the Soviet Union in Latin America today. Cuba is slipping out of U.S. reach.

European observers are no less disturbed by U.S. actions. The British correspondent, John Sampson, wrote in the *Daily Herald* two weeks ago that "a frenzy of war talk has seized on America since the collapse of the summit conference." There may be an element of exaggeration in this. But look at what the well-meaning *Economist* of London says. On June 13 *The Economist* editorially doubted "whether the machinery of the government in the U.S. is equal to the task of running a co-ordinated policy."

It has been pointed out that the foreign policy of the U.S. is now in suspense and the final choice between intransigence and conciliation has not been made yet. The choice is going to be made once more by the sixty million or so voters who will go to the polls in the U.S. in November. Is there any hope that the new President will reconstruct confidence in U.S. leadership and restore the broken links in foreign relations?

A recent gallop poll showed that Vice-President Nixon is the hot favourite for handling foreign policy. But there are other indications that have positive overtones. Many political commentators and writers in U.S. journals are pointing out the folly of following an inflexible foreign policy dictated purely by moral convictions and distrust of other systems. From incredible make-believe, enlightened self-interest and superior attitudes, the U.S. foreign policy will have to move into more stable regions of mutual trust, adaptability and truthfulness.

BAKER STREET REVISITED

By "QUINTILIAN"

It is a truism that the mighty dead rule us from beyond the grave; every human being is an Aristotelian or a Platonist. But when it happens that the mighty dead had never been alive, the ascendancy which they establish over the minds of men is truly remarkable. The great characters of fiction, Mr. Pickwick, Sir John Falstaff, Don Quixote and Hamlet, claim our homage more securely and more beneficially than many a great character of history. Opinion may be divided about Napoleon or Julius Caesar, but it is remarkably unanimous about Mr. Pickwick or Sir John, although the latter was no angel, as he himself knew and frankly acknowledged.

Both Sir John and Mr. Pickwick are of great literature. Mr. Sherlock Holmes, on the other hand, belongs to a species which, though it is nowadays not actually looked down upon, still is yet far from respectable, detective fiction. This species is certainly growing in reputation, many eminent men of letters have not disdained to turn their hands to it. Yet, by its very nature, dealing as it does with the sordid aspects of life, it cannot rank very high as literature. Nevertheless, it is a question whether Sir John, Mr. Pickwick even, commands a larger following than this eccentric, but very efficient, detective of 221 B, Baker Street, London.

In fact, the methods that have been adopted to keep alive his cult savour something of desperate homage. It is as if the world cannot reconcile itself to the fact that no more will Sherlock Holmes quiz Dr. Watson, or keep his tobacco in his slippers, or punctuate a "patriotic V.R." on the walls of his room with a revolver. When Conan Doyle, who was reported to have been

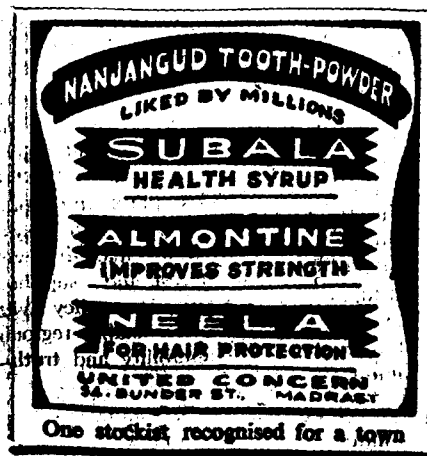
chagrined that this creation of his had become far more popular than his efforts in other fields of literature, killed him in the Reichenbach falls after the combat with Professor Moriarty, his readers would have none of it. They peremptorily demanded their hero's resuscitation, and resuscitated he was. But at long last Conan Doyle had to condemn the restless soul to the peaceful Sussex downs where, though it was pretended that he gracefully sank into old age, diversifying his leisure by writing monographs on the ashes of cigars and cigarettes, there can be no doubt that he was eating his heart out. This conclusion, the readers have been unable to admit. Hence the many attempts that have been made to keep alive the memory of the great detective.

The wiseacres may frown and the righteous mutter, but the hold which Sherlock Holmes has established is natural. Who that has once fallen under the spell of the grand old stories can ever cast it away, or want to cast it away? There is the eternal fog, overhanging London, in his room there sits the restless detective, his great mind yearning for some difficult, some macabre, some impossible, problem to solve. Suddenly there is a knock on the door, and there enters a problem to test his ingenuity to the utmost. We follow the detective in his incursions in the Great Wen, disguised or no, we accompany him into the country, sometimes we even go with him when he travels on the Continent. Always he is a figure of pungency, clarity and razor-sharp intellect. The credit which is due to the author for having invoked such an "atmosphere" is not generally given to him, but Sherlock Holmes would probably have bulked less largely in the minds of his readers but for Conan Doyle's style. This is lambent, beautifully precise, and skilfully attractive. One has only to compare not only Conan Doyle's detective with those of many lesser writers of today, whose only originality lies in some aberration, but also his manner of writing with that of some writers of so-called "shockers" to realise that, if Conan Doyle owed much to Sherlock Holmes, Sherlock Holmes also owed much to Conan Doyle.

The world will simply not believe that Holmes is dead and that he will not detect any longer. We are told that many letters are addressed to him at Baker Street, laying problems before

him. Societies in Britain and the United States keep alive his memory. But nothing more clearly testifies to his immortality than the book which Mr. John Dickson Carr and Conan Doyle's son, Adrian, have written, containing as it does twelve fresh stories from the great saga. The authors have been at great pains to preserve the verisimilitude of the original. Mr. Adrian Conan Doyle, we read, even "uses the very desk on which his father wrote. He is surrounded by the same objects that his father handled, and he has in every way endeavoured to recreate each particle of atmosphere that formed Sir Arthur's environment". This is not all; there is internal as well as external verisimilitude. Each story is based on cases to which Watson himself refers. The accent is that of the original works. The ingenuity of each story lacks nothing of the old sparkle, logical development and conclusion, and vigorous style. One could imagine that Sir Arthur had not written these stories only because he had no time or was otherwise prevented; some, even he could scarcely have improved. The book is a *tour de force*.

By providing a fresh view, as it were, of the old beloved saga, this book enables the reader to understand the fascination which the legend of Sherlock Holmes has always exercised. It is an injustice to say that Dr. Watson is a creature of fun, or that Sir Arthur meant to ridicule him. True, Sherlock Holmes was not always gentle with him, and often had sharp expressions for what he considered his vacuity. But, it may be safely said, most of us would have fared little better with the merciless logician of Baker Street. Then, he had a real kindness for his friend, and that would have been impossible had his friend been his dupe. Therefore, those who sneer at Dr. Watson do him an injustice and do not understand the saga aright. Captain Hastings, the adjunct of M. Hercule Poirot, may perhaps be laughed at, but not Dr. Watson. This is also very evident from the tenderness with which Dr. Watson, in this book, takes farewell of his great friend. "Our lives are drawing towards eventide and old faces and old scenes are gone forever. And yet, as I lean back in my chair and close my eyes, for a while the past rises to obscure the present and I see before me the yellow fogs of Baker Street and I hear once more the voice of the best and wisest man whom I have ever known. Some, Watson, the game's afoot". It is on this accent that this brief survey of the genius that was Sherlock Holmes should close.



CAPITAL COMMENTS

CELEBRITIES OF THE WEEK

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Whether in the fall of a sparrow or the rise of a statesman, there is "a special Providence". Nothing—good, bad or indifferent—ever happens except by His will. Sometimes things happen, not so much as events but as indications of coming events. It is on such indications or symptoms, with a larger meaning, that G. K. Chesterton strikes a charming note when he says:

*Good News: but if you ask me
What it is, I know not:
It is a track of feet in the snow,
It is a lantern showing a path
It is a door set open.*

It was in such a mood—philosophical and reflective—that JUNIUS and several others reacted to the presence of our Vice-President at the Rashtrapati Bhawan, within three hours of the departure of the President to Moscow, for being sworn in at a special ceremony, "to discharge the functions of the President". And this happened while stories were still being circulated in the press about the special arrangements made to fly papers to the President during his itinerary in Soviet Russia. Of course, under Article 65 in the Constitution, provision was made for the Vice-President discharging the functions of the President in certain contingencies and, according to constitutional pundits, wisely too. For, in the absence of such a provision, twice were difficulties experienced in America, once during Wilson's second Presidency (1919-20) and more recently when President Eisenhower was ill. Yet, on none of the previous occasions when our President went abroad and once even for over a fortnight, such arrangement was either made or contemplated.

It is plausible that in anticipation of certain developments of, at any rate to

be on the safer side in case of exigencies, advantage was taken of the constitutional provision. Yet it does not seem to be the whole explanation. If anything serious was really apprehended, the President would have been advised, or he would have persuaded himself, to cancel or postpone his journey, particularly in the absence of any great enthusiasm for it in the country. Now it is a different story. The President was free to move about in regions far, with no strain to himself there or to any on that account here. And significantly enough, one leading daily guardedly prepares the public mind to a new phase: "It is conjectured that since a beginning has now been made, a formal officiating announcement during the President's absence abroad may now become an established practice."

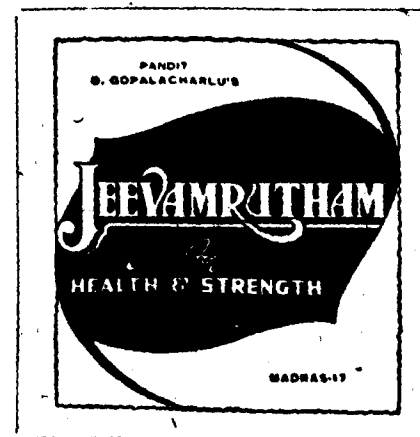
It is thus that in India the Vice-President can no longer be described, as the American Vice-President sometimes is, as "His superfluous Highness". It is admittedly Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan's personal achievement to have brought unusual distinction to a comparatively inconsequential office. In one of the latest books on the Indian Constitution entitled "Constitutional Government in India", its author, Mr. M. V. Pylee, has this to say:

Although the Constitution does not confer upon the Vice-President the great authority that it vests in the President as the Head of the State, the office of the Vice-President has been one of great dignity and prestige. The personality of its present incumbent has been one of the major reasons for the same. The dignity and prestige that are established today may be expected to remain with the office of the Vice-President in the years to come.

It seems that Dr. Radhakrishnan, by the great service he has rendered in making a seemingly small office really big, has both made the position of future Vice-Presidents difficult and his own future certain. It is for a fortnight that Dr. Radhakrishnan will now hold the fort for Dr. Rajendra Prasad. It hardly matters whether the period is a little longer or even shorter. But what matters is the easy availability, or ready presence, of one who can be depended upon to answer the call of the country (whatever be the precise call) to the manner born and with the wisdom and

in the spirit of the Acharyas of old, which is to say, with humility allied to vision.

There was nothing conventional in the high tribute paid by the Cabinet to the veteran Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari on his retirement as Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. He is the doyen among Indian administrators and a titan of the old order, when statesmanship rose to high peaks on the Princely scene. Dim now are memories of such giants as Seshadri Iyer and Visvesvaraya, V. P. Madhava Rao and P. Rajagopalachari, Prabhaskar Pattani and Manubhai Mehta, Akbar Hydari and Mirza Ismail. Their successors—where are they? Only to two of that proud galaxy—Mr. Gopalaswamy Iyengar and Mr. Krishnamachari—was given the privilege of having brought something of that old prestige, to the new administration in Free India. He was for over seventeen years at the helm of affairs in Baroda as against Mirza Ismail's sixteen in Mysore and both were later Prime Ministers in Jaipur. It was a lucky day when Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari, with the longest record of continuous service as a Dewan, came to Delhi as the Prime Minister's immediate Deputy on the Planning Commission. To his experience and wisdom were allied a phenomenal industry and an unruffled demeanour and he brought to the Planning Commission something of the solidity of the Rock of Gibraltar. If it were left to him he would have retired earlier but the Prime Minister was wholly unreconciled to the parting. It is a tribute to his indispensability that he is persuaded to be available in Delhi as a member of the Rajya Sabha and it is good to think that he will not be altogether missed at the Centre where, as a mellowed statesman and a humanist, with patriarchal dignity and benevolence, he is almost a class by himself.



Deficit Financing

Since we indulge in deficit financing with a vengeance in private life, it is no wonder that deficit financing in government is accepted with so little opposition. Dr. Krutch might have gone on to say that the most exemplary specimen of spending and wasting is the national government.

FREDERICK WALKER
reviewing a book by
Dr. Joseph W. Krutch.

Long, long ago, mathematicians in India hit upon the idea of using the zero. This led to the use of numerals—a revolution in the art of calculation. To live, man must count weigh and measure. Governments must draw up their budgets, business concerns must assess their performance and even individuals must keep a close watch on their earnings and expenditure. All this is done with the language of numbers based on the zero. For, without it, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to transact business on a national or a global scale, or work out the ambitious plans for economic regeneration.



Thanks to the use of numerals, it is possible to calculate that the consolidated after-tax profit from Standard-Vacuum's Marketing and Refining Operations during 1959 amounted to Rs.120 lakhs, representing a 3.0 per cent return on the capital employed; or that Stanvac paid Rs. 2,687 lakhs as taxes and duties—an amount which was almost 22 times Stanvac's net income; or that Stanvac worked on a margin of profit of roughly 1.4 naye paise for every gallon of product sold.

Again, it is the language of numbers based on the zero that enables us to convey the fact that, during the year, Standard-Vacuum expended Rs. 89 lakhs in new additions to plants and equipment of its Marketing Operations, Rs.102 lakhs on its Refining Operations and Rs.106 lakhs for search of oil in West Bengal.



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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

DR. LOHIA AND HINDI

Sir,—Some newspaper correspondents seem to think that the hot reception accorded to Dr. Lohia in Coimbatore and in Madras when he attempted to speak in Hindi was an antidote to his particular brand of Hindi virulence. It is not so. It is, on the other hand, a direct consequence of the disrespect shown to Rajaji in Benares. Tamil enthusiasts will hardly be credited with common intelligence if they do not follow the trail blazed by the Benares pioneers. Hindi fanatics who pay lip service to Tamil as one of the also-rans in the language race must be made to mouth it, if they are sincere, when they dare to address public meetings in Madras. One would like to know how many Hindi enthusiasts whose vernacular is Hindi, have taken the trouble to learn Tamil.

Incidentally, the enthusiasm of official spokesmen for the official use of the regional languages in the various States must not be taken at its face value. It is clearly an insidious attempt to oust out English, in the first instance, as a preliminary step for the easy walk-over of Hindi later on. —R. RAMACHANDRAN.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN

Sir,—I happened to read "Misadventures in Kerala" by Sri M. Krishnan which appeared in *Swarajya*. It is most unfortunate that the officials of the Government should have acted in such a cruel manner as that. This reminds me of a certain passage in a book describing the bureaucratic attitude of officials transacting Government business:

"Centralisation at the national capital or within a business undertaking always glorifies the importance of pieces of paper. This dims the sense of reality. As men and organisations acquire a preoccupation with papers, they become less understanding, less perceptible of the reality of those matters with which they should be dealing, particular human problems, particular human beings Making decision from paper has a dehumanising effect. Much of man's inhumanity to man is explained by it." (David Lilienthal). Secunderabad.

R. RADHA.

EXAMINATIONS

Sir,—The recommendation of a committee of educationists, set up at the instance of the University Grants Commission, that the undue importance attached to the final examination should be done away with, and substituted by a continuous assessment of class work, has attracted appreciative comments of

the Press and the public. I would like to draw attention to the peculiar circumstances prevailing in the South, which invest the new proposal with special danger to a minority community branded as the only non-backward class. Everything possible is being done blatantly, with official support, to place obstacles in the way of young men of this community receiving university and professional education. The anonymity observed in the annual examination has, so far, been practically the only guarantee of the merit of these young men being evaluated impartially. If the evaluation of the performance at the annual examination is to be belittled, undue power will be placed in the hands of the teaching staff to manipulate the academic fortunes of the students entrusted to their care. Communalism will play havoc with the lives of these young men. That these fears are not imaginary will be clear from the innumerable writ petitions filed in the past. In all these cases, the marks earned by the young men at the annual examination was the ground on which merit was claimed by the complainant to get admission to the professional courses. There is no doubt that on theoretical grounds, the proposed reform is a desirable one; but should we not take the hard realities into account before implementing the proposal? At present, cases of gross injustice are thrown up to public gaze, but, if the new proposal is adopted, the very fact that merit is smothered will be effectively hidden from the public. Bangalore.

P. H. S. RAO.

SWATANTRA PARTY

Sir,—Within a year of its establishment, the Swatantra Party has attained a position of pride on the Indian Political scene, thereby giving some anxious thoughts to the ruling party. The Party has received bouquets and brickbats in abundance from every quarter and that in itself is proof clear, if one was needed, that the Party is out to fill a badly-felt vacuum in Indian politics.

The Party needs sincere and indefatigable workers throughout the country. Although the self-set target of at least a hundred seats in the Parliament is within the feasible reach of the Party, its leaders would do well to concentrate their efforts most in the States of U.P., Bombay, Bihar and M.P. which together supply almost half the strength in the Lok Sabha.

Only by having a strong voice at the Centre, the Party can bring about

changes in the law to counter the Leviathan which the ruling party is creating in the guise of a Socialistic pattern of society.

The performance of the ruling party in its unbridled region of over twelve years has only created chaos and confusion in the mind of the nation. The ruling party has once again raised the ghost of communalism and created class hatred on a scale which, if unchecked, can result only in the break-up of the whole country. A citizen no longer feels safe with the present Government in spite of all the guarantees of fundamental rights given in the Constitution.

Swatantra is the only party which can put a halt to all this. The Party is pledged to social justice, as distinct from the Socialistic pattern of society, and equality of opportunity for all people without distinction of religion, caste, occupation or political affiliation. It is the party which aims at the amelioration of the underdog, the peasant, the labourer, the self-employed trader, while guaranteeing full return to the capitalist for individual initiative and enterprise. It is the only party, therefore, which can enjoy the confidence of every section of the populace, whether rich or poor, keeping clear of class hatreds and communal and regional bickerings. People can realise Mahatma's dream of India only by placing the Swatantra Party in a sizeable majority at the next polls.

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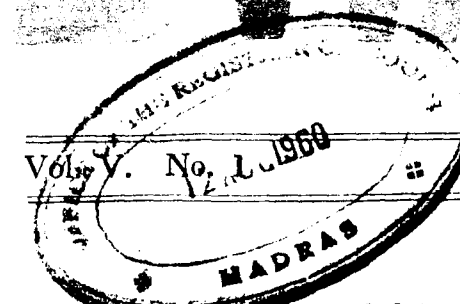
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Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

MADRAS, JULY 9, 1960

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SQUANDERMANIA

"No Government is justified in taxing even the smallest sum of money from the people unless a case can be clearly established to show that it will be productive of some essential advantage to them and of one that cannot be obtained by a smaller sacrifice Nothing requires more wisdom and prudence than to fix public expenditure at such an amount that the real wants of the people shall not be made to give way to any imaginary wants of the State."

These words are quoted with appreciation in a recent issue of the London Times. They are taken from a report of the House of Commons Select Committee on Public Expenditure in 1898. Sir Edmund Compton, Britain's Comptroller and Auditor General, relied on them to show to a conference of municipal treasurers last month that "the recognition of special responsibility for economy in spending public money" is a long established British tradition. It has to be admitted, with regret, that such a tradition has not been maintained in Indian administration in the last twelve years of Congress rule.

The reader is referred to an article by a correspondent under the title "Reckless Extravagance" appearing on page 5 of this issue. It gives a detailed account of several instances of reckless squandering of public money during the period of Sri Krishna Menon's regime in London as India's High Commissioner. According to the correspondent, the High Commissioner was guilty, in some cases, not only of spending the taxpayer's money without proper authorisation, but also of

spending it thoughtlessly and recklessly without the care and discrimination that a prudent man would exercise in the management of his own affairs. When imprudence is continuous and results in loss of public money, some action on the part of the authorities entrusted with the economic expenditure of Government funds is called for. But this was not done. Sri Krishna Menon was never

One more year has quickly passed for you and Swarajya and, may I say, for me too in close and happy collaboration. Since the year began with your change from Lloyd Road to Kilpauk, Providence has left you no worse but better in health. Your devotion and your faith never faltered and so all has been well. May I tender grateful thanks to all those who helped you and my best wishes for Swarajya's next year of courageous service?

C. Rajagopalachari

BREACH OF PRIVILEGE MOTION AGAINST RAJAJI

RAJAJI'S REPLIES TO THE ANDHRA SPEAKER

called to account. Was he actually screened and protected? This would be the inevitable conclusion if steps are not taken at least now to fix responsibility for the gross cases of negligence in his High Commissionership now publicly brought to light.

A tidy sum could have been saved if Sri Krishna Menon had been more responsible in his spending. The sum-total of irresponsible spending on the part of many in similar positions acting similarly entails a heavy burden of taxation on the people without any benefit to show in return. There is no justification for this taxation, and the end of Congress rule would at least mean a reduction in the burden of taxation without any corresponding diminution in any existing benefit available to the people. Overburdened with taxation, people have good reason to welcome the end of Congress rule for the relief from the present excessive taxation that it will assuredly bring. To avert such a fate the Congress bosses have taken to a desperate squandermania, appropriating colossal sums out of public money to be utilised for the propagandist aim of bolstering the party. Their hold on the power of money as a government is being abused to advance their political fortunes as a party.

If the perpetuation of the ruling party in office by means of unrestricted abuse of governmental power is to be prevented, there should be a caretaker government to run the elections ensuring equal treatment and fair dealing for all contestants for popular suffrage at the polls.

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S. Krishnaswami,
Secretary

The Speaker of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly sent Rajaji on April 27 a copy of notice of motion of alleged breach of privilege given by some members of the Assembly.

The notice, addressed to the Speaker was to the following effect:

Sriman C. Rajagopalachari, a very important leader of the country is reported to have stated in a public speech at Chandigarh that "The Congress legislators are such people, whom any first class magistrate would round up. They are those without any appreciable means of livelihood." If it is true that he has made that statement, it is the most unparliamentary indecent contemptuous statement made by any responsible person. It constitutes a breach of privilege committed against the members of the Congress Legislature Party of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly individually and collectively. It also constitutes a breach of privilege committed against the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, as the Congress members therein are 232 out of a total strength of 301. When it is stated that the vast majority of the members of the House are vagabonds, rowdies and bad characters, it is a grave reflection on the dignity of the whole House. It also constitutes a contempt of the Honourable Speaker of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, as he was also elected to the House as a member of the Congress Legislature Party, though he was afterwards elected as the Speaker and as such he is above all parties. It means clearly that he was also a vagabond, rowdy and bad character, when he was elected as a member to the House. It is true that the Honourable Speaker has disallowed a similar privilege motion in the Lok Sabha. His ruling is entitled to the highest consideration and respect. But he has not gone into all aspects of the question. His ruling is not *res judicata* for this House. This House can consider the question afresh on the merits. There is no election excitement. Sriman C. Rajagopalachari has deliberately and in a hostile spirit abused, insulted and brought to contempt all the Houses of Legislature with Congress majorities and the Congress members thereof. We should not allow this to go unchallenged.

We request you to admit this motion and refer it to the Committee of Privileges of the House under Rule 181 of the Assembly Rules.

Rajaji's Reply

Rajaji wrote to the Speaker as follows:

I have just today received your Assistant Secretary's letter dated April 27, 1960 enclosing a copy of the notice of motion of alleged breach of privilege of the House by me in the course of a speech of mine at Chandigarh (Punjab).

(a) My speech was at a reception given to me by the Bar Association of the High Court of Punjab. It was not a public meeting.

(b) The words quoted are not a correct report of what I said.

(c) I dwelt on the defects in the present system of representation of the people. I said that for a good and efficient body of law-makers qualified to deal with the economy of the country and to make laws on the basis of a Welfare State, we should have duly elected representatives of all the productive occupations in the country and referred by way of contrast to the present members of the legislatures who were mostly people not engaged in any productive occupation but who seek to make laws affecting all professions. Emphasising my point and by way of a humorous remark I referred to the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code which enables magistrates to bind over persons who have no ostensible occupation.

(d) These remarks were made with no intention of disrespect or in disregard of the privileges of the legislature or of the Speaker collectively or individually.

(e) As mentioned in the notice of motion this very matter was considered and disposed of by the Hon'ble Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Delhi, who can be regarded as protector of the privileges of all the legislatures in India.

A week later, Rajaji wrote further to the Speaker, thus:

Since writing to you on the subject of the notice of motion of privilege against me, I have obtained a true copy of the ruling of the Speaker of the Lok Sabha on the same matter. I enclose a copy of it herein.

It would be creating an intolerable situation if there should be conflict of decisions between the Speaker of the Lok Sabha in the Delhi Parliament and the Speakers of the State Legislatures on identically the same matter and in respect of one and the same person and one and the same cause of action. It is not a question of autonomy of the State legislature or of *res judicata* but the avoidance of conflict of decisions and the need for a proper and smooth convention in regard to Parliamentary authority.

The Speaker of the Lok Sabha follows the rulings of the Speaker in the House of Commons not because of any legally binding character of those rulings. For the same and much stronger reasons the ruling of the Speaker of the Parliament of India must, it is respectfully submitted, be deemed not only as settling the principle but also as having disposed of the cause of action itself.

In view of the combination in cases of privilege in one and the same authority, of the roles of prosecutor and of Judge, it is very necessary that the area of jurisdiction should be restricted as indicated in the second quotation made by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha from the House of Commons record and not widened so as to cover a vast area affecting the general right of freedom of expression and bring it under a procedure wherein the prosecutor is also Judge without any appeal from his decision.

Lok Sabha Speaker's Ruling

Relevant proceedings of the Lok Sabha (dated April 20) containing the Speaker's ruling referred to in Rajaji's letter above, are given below:

Mr. Speaker: Shri Khadilkar has given notice of a privilege motion:

Now I am going to read out his notice of question of privilege and also the grounds on which I have refused consent. I am sure he will be satisfied with them. Shri Khadilkar has written to me:

A friend of mine drew my attention to a speech delivered by Shri C. Rajagopalachari at Chandigarh on the 24th March. It has been reported in the leading English daily *The Indian Express* of the 26th March 1960. The report says:

"Mr. Rajagopalachari said that its (Congress) representatives in the legislatures were such people whom any first class magistrate would round up. They were men without any appreciable means of livelihood."

Prime facie, it is a contempt of the House and therefore serious notice of it should be taken at the earliest opportunity. The paper claims

to have the largest combined net sales among all daily newspapers in India. It is published from several centres in the country.

Whatever be the language that might have been used, I will refer to two precedents. A similar question arose in the House of Commons, U.K. on the 21st June 1954, when a Member, Sir H. Williams brought to the notice of the Speaker the following portion of a speech, attributed to another Member Mr. Shinwell, appearing in that day's *Daily Mail*:

"Mr. E. Shinwell, Socialist M.P. predicted an election at the end of the year when he spoke at a Labour Party gala. He said it would be an opportunity to get rid of the crazy Tories—the wretches, the rascals, the rascallions."

The Member contended that the reference was clearly to members on the side of the Treasury Benches and as such it was a gross breach of the privilege of the House. Thereupon the Speaker observed:

"..... My view of it is that hard words used against persons and parties are dealt with, if necessary, by the law of defamation, and it is only where the House as a whole is affected by the spoken word that, to my mind, a question of privilege arises. In this case, it seems to me that these offensive epithets are selective in their application. Therefore, of the words complained of, I could not really find a *prima facie* case of breach of privilege"

Mr. Speaker: I only want to tell Hon. Members that we ought not to be a little too touchy with respect to these matters. Each party attacks the other party.....

I may refer to the ruling given by the Speaker of the House of Commons, U.K., in another case which may be borne in mind by all Hon. Members. It reads:

"..... however grave the charges and imputations made in that article may be, I do not think it is a case of privilege. It has been the practice of this House to restrain privilege under great limitations and conditions; and these restrictions and limitations have been, in my opinion, very wisely imposed by the House upon itself. The rule is that, when imputations are made, in order to raise a case of privilege the imputation must refer to the action of honourable members in the discharge of their duties in the actual transaction of the business of this House, and though I quite understand the honourable Baronet having brought this matter to my notice, I cannot

rule that this is a case of privilege. Of course, if the honourable members think themselves aggrieved, they have a remedy; and they will not be precluded from pursuing their remedy elsewhere than in this House" (Parl. Deb. (1887), Vol. 311, c.286-88).

This matter is closed.

Question of Jurisdiction

A third note was sent by Rajaji to the Speaker of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly on June 11. It stated:

In addition to the points already represented I respectfully submit that the question of jurisdiction should also be carefully considered before the Hon'ble Speaker admits the motion.

The Indian Constitution does not contain any provision stating that the powers, privileges and immunities of a State Legislature extend beyond the territorial limits of the State concerned. On the other hand Article 168 of the Constitution lays down that "for every State" there should be a legislature" etc.

Article 194 (3) which assimilates the powers, privileges and immunities of a State legislature to those of the British House of Commons until they are defined by the State legislature itself must be deemed to refer only to the contents and character of the privileges and cannot be interpreted to mean an extension of the area of operation of the privileges beyond the State.

Item 39 in the list of State subjects in the Seventh Schedule deals with the powers, privileges and immunities of the State legislature. No law of a State legislature can possibly operate beyond the territorial limits of the State. The function of the Constitution to limit the jurisdiction of the State legislature in regard to privileges may be inferred from this. Had it been the intention that the powers, privileges etc., of the State legislature could operate beyond the limits of the State, the subject of legislating on the powers, privileges and immunities would have been included in the Union List and not in the State list.

It is needless to point out that I am not a resident within the territories of the Andhra Pradesh State. The speech referred to as the cause of action was made in Punjab within the precincts of the Punjab High Court. I raise this point of jurisdiction as it is also one of the vital points to be considered by the Speaker in deciding on the question of admission of the motion. I need hardly add that I do so with all respect to the Speaker.

SIDELIGHTS ::

The admission of a privilege motion against Rajaji in the Andhra Legislative Assembly is little short of quixotic. The same matter came up before the Lok Sabha some time earlier when the Speaker ruled it out for good reasons given. He cited in support of his decision the authority of the Speaker of the House of Commons in an analogous case when harsher epithets (rascals, rapsallions) were hurled against members of Parliament than any that Rajaji used against Indian legislators at Chandigarh and another case wherein the bounds of privilege were strictly defined. The British attitude to privilege motions as expounded by the Speaker of the House of Commons was revealing. He pointed out that in such motions the prosecutor is also the judge, and an unusual combination of powers like that should not be resorted to except in very exceptional cases, nor should it be allowed to interfere with the ordinary course of the law or the normal freedoms of speech and press. The Lok Sabha Speaker respected the dignity of parliamentary institutions as defined by his British compeer, realising that no geographical or political limitations need interfere with the building of traditions conducive to liberty and dignity. It is of course open to our provincial Speakers to put the importance of their own independent authority against the obligations of reason binding all the world over. Can they reach superiority, or equality of status with a national parliamentary institution, this way, one wonders.

"Your judges have sentenced you to death", said a friend to Socrates. "And has not Nature passed the same sentence on them?" quickly responded the sage old philosopher.

Sri M. C. Setalwad, Attorney-General, spoke some hard home-

truths about deterioration of standards in the administration when he addressed the Madras Advocates Association last week. "There was a tendency on the part of politicians," he said, "to encroach upon proper standards in the matter of judicial appointments The result is that merit was, as it were, coldshouldered and nepotism is slowly but steadily gaining ground." In a situation of this nature, he called upon the legal profession "to stand up as one man and do the utmost to mobilise public opinion and get the matter ventilated". He also urged the Press to play its part. The Solicitor-General remarked at the same meeting that he endorsed every word of what the Attorney-General had said.

An indictment like this, coming from the two highest ranking officers of the Bar in India, cannot be set aside lightly. It merits the serious attention of all concerned. There is reason to believe that the Attorney-General was not indulging in vague generalities, but speaking authoritatively from local knowledge of the specific efforts of a politician to plant a favourite of his on the High Court Bench. It is now an open secret that a Minister of the State has for some time past been straining every nerve to get a relative of his promoted, by hook or crook, as a Judge of the High Court. The lucky relative was an officer of the Secretariat staff who lacked judicial experience. He was therefore transferred to the judiciary. If, from a low rung in the judicial service, he made a direct jump to the High Court Bench, there were ever so many seniors in the same service who would certainly raise a furore over it and make things unpleasant for the Minister and the Judge. To get out of the difficulty, he has been given an official assignment with the status of a member of the Bar. There he waits now, for a suitable opportunity to get the benefit of the next phase of the Plan.

Nepotism does not end with the good fortune of the favourite singled out for out-of-the way promotion. It is the beginning of discontent, disappointment, jealousy and heart-burning in a host of other employees who justly feel themselves unjustly superseded. No incentive for hard and honest work can survive in such an atmosphere. Personal nepotism and family nepotism are not so deleterious in their consequences as clan and communal nepotisms. It is well known that privileged classes are springing up sustained by the corruption of influence pertaining to political power, classes which greedily absorb the good things of life and make the lot of citizens outside the circle of privilege one of deprivation, disfranchisement, inferiority, injustice and persecution. In Andhra Pradesh there was virtual Reddi raj when a Reddi ruled as Chief Minister. Sometime ago Sri Jagjivan Ram, taking advantage of his control over railways, made a rule that in his particular branch of administration neither record of service nor experience need count for promotions—it is quite enough if one were a member of his community! An order without parallel anywhere in the world for crude injustice and unashamed caste discrimination was passed entitling Harijans, just because they are Harijans, to get a clean walk-over against all competitors for promotion, in disregard of qualifications, seniority, merit, talent and the like.

The failure of character on the part of Ministers has brought about a sad state of affairs and ruined the country. The favouritisms they have let loose on the administration have knocked the bottom out of good and honest work. These favouritisms are an index of aggrandisement also,—personal, family, clan and community aggrandisements, and from the Prime Minister downwards there are few holders of power that are not guilty of it. Injustice stalks the government in the form of open distortions of policy and secret manipulations conferring rewards on favoured

(Continued on page 13)

July 9, 1950

RECKLESS EXTRAVAGANCE FROM A CORRESPONDENT

It is time that Parliament insisted on the appointment of an independent committee to go thoroughly into the numerous instances of reckless extravagance of which Mr. Krishna Menon was guilty over a series of years as High Commissioner for India in England. The jeep deal which has received wide publicity in this country was only one, but by no means the worst, from the standpoint of the Indian tax-payer. The reports of Parliament's Public Accounts Committees for a number of years have not had the attention due to the recommendations of a responsible body. Below are reproduced the summaries of the relevant paragraphs, as far as possible in the language of the Public Accounts Committee, on some of the more serious of Mr. Krishna Menon's transactions.

(1) In January, 1949, the Government of India wanted to establish a Mission in Dublin and decided in May of that year to accredit the High Commissioner in London additionally as Ambassador to Ireland. The Standing Finance Committee, however, did not agree to the proposal and suggested that the expenditure on the new Mission should be confined only to the travelling expenses of the High Commissioner for occasional visits. Nevertheless, in May 1950, on a representation from Mr. Krishna Menon, the Government sanctioned a proposal to rent a building at an annual rent of Rs. 12,000 plus Rs. 3,333 for fittings. In August a further sum of Rs. 40,000 was sanctioned for repairs and furnishing. But the negotiations for leasing this building fell through. Subsequently, in December 1950, Mr. Krishna Menon took another residential building on lease for 15 years at an annual rent of Rs. 8,900 against the earlier sanction, but without any further reference to the Government. The new premises, however, remained unoccupied, as the Mission could not be established on account of shortage of suitable personnel. The building fell into a state of disrepair and it was estimated in October 1954 that expenditure on repairs, upkeep and furnishing alone had amounted to about Rs. 60,000. In August 1956, a further expenditure of Rs. 18,667 was incurred on certain urgent repairs to that building to prevent further deterioration. Since the conditions of the lease did not permit subletting, the Government was compelled to incur a recurring liability at the rate of Rs. 9,800 a year which will continue until 1965. It may be added that up to 31st March 1955 an expenditure of Rs. 16,000 had been incurred by the High Commis-

sioner for hotel accommodation in Dublin during periodical visits to Ireland.

(2) In December 1950 Mr. Krishna Menon acquired on lease up to 1961 certain premises in London at an annual rent of £1150 for commercial publicity, on payment (in addition) of a premium of £4000. The building was in need of extensive repairs for such a purpose. A further sum of £6000 was therefore spent on this account by him from the contingent grant. No mention of the fact of the building being in need of extensive repairs and redecoration was made when sanction was applied for from the Government. More than two-fifths of the building had remained unutilised from December 1950 till July 1955; that is, for more than 4-1/2 years. The P.A. Committee commented that there was no justification for the payment of the premium of £4000, nor for the expenditure of £6000 on repairs and redecoration. The sanction of this expenditure by the High Commissioner from the contingent grant was described as "an improper use of his powers" by him. The Financial Adviser in London was not consulted before the building was taken over on lease. In fact, the Committee described the whole deal as "unbusinesslike."

(3) In May 1950 Mr. Krishna Menon received the Government's approval to negotiate for the acquisition of a lease of premises to be built on a site near India House in London. In July 1950 he advanced £17,000 to a company floated in December 1949 with a nominal capital of £1,000 and issued capital of £2. This company had entered into a contract with the existing lessee for the purchase of his rights in the property for a sum of £170,000. The company proposed to demolish the existing building and erect new premises according to the High Commissioner's requirements and agreed to a major portion being leased to India House. The advance payment of £17,000 was made in the expectation that the amount would be repaid in six weeks but under very peculiar circumstances.

According to the Audit Report, a solicitor who had become a Director of

To educate is to teach people how to think; to domesticate is to teach people what to think. The process of domestication toward which we are drifting, make for small, narrow, and prejudiced minds.

—THOMAS CLARKE.

the above-mentioned property company on 11th July, 1950, told Mr. Krishna Menon the same morning that unless he paid the lessee £17,000 or 10 per cent of the purchase money before 3 p.m. that day, there was a risk of the lessee closing the transaction with another party. The contract was due for completion originally on 11th October, 1950. But successive extensions were allowed to the lessee and the contract was not completed. Meanwhile, the lessee's rights in the property were sold by his mortgage creditors by foreclosing the mortgage and the property ceased thereafter to be with the lessee. "It is strange," remarked the Public Accounts Committee, "that a sum of £17,000 should have been paid without security to a firm without credentials or financial backing, which had been floated with £2 paid-up capital only six months earlier, conceivably for the express purpose of putting this transaction through." No explanation has been given for not negotiating direct with the lessee and for the interposition of an intermediary with little or no financial backing or guarantee. There is a striking family resemblance with other highly objectionable contracts which resulted in serious financial losses to the State.

(4) In response to an urgent demand from Air Headquarters from India for certain aircraft stores, an order was placed by the High Commissioner in London for stores worth £8115, with Aircraft Instrumentation Ltd. in September 1949. In order to secure a 5 per cent discount offered by the firm for the settlement of their claim within 7 days of its presentation, payment of the full contract amount was made, after the firm had furnished the necessary certificates of inspection of the stores. The firm had also signed the usual undertaking, in the event of failure to deliver, to refund the advance payment made. Repeated instructions for the delivery of the stores were not complied with, and in April 1950 the shortfall in deliveries amounted to approximately £5,800. Meanwhile, the firm had been taken over by another which pleaded inability to complete the supply of the items, barring some of them valued at £1,169. This latter firm said that it had not been informed by the old company of any outstanding contracts. It was ascertained later that the Aircraft Instrumentation Limited was a private company with a nominal capital of £2,000. It was also found that the certificate of the Air Registration Board of the U.K. produced by the firm was a fraud. The company was neither the manufacturer nor the agent of any manufacturer.

July 9, 1960

PRECISION AND CONFUSION

By POTHAN JOSEPH

At the back of the Prime Minister's mind during the controversial voting on the future composition of the Congress Working Committee was his secret disposition to accommodate dissidents who wanted the elective principle but only to a limited extent so that the Congress Executive would in future consist of one-third voted into office by the A.I.C.C. and the other two-thirds nominated by the Congress President in his "unique" capacity as the Supremo of the Party. For harmony it is necessary to honour a single doctrine; the top-agency should be either elected or wholly selected as otherwise there would be two factions, two-thirds and one-thirds seeking predominance in the hierarchy while down at the grass roots of mandal-nationalism now fostered, there would be evidence of the same vertical fissure. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's concession which appears to have convulsed the immediate caucus round him into blaming it on Dhebarbhai, not to mention President Sanjiva Reddi, has not perturbed the Prime Minister, who is not even a member of the Working Committee but only a permanent invitee, as if his *diktat* could make any difference by that distinction.

The latter-day proneness of Pandit Jawaharlal to make fragmentary concessions on issues calling for straight perspective and also to attach immense importance to documents first tested by him in person as in charge-sheets of Congress corruption and the misuse of power appears to be sticking out a mile in current controversy. Is this kind of particularism very helpful?

In a very casual manner as if bored by the clamour for administrative rectitude, the Prime Minister told his press-conference that as far as he heard (no room for any newspaper canard) Mr. Deshmukh and the former Chief Justice S. R. Das must be "in touch" with each other and that Mr. Deshmukh had agreed "to some extent" to disclose the information so that the Prime Minister could, after inspection of submitted material, determine whether there was a *prima facie* case at all for enquiry which should, of course, be examined at party-level by a panel of nominees, according to the Sadhashivnagar decision, not to mention ratification by the High Command. Resort to this process is so circumlocutionary and transparently hollow that one does not pause to enquire what qualification about disclosed proofs is signified by the safeguard "to some

extent". The country is not told, (and the country may be taken for granted as being more interested in the eradication of graft than the choice party-bosses) whether the term "to some extent" amounts to raising the veil on one-third of the evidence. If the Prime Minister thinks that corruption is merely a smear-campaign turning the existence of a high-class standing Tribunal of judicial worth into a farce, he might as well dig his toes on a declaration of No, instead of meandering over proposals with idle offers of "an investigatory panel".

The Prime Minister admitted to the reporters that the panel of those who bear "respected names" cannot deal with actual cases of corruption which belong to the sphere of criminal law. One incomprehensible cannot be explained by another inscrutable. Alice in the Looking Glass is surprised about the story of the "Snark" but it is explained that "the Snark" is but a "Boojem". Nevertheless, the Prime Minister's very recent infatuation for details and systematic analysis in contrast to newspaper rumours stands neon-lighted.

His role as Chairman of the Planning Commission for ten years has led him through a labyrinth of facts and figures so that he feels allergic to vagaries. Experts in the Planning Commission smother him with statistics and the Third Plan designed for Rs. 9,500 crores has been jacked up into an investment of an extra Rs. 250 crores certified by Professor Mahalanobis for the launching of a fourth steel-plant, Bokaro. In scientific matters, Winston Churchill was always guided by Professor Lindemann (later raised to the peerage) and during the war when the mechanics of bombing raised problems, his sole query was "What does the Professor say?" The Professor was, however, a conservative in his calculations and estimates of fire-power, besides being an adherent of the Tory party with no liking for Commies. Professor Mahalanobis is a radical thinker invariably inclined to regard cautious professors like Professor Shenoy as being counter-revolutionary in outlook. In ceiling legislation there is sudden shift in Andhra from computation of family-income in terms of money over rural areas to a graded system of acreage whereas the National Development Council (Chief Ministers round the table) has favoured some uniformity in formula and proce-

sure in all the sixteen States. Shriman Narayan trumpeteering decisions of the Supreme Panel, warns the country that whatever be the recommendations of the Vaikuntlal Mehta Committee they should be regarded as still-born in the light of superior statistics.

The booklets turned out by the Publications Division are so many that anyone wishing to make a pronouncement on the future of any subject ranging from meteorology to malariology could quote facts and figures, and also advance recommendations for the allotment of funds as suggested by the study-groups who had produced working papers. Nevertheless the atmosphere in relation to resources and know-how is so smoggy (the blend of smoke and fog) that Executive authorities are left in a maze seeking further clarification of all the issues by sub-committees with a minimum strength of 35. The lack of definitions is plainly visible in the argument about anti-corruption measures even when the embers of the Jeep scandal and Potter affairs are still warm. How fluffy ideas induce what is called the crisis-in-confidence may be seen in the argument put up by the Prime Minister in his press conference.

The Prime Minister said that he had suggested to Mr. Deshmukh to send such evidence about any matter as he had to Mr. Das for a preliminary inquiry.

Mr. Nehru prefaced his replies to correspondents' questions on this subject with the words: "Well, I would have preferred not to talk about that but since you have asked me, I will explain the position."

He said that long ago, Mr. Deshmukh had made "certain remarks". Thereafter, he had asked Mr. Deshmukh to let him have some particulars about those matters so that he could inquire into them to satisfy himself whether further action was necessary. Mr. Deshmukh replied then that he could not do that because he did not wish to put his (Mr. Deshmukh's) informants into trouble.

Mr. Nehru added: "I did not know what to do. Then I said: 'Don't tell me who your informants are but tell me what the case is.'"

The Prime Minister said that to that also Mr. Deshmukh was not agreeable. "Last year, I suggested: 'Leave me out of the picture. If we have some very eminent person informally and privately to look into the questions, without letting me know who the people (involved) are, for

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my part I will abide by that person's advice in the matter."

Mr. Nehru added: "That was the position and Mr. Deshmukh to some extent agreed with this. Since then I have had nothing to do with it. I take it that Mr. Deshmukh and Mr. S. R. Das are in contact with each other. I do not know."

Earlier, replying to a question about the decision of the Congress Working Committee to set up an "investigation panel" to inquire into complaints about misuse of authority by Congressmen in high positions, Mr. Nehru said that it was actually for the Congress President to make, but this decision had no relation with the suggestion for setting up a tribunal. This had nothing to do with the prerogatives or working of the Government in dealing with corruption and the like. That was a separate matter.

There is lack of judicial perspective when Mr. Nehru says that he wants "information" and that he doesn't care who the informants are. For any assessment of evidence, the character and identity of the witness is absolutely necessary, but then the preliminary proposition is that complaints from the sixteen States in India should be sent to the Head of the Government with documents in original (thumb marks in case of illiteracy) so that the Prime Minister could himself investigate. The public, however, would not take it from him, despite his credit for veracity that such an operation would be physically possible, and no panel of doctors would allow such over-exertion on information received, howsoever anonymously.

Insistence that facts and figures should always be there gives plausible prestige, but even on such a question as the area under Chinese aggression there is no consistent story. On the strength of official pronouncements and available maps, we are told one day that it is 50,000 square miles; the next day 30,000 square miles; and then again 12,000 square miles, right along a frontier of 2000 miles supplemented by the romantic flapdoodle that the friendship between India and China has been a matter of 2000 years unforgettable even if talks should occupy an interregnum of 10 years to 40 years to come.

Added to slap-dash notions about what Chou En-lai calls "present actualities", attempts are made to maintain the air of accuracy. In pseudo-judicial projects of enquiry, party hush-hush creates contradiction between the obligations of truth and the pledge involved in the oath of secrecy in high places. Flat denial of allegations would at least be a line tenable in logic, if not in the observance of probity.



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THE BEST EDUCATION FOR THE FITTEST

By F. G. PEARCE

All over India thoughtful people are feeling anxious about the education of their children. Standards have gone down, indiscipline is rife, and every year it becomes more difficult to obtain admission to the better schools and colleges. Plenty of critics on platforms and in the press come forward with explanations, but very little seems to be done to apply remedies. Faced with larger and ever larger numbers of pupils in their classes, harassed teachers exert less and less influence in the right direction; the old relationship of *guru* and *chela* has almost ceased to exist; schools and colleges are now factories for the mass-production of matriculates and graduates; they are not educational institutions. Quality has almost everywhere been sacrificed to quantity.

The ultimate cause of this rapid deterioration is, obviously, a too rapid expansion, a multiplication of buildings and material equipment without sufficient foresight in providing the essential human material,—good teachers,—without which the provision of material facilities is useless, and not only useless but harmful and wasteful. Sir

John Sargent, when Educational Adviser to the Government of India, warned us against this in his great report on "*The Post-War Educational Development in India*" published in 1944; he clearly pointed out that to provide for the complete education of the then population of British India nearly 30 lakhs of teachers of all kinds would be essential; and that even if one in every three of those passing out of the country's high schools were to enter the teaching profession, that number could not possibly be recruited and trained in less than 40 years. Since 1944 not only has the population increased by many millions, through natural increase and the integration into it of the people of the Indian States, but the growth of industry has drawn a far larger number into other professions. The problem has thus become even greater.

It is no doubt difficult for Ministries dependent upon popular votes to resist the demand for more and more schools and colleges and more and more places in them, even if those responsible for implementing educational policy know that it is impossible to provide ade-

quately for the teaching staff required. To deny education to those who demand it, in a supposedly democratic country, would savour too much of the denial of equal opportunities for all, and goes against the grain of theoretical Socialists. But to make education highly selective, so that the best education is provided for those *best fitted* to make the fullest use of it, does not go against the grain of *practical* Socialism, or even of *practical* Conservatism! And that is where a possible solution of the problem lies, if it is not now too late to adopt it. It is the solution adopted in all countries in which a practical and realistic educational policy is followed,—including the U.S.S.R.

What is meant by a *selective educational policy*? Does it mean the denial of elementary education to any? Certainly not. On the contrary, it means the widening and improvement of facilities for elementary education, the better payment and better training of elementary school teachers, from the funds now wasted on the attempt to provide secondary education and higher education on much too wide a scale, too wide a scale for this country as it now is. As the country's resources increase, by all means let the facilities for universal education be extended into the second-

dary stage, as they now are in wealthier countries. But, *until India can afford it*, let the facilities for secondary and higher education be strictly *selective*. Let no boy or girl unable to show his or her capacity for making full use of secondary education be allowed to have it.

The process of selection is, of course, a difficult one, and it will create new problems, as has happened in Britain where the Eleven-Plus examination (the test for admission to academic secondary schools, is now under hot criticism. But where there is a will, there's a way; and, if selection is essential (as it surely is), the best way of making that selection will be found out in course of time, with the help of modern psychological devices and other scientific methods.

The selective process is still more important, and must be far more strictly and impartially implemented, at the point of entrance to institutions of higher education, so that funds are not wasted, as they are at present, in imparting 'higher' education (often not worth the name of education at all) to young men (and even in some cases young women) who in many cases have neither the ability nor the will to benefit by it.

Such an educational policy would be highly unpopular, and could only be initiated and carried through by a Ministry prepared to face opposition both from the rich and the poor, until people were convinced of its long-term beneficial effects on the country's economy. It would be opposed at first, not only by the masses, who would imagine that they were being deprived of their right to equal treatment, but also by the wealthier classes, who would strongly resent the application of a process of selection in which *their* children also, if unable to qualify, would be refused admission to secondary schools and universities.

But, in the interim, until such time as there are no wealthier classes left in India, a compromise is possible. In a free country, there should be no hindrance to the provision of any kind of education for the children of any class of the people, *provided they are prepared to pay for it!* If the wealthier class wish to have their sons and daughters educated in schools of their own choice, such as the present Indian public schools and other private schools, they should be allowed to do so, but only at their own cost, and not with the help of public funds. Such schools, in fact, can be useful in setting an example of higher standards, which, ultimately, it is to be hoped, will be attained by all secondary schools.

A beginning has already been made in the direction of providing the best available secondary education for those best fitted to take full advantage of it, on the basis of a strictly selective process. In 1954 the Government of Bihar opened a new residential secondary school at a place called Netarhat, near Ranchi. It was based on a scheme prepared by me for that purpose. The *Netarhat Vidyalaya* provides accommodation for nearly 400 boys up to the level of the higher secondary school examination. The medium of instruction is Hindi, the regional language of Bihar, but English is taught from the lowest class of the school, as a second language. *Admission to this school is solely on the basis of merit*, ascertained by a very carefully devised process, and strictly followed without any loop-holes for the exercise of influence. Any boy whose parents reside in Bihar State, and whose age is under 11 years, is eligible to sit for the preliminary selection examination, which is held at each of the district headquarters of the State. Those selected in the preliminary tests in the district,—about 200 to 300 usually,—are then taken to the State capital, Patna, at Government expense, and there they are re-tested by the Principal of the school and a psychologist. At that stage sixty are selected, and those only are admitted in that year, in the bottom class of the school. The fees paid by the parents are in proportion to their income (as assessed by the Income-Tax authorities); those whose income is above Rs. 850 per month have to pay the whole cost of their children's education (about Rs. 1,500 per annum per child), while those whose income is Rs. 100 per month or less are

given their entire education (including food and clothing) free, the cost being met by the State.

I mention this school here because it is an example of how selective education can be implemented by a democratic government. The *Netarhat Vidyalaya* has been in existence for six years, and it is now in full working order. Most people who have visited it have spoken very highly of it. Out of more than 300 boys now in the school no less than 230 are from homes in which the parents' income is less than Rs. 250 per month. There are 88 boys belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes and so-called 'backward classes' in the school at present. Some of them are of outstanding ability.

A school of this kind has an output of only 60 boys a year, and the cost of maintaining it is fairly large, much more than that of maintaining an ordinary high school. But it must be borne in mind that the 60 boys admitted to the school every year, and the 60 who leave at the end of each year, are the pick of the State's children. It is such boys who can be the leaven of the society in which they live. If we cannot, owing to financial stringency, provide the best education for everyone, let us at least not deny it to those most capable of benefitting fully. The level of society cannot be raised by levelling down in order to provide the same facilities for everyone. It can be raised only by providing the best for the most deserving, and thus enabling the best qualified to begin the process of levelling up. *Selection* is the key to this process, and it is the most practical, as well as the most democratic and the most just.

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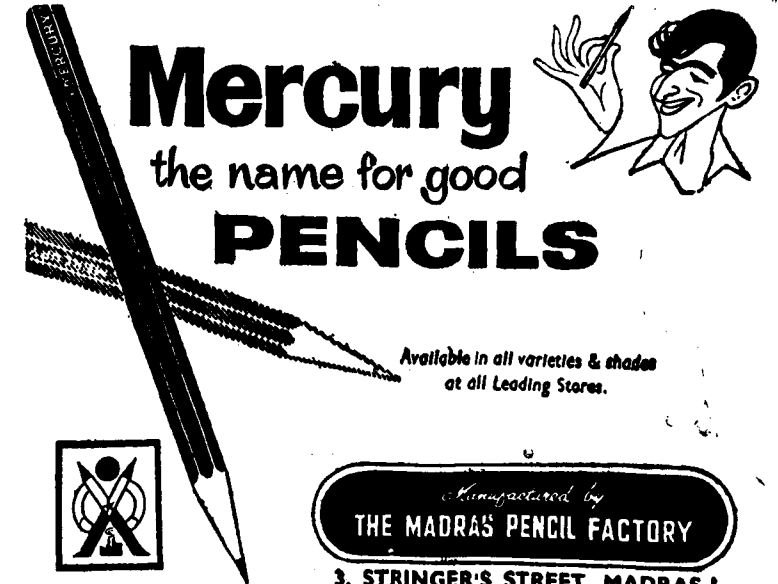
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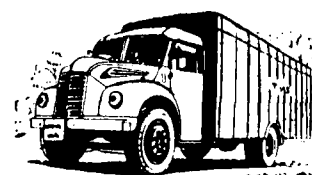
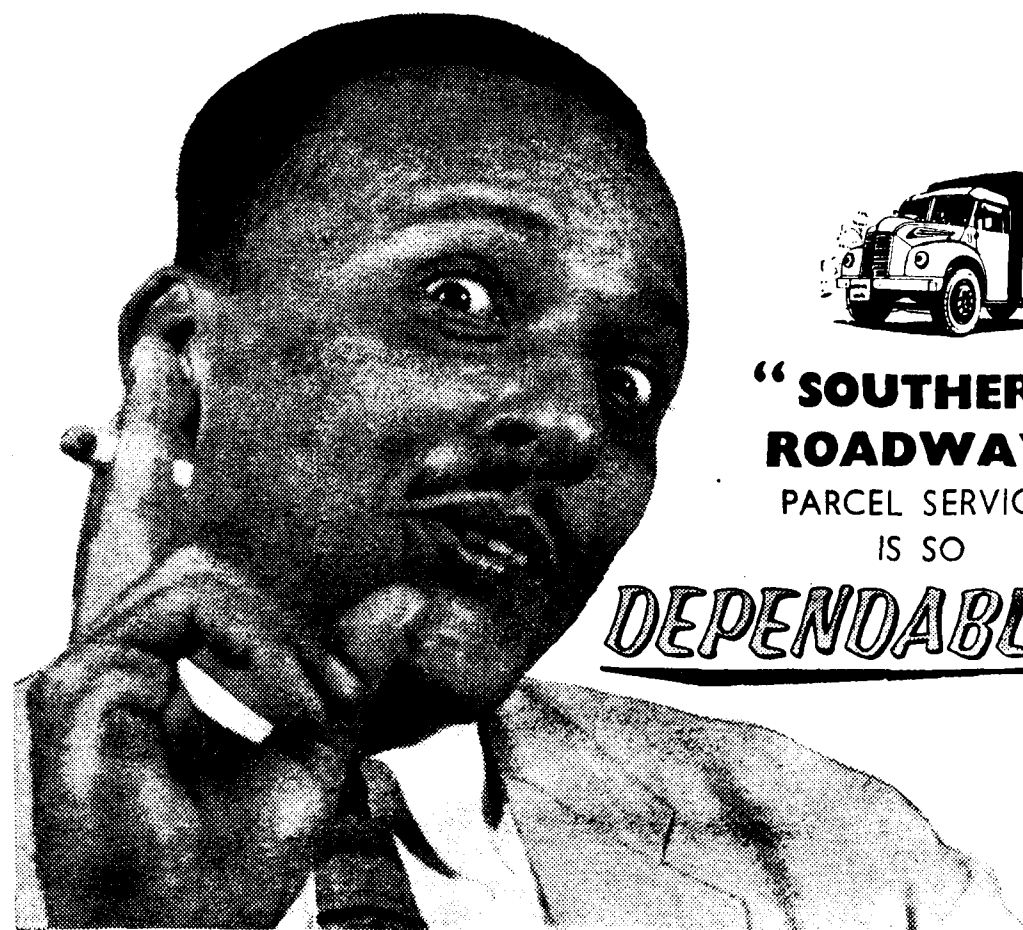
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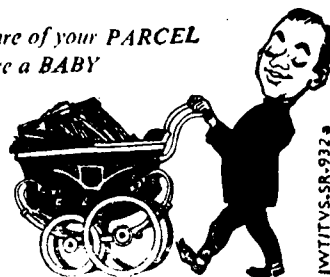
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NOVELIST OF SNOBS

By S. T. KASIRAJAN

One of the most squeamish of English writers, Miss Jane Austen is also a great novelist of snobs, to whom even Thackeray should yield the palm in this respect. She passionately hates poverty, and will not write about anyone who is poor. "People get so horribly poor and economical in this part of the world", she writes on one occasion, "that I have no patience with them. Kent is the only place for happiness. Everybody is rich there."

Miss Jane Austen does not, however, write about the most exalted levels of aristocracy but she writes about those of the county level who "live in the eager hope of being taken notice of by them." There is therefore naturally much caste snobbishness in her novels.

In *Pride and Prejudice*, Mr. Darcy never forgets his social position, never fails to talk about it even when he proposes to Elizabeth. She should be overwhelmed with his condescension, he feels. When she is offended at his power of detecting class distinctions, he warmly defends himself. "Disguise of every sort", he declares, "is my abhorrence. Nor am I ashamed of the feelings I related. They were natural and just. Could you expect me to rejoice in the inferiority of your connections? to congratulate myself on the hope of relations whose condition in life is so decidedly beneath my own?" *Pride*, pride of birth and position, is the dominant characteristic of this fearful cad, and, but for this trait in his character, there would have been no story at all to tell! Fanny and Edmund in *Mansfield Park* are prigs of the first water who are exasperatingly intolerable. In *Persuasion* Anne Elliot and Wentworth are engaged, but that interfering snob Lady Russell poisons the mind of Elliot saying that it is not only *infra dig* but dangerous to marry a man employed in the navy! Emma Woodhouse in *Emma* possesses the egoism of social caste to a degree that is astonishing. She laments the lack of the sense of superior rank in Frank Churchill. "His indifference to a confusion of rank", she feels, "bordered too much on inelegance of mind."

How far Miss Jane Austen herself shared the caste prejudice of her heroes and heroines we cannot definitely say. But there can be no doubt, as Robert Lynd avers, that she liked a modest measure of it. Most people do. She vastly derides it, though, when it becomes overbearing or produces flunkeyish reactions. She, like Meredith,

mercilessly mocks men pulled up with self-approval.

Miss Jane Austen began writing at an early age. She read widely. The list of books she is supposed to have read is given by Dr. R. W. Chapman, the great authority on her novels, and it is really imposing.

She wrote secretly for many years. Her family knew of it. But the outside world did not. Nor did even the servants of her household. She, says Austen Leigh, her first biographer, wrote upon small sheets of paper which could easily be put away or covered with a piece of blotting paper should anybody approach. She objected to having a creaking door repaired since it gave her notice if anyone was coming!

She did not get much encouragement to write. *Pride and Prejudice*, a publisher declined by return of post. He even refused to go through it! It had to be in the shelf for sixteen long years to see the light of day. *Northanger*

Religion gives meaning to Life

Our task is to inspire the youth of Britain with a common moral purpose which must be based on the Christian faith and an ardent belief in that faith. If we can pay all regard to that faith as the Communists regard theirs, we have nothing to fear, neither enemies nor economic troubles.

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What is true of Britain and her youth and the Christian faith, is true of our country, our youth and the religious faith of our people, be it Hinduism, Christianity, Islam or any other. The *Dharma* of Hinduism is the *Dharma* of Christianity, of Islam of the Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs Parsis and Jews. All these recognise *Dharma* which is common though in the case of each it is inextricably associated with the holy traditions and lives of the saints of that creed, without which association it would become a mere lifeless body of maxims and proverbs. Without religion man's life becomes a meaningless struggle. It is religion which binds men together and gives meaning and purpose to their life and makes them fit to go through suffering to achievement.

—C.R.

Abbey was sold for ten pounds. The publisher, however, refused to publish it, preferring the loss of ten pounds. Twelve or thirteen years later a brother of Miss Jane Austen bought it for the same price at which it was sold. Even then it was not published till the death of the author. *Sense and Sensibility* was the first to appear though not the first to be penned.

Miss Jane Austen wrote only six novels. But her fame is secure. Even the passage of long, long years could not rob her of her place in literature. People differ as to which of her novels is the best. Disraeli read *Pride and Prejudice* seventeen times. Macaulay considers *Mansfield Park* her greatest achievement. Each of the other novels has its own devoted admirers too. But her novels have not much of the spice of variety in their plots and characterization. Almost the same sort of story is told in all of them. They describe "the involvements, feelings and characters of ordinary life", which is to Scott the most wonderful he ever met.

Conversation seems to be three-fourths of the life of her characters. They are the most idle people in the world of fiction. They are thoroughly unconcerned about the outside world, but they anxiously care for the opinions of each other. The fall of snow is more of an event in their world than even the Napoleonic war.

But her novels are pure entertainment. If you put entertainment as the chief function of literature, she is a class by herself. Her novels do not call for great effort to go through. They delight even when one reads them with a tired mind. She has a prodigious sense of humour too. The follies and foibles of those around her do not annoy but make her laugh. She heartily laughs and makes others also laugh. But her laughter has a flavour—the flavour of a satirist, not of a sentimentalizer. Take, for example, the opening sentence of *Pride and Prejudice*: "It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife". It sets the note and puts one in good humour and it goes on till the end of the book. She writes plainly and without affectation and is wonderfully readable. "Nothing very much happens in her books", writes Somerset Maugham, "and yet, when you come to the bottom of a page, you eagerly turn it to learn what will happen next. Nothing very much does and again you eagerly turn the pages. The novelist who has the power to achieve this has the most precious gift a novelist can possess."

THE L. I. C. PREACHES MORALITY

By PHIROZE J. SHROFF

The Life Insurance Corporation of India is reported to have addressed letters to several companies in which it holds preference shares claiming that the tax-free dividends on preference shares should be at such rate as after deduction of tax at the rate stipulated under Section 18(3D) of the Indian Income Tax Act would give to the shareholders the net rate of dividend specified. It is further stated that the L.I.C. does not wish to discuss the legal aspect of the case but emphasize the moral and the financial side.

It would be amusing, were it not so tragic, to find the L.I.C. emphasize what it calls the moral aspect of the case, seeing that it is a creature of a legal fiat which threw all moral consider-

ations to the wind and dispossessed the shareholders of their rights in the insurance companies, offering them paltry compensations, which in some cases have not been paid till this date, though the L.I.C. is making huge profits out of the assets of some of the former companies. It ill becomes our leaders to preach morality and justice to the whole world and yet ignore moral and humane considerations while dealing with the children of the soil.

The L.I.C.'s concern for morality is evidently motivated by the fact that it holds huge parcels of preference shares in several companies. Ordinary shareholders in companies are to be condemned because they are dividend-grab-

bing blood-suckers, but when a State concern shows the same propensities for getting the highest yields from its investments, it becomes a virtue!

The trouble about the dividends on the preference shares has arisen because of the Government's decision to discontinue the practice of considering the tax payable by the companies as tax paid on behalf of the shareholders. In other words, the practice of grossing up has been abolished. The L.I.C. should have addressed its plea to the Government to restore the *status quo* rather than requiring the companies to do something which they are legally and morally debarred from doing. Under the new taxation provisions which cut through contractual obligations, certain companies such as banks, general insurance, shipping and public utilities, have been subjected to heavy additional tax burdens. It is not known that the L.I.C. has come forward to expatiate on the necessity of morality and justice in these hard cases.

If a man earning a salary of Rs. 250 receives his salary subject to the deduction of tax, why should not a preference share holder get his dividend subject to the tax payable by him personally? Formerly, the dividends in many cases were free of companies' tax and not of the individuals. Under the new tax laws a preference shareholder continues to get his dividend free of company's tax. Why should he not pay the tax on his individual dividend income?

To give tax-free dividends to the preference shareholders in effect means that the ordinary shareholders, who bear the heat and burden of the day, should be mulcted because the Government chooses to go in for a new tax pattern and place on the companies an unprecedented burden of 45 per cent on the gross profits on the pretext of simplifying corporate taxation. The Finance Ministry has not yet fulfilled its promise to review the question of the percentage of the tax payable by the companies in the light of experience, though it is known that the exchequer has very substantially gained by its recent tax proposals, of course at the expense of the companies. If the percentage were to be reduced to, say 37-1/2 per cent the companies would probably be able to give tax-free dividends to the preference shareholders. Under the circumstances the L.I.C. would be well advised to preach the observance of morality and justice to the Government rather than to the companies who are groaning under unbearable and unprecedented tax burdens.

PASSIVITY WILL NOT DO

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Those who are interested in the future of our liberties and who feel that the various curbs and restrictions imposed by the present government are unwise and should in the interest of progress be done away with, who feel that we need a polity of liberty, as opposed to a State-regulated economy based on a bias against private enterprise and private management and on faith in the public management of all trade, production and movement, must realise the simple truth that we cannot get rid of government control by supporting that same government, but only by opposing it. We cannot hope to defeat an enemy by helping him. This is

elementary and obvious, but in a State-controlled economy those who suffer most do not see it. If we must fight a monster we should not wait till he gets stronger or till he graciously permits it. We must strike at him at once when he is still young and is eating to grow stronger.

I say all this not to indulge in a parable for the pleasure of it, but because I see so many who ought to know better, trying to hide their opposition to the Stateism that has come upon us like a great plague and who believe that they may help the movement of emancipation from Government control by lying low now and doing all they can for the Gov-

ernment, and hope to fight later when they may be freer to join the battle. Later, you will be less free than you are now and much less able to put up a fight. When we ask a freedom loving citizen to come and join the forces against the present aggressive Government it is foolish for him to look at the entanglements he is caught in and to plead 'Wait, I shall finish supplying this Government with the munitions it wants and then I shall join you when I shall not be the target of the Government's anger.' Let every one realise that we cannot fight without fighting. We help our greater enslavement by not fighting. The strength of a regime based on public opinion is the passivity of the victims. Once the passivity is replaced by manly protest, the regime topples down.

SIDELIGHTS

(Continued from page 4)

employees who could not have won them in fair competition of record and merit, and the result is an increasing tempo of disillusionment and disheartenment about the worthwhileness of honesty and industry. Employees in every office find, after years of meritorious dedication to the public service, that the rewards of their labour and devotion are snatched away from their hands by someone who has nothing to show for himself except that he is related to some godfather in high position. In this world of disheartenment, the soul of the conscientious official has become a grave full of buried things. The public servant nowadays looks at life from a dark sepulchre that no longer holds any of his early hopes, grand dreams, sacred resolves and cheerful expectations. In sadness and mourning over the dead self of his youth, he says "There is no use my going on. Life is empty for me now. There is nothing left worth striving for."

The strike of Government employees now threatened is a reflection of the world of blasted hopes in which most of them live. It is stupid to blame them as unpatriotic. The failure of patriotism is on the part of those who have

perverted the administration to the present mess. Improved wages alone will not set right the thing. Even if emoluments are doubled, the canker of discontent and mental revolt will remain so long as justice as between man and man is not maintained in the treatment of the staff. Rank nepotism and favouritism on the large scale now prevalent are destructive of all discipline and sense of duty. When preferment is conferred without reference to worth, the heart goes out of work and the spirit of rebellion takes its place. When it does not end in resignation or retirement in disgust, it leads to loss of interest and idleness under cover of routine forms of duty. Outright strike of labour is more straightforward than this and should be rated more manly and honest. Only the poor in spirit and the incompetents with no hope of employment elsewhere will, out of the compulsion of economic necessity, cling helplessly to offices where injustice and heartless discrimination have become the order of the day. The strike is a challenge to the entire system of employee treatment in the Congress raj and it puts the Ministers and the politicians in power on trial. The only sane remedy is a decent system of distributing opportunities based on

work and worth without the intrusive aggressions of political influence subserving the aggrandisement plans of unscrupulous politicians. The proposed employment of the army to break the strike only high-lights the high-handedness of the leaders in office. Are they giving the army an exercise in setting right the evil of bad government? —S.A.K.

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THE PRESIDENT'S PEACE MISSION

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: President Rajendra Prasad has, by his visit to Soviet Russia, carved out a niche for himself among the Ambassadors of Culture and Messengers of Goodwill, by which the world sets so much store these days, in its quest for peace on earth, real or imaginary. He has obviously enjoyed his visit and rightly persuaded himself to believe that he has done his very best to facilitate "the growing collaboration" between India and the Soviet Union. By virtue of his pinnacled position and the esteem he so readily commands personally, he has made a splendid use of his unique opportunities while, Ike-like, he has set a new record on the international plane. And he has been far more lucky than President Eisenhower in having been able to sojourn in the Soviet land, and find the Arctic climate congenial and to strike a lofty note, not in any foreign tongue but in impeccable Hindi. From all accounts, there was among the peace-loving Russians considerable enthusiasm for the visit of our President who is the embodiment alike of Indian heritage in general and the Gandhian philosophy in particular.

His was a purely goodwill visit, an act of return-courtesy, a gesture of ele-

vated friendship. It was said to carry no particular political significance. Yet the timing of the visit lent itself to some political speculation. It came after the disturbing developments in Paris; it synchronised more or less with the time when another President was to have visited Russia; and it could not be altogether divorced from the context of Sino-Indian relations which, far from showing any improvement, remained suspiciously static. In fact, while the President of India was moving about on the Soviet terrain, the Chinese violation of the Nepalese border made matters worse. Even the Russians, though they do not talk aloud, seem to be in no mood to grow into rap-tures over the growing power of the Asian giant, inspite of ideological affinities. Indeed, one could read in Mr. Khrushchev's speech in Bucharest an implied rebuke to China. It was thus that the world followed President Rajendra Prasad's movements abroad against a particular political background. It was at a time when India had to make sure of a friendly Russia and when Russia as much stood to gain by Indian goodwill.

It is idle to pretend that Soviet Russia was not actively interested in inter-

preting the President's tour in terms of Indian support to her policy in world affairs, in fact to the Khrushchev line. Whether it was done to an extent unwarranted by the facts of the situation, is a matter for careful scrutiny. To claim that, for instance, Mr. Nehru welcomed the Soviet disarmament proposals is one thing; to talk as if Mr. Nehru approved of the Soviet walk-out in Geneva is another. To deplore with Mr. Khrushchev the breakdown of the Summit conference is not the same thing as to accept his analysis of the situation. But in Russia it now seems to be taken for granted that India and Russia think alike in these matters.

Of course, our President said nothing to warrant such a conclusion nor could he have meant it. But the Russian interpretation of his speeches seemed to suggest that India—through her august President—"Okayed" the Soviet policy and even the precise Khrushchev line. The tone of his speeches—full of, not mere generous sentiment but fulsome praise—in which the mighty Mr. Khrushchev was projected on the international canvas as a Messenger of Peace, obviously suited the Soviet text of diplomacy for roping in uncommitted nations on their side. Mr. Khrushchev was of course alert in describing the Soviet forces as an Army of Peace, heartened by our President's ready praise for Soviet efforts at world peace. Our President is too good and high-souled a man to realise that diplomacy loses rather than gains, by native in Presidential pronouncements. The occasion, if anything, called for a certain circumspection—and a special wariness. One cannot be too careful in talking to, or in, a host-country. Perhaps the President also suffered from the handicap of speaking originally in a language not particularly susceptible to precision.

It would be uncharitable to deny that, notwithstanding certain handicaps, avoidable or otherwise, President Rajendra Prasad has rendered one more service to the country and his Government and his people, by making India so widely acceptable to Soviet Russia as a peace-loving nation and as an earnest and enthusiastic partner in maintaining world peace. Nobody can any longer say that, unto the fulfilment of India's highly cherished objectives, President Rajendra Prasad in any way lags behind two such world figures and globe-trotters as the Vice-President and the Prime Minister. It is India's unique good fortune and privilege to have so formidable and outstanding a triumvirate at the head. President Rajendra Prasad, we are told, has several such

invitations to accept and more that he expects. It is the best that can happen to the country in these days when peace thrives on personal contacts between heads of States—and to him, when his enthusiasm is equal to his privilege. And it is widely hoped that as he will get into the stride as a crusader of Peace, he will also strike a form that answers best the exacting requirements of roving diplomats.

Considerable stir is created in the Home and Law Ministries here by the forthright address delivered at the Madras Advocates Association the other day by the Attorney-General of India when he spoke of "a tendency for politicians to encroach on proper standards in the matter of judicial appoint-

ments and in the matter of selections from the Bar". It may be recalled that during the budget session of Parliament last year when Members of the Lok Sabha drew pointed attention to such remarks by the Law Commission in their Report and bitterly complained that appointments of Judges to High Courts were made more at the instance of Chief Ministers of States than of the Chief Justices of the respective High Courts, the Law Minister first and the Home Minister next vigorously refuted the contention. Asked if the Law Commission could have made statements without a sense of responsibility, the Law Minister pompously replied that drawing erroneous inferences was not the monopoly of laymen. The Home

Minister even felt hurt at having heard at all of such a thing. Now that the Attorney-General has entered the lists, with all his authority and prestige, the controversy is bound to be revived. It will not be easy for the Home Minister and the Law Minister to convince any Member of Parliament or the public that Mr. M. C. Setalvad did not know what he was talking! Shocked to find merit being 'cold-shouldered and nepotism gaining ground, he exhorted the Members of the Bar to "stand up as one man and resist the tendency through agitation and mobilisation of public opinion". It is for Mr. Gobind Ballabh Pant and Mr. Ashoke Sen to face the sturdy and scintillating Mr. Setalvad.

KHRUSHCHEVISM COMES OF AGE

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

Differences between the Soviet Union and China on fundamental doctrinal issues have been claiming the attention of western political commentators for many months now. The existence of such differences has now been admitted by the Soviet Prime Minister, Nikita Khrushchev himself. He was asked at a reception in Moscow on June 29 by an Indian pressman whether dialectical differences between communist countries had been settled.

Khrushchev replied: "Of course, there are some shades of opinion, but they take a common position." If this ambiguous statement is decoded, it would read that a very real difference exists in the interpretation of communist ideology by Moscow and Peking.

Differences in approach to international problems were first noticed during the crisis in the Middle East in 1958. Khrushchev had advocated that the tense situation arising out of the U.S. and British intervention in Lebanon and Jordan respectively should be discussed in the Security Council of the United Nations. China was against this move, and after a dashing visit to Peking, Khrushchev had to drop his proposal.

A few months later difference of opinion was noticed about the communes in China as the ultimate step in building communism. Khrushchev visited Peking in October 1959 in connection with the tenth anniversary celebration of the founding of the Republic of China. He spoke in appreciation of the achievements of China, but did not say a word about communes which the Chinese had advertised as their biggest achievement.

Another significant trend noted by observers was the non-committal attitude adopted by the Soviet Union in the border dispute between China and India. The Soviet leaders merely wished that the dispute would be settled by negotiation. This was a pious expression of hope, wholly inconsistent with the theory that any attack—verbal or otherwise—on any communist country was an attack on all communist countries.

Khrushchev's visit to the United States was another significant development which afforded an opportunity to measure the difference. While China welcomed in general the meeting between Eisenhower and Khrushchev, it did not show that much of enthusiasm as was displayed by European communist countries. In fact, China openly doubted whether the United States would be prepared for any compromise.

Although these differences were simmering beneath the surface for many months, they came out into the open only in April 1960. The Red Flag, official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, criticized in an article entitled "Long Live Leninism" the attitude of those communists who were prepared to sacrifice fundamental principles and beliefs for limited and short-term gains. "While they accept Lenin's views on imperialism, they dismiss his opinion that imperialism creates war." The Soviet position was stated on April 22 at a public meeting in Moscow by Otto Kusin, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the communist party of the Soviet Union. He said that faith in Marxism-Leninism was not established by merely repeating about the aggressive nature of imperialism.

Chinese leaders continued to snipe at Soviet policies. On June 12 *Pravda*, organ of the Soviet communist party, published a strongly worded defence of Premier Khrushchev's policies against unnamed "leftist" critics. This was considered as the most complete Soviet reply thus far to Chinese communist arguments that the correct international-line was one of struggle against the imperialists rather than peaceful co-existence with them.

Here is the key quotation from the long article:

"We consider erroneous and incorrect the statements of Leftists in the international communist movement to the effect that since we have taken power in our hands, we can at once introduce communism, by passing certain historical stages in its development. Such statements contradict Leninism....."

Some persons mistakenly consider the course of the achievement of peaceful co-existence of countries with different political systems, the struggle to halt the arms race as some kind of deviation from the position by Marxism-Leninism."

Khrushchevism has been officially recognized as a centrist ideology, which avoids both the revisionist errors of the Right, which Moscow charges to the Yugoslav communists, and the Stalinist "sectarian" errors of the Left, which are attributed to the Chinese communists. Khrushchev has reaffirmed the correctness of this policy in his speech in Bucharest ten days when he addressed the Rumanian communist congress. Almost all European communist parties—Czechoslovakia is an exception—have now accepted Khrushchevism.

China is still hesitant, and it is too early to ascertain the practical implications of the differences from the point of view by relations between the two countries.

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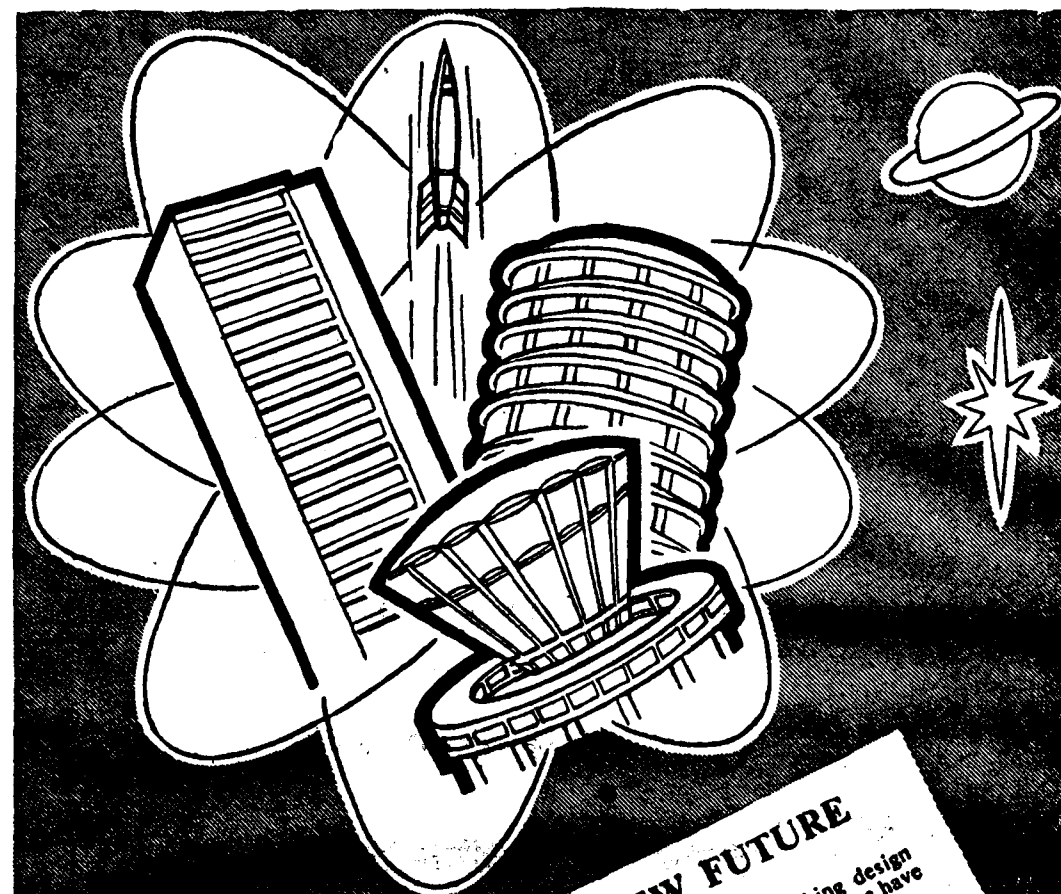
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THE PLAN

by C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Third Plan has been published as settled by the Planning Commission. It will be subjected to the scrutiny and criticism of qualified persons and institutions and its weak points may in due course come to light. But what may at once be pointed out is that the essential obverse of the Plan should be kept in mind viz., the resources expected to meet the scheduled investment and expenditure. This takes naturally a small part of the printed space of the hand-out but its importance to the tax-payer and the general public cannot be minimised by the technique of propaganda-compression.

Huge amounts are put down for foreign borrowings so as to make ends meet. The taxation and borrowing policy for the next five years gets fixed on the basis of this Plan and what hangs over from the previous Plans. The effective power of Parliament and people will during this period of five years be physically curtailed to the extent of the Plan commitments, whatever be the debates over the annual budgets. So also will the industrial and commercial policies of the Indian Union be what is consequential to this Plan. They will admit of little variation during the next five years whatever be the view of Parliament or people. The argument of commitment and the inevitable corollary of expenditure already incurred will be insurmountable. These considerations apply to all Five year Plans but the size of this Plan makes the objections stronger.

The uncertain element of defence and foreign policy and the practically uncontrolled expenditures involved in them will not allow itself to be trained into shape or be forecast by any Planning Commission or Cabinet. It is not only an uncertain element in itself but it affects all other calculations and makes these much less certain than they appear. The very large slice of the Plan which is dependent on foreign aid and supply, be it of the Commonwealth or outside that circle, is most vulnerable on account of the changing and unpredictable condition in world affairs. This is a material aggravation of uncertainty over and above what is contributed to it by the unanticipated additions to our own defence expenditure.

Again, what the planners know very well, but which yet is not allowed to show itself very prominently, is the unavoidable element of error of calculation arising out of rising prices or inflation whichever name we choose to give to the economic results of the very expenditure that is planned. This

Rajaji Refutes Concocted Story

A weekly paper has published a story under the title "Battle for Secession of South from North". The whole tale is a concoction of the worst type intended to damage my name and the Swatantra Party's interests.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

element is usually given the name of a vicious circle and left at that with some vague promises of checking it by special devices, which again in other ways go to add to the trials of the public. 1650 crores of additional taxation and 550 crores of deficit financing will not sit passive but will give fresh wings to the up-flying prices.

Direct and indirect taxes and rising prices are not mere arithmetic. They are hard realities that make and mar human happiness and outlook on life. It may be pleasing to read the figures of the various items of promised expenditure but the obverse of the Plan, viz., the open and concealed taxation corresponding to the expenditure is as real as the investment proposed. Borrowing has become so continuous and the accumulated interest charges so heavy that borrowing is as good or, rather, as bad as taxation. The other side of 'Planning for prosperity', unlike that of the Moon, cannot be kept concealed. Even the Moon's other side has begun to be exposed to view! The hard facts of heavy taxation are obvious parts of the Plan. And they affect not merely the feelings of men, but even the arithmetic of expected private investments.

It may be noticed that in this Plan there is a marked degree of expressed attention to agriculture and to small and medium industries. Whatever may be the cause and whoever may take the credit for this, it is a good thing. But planned expenditure alone does

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not ensure the progress of agriculture in this country. Incentive is the main element and what is being done to bring into being the 'Socialist pattern' has unfortunately concentrated on agriculture to its detriment. It is easy to develop political party strength on expenditure over agriculture and small industries. But the full utilisation of money spent in the name of agriculture and small industries for its legitimate end is a very different matter. There is considerable politics in the machinery of expenditure on agriculture and small industries.

For small and medium scale industries, the thing required is private enterprise and to achieve success in this direction, what has to be realised and which has not yet been adequately recognised, is that the industrial policy of the Government should be such as to release the initiative and enthusiasm of the middle and higher classes. Every thing so far done curbs and restrains, and feeds partisanship and corruption. It is wholly wrong to assume that the profit motive is evil. On the contrary, the profit motive is the positive factor for enterprise and activity and it is entirely consistent with the common weal. The policy and propaganda and the prejudices of those now in authority in the States and in Delhi are vitiated by a sadistic desire to suppress and hurt the layers of society on whose energy and zeal depends progress in the sectors of agriculture and small scale industry. On the other hand in that field the interference of the ruling party opens out a large field for political graft and petty monopolies created for favoured individuals at the cost of all the others.

After the steady and rapid rise of individualism, and the breakdown of the old caste order which

governed all production and service and professional ethics in the old days there is available now but little concern among people for the common weal, for anything but what concerns oneself. Of course what concerns one's own benefit incidentally produces something for the community also. Until a spiritual movement is successfully initiated and fostered so as to restore the ethics of production and service in the common interest, we have to depend on the profit motive for producing what is good for the common weal. The dogmatism of the ruling party blinds them to this important over-all truth. They believe that we can do away with

the profit motive by entrusting production to State-management. They do not see that this is an arrangement wherein we pay heavily for official management which is inefficient and supine at its best.

"By the end of the Third Plan every individual will get 15 oz of cereals and 3 oz of pulses every day and 17.5 yards of cotton textiles per year," says the Government hand-out. Yes, provided the individual is able to pay for them at the then prevailing price of cereals, pulses and textiles; and also only if all the expectations of intelligence, diligence, thrift and honesty are fulfilled by the administration.

EFFECT OF SWATANTRA ON THIRD PLAN

The Swatantra Party and the dissatisfaction which it represents can claim a partial success in the draft Third Plan published this week. It makes concessions on three or four points to the criticisms of the Second Plan and of the adumbrated Third Plan.

Though it is big—10,200 crores—the Plan is not as big as the megalomaniacs of three years ago would have liked.

Deficit financing is to be limited to 550 crores, as contrasted with more than twice as much in the Second Plan.

The total expenditure on agriculture and irrigation is to be increased by 70 per cent, in addition to an increased amount for village and small-scale industries. This is an admission that the heavy industry bias of the Second Plan was a mistake, and that it is intolerable to continue indefinitely importing millions of tons of food.

The animus against the private sector so evident in the drafting and advocacy of the Second Plan has diminished.

These are substantial gains, and the public will no doubt draw the lesson from the way in which they have been achieved. Mere grumbling has never had any effect, but when a serious organised opposition appears, authority does bend.

The moral is: no relaxation in setting up an opposition party. Unless a substantial right opposition bloc appears in the legislatures in 1962, the Congress will go back to its high-handed policy, and the opposition job will have to be begun all over again.

Despite these concessions to public opinion, the Third Plan is a formidable

document, and forebodes continued hardship and discontent.

While the public are spared inflation, they will still suffer from heavy taxation, both direct, cutting into their income, and indirect, raising prices. The claim that they will be spared further inflation is therefore but a half-truth. It will not be inflation, but prices will go on rising all the same.

What is first needed is not to pour another 1700 crores down the drain in the next five years, but to get the right material and the right men to the right place at the right time, and to bring it about that the farmer is in the right mood.

It is still official policy, stoutly upheld by Mr. S. K. Dey, to achieve all this by means of co-operative farming. Doubtless, given the organisational manpower, that method could help in securing the first four desiderata. Its weakness, from the purely economic point of view, is that it cannot secure the fifth, the right mood in the farmer.

They do not see why they should work harder, cultivate more land and produce more, because they are quite content with things as they are. If the attempt is made to increase their output by pushing them into co-operative farms, they will do no work at all.

It is most of all for the purpose of preventing attempts at such short cuts that organised opposition is needed. The Government have not dropped co-operative farming. If they think they can get away with it they will try to impose it. It is for the public to prevent that disaster by making the opposition still stronger and more vocal. —MYSINDIA.

A PICTURESQUE PAGE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

As in the case of John Foster Dulles who died of the same disease, there was advance-notice for obituary writers to keep his biography composed in type and ready for the press the moment Aneurin Bevan passed away. Apart from his fiery spirit and defiant eloquence, Bevan had one advantage in comparison with his brother-politicians of the Labour Party. He had himself worked in the coal-mines of Wales in his boyhood and breathed the vapours of distress whilst his city-bred counterparts in politics and in academical honours had derived their passion for equal opportunities from the Fabian movement which in turn had originated with the Webbs. When Aneurin Bevan spoke, the accents of class-war echoed in the Hall and no one dare charge him with being an arm-chair critic. Just as a more famous Welsh leader Lloyd George had his decision of character shaped by the experience of poverty and the pride of petty landlordism, Bevan's very lack of schooling and the scars of poverty enhanced the prestige of his self-made career. Socialist pioneers like Harold Laski, Clement Attlee, Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden, Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Herbert Morrison, Ernest Bevin, Stafford Cripps, and the rest of the crowd had their mental development within the listening range of Bow Bells. Bevan had in contrast the claims of a horny-handed son of toil who could address the people in their own language and yet perform the feat of holding Westminster spellbound by his classical fluency, without any Cockney-lapses as affected by Jimmy Thomas. He never professed to begin: "Rude though I am of speech". Tories were once named by him as "lower than vermin". After listening to his maiden speech, Mr. Lloyd George observed: "There goes the man who will one day become Prime Minister". If Bevan had a natural aversion to the Blenheim type of the British politician, Winston Churchill had in turn such a lofty contempt for the proletariat that he once described the Welsh M.P. as a "squalid nuisance". In the party-mechanics of the Socialist movement the highest honour had, in Britain, become associated with the Treasurership of the Party. More than his membership of the British Cabinet Bevan cherished the mark of confidence he won as Treasurer and the Foreign Secretaryship he had attained in the shadow-cabinet, an imaginary portfolio once sought by Dr. Hugh Dalton. Clement

Attlee was sound as a politician and as a Prime Minister who knew when to bow to the inevitable; he was also smart in eliminating competitors. He kept the party-boss Prof. Harold Laski in his place and he punctured the ambitious career of Herbert Morrison once tipped for the Prime Ministership. It cannot be said that he got the better of Aneurin Bevan, who after holding cabinet-office glided out on a characteristic issue. Just as Lloyd George introduced the old age pension, his compatriot from Wales, as Health Minister, deliberately evoked the scorn of snobs by the provision of dentures for the old as also free spectacles. Humorous journals extracted amusement from such a prosaic innovation by a firebrand. When he wanted more money for such humble measures, partly at the expense of the Defence Budget, captious critics provoked him all the more. He was ready with sympathy for the underdog at home as well as abroad.

The first person whom Prime Minister Nehru rushed to see in London recently was Aneurin Bevan in his invalid couch. Jawaharlal has a gift of choosing colourful hosts in priority, just as in the case of his first visit to America he preferred to call on the great American educationist and philosopher John Dewey. It made all the reporters concentrate on the sublime level of Jawaharlal's gifts which distinguished him from the vulgar politician who is unmindful of higher things.

When Bevan went on his foreign tour he spent time in Egypt. After congratulating Nasser on Egypt's independence, Bevan privately told our Ambassador: "Independence is all right but where is democracy in this joint?" He didn't have the Harry Pollit outlook. He was an Englishman and his helpmate Jennie Lee preserved the borough-mentality. Palme Dutt and Comrade Sak were bigger internationalists than Nye.

Bevan has passed away at a crisis in the fortunes of the Labour Party under Hugh Gaitskell. With the change in the pattern of British society in its television phase of opulence, the question has arisen whether clause 4 of the Socialist Charter of old prescribing nationalisation of all the means of production has a plank in the modern Opposition. Further there is the issue of unilateral renunciation of nuclear arms by Great Britain, a demand that gains in urgency with the unutility of NATO bases and the futility of the

Skybolt as "an independent British deterrent". Hugh Gaitskell differs from the old die-hard Labourites like Barbara Castle for whom outright disarmament and the total implementation of Clause 4 are the only birthmarks of the Labour Party. By a secret vote of M.Ps. Hugh Gaitskell won confidence last week amongst Socialist M.Ps. whilst Bevan lay too helpless in bed to dispute the thesis. It is curious that on the day of his death, Britain's National Union of Workers meeting in Wales shocked the Labour Party by repudiating Mr. Hugh Gaitskell's plan to water down its policy on State-ownership. Mr. Gaitskell represented high-browism whereas Bevan stood for the logical economic outcome of Universal Suffrage. He has the record of an intensely useful life. A picturesque figure leaves the scene of British politics, with more written on phosphorescent water than inscribed on imperishable stone.

The Race for Backwardness

The frantic race among the various communities in Mysore State to get themselves included in the list of Backward Classes would be laughable but for the tragic background it underlines. Communities which, till the other day, were claiming that they were equal to the best are now found clamouring to be listed as Backward! The other day, at a meeting of the Veerasaiva Association in Bangalore, it was charged that a "grave injury has been caused to the Veerasaiva and other communities by excluding them from the list of Backward Classes" published by the Mysore Government.

What is the basis on which backwardness is to be judged? The Centre has addressed the States on this subject several times, but the Centre itself has not yet made up its list of Backward Classes. The States were asked if they would be prepared to base the classification on purely economic factors. While the States in the North were prepared to accept this proposal, the States in the South, especially Mysore and Madras, demurred. Because in this region communalism of a special variety reigns rampant and these two States would like to have a definition which would include all but Brahmans in the list of Backward Classes.

Considering that the Mysore Government had previously passed an order specially to this effect, there was nothing secret about the objective of the classification. Unfortunately, however, that order of the Mysore Government was held ultra vires of the Constitution, and the Government was forced to find other ways of reaching the same goal.—ORPHEUS in Mysindia.

Liberty is that essential condition or quality "which individual personality must possess in order that it may translate itself from being what it is to what it has the capacity of becoming."

—E. BARKER.

SIDELIGHTS ::

Sri C. Subramaniam, Madras State Finance Minister, writes in a letter to the Editor:

"In your *Sidelights* in SWARAJYA of July 9th, you have commented upon the attempt of a State Minister to get a relative of his promoted, by hook or crook, as a Judge of the High Court. Evidently you are referring to Sri A. Alagiriswami who has now been appointed as the Government Pleader. I do not know wherefrom you got the idea that the officer is a relative of mine. He is as good a relation of mine as you are."

We are sorry for having accepted the widespread notion of his being a relative in some way of Sri Subramaniam. The remarks in last week's *Sidelights* hold good however even if there is no relationship.

"I have come back with two vivid pictures in my mind," remarked the Prime Minister, Sri Nehru, on his return from Kashmir, in his broadcast to Central Government employees appealing to them to give up the idea of a strike. One picture was of the armed forces defending the northern border. Of these the Prime Minister said: "The more I saw them, the more I admired them, for they were as fine a body of young men as you would find anywhere in the wide world. Not a word of complaint came from them I felt convinced that they were worthy of the great task allotted to them, the defence of India."

The other picture was of the threat of a general strike by employees of the Central Government. "I could not reconcile these two pictures", commented Sri Nehru. "There was high courage even unto death on the one side, and there was on the other side an attempt, deliberate or unwitting, which could only lead to weakening our defences."

Many who listened to the Prime Minister must have conjured up a third picture, especially when, in honour of the frontier troops, they came across this sentence: "If eternal vigilance is the price

of liberty, as it is, here was vigilance, efficiency, determination and calm courage." This third picture is that of the Prime Minister himself showing none of these qualities, doing nothing and wasting time and allowing four precious years to pass (without the country even knowing about it), after the first Chinese aggression on India had occurred. The truth of the matter is the Prime Minister has lost potency as a defender of India, and he will be well advised not to drag the question of defence into focus as a counterweight in dealing with issues like the strike. It is the common people that have forced the Prime Minister into firmness, such firmness as lay in his nature, after his initial wobbling in dealing with the Chinese. It will no longer be assumed without question that they cannot give as good lessons in practical patriotism as the Prime Minister might be inclined to give them theoretically.

In the preamble of the ceiling bills the removal of disparities is stated to be the Government's aim. If that be so, here was a splendid opportunity for the Government to equalise incomes in its services by cutting down the higher salaries to the satisfaction of employees unable to make both ends meet. The strike would then have been settled in a trice and the Socialistic aims of the ruling party would have been convincingly demonstrated. It would have created a new psychology among those threatening to strike.

For the evil results of discriminatory practices in education, let communal-minded Ministers, particularly in Madras, Mysore and Andhra Pradesh, study the proceedings of a special committee of government experts that met at Paris last month under the auspices of the UNESCO.

The speech at the committee's inaugural meeting of acting Director-General Rene Maheu is certainly worth its weight in gold. Here are some excerpts:

"I say that discrimination in education is the basest and the most hateful form because its victims are, first and foremost, children.

"Those who, by reason of a child's sex, his race, his religion, his economic and social status—or rather, that of his parents—deny him, or accept that he should be denied, or are willing to ignore that he is being denied the education to which he is entitled in order to ensure the personal and social fulfilment of his abilities, have never seen the look in the eyes of a child when their clearness is clouded by pain or injustice. Or perhaps they have become insensitive to this frightful thing. In that case they have forfeited their claim to humanity."

From this one has to realise the significance of the present rampant discrimination not only in schools and colleges in India but practically in all branches of the administration. It means that the country has been thrown to the mercy of administrators who, being discriminators, or subservient upholders of discrimination under authority, have forfeited their claim to humanity. That he has failed to save the nation from this frightful thing is the worst blot on the rule of the present leader. He is vigorous enough in denouncing it. But it is by now clear to all, that his eventual acquiescence in an evil is in direct proportion to the loudness of his initial condemnation of it. While discrimination is honoured in practice as policy, there will be no justice between individuals, and considerations of humanity will have passed out of governmental decisions. The spirit of perpetual potential strike cannot but reign supreme in such an administration. Let the Prime Minister look for the cause of the strike in the right place and not get lost in perverid perorations over irrelevant things, which have no appeal any longer to the discerning public, and have become vapid if not monotonously tiresome.

A virulent "Assam for Assamese" campaign has let loose on that State majority-sponsored hatreds making life difficult for minorities like the Bengalees. The

(Continued on page 14)

SERFDOM IS LOGICAL OUTCOME OF CONGRESS POLICIES

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

Mr. Nehru has often said that he agrees with the goal of Communism, while condemning its method of violence and duplicity.

The time has come when intelligent and informed patriots have to probe into this doctrine. Is Communism a good form of society in itself bringing out the best of human nature and aiding its proper fulfilment? Is its defect only a matter of the means it sanctions, namely, violence? Does it become good if it is achieved by persuasion and non-violent means generally? These questions need urgent answer, for the country is being led rapidly into the realm of Communism. Non-violent Communism is said to be India's way of realising the goal of a perfect society.

It is the conviction of the present writer that this is a profoundly beguiling fallacy. Communism is an evil whether it is brought about by non-violent or violent means. If people realised clearly where they are being led and understood the consequences and implications of the order of things that is recommended to them by our present 'Gandhian' leaders, they will recoil with horror from the consummation of the movements and policies now so fashionable.

Now let us take gramdan, for which such high claims are being made. Bhoo-dan is intelligible and is in line with the traditional religious ethics of all high religions. It is charity to one's poorer neighbour or brother. Such charity is part of the good life. But gramdan is radically different. It is surrender of private property by all the landowners of the village to the village community as a whole, trusting to periodical allotment of land to each villager for his sustenance. This is a good thing if it works. It is to ask the whole village to work like a joint family. Now joint families are breaking down everywhere for various reasons, the chief of which is differential earning power on account of the emergence of occupations unconnected with land. Private property has come into existence on account of this inexorable development causing the dissolution of clans, joint families and group ownership of all kinds. Now Vinoba Bhave wants the clock to be set back and village life to begin all over again from where it declined with the development of the greater society outside.

How will the lands be redistributed after gramdan is registered and indi-

dual owners surrender their rights? Let us suppose that in the first instance lands will be distributed to families in accordance with the number of their members working as well as dependent. Those who have more mouths to feed will have more acres irrespective of the number of workers in the family. The seed of discontent is already here and will sprout into trouble—all too human and familiar. Equality of possession will breed inequality in due time as innate differences in zeal, capacity and temperament assert themselves. The inefficient will have a lesser harvest, other things being equal. They will ask as to why their shortfall should not be made up by gifts from others who have had better yields. And if equality is such a supreme goal, it should be conceded to them. Refusal will lead to plots and factions. If distribution is changed every year, the tiller will have no incentive to effect improvements such as bunding and fencing, planting of fruit and shade and fuel trees, etc.

If all are owners, there will be no labourers to be hired for casual work which is urgent and heavy in times of flood or harvest or crop diseases. The village assembly will have to arrange for mutual aid teams on some basis of reciprocity.

Mr. Nehru wishes to exploit this situation for his collectivisation scheme. Since individual holdings will be small and cannot afford capital for improvement and the use of scientific aids in machinery and fertiliser etc., it will be suggested that the village lands be pooled and worked as a single unit without redistribution into individual temporary holdings. Then the holder or peasant will be reduced to the level and status of labourer with no hold on any land. He will have to work as he is ordered and receive whatever is allowed to him as a wage. He may be induced with the bait of a small individual holding to be worked by his family for the free market. Procurement and price-fixing will then follow. The end result of gramdan will be the advent of the kolkhoz or collective farm with a nominal democratic committee in charge but really under the control of a government nominated and dominated cadre.

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Gandhism is thus transformed into Marxism. This is the secret of Mr. Nehru's interest in gramdan.

The motive is said to be maximisation of production. Vinobaji wants individual villagers to live a simple life producing primarily for consumption with but little surplus for sale. Mr. Nehru wants the maximum of production possible by means of extension of the scale of holdings and increase of capital investment to extract the utmost out of land and technology and labour, irrespective of the effect on the quality of human life it may entail. "The machine at its best

and man as its feeder"—is Mr. Nehru's and Communism's ideal.

The motive of Communism is to get control of the agricultural harvest, both foodgrains and industrial raw material, so that the surplus, after paying subsistence-wages to the workers, can be exchanged for industrial capital, foreign or local. Gramdan helps this policy by making individuals surrender their ownership. Vinobaji may think that he is stooping to conquer communism but Communism is playing the same game by seeming to acquiesce in his gramdan movement!



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When the Five Year Plans (which really have no end) continue their reconstruction of the country in the image of Socialism, all means of production will come into the hands of the Government and no one will be able to start a business of his own to earn his own income by his own efforts. Everyone will have to depend on Government work under Government conditions of wages and discipline for a living and for worldly advancement. Everyone will be a servant of the Government, that is, the party in power. No new parties can be formed, for no one will be permitted to vote for any candidate other than the party nominee. The destruction of private property will transfer all ownership to Government. The result is a one-party dictatorship and the disappearance of all democratic freedoms. This is *serfdom* and this is the logical outcome of the present day policies.

The next effect will be the loss of cultural freedom. Communism will control all thoughts and values. Literature, religion, science, art, amusement, the radio, communications of all kinds including railways, airlines, wireless and newspapers, will be controlled by Government. Our very souls will be denied to us. There will be no freedom even of silence and solitude! The inner life will be subjected to State moulds on pain of punishment. This is the logical outcome of Communism under which freedom of any kind will become a dream and daily life will become a nightmare. This is the goal to which our leaders are pushing us. Freedom to teach our children what we believe regarding the best things in life will be denied to us. Children will be taught to spy on parents. Family life will be destroyed with women becoming State servants subject to party bureaucracy more than to family loyalty. This is a living hell and this is where we are being led by great leaders with the best(?) of intentions.

It is the duty of all those who see these outcomes clearly to warn the country fearlessly of the danger of the policies now in force. The Communist Government in Kerala is but the harbinger of Communism in other States and the country as a whole. What may seem tolerable in Kerala will become intolerable when Communism sets up rule in the Centre. Mr. Nambudripad was right when he said that the policy of his Government was only to realise the policy of the Congress Government. It is no longer the case that the Congress seeks to give the moral equivalent (or something superior) to Communism. It is exploiting the appeal of Communism to the ignorant and fanatical in its own

RECKLESS EXTRAVAGANCE FROM A CORRESPONDENT

(This is the second in a series of two articles. The first was published in SWARAJYA last week.)

(5) In October, 1948, the Defence Ministry enquired from the India Stores Department, London, about the possibility of securing 300,000 white blankets. On 3rd November, the High Commissioner's office informed the Defence Ministry that there was no prospect of such a supply from sources in England before July 1949. Early in November, Watson & Son Ltd. informed the High Commissioner that 50,000 part-worn blankets had been located in the U.K. Later, on 24th November, the U.K. Ministry of Supply informed the High Commissioner that 50,000 blankets, as against the 300,000 ordered, could be delivered between March and September 1949. On 18th December 1948, the High Commissioner received telegraphic instructions from New Delhi to place an order for 50,000 blankets in accordance with the information given by his office on 5th November, 1948. After inspecting a sample of the blankets stated by Watson & Son Ltd. as being held by their principals, S. Pentel & Sons Ltd., the order for 50,000 blankets was placed at the request of Watson & Son Ltd. but a formal contract was entered into with S. Pentel & Sons. From that point there was no reference to Watson & Son in the papers shown to the Auditor in London. The contract was in the usual form and subject to the usual standard conditions. The supply was demanded by 31st December, 1948. When it did not materialise, reminders were sent on 14th February and 5th March, 1949. The first consignment was received in London by the end of March. When it was received in India between May and July, 1949 it was found that the blankets were infested and unserviceable. A Court of Inquiry in September, 1949 confirmed the verdict and declared them unfit for issue to the Army. On representation, the supplying firm was willing to refund £0-6-0, per blanket as against the purchase price of £0-9-0, provided freight both ways was paid

favour in order to entrench itself in perpetual power.

It is the most urgent need of the country from the standpoint of a tolerable democratic future to evolve an alternative leadership with a keener (and more genuine) democratic and national consciousness. If devotion to religion or humanity is genuine, it must issue in such a demand and such an effort.

by the Government of India. Finally, the High Commissioner informed the Defence Ministry that the firm was willing to take the blankets on a reduction of the 20 per cent of the purchase price if the blankets were delivered to them in the U.K. This was not acceptable to the Defence Ministry who sold the blankets by public auction in India for Rs. 2,95,000. The overall loss to the Government on this transaction came to Rs. 1.35 lakhs. S. Pentel & Sons, it was discovered later, had a registered capital of £5,000 only and Watson & Son Ltd. of £1,000. The departmental officials in London admitted that the files regarding the purchase of the blankets in U.K. had been destroyed!

(6) Large quantities of tinned milk and skimmed milk powder were procured by the High Commissioner for the Defence Services. The value of these purchases made during 1951-1952 amounted to about £300,000 and in the preceding year to about £500,000. The audit remark was that "in this case the direct tender procedure was not followed; competition was unnecessarily restricted; and adequate action was not taken to locate fresh sources of supply or to invite quotations from firms which had offered to supply or had previously fulfilled contracts satisfactorily. No explanation was forthcoming from the Ministry of Defence as to why the High Commissioner did not follow normal procedure."

(7) There were two indents for 5,54,600 sheets and 1,10,000 of ridges placed with the Indian Stores Department, London in March and June, 1949. In spite of wide publicity, only two offers were received from British firms, namely, Witting Brothers Ltd. and Kenbanks Enterprises Ltd., the latter being for stores of Italian manufacture. These offers were accepted; but before the actual contracts were concluded, Kenbanks proposed that the contract arising from their offer be placed with Crane Anderson & Co. (Kenbanks are the same concern who were also involved in a fertilizer deal). This firm had only an authorised capital of £1,000. It went into liquidation on 27th November, 1950, a year after the date on which the contract in this case was entered into with its nominee, Crane Anderson & Co. The suggestion of this substitute firm was accepted without the contract being placed with the new firm as a result of nego-

tiations. There was thus no formal offer from them. As the P.A. Committee observed, "this was an unusual procedure, since the rules enjoin that in such a situation a fresh tender should be invited. The contract also provided for the opening of an irrevocable, divisible and transferable letter of credit, covering stores of Italian manufacture to the extent of £1,82,401-15-11 in the name of Sale & Co. stated to be the bankers of Crane Anderson & Co. In the first consignment which arrived in India on 8th December, 1949, there were abnormal breakages. Despite instructions to pack the sheets carefully before despatch, heavy breakages continued to occur until June, 1951. The initial loss due to breakage in transit was over Rs. 8,32,490. Tests conducted by the Government test houses in India revealed that the U.K. sheets were thinner than the standard specification and those of Italian manufacture exhibited variations in all the dimensions and the sheets failed below the stipulated breaking load. It was later discovered that none of these firms were on the approved lists of contractors". The Committee also recorded that such reckless disregard of primary duties deserved much stronger punitive action than was actually taken.

The Committee asked for further information on a number of vital points, such as: Were Sale & Co. the bankers of Crane Anderson & Co.? were they professional bankers, and if so, what was their financial standing? Was Kenbank's suggestion to transfer the contract to Crane Anderson & Co. acted upon without any enquiry into their credentials? Were they genuine transactions? Who were the directors of all the firms and were these firms on the approved list of suppliers to the British Government? What were the prices f.o.b. and c.i.f., both Italian and U.K., of these cement asbestos sheets? No information, remarked the Committee, was supplied on these points.

Numerous as are the instances listed above, they do not complete the story of the irresponsible manner in which Mr. Krishna Menon wasted India's funds as her High Commissioner. Comparatively minor lapses have not been included in these articles. But throughout these transactions there has been a complete disregard of financial and procedural proprieties and an obvious anxiety to favour certain individuals. Anyone else in a similar position, with a record much less questionable would have been deemed unfit for any office. But Mr. Krishna Menon is the Defence Minister, as uncontrollable in this office as he was in London, as the Auditor-General's latest criticisms made it clear in the last budget session.

THE SIKHS, THEIR PROBLEMS AND PRESENT POSITION

SIKH LEADER'S APPEAL TO P. M. FOR JUSTICE

Sri Gurnam Singh, Barrister-at-law, retired Judge of the Punjab High Court, has written to the Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, appealing for justice to the Sikhs in their present predicament threatening them with political ineffectiveness. Excerpts from his letter to the P.M. are given below:

I wish to address you on the question of the Sikhs in India, their peculiar problems and their present position, and the urgency of the matter.

In pre-Independence India, the British imperial authorities conceded that the Sikhs were the third political party, besides the Hindus and the Mussalmans, who were the legitimate heirs of the political sovereignty to be transferred to the people of India. While the Muslims demanded and got an independent sovereign State, the Sikhs accepted the assurances solemnly given by the Indian National Congress on behalf of the other party that no Constitution of a free India shall be framed by mere brute majority and in such wise as does not afford to the Sikhs full opportunities for development and growth in accordance with their own genius and spiritual necessity. On this understanding the Sikhs relinquished their bargaining power as the third party in the political life of India. In 1950, however, when the Constitution of India was actually framed, the assurances to the Sikhs were summarily rejected and a common undifferentiated franchise was clamped upon them, destructive of the metalegal unitary social constitution given to them by their Gurus, and all attempts at protest against this act of high-handedness and this atomisation of the Sikh people were suppressed and dubbed as covert desire for sovereign statehood inspired by the example of Pakistan. The irony of this is a source of deep resentment amongst the Sikhs, since the Sikhs are one of the most history-conscious peoples of the world. This is likely to rankle in their hearts for generations to come, while they struggle against being forcibly reduced to political ineffectiveness in India involving their eventually passing out of the main current of history.

In October, 1947, when the Sikhs, wounded and mangled, were trekking out of West Pakistan into India, the newly appointed Governor of Indian Punjab thought it fit to issue a secret policy directive to his officials to deal with the Sikhs as if they were habitual criminals, outside the pale of legal protection. When a certain Sikh civil servant mildly protected against this most

unusual policy directive, he was promptly pounced upon and eventually liquidated so as to constitute an example to all future demurrers of his kind. This Governor it was whom a grateful State loaded with honours and official preferment in the years succeeding. The recent administrative policy, backed with suitable statutes, adopted by the U.P. State to evict the Sikhs from the highlands of the Terai after officially branding them as habitual criminals, the Sikhs take as a mere extension of the basic policy laid down in the Punjab Governor's directive of 1947. It would be unnatural and unjust to expect the Sikhs to forget these events.

Then, it was through deliberate administrative measures that the refugee Sikhs were contained in the Punjab demarcated by Ghaggar river, and if therefore the Sikhs now enjoy a slight numerical superiority in this Punjabi-speaking region over the non-Sikhs, it is not of their own making, and yet ever since this has emerged as a fact there has been a sustained high-level policy to deprive this region of its true position as a unilingual State of the Indian Union. The Dhar Committee set up about ten years ago to report on the desirability of carving out linguistic States in parts of India other than northern, gratuitously proclaimed that the well-accepted principles of unilingual administrative States must not be applied to the areas in the north of India, which means that there should be no Punjabi unilingual State. When the high-power committee consisting of the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister considered the Dhar report, they instead of observing that references therein to the north of India were outside its scope, laid it down that "Whatever the merits, the case of north India would not be considered". That the Punjab is a bilingual area, that every village of it is bilingual, since ex-hypothesis, all Hindus have Hindi as their mother-tongue and the Sikhs, Punjabi, that to create a Punjabi State would constitute a security risk, all this is regarded by the Sikhs as special pleading that merely adds insult to injury.

The metalegal religious constitution of the Sikh society, as formulated by

their Gurus, requires that they shall conduct their affairs on a collective and impersonal basis with their *gurudwaras* as theo-political centres. This right the Sikhs have always insisted upon and the British rulers of the pre-1947 India had conceded and respected it. Thus the Sikhs manage their *gurudwaras* through a democratic statutory body and conduct their other affairs on a similar pattern. This naturally tends to sustain their collective individuality and that it should have a bearing on the political issues of the day as well is only natural. But ever since 1948, there have been persistent, sustained, and planned efforts on the part of the Government, direct and indirect, to acquire central control of the statutory body for management of the Sikh *Gurudwaras*, and when the Sikh voters, on every occasion, indignantly repudiated this presumptuous claim of the politicians in power, that threat is held out of either subverting this central management through Governmental interference or to cut it off by the roots altogether, through statutory enactments. Can any reasonable person blame the Sikhs if they see in this a determined desire to atomise and absorb them?

There is a provision in the Criminal Procedure Code which empowers judicial courts to bind down an individual to keep the peace if there are good grounds for finding that he is about to disturb the same. This is being interpreted here in the Punjab to mean that a declared peaceful intention to propagate and canvass a legitimate political point of view is hit by this provision directly when such a political point of view is distasteful to the politicians in power. Then it has a potential tendency to cause disturbance of the peace and the legal responsibility for this likely disturbance of the peace is of those who hold such a political point of view, making them liable for sudden and nocturnal arrests by the police. It further makes them liable for being arrested on the strength of blank warrants duly pre-authenticated by the magistrates, to be completed by the police after each individual arrest, and such heavy and prohibitive bail bonds may be demanded of them as virtually to cancel out the bail rights guaranteed to citizens by the laws of the land.

There is a provision in our Constitution which guarantees to citizens freedom of speech and the right of peaceful assembly. But this is being interpreted to mean that (a) a legal ban, entailing severe penalties, may be imposed at the pleasure of the executive, forbidding the utterance of a slogan or view-point distasteful to the

politicians in power, but otherwise perfectly legitimate, (b) that any newspaper or section of the press may be peremptorily directed by the executive authorities not to publish or propagate a specified political point of view, otherwise perfectly legitimate and in anticipation of disobedience such newspapers and their presses may be closed up and sealed.

These are matters that broadly account for the present discontent and sullenness of the Sikhs. History calls upon you to reconsider these matters, to ponder over them, not as a mere politician and party boss, but as a statesman. It is not the immense powers which you have come to possess and the skill with which you hold them in your hands that will be the

deciding factor, but to what ultimate end you are liable to use them. Your political and intellectual stature is great. Let your courage and insight and sympathy be greater, so that the Sikhs are enabled to grow to their true and natural stature as an integral and living limb of the Indian nation. The sands are running short and no man is immortal; only, he may do immortal deeds.

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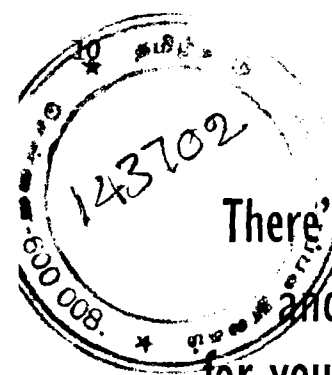
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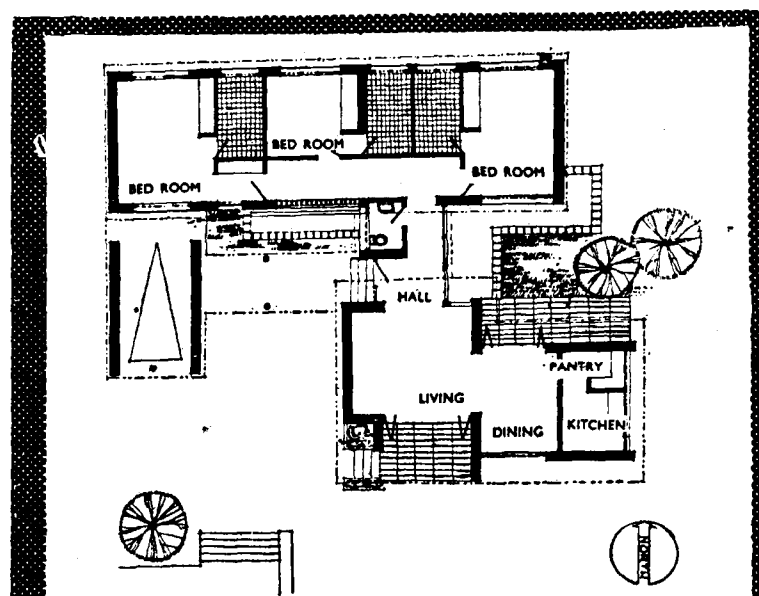
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July 16, 1960

SWARAJYA

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THE STRIKE AND THE STAKES

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Nothing is at a stand-still (at the time when this dispatch is being done), things are humming, and indeed moving to what now ominously looks like a pre-destined end. The dispute between the Central Government and their non-gazetted employees threatens to take so adverse a turn as to culminate into a wider conflict between the State and no inconsequential part of its servants. The Prime Minister's broadcast to the nation on his return from Kashmir on the two pictures—the striking picture of our soldiers on mountain heights “ever on guard” and the other picture (also “striking” in an ironic sense) of large numbers of Central Government employees on the alert to lay down their tools, has not made any difference to the men bent on a ‘show-down’ in the streets. Time was when Mr. Nehru's word was a mandate to the people. But today it has lost its power or potency. It will be a miracle if on second thought the threatened strike will have been called off, but at the time of writing it is mere wishful thinking.

Yes, nothing is at a stand-still now and yet, it is apprehended, that in a couple of days, everything will have come to a stand-still, in the wake of the general strike. Already several in Government Offices have ceased to have any interest, much less any heart, in their work. The clerk in a local post office who took (of course deliberately) ten minutes to find a missing pencil, and his colleagues two and a half hours to clear a money order, were but symbolic of what may be called on-the-eve-of-the-strike tradition. Devotion to duty, even while on duty, is something missing among the employees who, truth to tell, have little respect and less fear of, the Government. For this the Central Government themselves are largely to blame. They have seldom bothered about the establishment of good administrative traditions. And this kind of mutiny in the lower ranks of their own regiments, should indeed be a warning.

All may not enthuse over the Plan which, according to the Prime Minister's poetic imagery, will lead the people of India “from the valley of the shadow of poverty to the bright sunlight of welfare”. Some may share Mr. K. M. Munshi's feeling “that the Government have needlessly continued to follow policies which in their turn have promoted inflation” and “brought about this situation”. Nevertheless all reasonable people agree that there is no justification for the strike and

sympathise with the Government in meeting the situation that has arisen. The forces—particularly the faces—behind the strike reveal its gravity while what makes things yet more sinister is the very significant fact that for some time now, the Chinese official news-agency has been extremely solicitous towards our Government employees! Let there be no mistake about the sponsors of the strike, masked or unmasked.

The Prime Minister is quite convincing when he contends that even if the Government have committed mistakes or errors, a general strike of this kind, or any kind, is a blow at the nation and at the community. One's mind goes back to the days of the general strike in Britain when the Baldwin Government had to face such “an event without precedent”. It was in respect of that strike that Sir John (Later Viscount) Simon said:

The point at which my mind was clear and which it seemed vital to exchange, was that the so-called general strike was not really a species of strike in the ordinary sense, though it carried that name. It was, in essence, a revolutionary proceeding which, whether its instigators appreciated it or not—and most of them did not—struck at the root of parliamentary government in this country.

On the legal and constitutional question, he had not to wait long to be confirmed from “an impartial quarter of the highest authority.” Writing in the *Law Quarterly Review*, Sir Frederick Pollock, the leading jurist of his time, made the following pronouncements:

When a simultaneous multiple strike is planned, as this was..... it does seem, on the plainest grounds of public law and justice, that a plot to usurp the Government of the country in such a fashion is nothing less than a criminal conspiracy, if indeed it be nothing more, and that no verbal protestations on the part of the managers that they did not intend a revolution will make their position any better. Neither is it material that physical violence is not contemplated as part of the means.

It was on May 6, 1926, in the first message he broadcast that Prime Minister Baldwin said:

Constitutional government is being attacked. Let all good citizens whose livelihood and labour have thus been put in peril bear with fortitude and patience the hardships with which they have been so suddenly con-

fronted. Stand behind the Government who are doing their part, confident that you will co-operate in the measures they have undertaken to preserve the liberties and privileges of the people of these islands. The laws of England are the people's birthright. Those laws are in your keeping. You have made Parliament their guardian. The general strike is a challenge to Parliament, and is the road to anarchy and ruin.

Now that the strike is thoughtlessly, if not wantonly, thrust on the Government and incidentally a grievous injury inflicted upon the community as a whole, what are at stake are the country's future and the nation's honour. It is unthinkable that, as a weapon of political compulsion, the strike should ever succeed: it must fizzle out and fail. Nothing is more vital than that the Government should be firm and the people should keep steady. It is an hour of test as much to all good citizens as to the Government. JUNIUS feels tempted to recall what the *Times* (London) said at a fateful hour like this in British history 34 years ago:

They (good citizens) will keep steady, and they will keep calm, but they will be the more and more determined as they come to see and feel the meaning of this challenge to the constitutional sovereignty of the people. They will not surrender and the sooner enemies of the people realise that they will not surrender, the better for them and for us all.



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BOOK REVIEW

NEW PATTERNS OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

The ten short chapters which make up this impressive volume may be described as footnotes to modern Indian history. This book sets out to answer the question: What has been happening in India since the country became independent in 1947? In discussing India's relations with Western countries, the usual approach is to lay stress on the 'several similarities' (especially our faith in democracy and as to how we have conducted two general elections) and to plead for more intensive programmes of cultural (more promotion councils to export our 'Bharata Natyam' culture) as well as economic co-operation (more aid please without strings) to strengthen the forces of democracy. However, Mrs. Dean has written in a simple and straight-forward style, refreshingly free of jargon and mumbo-jumbo.

In her analysis of the political, social and economic trends of modern India, Mrs. Dean has drawn our attention to five factors which (according to her) favour the cause of democracy in India. —the Indian ideal of tolerance, the British impact on the Indian mind, the democratic nature of the Indian constitution, the concept of a mixed economy and the policy of non-alignment. Along with the classics of English literature, the nineteenth-century Indian studied such political treatises as Locke's works on civil government and Mill's classic on liberty. And paradoxical as it may seem, England herself was responsible for the freedom movement in India. While the policy of some of the British colonial administrators had intensified the struggle for freedom, it was the attitude of

NEW PATTERNS OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA by Vera Micheles Dean, 1959, Harvard University Press, 226 pages. Rs. 17-50.

great British leaders like Burke, Wilberforce and Cobden that had inspired in us the love of freedom. That laudable quality of championing the cause of freedom which can be found in Cicero's orations against Verres for his gubernatorial rapacity in Sicily is also apparent in Burke's impeachment of Hastings. And his speeches did not constitute mere rhetorical criticism of the Benfields and Macphersons, but were full of the purest accents of philosophical liberalism. "Magnanimity in politics", he said, "is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together". Burke not only made a brilliant contribution to the discussion of the problems of the day, his insight not only surveyed his own time, but was projected far into the future, since his oratorical utterances were at once practical and philosophical. And his liberal ideas influenced the thought of succeeding generations of Indian political leaders. Mrs. Dean has given us a clear account of the main features of the Indian Constitution and has viewed some recent 'reforms' in their constitutional setting: "This amendment (of Article 31) destroys the protection given to landowners by Article 31, which provided that 'no person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law, and could be easily used by an authoritarian government to take over all private property in India'. Commenting on the 'Mixed Economy of Socialist India, Mrs. Dean has estimated that "90 per cent of the country's enterprises, including agriculture which is entirely in the hands of individual owners were in private hands and furnished 92 per cent of the country's total income, with only 8 per cent of total income coming from governmental enterprises. But in view of the recent legislative measures imposing ceilings on land, Mrs. Dean's optimism is hardly

justified. Rajaji had described these ill-conceived attempts at imposing ceilings on land as "equivalent to the status of slavery wherein the relationship between men is settled by legislation and not by contract" and pleaded for "the recall of legislation from its trespass". Indeed, the Marxian concept of class conflict is being applied to the agricultural sphere, apart from steadily extending the area of State capitalism.

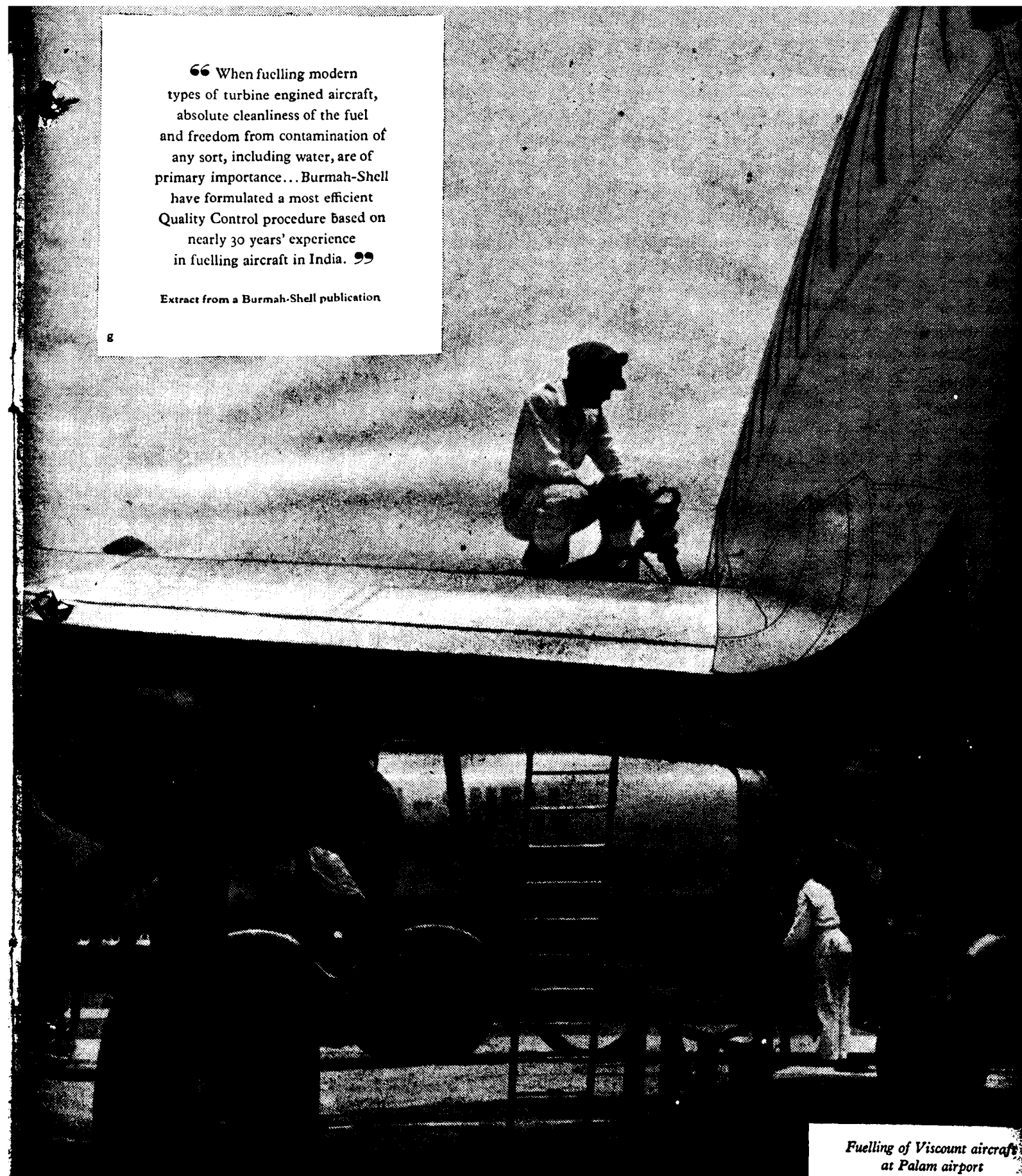
Although Mrs. Dean is extremely sympathetic in her approach to India's foreign policy, she is constrained to remark that "India seems more shocked by Suez than by Hungary". In this connection, it is interesting to recall that Mr. Panikkar described the expedition of Commodore Perry as an attempt to open the door of Japan by force to the 'American way of life'. Summing up, it is clear that our 'planners' view the economic problems of the twentieth century from a nineteenth-century Marxian angle and our 'foreign policy experts' interpret the political currents of the nineteenth century in terms of the cold war jargon of the mid-twentieth century. This uneasy coalescence of the nineteenth and twentieth century attitudes constitutes the ideology of our 'new class'. Small wonder that the attitude of this 'new class' towards the West is of an ambivalent nature which crystallizes itself into a strange amalgam of imitation especially in the process of industrialization and varying types of rejection (the scant regard in which individual freedom is held), of political atavism and breezy town planning of the Corbusier pattern, Wardha schemes and public schools, Hindi backwaters and atomic reactors, Oxford accent and handloomed curtains and an inverted inferiority complex which delights in Savile Row suits and anti-Western fulminations.

What of the future? According to Mrs. Dean the West must 'offer to give long term aid' in order to "sustain India's morale during the years of the plans' travail through public recognition that in a newly developing country even a modest measure of growing democracy represents a resounding victory over the temptations of totalitarianism". Mrs. Dean has certainly made a good case for an Indian Marshall Plan. But the ultimate success of an Indian Marshall Plan is to be measured not only by the accelerated pace of Indian economic development, but also by the preservation of liberal democracy in India, free from any kind of totalitarian or State control, although it might have the outward trappings of parliamentary democracy.

—A. RANGANATHAN.

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SIDELIGHTS

(Continued from page 4)

Bengalees have begun to quit the State in large numbers. When administrative power is placed at the disposal of language patriotism, the natural result is the persecution of minorities who do not fall within the dominant linguistic circle. In multi-lingual India, linguistic States can promote only inter-linguistic disintegration. Education might have been expected to bring together people subjected to this form of disintegration. But this power is being taken out of education by the forcible elimination of a common medium of instruction for the whole country by short-sighted Education Ministers and its replacement by a multiplicity of media. When the present trend gets into full swing it will not be possible for pupils bred up in one language in one State to join any educational institution in another State where a different regional language is compulsorily in vogue. Our educated young men throughout the country will be cut off from facilities for higher education in Europe and America. The isolation of State from State and of the whole country from the rest of the world will be completely achieved in a short time, and in the resulting intellectual morass, only hatred and ignorance can flourish. The tragic happenings in Assam are the first bitter fruits of imposing linguistic separatism on the people of India with the aid of regional administrative rearrangements. It should give a foretaste to the intelligent of what is in store for the country as a whole if the present disastrous and disruptionist policy is not reversed in time.

The huge allotment for atomic development under the Third Plan is an instance of thoughtless spending being mistaken for progress. In the modern world, the atomic powers have realised the suicidal certainty of nuclear war, and are driven to desperate straits in the effort to get rid of their nuclear weapons. It is the height of folly for any nation, in a spi-

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

AN "IRRESPONSIBLE" STATEMENT

Sir,—The Chief Khalsa Diwan is surprised to read the statement of Mr. Reddy, the Congress President, regarding the Punjabi Suba. Before making such a statement it would have been more proper if he had toured the Punjab State and seen things for himself. Such an irresponsible statement by the head of the ruling party, saying that every village in the Punjab is bilingual, is nothing but a travesty of facts. In his enthusiasm to condemn the Punjabi Suba movement, he has overlooked the fact that it has long since been established and accepted not only by the Congress but also by the State and the Central Government that in the Punjab there exists a Punjabi-speaking region. It was this fact that led to the drawing up of the Sachar formula and later, the regional formula. Even the non-Sikh member of the Good Relations Committee, Shri Jai Chand Vidyalkar, in the statement issued by the Committee, stated in unequivocal language that the "claim of some people in the Punjabi Region, declaring Hindi as their mother tongue, is really fictitious." As President of the Congress, Mr. Reddy should have kept himself in touch with

rit of military adventure, to embark on a destructive acquisition which it has become a major world problem to liquidate wherever found. There is something to be said in favour of atomic development for peaceful purposes. British scientists hoped sometime ago to produce cheaper electricity by atomic means. In the light of actual experience and experiment, they seem now to have given up that hope. Our planners apparently delight in hugging to themselves and inflicting on the country the cast-away, discarded concepts of advanced scientific nations and imagining that thereby they are making progress. Frank Moraes tells how in his recent visit to West Germany the leaders there expressed surprise at India's addiction to outmoded atomic plans, abandoned elsewhere, for the generation of electric power. The folly of enterprises like this is patent, but it provides a substantial ballast to what passes for planning in India.

—S.A.K.A.

the Punjab affairs. His statement is most disruptive and has done disservice to the Punjab.

A State can be bilingual, a district can be bilingual but it is absolutely untrue, as he stated, that every village in the Punjab is bilingual. It is such like statements that create suspicion in the mind of the Sikhs against the Congress.

SANT SINGH,
Hon'y Secretary,
Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar.

DISCRIMINATION

Sir,—No matter how high rises the tide of passions to obscure the minds of men, there must always be some who are ready and even anxious to consider a matter dispassionately and with an open mind. This being the only hope our country still has of adhering to the democratic way of life, I bring to the notice of the public the following situation, which is apparently intriguing, but tragic in its implications. It is no secret that restrictions under Section 144 Cr. P.C. have been clamped on most districts of the Punjab, particularly where the Sikhs preponderate, with the object of choking all normal expressions of desire for a Punjabi Suba. The result is that whispers in favour of the formation of a unilingual Punjabi State have been silenced completely and effectively, but simultaneously the crescendo of organised and public opposition to the demand of Punjabi Suba has been allowed to rise without let or hindrance. Hardly a day passes without reports in the Press of meetings held and addressed by prominent government Ministers and Congress bosses enlivening the simple folk of Punjab about the grave dangers of the Punjabi Suba. Recently, it has been boasted in the Press that the Congress Party bosses have addressed as many as 300 public meetings to denounce the ill-conceived Punjabi Suba idea.

The following propositions seem to me to follow necessarily from these facts.

Although our Constitution guarantees that we are entitled to equal protection of the Laws, these provisions do not mean what they would mean in countries whose legal systems are based on the Roman and common laws heritage. It is some kind of 'Socialist legality' that we seem to follow here in practice, the basic principle of which is that all are equal before the law but some are more equal than others, the doctrinal justification of which is derived from Lenin's dictum that *class justice* obligates

"a class struggle against the opponents who are defeated but not destroyed". Otherwise, it is not the protagonists of the Punjabi Suba who should have been gagged even before they could voice their demand but the Congress bigwigs, and their hangers-on.

An action or a matter becomes offensive or otherwise before law not because of any intrinsic characteristics that it may possess, but on account of its being owned up, by the men in power. This is the doctrine of 'Class Profile' of legal discrimination against the opposition party, that is basic to all dictatorships. Otherwise, public declarations, such as that 'it is the Akalis who are responsible for the murder of a certain police officer', or 'that the Punjabi Suba would mean harm to the vested commercial interests of the Hindus' would invite the severest penalties of law, in the context of the present tense situation. These tendencies, unless checked promptly are bound to lead the whole country into the abyss of chaos, lawlessness and gangsterism.

—GURNAM SINGH,

(Retired Judge, Punjab High Court)

BREACH OF PRIVILEGE ISSUE

Sir,—It is very strange that when the Speaker of the Lok Sabha—whose position is analogous to that of the House of Commons—closed the identical matter the Speaker of a State legislature—within whose territorial jurisdiction the alleged observation was not made—should have given leave to reopen it.

It is a well-known principle that jurisdiction can arise on such issues only through residence or submission to it. Sri Rajaji neither resides in the Andhra State nor has he submitted to it.

It will be ludicrous if all fourteen States reopen this issue after an *in limine* closure of it by the Speaker of Lok Sabha.

There is a special responsibility in these matters of privilege where the prosecutor and judge are in the same body.

India is a *Union of States*; a *forkiori* the Hon'ble Speaker of the Lok Sabha is the *guardian* of the *dignity* and *privileges* of all the legislatures in India.

I have not trespassed into the merits of the incorrectly reported speech in issue. A "humorous" remark never breaks any bones. —Prof. K. R. R. SASTRY.

THE PRESIDENT'S POWERS

Sir,—Allow me to object to your comment under *Sidelights* in SWARAJYA dated June 25. It tends to confirm a view widely and increasingly held in the country that our President has practically no power and therefore no responsibility. This view is not only not true according to the Constitution but

also mischievous. It would make of the office of President a superfluous sinecure and deprive the country of its only legitimate chance of civil survival in a grave political crisis. The President is the Commander-in-Chief of our armed forces and all executive acts are done in his name and Government transactions are carried on for him and on his behalf. These are not empty formula; nothing is done to which he objects though he may not choose to object to most or all of his Ministers' devisings. He appoints and dismisses the Prime Minister though popular belief prefers to reverse that role. In virtue of his exalted office and his oath to uphold the Constitution it is the clear duty of the President to save the country, when necessary, even from Prime Ministers and the majorities they may own; he has been legally empowered to do it, and should he misjudge the situation or lack the nerve to act, he may lay himself open to impeachment. It is the fashion to consider all the President's powers as "emergency powers" and to refuse to note that it is he and not his advisers that must recognize the emergency. It is the plain duty of the President to be always alert to conditions in the country, advise and warn his Ministers, and, if they will not agree, dismiss them.

If, for instance, the President were to dismiss the Central Ministry, suspend State Ministries, arrange for the orderly management of civil government and order a general election, today, he will not be doing anything unconstitutional and in the opinion of many good citizens he will be doing what is right and what is timely. Deprived of the aid of governmental power which it now possesses, the Congress Party will be hard put to it to get back the political authority it now possesses and the country will have a sounder and more permanent lesson in democracy than the two quinquennial meals to which it had been treated in the past. In view of the incessant and nearly insane extension of State power without the open and full assumption of responsibility which characterises honest dictatorship we have reached an intolerable situation which can, under the law, be resolved only by the President and no one else. Should democracy and civil government be eclipsed in the country, the blame will be properly, legally and morally be laid on the President for failing to uphold the letter and spirit of a Constitution which deliberately has laid on him the duty and conferred on him the necessary powers. The Prime Minister as the holder of an office from which he can be removed without showing any cause has not got a tithe of the legal and moral responsibility of the President. To belit-

tle the office of President is therefore to screw down the safety valve of our Constitution and invite extra-constitutional remedies which I hope no one would desire. —R.B.

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THE STRIKE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

No man can be compelled to work on terms and conditions which he deems to be unjust. Every person is entitled to withdraw his services if he does not find the conditions satisfactory and just. But the question arises whether collective bargaining should be taken to include the final trial of a strike in the case of national services forming part of the machinery of government. To withdraw from the service is the privilege of every employee but to hold on to it and yet not to work, which is the meaning of a strike, in order to settle the terms of service by a trial of strength is a different matter. Whatever may have come to stay in the industrial field, it seems erroneous to allow this practice of strikes in the case of Government departments. The disputants must have the right to dispute and negotiate without fear of victimisation, but beyond reference to a tribunal and submitting to its award, it appears wrong in principle to set up the practice of strikes and lock-outs in the administrative or defence establishments of the Government, equating the latter with an industrial establishment.

We should at least see to it that political parties do not seek to exploit the situation when a strike is afoot. It is wrong for any political party to seek to use the occasion for developing its own strength and for that purpose take

sides in the dispute between employees and Government. It is for the party holding the responsibility of government to deal with the disputes regarding conditions of service in the administrative machinery. It is not either the responsibility or the privilege of parties sitting in opposition to take sides in those disputes. Permanent civil servants of all grades should be kept away from partisan politics for they should serve Government irrespective of which party holds office. When there happens to be a kind of alignment and support during a period of trouble, a bond is established which is not easy to get over or forget. It is therefore very wrong for political parties to take sides when Government employees are engaged in a struggle with the Government. The temptation is great but it must be resisted.

No nation ever solved or attempted to solve the problem of unemployment among its educated classes by absorbing them all in its administrative services. The root of the mischief in our country is in the education imparted which unfits the recipients psychologically as well as otherwise for anything but such service. The remedies lie in expanding technical education and in a policy which will encourage and not curb by harassing regulations the rapid expansion of trade and industry. It is this alone that can and ought to absorb the unemployed. Reckless expansion of the

administrative services based on an inadequate wage scale has led to the dilemma of either not relieving distress among the employed or heartless retrenchment. The sooner a policy of industrial expansion based on the release of private enterprise from the entanglement of official sanctions, permits, licences and forms and regulations, the easier it will be to solve the problem of unemployment. The temptation to exploit industry and trade for political advantage leads to deadly sin.

Alongside of releasing industry and trade from cramping regulations and political motives attention should be paid to educational reform such as would reduce the pressure on the limited capacity of the State to absorb the educated classes in its administrative services. The superstition that all education is to end in a white-collar appointment under Government must be done away with.

The aftermath of this strike will involve much individual distress. Government must take into account the large element of intimidation that plays an effective part in compelling frightened men to conform to the decisions of union leaders. They should temper their action with a large dose of consideration and clemency for those who could not stand up to the intimidation of fellow-workers.

A NATION IN CRISIS

By BHARADWAJA

"The gods do not protect their wards driving them with a stick as a cowherd; whom they wish to protect, they endow them with seasonable wisdom."

So says the wise Vidura in the Mahabharata. And it looks as if the good gods who are presiding over the destinies of the country are determined to give us the wisdom that alone can take us out of the morass in which we have been plunged at the end of thirteen years of freedom. It is not entirely an accident that the draft of the Third Five Year Plan was issued at a time when the whole edifice erected by the Nehru regime seemed faced with collapse. The general strike of Government employees should enable our people to see, as they could never have seen before, the true character of the House that Jack Built. For years we had been fed on the virtues of the public sector, the glory of the Socialist pattern and the New Jerusalem that would be created by planning. The people—and even their rulers, the more honest among them—discovered with a shock that a huge deception had been practised on them. Public servants who could not even be loyal to the Government that had pampered them over the years at the expense of the rest of the Community could not possibly be expected to behave as the real servants of the people. A public sector run by people who placed their private interests above even the demands of public order and convenience could not possibly be a dependable instrument of the Welfare State. As for our planning, if its major achievement at the end of ten years was to produce the largest mass of disaffected public servants in the world—men who were the immediate beneficiaries of planning in terms of assured and well-paid jobs compared to the precarious existence of millions of others who were unemployed or under-employed—and to create a national

mood of frustration and despair, it certainly could not be regarded as a shining success. The events of the past few weeks should serve as an eye-opener, as in the case of the little child in Andersen's tale, so that we may really see that the king has no clothes. It is not physical achievements like the building of dams or roads or factories that really matter in the ultimate reckoning, though they are undoubtedly important for a people as poor as ourselves. What is really more vital is the character of the people who build them and the spirit in which they build them. The great men who built our temples have left no foundation stones of marble to let posterity know who their architects or their inspirers were. They built temples so that their people may look to something far higher than themselves to guide their lives on the right path. But if in the process of building our dams and our power houses, we have filled our people with no noble idea than of making a little more money—with the cleverer and more unscrupulous making all the money while the real workers manage to earn a bare living—we may succeed in building a few imposing edifices but we will hardly have improved the character of the nation. Actually what has happened in the past few years,—despite the physical progress achieved in some directions which are doubtless impressive because they represent a rate of progress not achieved during the decades before freedom—is the dissipation of the moral capital of the nation at an alarming rate so that today we have inefficiency, corruption, nepotism and incompetence nearly everywhere.

If the Third Plan has to acquire any meaning, we must get out of the rut in which we have been

The control of the production of wealth is the control of the human life itself.

—HILAIRE BELLOC.

moving all these years. The most alarming fact brought about by the Planning Commission is that our population will have increased in the twenty-five years from 1950 by as much as 200 millions—that is, as much as the present population of the United States, which has four times the territory of India. All our paper planning is utterly meaningless in the face of this one fact. It would be worthwhile to make the forthcoming census of 1961 so comprehensive that we shall really know the stark facts about the condition of our people, the immensity of destitution, the proportion of undernourished and underfed population, the real extent of unutilised labour power and the enormous effort that will be needed to ensure minimum sufficiency for the entire people. If all these facts are known, we will realise, as we cannot possibly realise now, how much greater effort is required—both quantitatively and qualitatively—to make the slightest dent on India's poverty than the pitiful figures of the Planning Commission would suggest. The financial and physical targets of the Planning Commission may seem frightening, but if everyone in the country awakens to the real plight of the mass of the people and does his duty, whatever the position or status he may occupy we may yet salvage the morals and economy of the nation and direct it to a brighter future. For this to take place, there must be a real mood of humility and genuine public spirit at every level, starting with Ministers and legislators who have hitherto been content to talk big but really to betray a great trust. The supreme need of the country today is to recover the spirit of Gandhiji for ordering its life in every department, in the Government or outside. Who can say what torment the Mahatma's soul is going through witnessing the universal collapse of morals and self-discipline that has so rapidly overtaken the country in so short a time? A spiritual catharsis on a national scale must be the prelude to a reordering of the national life.

Sabko Samathi de Bhagawan!

July 23, 1960

SWARAJYA

3

CAPITAL COMMENTS

A WHOLLY CONFUSING PICTURE

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The strike is on. Of its extent and intensity reports vary. From the altogether balanced picture that newspapers give, the over-all situation is not too bad. Where conditions are bad, it may be conceded that they could have been worse. It is a blessing that we can tune the All-India Radio, and rely on it as a corrective to any alarmist reading of the situation, though on occasions we are apt to be puzzled as when we are told that there is a definite improvement at a place where earlier everything was said to have been normal! Anyway the hope is widely cherished that in another few days the strike will have either been called off or will have petered out. *One can only hope that when such a day will dawn, as dawn it should, the Ministers of Transport and Communications, of Railways, of Labour and what else, will, instead of wasting time over congratulating one another, settle down to face the aftermath in a spirit of realism. Perhaps the Home Minister will have his hands full for days to come. Even the Defence Minister cannot afford to slow down. Above everyone else, the Prime Minister will have to give his time and thought to the problems that have already arisen as well as to those that will now arise.

There are lessons to be learnt. Ministerial appeals hardly answer the requirements of such a situation as had confronted the administration. The Congress can no longer be trusted to face, much less pacify, angry or excited crowds. It has manifestly lost all contact with the masses while, according to Mr. Krishna Menon, it has lost contact with the intellectuals as well. It does not seem that even our Members of Parliament could be much depended upon in a crisis like this. For, if each M.P. could influence his own constituency, the trouble would neither have been so wide-spread or serious. While none was prepared for the worst, everyone hoped for the best—and left matters to the custodians of law and authority. There seemed to be little realisation that, in the words of Lord Haldane, "to let things drift is to let things crystallise adversely." It was a bad show on the whole, not relieved by the appearance on the troubled front of two of our Governors as persons willing, or

*Subsequent to the receipt of this despatch the announcement calling off the strike has been made.

prepared, to do any work in spare time, for an hour or two. Surely they could have done their bit, without waiting for the impetus that an announcement of their good intentions could alone give them!

At a time like this, the enveloping gloom hardly admits of comical interludes. It is a disturbing thought that many of those who have joined the strikers have perhaps no specific grievances but have a general irritation against the Government of the day, and that they could be exploited by the forces behind the strike. And such forces are there, far and near. However variously described, the strike is in a way a challenge to the Nehru leadership.

It is quite possible that advantage is being taken of his responsibility for the 'sins' of his colleagues and the setbacks in the administration. It is being openly asked if his idealism alone can make up for the hideous mess around him, created partly by administrative bungling and partly by want of character at higher levels. It is idle to think that the end of the strike will automatically mean the end of the present crisis. If anything, the crisis is a call to Mr. Nehru "to give a new direction and impart a new purpose". It is a call to leadership, both wise and resolute. He must bring to the people the conviction that they can safely extend to the administration over which he presides the confidence that they still have in him. It looks like an insuperable task when the picture in which he finds himself is so wholly confusing.

Our President meant well: he always means well. Considerably agitated over the developments leading to the strike and obviously distressed by the general economic situation in the country, he generously persuaded himself, not for the first time either, to make a voluntary cut in his own salary. Doubtless it was a noble gesture. But it is doubtful if it can be treated as a great example. For, this kind of sacrifice has certain disturbing implications, not readily comprehended under any sway of sentiment. The President failed to gauge the national mood. The time is gone when people are easily impressed by individual sacrifices. What they want is a radical change in the entire system of government. If high salaries are indefensible, they are so all over and not merely at the Presidential level.

It matters less what the President decides to draw; what essentially matters is how much he is entitled to. He should not perhaps make it difficult for his successors to live up to the same ideal of self-abnegation. For, if that should become the criterion for high office, there will be a mess of things. To-morrow there may be some men who will be willing to serve as Ministers without taking a salary at all. It will come to mean that they alone will have better chances who can afford to do without salaries or can take care of themselves anyhow. If once the principle is recognised that the one who can make such a gesture as the President has made, has earned his preferment, we will have bargained for unknown troubles. It may well be recalled that when Gokhale rigidly prescribed that members of the Servants of India Society were to subsist on small allowances and not to earn anything for themselves, Phirozeshah Mehta reacted very unfavourably out of the not unwarranted apprehension that "that would constitute a superior caste among those who did not do service to the country in the same way and that their bearing towards their colleagues and other patriots would be marked perhaps by a feeling of moral superiority." Mehta's was not an irrational attitude, if correctly understood. Who will, or can ever, say that President Rajendra Prasad was wanting in equal solicitude for the well-being of the community when he had drawn his full salary? The removal of disparities in income on which the Government have pronounced views cannot be achieved by individual sacrifices. Nor should it be made to appear that high-placed men were having their earnings only under qualms of conscience. It is a wrong approach to a problem, admittedly difficult.

There was the story of Earl Baldwin who gave a portion of his estate in 1919—he was then Financial Secretary to the Treasury and practically unknown—"as a thanks-offering in the firm conviction that never again shall we have such a chance of giving our country that form of help which is so vital at the present time." His example was not followed. It was significant that out of a dislike for publicity, he did it anonymously, and that till four years later no one knew about it.

The situation in the country today is very grave. When people look for summer and sunshine, they do not grow into raptures over a swallow here or there trying to cheer them. Emotional appeals and sentimental offerings turn feeble in an atmosphere of studied sullenness.

SIDELIGHTS ::

The Government have the satisfaction of having brought their striking employees to "unconditional surrender" in five days. The Government are in an advantageous position compared to other employers. They apparently feel that they are not bound by the restraints of law which have become operative in the industrial world as a result of many years of trade union struggle to advance the rights of labour. A private employer is not entitled to treat a strike as illegal at will. If certain prescribed conditions are fulfilled, legality follows as a matter of course, and as one of the consequences of legality, the employer is precluded from dismissing or suspending the strikers. The Government have taken advantage of their political power to declare this particular strike illegal in order to deprive the strikers of the privileges associated with the conventional content of legality in strikes. No employer other than the Government could have acted in this way.

The privileges accruing to Government from this created illegality are manifold. They struck terror into the strikers with threats of suspension and dismissal. They brought soldiers and police into the streets. Mr. Nehru revealed himself in a new guise. In dealing with the Chinese his policy was one of invincible addiction to negotiation. He declared that he would go on "talk, talk, talk," and nothing would ever impel him to abandon his policy of peaceful persuasion. But now we find our anti-war Prime Minister sunk in war-psychosis and insisting on "unconditional surrender."

There is a close resemblance between the present Government's draconian handling of the strike and the harshness of the British in suppressing the Satyagraha movement of the Mahatma. The same orgy of indiscriminate arrests, the same steam-roller technique of employing brute force, the same strategy of economic

strangulation, and to crown all, a replica of the same bullying tactic as the infamous 'harbouring' section! The Government's treatment of these employees has been as severe, inconsiderate and violent as their attitude to the invading Chinese has been gentle, considerate, peaceful and persistently friendly.

It is claimed by some Americans that they dropped the atom bomb on Hiroshima to save the warring nations from a worse carnage that would otherwise have occurred. The employment of violence in medicinal doses for saving the body politic from graver disasters and setting in motion a curative process, is likewise defended by certain administrators as a merciful, doctorial masterstroke of statecraft to produce eventual good, for all its immediate infliction of pain. It may be conceded straightaway that the muzzling of liberties for the sake of national security, human welfare, or the protection of the community's normal civil life can be, subject of course to the dictates of reason, not only permissible at times, but also necessary.

For example, as Rajaji says in an article in this issue entitled *The Strike*, it is "wrong in principle to set up the practice of strikes and lock-outs in the administrative or defence establishments of the Government, equating the latter to an industrial establishment". As the administration has to go on, and suspension of the administration will mean chaos destructive of the whole interest of the nation, it is arguable that administrative staffs have a public function which industrial establishments do not have and so in recognition of their superior status in the economy of the nation's occupations, they should forego their trade union rights. This much is logically tenable. But the activities of Government have expanded into the industrial field, and the industrial establishments run by Government should not be treated like other Government

institutions when disputes arise over wages and the like involving their trade union rights.

The Government have shown themselves incapable of exercising their power with restraint, or of treating themselves as employers on a par with the non-governmental employers. Those who clamour for nationalisation and Socialism have now a foretaste of what kind of employer they will have if independent industrial establishments now under private management are to pass on to official control. No strike in an industry can ever succeed if its management were to be armed with powers similar to those enjoyed and exercised by the Government in the recent strike. Likewise Government control of industry would mean the extinction of the trade union rights of labour.

Let workers take warning and realise the fate in store for them under Socialism, with trade, commerce and industry progressively passing under official management. Political power will then be added to managerial control, and certain defeat would be their lot in any dispute with their employer. They would have forfeited once for all the rights they have won of collective bargaining and action through decades of strenuous trade union struggle. The advent of Socialism will mean in effect the exit of trade unionism.

Here is a delightful parody of Winston Churchill on the psychology of disarmament conferences. It was delivered originally in a speech by him in the House of Commons thirty-two years ago. Baldwin quoted it as amongst the best from Churchill's speeches. It is sent to me by an esteemed correspondent who came across the passage in Randolph Churchill's biography of Sir Anthony Eden:

"Once upon a time all the animals in the Zoo decided that they would disarm, and they arranged to have a conference to arrange the matter. So the Rhinoceros said, when he opened the proceedings, that the use of teeth was barbarous and horrible and ought to be strictly prohibited by general consent. Horns, which were mainly

(Continued on page 13)

COMMUNISM, FASCISM AND SWATANTRA

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYAM

Ten years of Congress government have strengthened Communist ideology among the youth of the country, just as the years of decline of the Roman Empire after the Antonines were responsible for the proliferation of the Catholic church. Rajaji and a sincere few around him are, by raising the banner of Swatantra, trying to revive the Upanishadic millenium.

One can have nothing but respectful admiration for the valiant efforts of Rajaji. But if past history is any guide to the future, it needs much more than the efforts of a single noble soul to effect that moral revolution that is the ultimate objective of the Swatantra movement.

The situation in India today is that the intellectuals of an earlier generation are now finding that power apparently has been transferred from those against whom Gandhiji had led his crusade to those who had only paid lip-service to the principles for which he fought the British.

Greatness of Gandhiji

The greatness of Gandhiji lies in the fact that he was not a philosopher but a saint; he was essentially humble and sought for the mote in his own eye whenever his disciples asked him to look for the beam in another's eyes. But all the qualities that formed but a few of the elements of his magnificent personality are being safely mummified in the thousands of statues and portraits that are springing up from one end of the country to the other. And his followers are paying him the only compliment that hypocrisy pays to virtue by glorifying his teachings to others so that they themselves might be exempt from practising them. Rightly had A.J.P. Taylor pointed out:

"The historical figure is turned into a symbol. The man becomes a myth; and though his real deeds are forgotten, he is mobilized in defence of some cause which might have surprised him. The founders of great religions have all enjoyed this fate. Millions of men repeat their names, while knowing nothing of the details of their lives. The carpenter's son of Galilee blesses the grandeurs of the Papacy; and the tyranny of the Polit Bureau is carried out in the name of a crabbed German scholar."

That just has been the fate of Gandhiji. From bidi manufacturers and hotel keepers to astrologers and tight-rope walkers everyone has begun to

capitalise his name. Gandhiji has already been relegated to the Indian pantheon of fertility gods. His chosen disciples have, since Independence, been recreating in New Delhi, that barbaric excrescence on the banks of the holy Yamuna, a modern Sodom.

Not that those who wield power in Delhi were the first in the line. They however enjoy two great advantages denied to their predecessors—modern communications and the printing press; and both are being used in a manner that would be inconceivable in any democratic State. Has anyone ever heard of a British or American statesman, even if he be the Prime Minister or President, having his speeches printed and published in the Government Press and subsidised to make them cheap enough to reach the widest audience? Not even at the height of their power and popularity were any of the speeches or writings of Roosevelt or Churchill published by the State publishing houses because, although national figures, they were, yet, living representatives of political parties, and the publication of their writings would have been tantamount to using public funds for party purposes. On the other hand, documents of vital importance to the public, detailed technical reports of Government projects and public enterprises like the harnessing of the Colorado river and the construction of the St. Lawrence water-way have been made available at subsidised prices to the general public sufficiently in advance of the project being taken on hand, so that every item of expenditure, every technical detail of design and construction, could be scrutinised thoroughly to avoid waste and corruption.

What has been the state of affairs in the new democracy of the Congress Party? No detailed technical reports of any of the projects have ever been made available to the public. Even the few reports that have appeared in the Press are in the nature of prospectuses of company-promoters and are priced so highly as to be inaccessible to any but a privileged few. All that the public is allowed to know, unless some enterprising journalist unearths the secrets, are the propagandist Press hand-outs which in their vagueness and ambiguity are more creditable to the priestess of Delhi than to a responsible government. There is no need to single out instances; the Hindustan Steel Company, the National Coal Development Corporation, the Neyveli Lignite Corporation,

the Orissa Mineral Development Corporation, the Atomic Energy Commission—any one will suffice. Instead, Government presses are being used and public funds are being squandered to publish everything from the perorations of the pundits to the fifth-hand pseudo-wisdom of mountebank political philosophers who seldom practise what they preach to others.

Subsidised Propaganda

If that is how the Government press and public funds are being used to subsidise party propaganda, what about the privileged Government servants who in theory are expected to be above party politics, because the executive is permanent, while the legislature is transient? With a political rump tenaciously clinging to power by every available means, fair or foul, it is inevitable that those who have only a few years of service left or are intent to continue, even after superannuation, should play to the tune of the party in power, and ingratiate themselves by every means conceivable. Let me give a few examples. The Secretary of the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel appears as the chief guest of a registered trade union and makes a two-hour speech, a worthy beginning to a promising career of filibustering after retirement. A Joint Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry visits an industrial area, stays as the guest of a leading industrialist in his house although there is an excellent circuit house intended for Government servants in the town, moves about in that industrialist's car and holds a conference of local industrialists at his host's house over the breakfast table. The Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, a civil servant, out to investigate the credit-worthiness of a joint stock company in Kanpur chooses to stay with the managing director of that very company.

Gods and demi-gods

So much for the demi-gods. What about the gods themselves? All over the democratic world the services of great men are commemorated after their retirement or death by enthusiastic admirers. In India, under the Congress regime, the first thing that a person does when he comes to power is to have suitable memorials to himself erected at public expense. For instance, the Home Minister unveils the portrait of an ex-Minister while that ex-Minister stands close by admiringly watching his own portrait. The Chief Minister of one of the States unveils the statue of the chairman of a municipality who is also a local big businessman and a member of his party. Another Chief Minister unveils the

portrait of his Chief Secretary, a civil servant, in the local club before an admiring audience.

Even education and scientific research have not escaped the blandishments of this new democracy. Before coming to power, Mr. Nehru used to harp ceaselessly on the necessity for inculcating the scientific outlook. In reality, he himself had never had the scientific outlook. His stay at Cambridge during the most impressionable period of his life coincided with the beginning of the revolution in modern physics of which Cambridge of the Thompson Rutherford school was the focus. And young Nehru fell in love with science. His attitude to science since then has been that of an admirer of the so-called miracles of modern science with the result that he has never displayed any of the qualities that characterise a true scientist—careful first hand observation free from the distorting effects of sycophants and hangers-on, exactitude of thought uninfluenced by passions and prejudices, and economy of expression.

Not unnaturally, like the Assyrian emperors of old or the priest-kings of Babylon, his first act, on ascending the throne of power, was to look for the medicine man and the rain maker in Bhatnagar and Khosla. Science, thus, having been made into the State religion of modern India, its priests and votaries could not afford to miss their high priest at any of their gatherings, especially at the inauguration of their annual *maha yagna*, the Indian Science Congress. Every Science Congress had, therefore, to be inaugurated by Mr. Nehru himself.

From being a gathering of scientists the Science Congress has become a carnival, a 'mela'. Since the Indian Railways offer fare concessions, this annual meeting provides excellent opportunities for the young to look for external examinations, for the old to look for sons-in-law and for the insurance agents to canvass business. No wonder it has been a 'tremendous success.'

The first fruits of this new scientific theology are already on the market. The Director-General of Scientific Research, Prof. Thacker, whose only scientific contribution apart from a number of review articles is a bibliography of papers published on heavy electrical engineering, is a great savant of astrology; the Secretary to the Ministry of Education, Mr. Sayaidain, is no less a savant of palmistry. And the Council of Industrial and Scientific Research has been financing research on the effect of Indian music on the growth of plants—soon they may also be financing research on the effect of Indian

dance on the growth of cattle—so that the food problem of India might be solved without manure, minerals, water and tears in the truly ancient and religious way.

In this atmosphere of sycophancy and make-believe, Mr. Humayun Kabir who as Secretary to the Ministry of Education calls Mr. Nehru the modern edition of Akbar and Asoka in a book of his, is promoted to become the Minister of Education. According to this Oxford poet and philosopher, the modern exponent of secularism, the Ramanujam Institute of Mathematics was an unnecessary luxury. What if mathematical research and even that aspect of it which Ramanujam made his own, is indispensable for the growth of modern science and technology? There were not enough mathematicians of the right type available to staff it adequately. A chair for mathematics in the Madras University to commemorate his name would be more than enough. A few days after he unceremoniously dismissed the plea for the continuation of the Ramanujam Institute he was inaugurating the Maulana Azad Institute of Oriental Research at Hyderabad—probably because there is inadequate provision for oriental research in India or because there is a surfeit of unemployed Persian, Arabic and Urdu scholars or even because there is far more need for oriental rather than mathematical research under a planned economy in this dynamic world of sputniks and atomic power.

How have matters come to the present pass since the death of Gandhiji? Sir Lewis Namier, one of the greatest of living historians, provides the answer. In an essay on Napoleon III he writes:

"The modern dictatorship arises amid the ruins of an inherited social and political structure, in the desolation of shattered loyalties—it is the desperate shift of communities broken from their moorings. Disappointed, disillusioned men, uprooted and unbalanced, driven by half-conscious fears and gusts of passion, frantically seek a new rallying point and new attachments. Their dreams and cravings projected into the void gather round some figure. It is the monolatry of the political desert. The more pathological the situation the less important is the intrinsic worth of the idol. His feet may be of clay and his face may be a blank: it is the frenzy of the worshippers which imparts to him meaning and power.

"Such morbid cults have by now acquired a tradition and ideology, and have evolved their own routine and

political vocabulary. With Napoleon I things were serious and real. He raised no bogies and whipped up no passions; he aimed at restoring sanity and at consolidating the positive results of the revolution; and if he evoked the memories of Caesar and Charlemagne the appeal was decorative rather than imitative. There would have been no occasion for his dictatorship had not the living heritage of French history been obliterated by revolution; but his system has left its own unhealthy legend, a jackal-ghost which prowls in the wake of the 'Red spectre'. Napoleon III and Boulanger were to be the plagiarists, shadowy and counterfeit, of Napoleon I; and Mussolini and Hitler were to be unconscious reproducers of the methods of Napoleon III. For these are inherent in plebiscitarian Caesarism, or so-called 'Caesarian' democracy, with its direct appeal to the masses; demagogical slogans; disregard of legality in spite of a professed guardianship of law and order; contempt of political parties and the parliamentary system, of the educated classes and their values; blandishments and vague, contradictory promises to all and sundry; militarism; gigantic, blatant displays and shady corruption. *Panem Et Circenses* once more—and at the end of the road, disaster."

These are, indeed, prophetic words. Is there anyone of the symptoms on which this diagnosis is based that is not present in an exaggerated form in the Congress-governed India of today? And if anyone has the courage to point it out he is abused in public, his voice is muzzled and the hounds of the executive are set after him for systematic persecution. If he is a Shyama Prasad Mukherji questioning the credentials of Shaik Abdulla he is shouted down as a communalist and a reactionary. If he is a Kunzru complaining of the misuse of army planes to provide free transport at public expense to ex-Ministers he is accused of the unsportsmanly act of trying to trip the 'innocent abroad'. If he is a High Court Judge like Justice Vivian Bose he is dubbed as lacking in intelligence. If he is a Rajaji he is dismissed as being an antediluvian of the Old Testament and a survival of the 19th century. And if he is a Shroff he is called a fascist.

In this grave predicament there can be no doubt that Swatantra as a movement is an urgent necessity and for that very reason the Swatantra Party which is expected to be its symbol should not be tainted in the initial stages with those evils that have corroded the Congress. After all, the philosophy of Socialism from its beginnings

in Jesus Christ or even earlier, symbolised the spirit of Swatantra, of the many against the unrestrained monopoly of power by a few, which was systematically misused.

Gandhiji did not draw a dividing line between agriculture and industry as regards their monopolistic effects. If he was against forcible collectivisation

of peasant holdings he was no less against the no-less-forcible building of gigantic industrial empires; and in this respect he was, unlike his Congress disciples, scrupulously fair.

If, therefore, the doctrine of trusteeship is to provide the moral foundation for the Swatantra movement as envisaged by Gandhiji then and by Rajaji

now, let them make a serious effort to set an example of that simplicity of living that will be in consonance with the poverty of the country. Even if the Swatantra Party has just a score of men and women who are as sincere as Rajaji in their willingness to practise this doctrine they will be able to initiate the moral ferment.

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WHAT PRICE, BIG GOVERNMENT?

By WARAN

Almost every year since the attainment of independence, the Union Finance Minister, at the time of presentation of the budget, announces his intention to effect economy in civil expenditure. But the outlay on administration, far from going down, has been increasing sharply. This is mainly due

to the fact that the Government have undertaken an enormous number of functions which require large personnel. The following table shows how, between February 1958 and February 1959, month by month, there has been a steady increase in the employment in Central Government establishments.

TABLE

Employment In Central Government Establishments Excluding Railways

Month		Administrative and Executive	Clerical	Skilled & Semi-Skilled	Un-Skilled	Total
February 1958		68,125	2,34,427	1,52,347	2,38,835	6,93,734
March	"	69,632	2,33,689	1,50,586	2,40,595	6,94,502
April	"	79,769	2,34,844	1,51,213	2,39,977	6,95,803
May	"	70,365	2,35,810	1,50,124	2,41,338	6,97,637
June	"	70,990	2,36,207	1,52,667	2,43,434	7,03,298
July	"	71,555	2,37,531	1,53,231	2,42,971	7,05,288
August	"	71,734	2,38,110	1,54,097	2,43,180	7,07,121
September	"	72,635	2,38,409	1,56,342	2,42,885	7,10,271
October	"	72,745	2,38,636	1,55,961	2,43,211	7,10,553
November	"	73,061	2,39,193	1,57,423	2,42,824	7,12,501
December	"	73,801	2,39,577	1,57,410	2,43,471	7,14,259
January 1959		73,851	2,39,743	1,57,812	2,44,253	7,15,659
February	"	73,749	2,40,519	1,58,225	2,44,452	7,16,945

Source: Directorate General of Resettlement & Employment.

The expenditure on civil administration in 1948-49 was only Rs. 35.50 crores. By 1951-52, the first year of the First Five Year Plan, the expenditure on civil administration had gone up to Rs. 53.67 crores. In 1959-60 the estimate is nearly Rs. 223 crores. The following table shows the trend in expenditure on civil administration of the Government of India.

(Year)	(In lakhs of Rs.)
1948-49	35.50
1949-50	39.30
1950-51	48.80
1951-52	53.67
1952-53	51.71
1953-54	64.17
1954-55	75.11
1955-56	94.08
1956-57	1,22.29
1957-58	1,68.00
1958-59 (Budget)	2,00.44
1958-59 (Revised)	1,97.72
1959-60 (Budget)	2,22.73

It is unfortunate that with the steady increase in staff, there has been no corresponding improvement in efficiency. The public, particularly the business community, are painfully aware of the enormous delay that takes place in the various departments. Indeed, the situation has become so bad that the Union Home Minister, in a recent circular to the departments, expressed concern over the growing tendency of "a negative

attitude to work" on the part of Government employees. The Home Minister has pointed out that more ingenuity and time are devoted to finding out how a thing is not to be done rather than to its speedy disposal. This state of affairs should be a cause for considerable anxiety to all thinking people.

It may be claimed that by recruiting more people the Government are solving the unemployment problem. But this claim cannot be accepted. Most of the functions which are now undertaken by the Government are those which were formerly carried on under private auspices. For example, much of the present work of the State Trading Corporation was done by the private trade in the past. The entry of the Government into the trading sphere has deprived several thousands of people of their regular employment and it cannot be argued that by socialisation, the total employment in the country is being increased.

The truth is that so long as the Government are wedded to the policy of Socialism, it is difficult to enforce economy in administrative expenditure. Unless the Government follow the principle of maximum freedom for the individual and minimum interference by the State, we are bound to have all the disadvantages arising from an ever-increasing bureaucracy.

RUTHLESS REPRESSION IN PUNJAB

The situation in the border province of Punjab has become precarious and is deteriorating fast.

The Government is entirely in the wrong in gagging the Press, ordering indiscriminate arrests and wholesale detentions and attachment of household effects without provocation, coupled with unprecedented abuse of Sections 107 and 151 of Cr. P. C., arrests of defence counsel, thereby denying the persons behind the bars any opportunity for having themselves defended against unknown charges, misapplication of the Preventive Detention Act, leaving the Congress leaders and workers to carry on their unbridled propaganda, without let or hindrance.

The policy pursued by the Government is being justified on the strength of purely mythical reports and irresponsible and irrelevant statements of the Congress leaders and their hirelings who have been welcoming the ruthless repression. Apparently these command performances are being purposely conducted to keep the true state of affairs in the background.

The accumulated effect of all this irreligious policy of the Government has been to drive the movement into the sacred precincts of the gurudwaras. When irreligion prevails all around, the only refuge for religion is to take shelter in the sacred temples.

On top of all this, the honourable Prime Minister's statement in justification of the brutal lathi charge and repeated use of tear gas in Delhi on 12th June on the Sikh procession, including women and children, is most regrettable. Instead of severe condemnation of the merciless beating by the police, he has thought it fit to congratulate it. To me and to many others the Prime Minister's statement has come as a rude shock.

I very emphatically assert that on 12th June, Sikhs in Delhi were indiscriminately assaulted by the police who dragged them out of taxis and motor rickshaws and even pursued them to their hotels. This inhuman and unheard of conduct has generated a very genuine feeling in the entire Sikh community that it has been deliberately humiliated. I feel sure that any impartial enquiry can bring out the true facts without any difficulty.

The atmosphere is surcharged with genuine anger and as such I earnestly appeal to the Government, particularly the Prime Minister, to evolve some constructive approach to solve this tangle without any further loss of time.

UDHAM SINGH NAGOKE,
President, Swatantra Party, Punjab.

THE EXPLOSIVE CUBAN SITUATION

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

Small and seemingly inconsequential countries have been often the cause of great stress and strain in international affairs. The bitter controversies that have raged over Korea, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Hungary, Tibet and Formosa lend support to this view, and now Cuba is proving it all over again. Cuba, a small island republic in the Caribbean Sea, is less than the size of Madras State and has a population less than that of Kerala, the smallest state in India. Despite its size, Cuba is today a source of international tension and is in the midst of a cold war clash.

Cuba's charge against the United States of America of "repeated threats, harassments, intrigues, reprisals, and aggressive acts" which was due for discussion this week by the Security Council of the United Nations has been withdrawn by Cuba last Sunday, July 17. The charge has not been dropped, however. In this controversy there is a certain comic aspect. A mighty nation with ballistic missiles and atom bombs is rancorously involved with a tiny island still in the throes of post-revolutionary fevers. How did this happen?

The answer has to be traced back to the arrogance and intemperance of the young revolutionary who leads Cuba today and to half a century of domination of Cuba's economy by United States business interests. For four hundred years after the discovery of Cuba by Columbus in 1492, the island had remained Spanish, and it was with the help of America that Cuba shook off Spanish rule 62 years ago. Since then Cuba had been essentially an economic colony of the U.S.

When Dr. Fidel Castro appeared on the Cuban political scene with his guerrilla forces, threw out dictator Batista, and captured power on January 1, 1959, many individual Americans had supported Castro. In fact, the State Department of the U.S. did not take any action when private aircraft took off from U.S. bases with supplies to Castro's guerrilla army. In May 1959 the State Department invited Castro to visit Washington, and wanted to live in peace with Castro.

But today there is no love lost between Washington and Havana, the Cuban capital. Many Americans now believe that Castro is a Communist and that Cuba is simply a Soviet advance post in the U.S. backyard. The Cubans blame American big business and are convinced that the U.S. wants to "Gautemaliza" Cuba.

The truth lies somewhere between these two extreme views. Castro has not got a clean record. The mass public trials and killings that followed Castro's assumption of power disillusioned a lot of liberals in the U.S. and even elsewhere. Then came the Agrarian Reform Law. It provides that each peasant shall receive 66-2/3 acres of land, that land cannot be sold or mortgaged, and that the new occupant must deliver the crops to the government for sale. 8 per cent of the landowners had owned 75 per cent of the land. Castro planned to turn over land to 150,000 Cuban families by the middle of 1960. Under the land law, the Cuban government has already taken over 16 lakh acres of land owned by U.S. interests and worth over Rs. 118 crores, on the understanding that compensation will be paid in 20-year 4-1/2 per cent bonds.

The National Institute of Agrarian Law set up by the government last year, owns now nearly half of Cuba—13 million acres out of its 28 million acres. The Institute runs 1392 co-operative farms, 2000 peoples' stores, 1215 new schools, 15 fishing co-operatives, 80 sewing schools, 1000 "alphabetization centres" for adult illiterates. These are run by zealous army officers and women social workers, assisted by seventy Russian technicians.

Premier Castro has declared that one of the principal aims of his revolution was to make Cuba "politically and economically independent of the U.S." which he has charged with imperialistic designs. Since the eighteenth century Cuba has had a one-crop economy and it has long been dependent on its sales in the U.S. A fourth of Cuba's national income and 80 per cent of its exports were accounted for by sugar trade. Cuban sugar imports have enjoyed a preferred position in the U.S. market since 1934. The U.S. was importing a third of its sugar requirements from Cuba. American-owned sugar mills which numbered thirty-six, as compared with 121 Cuban-owned mills, produced 36.7 per cent of the island's sugar in 1959. The taking over of American-owned sugar fields and lands as well as Cuban propaganda attacks on Washington widened the split.

Cuba also has had other reasons to feel aggrieved. Towards the end of 1959, a series of bomb attacks were launched against Cuban-owned sugar fields by planes which took off from U.S. airfields. At first the U.S. refused to own such flights. But a few months ago the State Department had to apologise to

Cuba when the Cuban government was able to prove that a plane had flown over Cuba after taking off from a U.S. airfield. The plane exploded in mid-air before the bombs it carried could be dropped on Cuban workers. Then came the explosion on March 4 in Havana harbour of a munitions ship loaded with rifles and grenades. This accident in which 75 people died, was attributed by Cubans to American sabotage.

Cuba and U.S. became increasingly estranged and the Soviet Union stepped in to fish in troubled waters in the Caribbean. Cuba welcomed Soviet interest, for Castro wanted new markets. In the course of the last few months, Cuba has signed trade agreements with about a dozen countries. The most important agreement was the trade treaty signed with the Soviet Union on June 19. It provides for a Russian loan of Rs. 47-1/2 crores to Cuba, purchase by Cuba of 40,000 tons of Russian wheat and Rs. 38 crore worth of crude oil.

The refusal of the foreign-owned oil companies to accept Russian crude oil, the subsequent confiscation of oil companies by Castro, the U.S. retaliation by reducing Cuban sugar quota, and the Soviet threats against the U.S. created a first rate international crisis.

The charges and counter-charges made by Cuba and the U.S. cannot be easily proved or disproved. These recriminations are merely an exercise in cold war and will generate more suspicion. While the U.S. is not on very sure ground as far as the charges are concerned, the attitude of the Soviet Union in this controversy has been crude and provocative. What the Soviet has done in effect is to rattle the rockets and substitute age-old norms of diplomacy by threats based on superior power of rockets. The crisis in Cuba demonstrates that neither dollar diplomacy nor rocket diplomacy can bring peace and security. Good relations cannot be built on the basis of bounty or threats.

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Sri Anand Shankar Madhavan, Founder-Director, Mandar Vidyapith, near Bhagalpur is an impressive figure in the public life of Bihar. Born in Kerala about forty-two years ago, Madhavan left his home at an early age in pursuit of learning. After graduation, he studied law in Bombay, but renounced the bar and took up teaching as his career. Coming into contact with the rising tide of nationalism, Madhavan fell under the influence of Gandhiji. Walking all the way from Bombay to Bihar as a lonely pilgrim to fulfil the wishes of Gandhiji in order to study the national traits of the multifarious elements of society, Madhavan, after a strenuous journey, reached the Mandar hill near Bhagalpur. Mandar is noted for its sanctity as the site of Nirvana of Basupuiya, the 22nd Thirthankar of the Jains. At the time of Sri Madhavan's arrival, the Mandar hill area was haunted by wild animals. It was visited only by Jain pilgrims. But today, after the lapse of fifteen years, Mandar has begun to hum with life creating a new world of nation-building activities.

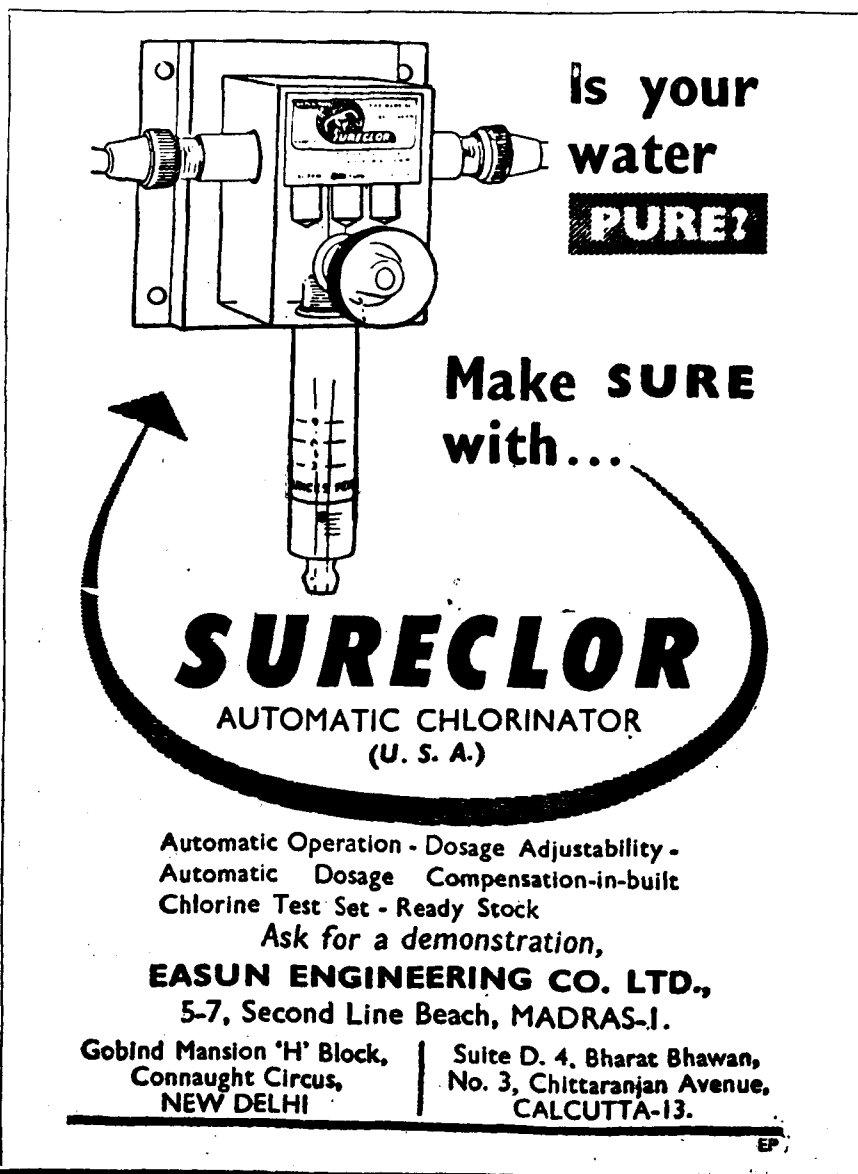
Bihar, which has been sanctified with the footprints of the Buddha and Mahavira, encouraged Madhavan to serve the people in the field of education and culture. After many years of labour, he founded the Mandar Vidyapith in 1945 with the blessings of Gandhiji and Rajendra Prasad. The late Dr. Anugraha Narayan Sinha, Finance Minister of Bihar, gave his unstinted support to the Vidyapith and contributed much for its growth and development.

Having lived in Bihar for more than fifteen years, Madhavan has been practically taken for a Bihari. A writer of scholarly attainments in Hindi, he is also a public speaker of repute. A bachelor with high ideals, he is a moralist and strict disciplinarian. He lives in a thatched hut in the spirit of a devoted Gandhian. His only pet is a one-year old baby girl picked up from the fields a day after her birth with her throat cut and in a state of collapse. The baby was the victim of the inhuman social evils prevalent among the lower strata of Rajputs in Bihar. Owing to abject poverty and lack of money to meet the dowry or 'tilak' for the girls, the parents are accustomed to kill or abandon their new born female babies in the jungle. Kamala, Madhavan's pet child, was fortunate to survive strangulation and knife-thrusts.

She is now a favourite of the Mandar Vidyapith inmates.

Sri Madhavan is the author of a number of books in Hindi. One of his recent publications is entitled the "Hindi Andolan", a critical study of the Hindi language movement. Some Hindi scholars have expressed the view that this book will create lively interest in the Hindi literary world. Madhavan wants to eliminate language orthodoxy and Hindi fanaticism. Hindi should serve the people in creating a united India and not dominate them. It is his ardent wish that the Hindi movement should become a great force in our national life for creating a peaceful and united India. Hindi should be deve-

loped like Sanskrit without arousing any ill-feeling and antagonism among the non-Hindi speaking people. The immediate need for the better understanding and elevation of Hindi as the lingua franca of India is inter-provincial exchange of gazetted officers, public workers, professors and students and a proper study of each other's history, language and literature. The existing Hindi grammar and vocabulary should be simplified so as to make them easier for study. The way of approach of some Hindi writers should be entirely changed into a more peaceful and healthy atmosphere. It is high time for the votaries of Hindi in the North to study some of the South Indian languages for inter-provincial cultural understanding. In the opinion of Madhavan, the South knew more about the North than the North knows about the neighbouring States. —V. G. NAIR.



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ENGLISH IN MODERN INDIA — OUR LANGUAGE PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE

By A. RANGANATHAN

In an article on the Indian Language issue, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the distinguished Indian Philologist posed the following question: Why must we condemn our non-Hindi speaking children at school to waste for six or seven years a good deal of their precious time in trying to acquire a language which has no informative or formative value for them except to satisfy the supposedly patriotic cry of some Indian politicians for an Indian language, however inadequate and howsoever difficult as the "Official Language"? To understand the full significance of this problem, which affects us so vitally, we ought to view the problem in historical perspective as well as know something of the liberal forces which led to the making of modern India.

The impact of the English language on a less gifted people than the Indians might have resulted in a clash of cultures, but not so in the case of a people whose natural intellect had attained a high level of sensitivity and perception through the centuries. Indeed, it is this impact on Indian intellect and culture which contributed to the development of Indian liberalism. It is well to remember that the growth of Indian liberalism as a cultural force began with Henry Derozio, an Indian poet of the nineteenth century whose poems such as "India's Youth", "The Harp of India" and "To India—My Native Land", written in the idiom of the English romantic poets, voiced the earliest accents of Indian liberal thought. And viewed historically, the present conflict regarding the medium of instruction in our schools and colleges is no new phenomenon; indeed, British educational efforts in India started off with a controversy regarding the medium of instruction. As early as 1817, there was a battle royal between the "Anglicists" led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the "Orientalists" leading to a triumph of the "Anglicists" when the Madras, Bombay and Calcutta Universities were established in 1857. It is interesting to note, however, that there were many "Orientalists" like Prinsep among the British and quite a few "Anglicists" among the Indians. The idea of imparting the Western system of education through the English medium was developed by Charles Grant (a distinguished servant of the Company who won fame as a Member of Parliament in England) in a treatise

published in 1792. In spite of the vigorous plea of Charles Grant in favour of the Western form of education, the Government of India appointed a committee in 1823 to report on the best means of encouraging education in India. This report drew a spirited protest in a memorable letter written by Ram Mohan Roy to Lord Amherst, who was then Governor-General of India. And this letter to Lord Amherst formed the basis of Lord Macaulay's famous "Minute on Education", which cast the die in favour of the English system of education in India.

It would be interesting at this stage to deal with some of the objections which have been raised against the retention of English. The favourite argument is that Hindi is spoken by the majority of the people. But it is overlooked that the persons who speak Hindi in all its dialects are not evenly spread throughout India, but concentrated in a particular region. Another objection is that English has stood in the way of the creative activity of the nation. The truth is that English has revitalized our languages. To cite an example, Tagore often said that he was inspired by the poetry of Shelley and

The causes of our misfortunes

"I am persuaded that there is absolutely no limit to the absurdities that can, by Government action, come to be generally believed. Give me an adequate army, with power to provide it with more pay and better food than falls to the lot of the average man, and I will undertake, within 30 years, to make the majority of the population believe that two and two are three, hot and boils when it gets cold, or any other nonsense that might seem to serve the interest of the State. The discovery that man can be scientifically manipulated, and that governments can turn large masses this way or that as they choose is one of the causes of our misfortunes. Education which was at first made universal in order that all might be able to read and write, has been found capable of serving quite other purposes."

—BERTRAND RUSSEL.

Keats. The final objection is that English is "foreign" to us. This objection is more relative than real and it loses its force entirely if the problem is viewed against the background of the evolution of modern India.

During the nineteenth century, men like Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade and Romesh Dutt laid the economic foundations of our nationalism by writing books on various aspects of the Indian economy in English. Our political literature was compiled in English by such leaders as Gokhale, Sastri, Gandhiji, Rajaji and Nehru. The moving power of English oratory must be obvious to those who have heard the late Srinivasa Sastri and Sarojini Naidu. No student of modern Indian history can fail to note that English has been and is still the vehicle of our creative scholarship and scientific research—the philosophical works of Sri S. Radhakrishnan, the historical writings of Sri Jadhunath Sarkar and the scientific contributions of Sri C. V. Raman, Sri J. C. Bose, Prof. Saha, Dr. Chandrasekhar and other Indian Fellows of the Royal Society. And many of our finest minds like Swami Vivekananda and Aurobindo have found in the English language a choice medium for the expression of the Indian spirit. Some have gone further in using English creatively—Henry Derozio, Toru Dutt, Man Mohan Ghosh, Don Moraes, etc.

The adoption of the English language did not symbolize a process of cultural enslavement, but heralded a new era of creative consciousness. This is not a phenomenon peculiar to India. The growth of a bilingual Graeco-Roman culture in the Mediterranean basin during the first three centuries of the Christian era is an instance in point. Again, Latin was used as a medium in medieval and post-Renaissance Europe to facilitate the commerce of ideas in multi-lingual Europe. Some of the greatest European Savants like Descartes and Spinoza wrote their famous treatises in Latin. Viewed in the perspective of history, English has taken the place of Latin as the medium of communication in the modern age.

It is seldom realised that language is not the only attribute of nationality despite several attempts to trace the so-called "essence of the nation" to its language. The Normans who settled in Northern France in the ninth and tenth centuries had forgotten their language by the eleventh and spoke only French. Similarly the Norman conquerors in England eventually forgot their acquired French and adopted a language whose basic structure, despite French

"importations" into the vocabulary was that of the conquered land. The United States of America speaks the same language as England, but this does not circumscribe the distinct nationality of

America. In Canada, French and English are spoken. All these examples clearly show that the language areas do not coincide with the geographical frontiers of nations.

The difficulties of switching over to another language will have to be considered. Years ago, Dr. H. C. Mookerji observed: "Judicial isolation of each State, if I may so describe what would follow from the use of regional language by every High Court, will be a grievous misfortune which may even impair the political unity of India". And recently, Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar stressed that "English should be the medium in our High Courts and the Supreme Court." In this connection, it is well to recall the efforts of the translation bureau of the Osmania University which tried to render English words into Urdu. It was a monument of misdirected energy resulting in the loss of a huge sum of money. One is reminded in this context of a translator who rendered the sentence "An English king prevented the introduction of Papal bulls" in his native tongue as "The bulls sent by the Pope were roasted by an English king"! A translator, if he is to avoid such pitfalls must also be the master of the subject. A scientific treatise cannot be translated by a mere science graduate into Hindi or Tamil. It can be translated only by a competent scientist and the question arises whether such talents should be wasted on mere translation or employed in original investigation. Viewed in this perspective, the contemplated decision of the Madras Government that the Tamil language should be the medium of instruction in all colleges in the State from 1963-4 is an unfortunate essay in retrogression. Indeed, if every University in India adopts its particular regional language as its medium of instruction, it would mean the end of academic progress in India. It is not suggested that English must be adopted in India to the exclusion of other languages. English can serve the purpose of a common pan-Indian linguistic medium in our Universities.

Dr. S. K. Chatterji has made an effective plea (in his Minority Report to the Official Language Commission) for the retention of English and has argued that "the thread of our common Indian culture which is a historic thing and which is expressed through Sanskrit, to hold the people of India together as one nation can be strengthened (and this as a matter of fact has been strengthened) by the liberalizing force of English thought and culture in the present age through the international language." English has been the lan-

guage of our modern cultural renaissance and nationalism, scientific endeavour and academic scholarship, administration and diplomacy, courts and assemblies, the Commonwealth and a possible new world order based on liberty and democracy. And the adoption of English by various nations of different cultural backgrounds (India and the newly emerging Asian and African members of the Commonwealth) is perhaps the most effective guarantee of international peace and understanding.

Danger of State Trading and Manufacture

A well known and well-tested foreign drug may not be imported into India because our State itself is manufacturing the stuff. But the latter may not be—to put it mildly—"up to standard". But all the same, our sick people must swallow it.

The U.S. has found an antidote for penicillin poisoning. But this valuable life-saver may not be imported in sufficient quantity because, forsooth, we cannot afford the "foreign exchange".

These are instances of "encouraging" home industry and "saving" foreign exchange. There is a simple recipe for "earning" foreign exchange. Suppose our country produces a surplus of some commodity. After meeting the demands of the home market it is found that the surplus could not be sold overseas because its international market price is less than what the Indian consumer pays for it. So what we do is to sell it at a still higher price to our own people. This is exactly what is happening in the case of coffee. In the case of cement, the excise duty is so heavy that no average citizen can build a house. But what to do with the unsold cement? A sapient Central authority advised that all Indian States should go in for a lot of cement road building in order to liquidate the "surplus". No cement for home building, but a hell of a lot available for gutters and sewers!

Though we will be soon producing more sugar than we need (thanks to the sky-ceiling limit in the matter of sugarcane acreage!), the consumer will not be benefited because we will also be having a grand "export drive" at his expense.

We wonder for whose welfare our "Welfare State" is being run. No rice, no house, no medicine, no coffee, no sugar but plenty of paper plans and currency!

R. RAMACHANDRAN.

THE EARLIEST ROCKETS

Rocket science is only forty years old but the first rockets were invented some 760 years ago. For thousands of years men had looked at the planets before they discovered the laws of planetary motion.

The interesting thing about rockets is that all the work was done by laymen and it developed quickly in a short time. They were not rocket engineers. One rocket pioneer was Professor Goddard, a physicist by profession. Another was Professor Oberth who originally studied medicine. Of the men who did the early experimental work, one was a machine tool designer, another an architect, a third a high school teacher, a professor of history and another a paleontologist.

About 1200 A.D. the Chinese—when they invented gunpowder—discovered the rocket. Their gunpowder was of very poor quality. It burned so slowly that it rarely went off with a bang. So when they placed it in tubes, the tubes moved forward carrying some of the gunpowder with them instead of blowing up. Thus the first rocket was invented.

The Chinese rocket-man made his tube out of tightly packed paper. He sealed it solidly at one end and made that end pointed so that it would fly faster. He attached his crude rocket to the head of a long arrow, for he knew that the feathers at the base of the arrow would help to keep it on a straight course. Then the shaft and the head of the rocket had to be properly balanced. The Chinese rocket-man quickly found out that regardless of the size of the rocket the stick had to be seven times as long as the rocket head, to ensure perfect balance. This is still true.

As far as we know, such rockets were used for the first time at the siege of Kai-fung-fu in 1232. They succeeded in frightening not only the horses which took to flight instantly, but also their riders, the Mongolians, who were besieging the city.

Modern sky-rockets and signal rockets are still made in this way with one difference. There is a spare in the rocket's head containing a charge which blows up into a series of bright coloured stars when the driving powder has been used up.

In 1780 Hyder Ali of Mysore drove the British off the battle-field at Gun-tur by firing rockets made out of iron tubes. He was able to build big roc-

kets up to twelve pounds in weight, with a stick made of a ten-foot bamboo pole. Being bigger, these rockets could travel fast.

William Congreve, a British Colonel of artillery, read an account of these Indian rockets and decided to make larger rockets which could cover greater distances. He improved the design in two ways. He filled the head of the rocket with a charge of explosive which went off when it struck and placed the stick in the centre of the base with holes around it from which the blast could escape.

Though Congreve's improvements increased the accuracy of the rocket, his rockets were pretty wild. Life for the Congreve rocket-man was very exciting. His rocket might land only a few feet away and then blow up or turn round and injure him, because the powder burned unevenly in the rocket.

In view of this, Congreve used his rocket in bombarding large targets such as a fort or a city. His best were 32 and 42 pounders. The first war rockets in Europe were launched from British rocket ships against the French at Boulogne on October 8, 1806. 200 rockets were used to burn a part of the city. Congreve's rockets were so useful in bombardments that everybody believed that they would replace artillery. But in 1828, following his death, it was found that big guns could give greater range and accuracy by rifling the barrel. Nobody seemed able to find a cure for the inaccuracy of the rocket.

By 1900, big guns replaced these rockets as war weapons, but they did not go out of use. A number of British and German inventors developed life-saving rockets from the Congreve models.

This type of rocket is fired over the wrecked vessel with a small line attached to the stick. The people on the ship haul in a heavy line by means of the light one make it fast and reach the shore safely. These were the only practical rockets right down to the years between the two world wars. Many thousands of lives were saved in this way. They are still used by coast guard stations everywhere to rescue people from stranded ships.

Our big rockets are still being built. The younger generation of rocket engineers is a new generation to which space travel will be a reality, an everyday job in which they will be engaged.

—V. JANAKI.

SIDELIGHTS

(Continued from page 4)

defensive weapons, would, of course, have to be allowed. The Buffalo, the Stag, the Porcupine, and even the little Hedgehog all said they would vote with the Rhino, but the Lion and the Tiger took a different view. They defended teeth and even claws, which they described as honourable weapons of immemorial antiquity. The Panther, the Leopard, the Puma, and the whole tribe of small cats all supported the Lion and the Tiger. Then the Bear spoke. He proposed that both teeth and horns should be banned and never used again for fighting by any animal. It would be quite enough if animals were allowed to give each other a good hug when they quarrelled. No one could object to that. It was so fraternal, and that would be a great step towards peace. However, all the other animals were very offended with the Bear, and the Turkey fell into a perfect panic.

"The discussion got so hot and angry, and all these animals began thinking so much about horns and teeth and hugging when they argued about the peaceful intentions that had brought them together that they began to look at one another in a very nasty way. Luckily, the keepers were able to calm them down and persuade them to go back quietly to their cages, and they began to feel quite friendly with one another again."

—SARA.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR STANDS IN THE LEGAL PROFESSION

Sir,—It has become a fashion for eminent members of the Bar to talk about the falling of standards in the noble profession of law. Some leading lawyers think that the new entrants to the profession are not so active and enthusiastic as they used to be in olden days. This is mainly because the profession is treated as a stop-gap until these freshers get some good job elsewhere. But it is not all newcomers who are indifferent or insincere about their work. In fact, there is a considerable section of them who are really eager to dedicate themselves to the profession apart from making a living out of it. But they hardly receive the required encouragement from the senior members of the Bar and it is after ten or twelve years of hard labour that they realise the lesson of the big fish swallowing the small ones.

Perhaps it is this state of affairs that impelled the learned Attorney-General of India to exhort the senior members of the Bar to train their juniors properly. He even suggested that the Advocate-General of every State should take the lead in this noble cause. The Advocate-General, however enthusiastic he may be, cannot deal with this situation with a lonely hand because he may have his other commitments to attend to. It is for the other leading members of the Bar to come forward and reinforce the hands of the Advocate-General, so as to make a real headway in the matter instead of stopping short of expressing pious wishes.

It reminds me that once a leading lawyer in Madras expressed his desire and willingness to train ten apprentices

every year into ten useful and efficient lawyers. How we wish such noble spirit had been carried a little further into action!

K. VALLABHDAS,
President, Law Apprentices Assn.,
Madras.

NEW INDUSTRIAL LICENSING POLICY

Sir,—Under the new industrial licensing policy announced by the Government of India in February 1960, it is stated that the listed industries (engineering and non-engineering) are self-sufficient and therefore new enterprises in these industries would not be given any aid for their development by way of raw materials, etc. It would be seen that the Government of India had in their mind cities like Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta and they did not take into account the under-developed state of Southern India. South India has not at all developed industrially, especially in the listed engineering and non-engineering industries which are 32 and 40 respectively. Madras State does not have even 5 per cent of these industries. Since the Government of Madras have started industrial propaganda just recently only, merchants are now becoming industrial-minded, but before the public get fully industrial-minded, the Government of India comes forth with a ban on such industries as are quite undeveloped in South India.

I trust the Government of Madras and the public would take up this matter very seriously and see that we are not blocked and thwarted in industrial development.

C. L. METHA.

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RECKLESS ALLEGATIONS

Sir,—For some time past persistent and definite allegations are being made that the Shiromani Akali Dal, which is a political party, has entered into some kind of liaison with a foreign country, against the interests of their motherland and that they have agreed upon a policy of violence to achieve their political ends.

These allegations have been openly and loudly made and repeated by the Chief Minister of the Punjab and the President of the State Congress Committee and have been echoed and re-echoed from many a sympathetic corner in the State.

The spokesmen of the Shiromani Akali Dal have vehemently denied these allegations though their voice has been designedly rendered feeble and ineffective.

In any case, these are serious matters, in which every right-thinking citizen of India should be interested.

It is therefore only in the fitness of things that a commission at the Government or Government-cum-public level should be immediately set up to examine the truth or otherwise of these allegations. In particular, it is Sardar Partap Singh Kairon and Sardar Darbara Singh who should see to it that such a public enquiry is immediately held and the truth ascertained.

Otherwise, the dispassionate section of the public will feel justified in concluding that these allegations are mere canards at par with other similar performances known to the public.

GURNAM SINGH.

Retired Judge, Punjab High Court.

PUNJABI SUBA

Sir,—Punjab has become a problem State. This is to a large extent due to the language controversy which has resulted in the demand for Punjabi Suba.

It is being asserted that the opposition to Punjabi language from the Hindi region of Punjab is due to Punjabi having been forced on them. But such an argument seems to be the result of viewing the problem from an angle of narrow particularism. If the language problem is viewed from an all-India perspective Punjab will have no language problem at all.

It is common knowledge that the country as a whole has adopted the "three language formula". The people of different States have to study the State language, Hindi, and English. To give one instance, the people of Kerala study Malayalam (State language), Hindi (national language) and English

(international language). They do not complain that Hindi is forced on them even though it is not their mother tongue. They study it because it is the national language.

Why should the people of the so-called Hindi region of Punjab feel that Punjabi is forced upon them? It is the State language and therefore they must study it. They have nothing to lose because their mother tongue Hindi will be studied by them as the national language. They will also learn English, thus conforming to the three language formula.

Why should the people of the Hindi region of Punjab alone be an exception to the three language formula adopted in all non-Hindi States? This seems to be the result of propaganda done by misguided Hindi enthusiasts who, unfortunately, tend to identify Hindi with Hindu religion. It is difficult to understand the validity of such an identification. The Hindus of Kerala speak Malayalam. The Hindus of Madras speak Tamil. Hinduism does not require Hindi for its survival in any State.

The more sensible argument seems to be that the fourteen languages recognised in the Constitution should all be given the status of State languages. If we are to deny Punjabi this opportunity it would be unjustly restricting the development of one of the most "musical" languages of India.

Dellhi. S. G. MAMPILLI.

ALL SORTS OF TAXES

Sir,—Our Prime Minister said in one of his recent speeches that "we have completed one part of our pilgrimage by winning political independence. We have been marching for the past thirteen years progressing at times, going back a few steps and again forward in the direction of producing more wealth, not gold and silver, but agricultural and industrial production and to achieve a balanced distribution among the people". These are indeed sweet and melodious words to the ears but not to the heart. These expressions have been repeated ad nauseam for more than a decade.

The discerning public, faced with the hard realities of the present situation, cannot help recalling Mr. Nehru's memorable statement on the midnight of August 15, 1947: "There will be no complete freedom so long as there is starvation, hunger, lack of clothing, lack of necessities of life, lack of opportunities for a single human being, man woman or child in the country".

What do we find today? A state of things in no way better than in the pre-Independence days except for the fact that we are politically free. In these thirteen years of freedom there have been legislative enactments depriving citizens of their rights and liberties. All sorts of taxes that human ingenuity can devise, have been imposed.

It is hard to believe the theory that prosperity for the morrow can be built up on the sufferings of the present. The realities of the situation demand not only rethinking but new thinking.

R. S. V. RAO.

PLAYING WITH FIRE

Sir,—Acharya Vinobaji has the very milk of human kindness to robbers and murderers. Will he kindly spare a few drops of it to the wives, children and dependents of the victims who were ruthlessly robbed and murdered, and of the police officers who have given their lives for the country? The death sentences passed on two of the culprits by courts of law have been commuted. Will the Government be so good as to publish the reasons for the exercise of clemency in these cases? What are we to understand by the equivocal attitude of the Chief Minister, Dr. Katju? The dharma of every religion inculcates the punishment of the wicked and the protection of the innocent. Evidently, this is not in the code of conduct of the politicians who are ruling the country.

Bangalore. S. HIRANNAIYA.

PARLIAMENTARY PRIVILEGE

Sir,—There was a time when members of the British Parliament were extremely touchy about their privilege. In the 17th century the House of Commons declared it a breach of privilege to fish in a member's pond or to poach his rabbits or serve a notice to quit on his tenant and it imprisoned a solicitor for sending a member an exorbitant bill of costs which "highly reflected upon the honour of the House".

Much water has flowed under the bridges since those days and the British Parliament has attained sufficient maturity to be able to take with a good grace, or to ignore acts and speeches of citizens which it would have condemned in former years.

Members of the British Parliament have claimed and exercised absolute privilege in the matter of freedom of speech in the House and they know that in a democracy they cannot deny freedom of speech to the citizens nor can they take exception to honest and

reasonable criticism of their doings in the Parliament, however strongly worded may be such criticism. It is evident, too, that the members of Britain's Parliament have not lost their sense of humour and would not make the mistake of making a mountain out of a molehill.

Bombay. PHIROZ J. SHROFF.

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SWARAJYA

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RAJAJI'S ANNIVERSARY MESSAGE TO SWATANTRA PARTY

In an anniversary message addressed to "all Swatantra men and women", Rajaji says:

When we made the Constitution for the governance of India we expected good government to issue out of it. Our expectations have not been fulfilled. The ruling party has failed in this most important of its duties. The reason is not that persons who manned the administration were not honest or patriotic, but the party in power was fixed in its resolve to use every advantage available to strengthen its partisan strength in order to remain in power and allowed its members throughout the country at various levels to interfere in the administration. The officials became easy prey to this process and deterioration set in. The party itself rapidly lost its good name and character and the mischief naturally advanced with increased pace. There was no party in opposition which exerted moral pressure to stop this process. I raised my voice against this eight years ago and have kept the battle up ever since and the protest has been embodied in the principles of our party. It is not usual to include such an item in the political programme of any party, but that is because every party accepts it in principle. But in our country the disregard of it by the ruling party is so great and causes so much injustice and popular discontent that we have done well in incorporating it in clause 19 of our party's fundamental principles.

Apart from all questions of difference of principles and policies, it was admitted by every one including the Congress party that for the proper working of the parliamentary system of government for the good of the people, a real and strong opposition party is an indisputable requirement. Our party aims at supplying this felt want. That we have met with stiff opposition in the work of building up our party is itself a demonstration of our growing strength. The general and widespread welcome given to our entry in the field is the strong democratic foundation for our movement and while it is this that has given the Congress party cause for fear, it is also our strongest reason for confidence. We should be true to the democratic faith and work with confidence not losing heart when the ruling party exploits its present position to make our work difficult. Indeed on that very account it becomes our sacred duty to serve the nation in its larger interests by our determined effort.

The ruling party has committed itself to a policy of regimentation. Regulation including all the forms of control evolved for the purpose was conceived probably in good intention, viz., to protect the weaker elements of our society. But it has ended as it must in the cramping of national energy all round and in the suppression of initiative and enterprise. It has led to the creation of several big monopolies for favoured individuals and the utilisation of pub-

lic money to help such monopolies. These monopolies or near-monopolies have resulted in unholy alliances between the ruling party at various levels and those who benefit by them in order to supply election funds for the party to keep its power going. This in turn has led to various forms of corruption into which I need not go now. We should cast out this regimentation policy and restore the freedoms for which our party stands. We aim at giving a new direction to the policies that should guide the State for the progress and welfare of our people. We have to build on the present with all its evils and consequently although we may not be able at once to sweep away all the evils that have come to stay, we can give a new direction to things by adhering to the principle enunciated by Gandhiji, viz., the maximum of freedom for the people that is possible in the present circumstances and a minimum of necessary government restrictions.

As a result of the birth of our party and our work these twelve months, I am glad to be able to say that we have broken the great and malignant spell that demobilised the spirit and intelligence of the people of all classes as a result of the unbroken rule of the Congress party. We have released the spirit of criticism. We have hit and wounded, though we have not yet slain, the fear that held the people in its grasp. We have to work harder so that we may

achieve success. We must get people to realise that Government in a parliamentary democracy can be changed by the people if they feel dissatisfied and that it is not a dynasty. We must get the people to shed the fear of immediate consequences and the dread of what may happen if they fail. This democratic education our people have not yet had and we have undertaken that task. We have to make men realise that all battles are won only by courage and determination, and not by assisting the enemy whom we fight out of fear of what may happen if we do not succeed. May God bless you and help you to put your maximum effort. It is He that does everything using us as His instruments. If we honestly work for the restoration of *Dharma* as His humble instruments, He will surely bless us. This is my message of hope to you on this anniversary of the birth of our party.

AN APPEAL TO HINDUS

Sri Parsram Jethanand writes:

The Government of India have recently set up the "Hindu Religious Endowments Commission" under the Chairmanship of Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer and the Commission met at Delhi and Ooty for recording evidence. July 31, 1960 is fixed as the last date for receiving replies.

The questionnaire contains many provocative questions. Question No. 24 reads as follows: "Do you think that temples and mutts have still to play a successful role in the present day Hindu society when the impact of modern industrial and technological civilisation and tremendous scientific advancement is fast changing the whole outlook on life and bringing about a change in moral and spiritual values and thereby relegating the pristine ideals of "dharma" to the background?"

Such and other questions should be answered by all Hindus. Hindus must immediately call for the questionnaire from the following address: Shri S. P. SEN VARMA, Secretary, Hindu Religious Endowments Committee, Hutments, "M" Block, New Delhi. They must answer the questionnaire and make also other Hindus answer. They must demand extension of the last date for receiving replies as already the concerned Officer is not able to supply copies of the questionnaires to persons desiring to send replies.

THE ALL-INDIA OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ISSUE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

We read that the Home Minister of India solemnly expressed the view that the country should not waste its energies on petty issues like language. I hope this recent statement is, as it should be, hundred per cent sincere advice. The way to prevent 'petty' issues occupying the minds of people is not to disturb the status quo and abstain from introducing irritating changes in those matters. Let the official language of all India be, as it has been these hundred and fifty years, the great world medium, the English language. Let Hindi be not imposed directly or indirectly on the people of India as the Central or inter-State medium. To impose something new as if it were a great reform and a blessing and then when people object to the imposition to call it a 'petty issue' is not just or proper. I am aware the Home Minister was thinking only of Punjab's language issue when he said this. But he made his statement in the form of a great and all-embracing truth which I want to be applied also against the imposition of Hindi on all India.

The Prime Minister rightly and consistently spoke in Assam. He had said in clear terms in Parliament assembled that Hindi as the Central and inter-State official language will not be imposed until the non-Hindi people agreed to such a procedure. This was always what I thought he felt and this was how he always approached this question of language. But the President's order on the language issue (which is the Government of India's order issued in the name of the President) did not unambiguously include and adopt this important formula of the Prime

Minister which had brought so much satisfaction when it was uttered in Parliament. Indirect imposition is more irritating than even direct coercion. Yet in ever so many ways the indirect imposition of Hindi is indulged in. It is a "petty issue" and I do not want it to be the creed of any party whatsoever. But to disturb the status quo and then classify oppositions to it among petty issues is not fair. I trust the Home Minister will agree and will do his best to put changing the Central official language in the shelf and all non-Hindi people will be grateful to him.

I have been expressing my views very clearly as well as strongly on this point for the last few years and any attempt on the part of interested people to twist things and try to hold it up as an attempt on my part to please a secessionist party is disingenuous. My views on this question have been sought to be utilised to scare or divide Swatantra Party men. The attempt will not succeed as I have made the point perfectly clear from the very first day that the party was initiated, and continuously ever since, that I hold this opinion on the language issue very firmly, but it is *my* opinion and not that of the Swatantra Party. I want this official language question to be solved not on a party basis at all. It should be a free question for all parties; and opinion should not on this or other such issues be forced on the members of any party, by dint of discipline.

The utility, the fairness and the value of keeping the English language going stand on a foundation of rock. Let those who plead for a change try to stop the English language newspapers and journals conducted in India for a month and then they will see by what scientists call the method of difference, what English means for unity and progress and peace in India.

"The deliberations of a Finance committee will be in inverse proportion to the sum involved."

—NORTHCOTE PARKINSON.

REPRESSION IN PUNJAB

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

An I.N.F.A. report says that the Nehru Government and the Kairon Cabinet are agreed that "those who offer themselves for arrest should know that their punishment will hereafter be imprisonment for years and not months". Here is a sample of non-interference with the judiciary! After the highest authorities of the executive arm in India and that of Punjab have expressed themselves thus, what chance is there for the magistrates to weigh and meet out what they think would be just punishment in a case taking all things into account? Nothing more is wanted to prove that the highest limbs of the Executive seek to influence the decisions of courts and use them for executive ends. It is the exclusive privilege of the Judge to measure the nature of the offence and the sentence to be awarded. The Prime Minister of the Union and the Chief Minister have through this hand-out definitely told the courts to award sentences measured out in years.

During the worst days of Non-cooperation, the magistrates were free to measure out the sentences.

Dr. PAULING

It is good that Dr. Linus Carl Pauling is in Britain. Dr. Pauling is a Nobel Prize professor of America of great standing in the world of science. He is an indefatigable opponent of nuclear weapons and a great soldier in the battle against nuclear tests and nuclear weapons. He will be able to put sense and courage in doubting hearts and give additional strength to the strong anti-nuclear movement in England. Dr. Pauling is one of a very large array of great scientists all the world over who want the test explosions and the manufacture of fission and fusion nuclear arms stopped and banned and the total abandonment of nuclear warfare declared by the Powers. Dr. Pauling has not been bought into the service

No Executive Council Members or Governors or Viceroy of those days expressed themselves in the manner the Prime Minister and Chief Minister have, according to the report, done over the Punjab situation.

The latest Punjab Ordinance of July 19 is an order drafted on the worst pattern taken from the files of the British regime. It is perhaps a vain cry but I must warn the Government of India that they are being misled into most unnecessary and provocative steps. Apart from the merits of the issue of Punjabi Suba, it is not wise to take steps erring so greatly on the harsh side. After all, we want men's hearts and not simply success in a political tussle. And the hearts of the Sikh people are, to put it commercially, of greater value than many things else. It is not wise to make a people—who have played their great part in recorded history—feel that the Government does not mind their feelings and is treating them harshly. Local advice is good and necessary, but sometimes distant advice may be better, and so I cast my bread on the waters.

of any nation to serve as scientific adviser to its Defence department and so he speaks the truth, the whole truth and only the truth and warns intelligent men and women as a man faithful to his knowledge. Let us hope the men of religion and the men of science will stand firm together and fight the bad and frightened men who are leading the world to the abyss.

The committee of delegates dealing at Geneva with this question have almost finished their labours and agreement is near completion. It is hoped it will not meet with some last minute trouble on account of the American election but a treaty will be born safe and alive to be presented to the world. C.R.

THE ASSAM OUTRAGES

What has happened to us that it should be possible such horrid things could be perpetrated in Assam? The full story of all the evil doings has not appeared but in the areas where they were done things could not be suppressed from general knowledge, and one trembles to think of all the wickedness and the outrages on human fellowship.

People in other parts of India see but little difference between the men and women of Bengal and those of Assam. Of all the errors we have been guilty of, the greatest has been the tribal idea of linguistic isolation in a great country whose languages are so closely related to one another. It has given a wicked impulse to so many other prejudices and dislikes between men and men, and retarded the natural synthesis that was proceeding in its course in the expanded life of today. It has given fresh and increased scope for small minds to gather strength and influence for evil, while it has served to reduce the status and power of larger hearts and wiser heads.

We could throw the blame on religion for the riots and crimes that came on the wake of the Partition, but what shall we say about and learn from the happenings in Assam? Men and women, who speak almost the same language, who worship the same gods, who eat and clothe themselves alike, have fallen upon one another as if they belonged to different barbarous nations at war with each other.

How much wiser it would have been if we kept the large provinces of the old days intact without yielding to the demand for erecting smaller platforms for smaller men, raising walls of isolation all over Bharat. It will take long, very long for men and women to forget what has been inflicted upon them without any just cause or excuse. And India's reputation for civilization has been sadly bruised, if not deeply wounded. C.R.

SIDELIGHTS ::

In post-Gandhian India, political leadership has come to mean expertness in catching votes. Every vote represents a unit of power. The largest aggregation of votes carries with it the sanction for the largest share of power. Aspiring political leaders, ambitious for power, have made it their business to specialise in the art of gaining votes, each trying to outdo his competitors.

How are votes secured? In the world's history, whole nations have followed great leaders without expecting any price in return for their allegiance. Churchill promised the British, toil, blood, tears, sweat. There was no appeal to individual or sectional selfishness in his leadership. Gandhiji in his fight against the British gave his countrymen a programme of privation, prison, hardship, suffering and sacrifice. These are instances of leadership built round great concepts. The apostolic upholders of those concepts believed in them and shaped their lives in their light and considered the whole world well lost to persevere in the path of loyalty in practice to what they believed in.

The successors of Gandhi, promoted to political power through association with him, have not revealed this calibre of unswerving adherence to principles. Even in small matters they have not been capable of loyalty to beliefs when confronted with opposition and obstacles. Gandhi's political heir, Pandit Nehru, is a declared opponent of the system of dividing the country linguistically. He made no attempt to stick to it in the face of opposition. He abandoned it, yielding to the opposition when it threatened to get strong, preferring defeat and surrender to the hazards of an uncertain fight. An example, this, of the leader allowing himself to be bullied and led, and failing to lead!

When the allure of safety prevails over the dangers and dis-

comfort of tenacious adherence to an acknowledged conviction, is it not a sign that the leadership of ideas has gone out of fashion? What then takes its place? Among those who now stud the country in the guise of leaders wielding enormous governmental powers, there is scarcely any who owes his position to distinctive moral qualities or intellectual gifts, or any outstanding contribution to the heritage of the nation and the conceptual greatness of contemporary life. One is at the top because others could not reach agreement over the relative merits of more competent competitors. Several are just megalomaniacs rotting in communal hatred. Some others are where they are for the sole reason that they are in favour with the Prime Minister or some other powerful patron deriving importance from the same or other connected source.

To hold the admiring allegiance of an entire nation as Churchill did, or Gandhiji did, an inspiring leadership blessed by intellectual distinction and moral superiority and pledged to an integral attitude of patriotism including within its sphere of concern, all citizens excluding none, is necessary. Great things were once expected of the Nehru leadership but it is now realised that such an expectation was a reflection of the nation's sense of emotional indebtedness to the Mahatma. The momentum of the Gandhian influence cushioned the Congress and prolonged its tenure, but it also made it offensive, corrupt and degenerate. These attributes are vividly coming to light, now that the effect of that momentum has begun to fade.

Congress leadership is now based on a network of favours. He is a successful leader who can make his power go the longest way to gather round himself a vast army of supporters to go

forth as serviceable canvassers for votes at election time. Favours in fair exchange for worth are regarded as rightful and lack the power of infusing gratitude as an ingredient of loyalty. An underserving man elevated to high favour will carry his loyalty to limits of servility and unscrupulousness not to be expected from the deserving. The intrusions of unworthy favourites in matters of administration under the protection of patronising leaders constitute the source and staple of bad government in the Congress regime.

Rajaji is the biggest force today not merely opposing the bad government of the Congress, but also seeking to remove its root cause, which lies in the interested intervention of politicians in day-to-day administration. Rajaji's intellectual and moral qualities are well known. But from the standpoint of his historical mission as leader of the Swatantra Party, his greatest merit lies in his total inaccessibility to individual and party pressures detrimental to justice for consolidation of leadership. He is the only leader of India who has never swerved from the path of strict administrative justice for reward of loyalty or indulgence of affection. His is a leadership of ideas and intellectual affinity and commonness of moral purpose. It is therefore not deflected from its pursuits by calculations of success or failure. It is undaunted. If our national affairs are to be redeemed from the machinations of organised self-seekers, and the hatreds let loose by them on the body politic under deceptive slogans, if the depredatory effects of enthroned ambitious ignorance are to be replaced by the salutary benefits of good government based on economy, commonsense and genuine patriotism, a new type of leadership with moral stamina, mingling ability and wisdom with probity and fair dealing is called for, and Rajaji exemplifies such a leadership at its highest pinnacle of promise and potency in all the country. —SAKA.

TO PROSPERITY THROUGH FREEDOM: SWATANTRA PARTY'S STATEMENT OF POLICY

The Swatantra Party's aims have been misrepresented by interested critics. We give below excerpts from the Party's Statement of Policy to indicate its aims accurately:

The Swatantra Party places faith in the Indian people—in their intelligence, initiative and enterprise. It has faith in the God-given strength in each individual. It believes that, by harnessing these attributes and combining them with the aspirations of the people, a fuller and richer life can result more quickly and without the tensions and strains that other methods involve. The initiative, enlightened self-interest and urge to self-expression of the individual citizen should be mobilised for the good of the community. "We cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they can do for themselves". The Party believes that, in a free society, those moral and material values which are the basis of a good life can best be produced by the people themselves.

Increased production is the result of sustained individual effort and economic surpluses derived from savings where individuals produce more than they consume. This process is dependent on the individual being encouraged to pursue his vocation urged by his own talent and interest.

The Party considers self-employed citizens to be the most valuable members of the community and will therefore do all it can to safeguard the rights and freedoms of the peasant-proprietor, the artisan, the shopkeeper and the professional man.

No system has yet been devised which gives a nation an opportunity without detriment to the sense of liberty as fully as do the laws of a free society, where the consumer is the arbiter of the pattern of production, the worker has the right to choose his job and, when dissatisfied, to deny his labour, the investor is entitled to consume or to save and determine the field of his investment, and the producer to choose his vocation. This way of life was guaranteed to the citizen by the Constitution in the Fundamental Rights which include the three human freedoms, namely, the freedom to choose one's occupation; secondly, to pursue it without restraint within the limits of the Rule of Law; and lastly, to dispose of one's income between spending and saving.

A basic human trait is the sense of property. On this, along with its corollaries of competition, natural rewards for effort and natural penalties for

sloth, and the tremendous incentive that goes with the assurance that the citizen is guaranteed the full enjoyment of the result of his exertions, must necessarily be based our economic system.

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 a vital one of creating and sustaining an environment in which the genius of the people can fulfil itself. In pursuit of this end, the Party stands for maximum freedom for the individual and minimum interference by the State.

It is a role of the State to foster a sense of moral obligation and to encourage the pride, satisfaction and fulfilment felt by individuals in serving others—a heritage of our social and religious traditions—without taking over the management of their lives. The business of the State is not business, but government.

Energy results from differentials in level as much in the moral and economic fields as in the field of physical dynamics. We must, at the lower levels, strengthen the urge to improve one's lot, and at the other, encourage the sentiment of solidarity and the readiness to share one's possessions. These two urges are a feature of a healthy society. While there should be a constant movement upwards and downwards as a result of free will, State compulsion towards levelling tends to atrophy the spirit of enterprise at one end and to freeze that of compassion at the other. The Party, therefore, adheres to the principle of Trusteeship enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi. It stands for a system of free enterprise restrained as well as enriched and reinforced by a sense of social obligation.

While the Swatantra Party rejects outright the current pattern of centralised and topheavy planning based on totalitarian programmes, it is not opposed to planning as such. Planning must, however, be carried on within the limits of the Constitution without relaxing the care for freedom guaranteed in it. Above all, it must know where to stop.

The Swatantra Party holds that the first duty of a government is to meet the common man's needs of food, clothing, housing and water in adequate measure.

The Swatantra Party holds that self-sufficiency in food and raw materials is the first condition of the economy of a country like ours. Food being the principal item in the common man's budget, the production of food should be the first concern of the State. The ruling party has completely failed in this primary duty. Self-sufficiency in food production has been sacrificed to spectacular attempt to achieve long-term projects. Essential needs like fertiliser, seed and water have not been made available to the peasant in adequate measure.

Our per capita consumption of cloth, which was 16.2 yards for 1958, dropped to 15.8 for 1959 as against 16.96 yards for 1938-39. The necessary steps to stimulate production in the textile and handloom industry have not been pursued with the vigour they demand.

The handloom, which plays a significant and sizable part in the supply of cloth and in national employment, has not been as adequately and effectively protected as it should be. The Swatantra Party will, in pursuance of its policy of protecting the weaker but productive sections of society, take all steps necessary effectively to protect the handloom as well as to stimulate production in textile mills.

The policy of imposing harassing restrictions pursued by the Government retards the normal growth of house-building in both urban and rural areas. The Swatantra Party will initiate a big house-building scheme both in rural and suburban areas.

The ruling party has failed to provide adequate water supply. Minor irrigation works, which would provide adequate water supply for drinking, sanitation and agriculture in the rural areas, have been subordinated to a policy of putting up huge irrigation projects. At the beginning of the first Five Year Plan, only a small proportion of the urban population was served by protected water supply. In spite of the two Plans, very little has been done to secure additional supply. The position in the rural areas is much worse. The Swatantra Party will seek to remedy this.

The paramount need for increasing food production can best be attained through the self-employed peasant proprietor who is interested in obtaining, and equipped to obtain, the highest yield from his land.

The Party will take all steps necessary to prevent waterlogging as well

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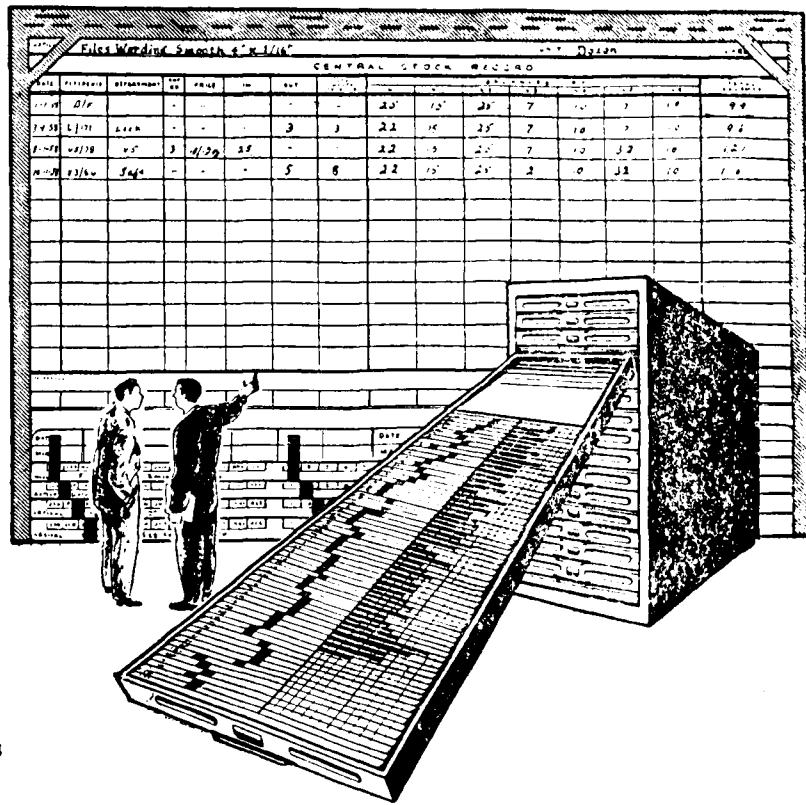
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as erosion, the depletion of essential organic elements and the stripping of millions of acres of forest contributing to the violence of floods. This situation calls for capital investment and for the application of modern techniques.

Collectivisation cannot solve the problem posed by the increase in population. The Indian farmer is perfectly competent to do his job. While the average size of the Indian farm is unfortunately small, it is not as small as that of the farms in Japan which produce almost the highest yield of rice per acre in the whole world. The primary problem is therefore not that of the size of the farm but of giving the peasant the facilities and assistance he needs to undertake intensive cultivation of his land. The Swatantra Party stands for giving every kind of help to the agriculturist in the form of water, fertiliser, seeds and tools.

Alongside of this, the peasant must be provided with material and psychological inducements for greater production, in particular by making it possible for him to obtain cheap credit and a remunerative and steady price for agricultural produce in parity with the price of the goods that he has to buy. The Swatantra Party takes note of the dissatisfaction amongst the rural population that adequate attention has not been paid to their needs and will endeavour to remove all impediments that stand in their way.

In the field of taxation as in that of prices the Swatantra Party stands for a fair deal to the agriculturist. Today the bulk of India's indirect taxation has to be borne by the agriculturist. He has also to pay land revenue, whether or not he is able to make a profit from his land. The Swatantra Party stands for a land revenue system and the diverse laws relating to irrigation in order to reduce the burden on the peasant and provide for suitable changes with reference to the conditions prevailing in various States including the earmarking of a part of land revenue for meeting expenditure in connection with insurance against crop failure due to uncontrollable causes. It is opposed to new levies on the peasant in the way of surcharges and 'betterment taxes'.

The ruling party, which has failed singularly to deal with the food problem, is seeking, in an effort to divert attention from the real issues, to advocate Marxist policies embodied in its Nagpur Resolution recently confirmed at its Bangalore Session. The problem of yield is not a problem to be solved by changing ownership, and the Swatantra Party is convinced that the Nag-

pur policies will, if carried out, decrease food production and reduce peasant proprietors to landless serfs labouring on collective farms like those in communist countries.

The Swatantra Party holds that the claim of the ruling party that joint farming can be introduced on a voluntary basis is impracticable. The history of the world provides no example of peasants who own land having parted with it willingly. The Prime Minister's assurance on the floor of the Lok Sabha that no legislation will be introduced in connection with joint farming has already been violated by provisions in measures introduced in certain States by governments manned by the Congress Party. The Prime Minister's statement in Parliament that he would not scruple to discriminate against the farmer who is not willing to pool his land and use every form of administrative, legislative and economic pressure short only of turning off the supply of water to his farm shows that no reliance can be placed on these academic promises not to coerce the peasantry. The Swatantra Party warns the peasants of India against this danger to their ownership and possession of land which has come down to them from their forefathers from time immemorial or has been acquired from their hard earned savings. The Party stands by the peasants of India in this matter and will protect them against any attempt to filch the land away from them under the beguiling slogan of 'Joint Co-operative Farming'.

The Party deplores the attempt to misuse the concept of co-operation for advancing a system of collective farming with multiple ownership and bureaucratic management because it is calculated to confuse the minds of the people and hinder the spread of the principles of genuine co-operation. The Swatantra Party proposes to educate the people on the distinction between genuine co-operation and State-sponsored and State-controlled projects which are being presented to the people in the name of co-operation.

The Swatantra Party rejects the scheme of ceilings on land holdings as likely further to injure efficient farming and the maximisation of the movement of food grains to industrial and urban centres. This proposal is incapable of providing land to the bulk of the landless. On the contrary, the ridiculously low ceilings proposed without reference to the laws of succession threaten to reduce the rural population permanently to the status of hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Ceilings are a device calculated to weaken the political power and capa-

city of the peasantry. This move will soon aggravate the problem of uneconomic farms so as to prepare the ground for compulsory collectivisation.

The attempt at setting up a State monopoly of the foodgrains trade enunciated at Nagpur has already failed. If persisted in, it will create yet another attack not only on lakhs of shopkeepers and dealers throughout the country who are engaged in the business of warehousing and distribution but also on millions of peasants. The establishment of a State monopoly in the foodgrains trade would mean that the peasant will have no freedom of choice in regard to negotiating the price of his crop and will be forced to submit to the arbitrary fixing of prices by the government monopoly under political pressure and influenced by considerations of their own.

Joint farming, State monopoly of the foodgrains trade and ceilings will accentuate rural unemployment. There is need for special efforts to rectify the increasing pressure of population on the land by providing those who are unemployed or underemployed with other gainful employment. Such employment can only be found in industry, big and small, spread over the country and manufacturing goods to meet the people's wants.

As opposed to the obsession with gigantism that dominates current governmental thinking and planning, the Swatantra Party holds with Gandhiji that a great part of the process of industrialisation must take place in a decentralised distribution of industry throughout the countryside. While a certain amount of urbanisation and organised industry is essential, equally important is the taking of industry to the villages of India where it can operate increasingly with the aid of electric power. The Party stands for the preservation of the freedom of the small and self-employed artisans, craftsmen and traders and will work for a decentralised distribution of industry. The Swatantra Party therefore stands for a programme of all-round rapid industrialisation with a view to develop national resources and provide employment. It believes in a balanced development of capital goods industries, organised consumer goods industries and rural industries that afford supplementary employment in the processing of the products of agriculture.

While not opposed to the development of heavy and basic industries commensurate with the availability of resources, the Swatantra Party rejects the false and lopsided priority given to heavy industry to the neglect of cot-

tage, organised and light industries producing consumer goods.

The Party believes that the free choice of the producer, the investor, the worker and the consumer must be given due place and importance. The Party believes in the incentives for higher production and expansion inherent in competitive enterprise, with adequate safeguards for the protection of labour and against unreasonable profits, prices and dividends in those cases where there is no competition or where competition is not adequate to secure the necessary corrective.

While the Party believes in a mixed economy where State and free enterprise work side by side in the service of the community, it stands for the restriction of State enterprise to such heavy industries as are necessary to supplement private enterprise in that field, such national services as railways, and the starting of new enterprises which are difficult for private capital and initiative to establish. The Party is opposed to the State entering the field of trade and disturbing free distribution and introducing controls and official management and monopoly which lead to the inefficiency, waste and corruption of an ever-expanding official army.

Wherever the State enters the field of industry or business, the Swatantra Party is of the view that it should not be given a monopolistic position but should show results facing competition on equal terms.

The Party would regard such government ownership of industry as has been undertaken as only a transitional and limited device and it would not hesitate, wherever necessary, to undo such harmful measures.

In particular, the Swatantra Party will aim at reducing taxes and loans by giving up many State enterprises which are neither essential nor remunerative. This will also have the effect of reducing the present high prices which are inflated by government levies and loans. To the extent private enterprise relieves State enterprise, the burden of finance will be properly transferred from the common people who are not qualified to bear it to the enterprising rich who are willing to bear it.

The Swatantra Party will insist on securing for the labouring classes a voice in the determination of national policies. The Swatantra Party will strive for the economic progress, social betterment and cultural advance of agricultural, industrial and office workers. The Swatantra Party will pay particular attention to a programme of workers' education which will instil in them a wider outlook, make them con-

scious of their responsibilities as well as their rights and help them to realise that they are interested not only in questions of wages and allowances, but in all matters affecting the well-being of society.

The Swatantra Party accepts the workers' right to organise themselves and through these organisations to improve the conditions of their life and work. Strong and responsible trade unions are an integral part of a democratic industrial order. Workers must be encouraged and helped to build their own unions and through them to bargain collectively with their employers regarding the terms and conditions of their employment. The Swatantra Party is not satisfied with the present position of trade unions. Most of them are managed by outsiders and many of them are playthings in the hands of political parties. The Party is keen that trade unions should grow as independent organisations of workers controlled and managed by themselves. Being opposed to the domination of trade unions by political parties, the Swatantra Party will not join the race to establish control over trade unions, though its members will be always ready to help in all possible ways.

The Swatantra Party stands for consultation and closer association between the workers and the management of industrial concerns. The Party believes that what is important in this matter is the spirit of mutual trust and co-operation and not any particular machinery. What needs to be developed is the spirit of partnership between workers and employers.

The Swatantra Party will lay emphasis on the internal settlement of disputes and will seek to reduce external interference to the barest minimum. The State should not normally interfere in industrial disputes, but should develop and keep ready machinery for conciliation and mediation to which parties in a dispute can turn in case of need.

Collective bargaining connotes the right to strike; if bargaining does not end in settlement, both parties should be free within the law to adopt any course of action that they think is necessary and desirable. In a free society, workers cannot be compelled to work for employers on terms and conditions that are not acceptable to them. They must have the right of individual as well as collective withdrawal of labour. It is, however, desirable in the larger interests of society to minimise, as far as possible, the resort to strikes by workers and to lockouts by employers. The objective can be achieved through the development of collective bargaining and through the acceptance

of the method of voluntary arbitration for the settlement of disputes. The Swatantra Party will strive for the acceptance of these procedures by employers and employees.

The Swatantra Party stands for a good wage for a good day's work. Both the wages as well as the work should be rightly determined and provision should be made for the increase of the wage along with the increase of productivity and the prosperity of industry. Workers must be also assured safe, sanitary and pleasant conditions of work and an adequate measure of social security through provision for sickness, unemployment and old age. It is also necessary to attend to the workers' need for housing.

One of the fundamental problems before the country is that of unemployment. The Swatantra Party will devote particular attention to the opening up of new avenues of employment. The Party will endeavour to find work for all unemployed and able-bodied persons seeking it in State projects of road-making, afforestation and construction of buildings and reservoirs, as well as in private projects of housing and small industries subsidised to the extent necessary to facilitate absorption of unemployed manpower. The Party does not favour the use of machines where time is not of the essence and human labour can be employed instead.

The Party is particularly concerned about the conditions of agricultural labourers which are deplorable and it will strive to improve their conditions. The Party also believes that cultivable land still in the possession of the government awaiting development should not be reserved for joint farming but should be allowed in sizeable holdings to as many agricultural workers as possible to enable them to become self-employed peasant proprietors.

The Swatantra Party holds that the foundations of a true and prosperous society were well and truly laid by the Fathers of the Constitution. The Party will work to restore to the citizen the Fundamental Rights in the form in which they were guaranteed by the Constitution as it was originally adopted. They were later whittled down by the ruling party to suit its totalitarian approach.

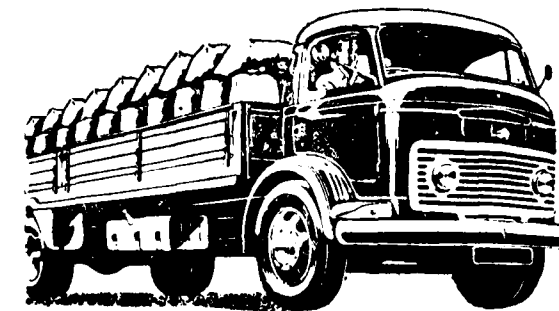
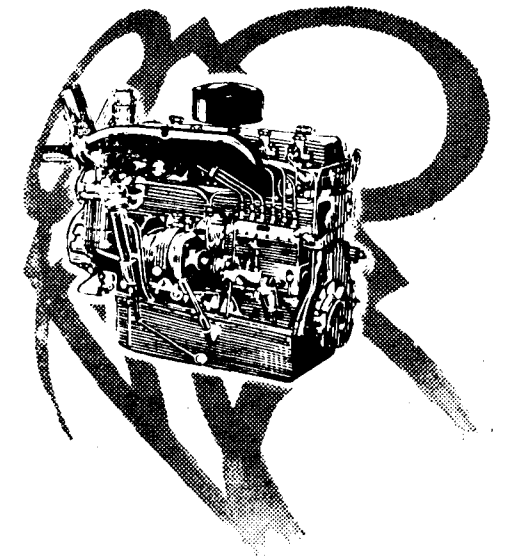
The ruling party has steadily drawn to the Centre increasing authority so that the States have little more than the power of Local Boards, depending upon the Centre for almost every thing. The Swatantra Party will seek to correct this and restore to the States the measure of autonomy provided by the Constitution. In such a large country

(Continued on page 17)

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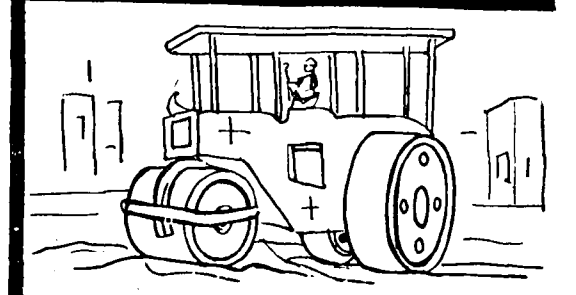
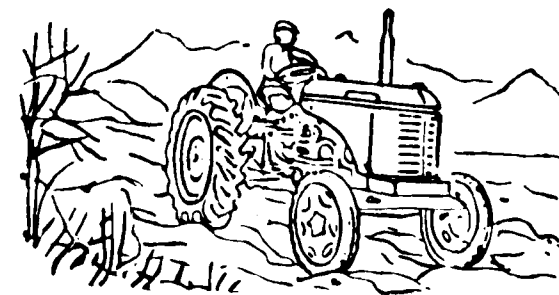
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The truth about Vanaspati

SEVERAL erroneous and misleading statements have been made in the Press and in Parliament about the wholesomeness of vanaspati. It has therefore become necessary to reassure consumers that these statements arise out of misconceptions; they are not based on facts or reliable scientific evidence.

Ever since hydrogenated fats such as vanaspati or shortening, and margarine were first made and consumed over 50 years ago, scientists in India and abroad have been stating their confirmed opinions — backed by exhaustive researches — in favour of the wholesomeness and nutritive value of these fats. Here are a few statements, made collectively and individually, by responsible scientists and public men... whose competence to comment on this subject is beyond doubt:

"Vanaspati is wholesome food and there is no objection, from the nutritional standpoint, to an increase in its consumption."

— Dr. W. R. Aykroyd, formerly Director of Nutrition Research in India and Director of Nutrition in the United Nation's Food and Agricultural Organisation. (1946)

"Vanaspati has no deleterious effect on health."

— Results of a series of investigations in 1947-49 initiated by the Government of India.

"My advice is to let vanaspati be used as it is a good wholesome food."

— Dr. (Sir) S. S. Bhatnagar, Kt., D.Sc., F.R.I.C., F.R.S., Director-General of Scientific & Industrial Research. (1949)

"Government are quite clear and convinced of the fact that the use of vanaspati is not harmful to

health. By repeated scientific and medical tests it has been found that vanaspati or its like has been used in three-fourths of the world, and nobody has suffered from it."

— Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, on 10th June 1952, in Parliament.

"The effects of hydrogenated oils have been studied in detail. As a result of these studies it has been shown that vegetable oils like groundnut oil, sesame oil and their hydrogenated products with melting point 37°C, and butter have almost the same nutritive value. Hydrogenated oils have similar digestibility as non-hydrogenated oils. The hydrogenated oils influence the utilisation of other dietary constituents such as calcium to the same extent as untreated vegetable oils and butter. Moreover, butter and hydrogenated fats as sold in India are good sources of vitamin A."

— Findings of the Indian Council of Medical Research, laid on the Table of the Lok Sabha by Mr. D. P. Karmarkar, Union Minister for Health, on 11th December 1959.

Vanaspati is, in fact, particularly nutritious. Every ounce of it is fortified with 700 international units of vitamin A and 56 international units of vitamin D. Therefore, vanaspati is as nutritious as the best edible semi-solid fats, and certainly more nutritious than edible oils which do not contain vitamins.

It is therefore not surprising that vanaspati has been in daily use in homes all over India for over 30 years. It has been in use as the dietary fat for the men of our Armed Forces for the past 18 years; it is also used regularly in refugee camps, hotels, restaurants, clubs, hospitals, and other institutions where food must be inexpensive as well as healthful and palatable.

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THE RESOURCE BUDGET OF THE THIRD PLAN

By S. NARAYANASWAMY

There has been so much talk of our having reached the "take off" stage in our economic growth that it is time to measure the spread of our wings from tip to tip and assess how really airworthy Indian economy has become.

The physical and financial targets of the Third Plan are based on an understandable concern with curing imbalances and in particular laying just emphasis on agricultural development which means food production which is of profound concern to industrialists who would like a reasonable state of food-grain sufficiency to be achieved without delay, in order that industrial wages and consequently production costs may be contained and not become runaway affairs. Nor can there be much serious argument about the broad dispersal of the investment over such sectors as electric power development, transportation or irrigation, though of course there is some amount of anxious lifting of eye-brows in knowledgeable quarters, as to the proposed expenditure on community development and co-operation. This latter concern is not because village uplift or co-operation are regarded as unnecessary, but recent investment on rural development has proved to be a melancholy pumping of resources that by and large dried up in the conduits and what reached the dumb millions of rural India was a small fraction of the intended investment. The merits of the largish investment on industry and mineral development in the public sector are difficult to challenge in the absence of fuller data.

What is of real interest to the public is the Resource Budget of the Plan. The total requirements are Rs. 7,250 crores and this money is sought to be found as follows: Revenue surpluses based on current taxation, Rs. 350 crores against Rs. (—) 100 crores in the Second plan; Railway surpluses contributable, Rs. 150 crores against a similar sum in the Second Plan period; surpluses from public enterprises, Rs. 440 crores against none in the Second Plan period; public borrowings, Rs. 850 crores against Rs. 800 crores; small savings, Rs. 550 crores against Rs. 380 crores; provident funds, betterment levies, steel equalisation fund and other receipts, Rs. 510 crores against Rs. 213 crores; additional taxation including measures to increase public

enterprise incomes, Rs. 1,650 crores against Rs. 1,000 crores; budgetary receipts based on external assistance, Rs. 2,200 crores against Rs. 982 crores; and deficit financing Rs. 550 crores against Rs. 1,175 crores.

A first glance at these figures induces one to exclaim "at long last, the Government have seen the inflationary effect of deficit financing and have therefore reduced that head of resources to Rs. 550 crores or under one half of the Second Plan figure." But a second or closer look at this budget produces a disconcerting reaction. Railway surpluses, borrowing programmes and small savings seem to be about the only items of revenue which past experience has borne out as being reliable sources of revenue. Revenue surpluses based on current taxation levels which may be termed Government's current account balances have proved a rather undependable resource head in the Second Plan cycle Rs. (—100 crores) and is unlikely to be a less Micawberian feature in the coming quinquennium with civil administration costs going up as a consequence of Pay Commission recommendations and newer departments coming into existence and defence expenditure increasing with the added needs of India's frontier security.

Surpluses from public enterprises are estimated at Rs. 440 crores or Rs. 88 crores per year from 1961. The Planning Commission must have based their computations on estimates prepared by those in charge of these diverse public sector enterprises. But what are the chances? One expects that barring enterprises like the Sindhri Fertilisers and the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, the newer enterprises will take at least two to three years to get over teething troubles judging from the size of the new steel and similar undertakings. Assuming that they begin operating remuneratively—which of course presupposes that the various units begin production on a commercial scale—the units have to provide for depreciation on a considerable scale. Besides, one wonders whether these Government-owned "Corporations" would be asked to provide for "development rebate reserves" as industries in the private sector are induced to do. Even when depreciation provisions would sponge away the major profits of the enterprises but any development rebate

provision is likely to ensure the absence of any surplus. All these conjectures are based on the initial assumption that after meeting expenses of administration of these enterprises—which are considerable—there would be profits available for commercial allocation as in company accounts in the coming five years—which is itself a dubious assumption. That these enterprises will yield about Rs. 88 crores a year seems a rather optimistic assumption to make. However in a subsequent head of resources, there is reference to "measures to increase public enterprise incomes." How this is to be achieved is not known. One expects this can be done in three ways: (1) increase in the production 'capacity' of the public sector enterprises; (2) increase in the prices of the articles manufactured in the public sector enterprises; and (3) by not following the normal accountancy procedure in computing depreciation, exempting the "corporations" from every form of taxation. One hopes that the Government contemplate the first of these above steps and not either the second or the third. The procedure of increasing the prices of articles produced by Government-owned industrial units would be a case of the preceptor setting up a bad practice. Government through their Ministers, have been lecturing the private sector on the iniquity and unethical character of high prices what time they themselves, by compelling managements to pay high wages, have contributed to the high cost of manufacture. In fact only in the last few years have Ministers conceded that profits and gainful pre-occupation are not harmful, though it was realised all the time that Central Government had to subsist in major part by taxation of profits and gainful employment. While a belated realisation of the distinction between profit-earning and profiteering has come upon many holding exalted office, it would be a dramatic irony for Government to put up the price of articles produced by public sector enterprises with all the zeal

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of a new convert to the profit cult. One is inclined to emphasise this, because there are strong rumours that in respect of steel, private sector manufacturers like Tatas have been asked to apply to the Tariff Commission for higher retention prices for steel manufactured by them and there is likelihood of its being conceded in view of the high cost of production steel in State enterprise units and the need for their prices having parity with Tata's and Indian Iron's prices. This is not unlikely as the capitalisation and operational costs of the public sector pro-

jects are rather high compared to the established private sector units.

There is a reference to the increase from "Steel Equalisation Fund" under the combined heading "Provident Fund, Betterment Levies, etc." One hopes that it is not intended that public sector and private sector production of steel is to be pooled and sold at high uniform prices and Government pocket the difference between consumer prices and retention prices allowed to the steel undertakings; but that this is a reference to the equalisation necessitated by imports in the coming years.

As regards the third probability, one expects that Government will not abandon commercial principles and practices in regard to depreciation provisions on an adequate scale.

We now come to external assistance. This is of course the lynch-pin of the whole resource budget. The foreign exchange components of the outlay on industry, power and transportation are the categorical imperatives of these sectors and nothing much can be done except with a nucleus of imported plant, machinery and semi-processed material, servicing equipment and spares. It is true that the World Bank, the Development Loan Fund, the Export Import Bank of the United States and the International Finance Corporation have done and have agreed to do well by India, despite our having already achieved the distinction of being the largest of the World Bank's borrowers. The question is whether we shall be able to mobilise external aid of this order, having regard to our current servicing obligations in respect of our present external indebtedness. It is true that there is a great deal of good-will for India in every potentially lender country and there is sympathy for an adolescent Eastern democracy working through a succession of Five Year Plans and emerging from feudalism into enlightened statehood. But political upheavals as in Turkey and Japan and in North Africa and electoral changes as in the United States involving important world figures like President Eisenhower relinquishing office, have to be reckoned with in framing a five year resource Budget that depends on a continuance of external good-will towards India. Without playing Cassandra, one can only hope that we shall continue to deserve well of those who have a good opinion of us and our democratic intentions.

The Resource Budget however bristles with air pockets of optimism that may make flying weather for our "take off" stage Third Plan somewhat rough. But the one result of shortfalls in expectation of resources is likely to be an increase in deficit financing.

The budgetted figure of deficit financing is itself on the high side because it is being superimposed on an already tall pyramid of inflation but any addition to that figure because other sources fail, can spell runaway inflation, which India cannot now afford and all talk of production to keep pace with created money may be no more effective than King Canute's efforts to stem the waves of the sea.

THE SOAP

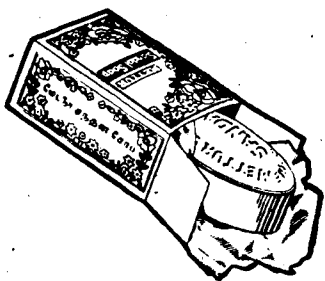
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SWATANTRA PARTY AND ITS LEADERS

The Swatantra Party enjoys, in the leadership of Sri Rajaji, the greatest advantage of any party in the country. Among other leaders of the Party we find able and devoted men who have made their mark in their respective spheres of activity or in public life.

Professor Ranga, the Chairman of the Party, won his laurels in the Congress. He threw himself heart and soul into the Non-cooperation movement of the Mahatma and has several jail terms to his credit. He rose to be the President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee. His energy is dynamic. Indefatigable in service of peasants, he has visited practically every village in his native Andhra Pradesh. His contact with peasants and his knowledge of their problems is wide and varied. He is an undisputed leader of the nation's peasantry, and a symbol of their unity. His mind works internationally in evolving programmes for the association, organisation and uplift of peasants. He left the Congress through disillusionment. His importance in the Congress organisation while he stayed there, could have easily won for him rich rewards, but Professor Ranga has an uncommercial mind disdaining profit for public service rendered; and he has maintained his non-official status unsullied by any acceptance of official position throughout his forty-year-record of intensive political activity. This is a unique and unusual phenomenon.

Leaders like Prakasam went in for direct contact with the masses under the impetus of the Gandhian movement. Professor Ranga also did so, but he realised from the outset the importance of a middle pier of lieutenants. He took keen interest in the political

training of the young, and these constitute a body, a body-guard even, of devoted lieutenants who follow him through all reverses of fortune and variations of political affiliation.

With all his vast experience, Professor Ranga retains a certain charming innocence. He is ambitious, but not in any personal, self-seeking way. He is unspoiled by any of the temptations and blandishments of power. He is a disinterested, hard-working patriot, well skilled in all the intricacies of the political game. He lives in constant admiration of his wife and it is like a tonic to him. Often he would exclaim ecstatically: "Mrs. Ranga! By Jove! What a woman!" A happy domestic life is not the lot of many of our politicians. They lack the buoyancy of competent and congenial companionship at home and their spirits are bedraggled by it. Professor Ranga is an exception to this rule.

If Professor Ranga passed on to the Swatantra Party through disillusionment with the Congress, Sri M. R. Masani reached there on account of disappointment with Socialism. Though his earliest loyalty was given to Socialism it never completely satisfied him. Its international implications and complications disquieted him. He sought to impose an over-riding national duty on the accepted Marxian content of Socialism, and the emergence of the Congress Socialist Party was the result. This party was started in 1933 and Sri Masani was one of its founders. Since then, experience of Mahalanobian adventures in Indian economy and study of further advances in Western Socialist thought, have combined to shatter his earlier illusions, and today Minoo Masani is one of the

most redoubtable critics in Parliament of the Nehru hybrid of Socialism with its slogan-ridden monstrosities and patent monolithic totalitarianism. The Prime Minister has come to resent this critic's ability to puncture his modernistic pretensions with potent injections of insight into the latest thinking on the old shibboleths. The arrogant champion of the latest in change is thus shown to be an apostle of outmoded doctrine on a world canvass of history. For the Prime Minister it is not a position conducive to dignity and the preservation of importance, and we find him lapsing into irritation and consequential intemperate disparagement of dissentients. Sri Masani is a formidable antagonist in controversy because of the deadly effect of his logic in debate: its distinguishing mark is his flair for uncovering fallacy with statistical data of historic and worldwide significance. He is the author of the best-seller "Our India."

Sri K. M. Munshi has adorned posts of great distinction in the Congress regime. He is another eminent Congressman turned critic and opponent and thrown into the Swatantra fold under pressure of public considerations and patriotic motives. As an agent of the Government of India in Hyderabad in the hectic days of the Razakar menace he revealed exemplary bravery in facing danger and remarkable tact in avoiding bravado and unnecessary risks. His achievement in the literary field is illustrious. In the spread of culture of civilised quality, his Bhawan's Library alone has performed a miracle equal to the

Left to Right at the bottom are (1) N. C. Ranga; (2) M. R. Masani; (3) K. M. Munshi; (4) Homi Mody; (5) Kamakshiya Narayan Singh, Raja of Ramgarh; (6) Sa. Ganesan; (7) S. K. D. Paliwal; and (8) Sardar Lall Singh.



multitudinous instruction of a whole university.

Sri H. P. Mody is one of the most knowledgeable politicians in the country. He served in the Central Legislature at Delhi for many years before Independence and he was in the Governor-General's Executive during Lord Linlithgo's time. He was not in the Congress but he never let the cause of India down in any context. He is known for his independent views and ability which led Sri Jawaharlal Nehru to appoint him as Governor of Uttar Pradesh after Independence. He is a person of advanced views, political and social, and is one of the most respected members of the Parsi community. He is second to none in ability to appreciate and decide on political issues.

Sri V. P. Menon rose to fame as the right hand man of Sardar Vallabhai Patel. From small beginnings in Government service he reached the highest pinnacle of influence and authority open to any employee of the Government. In his halcyon days he was the confidant of Cabinet Ministers and Maharajas. Some of the most intricate problems arising out of the devolution of power from British authority to Indian hands were entrusted to him by the Sardar. The greatest of these was the integration of the States. In Sri V. P. Menon's own opinion, however, the most difficult of the feats connected with Sardar Patel's leadership was the police action in Hyderabad. If it had not been done in time, the inclusion of that State from the very heart of the country in the Indian Union might not have been found subsequently possible.

Having come up by his own merit from the lowest rungs of service, Sri V. P. Menon knows administration from A to Z. He flourished under the protective guidance of the Sardar, and with-

out it he wilted. India is full of rich talent withering for what of a proper leader to utilise it wisely and competently. Sri Menon is a symbol of proved and mature governmental capacity in store to be made good use of when the time comes by the Swatantra Party.

The latest great acquisition of the Swatantra Party is Sri Sa. Ganesan. His wants are of the simplest. Multiplication of wants makes life expensive and tends to increase its burden of dependence. The man of the fewest wants has the greatest independence, and the life of the Mahatma taught this lesson, more than anything else. Sri Ganesan has learned and made his own this great lesson. Things of intrinsic value of eternal worth for all time attract him, and not the glittering tinsel that goes into what is called standard of life in the material civilization nursed by contemporary Socialist slogans. A man of honesty, truth, justice and simplicity, he is impervious to corrupting influences and can be depended upon to bring to any party served by him the lustre of a new distinction based on dharma and moral considerations.

The Raja of Ramgarh is one of the most influential men in Bihar today. This influence owes nothing to ancestral heritage. It is derived mainly from personal qualities and demonstrated good and great action on occasions of crisis. He is a leader in his own right and because of this right of his to leadership proved in action, people trust him. One such man is politically worth a whole battalion. Quick to spot talent, Rajaji said at the Patna Convention that the Swatantra Party has in the Raja of Ramgarh a Chief Minister ready made for Bihar's service, one who would prove a better Chief Minister than any the State had in the past.



Professor M. Ruthnaswami is an intellectual of erudition and learning who has brought academic distinction to the counsels of the Swatantra Party. He is a master in wielding moderation with devastating effect. His speeches on the Swatantra platform are mild in phrasing, gentle and scrupulously free from harshness and invective. But their logic is deadly and their total effect is the annihilation of an opponent with an air of enlightening instruction. There is none in the Congress who is a match to Professor Ruthnaswami in the dialectics of non-violent, insurmountable, intellectual persuasion.

Sri S. Narayanaswami is one of the most influential of the city's businessmen. He and Sri Sadāsivam form a committee of two to look after the finances of the Swatantra Party in this part of the country. This indomitable pair have already collected a sizeable purse of a lakh and presented it to Rajaji on the eve of his North Indian tour. In return for the donations they got, they gave the mercantile community a new faith to live by. Traders, industrialists and businessmen have got sick of the Congress and their hope for the future lies in the Swatantra Party. Sri Narayanaswami has nursed many good causes and become in himself an institution in the city. His adventurous good-samaritan enterprises are all-pervasive, and provide pointed scope for social renovation to the wealthy and the prosperous. In the canalisation of riches for service of good causes, these two (S.N. and T.S.) have few equals in our time.

—K.S.R.

Left to Right at the bottom are (1) Sardar Uddam Singh Nagoke; (2) N. C. Chatterjee; (3) Morarji J. Vaidya; (4) Latchanna; (5) V. P. Menon; (6) Bhai Lalbhai Patel; (7) Prof. M. Ruthnaswami; and (8) S. Narayanaswami.



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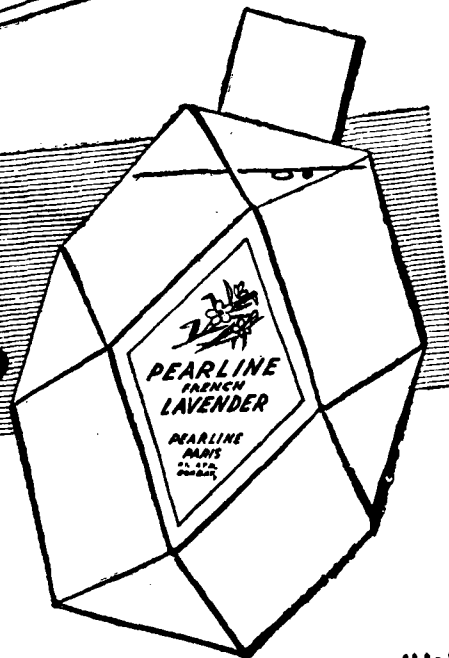
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR JUDGES AND COMMISSIONS

Sir,—There appears to exist a curious confusion of thought at the highest Government level about the duties and responsibilities of Judges and the value to be attached to their pronouncements.

When a judgment of the Supreme Court is unpalatable, the Judges are accused of proceeding by the letter of the law and not paying regard to the trend of ideas in current fashion. The critics forget that by his oath of office a Judge is required to administer justice according to law as it stands and if he did otherwise he would not be true to his oath. If a Judge is consistently perverse in his judgments or frequently actuated by bias of any brand, the Constitution provides for his removal from office. On the other hand, it is the duty of the Houses of Legislature to realise what is wanted for the welfare of the public and legislate suitably to the extent of their mandate.

When a Judge of the Supreme Court descends from the Bench he ceases to be bound by his oath of office. He is not then bound to tread his way within the four corners of the law. He is free to have ideas of his own on any matter of public interest like any other citizen except that he cannot be too careful in giving expression to it. He would however find it difficult to divest himself of the discipline of paying regard to evidence, seeing both sides of a case, etc., which will have got into his blood, so to say, and to that extent his opinion is likely to be better than that of any other person of equal education.

When an eminent Judge is appointed to head a Commission, he is no longer a Judge nor bound by his oath of office. He is expected to apply his entire mind to the matter on hand and do better than any other person of equal ability, not accustomed to function in a judicial capacity. His recommendations can claim only so much value and no more. To treat the same as a judgment is wrong. In the case of the recent Central Pay Commission, to state that both the parties, the servants of the Government and the Government, should accept the recommendations as binding on them both is not sense.

It is wellknown that the tendency of every tribunal or authority called upon to deal with such disputed matters is to form its own opinion and the recommendations lean to one side rather than the other, invariably towards

what is called the under-dog. In these cases, the Chairman of the Commission has no responsibility to implement his recommendations. It is the duty of the Government to give their best consideration to his advice and in the light thereof to make up their minds and to issue orders.

To exalt the Chairman's recommendations to the level of a judgment given from the Bench is really to give them more than their due and it is bound to be embarrassing to the Government on future occasions.

Madras. K. V. IYER.

LESSON FROM THE STRIKE

Sir,—May I congratulate the various Central Government public utility departments, especially the P. & T. Department, for the excellent job they have done during the general strike so happily terminated now? There are several lessons to be drawn from it.

(1) With a skeleton staff of loyal employees imbued with a sense of duty and responsibility and a few volunteers, letters were delivered from door to door regularly from the very first day. In short, the P. & T. Department has set up a record of performance as never before, for which it deserves our grateful thanks.

(2) A number of union leaders packed up as soon as they saw the danger signal ahead of them, leaving in the lurch those who looked to them for wise guidance.

(3) In all labour unions, to whatever sector they belong, usually the office-bearers, and especially those at the top, are those who have never done a stroke of honest day's work, who have absolutely no knowledge of the actual working of those whom they presume to lead and who, as a rule, have spent all their adult life fishing in troubled waters. Could not therefore legislation be passed as soon as possible debarring such people from holding any office in any union? That would be in the interest of the workers as well as the public.

(4) All the unrest is largely due to the Government pampering labour for political purposes. The Administration has provided unmistakable evidence of their thinking that what is sauce for the goose in the private sector is not sauce for the gander in the public sector.

(5) Due to the Government's crazy doctrinaire economic and financial policies, it has been unable to hold the

price line, with the result that the cost of living keeps going up and up. How then are the vast majority of people expected to live with any measure of contentment and financial security? Mere heroics and platitudes can never instil confidence in the Administration. CAPTAIN KHURSHED LALKAKA.

SCHEDULED CASTE RESERVATIONS

Sir,—Recently the Madras High Court pronounced that reservation of promotional posts for scheduled castes militates against the provisions of the Constitution and the Deputy Minister, Sri Datar, also gave an assurance in Parliament that the High Court's order will be observed at least in Madras State in so far as Central services are concerned.

A certain percentage of posts are reserved for the scheduled caste candidates, relaxing recruitment rules in their favour at the time of initial recruitment. But unfortunately during Sri Jag Jivan Ram's tenure of office, as Minister for Communications, he ordered that reservations should be made against permanent posts also, with the result that many seniors, who await confirmation for want of a permanent vacancy for years together (in certain cases 10 years even) are superseded by scheduled caste officials having one or two years of service only. This again results in

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a serious anomaly, namely, that the date of confirmation will be the criterion for purpose of seniority. Thus seniors with greater length of service become juniors to their juniors (scheduled caste officials). By virtue of this irregular seniority, the scheduled caste officials gain promotion even in the case of unreserved posts. These anomalies have been going on for nearly 10 years since the august *Jag Jivan Ram* set his holy seal in this department. He was in Labour Ministry, then in the P & T and now he is in Railways. Slowly but steadily he executes his policy of the heart-burning of non-scheduled caste employees and to the detriment of efficiency. Recently some of the inspectors' posts in the Postal and R.M.S. sides of the P & T Department, which are to be filled up on the basis of the ranks secured upto the number of vacancies announced in a particular year, have been filled up by unpassed candidates, belonging to scheduled castes, overlooking the claim of those who have secured the highest marks possible after months of assiduous preparation for the tough examination. The rule, of course, is that the

posts reserved for scheduled caste candidates should be filled up by candidates belonging to other communities on their merit, should no scheduled caste candidate qualify in the test—the qualifying minimum for them being as low as possible. The injustice is further perpetuated by the fact that reservations of posts have been made in the inspectors' grade for the ensuing inspector's examination to be held in August 1960.

The proportion of higher grade posts to candidates in the P & T Department is 1 : 60. After hard preparation and scoring the highest marks possible, one has to find to his utter dismay that the post competed for has been given to a useless competitor who has failed to secure even pass marks.

V. R. RAMABADRAN.

Reaction to Revolution

According to Dr. M. Ezekiel, Head of the Economics Department of FAO, who recently visited Poland, there has been a rapid expansion of production as a result of the readjustment of price policies to give greater incentive to

production. When in 1956 farmers were allowed to withdraw from collective farming, a high proportion of them reverted to the system of private ownership and today collective farms only account for 1 per cent of the area under cultivation.

Naturally, State farms are important mainly in regions which are not attractive for private ownership or are former large estates which are still being operated collectively by the workers previously employed by the landowners. The State farms now remaining seem to act in much the same way as a Department of Agriculture elsewhere, producing certified seed and improved breeding stock.

The system of 'village circles' established under Mr. Gomulka's government has now been re-established as a means of bringing extension and other services to the individual farmer. These circles also engage in the buying and operation of spraying machines and harvesting machines, as well as the production of building materials required by farmers, in much the same way as the agricultural syndicates in Britain.

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“ENGLAND’S GREATEST NOVELIST”

By MAGUS

Charles Dickens is not only a great event in English literature but a great event in English history, because his novels were not only widely read and greatly enjoyed but they stirred the people and the higher-ups to their sense of duty towards the indigent and the lowly. He created characters and also called out people like Wat Tyler and Wilkes. He elevated. He reformed, too, a great social force towards righteousness.

This was all due to the gigantic labours he put forth, for he was not born in the best of circumstances, but to poverty in a shabby second-rate home on February 7, 1812. But when he died prematurely in 1870, it was something of the shock of a national disaster, and he was one of the best loved authors England had produced, and enjoyed popularity that was a marvel and almost a monstrosity as Chesterton puts it. And the passing decades have not detracted from his greatness. Somerset Maugham considers him “England’s greatest novelist.”

Curiously, however, England’s greatest novelist had not much of schooling, and he had to taste the cup of financial troubles to the full. His father was always in desperate straits. Dickens was often sent to pawn articles for cash—articles such as a coat or a trinket or books. He had to sweep and scrub at home. At twelve, he was put in a blacking factory. His work, for which he was given six shillings a week, was to wash the bottles, label them and tie them up, which he heartily hated, and he never forgave his mother for sending him to the factory in which all day he worked on insufficient food. It all afterwards appeared in his works as Murdstone and Grinby’s. He kept a sort of deadly silence over his work at the factory for 25 years, when he told his first biographer and intimate friend John Forster: “Even at the present hour, he could never lose the remembrance of it while he remembered anything.”

At fifteen he went to work as an errand boy in a lawyer’s office and a few weeks later as a clerk to Blackmore, a solicitor, at 10 shillings a week which were in course of time raised to fifteen shillings. It was however typical of him, writes Chesterton, that he had no fancy at all to remain a solicitor’s clerk. Nor was he a saintly lad after the fashion of Little Dorrit or Little Nell. He was “sincerely, stubbornly, bitterly ambitious and consumed with an enduring and almost angry thirst to

excel”. He worked all day at law, and all night at shorthand and he became a shorthand writer. He was appointed a reporter of the speeches in Parliament, first by *The True Son*, then by *The Mirror of Parliament*, and last by *The Morning Chronicle*, and he soon gained the reputation of being the fastest and most accurate man in the Gallery.

While working in the Gallery of the House of Commons, he began to write a series of sketches of London life, at first for *The Monthly Magazine* and later for *The Morning Chronicle*. He was not however paid anything for them. But they attracted the attention of a publisher named Macrone who came forward to issue them in two volumes, with illustrations by Cruickshank under the title *Sketches by Boz* on the occasion of the twenty-fourth birthday of Dickens, for the first edition of which he was paid 150 pounds. The volumes were well received. Later a partner in a firm asked him to write a narrative about a club of amateur sportsmen to serve as a vehicle for the illustrations of a well-known artist. Dickens felt that he knew nothing about sports and could not write to order but the emolument offered “was too tempting to resist”. The sharp spur of necessity made him agree to the proposal. The result was *The Pickwick Papers* and his reputation was made. It was his sudden apotheosis. But the critics had their reservations: *The Quarterly Review* said: “It requires no gift of prophecy to foretell his fate—he has risen like a rocket and he will come down like a stick.” Needless to say the prophecy fell through. Dickens’ fame rose like a gale and the public devoured his books, which came out in quick succession.

The range of his theme is as wide and varied and extraordinary as his imagination is exultant and spacious. Humour, pathos and satire are in abundance in his works. The spontaneous gaiety and exuberance of *The Pickwick Papers* was followed by *Oliver Twist* in which pathos began to intrude on humour. Plot grew in importance with *Nicholas Nickleby*, *Barnaby Rudge* was his first attempt in the historical

If we know that a nation is capable of enduring continuous discussion, we know that it is capable of practising with equanimity continuous tolerance.

JAMES WILSON,
Founder of *The Economist*.

novel. *Christmas Books* “show his belief in human kindness worked almost to mysticism.” *David Copperfield* had a strong autobiographical element, with firm characterization. Dickens saw the growth of a new philosophy of life based on a creed of insatiable greed—the philosophy of Coke Town of *Hard Times* and he effectively pilloried it in that novel.

As a creator of characters and a deviser of comic situations, Dickens is supreme: Even his minor characters are drawn perfectly. “They appear only for a fragment of time, but they belong to eternity. We have them only for an instant, but they have us for ever.” He was thoroughly enjoyed by his contemporaries. How they relished him can be seen from a passage from Una Pope-Hennessy’s book: “Mrs. Henry Siddons, a neighbour and friend of Lord Jeffrey, peeped into his library and saw Jeffrey with his head on the table. He raised it with his eyes suffused with tears. She begged to be excused, saying, ‘I had no idea that you had any bad news or cause of grief or I would not have come. Is anyone dead?’ ‘Yes, indeed,’ replied Lord Jeffrey, ‘I am a great goose to have given way so, but I could not help it. You’ll be sorry to hear that little Nelly, Boz’s little Nelly, is dead.’ And Lord Jeffrey was not an ordinary critic. When the monthly numbers of *Dombey and Son* appeared, Lord Jeffrey wrote to Dickens of certain chapters in the novel as “the best thing, past, present or to come”. “There is no writing against such power as this,” groaned Thackeray. “One has no chance”.

No wonder, several of his characters have become common property. They have become part of the history of literature, part of the language of the world—Micawber, Pecksniff, Pickwick, Bumble, etc. And Dickens’ fame has become universal. “One stands appalled at the majesty of such an achievement. In the sheer comprehensiveness of it, no writer in all the world has ever equalled or approached it. None ever will. The time is past.”

“People of the adolescent generation of today may have the impression,” writes Stephen Leacock, “that Dickens is passed by in favour of a rising group of newer men. This is not so. These newer men come and go, rise and fall, and are forgotten. Dickens stays. Forty years ago newer writers were replacing Dickens; and thirty years ago, and twenty. The world today does not know their names. In due time it will be known that the works of Charles Dickens represent the highest reach of the world’s imaginative literature,—the world’s supreme achievement in art.”

THE STRIKE

By B. R. KUMAR

The Strike had ended—much to the joy of the public and the taxpayer—in an unconditional surrender of the employees—much like the unconditional surrender of Germany in 1945, and life can resume its old normal course. But 15 years after Germany's surrender, the world is still far from normal; for to remove the effect but not the cause is no cure; the old cause once again brings about the old result. The root cause of the world unrest is the industrial rivalry of the European powers, and unless this can be reconciled or eliminated there can be no world peace. The root cause of the strike of the Union Government employees is the spiral of inflation, and unless and until this can be eliminated, strikes and other such actions will remain endemic in our society, and come to the surface when circumstances are favourable.

India has been suffering from a spiral of inflation during the last few years not as the result of some unknown malignant fate—an earthquake or a famine, or a war—in which case all the resources of the public as well as of the Government, both Central and State, would have been mobilised throughout the country to help the victims, but as the result of a deliberate policy of the party in power. In itself this policy is one to which no Indian can take objection, and that has been its fatal aspect. The trouble has arisen over the ways and the means for its implementation. The wise man is not satisfied with mere good intentions—the road to hell is paved with them—but also picks and chooses the tools and the timing. Yoga, it is said in the Gita, is skill in action.

Simply put, this policy may be named the policy of Plenty. Compared with the rest of the world—which of course means Europe and U.S.A.—we are a poverty-stricken people, and this poverty was our genuine charge against the Britisher, and carried with it a moral challenge to the conscience of the world. The Congress in the British days gathered round itself the support of the whole country because of its promise to all and sundry that with the end of British rule our poverty would end. Hence it is not surprising that once in power, the first task, the first duty that it undertook was to eliminate our poverty; to proclaim its policy of Plenty, it advertised the slogan of Socialistic pattern of society.

But a slogan is one thing; its implementation is another; and in its attempts to implement the slogan the

Congress Party has tied itself into so many knots and contradictions that the slogan has become a mere empty shell. In practice the slogan of Plenty has ended up in the actuality of more poverty than ever before, and the daily reminder of this is the rising spiral of inflation. Plenty is far off; the mounting costs are a daily problem. The majority of the citizens have to put up with it as they put up with so many other calamities; a few like the Government employees have an organisation through which they can express their dissatisfaction. A wise Government will consider it a danger signal, much as a wise doctor interprets the outward eruption as a sign of some inner disease. Mounting inflation is the outward sign of economic ill health.

A policy of Plenty is an economic policy, and European history both ancient and modern, shows that plenty can be achieved only in one way, by releasing the economic energies of personal gain in the citizen, subject to the supervising control of the State as the expression of the general well-being. It was this economic policy that became the creed of the Liberal Party in England, and was expressed in the policy of free trade and the slogan that that Government is the best that governs the least. It is this policy that is at work in modern Germany and Japan. U.S.A. has built up its wealth with this policy.

Our Congress Governments however have been unable to accept this truth that economic objectives can be achieved at the economic plane only; that educational objectives can be achieved at the educational plane only; that religious objectives can be achieved at the religious plane only; that politics is a question of power and you may enslave people through power but you cannot make them richer or wiser or moral; that power like the heart is most healthy when it is unnoticed; that it is good to have the power of a giant but most unwise to use it like a giant; that a motor engine is safe that keeps most of its power in reserve and works only on a fraction of its capacity.

An Overtaxed Society

An overtaxed society lies under a multiple curse. Inertia replaces initiative. The spirit of envy displaces the sense of property. Freedom and purpose give way to a vexatious spirit of rebellion, individual responsibility slackens and individuality dies. —NORTHCOTE PARKINSON.

For a thousand years, we are told, we Indians have been slaves; that is, we have been deprived of political power, and suddenly finding it in our lap like the man starved of food, we are overdoing the stunt of using it. We are suffering from the illusion that through political power we can achieve everything; we can catch up with the wealth of Europe; we can catch up with their Universities and their learning; their inventiveness and their resourcefulness. And of course through political power we can usher in the age of Plenty!

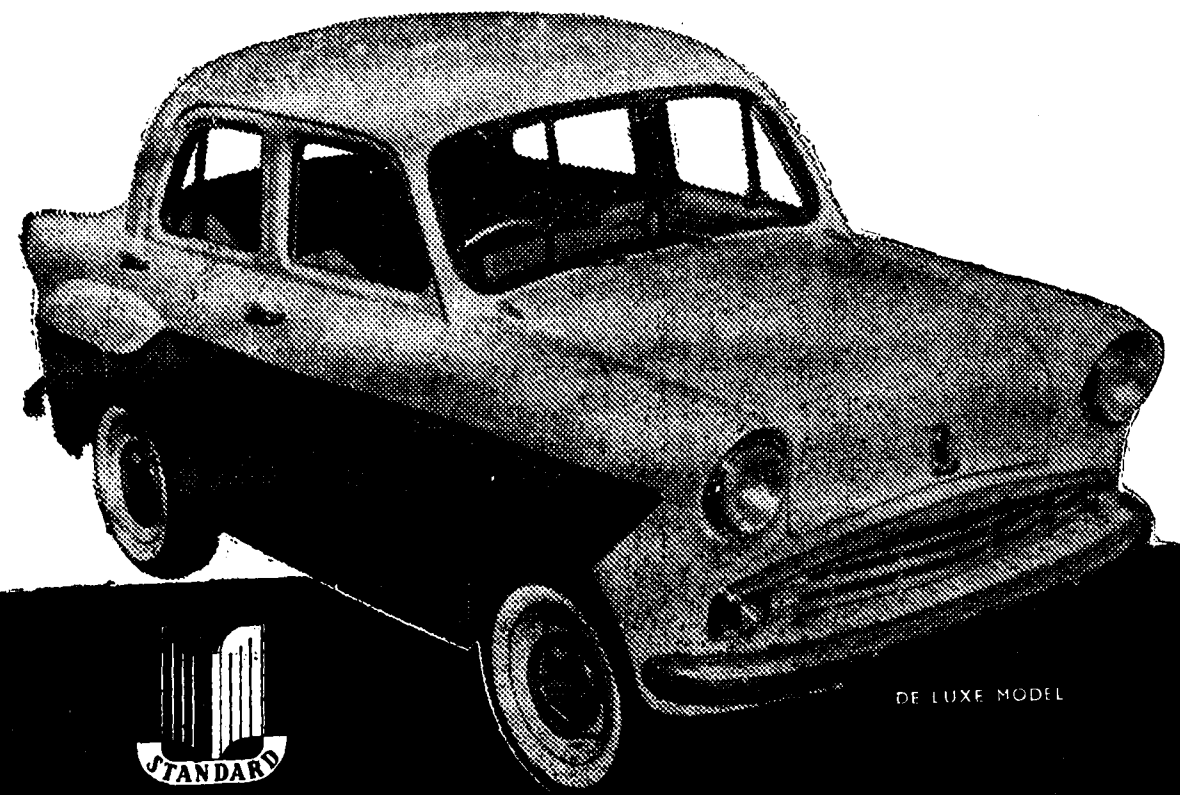
The spiral of inflation is there to remind us that economic objectives can be achieved through economic forces only in the shortest time and with the least disturbance. A short-cut, we are often told, is in the long run no short cut at all. Paper money may be created at a printing press and distributed to the citizens free through the various devices invented by the Socialists; astronomical sums obtained through taxation and borrowing may be distributed to the public through grandiose prestige buildings and public works and loans and subsidies and sinecure offices—but sooner or later the laws of economics will come to the surface, and cause the eruption—inflation. And inflation sooner or later must lead to revolution, as in Italy when Mussolini came to power and in Germany with Hitler.

The goal of Plenty is the goal of us all, and the very foundation of Plenty is a stable currency, or stable prices; on this foundation is built the whole economic superstructure of a nation's daily life in its myriads of forms. Hence any government anxious to achieve Plenty must start with the first principle of Plenty—stable prices. Any slogan or policy or philosophy or activity that interferes with this must be discarded. If the strike has forced our Government to recognise this simple truth, it may have gained its objective, even though the strikers have had to surrender unconditionally.

A stable currency, a personal interest, a minimum of controls and regulations and a maximum of freedom—Peace, Retrenchment, Reforms, as the Liberals put it—these are the factors that are responsible for the Miracle of Germany; they would have created a miracle in India also, but for the obsession of our rulers that power is no use unless it can be exercised ostentatiously; that wealth is no use unless it can be squandered ostentatiously. A teenager at the wheel of a thousand horsepower motor engine behaves much like our rulers; he steps on the throttle to have the feel of power—and ends up in the ditch.

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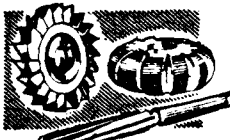
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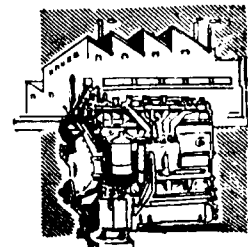


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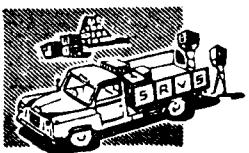
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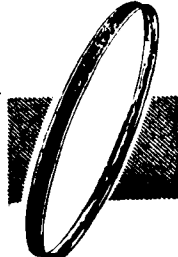


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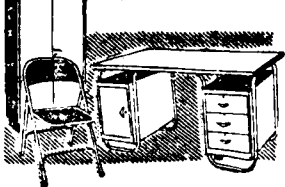
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TO PROSPERITY THROUGH FREEDOM:

(Continued from page 8)

as ours, decentralisation of authority, which could give scope for self-government of regions without disturbing national harmony or hindering the central authority in its functions, should be the guiding principle. The Swatantra Party will seek to emphasize and spread the principles and practice of federalism and decentralisation in all spheres of public life, consistent with the Constitution.

The Swatantra Party is of the view that the ruling party has made an unconscionable use of its power to destroy or cripple property rights in the country, more particularly in regard to rural areas where the interest of the small man is concerned. The Swatantra Party will seek to rectify this misuse of power, particularly in regard to discriminatory expropriation and the fixing and payment of compensation.

Under the present regime, the Rule of Law is being undermined by a tendency among politicians in power to interfere in the judicial and administrative processes. Such interference in the normal judicial processes takes the shape of either withdrawing prosecutions or, even after the offenders are convicted, of remitting the sentences under party or group pressure. The Rule of Law should not be interfered with by politicians or by parties in power.

The Party stands for the Rule of Law and an independent judiciary. It will work for the full restoration of the powers of judicial review essential for the maintenance of the Rule of Law and it deprecates the trend in current legislation of excluding the jurisdiction of the Courts and of giving vast discretionary powers to administrative authorities and tribunals.

The Swatantra Party will also restore the supremacy of the people and Parliament by disbanding the National Planning Commission which has tended to bring into being a non-responsible super-government, and will free Cabinet Ministers and members of the Union and State governments from the extra-constitutional intervention of the National Planning Commission.

The Swatantra Party will work for providing the country with the clean and good government which today is its most vital need. The Party stands for efficiency and integrity in the Services. It believes that the public services in India can be as good as in any other country. If, in spite of their hard work and loyalty, the admini-

nistration is inefficient, it is because they are prevented from performing their functions in the most efficient manner by the unreasonable and politically-motivated interference in their day-to-day work by Ministers of the Union Government and State Governments and other members of the ruling party. The Swatantra Party is opposed to any form of political pressure being put on officials in the course of the fair and just discharge of their duties.

The Party believes that it is in the interest of the public services that recruitment should be restricted in the way of quantum and quality. The Congress Government's indiscriminate recruitment of a horde of six million government servants has resulted in debasing the value of the official, lowering his status and increasing public expenditure.

The Party is of the view that, while efficiency of administration is necessary, its integrity is the very essence of good government. It will therefore endeavour to set up a supreme authority to whom an appeal can be made by individuals who suffer injustice as a result of administrative action such as cannot be remedied otherwise. There is necessity for such an authority where Party government prevails. There is precedent for it in the countries of Scandinavia where the Ombudsman is non-Party man elected by Parliament and invested with wide powers of investigation and access to official papers. He is an officer of very high status and acts on the complaint of any citizen who has a grievance and seeks justice.

The Party believes that every citizen has the fundamental right to educate his children according to his choice in a free atmosphere untrammelled by official directives. The Party will work for full facilities for such education without discrimination such as by refusing grants or putting restrictions and handicaps where religious education suitable to various denominations is given.

The Swatantra Party will encourage efficient private schools which will not only relieve the government of expenditure but set up competitive standards.

The solution of the problem of unemployment concerning the educated youth is not to reduce him to the dull and unremunerative life of an under-worked clerk in a government office, but to ensure that the quality of the education he receives facilitates his absorption in industry or trade or the professions, all of which could employ more persons than they do today if allowed to expand and prosper.

The Party takes note of the great interest shown by young persons in col-

leges and universities in the politics of the country and in particular in the Swatantra Party's programme. The Party is of the view that in free India, while students even before graduation should acquire some knowledge of the various trends in political thought, they should, while engaged in college life, abstain from active participation in the furtherance of any political party. Whatever other parties may be doing, the Swatantra Party is of the view that there should be no encouragement given to the division of students into groups related to the political parties of the country although they may be free to express and discuss their views in their own College Unions.

The Swatantra Party urges that a firm and vigilant policy should be followed at least from now on in dealing with the Chinese Communist aggression against India. When our territorial integrity has been violated and our soil occupied by a Communist power, the concept of non-alignment has little meaning. Our policy therefore now needs to be reviewed and brought into closer relation to the realities of the international situation. In the Party's view, this is not the time for ideological adventures in domestic policy. The measures necessary for ensuring the country's security and defence include: the settlement of outstanding issues with Pakistan and serious consideration of the offer made by Pakistan for collaboration in the defence of the sub-continent; collaboration with the countries of South and South-East Asia with a view to concerted measures for the security of the region; and vigilance against infiltration and fifth column activities.

The Swatantra Party is a Party with a difference. It believes that the present trend followed in India and elsewhere by which political parties dominate more and more the thoughts, activities and lives of their members is one that needs to be reversed. The Party holds that democracy is best served if every political party allows freedom of expression to its members on all matters falling outside the fundamental principles of the Party. The Swatantra Party therefore gives its members, whether in Parliament, legislatures or elsewhere, the fullest liberty on all questions not falling within the scope of its Principles and Statement of Policy. In particular, members of the Party will, in contrast to the way in which dissenting members of certain other parties are treated, be given an opportunity to express themselves in regard to the formulation of the Party's policies.

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SWATANTRA CONCEPT OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOM

By V. P. MENON

There are twenty-one basic principles to which every member of the Swatantra Party subscribes, the last of which runs as follows:

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

In commending this principle at the Preparatory Convention held in Bombay in August 1959 Rajaji described it as "a new window for democracy". The concept is revolutionary and its possibilities as a working guide to real democracy are tremendous.

India follows rather closely the British pattern of democracy without its accumulated experience or political education.

We have here a Government at the Centre which is supported by the majority party in the Lok Sabha. The party consists not only of mere hand-lifters but also of persons who can contribute substantially to the debates. When the Government considers any policy to be essential, a whip is issued to every member of the party enjoining him to vote in the manner desired by the Government. This has resulted in frustration and a sense of hurt over the arbitrary deprivation of one's own liberty and judgment.

Political thinking is a revolutionary process which constantly adjusts itself to changing conditions and changing times. No democracy can survive if the line is taken that the last word on any subject has been said. In Great Britain the Conservatives are supposed to stand for tradition and are accused by their opponents of an unwillingness to change. But this is hardly true; for, within the past few decades the Conservatives have been responsible, as much as any of the so-called progressive parties, for introducing new ideas, new concepts and new procedures under the stress of circumstances. Conservatism, has therefore come to mean today not so much swearing by a hoary principle; it rather means a trend of development clear and sound, though the pace of progress may be slower. Profiting by experience, rigidity has been thrown overboard not only by the Conservatives but even by the more radical parties.

Where the Opposition feels that it can neither amend, abridge nor influence the decisions of Government because of the overwhelming strength of the ruling party in the legislature, bitter and irresponsible in opposing the Government. Conservative thinking is in these conditions reduced to the minimum. Vehemence and repetition take the place of argument, and judgment abdicates in favour of emotion. The more adamant a Government is to any reasonable change which may be suggested either by its own partymen or by the Opposition, the greater is the scope given to extremism. If we concede that the members returned to a legislature are capable of discharging their responsibilities competently opportunities must be given to them to express their point of view. Of course this does not mean that every member should support the ruling party or the Opposition and repeat parrot-like the opinions already held or the arguments already advanced. It should be possible for a member to put forward a different view and gain a hearing for it. If a member of the legislature is denied this privilege, not only will his electorate feel he has not contributed anything towards the debate, but the member himself will suffer frustration. The essence of democracy is that conflicting views are considered and a majority opinion emerges which decides what is good for the country

and community. Where opportunities for such discussion are curtailed or denied, it ends in hasty legislation, improvised methods and wasteful expenditure. This is the very foundation of democracy and Rajaji has focussed attention on this cardinal point.

This concept of democracy is the one most suited to our country. Outside the 21 Fundamental Principles of the Swatantra Party there is a vast field where every member can freely express his opinion, and on account of this freedom there is no danger of his feeling shackled or regimented. Given this sort of freedom, the legislature becomes a real forum for exchanging ideas and thoughts and the Government is subjected to the impact of fresh ideas. In this process the Government's prestige will not suffer any decline nor will its power be challenged. It would only mean that an open mind is maintained on a subject under discussion until the very last, and what will emerge is the collective judgment of the members of legislature reflecting the collective opinion in the country as a whole. The Opposition under such conditions will feel the urge to take up a constructive attitude and real co-operation may be forthcoming amongst the parties. Under such conditions there may be a cleaner political atmosphere, and everyone, realising his responsibility, will play his role to the best advantage of the country, putting aside party prejudices and personal considerations. Real democracy based on freedom of discussion will then flourish, and the demagogue and the sycophant will drop out of politics.

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THE CRISIS IN THE CONGO

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

Among the major international developments of July 1960 the most significant and the most talked about event was undoubtedly the post-independence unrest in the Republic of Congo.

The phenomena of nationalism, which is world-wide and certainly the strongest political emotion of our times, has assumed a profoundly violent anti-white colouration in the Congo. The reasons are historic, traditional, economic, political and emotional, and a reflection of the enormous gap between the wealth and power of Europeans and the poverty and helplessness of African masses. Compounded with these are the gross and inexcusable incompetence of the Belgian colonialists and the total lack of restraint on the part of the Congolese.

After eighty years of Belgian rule, the Congo became independent on June 30, 1960. But from all reports, it was evident even in April that central administrative control was in an advanced state of decay, and it seemed most improbable that the process of decomposition could be arrested. Reporting about the Congo, the well-informed *Economist* of London had said on May 21, 1960 that "in any case it seems to be certain that the Congo is dissolving into several succession States."

The Belgian rulers of the Congo could not have been blind to these facts. The irresistible forces of history compelled them to support all forces of disintegration. Even about a year ago Belgians thought of remaining in the Congo for at least another decade. Indeed, right up to the Leopoldville riots in January, 1959, Belgians failed to encourage any circumstance in which the Congolese should be prepared for responsible self-government.

The Congolese were most unprepared. "Does independence come wrapped in paper or do we go to the bank to get it?" a Congolese is reported to have asked an American missionary. Even the leaders had wrong notions. The Congolese Prime Minister, Padrice Lumumba's party had promised during the election campaign that when independence comes, the black man would get the white man's home, his car, his job and even his women-folk.

When Lumumba came to power, he had indicated at the outset that Europeans should stay behind and carry out Congolese policies. The new ministers, some of whom have limited education, cannot be much more than

figure heads. In the first three grades of civil servants there were 4600 Europeans to three Africans, and 5,159 Europeans to 635 African officers even in the fourth grade.

While the administrative set up was completely against the Congolese, the economic situation was hopeless. The Congo has a national debt held abroad of the equivalent of over Rs. 360 crores. In the past year there has been an exodus of capital of over Rs. 240 crores. The budgetary deficit in the next six months, until December, 1960, is calculated at a total of about Rs. 63 crores on a budget of approximately Rs. 360 crores. The exchequer is being financed from day to day by five-month treasury bills taken up by the local banks. The budgetary impasse is embarrassing for a young and inexperienced nation which finds itself in effect living on temporary accommodation from Belgium.

The Congo's dependence on Europeans was most critical in the 25,000-strong Congolese army, the *force publique*. In this army, there were about 1000 Belgian officers to some 30 African warrant officers, with another 50 Africans in officer-training. Lumumba needed the *force publique* to maintain order and to deter attempts by disconcerted provinces to break away. This made the unexpected mutiny of the Congolese soldiers a critical test of Lumumba's ability to control the Congo and its government.

The excesses committed by the mad Congolese soldiers and civilians were well matched by the brutality of Belgian paratroopers. The unpredictability of the Congolese nationalist leaders was offset by the most unexpected moves of Belgian colonial minds. Moise Tshombe, leader of the Katanga province was openly assisted and encouraged by Belgians and North Rhodesian colonialists. His "pakistanization" of Katanga was the result of a well-planned and deep-seated conspiracy in which the Belgians played a major role.

The U.N. action in sending troops under its auspices to restore order in the Congo has been welcomed for its swiftness and freshness. It is estimated that the financial implication of the operation in the Congo will be to the tune of over Rs. 47 crores.

A very important subject that has not been discussed by U.N. circles is the role of U.N. troops to bring Katanga province back to the Congo fold. The threats issued by Tshombe have to be

met by the U.N. Otherwise it is possible that the impression will be gained that the U.N. is not willing to come into direct conflict with Belgium.

The visit of Lumumba to New York and the proposed tour of the Congo by the Secretary-General of the U.N. are bound to create a better atmosphere and clarify issues.

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By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Nobody grudges the Central Government their long-drawn sigh of relief at the end of the strike or their sense of elation over their own firmness which for once became manifest and yielded results. They are now considering to what extent firmness can be allied to sympathy in taking back those who, either by their own voluntary action or under undue pressure, had thrown themselves out of service. Having staked much in launching the strike, the leaders of the Praja Socialist Party are eloquently pleading for the Government's moderation, if not mercy, lest the leadership of some of the trade unions should completely slip out of their hands. And it seems that though Government spokesmen are cautious in publicising their reactions, Government are equally anxious that the unions should not easily pass into the hands of the Communists. It suits them admirably to so deal with the aftermath as to demonstrate their own horror of vindictiveness—of course after making it clear that they will no longer stand this kind of nonsense. They should not, however, hug the illusion to their bosom that public sympathy for them during the strike could even be remotely equated to public support for their policy. It was of the utmost consequence that most of those who wanted the strike to fizzle out and fail, desired no less that the Government should however learn a few good lessons and "profit by error and derive experience from folly."

Nobody will envy the Prime Minister for the lot that is his, of having always to turn from one trouble to another. Hardly was the strike called off when he had to fly to Assam to have a look at things in riot-torn areas. Earlier the Congress President had a first-hand study on the spot. There was little doubt that each had thrown in his hand in utter disgust, whatever they might have later said out of unconcealed concern for the Congress Party. The situation created in the Punjab in the wake of difference over the language issue was, in all conscience, bad. But far worse was the trouble in Assam. The fratricidal strife there between the Assamese and the Bengalees over languages, or for their respective ones, was a rude shock to the Central Government. It could as well have been an eye-opener. It is for them to realise what they had bargained for

by their dawdling, incoherent language policy which all over the country had disturbed the even tenor of things—and roused strange linguistic passions. It is an irony that no 'national language' should have today proved to be a unifying factor. It is difficult to understand why if Urdu can be an official language in Andhra, it cannot be so in Uttar Pradesh, or why Bengali should not have the same status in Assam. The Government of India's language policy has led to the improvement, neither of any language nor of the relations between any two linguistic groups. All that happens whenever there is trouble anywhere is that one formula is replaced by another while none is the better for it. In Punjab there was once a Sachar formula; now there is talk of a Kairon formula. With so many wise men in charge of our affairs, there cannot indeed be too many formulae; nor can there be perhaps too many problems.

One aspect of the Assam problem came in for a good deal of comment. Some of the things that happened there had not happened even in Kerala, with the Communists in office and power. It was openly asked by some if the President should not have taken the border State under his wings or why he had not thought on these lines. Asked about it on his return from Assam, the Prime Minister said that he had "heard of it". Or may be, he only overheard it. That was all. After all he visited the State; earlier the Defence Minister and the Congress President had been there; the Home Minister is credited with the intention of going, some of the P.S.P. leaders too have plans to go. What more can be done about it? Perhaps nothing more need be done, after the Prime Minister's exhortation to the refugees to go back safely to their places. For the rest, there will be a language formula!

On Monday August 1, 1960, the National Book Trust will have completed three years of its apologetic, doddering existence, with nothing to show to the world except bankruptcy of planning and barrenness of record. Twelve books, not of even quality, much less of any distinctive pattern, are too meagre to impress even the trustees. If ten times that number is completed in the office, there would be no occasion for any excitement either, when once it is borne in mind that the Trust

exists to enrich 14 languages and bring about mass enlightenment. What has it done, which any enterprising, intelligent private publisher could not have done with a fraction of its resources? It is a pity but it is true that the Trust has become symbolic of the Government's misconceived or miscarried plans and has forfeited the right to perpetuate its existence on the same lines. It must either be completely overhauled or unabashedly wound up. About a year ago in these very columns this was said about the Trust:

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

For a wonder Mr. Deshmukh is still at it. It was not till six months after he resigned that he was told about the acceptance of his resignation while till now no successor has been found to relieve him of what he, after deliberation, desired to get rid of. That is just like our benign Government. Nothing succeeds like a statement.

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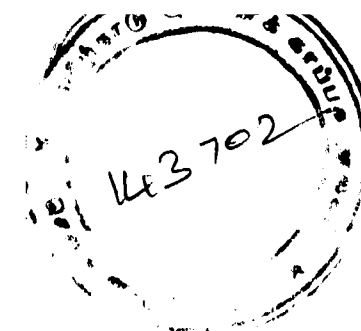
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