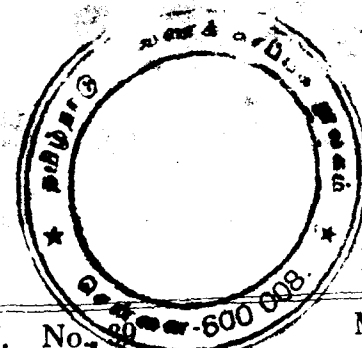




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HUGE FALLACY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Apart from the defects and differences in the administration, the goal of the Congress is general welfare, as is that of the Swatantra or any other Party. The instrument for achieving this goal is, according to the Congress, its Socialism. The Swatantra Party plans to achieve general welfare through prosperity without loss of individual freedom.

It is common ground for all parties that greater production is a pre-requisite for general welfare. The question is what is the incentive for greater production. For, the incentive is always the best plan. The need for greater production and the knowledge that it is necessary are the only incentives which Socialism depends on. The Swatantra Party adds to this the personal interest of the individuals contributing to the production. The Congress plan, viz., Socialism, involves loss of individual freedom and substitution of individual initiative by State dictation.

Socialism is not an end in itself. It is an instrument for the achievement of an object, viz., general welfare. Hence we have to examine the efficiency of the instrument, as well as the disadvantageous by-products that issue from the instrument.

The Communists as well as the Congress Party want the life of individual citizens to be totally absorbed by the State. This is the *moksha* which Socialists desire to

achieve. The Swatantra Party also aims at a revolution but it is a moral revolution, by which all individual property becomes a trust. This moral, not legal, identification of nation and citizen leaves the citizen free, consciously to enjoy that identification. In the Socialist philosophy the identification is a legal process by which nothing is left of the citizen after his total absorption and disappearance in the omnipotent State. We do not want an *advaitic* absorption; to pursue the analogy we want a *visishtadvaitic* unity which is *aananda*.

The Socialism of the Congress as distinguished from the Socialism of Gandhiji can be more correctly described as State-Socialism. Statism is a better name for the creed of the Congress. It means inefficiency in production and distribution through an uninterested army of paid State officials and agents whose perquisites do not depend on and are not related to the quality or quantity of production. Monopolies at all points in favour of selected individuals and groups, partisanship and corruption in selecting these individuals and groups, an endless chain of power and corruption, the policing that these call for and its concomitant oppression and annoyance of the innocent, these are the results of State Socialism. Apathy instead of interest results where creative energy is to play its part as a natural consequence of substituting the State for the individual.

The entire ideology of Socialism is based on a huge fallacy, that creative energy can be isolated from personal interest. The most obvious demonstration of the fallacy would be to order a secretariat to produce a painting instead of asking a painter to do it. An equally disastrous and actual demonstration would be what is called 'co-operative' cultivation instead of letting each peasant look after and acquire something for himself from his own farm. Ownership is the natural mechanism for production which combines interest in production with liability to pay a share of the yield to the State for general purposes. This is elementary but it needs reiteration as Socialism seeks to ignore this fundamental basis of human activity. Seeking to get production increased or even maintained at present level, not only without incentives but also keeping disincentive swords of Damocles over the head of individual prosperity, is as futile as the effort in the mechanical world to produce energy and perpetual motion without expending power or fuel, ignoring the law of conservation of energy.

Individual freedom and incentives to work to full capacity are hopelessly irreconcilable with the stifling collectivism for which the Congress Party seeks a nationwide mandate in the 1962 elections.

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MR. NEHRU SPEAKS TO INDUSTRIALISTS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The confusion between aim and instrument is disclosed even in the talks of very eminent thinkers. What is one to say when Sri Jawaharlal Nehru rises to tell the 34th Annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry that "once the industrialists accepted India's objective of a socialist society, other differences can be resolved by discussion"? What is a socialist society? Has he in his mind a society wedded to the particular way of organization of activities that is propounded by him? Must a society accept a particular political dogma to become the society he wants? One may be certain he did not mean to say this. He must know that means are changeable, that means may be found to be wrong and be revoked, and therefore it is the aim that society should accept, not the means suggested by one confident philosopher or another. And as for the aim, is it welfare such as would produce general happiness or is it an egalitarian condition that exists only in the cloudy imagination of one set of outmoded philosophers? Is it that no one should in 1962 hold as his own more than 27-1/2 acres (exactly calculated by state legislators through an arithmetic studied by them as producing a socialist state)? What is to happen in 1972 when probably the family has multiplied into thrice its original size?

Let me plead: "Philosopher, keep your eye on the aim and purpose, do not get attached to the means you have fallen in love with, and impose it on the people who admire your wisdom which you know too well is an unreliable instrument. The argument of extremes is yet another deceptive road to truth: to multiply your opponents' proposition until it expands into absurdity and then to claim you have disproved it. What about your own proposition? It is equally capable

of being expanded into an absurdity."

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru told the assembled businessmen, that "controls were inevitable for directing private investment to public good or else there would be social disaster". Some controls were inevitable, *ergo* we must adopt an economy bristling with thorns and stifling repressions. Production and distribution must be entirely subjected to bureaucratic regulation and everyone must bow and cringe before omnipotent ignoramuses, for this is socialism. "Do you want free economy?" he asked, and argued because free economy carried to the extreme could not stand, let us have statism. This is what I call the argument of extremes—a fallacious method of proving anything to be wrong. Some controls are necessary, so he argues, let us have state-regulated economy all round—this is not logic but fallacy: even as it would be fallacious for me to say freedom is good, so let us have no government. Because in modern conditions total freedom is not possible and some state-control is a necessary evil, let us not submit to a regimented, 'planned' economy and extinguish incentive, the mother of industry.

The well being of India's teeming millions, by all means! But not a dogma founded on the destruction of human incentive and conceived without taking natural laws into account and which you think will produce the well-being of India's teeming millions. The well being of the teeming millions can be steadily achieved only by production and yet more production; and this can be brought about by industry, and this again only by incentive, saving and capital and not by taxation and repression. The first fruits of your planned economy have already been seen: the indirect taxes of this year's budget and the rise in prices following those taxes and the agony of the

poor people and the lower middle groups. The Finance Minister sows the wind and he objects to the whirlwind. If these taxes and some more similar taxes in due course get across Parliament this year and in the succeeding years, we shall have a merry game of industrial and administrative costs shooting up, strikes and lock-outs, references to tribunals and desperate appeals and we shall have the paradox of the planned unhappiness of a socialist state. Whatever country may be suitable for statism, this population and this continent of ours cannot prosper under a central omnivorous statism directed by a body of politicians unrivalled for want of equipment for the task undertaken by them and by a body of officials whose ignorance of the trades and professions entrusted to their mercies are notorious.

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ECONOMIC SPECTRUM

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Contrary to his expectations, the Finance Minister is finding that the people are resisting the duties he is imposing, in spite of his disguising and distributing them. Because of the elections, he may let up on the duties on yarn, power loom, tea, coffee, tobacco and even rayon. Much will depend on how parliament can establish that these duties, which are in the Revenue Budget have nothing to do with development for which the Capital Budget is responsible, second, that even the existing duties are growing so fast in their return that they can cover the deficit, third that if any deficit still remains, it is better covered by deficit finance, the inflationary effect of which is equally distributed and is not irritating to inflation as multiple small duties.

It is possible to avoid the duties proposed, if the spot light is intensified on Government's programme of expenditure. State enterprises stand disclosed as a colossal waste, the profit expected on a total investment of 505.58 crores, being only 0.51 per cent, and that from only six of them, the rest showing no profit at all. The public, which has paid taxes and loans for the establishment of these industries is beginning to realise that they have been played for suckers.

The Industries Minister is becoming conscious of the failure of his Export Policy. He is therefore following the time honoured method of appointing impressive committees to shelve the consequences. Procedural changes can reduce delay and favouritism but the basic problem is to make our exports, competitive in price and quality. The disclosure that the price of our sugar is double that of the world price shows how unfair government's policies, pampering cane growers, factory workers and even factory owners, and its own revenues, are to people of the country who must consume such

high priced sugar. Such policies, which in respect of newer items of production impose even higher prices just leave no prospects for our exports. On top of this the State Trading Corporation has destroyed trade connections, being associated with the steady decline in exports which has taken place during the last four years. Even what it imports is fed to its favourites who in some instances have been shown to profiteer up to 60 per cent. The Minister who exhibited a virility, strange to him, in defending the S.T.C. was showing perhaps the desperation of a deer at bay.

The Industries Minister promised that imports for existing industries in the way of raw materials and components will receive priority so that the existing idle capacity does not continue. As this may cut into some Rs. 200 crores of foreign exchange, the Government owes it to the consumers that the industrialists whom government have favoured with monopoly through its licensing system, reduce the margins of their profit.

The Scheduled Banks have decided they will pay more interest on deposits by the public because what they were paying was not only a fraction of the interest prevailing in the market and what they themselves charge on advances. They had the excuse so far, that the Reserve Bank had restricted the rates of interest. Since the restriction on interest has been reduced, Banks should reduce their profits which rise up to 20 per cent and pay interest nearer what they themselves charge. The Chairman of the State Bank wept that 337 of the new branches were working at a loss and that the rate of interest in rural areas had to be raised. He has still to realise that the State Bank rate is not even one-fifth of

the prevailing rate in villages on the best security.

The Chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation has been crowing that business has gone up. No one has so far asked him why when insurance by Government was intended to be co-operative, on profits being returned to policy holders, not even the full amount of simple interest on the premiums is paid at maturity. At 5 per cent, in 12 years compound interest adds to double the amount of simple interest and even if some portion of the difference has to be kept to cover the cost of administration and premature payments of the policy due to fatalities, there is still a large proportion of the compound interest due, which the L.I.C. is appropriating. (Courtesy: *Insight*. March 15.)

Inflation a Symptom of Cultural Conflict

Inflation is a symptom of cultural conflict in a nation. Any de-valuation of a long-stable currency involves a crisis; and repeated de-valuations spell a chronic, unresolved conflict of ideas. Inflation resembles alcoholism, which seems to some individuals the only escape from a hidden inner turmoil; for some nations, inflation appears as the only escape from an obscure but painful social turmoil. Inflation looks like a stock dividend, but with a significant difference. Like a corporate dividend of additional shares, inflation "re-divides the same pie". But unlike the stock dividend, inflation cuts the pie in new proportions. It cuts a larger share for those whom the government wishes to favour. But inflation eventually aggravates the conflicts that led to it and it breeds its own vested interests.

H. M. FLEMING.

143688

SIDELIGHTS ::

When criticisms were levelled on defence expenditure, Mr. Krishna Menon had been away in Bangalore to announce fresh increments to a sector of voters which had already been favoured with an increase of Rupees 58 lakhs employed in the H.A.L. factories. According to a Bombay weekly, the re-election of Mr. Krishna Menon to the Lower House from the North Bombay constituency is a must. Mr. Krishna Menon would however be content with mass voting from the Bangalore constituency which the present incumbent is not keen on nursing for personal reasons. During his temporary absence, Mr. Morarji Desai had to reply to strictures about Mr. Krishna Menon's grants, as also his unorthodox practices in regulating promotion and provoking resignations in the armed forces.

We have to associate a high degree of idiosyncrasy in Mr. Krishna Menon's evaluation of merit; and when once a person is liked or disliked by him, the caprice must be accepted. Any question asking for information is brushed aside by him with the plausible excuse that the truth would be of advantage to potential enemies and that it would not be in public interest people should know. Indeed the Finance Minister in shielding whimsicalities went the length of arguing that the defence budget should not be disclosed for strategic reasons and that if current expenditure exceeds secret allotments, the Government would come forward with supplementary demands to cover undisclosed liability. Now in the budget of all democratic countries, the executive presents an estimate of defence obligations, though blue books do not map out tactical details. The President of the United States tells Congress of his defence appropriations and in England the Chancellor of the Exchequer submits his requirements of the War Office. Under the new dispensa-

tion in India the defence reservations will not be known even to Parliament and the Public Finance Committee on the plea that India's defence must not suffer through any leakage.

Mr. Morarji Desai advised M.P.s that for any additional information on defence bills they could "approach the Consultative Committee" a body without any statutory existence and whose chairman could tell off the inquisitive with a warning about top secrets remaining top secrets. As for the press, journalists are of course outside the dark chambers and archives of the Consultative Committee. Probably even the Congress President has no access to financial statistics of defence finance though politically he is suffered to be all in all.

In addition to the exclusion of sealed secrets from reasonable purview on the table of the House, Mr. Morarji Desai had the pathetic task of pleading that the Defence Minister's discretionary patronage was just the right thing suited for India's share in the world drama.

Pandit Kunzru is not an irresponsible man and not long ago he declared that "the people of India would have no confidence in the defence of India so long as Mr. Krishna Menon remained Defence Minister". On March 9 in the Rajya Sabha Mr. Kunzru again commented "on the wide-spread dissatisfaction in the army caused by the Government's acts and the very harmful effect this was likely to have on morale at a time when in the interest of the country, with a powerful enemy already entrenched on its territory, morale ought to be at its highest". Acharya Kripalani in his budget speech was almost in tears pointing out cases of supersession and unjust postings which recently compelled high officers to send their resignations. The experience

of General Thimmayya resigning one morning and resuming by sun down was boosted as proof that civilian authority prevailed against brass hats. Once in the flush of triumph, what must follow is the itch to show senior officers their place. In disposing of such extensive complaints of favouritism and infuriation, the acting Leader of the House fell back on the importance of cohesion in the army and the prudence of taking the Defence Minister on trust as a disinterested functionary in the distribution of loaves and fishes.

The banking fraternity met last week to learn that the Government of India would pay more interest to depositors, but the Finance Minister had it from the Governor of the Reserve Bank that India is going to have hard financial ordeals ahead with the consolation that posterity would benefit, and that foreign countries are ganging up with offer of credit and residential managements. In principle there is much in schemes of partnership under qualified management, but from certain of the conclusions found in Ambassador Galbraith's latest study report, certain precise outlines of a project would be necessary to sustain American sympathy, stalling off what he called Post Office Socialism.

Another significant domestic incident is the decision of the Union Government not to

Injustice

The essential character of injustice consists in the forcible interference of one man with another; nor is any man justified in constraining another to receive even a benefit (or what nine hundred and ninety men out of a thousand would pronounce a benefit) against his will. The essential character of injustice is the overbearing of one man's will by another man's force or fraud.

PATRICK EDWARD DOVE.

walk into the quagmire of a Second All India Language Commission, which means that protests against the artful infiltration of Hindi have borne fruit and that the situation is now governed by the pledge of the Prime Minister that in no region there would be anything like the forcible feeding of Hindi and the prior condition of regions positively asking for the imposition of Hindi had not been meant by Mr. Nehru as a mere demagogic assurance. In fact if India had been awake to the bane of linguistic totalitarianism the Government would have taken some notice of the criminal folly practised in Ceylon. But then, alas, our eyes are set on the horizon in Congo and not at any Chauvinistic shadow at our own feet.

The first step of salvation for the coloured and colourless in South Africa is to get rid of that accursed word "apartheid" which carries the stench of years. The expression "Ghetto Legislation" made General Smuts squirm, memory kindled with the parallel persecution of the Jews throughout centuries; and there was a stroke of genius when Gandhiji renamed outcastes as Harijans (Children of God) and reconciled them to processes of welfare. The Verwoerds with their Dutch streak of obstinacy, sit on the safety valve. Had Premier Macmillan aped foreign technique on receipt of Dr. Verwoerd's letter of resignation from the Commonwealth he could have dawdled over the situation and regained South Africa by the announcement that although the letter in question had been received no decision had been taken touching acceptance of the resignation aforesaid. More wonder he didn't consult (informally) our Congress President Super Sanjiv.

Srimathi Subhadra Devi, the Rani of the Maharajah of Bastar has sent a piteous appeal to the President of the Union for releasing her husband from incarceration. "The Maharajah and the Raj", says she in her letter, "are

held by the people in great sanctity. The Raja and the Raj are regarded as the personal property of the Goddess Sri Danteshwari" and the Adivasis according to her sincerely believe it to be so. But the Rani, fully aware that this sentiment may not carry any weight with the Nehru Government, does not seek sympathy on this ground and in her letter enclosing a copy of her memorial actually says, "as for the privy purse and the Raj gadi, the Maharajah and I have nothing much to lament; for they are transient in value". Her appeal is based on the more fundamental need for rectifying a wrong done and reversing the arbitrary course of action taken by Dr. Katju's Government in "kidnapping" the Maharaja in complete violation of every right of private citizenship. If this was done under the mistaken belief that by so doing, and by setting up a new Rajah of their choice the Congress Party would be ensuring for it in the coming general elections the entire voting support of the Adivasis whose number is now believed to be between 13 and 15 millions, it would be a double wrong, making an arbitrary act also a mean one. The bogey of a threatened revolt, or an armed rebellion raised by the Government in justification of its highhanded action is disposed off by the Rani in a telling manner. "Had there been any such intention" says she, "it must have already happened, immediately after the Maharaja was arrested, and the administration of the estate placed under the court of wards". Lest her appeal should be lightly treated she comes forward with an offer to "take full responsibility for the maintenance of law and order, peace and harmony in Bastar, particularly among the multitude of Adivasis," if only the Maharaja is "set at liberty", for which she fervently pleads "in the name of God, upon my security, and upon the security of the 13 millions of the Maharaja's former subjects". Political prejudice and party authoritarianism have combined to ride roughshod over indivi-

dual rights and liberties of citizens and the Bastar Maharajah's incarceration is a case in point.

A curious phenomenon is developing all over the Union of India. While the Central Government is manfully holding on to the Socialist boat, the Congress Ministers of the various States are busy pumping out the water that is dangerously leaking in. It should be remembered that the elections loom larger in the State Ministers' eyes, than the dogma of Socialism. Dogma they leave to the grand band-master. As far as they are concerned, their function is to raise funds and gather votes for 1962. They are therefore most busy making concessions to groups, shouting carrots for the donkey and giving monopolies to fat cats who are disposed to part with their money in favour of the party. So we see the curious spectacle of a lot of favourable approaches to the 'private sector' distinctly opposed to the Nehru doctrine of progress through public enterprises. "There is no time for controversies over doctrines, let us give permits and licences to selected industrialists" say these lower-down bosses. They know where the sinews of war must come from. There are many ways of helping people out of Socialism, and these many ways are deftly handled by the Congress Ministers scattered all over the country.

Sooner or later, socialist and welfare governments usually end up with inflation. The degree of the inflation seems in fairly direct ratio to what they attempt and promise. Paper money and over-expansion of bank credit eventually seem the easiest way out of government attempts to raise the maximum possible taxes; go as far as possible into industrial ventures; raise wages as high as possible; sell goods below cost; and control private business.

HAROLD M. FLEMING.

THE STORY OF TWO LONDON NEWSPAPERS

By GEORGE WINDER

On Monday, October 17, 1960, an event occurred which stirred Fleet Street to its depth. This famous street has seen many sensations in its long history, but probably none which affected it so deeply as this; for on that day the *News Chronicle*, one of the country's oldest newspapers, with a circulation of over a million copies, came to an untimely end. With it went its associated paper, *The Star*, with a circulation of over 700,000.

It was death in the afternoon. That day the news editor of the *News Chronicle* had sent out his reporters for stories as he had done all his editorial life; the foreign editor had sent his usual "sexvice messages" to many parts of the world; in the news room the tape machines had clattered all day. Then at 5-20 p.m. they went dead, forever.

The news broke just as the majority of the staff were preparing to leave for the day, and it was soon flashed round Fleet Street. Journalists and printers congregated in pubs and did not leave until closing time. It was "Black Monday," and one of the most memorable in Fleet Street.

A great debate has continued ever since as to why these two papers, with such comparatively satisfactory circulations, and with their pages reasonably filled with advertisements, came to such an untimely end. The *News Chronicle* had a strong liberal (non-socialistic) following whose loyalty nothing would shake. With the rising

fortunes of the Liberal Party, the prospects of this great mouthpiece of radicalism (free markets, private property, limited government) should have been brighter than in the past. How could such a paper as this fail so dismally? Mr. Laurence Cadbury, a member of the famous chocolate manufacturing firm, whose family owned most of the shares in the two papers, came in for most of the criticism; especially for the suddenness of the demise. He explained that for some years the two papers had been losing money steadily, and that he had been offered nearly £2,000,000 for their assets by the *Daily Mail*. This transaction, however, had to take place without warning so that the *Daily Mail* might be delivered the next morning to the customers of the *News Chronicle* before rivals attempted to fill the vacuum. Nearly all the purchase money went to secure the pensions of former employees and to pay compensation to the dismissed staff.

The disastrous end of the *News Chronicle* and *The Star* was treated by the press and the B.B.C. as a major story, but, with a few exceptions, only oblique hints were made concerning the real cause of their demise. The reason for this reticence is quite simple: the British press is subject to censorship. Not, of course, government censorship, but censorship, nevertheless—even more effective when imposed. Those most responsible for the death of these two great papers did not want their guilt discussed, and they had the power to enforce their wish. Everyone in Fleet Street, however, knows the real cause of the disaster. To those unused to the ways of Fleet Street, the story at first may seem exaggerated, but evidence has been piling up, and there is now little room for doubt. The *News Chronicle* and *The Star* were simply done to death by the printing trade unions, and the weapons used in their destruction were restrictive practices. They died because they were forced by the trade unions to employ more than twice the number of workers their production required.

One Spokesman for Freedom

This, the real story which the great newspapers only hinted at, has not frightened one smaller paper which has given its readers the truth from the beginning. The editorial staff of this

paper, the *New Daily*, and book publisher, Christopher Johnson, have now combined to present the whole story in a book, produced in eighteen days, and named *The Murder of the News Chronicle and The Star*.

The *New Daily* is a phenomenon so remarkable that it deserves special mention. Whereas the great Fleet Street newspapers are subjected by the trade unions to the system of the closed shop, the *New Daily* has exactly the opposite idea. It will not employ trade unionists at all. The trade unions are able to exercise censorship simply because the proprietors of the great newspapers dare not offend them. The unions make no overt threat; fear of their reactions is sufficient to cause editors to anticipate their wishes. But in the case of the *New Daily* there is simply no union to be afraid of, and so it can produce the whole story. Unfortunately, this unique newspaper has not a large circulation, although it is growing steadily and has its readers in every part of the country. The story it has revealed is startling, but well substantiated. It claims that of the 3,500 employees of the two deceased newspapers, 2,000 of them were unnecessary and were only employed because the printing unions in control of Fleet Street insisted upon it. It gives figures which show that in the case of these two papers the wages bill was approximately 45 per cent of their total costs—an excessively high proportion for any newspaper. It points out that the *Guardian* and the *Manchester Evening News*—which have rather less circulation but in every other sense are larger than the two lost London dailies—are produced, where union power is not so oppressive, with only 1,700 employees. It suggests that a staff of 1,500 workers would have been quite enough to run the two London papers. This would have enabled them to save £2,000,000 a year, whereas the largest deficit in any one year has not been more than £300,000. It claims that the unions forced this excessive staff on the *News Chronicle* and *The Star*, and that in consequence nobody did a fair day's work. Machines had to be manned by larger crews than were required. Lino-type operators were not allowed to set nearly as fast as they were able and printing machines were not allowed to be run at full speed. Automatic tying machines were vetoed. Every job was subject to strict demarcation. For example, no one but a member of the Electrical Trade Union dared change an electric light bulb. A second man had to accompany every vehicle, even when only a small parcel was being

delivered. When advertisements came in already set as complete blocks or stereotypes, they had to be credited to the newspaper's setters as though done on the premises.

Restrictionism

All these restrictive practices, declared the *New Daily*, more than doubled the number of workers required. Similar charges have been made quite independently by the Institute of Economic Affairs in its book, *Advertising in a Free Society*, published two years ago. Describing the great waste which goes on in newspaper printing works in Fleet Street, this book states: "Restrictive practices abound in the stereo department. Some men are engaged solely in putting plates on lifts. If these go to the foundry late, the whole section charges overtime though some of the men will have no work to do."

"Another union has members in the machine room pushing papers along for dispatch, one man per yard. Many of the workers are required only in short stretches, when the papers are printed and come off the machines, but they have to be paid for a full shift. It has been known for men employed at one Sunday newspaper office to sign on before going to a dog race meeting and return in time to carry out their work". *Advertising in a Free Society* also tells us that one firm had to employ twelve men to work one machine, whereas five men could handle it with ease.

It is such restrictive practices as these, enforced by the London printing unions, which destroyed the *News Chronicle* and *The Star*.

Deliberate Waste

Perhaps no other restrictive practice is quite as dangerous as the extreme form of waste which insists that two men shall do the job of one. It means that, as far as his use to society is concerned, a man completely wastes his life. Finding a job where he was really wanted would, if he were an ordinary honest man, improve his morale and self-confidence out of all recognition. Furthermore, this doubling up of labour reduces productivity per man, and this must necessarily reduce wages and the general standard of living.

The effect of restrictive practices in the *News Chronicle* and *The Star* was not only to overburden the employer but also to deny him any opportunity of paying high wages, so that in the end it was the employees who suffered. Now, restrictive practices have robbed 3,500 workers of their jobs. The authors of *Murder of the News Chronicle and*

The Star provide a long list of other newspapers and magazines which have succumbed during the last five years as victims, they declare, of these same disastrous practices.

Ominous Silence

One question is left to answer. Why has the Newspaper Proprietors' Association, the wealthy organization of the London newspapers, never seriously tried to abolish those restrictions imposed by the unions which must add so much to their costs of production? And, more particularly, why do they allow the unions to impose a censorship upon them so that the real reason for the failure of a newspaper is seldom revealed?

Fear of the unions is, I suppose, the overriding reason. But the authors of the *New Daily's* book suggest a reason which, they claim, existed many years ago and may possibly have effect in the present. They tell us that Lord Northcliffe, who built up a great newspaper empire, actually encouraged the unions to press for higher wages and

indulge in restrictive practices. His reason for this was a rather terrible one. He himself was so financially secure that he could meet any increased costs union demands brought about, but his rivals might be unable to survive such pressures. They would be driven out of business, and then he could buy them cheaply.

This is a charge which cannot be proved; but there can be no doubt that the excessive costs of production on Fleet Street are at the present moment destroying the marginal units of the newspaper world, and the number of national newspapers has been drastically reduced. The dissemination of news and opinion is steadily being concentrated into fewer and fewer hands, which is a far from favourable omen for a free society.

Restrictive practices, and the trade union censorship which conceals them, not only destroy newspapers; they endanger the very basis of our liberty.

(Courtesy: *The Freeman*, February 1961).

ACHARYA RANGA'S APPEAL

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.P., Chairman, All-India Swatantra Party, has issued the following appeal in the name of the Bharat Kisan Sammelan to all Kisans, Kalakars and Agricultural workers:

Together with the State Governments, the Congress Governments all over India are imposing during this year alone Rs. 75 crores of additional taxation, besides mopping up the savings of the people to the tune of over Rs. 300 crores. The Government threatens at the Planning Commission's prompting to impose 1600 to 2500 crores of additional tax-burdens during the third Five Year Plan Period. Therefore, there can be no hope at all for our peasants or working classes to escape from these crushing burdens of taxes.

There is not even the consolation of frugal, useful and efficient utilisation of these tax-revenues on the part of the Government. It is notorious how even according to the admission of Ministers in the Union and State Governments, administration under the Congress leadership has become during the past 15 years more inefficient and costly. The strength of the bureaucracy is growing very rapidly and its numbers, its cost and its powers are growing

at the cost of people's freedom and economic progress.

Day after day, inflation is growing to such an extent that the economic stamina of the people is being sapped and both the Reserve Bank of India and the Prime Minister have had to confess that the poor people are becoming poorer and some rich people are becoming richer and disincentives for saving, investing and utilising people's economic resources for the industrial and agricultural development of our country are growing apace. Under these circumstances, it is the duty of our people to rise against this wasteful rapacity of the administration and the growing tax-burdens imposed by the Congress regime.

There is only one way to put an end to this engine of exploitation and that is, to refuse to return the Congress to power by voting against the Congress at the next General Elections. But, in the meanwhile, the people have to get it made abundantly clear to the Congress leaders and Organisation all over the country through their campaign against the imposition of any additional tax-burden that it is high time for them to recast their third Five-Year-Plan and to decide against the imposition of any more taxes.

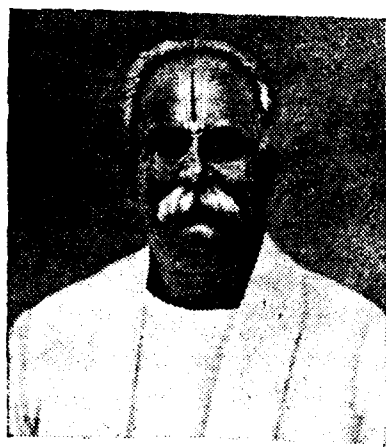
Hazards of Smoking

The packet-a-day cigarette smoker probably cuts eight years off his life and the two-packet man probably loses 18 years, says Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize Winner in Chemistry. The average smoker, according to him, reduces his life span by triple the amount of time he spends smoking cigarettes. To smoke for one hour was three times more dangerous than one hour's flight in a jet airliner.

50

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YEARS

GOLDEN JUBILEE of

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era of progress

Founder:
Late Sri G. Kuppuswamy Naidu



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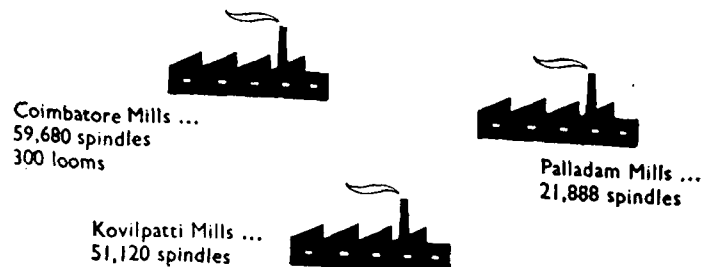
1910 saw the incorporation of the Lakshmi Mills Co. Ltd., which became a full-fledged Spinning Mill in 1933 with 11,600 spindles installed.

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EP

THE CONTRADICTIONS IN NEHRU'S WORLD POLICY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

When the reports came to India of what happened at the Commonwealth Conference in London and of Dr. Verwoerd's announcement of his decision to withdraw from the Commonwealth, in a statement to the P.T.I. on March 18, I pointed out that it was not all victory for the Afro-Asian bloc. It is a case of the wounded tiger and we must be prepared for a more-than-ever fierce apartheid. The Indian community will be the worst sufferers.

I pointed out also that Britain and the other NATO powers would not diminish but augment their friendly relationship with South Africa, thereby keeping the latter's world position unchanged and perhaps even improved.

I further explained that the South African premier will make an effort in course of time to justify his stand and demonstrate that apartheid did not mean neglect of the coloured people but separate and side-by-side development. South Africa will try to justify the philosophy of isolated development of white as well as black people without endangering either interests or letting the integrity of their culture to be injured by mutual adulteration. The South African administration, I said, are likely to make more liberal grants and give greater attention than before to the material needs of the black people. From all but political and emotional angles, I said, there may be the semblance of betterment of conditions; news coming from Johannesburg confirms this forecast.

Discounting the probability of a violent explosion of the native element against the rule of the white minority, I pointed out that the conditions for such a revolution were not yet there. The South African State has not been weakened but indeed the relationship with Britain has been improved. There is no internal decay either, which is always the fore-runner of revolution.

The victory achieved at the Commonwealth Conference is much like what Pyrrhus achieved against the Romans at Heraclea, where more was lost than won. Here is a case where the precious rope that served to pull a heavy weight in the direction we desired, has snapped. We have overdone the sanction causing its automatic termination.

Mr. Menzies, Australian prime minister said in London (march 20) that while he did not agree with South African policy, he formed the impression that Verwoerd was a man of intense integrity and courtesy and that the South African Premier "came out of the conference with the very high respect of the people who attended". "Nothing was more impressive to all of us in the conference" he said, "than the way in which Dr. Verwoerd with obvious honesty, great courtesy and great lucidity explained his policy." Mr. Menzies declared that with all his difference of opinion from Dr. Verwoerd's policy of apartheid, he himself stood for the right of any Commonwealth country to run its affairs in its own way. "Why cannot we disagree" he asked "with South Africa's policy without pushing South Africa out? It is monstrous for members of the Commonwealth to sit in judgment one upon another. Don't let us have a humbug. I would not tolerate being lectured by other people. There will not be any Commonwealth if it becomes a court with people on trial, because we shall all expel each other. The Commonwealth is not a subdivision of the U.N."

Verwoerd stated at Johannesburg immediately on his return, "we have released ourselves from the pressure of the Afro-Asians who have been taking over the Commonwealth. We have strengthened our friendship with Britain and relations between the two countries are now better because we helped Britain get out of a

difficult position by not laying on her the invidious choice between other members and ourselves".

These statements of the South African and Australian premiers bring out the subtle and real features of the situation totally different from the Afrasian sense of triumph.

Reuter reports that "South Africa has announced the creation of a post of Director of Bantu Development whose special task will be the faster development of Bantu areas. It is the intention of the Government to give special attention to developing Bantu homelands. A five year plan has been drawn up aimed at their development at an increased tempo and in an energetic manner".

The dynamics of political pressure, internal or international, cannot be ignored if we wish to retain the power of a sanction. If the limit of tensile strength is crossed, the instrument through which force is directed snaps. Mr. Menzies has pointed this out very forcibly. It is true that South Africa was not expelled and that she chose to cut herself off. But this was a result of what was done and how it was done by the Afrikaners. In fact between Britain and South Africa there was mutual assistance towards the cutting of the gordian knot.

A clear contradiction has unconsciously developed in Mr. Nehru's policy. He has been (rightly) pleading all along that whatever may be communist China's policy, be it right or thoroughly wrong, China should be admitted in the U.N. so that world opinion might obtain the jurisdiction and the opportunity to educate her into right policies. Mr. Nehru has also often (particularly during the Suez crisis) justified India's remaining in the Commonwealth in "spite of distasteful events and circumstances, on similar grounds, viz., because it was good to keep as large a world group as possible together tending in the end to a common world organization. All this is right but strategy resulting in cutting off South Afri-

ANTHOLOGIES

By SRIVATSA

Anthologies have lately come in for some harsh words. It is true that to cut up poetry into slices and offer them to the reader must be offensive to the savant. "Selections", as they are called with dignity, seldom do full justice to the author. But while this may be admitted, it is not true that there is nothing to be said in favour of anthologies. It is not always necessary to regard them as vulgar concessions to popular taste.

Many famous anthologies testify to the vulgarity of the prejudice against them. The liberal education of nobody could be considered complete without a study of Palgrave. It was perhaps fortunate that this, among the earliest, if not precisely the earliest, of collections, should have been done by a compiler of such exquisite taste and also of some standing in the world of literature. For, Palgrave was a friend of Tennyson, and he speaks of the great debt he owed the Poet Laureate. It is unlikely that his work will be ever superseded. Though countless anthologies have appeared since, some fully justifying the strictures passed on them, none can ever serve better the purpose of such collections, which is to introduce the reader to English poetry.

ca's connection with the Commonwealth is a contradiction of this philosophy. Here we have achieved the opposite of what Mr. Nehru stood for in respect of India's membership in the Commonwealth and China's admission in the U.N. And what is this 'Commonwealth' from which South Africa has been ousted, wherein the link of a common monarchy has been cut off, wherein presidents may rule in some units without any parliament, wherein immigration laws prevent the flow into one unit of people from another unit, wherein there is still political apartheid, e.g., in Ceylon, and wherein military pacts may be formed by units independently of one another, e.g., Pakistan? This unreal co-existence in the Commonwealth serves perhaps to keep an aura around the British monarchy and a pale memory of the lost empire. But it does not signify anything else.

Its standards are high in a species of poetic writing which it is not very easy to do well. Lyrics are perhaps the most fugitive, the most taxing of all emotions for the poet to recapture in such memorable phrase that his original experience is shared by others, less sensitive, less fortunate. Palgrave's collection serves to show not only his perceptiveness but also the wealth of English poetry in lyrics and songs.

But Palgrave ended his anthology with Shelley. This might have been justified at the time he brought his pieces together. But obviously there is no reason why the reader about a century later should forego Fitzgerald, Swinburne, Tennyson himself, Browning, and Matthew Arnold, not to speak of still later lyricists like A. E. Housman. It is here that the "Oxford Book of English Verse" comes into its own. Compiled by a perhaps more distinguished man of letters than its famous predecessor, it has taken its place along with Palgrave as much by the wealth of song and lilt that it provides as by the authority of its editor. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch served letters and learning with sincerity and passion. But he never did anything better than his anthology. His introduction has summed up for all time the duties and responsibilities of anthologists. This is then followed by about a thousand pages of the best of English poetry from before Chaucer to a piece which he attributes to an anonymous poet who, however, is Richard Blackmore (the author of "Lorna Doone", one of those books which are more talked about than read). Everything that the King Edward VII Professor of English Literature at Oxford did bore the imprimatur of scholarship. But here in the anthology the mere scholarship becomes refined into a passion for English poetry. It is difficult to take up the book without feeling that a sensitive, throbbing spirit of devotion is at work behind it, a feeling of rejoicing in the poems, a desire to spread the joy in widest commonality.

Poetry much more than prose lends itself to being anthologised. This becomes evident when one considers "Q's" own "Oxford Book of English Verse". This is a much more massive volume, but scarcely as satisfying. Smallness of size becomes poems, but small prose extracts seem somewhat inadequate and unsatisfactory. So true is it that prose needs some diffusion to reveal its beauties, whereas poems can lie in com-

pacted boxes like jewels. Moreover, over every prose anthologist there hangs the dreadful sword of Mr. Clutton-Brock's ire against Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith who, he asserted, seemed to think that prose was a poor relation of poetry. As prose is an instrument of justice and persuasion, it can scarcely be exhibited in snippets. Even "Q" has not been able to help it.

The Oxford anthologies have grown in number. There are collections for many periods of English poetry as well as for the modern age and for mysticism. This last is a revelation. With "mysticism" being defined in a general sense, there are scores of English poems, of which the general reader may not be aware, which make the ultimate expression in man's instinctive yearning for the infinite. Herbert, Crawshaw, Vaughan are all familiar, but other poets, much more modern, like Evelyn Underhill appeal to deep instincts. It is certainly a brave sight that they make on the shelf, the many Oxford Books. To this should be added the equally valuable anthologies of the poetry of Germany, France, Italy and Spain. I possess the first collection, and a splendid book it is. Edited by H. G. Fiedler (more familiar to students as editor, with Sandbach, of elementary books of science in the German language) and, possessing an introduction by Gerhart Hauptmann, it has among its early gems the vigorous hymn of Martin Luther (memorably translated by Carlyle).

"A great stronghold is our God still,
A trusty shield and weapon".
The poems of Goethe, Schiller, Heine are obvious extracts. But the wealth of what might be called minor writings is great.

I may end this rather rambling account with a reference to an anthology which I happen to own. It is tattered; some of its pages, including its frontispiece, are lost. But it has been edited by Edward Thompson, a name ever to be held in honour in India, and it is a collection of what the Oxford publishers would doubtless call "mystical" poems. Thompson says that every anthology should justify itself by a new "discovery". There are at least two in his. T. E. Brown is known generally only for his rather affected piece, "The Garden". But obviously he was a real poet. There is a poem here which proves it conclusively. Then there is "Immanence" by Evelyn Underhill, which this cruel age of ours must read. It concludes with that moving poem of Blackmore, *Dominus Illuminatio Mea*, with which the "Oxford Book of English Verse" also ends, though there that piece is attributed to an anonymous author.

FIFTY CRORES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The peasant farmers not only the poor ones among them but even those who are better off, need credit by way of quick and easy loans and such as should not be associated with a contemporaneous feeling that it is likely to be written off rather than being duly discharged. Agricultural capital is essential. The need for it cannot be got rid of by expropriation of the larger holdings and free gifts of fractions of the land among the poor, in return for their votes.

The need for supplying easy credit is rightly recognised but it is not recognised that it should be supplied on a non-political basis. It is not recognised that by spreading class conflict and ill-will in the rural area, the position has been worsened by what the Congress has done. No one is inclined to confess his own fault. But what is worse is that having aggravated the situation, the Congress party proposes to get hold of public money obtained by the Central Government through taxes and what not, and to distribute the money among poor peasants giving the doles the appearance of gifts from the party. The agency for the distribution and their discretionary powers will all help in thickly painting the process as favours and benefits from the great Congress party which they should support at the election and return to power for another lustre. In return the borrowers will indirectly be made to feel that these are not really loans but amounts that will be written off upon due performance on the part of the voters. The whole process is calculated immorality and will debase the public sense of civic rectitude.

All this money (the Chief Minister of Madras said he would get Rs. 50 crores for this purpose for Tamil Nad from the Plan pool) has been got from the tax payers or obtained on mortgage of the nation's future and deficit financing kicking up the price spiral.

The jugglery only helps inflation in every way. These amounts are to go to the voters as if they were boons of the congress party.

We know from what the Prime Minister once sadly observed, what happens to these moneys sunk by the Centre on agriculture. The new doles hastily distributed to poor peasant voters will not meet with better fortune or yield better results than what the P.M. deplored on a memorable occasion. The natural source of credit and co-operation is in the countryside, in the bigger landholders living in the rural area who alas, have been almost irretrievably alienated from their poorer brothers and ruined beyond remedy materially and spiritually and disabled from fulfilling their proper functions in the country's rural economy, all as a result of Congress policy.

Let the peasants know that the moneys that are going to be doled out to them are from national assets and tax money and are not partymen's or ministers' generosity. They may vote for a better government notwithstanding these doles being received. The plan of seizing fifty crores from Plan-money and doling the amount among poor peasants on the eve of the elections is a patent mechanism for vote-buying. If this is not to be the case, let bonafides be established by the constitution of non-party agencies above suspicion for the distribution of the money and let the procedure be such as to avoid the implications above deplored.

The Take-off Point

Free enterprise is the true 'take-off point' for economic progress. The more controls, the less development. Governmental resistances decrease the flow of economic energy.—H. M. FLEMING: from his *Dynamics of International Wealth*.

WORLD OF BUSINESS:

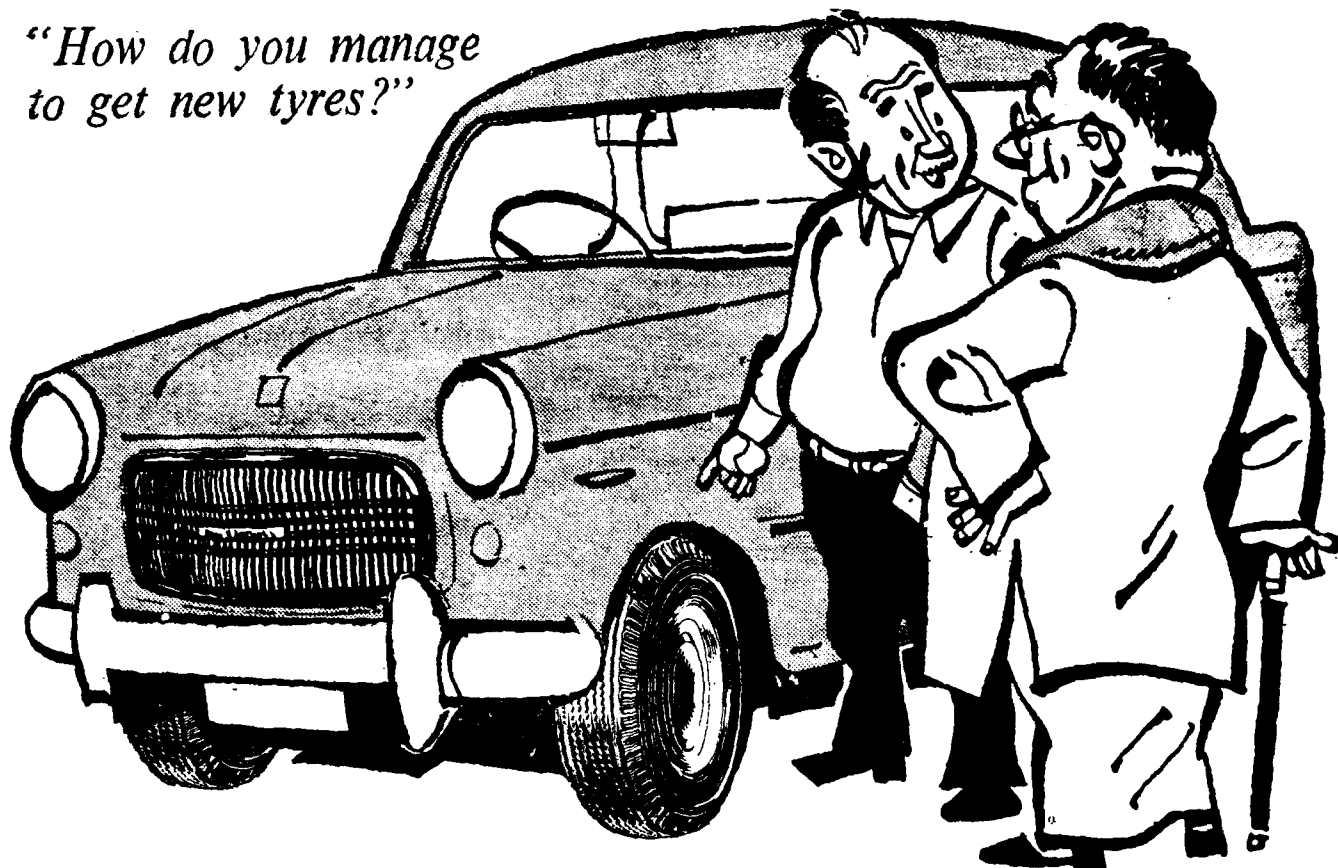
GOLDEN JUBILEE OF LAKSHMI MILLS

The management of the Lakshmi Mills Limited of Coimbatore which will be celebrating its golden jubilee on March 31 has every reason to congratulate itself on the steady progress which it has been able to achieve for the Mills over the last fifty years. Originally begun as a small ginning factory in 1907 with a modest capital of Rs. 300 by the late G. Kuppuswami Naidu, one of the pioneers who at the turn of this century laid the foundations for the industrial growth of Coimbatore the Mills have expanded steadily, successively from a ginning into a spinning unit, and from spinning into a weaving unit, from a single Mill in Coimbatore into a three Mill unit, with factories in Kovilpatti and Palladam. The Lakshmi units have a spindleage of 132,688 in all the three centres, besides 300 looms, turning out about 3-1/2 crores worth of very popular varieties of quality yarn and bleached long cloth, which besides being consumed in the local market are exported both to near and far-off lands. The paid up capital of the company has risen over this period to its present figure of Rs. 106.5 lakhs, and its profit earning capacity to about Rs. 50 lakhs per annum. The Mills have had an impressive record of profit earning capacity, sound financial position, comfortable reserve strength, progressive outlook in business, contented clientele, a high level of business ethics and a reputation for fair dealing. More than these no one would ask for from any management. Nor is all this an instance of mere industrial growth. The memory of the founder has been perpetuated by the creation of a Trust, which has sponsored a local high school, and a Hospital for women and children, both of which are now functioning with full efficiency as model institutions. The Mani High School with 1,100 pupils and 30 sections, and the Kuppuswami Naidu Memorial hospital with provision for 180 beds, equipped with latest instruments are the pride of the locality. That the springs of private charity, even under the impact of the exacting taxation levies of the Socialist pattern of society, have not dried up is at once a tribute to the deep-rooted culture, that spirit of philanthropy that animates the captains of industry.

On the occasion of the golden jubilee the Lakshmi units stand comfortably, facing the future with confidence and planning further expansion in their activities.

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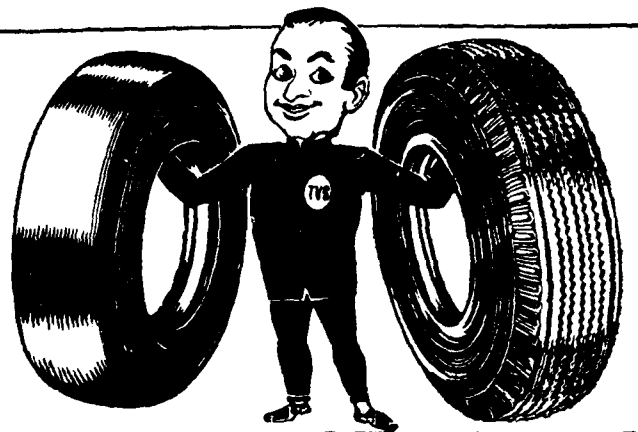


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CAPITAL COMMENTS:

CONSTERNATION IN CONGRESS RANKS

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The latest issue of *Life* has some exquisite pictures of the British Queen in India while touring Jaipur—pictures in which she is seen in the immediate company of the Maharaja and the Maharani. Otherwise too the Maharaja and the Maharani of Jaipur are so much in the picture—and in the news, having turned Swatantra, much to the consternation of Congressmen in Rajasthan and elsewhere. The significance of this development is only known to (or can only be gauged by) those who have an idea of the glamour that not only the state of Jaipur but the whole of Rajasthan has for Sawai Man Singh (the second) and Maharani Gayatri Devi—the very pick of the Princely bunch.

"Supremely good-looking, with delightful manners, brains, character and horsemanship—one of the best polo-players in the world—he has captured the imagination of India, much as our own Prince of Wales (the later King Edward VIII) captured the hearts of England"—was Miss Maude Diver's description of the ex-ruler of Jaipur. (To quote her further, though not in the same sequence): "A superb horseman, he also rides the skies and pilots the fastest modern planes with equal courage, zest and skill. He combines the finest attributes of Rajput character with a natural modesty as genuine as that of Sir Pratap Singh."

He is thoroughly modern, and so is Maharani Gayatri Devi, sister of the Maharaja of Cochin, and one of the most accomplished princesses. While they are widely known for their "fairy god-mother gifts", they deserve to be better known for what they had done in their day to open the flood gates of democracy in Rajasthan through the evolution of their own Jaipur as a modern State. It is a part of history that Jaipur and through Jaipur, Rajasthan, sprang into new life when the Maharaja of Jaipur, with rare imagination, harnessed the genius

of Sir Mirza Ismail to the service of the State and with an unknown courage stood by him against the machinations of the Political Department of the day.

The people of Jaipur—not only of the world-famous rose-pink city but of the State that was—intensely love the Maharaja and the Maharani: they continue to be "their" people: "their" writ still runs through the realms of old. Their appearance on the Swatantra platform makes so much of difference to the political scene in Rajasthan—and things will not be the same again for the Congress.

Incidentally, for sheer logic it is to the Congress alone that one should turn. If the Princes and Princesses join the Congress, they become Socialist and respectable; if they join any other party, they are suspects and the party becomes reactionary!

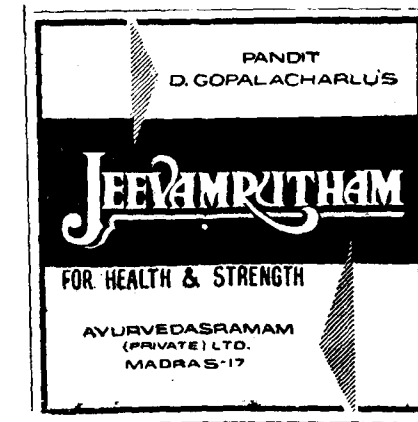
Tomorrow (on Sunday, the second of April) the people of New Delhi will go to the polls to vote for their respective candidates in the by-election to the Lok Sabha for the seat vacated by Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani on her appointment as a Minister in Uttar Pradesh. As many as six candidates are in the field, notably those put up by the Congress, the Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh and the Hindu Maha Sabha; the other two are Independents, one supported by Government employees at lower levels and the other by the Communist Party.

The contest which is rather a keen one has some interesting features. The one fighting on the Congress ticket is a pronounced Leftist with the backing, not of the party as a whole but only of a group, however powerful or clamorous (which is enough evidence, if evidence is wanted, that the group tendencies inside the Congress are as pronounced as ever). The Swatantra Party has, for one thing, made its debut on

the electoral scene, and, for another, given it the feminine touch. The Jan Sangh is supposed to have the advantage of being locally the best organised of the parties, but it has to contend with the Hindu Mahasabha with the consequent confusion that the ideologically allied account for, in rivalry. Incidentally, there is room for like confusion, in the setting of the Delhi by-election, between the Congress Leftist and the Communist Independent. The inducement for the other Independent obviously lies in the fact that in Government servants the electorate in Delhi has a sizable chunk.

Where there are so many candidates in the field and no party has decisive advantages, it is hard to forecast the result. By a process of elimination, when all things are taken into consideration, it seems that it will be down to a triangular fight among the Congress, the Swatantra and the Jan Sangh. The capital's political annals seem to be generally agreed that the odds are against the Congress—at any rate, against the Congress candidate, though one never knows what will happen at the last minute. What is probable in a straight fight is not necessarily so in a skirmish and anything may happen when the non-Congress vote is split as it is bound to be.

The multi-party basis is inherent weakness of the Opposition—and a blessing to the ruling party. If the Congress is to be unseated, there should be a kind of electoral understanding among



the other parties that each will not contest all the seats. But that is not, as they say, practical politics. The voter who has no bias for the Congress and has indeed bias against it, does not yet seem to know whom in particular to vote for.

Leaving aside, pro-Communist voters for they can never be weaned away, the rest are not fanatically committed. If they do not go the Congress way either, they should know which party they should vote for, to the best advantage since their obvious inclination is to vote for a party which has a clear-cut programme and stands for certain principles. Except for Swatantra there is none, with any pretensions to function either as a good alternative in office or as responsible Opposition. It is a test to the Delhi electorate if it can show signs of awakening to that extent or will be just wayward in choosing its representatives to Parliament.

By-elections as a rule make no difference to the fortunes of parties. Notoriously deceptive, they have little political significance. There is about them only a psychological interest. What however distinguishes tomorrow's by-election to the Lok Sabha is that it is a capital contest, with certain implications which no party in power can afford to ignore.

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BOOK REVIEW:

DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

This symposium is concerned with a reasoned assessment of the "Prospects for Democracy in India" and of the various problems arising from it, especially in the sphere of economic policy. Indeed, it is well known that the success of democracy depends not only on the strength of vigilant public opinion, but on the high level of thinking in the various debates and discussions which form a regular feature of democracy. In his "Reflections on Government", the late Sir Ernest Barker made these observations: "It is not the worship of quantity: it is the worship of a quality—that quality of the thinking and discoursing mind which can dare to raise and to face conflicting views of the Good and to seek, by the way of discussion some agreed and accepted compromise whereby a true (because general) national will is attained, as it cannot otherwise be, and a national Good is secured which is really good because it is freely willed".

Mr. Phiroze J. Shroff has correctly argued in his interesting essay on 'The Fundamental of Democracy' that certain bodies like the Planning Commission and the National Development Council have acquired extraordinary powers which are not quite consistent with a satisfactory working of democracy. Ever since India attained freedom, there has been a gradual but sustained effort to increase the powers of the executive at the expense of courts. And the Prime Minister had opposed the idea of the Supreme Court being the final arbiter on the quantum of compensation, on the plea that the Supreme Court of India ought not to make itself a "third House of Parliament". Indeed, one is inclined to agree with Sir Ivor Jennings who wrote: "Essentially the Indian Constitution is an individualist document. Its prophets are Burke, Mill and Dicey; yet some at least of the members of the Constituent Assembly thought in collectivist terms. The result is a curious dichotomy. On the one hand, the collectivism of the twentieth century has sought to expand the powers of the Government in order that the State may regulate economic life and incidentally restrict liberty". This dichotomy in thought is primarily due to the fact that our leaders fail to see the

DEMOCRACY IN INDIA—a symposium organised by the Forum of Free Enterprise. Price Rs. 2.

connection between national independence and individual liberty.

In his well-written piece on 'The Rule of Law', Mr. N. A. Palikhwala has emphasized that legislative injustice is injustice, whether it is perpetrated by a dictator or an elected Assembly. And students of the American Constitution are aware that the Due Process Clauses of the fifth and fourteenth amendments to the American Constitution constitute a source of reserved power for the judiciary, to act as a restraining influence on legislative and executive bodies when they tend to limit the freedom of the individual. However, it is an entirely different situation in India. And the amendment of the original provision of Article 31 has restricted the scope of individual freedom. Mr. Justice Douglas has pointed out that "the 1955 Amendment casts a shadow over every private factory, plant or other individual enterprise in India. The legislature may appropriate it at any price it desires—substantial or nominal. There is no review of the reasonableness of the amount of compensation. The result can be just compensation or confiscation—dependent wholly on the mood of the Parliament. If the Parliament appropriates private property for any nominal compensation, the spectre of confiscation would have entered India, contrary to the teaching of her outstanding jurists".

Packed with detail and written with profound understanding, Mr. N. Raghunathan's scholarly essay on the "Prospects for Democracy in India" is remarkable for its awareness of the cultural and spiritual factors as well as the political and economic ones which constitute the Indian ethos. In his characteristic style, Mr. Raghunathan has defined "Democratic Socialism" of the Congress brand as "Marxian Socialism modified by such democratic frills as the development of co-operation and rural industries and decentralisation through the establishment of Panchayat Raj". He has also drawn our attention to the fact that Mrs. Webb's definition of the Co-operative Commonwealth to be, was a clear foretaste of Communism. Indeed, G.B.S. wrote that "State enterprise, State control, State finance, factory legislation and municipal trading rose to be the only hope of survival of civilization". "Our general social policy is to construct a base to society in the form

of a legally enforced minimum standard of life, and to develop all forms of shooting upwards" wrote Beatrice Webb in 1903 (before describing Soviet Communism as a new civilization). Mr. Raghunathan has detected a hang-over of Mrs. Webb's "glib assumption (in the thinking of the prophet of our 'Socialistic pattern of society') that the State as an association of consumers and the trade union as an association of workers would establish an equilibrium of forces", without realizing that the individual consumer is at the mercy of the State. And switching on to the rural sphere, he has stated that "the only safeguard of freedom left is the peasant's passionate clinging to his land and his way of life". "Deprive him of these, turn him into a rootless proletarian dependent entirely on the State for a means of living and then you will have not 'Scientific Socialism', but a condition of chronic anarchy in which no Government on earth can control the mass or put it to the service of the plans celebrated by Utopia-builders". And turning his attention to foreign affairs, he has observed that the "furor about the Government's excessive secrecy regarding China's incursion into Indian territory spells the end of the slogan, 'Leave it to Nehru, he knows best'". Incidentally, it is interesting to note that in his article on the "Functions of the Press", Mr. Frank Moraes has written that the Indian Government was forced to revise its stand on the Hungary issue as a result of the firm stand taken by the Press and the public in our country. Again, in his suavely sarcastic vein, Mr. Raghunathan has remarked that "China's hectoring has brought home to the people as nothing else could, the truth that Communism and Pancha

Shila are immiscible like oil and water". Indeed, in the ultimate analysis, the Sino-Indian conflict is a clash between democratic ideals and totalitarian concept since Communist China (like other Communist countries) does not respect a democratic framework of sovereign nations based upon contractual obligations in the sphere of international law.

In his article on 'Democracy and the Common Man', Mr. Murarji Vaidya has warned that "the so-called joint co-operative farming is nothing but the introduction of the Soviet collectives by the backdoor". Indeed, this scheme of joint co-operative farming which would result in a State zemindari system, with the State panjandrums constituting the bureaucratized zemindars and the landless peasants forming the submerged element in this new Soviet-oriented dispensation, is not only a dangerous measure in itself, but must be viewed in the present-day setting of increasing executive authority. The erstwhile bastions of democracy in a pluralistic State such as the peasant, the free entrepreneur, the middle classes, the judiciary and the free press are gradually being made to sink into insignificance, by giving expression to a spate of calculated ridicule.

Mr. N. Das has cogently argued that "the accumulation of power by public undertakings" must be "of concern to the mass of private citizens because how that power is used affects the community, especially in a country like India, where the majority are too uneducated to defend their rights". In the final analysis, the system of free enterprise derives its strength not only from the concept of liberty, but also from fulfilling the needs of consumers. It is based on the freedom to work (or not to

work), but never at the bidding of some bureaucrat. The aim of the system is to increase the freedom of the consumers, an ideal which is truly democratic in its inspiration as well as in its fulfilment.

Mr. Lobo Prabhu has given us an interesting analysis of those factors which contribute to the inefficiency, extravagance, political manipulation and the operation of Parkinson's first law in our administration. And Mr. Karnik has brought to bear a balanced approach to the problems confronting our trade unions. He has appealed to the trade union workers to steer clear from the Communists; he has also urged the employers to adopt a reasonable attitude towards workers and their demands. Prof. Wadia's piece on "Universities in a Democracy" attempts to cover too much ground and betrays a certain prolixity and looseness of thought. However, in one of his more interesting passages, he has made an effective plea for the retention of the English language in India.

Mr. B. K. Desai has argued that democracy can be a vital force, only if based on liberty, in his essay on the 'Totalitarian Menace to Democracy'. The essence of democracy has been summed up in the immortal words of John Stuart Mill: "No society in which these liberties (liberty of thought and of expressing and publishing opinions) are not, on the whole respected, is free; whatever may be its form of government; and none is completely free in which they do not exist absolute and unqualified". And for anyone interested in the progress of democracy in contemporary India, this timely collection of articles is a thought-provoking study. A. RANGANATHAN.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR
POLITICAL STATURE

Sir,—Congressmen have now made it a fashion to decry the Swatantra Party as a Party lacking in leadership except for its Founder. The fact is that leaders like Ranga and Masani (leaving alone Munshi and Modi) had become almost household names as far back as the thirties when they were in the thick of the political struggle and had acquired considerable political stature before even the existence of Sri Sanjiva Reddy was discovered. But for the absence of that virtue of yessing against his conscience (a virtue which in these days of Congress Raj pays very rich dividends) Sri Ranga

should long ago have become the Chief Minister of Andhra (incidentally depriving Sri Sanjiva Reddy of the opportunity of acquiring his own political stature).

Sri Sanjiva Reddy and in fact almost every Congressman seems to think that when the present Congress leadership goes out of the arena India will become bankrupt for political leadership. Let these Congressmen understand that

Full many a gem of
purest ray serene
The dark unfathomed caves
of the ocean bear.

They would do well to remember that President Kennedy was little known before he was elected President of U.S.A.

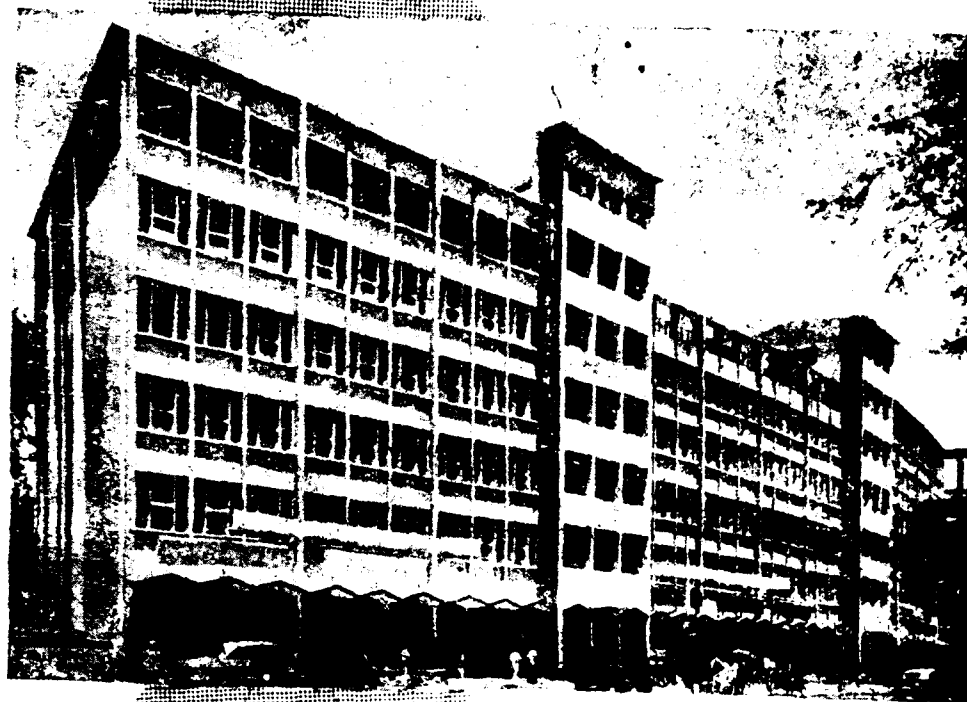
The Congress President whose political stature was recently responsible for burdening the poor Mysore Tax Payer with the gift of four more Ministers (with all their staff, establishment and paraphernalia) in an all-out bid to win the next elections somehow, would definitely add to his real political stature by answering effectively and convincingly those pertinent questions of national importance raised by leaders like Rajaji which affect every Indian, his economics, his future and his stature in the comity of Nations.

Madras-24.

I. SHANKER RAO.



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UNCONSTITUTIONAL THOUGHTS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Nothing can lend itself to abuse so easily and tempt the ruling clique to legal and moral error as the proposed ban on groups taking part in the general elections including the disfranchisement of parties "which though not having communal names have as their objective activities on communal basis". It can be easily seen that judgment is in this matter reserved for the party holding on to power and executive authority during and for a good deal of time in the critical period before the elections. Is it necessary to explain how all this would lead to action fatal to democracy and amount to a denial of all the guarantees and the foundations of civic life enshrined in the Constitution?

If a group of people like the Jews on whom unfortunate fame has been thrust in the history of the Western world for martyrdom, organize themselves for self-protection and advancement, is it a crime or is it to result in the loss of such rights as democracy offers to citizens in the shape of freedom of association and political action? All attacks on so-called communal bodies are attacks on minorities by the majority, and are not only unconstitutional but mean. If the Brahmins of South India for instance organized themselves against persecution—they have not done so and they are not likely ever to—is it to be politically banned and prevented from finding expression in the ballot-box? If the Communists

form themselves into a political organization in defence of rights or for the promotion of their status in a society where they are treated as a dangerous or undesirable minority, must it be prevented by using the law-making power, absolute and unlimited, of the oppressing majority? Must the Hindus be free to use their majority strength in India and call Muslim self-defence communal, while their own communal activities go by the grand name of secular democracy? There are minorities in India varying from district to district whose interests must be protected and cannot in justice be outlawed by the artificial and unjust procedure of giving them a bad name and hanging them on that charge. Law-makers, as the ruling majority constitutes itself, are treading on dangerous ground, dangerous to democracy though tempting to power-hunger when they decide in private conference to launch a programme of outlawing against their opponents. The Swatantra Party is in no danger by reason of these confabulations, but that party stands for freedom and objects to this line of thought that threatens to destroy the freedom of the minorities.

And what is this sin of communalism? Communalism to which we may object is a type of narrow-mindedness based on caste or denomination. Any grouping for protecting the interests threatened or under oppression is not communalism but is an exercise of

the right of association and must be deemed lawful. How is a trade union more entitled to protection than an Indian community having a denominational name? How is an association of cotton merchants or those in jute or tea business less offensive to the public interest than an association of Jains, or Catholics or Muslims or Kayasths or Brahmins (or Negroes or men of Indian origin say in South Africa or of Tamils in Ceylon)? Life is one and indivisible. Such groups cannot be enfranchised or disfranchised according to the whims and fancies of political classifiers. Life has the right inherent to protect itself. An association of vegetarians is necessary when vegetarians are ridiculed, harassed and oppressed, and it would be unreasonable to say we may have socialists and communists as such, but not vegetarians as such. Is there any denomination in the world narrower or more fanatical than the Communist party in India or elsewhere? And is Congress not a caste now? Does anything hold it together but careerism and a caste-feeling? "I belong to the Congress caste, how can I give it up and live safely?", this is what holds most people in Congress. When Communists can walk heads erect to the polling booth in democracy, must a Muslim or Catholic or Brahmin or Sikh be prevented because he believes in his scriptures? I warn my friends against this foolish and unconstitutional enterprise.

INCREDIBLE SIMPLICITY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A short notice question in the Rajya Sabha led to an interesting debate and important disclosures. The Prime Minister took part in this debate and he confessed that the help of Russian pilots was being taken in schooling our own pilots to defend our border against China! These Soviet pilots sit with Indian pilots and teach them to manage the Russian planes bought by our Defence ministry to fly over high altitudes planned for the purpose of strengthening the border defence where Chinese aggression is apprehended. It is indeed a strange plan to engage the services of Soviet personnel and Soviet planes for defending the Indian border against the aggression of the Chinese Government. The Prime Minister gave the assurance that "every precaution was taken" by the Government to protect secrets being carried away by the Communist pilots. These assurances are, it may be said without intending any disrespect, the limit of simple-mindedness. What greater or more dangerous secret is there in the business than what is clearly laid open to the Soviet pilots entertained in this transaction viz., the terrain, the immaturity of the Indian pilots to be later put in independent charge, the nature of the craft employed in the process and the general inadequacy of the defence arrangements? These are negative as well as positive secrets that will help the enemy and which these Soviet tutors can take away with them. Are we not now too well informed about the ways and means employed by the Communists to believe for a moment that it would be safe and not be a most dangerous piece of folly to employ Soviet or any other Communist collaborators in any procedure connected with strengthening the defence of the Sino-Indian border? Does the Prime Minister believe that Soviet Russia is interested in defeating the purpose or confounding the knavish tricks

(to use the British national anthem phraseology) of the Chinese Government? Surely it would be dangerous childishness to pursue that line. Could we not draw upon our credit and friendship in the Western world for this particular business of helping us to use planes in the defence of the Chinese border?

Much light is thrown on the position by Mrs. Jaswant Singh's remark referring to a statement by the Defence Minister said to be made at Chandigarh that "the very fact that the Russians had given those planes showed where their sympathies were in the border dispute with China". One cannot be sure of the accuracy of the quotation. But it is not unlikely. At the moment it takes one's breath away to see that the defence of India is being conducted on the basis of Russian sympathy being actively with us against China and on that basis letting Soviet pilots reconnoitre the terrain and size up our personnel. To depend on Soviet-made planes for this purpose is itself dangerous. The debate ends up with a characteristic statement of the Prime Minister that "it is open to any member to draw any inference from the facts known on the subject including this broad fact".

This is too dangerous credulity. Much inefficiency and ignorance can be tolerated in matters of civil administration but this employment of Russian personnel to train our men in the piloting of Russian made planes to defend our border against the persistent aggressions and trespasses of China is something that is dangerous beyond the tolerance limit.

Our Defence Department has to be strengthened in more than one way. Look at the Auditor General's most recent report for the year 1960-61. Nearly Rs. 18 crores were left unspent. Estimates are prepared and grants taken from Parliament without a proper assessment of spending capacity, the gap reaching up to Rs. 18

crores in one year. A machine-tool factory went into production in 1953 and after seven years is still unable to show any return on the investment and on the contrary an aggregate loss of nearly a crore is recorded! Machinery worth Rs. 17 lakhs imported for constructing two vessels in 1957 are still lying in stock as the contract for building the hulls had not been concluded. "Lying in stock" for four years is obviously not good for valuable machinery and equipment! Another consignment of equipment costing four lakhs bought "between 1955 and 1959" was still lying in stock. A power-house erected at a cost of 15 lakhs in 1945 is found by the Auditor-General not operating since 1947. A defective dredger cum mine-sweeper bought from the United Kingdom for nearly half-crore rupees presents a tragic story. It had a "major breakdown" in its maiden voyage. The craft had been accepted without inspection. On a reference to the U.K. Admiralty about the contractual responsibility it was found that the guarantee period had terminated long before the maiden voyage. The engine was shipped back to the makers for repairs at a cost of about Rs. 30,000 although Naval Headquarters had decided that it was beyond any possible repair and a new engine would cost £10,000. When the makers opened the engine they found a number of parts missing from the engine prior to shipment. The cost of repair rose to over Rs. 85,000! Truly a strange tale of inefficiency and bungling. Had Gandhiji been alive, he would have exclaimed that this was the unavoidable result of trying to live a life that did not belong to us and of course the Prime Minister would have violently differed from him. The Defence department requires a Secretary fully responsible for all purchases, another fully responsible for all industrial concerns and over and above these two, a Secretary for purely military affairs and personnel. It is only with this set-up that our present or any Defence Minister can function satisfactorily.

DOES SOCIALISM DEPEND ON CONTROL OF PRODUCTION?

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The speeches at the 34th session of the Federation of Indian Chambers, both of the Prime Minister and of the President, disclose the danger of half truths. The Prime Minister claimed that State ownership and control were necessary to assure freedom and prosperity to the people.

In a democracy, no political party can ignore the economic improvement of the masses, on whose votes alone they can reach power. In their own interests, even capitalists must welcome general improvement because their profits and rents depend on the demand becoming wider and stronger. The real difference is in the means to reach this end. In Communist countries, the government owns and controls both production and consumption. In free countries, the sovereignty is of the consumer, whose demand determines the pattern both of production and consumption, in conditions of competition, which reduce the margin of profits continually. The efficiency of the two approaches is indubitably reflected in the conditions of the people, Russia and China being even now hard put to feed the people, not to speak of providing them with the conventional necessities of free people.

In our hurry to catch up with the world, we have conceived of a "mixed economy", partially controlling both production and consumption. What has been missed by everyone is that even for the Socialist pattern, it was quite enough to control consumption, to assure that all had something before a few had everything.

State control of production by itself does not add to the welfare of the masses. It is justified on the grounds that it conserves for the whole people, the profits made by a few, that it can be planned to meet common needs and that it prevents the concentration of economic power, which

can be politically dangerous. In respect of profits, it is enough to mention that on the investment of about 700 crores, giving ownership to the Government of more than a third of the corporate sector, the return has been only 0.51 per cent. Far from any profits being conserved for the people, the Government has lost the difference between this return and the rate of interest paid on loans for investment. There has also been the potential loss of taxes, which such investment in the private sector would have yielded. In respect of efficiency in meeting the needs of the people, the Food Minister has just castigated our economy as a high cost one, sugar costing Rs. 700 a ton against the world price of Rs. 400 and fertilisers Rs. 300 against the landed cost of Rs. 220 of foreign production. It is not necessary to detail the constant failures of State enterprises, including Railways, which have disordered the economy. In respect of the political power of economic interests, there is no evidence of it in any free country, and in our own, it is only the Congress which is sustaining it from contributions of corporations to its funds. In respect of economic power of monopolies, the Constitution contains definite prohibition, from which by amendment Government alone has obtained exemption for itself. The U.S. anti-trust laws, which the Prime Minister mentioned, would be acceptable to all, because in the Indian economy, there is no room for monopolies.

Control of production is not Socialist, because it prevents production to respond to consumption in the quickest and easiest way without any burden or risk to the tax payer, and because it adds not only the cost of administration but of shortages and the blackmarket to the prices. It eli-

minates competition, which alone can assure to the common people the best quality and the lowest possible price. The political power arising from economic dominance limits the very freedom that the Prime Minister set down as an aim.

Control of consumption is meaningful socialistically in so far as it restrains extravagance on one side and extreme poverty on the other. Really speaking, there is no extravagance in the captains of our industry, which is comparable to the comforts and amenities assured to Ministers and their intermediaries. In any case, the expenditure tax savagely limits conspicuous expenditure, though the fact that it has yielded a pitiful sum suggests the frugality for which our industrial leaders are known throughout the world. There should be no objection to other luxury taxes provided they do not injure incentives to production.

It is very necessary in the interests of the common people that the distinction between control of production and control of consumption should be stressed. No party would object to employment opportunities and minimum wages for the whole population as a means of assuring minimum consumption. That the Congress have paid only lip service to these ineluctable necessities of the population makes their Socialism meaningless. What the people want is an increase in the production of the country by the best means possible, with equal opportunity for all of them arising from the provision of minimum standards. When the Congress is specifically charged in respect of this, it must give up its controls and ownership of production, which only personal initiative and enterprise can develop.

The Leviathan

The more the State plans,
the less practice the private
citizen gets in planning.

H. M. FLEMING.

SIDELIGHTS ::

There must be some explanation for the unusual and tremendously firm attitude of the new Home Minister in respect of "Communalism". We are told that a "stern warning" was given by him in the Lok Sabha during the debate on grants for his Ministry to those who "indulged in or instigated communal troubles". It may be, this was a belated defence against charges of apathy and inefficiency in the case of Jubbalpur, but it may have larger implication. We are told not to be surprised if "a list of persons who are likely to instigate communal and other troubles would be prepared". He added, we are told, that "utmost care will be taken in preparing such a list".

We may be sure all managers in the party will be consulted in preparing the list. Beware all ye who have influence among your blood-relations and caste-men and who do not accept the hegemony of the ruling party!

As the elections are nearing and the various second and third line party bosses have begun calculating the prospect of canalisation of votes and the probable hurdles to be overcome, their minds turn to the influence of certain personalities pro and con. The Con's they perhaps feel had better be dealt with drastically and in time to prevent their effectiveness during election time. Here is the Preventive Detention Act. Why not use it? The quasi-judicial procedure is there, but the critical election period may be made to coincide with the period covered by the enquiry into the charges and explanations, and if at the end of it they are released honourably or otherwise, by then the time for mischief would have been over.

Is it believed that these criminal characters are in hiding and have to be discovered to be put

in the black list? Does not the world know that the vote-managers of the ruling party have their notebooks in which caste-war population figures have been already prepared and noted down for each constituency? The pretence of over-looking castes and sub-castes and fulminating at such complexes is for speeches at central party-meetings and for Parliament. But all Congress election work is based on just those figures. And now preventive detention lists are going to be made to neutralise anti-Congress elements.

An important daily has remarked in its leading article that the Congress Election Committee's declaration that in choosing candidates, preference will not be given to aspirants with 'better chances of success' over others who are loyal to Congress principles and ideals is itself a significant admission of the basis of selection in the past. It may be that this is a logical inference. But the more likely thought on the subject is that this "better chances" formula will continue to be in operation in spite of every pious declaration. Not only this, but it seems the Preventive Detention Act will come into operation to improve the 'chances' still further.

In South India the declaration of the Home Minister will have one very interesting reaction. What is to be done with Sri E. V. R. Naicker? There is no case throughout India of a more unabashed, more persistently pursued, more violent communal-hatred-mongering than Sri Periar's. But the Chief Minister of Madras will not, we hope, be persuaded to put him in detention. For in or outside detention he will be permitted to carry on as hitherto, unimpeded by any make-believe action taken against him. Detention in his case will be a coney-nience to him in every way.

To start five or any number of new textile mills, in order to produce high quality cotton goods for export is just the wrong way of doing the right thing. Rajaji has been urging that our textile mills should be geared up for export purposes and that as much of the domestic market as possible should be reserved for handloom products. It is therefore good that thoughts have turned in the direction of cotton textile exports. But surely the right way of doing it is in utilising the existing textile mills and not in starting new mills for the purpose, probably drawing on the public exchequer for the investment. To start new mills would be adding to the competition against the handloom and wasting our resources. The present textile industry can be made to produce the quality required for export and a little supervision and check could ensure the standard, and this would simultaneously relieve the handloom industry. Tax money and other public exchequer resources should be utilised in lines not tackled by private investment.

We are at the end of a crucial Congo week when anything, involving Indian lives abroad, might have happened, and casualties, usually cabled as Killed, Wounded and Missing, have been registered. On his return from London, the Prime Minister declared that our crack-troops would not be overawed by Katanga bandits. It was up to the U.N.O. to clear the mess in Matadi and Banana for the unchallenged landing of the Indian expedition. Crack-troops at the Kamani barracks refrained from marching up to tackle the situation. India favours a unitary system for the Congo of the Indian pattern, not the model of Confederation voted as workable by tribal chiefs, and adopted by Nigeria, the largest of the liberated colonies. What Mr. Nehru wants is a re-convening of the Congolese Parliament, despite defections and casualties, just as the panacea for Laos is the reconvening of the Geneva Supervisory

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commission of which India is chairman. As in the caption of the old Pear's soap advertisement, he won't be happy till he gets it.

President Kennedy gave an account of the air-loads of Communist fighters and arms dropped for Pathet Lao columns in Laos. That he did not give countervailing statistics of American supplies does not mean that the Pentagon has been off guard. The movements of Rusk and Harriman have been significant. At Pearl Harbour America was caught "pants down". If it came now to aggression there might be a strictly localized war, since Soviet strategy seems to be to disrupt the UNO in the name of colonial liberation and begin all over again. A phoney deadlock in Laos and a truce line to guard may soon follow, with opportunities for Indian troops to figure as in Gaza on a peace-mission different from the scope for regularizing world-affairs as in the Congo where we are almost overstretching the limits of elasticity.

Judged by his budget speeches a trait of Morarji Desai is his brash assertiveness. Speak of the urgency of the fourth steel plant and Mr. Nehru is pleased; but the Finance Minister has to justify planning—outline some-time early—on canons of economics. Mr. Morarji Desai told critics in Parliament: "It is of basic importance that these public enterprises should function on sound commercial principles and should make adequate profits which could be ploughed back into further investments". A Daniel come to Judgment! The profit-and-loss accounts of a couple of such ventures tell us a different story. The report of the Sindhri Fertilizers and Chemicals Ltd., discloses that net profits dropped from Rs. 109 lakhs in 1958-59 to Rs. 2.5 lakhs only in 1959-60. The Hindustan Steel (three plants merged in the Public Sector) incurred a total loss of Rs. 5.79 crores in 1959-60 against "gross sales of products amount-

SWARAJYA

WANTED RE-SHUFFLING OF IDEAS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A strong plea against what is strikingly called "Coagulated thinking" has been made by columnist "Parasara" in the *Indian Express*. The columnist stresses the need for constructive re-shuffling of ideas. He pleads for greater fluidity of thought and courageous disregard of what is mistakenly treated as unalterable. He says we must break through the walls raised by dogma. "Far too much is taken for granted in the name of the 'given situation'", he says. "Issues which ought to continue to be debated are, for purposes of practical policy, taken as closed, decided once and for all". He appeals for free-thinking, if only for the tonic effect of such free-thinking. If this is not done, he says, "the stalemate will be prolonged and stagnation made more certain". He cites land ceilings and direct taxation as among the most arresting examples of this rigid assumption of "the given situation". After giving land ceilings as a capital instance of doctrinaire inflexibility, he leaves it at that without dealing with it. He takes up taxation and says: "Nowhere is such coagulated thinking more in evidence than in the sphere of taxation, direct and indirect, deficit financing, inflation and the treatment of the private sector". Encrusted notions, he complains, prevent rational re-thinking in these matters. He points out that Prof. Kaldor wanted income-tax to be drastically reduced, because the profits of tax evasion in the highest stages are too high for any one successfully to resist the temptation. If reduction of inequalities is an aim, he pleads, lower rates

ing to Rs. 14.82 crores". In terms of commercial audit, the rate of loss was "as high as 36 per cent of the gross turnover which practically surpasses all business norms". Such discrepancies do not deter trumpeteers of roaring success.

would be more effective than higher rates which only increase the scale of evasion. "Misplaced zeal for achievement of economic equality has perpetuated the chain of mishaps", Parasara says, and proceeds to point out that it is not good policy to tamper with incentives and retard savings and investment. "The disinflationary effect of high taxation is a myth which calls for speedy exploding".

In the case of indirect taxation the sway of catchwords is even clearer, he says. He points out that the easy but erroneous path of bringing an article into the excise net and to go on adding to the rate year by year is followed by Government. "The produce of basic industries as well as articles of common consumption are attacked, with the sales tax bringing up the rear. Customs duties account for 29 crores of additional taxation and they are levied also on capital goods and machinery which will add to costs for a long time to come". Each single development, he points out, may by itself appear to be explainable but the total effect is disastrous and indefensible. What we call inflation today, he winds up, is not the result of mere errors in the policies regarding money and credit, nor even of governmental excesses in public expenditure, but is the resultant of the new trends in a number of spheres which are attributable to doctrinaire ideas.

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HOLY HUMBUG

By POTHAN JOSEPH

After several pharmaceutical experiments in different States, it has been proved that the disease of groupism in the ruling party could be curbed for the time being by the increase of lucrative jobs and the creation of *ad hoc* committees to pacify rebels. The palliative prescribed by Mr. Jatti and Mr. Nijalingappa in the Victoria Hospital, (Congress President approving), was the addition of four full-fledged Ministers. Had they produced a few more Deputy Ministers, the spirit of peace could have been strengthened. Deputy Ministers are not cyphers since they too can cast their weight about and tour the districts with an eye to the next elections, besides lectures on Planning and the future of Congo which is now the national obsession.

In Andhra the rival sub-groups have nicely balanced themselves in extension of the remedy of four *pucca* ministerships, Brahmananda Reddy's case being left open for the decision of the Prime Minister on his return from London. If the High Court's strictures are taken to heart, Mr. Nehru could fall back on his view regarding deficient intelligence in the Indian judiciary when an opinion of Judge Vivian Bose cast its shadow between His Nobility and the Sun.

The *mantra* in stemming groupism has however only a short sedative effect, because disappointed aspirants are bound to observe blotch-marks on the body-politic a few days after the drug-application. It is not so much groupism as power-quest that keeps our State politics sizzling. Hence the usual routine of walk-outs and hops to New Delhi after a short spell of rest. Chinese expansionism is territorial, but Congress expansionism pertains to the additional bulge of jobbery and graft in a new dimension. Mr. Atlee warned us that danger to democracy comes from internal decay and we are already wracked by external symptoms of it.

Apart from the grab-and-run tactics of it with barely twelve months to go for election-ticket-eering, the High Command has managed to put complaints to sleep and turn the Jagannath Das Panel into cold storage. At the time of the Sadhashivnagar Congress, the Prime Minister himself was on the boil about corruption charges, his habit or irritation being largely roused by the challenge of Dr. Chintaman Deshmukh to produce irrefragable evidence of corruption before a judicial body could look into the charge-sheet. Strategy was invoked.

All the documents and direct evidence (including what lawyers call Material Objects) should first be sent to the Prime Minister when the Establishment of the Flagstaff House would sift the entire heap for the detection of irregularities by minions of office busy in vast rooms. Only if the Prime Minister is satisfied would there be talk of an *ad hoc* enquiry for prima facie notice. Dr. Deshmukh demurred on the principle that the bureaucratic accused personified in the P.M. should not be allowed to preside over preliminary investigations, since it involves an interested party committed to the long-time bravado that India's prestige for incorruptibility is enhanced at home on the same scale as tremendous appreciation of foreign policy amongst other countries in the world. Such cardinal beliefs cannot easily be shaken in the ivory-tower. One example of a Cabinet Minister's son and heir starting on a fabulous salary was cited but further enquiry was stalled by the claim that such things are not unknown in the world, like Napoleon naming his infant-son as King of Rome.

The issue was whether "such things" should be encouraged or taken as a precedent in Free India for family aggrandisement in the face of assurances in the Constitution for equality of opportunities. The whole project of clean-

A CRUEL JOKE!

While on the one hand the Government was having Five-Year Plans with the "avowed objective of raising the standard of living of the people", on the other, it was trying to restrain consumption of essential articles by higher excise levies. This is a cruel joke to ask people who are already on the subsistence level to further tighten their belts.

A. D. SHROFF.

ing up the administration then miscarried and the Augean stables are maintained.

Again there was a fuss made about Congress Ministers disclosing their wealth. And the Congress President proudly announced at Bhavnagar that the very first person to furnish details of his receipts was the Prime Minister himself (Loud and prolonged applause). Chief Minister Y. B. Chavan was later boosted for having done likewise. Given time, in India people get tired of stunts and forget all about leaders in their heroic attitudinizations.

To indicate that the door of Justice is always open, a step was taken after the Deshmukh sabotage; the High Command with much beat-of-the drum proclaimed the creation of the Jagannath Das Panel to enquire into corruption complaints. The latest report is that this Panel after vegetating for a year is still idle with no work to do. Though High Courts



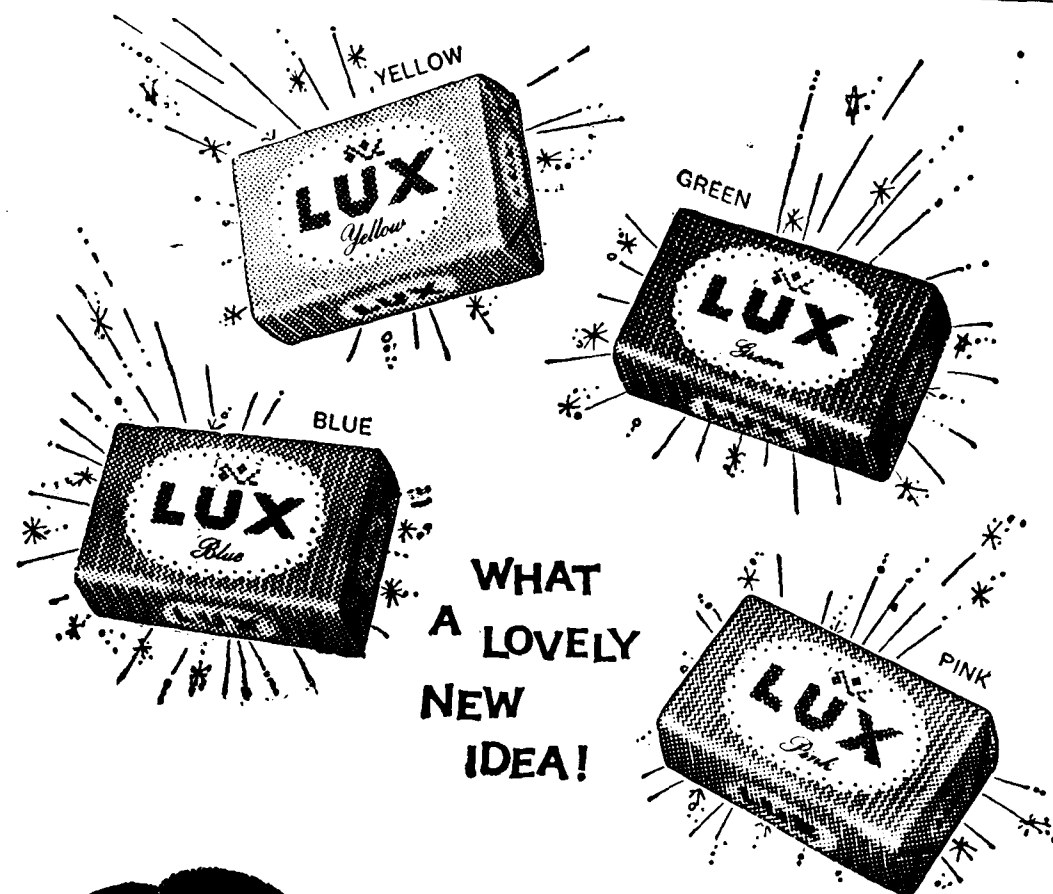
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occasionally pass strong strictures on the behaviour of Ministers and their shady performances the Congress Panel has no work to do (complaints never reach the first hurdle of Prime Ministerial inspection), but fills its role like Caesar's Wife clearly above suspicion

though not wholly remote from temptation. For Congress propagandists, such a record would be proof positive of the absence of corruption. In olden times our High Courts used to hold "Criminal Sessions", but when there were no cases to try, white gloves

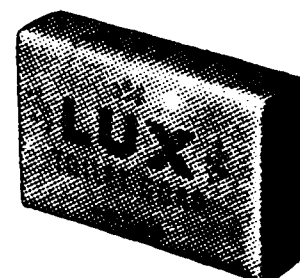
were bestowed on the judge as an honour. Since there were no offences listed in Mr. Justice Jagannath Das's Court for such a long period, His Lordship might as well be assigned other duties after being honoured with a pair of white khadi-gloves.



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THE SINGLE ISSUE BEFORE THE NATION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A very pro-Congress newspaper has two leading articles, one of last Sunday and another of last Tuesday, from which the following forthright remarks have been extracted:

"No country can mortgage its future to a single party however strong and disciplined. A party, too, can be an instrument of tyranny. And we must remember: Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Honesty compels the admission that the Congress Party already betrays signs of this taint. It is thus not surprising that the intelligent voter is faced with a dilemma as he approaches the third general elections. Perhaps this dilemma can be resolved by the Congress asking leaders of other parties to associate with it in a national government just as it did on the morrow of Independence".

"The most astonishing aspect of Mr. Nehru's inaugural address at the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry is its utter lack of concern for the details of practical business in running the economy. At a time when the country is faced with a crisis of organisation which has erupted into a crisis of transport and shortage of raw materials, the Prime Minister satisfies himself with uttering such emotive phrases as 'private wealth and public squalor'. The main issue today is not of sharing bread but of enlarging its size. One cannot conjure away a crisis by a phrase".

It may be admitted that the Prime Minister is adored by the people whatever the causes of this affection may be. The party is desperately clinging to this personal affection. It has no other support by way of popular approval of its doings. A twentieth century edition of the tub-thumping of revolutionary Paris, some ancient generalities, and provocative references to the wealth of a few as against the poverty of the many, keep up the reputation of the ruling party for a concern for the poor. Its policies strike at the root of production and prosperity, on what both rich and poor must depend, viz., the size of the loaf

which has to be divided, to use the figure adopted in the above quotations. Agricultural production has gone down. Imports of raw materials for industry such as cotton and jute have alarmingly increased. The export potentiality of the country is not visible through the most optimistic microscope. The nation is being harassed and ruined through thoughtless taxation direct and indirect, and a borrowing policy with no corresponding plan for repayment but simply hanging on by a slender thread to the current cold war.

There is no hope for the future unless the nation makes up its mind to drive the present ruling party out of office and put it, such as it is, in opposition. The country needs a wise and steady government which does not believe in exhibitionism but in real production and real concern for the poor. The Planning Commission should be supplemented and counterpoised by a federation of the various organizations, representing national, industrial and agricultural production and distribution. Otherwise there is no chance for wise policies to issue from the central secretariat.

The suggestion in the first of the above quotations that a national government may be formed by picking up a few individuals from the present opposition parties and shaping them into inferior partners within the Congress Cabinet has not much meaning. The prerequisite for a good and useful coalition is a fairly well-balanced opposition party from which leaders could be co-opted into the ruling party. Of what use would it be to co-opt Socialists and Communists with Congressmen? As

Another Name for Envy

I have no respect for the passion for equality, which seems to be merely idealizing envy.—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, JR.

for a few prominent non-party individuals to be picked up for being co-opted, they would represent no organized parties nor any one but themselves. They will share the fate of Dr. Mathai and Sri C. D. Deshmukh. They will serve only to shield the Government's errors and will not be able to moderate its rash policies. A coalition can be thought of and built on the relative strength of various parties once this is disclosed in the elections. The notion that things could be improved by some trick of internal healing without disturbing the Congress has no political validity.

The real issue is whether the nation should lean towards free economy or towards regimentation, if we want to release national energy and attain that degree of prosperity on which the general welfare can confidently rest. The Congress has adopted the creed of regimentation and this bias dogmatically permeates all their policies and blinds them to the requirements of the situation. The people should vote for releasing the national energy and this means dismissing the Congress. When once that is done and the nation's vote is clear, then a popular Cabinet will come into being without any difficulty, coalition or other.

The coming general elections should not be allowed to become a show based on money and organisational technique. It should be a mass movement even as the nation voted in the general elections that resulted in the formation of Congress governments in all the provinces of India in 1937. Neither money nor organisational techniques, nor jeeps nor entertainments played any part then in the solid vote that the nation gave to the Congress, but pure and simple popular feeling that India should be governed by her own leaders. Similarly now the nation should make it plain that the stifling regimentations of the national economy should be terminated and national energy released towards prosperity as in West Germany.

DEFENCE AFFAIRS AND ELECTION ISSUES

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Parliamentary proceedings during the last few days were conspicuous for the attempt made by Members to raise a discussion on Defence matters, in view of alleged discontent in the armed forces. But they were made to realise that there was 'nothing doing' about it on the ground that it would be prejudicial to public interests. And one heard the high-sounding and oft-repeated doctrine that it was extremely undesirable, if not also partly unsafe, to drag the Army into politics or political discussions. It meant that whatever doubts Members of Parliament had about any aspect of the affairs of the Defence Ministry, they must keep their doubts to themselves or might indulge in lobby talk, but should in no case make an issue of it on the floor of the House. The Prime Minister counselled—or asked—his party men to restrain themselves. In other words, as the Krishna Menon caravan passes there can be no kind of barking! Maybe that the voice of the Parliamentary Congress Party is stifled in the interests of its own survival or for its own good!

Congress democracy has strange connotations, indeed. Its effectiveness is best displayed when a majority vote needs to be mustered to resist opposition parties. Inside the party, it is just a matter of mere exigencies, whether any regard is shown, or not, to democratic procedures or conventions.

TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

"The children of Adam are now labouring as he himself ever did, about the tree of the knowledge, shaking the boughs thereof, and seeking the fruit, being for the most part unmindful of the tree of life. O blind generation, 'tis the tree of knowledge to which the serpent has led you".

From THACKERAY'S *Esmond*.

In Uttar Pradesh the Congress Legislature Party was given the privilege to elect as its leader one who had already been selected for it by Mr. Nehru: it is once again expected to "elect" as the President of the P.C.C. another nominee of Mr. Nehru, and to make no hubbub. It should be satisfied that democratic formalities are fulfilled though the elective principle is, in spirit, flagrantly discarded.

Here in Delhi, the Congress Parliamentary Party knows that, whatever individual members may feel about it, it will have to cast an "unanimous" vote for the Leader's (Mr. Nehru's) nominee as the Deputy Leader. Lest he should take it as an offence to him, they will not even suggest that they would rather prefer a free election. They will meekly swallow whatever is prescribed for them by the supreme leader, for that way lies their salvation, individual and collective. Where he wants to have his way, democracy in action needs to be reconciled to dictatorship by consent.

Since the Prime Minister's return from London, the only important decision taken is about the mid-term elections in Orissa. Answering critics in Parliament, the Prime Minister denied that there was any political motive behind the decision of the Government. Their only concern was to limit the duration of the President's rule and let the State bask again, and at the earliest, in the sunshine of popular Government. Unexceptionable sentiments, indeed. The pressure put on the Congress High Command by the President of the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee for early elections must just have been an agreeable coincidence. Having been instrumental in getting the Coalition Ministry wound up and the Congress sheep and the Ganatantra goats separated, Mr. Bijoyanand Patnaik now desires to give the people of Orissa unadulterated Congress milk.

There is animated talk at the capital about the ascendancy of Mr. Patnaik in Orissa and the consequential eclipse of Dr. Hare Krushna Mahatab, the Congress standard-bearer in Orissa till now. Since there can be no question of a new leader rising and spreading himself all over except at the expense of another, a certain amount of denigration of one who had been in office and power, could hardly be avoided. Mr. Mahatab was supposed to have betrayed Congress interests and played the pro-Ganatantra game while he was in the saddle. But Mr. Mahatab, not being a late arrival in politics, could hardly be set aside so easily. He is one of the Congress veterans, and has friends left at higher levels. Whatever he might have said about individual preference for retirement in a weak moment, he would not just oblige his new rival by committing political harakiri. Nor would his friends let him withdraw himself from the scene which he had so long animated.

His recent visit to the capital was not due to his own initiative so much as to the "summons" from the party bosses who were still keeping an open mind on the issue of leadership in Orissa. Mr. Mahatab stayed with Mr. Morarji Desai (they were respectively Chief Minister and Governor of Bombay) and besides talking it over with his host, he saw Mr. Nehru, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri and Mr. Sanjiva Reddy. They all listened to him without any strain to their great sense of objectivity. For, whatever be their personal estimates of Mr. Patnaik and Mr. Mahatab, as men or as Congressmen, they had to weigh things in the immediate context of the coming elections in Orissa.

For, Mr. Mahatab, however acceptable otherwise, could never compete with Mr. Patnaik in spending or collecting enough money for elections. Mr. Patnaik has not only the 'stuff' but can also command it for ensuring that, whatever be the other handicaps, the Congress will not (have to) suffer for want of adequate, if not

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V. V. S. AIYAR, THE MAN OF LETTERS

By A. V. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR

On the occasion of the eightieth anniversary of the late V. V. S. Aiyar, which fell on April 2, his services to the cause of Indian freedom and Tamil literary revival are worth recalling.

V. V. S. Aiyar's work as patriot and nationalist is impressive. Born in a village near Trichy, he graduated from St. Joseph's College of that place and took to law. After practising for some time in Rangoon he proceeded to London for qualifying himself for the English Bar and joined Lincoln's Inn. As fate would have it, during his three years' stay at the India House, London, he plunged deep into the activities of a group of Indian revolutionaries, who were working under the leadership of V. D. Savarkar. When the situation was becoming hot for them Savarkar advised Aiyar to escape to India and work there. His escape from London to Pondicherry in the guise of a Muslim fakir baffling the vigilance of the British intelligence officers was a classic in adventure that made him a hero in the eyes of his countrymen. After a long stay in Pondicherry, where he came into contact with Arobindo Ghose and Subramania Bharati, Aiyar fell under the influence of Gandhiji, returned to Madras and edited a nationalist Tamil daily for sometime. He later established the Tamil Gurukula Vidyalaya and the Bharadwaja Ashramam, to put into practice his ideas of national education, first at Kallidaikurichi and then at Shermadevi in

abundant resources. On this account the dice is loaded in his favour while it is not easy to suggest a spell of wilderness to Mr. Mahatab for other reasons. And since, in the process, the clash between Mr. Patnaik and his men and Mr. Mahatab and his friends cannot be just ruled out, Orissa is in danger of going the U.P. way. It is no more likely that Mr. Patnaik and Mr. Mahatab will be reconciled to each other than Mr. C. B. Gupta and Dr. Sampurnanand were. It remains to be seen how in such a setting Congress can secure an absolute majority in Orissa. Anyway one must be prepared for enough manifestations of mid-summer (How ever one may fill the blank)!

Tirunelveli district and conducted it till June 1925, when he met with his end at Kalyanathirtham waterfall at Papanasam while trying to save his daughter, who had slipped into it.

We can now say that great as his service to Indian nationalism was, his work as a man of letters was greater. V. V. S. Aiyar's major contribution was his pioneer work in the field of literary criticism of Kamban and his *Ramayana*. He wrote a series of critical essays in Tamil in *Bala Bharati*, which he edited in 1924-25. Earlier in 1921-22 while he was in Bellary Jail he had written an outstanding book on Kamban in English, which contained verse translations of a large number of Kamban's stanzas. This book, which was published only as late as 1950, still remains, in spite of certain defects, the best study and introduction to Kamban in that language.

V. V. S. Aiyar was the inspirer of the Kamban movement in Tamilnad in the early twenties. He made a study of the architectonics of Kamban's *Ramayana*, compared it broadly with other world epics and boldly claimed that it was superior to all of them, including its original the *Adikavya* of Valmiki. He was convinced of this position which he expressed with force. This view was challenged in 1925 by the late Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar, who wrote a note to V. V. S. Aiyar stating that in comparing Valmiki with Kamban, a critic should take into account the age of each poet, the public to which each epic was addressed and the circumstances in which each was produced. V. V. S. Aiyar published this note in his journal and replied but his reply did not fully meet the points. The flaw in his argument arose out of his having overlooked the well understood difference between an authentic or natural epic as Valmiki's *Ramayana* and a literary epic like Kamban's *Ramayana*. Whether one accepts the view of V. V. S. Aiyar or not, there is no denying the fact that he brought to bear upon his study of Kamban's *Ramayana* a new approach and a deep erudition, which are of great value. His work has not been improved upon by later writers by systematic study and penetrating criticism, which are the characteristics of Aiyar's book.

V. V. S. Aiyar's next major achievement is a good translation of the *Thirukkural* in English with a well written introduction. Though there are many

English translations of this ancient Tamil classic of wisdom, V. V. S. Aiyar's work, taken as a whole, has been considered the best by competent critics.

His Tamil prose writings include a volume of short stories and monographs on the lives of Napoleon, Chandragupta, Booker Washington and Guru Govind Singh and a translation of Emerson's essay on 'Self-reliance'. In the field of short story, which has since achieved phenomenal development in Tamil, V. V. S. Aiyar was a pioneer. Most of his stories have literary qualities and are still arresting and readable. V. V. S. Aiyar has a Tamil style of his own as Veeraswami Chettiar, Mayuram Vedanayakam Pillai and Rajam Aiyar had their own before him. His sentences are generally packed with thought and have a majestic gait, but they are heavy and have a disproportionately large admixture of Sanskrit words and Sanskrit forms too in word-coinage and endings. That style has gone out of fashion today but on that account its merits cannot be ignored. V. V. S. Aiyar had a knack of Tamilising in his own way foreign proper names, which may not be acceptable to many today.

To sum up, V. V. S. Aiyar is one of the most outstanding Tamil men of letters of this century. His contribution to literary revival and cultural renaissance in Tamil is noteworthy. He was a well read scholar. His intellectual equipment included a knowledge of several languages. There was not the least trace of narrowness or philistinism in his outlook on linguistic and cultural matters. With all his intense nationalism and faith in the greatness of his own religion and culture he deeply admired the literatures and culture of the West. As a literary critic in Tamil he has had no equal and as a prose writer he takes place in the group represented by Subramania Bharati and Suddhananda Bharati.

ALL IN GOOD FAITH!

"I still think it's an honest man pursuing an impossible, ruinous, illogical system—not a selfish monster, but a despot on principle and on wrong principle, which entails the use of the worst acts, the worst agents, and the most monstrous consequence of ills".—WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY in a letter to his daughters in Paris, 1852.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR SENIORITY VERSUS MERIT

Sir.—The Finance Minister is reported to have "unequivocally condemned the idea of discussing army promotions in Parliament, saying that this is more responsible for demoralisation in the army than anything else". He added that "if we go on creating a sense in the army officers that members of Parliament will take up their cases, we will be creating fissiparous tendencies".

The above are admirable sentiments with which no one can disagree. Omit the word "army" in the above and substitute for "members of parliament" the words "members of parliament and others highly placed who have a reputation for a pull with the official hierarchy" and the sentiment will be complete.

But expression of theories apart, there must be a belief among the servants of Government that they are getting a fair deal which belief can be raised and nursed only by its obvious presence in actual life. How can this be accepted to exist when in one department of the Centre members of a certain community are not only given special advantages in the initial recruitment to any class or rank but are also given promotion therein for the same reason, a practice which, notwithstanding that it has been condemned by a High Court has not been discountenanced by the colleagues of the Member in charge of that Department nor apparently by the Cabinet.

The aim of the Government should be to get the maximum quantity and quality of service from their servants and in working to this end the claims of members with longer service to their credit and members with extra efficiency or merit should both receive reasonable attention. Observance of seniority is a safe rule but will damp the ardour of the others and will provide no inducement for extra efficiency; but with assurance of promotion in virtue of mere seniority, the rank and file will get slack. On the other hand while it is not easy to pick merit amidst a host of others, those picked out are likely to slacken in course of time for want of further doses special promotion from time to time.

Here are a few suggestions on the subject. For certain kinds of (routine) work or up to certain grades or rank, promotion can proceed by mere seniority provided that those who do not maintain a certain level of efficiency should be passed over. For certain of the higher grades or classes, seniority

and merit should carry comparable weight; the amount of discontent on the one hand will be made good by the extra efficiency of those who are advanced. As the ranking gets higher and higher, seniority must receive less and less weight and merit more and more for it must be remembered that a single efficient officer at the top will produce more results than a number of officers next below.

The Government will do well to recognise that whatever is done, there is likely to exist a certain measure of discontent, for everyone cannot be satisfied but they are safe so long as they proceed on the right lines, the rank and file know what they are and are convinced that their advancement is not subject to the caprices of any single person however highly placed.

Moreover avenues for appeal against grievous orders are well-known—not to mention appeals to courts of law which are now getting more frequent—and if such avenues are properly uti-

lised without the higher authority saying ditto to the decision of the authority next below i.e. if the appeals are effectual in actual practice, there bound to exist less and less of grievance among the services. Is it surprising that the prescribed channels fail in their effect to secure adequate attention, the sufferers resort to member of parliament and others! and after all how many can seek or afford such aid!

If the Government are really anxious to see that their servants high or low do not resort to such devious methods for righting their wrongs, they should ensure that the recognised means of appeal are not blocked or rendered infructuous.

K. V. IYER

"PRIZE BONDS"

Sir.—A stray village Karnam has brought to your notice about how prize bonds are sold by the Revenue Officials. There are numberless employees who are burdened by their superior officers with selling the prize bonds. It is a yet another scandalous way of the Government, like the notorious small savings scheme which earned the same

cup full of cheer

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kind of reputation. Policemen at street corners try to compel the unwary passer-by with prize bonds. If the passer-by does not purchase it from him he is "booked" under some pretext or other by the policemen. The Road Traffic Authorities compel the drivers and conductors to buy the prize bonds in large numbers. For fear of displeasing the Road Traffic authority the drivers and conductors have no other option but to buy. Poor village munsifs' and Karnams' episode we already know. Petty shop keepers, not to speak of big business men, are easily cornered by the revenue and commercial tax officials!

This dreadful thing, it is a pity, has even entered the precincts of schools. Boys and girls of the schools are compelled to buy prize bonds. The children are forced to buy the prize bonds especially when their annual examinations are fast approaching.

Even members of the independent profession namely doctors and lawyers, are not exempt from this overt compulsion. Some Revenue officials are non-judicial trainee-magistrates. When the legal practitioners are approached by these non-judicial trainee-magistrates for sale of prize bonds, the former have

to think twice before deciding to purchase these bonds not to speak of ex-cusing themselves.

Autonomous societies are coerced to undertake the sale of prize bonds. Stamp vendors compel the litigant public to purchase prize bonds because they themselves are expected to sell prize bonds in large numbers. The stamp vendors insist that anybody purchasing 'A' stamps for the value of Rs. 20 should also purchase prize bonds. The litigant public are therefore mulcted with such additional burdens. The more so if the purchaser of stamps is an illiterate villager!

We may not wonder if the Congress men try to influence voters with prize bonds in the forthcoming elections! The policy of what appears to be an organised conspiracy of the government affects the general public in ways unforeseen.

Vridhachalam.

S.K.

RAPE OF DEMOCRACY

Sir,—For unblushing jobbery, Mysore takes the cake' Andhra Pradesh Congress gladiators will declare a crusade against SWARAJYA for not

dividing the cake and apportioning 50 per cent for them. Now, the Andhra Pradesh cabinet has to be expanded to give asylum to four dissidents at the cost of the tax-payers' money to the extent of approximately Rs. 5 lakhs per annum. I am afraid no crumbs of the cake are left for Bihar, where a duel for the loaves and fishes of the office is in the offing. More such 'expansions' in all the cabinets hitherto unaffected may be expected in due course as a pre-electioneering preparation to patch up party schism.

One is at a loss to understand this 'Nehruocracy' patching up their party quarrels at the cost of the poor helpless rate-payers' sweat. By what moral or constitutional right does the Nehru-Sanjeevayi-Sanjeeva Reddy rump indulge in the rape of Democracy in the like manner by distributing the National wealth to their party hirelings in the name of development, extension and expansion?

'Extension' has already been "successfully" (!) pursued at Block (now Panchayat Union) level, by throwing petty jobs to the rebellious Thyagis to appease them, lest they become rebels. Now, 'expansion' is being pursued at cabinet level to throw sop to dissidents. All in the name of the omniscient development and at the expense of the tax-payers' toil.

Any precedent like this in any democratic country except in unabashed totalitarian lands? God save our 'Mother Land' from total collapse!

Pudukkottai.

GOVINDALILAM.

PANCHAYATRAJ OR GOONDARAJ?

Sir,—It is reported that in the village of Sakaria (Aligarh) the sequel to a Panchayat election was the murder of the elected pradhan and five of his close relations by the defeated candidate and his gang. When the Prime Minister, with his usual rhetoric and abysmal ignorance of the factions that exist in every village, declared at Sardarnagar that a new era had dawned in India with the enthronement of Panchayatraj, everyone who is in touch with life in the villages knew that existence would hereafter become intolerable to the God-fearing, honest and hardworking villagers and power would be seized by the goondas (whose number is steadily on the increase in every village) by violence and intimidation. According to the Prime Minister, the Government should decentralise more and more powers and vest them in these goondas who will rule the racket in Panchayatraj. It is not difficult to forecast the future. There will be more

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murders and violence in villages all over the country and the honest law-abiding villagers will migrate to towns and cities leaving the goondas to rule as gangsters. Panchayatraj ki jai. Bangalore. V. T. SREENIVASAN.

OPPORTUNIST POLITICIANS

Sir,—With the nearing of the general election and the vigorous drive of the ruling party to strengthen itself at the cost of its rivals, office holders and prominent members of rival parties have begun to cross over to the ruling party, giving fantastic reasons. In most cases these conversions occur during or immediately after the ruling party leaders' visits to the places concerned and they are invariably announced in the papers for which there is no need. Such conversions and announcements are obviously due to baits or threats or both. They are actuated not by any principles but by sheer opportunism. They do credit neither to themselves nor to the parties which they forsake nor the one they embrace. Salem. L. R. VENKATARAMANI.

NOT SO SIMPLE, SIR!

Sir,—Mr. C. Subramaniam is stated to have said in the Legislature that he did not see anything wrong in the Ministers themselves collecting funds for the Congress so long as they do not use their authority and make it open without keeping it a secret affair.

As for the use of authority for this purpose Rajaji has already replied by quoting from "Thirukkural", that the Ruler's begging is tantamount to the demand of the highwayman with a spear in his hand.

There is no use trying to deceive the people saying that they do not bring pressure to bear on the businessmen and that the latter themselves volunteer their contributions. Businessmen, as a clan, are calculative and even if they are to spend a pie, their eyes will be on the return for that expense. If they do not contribute in expectation of any favour, then they do so out of fear of the authority in power. Businessmen do not fill up Congress coffers out of love for the Congress principles. For, if it is so, why should the Ministers themselves go for this purpose? Any Congress worker with an authorisation from the Party Chief could do the work.

Mr. Subramaniam put forth another argument: "The Swatantra Party also wants to collect money from businessmen. Can we not say that they contribute to the party out of anticipation of favour when that party comes to power?" The difference between the two is glaring. The Congress is the

present ruling party and if the contributors anticipate any favour from that party there is some meaning in it as the return is sure and immediate. Such an anticipation from the Swatantra Party is like a gamble and it is not to be expected that the businessmen would bank upon such a hypothesis. If they were to contribute to the Swatantra Party funds it would be definitely because that Swatantra Party stands for freedom from controls and licences.

The main objection of Rajaji has been that there should be a ban on companies' contributions to parties at the whims and fancies of the managements, to the detriment of the interests and against the wishes of shareholders.

In view of the statement of Mr. C. Subramaniam that the contributions should be open so that people could see if any favour is done to any party, it is hoped that the ruling party will publish soon the list of their contributors. S. KRISHNAN.

DIVERT ELECTION FUND TO PLAN EXPENDITURE

Sir,—The Congress party leaders and Ministers are now busy going round explaining to the people the achievements of five year plans and the future development projects under the Third Five Year plan, and how they are fulfilling the essential role of saviours of the poor people (Ezhai Pangalan). If all the claims of achievement for the sake of the people were true, the Congress should have reason to take for granted the complete support of the people in the coming elections notwithstanding the Opposition parties against them.

The Congress leaders who are now collecting contributions for election fund may well divert these collections to the plan expenditure instead of wasting them as election expenses when especially they are sure of people's support. By so doing, they may not only exhibit the Congress party's inherent strength, but also save the people the botheration of purchasing prize bonds. How far the purchase of these bonds is voluntary at present, every one knows. Erode. R. S. AIYER.

BENGAL CENSUS FIGURES

Sir,—There was no need for the Madras Finance Minister, Shri C. Subramaniam, to indulge in irresponsible statements on the census operations in West Bengal State. He should doubtless know that if West Bengal State gets a larger allocation of revenues from the Finance Commission com-

OH, THE PRODIGAL!

Ours is the most - loyal people in the world surely; we admire the Congress and are faithful to it long after Congressmen have ceased to be true to us. It is a wonder to anyone who looks back at the history of the Congress to think how its leaders kicked their crowns away from them; how they flung away chances after chances; what treasures of loyalty they dissipated, and how fatally the Congress party was bent on consummating its own ruin. If ever any party had fidelity, it was the Congress; if ever a party squandered opportunity, it was the Congress, and of all the enemies Congressmen had, they themselves were the most fatal.—Modified and applied from a passage about the Stuarts in THACKERAY'S Esmond.

pared to Madras, it is only because of the economic imbalance and disparities between the two States and the very peculiar problems that face the Eastern Region in general, and Bengal in particular. The administration in West Bengal need not certainly monkey with the census figures to influence the Finance Commission or focus its attention on the needs of this State.

It is only the citizens of Calcutta who bear the brunt of the successive waves of refugees from East Pakistan, Tibet and Assam who can appreciate the magnitude of the human problem of rehabilitation of the refugees and not those who sit comfortably in relatively happier places, but, who shout from the house tops the moment a trickle of Tamilians trek to Tinnevely from adjacent Ceylon.

Regarding Shri Subramaniam's reference to the boosting of the census figures in West Bengal, one regrets that he is unaware of the mighty industrial changes that have swept over this State in the last ten years, bringing in its wake a huge influx of population from other States, notably Madras. One only hopes that the Madras Finance Minister will take a leaf from his intelligent Chief Minister and keep silent over these issues instead of exhibiting his political immaturity. Calcutta. LEELA RAMANATHAN.

To All the Registered Graduate Voters to the Senate of the Madras University.

AN APPEAL

I have been proposed by my friends for election to the Senate of the Madras University for one of the 23 seats to be elected by the Registered graduates, the elite among the electorates.

After retirement from the Police and Railways last year, I have been working as the Hony. Secretary of the Vivekananda College. I am also Secretary to the Association of Managements of Private Colleges which, though forming the main core of Collegiate Institutions, has no representative at present in the Senate.

Both during my long career in the Police and lately as a member of the Union Public Service Commission Interview Board I have had ample opportunities to come into contact with the alumni of our Universities, and all that knowledge and experience I wish to place at the cause of higher education in our State.

The ballot papers are being despatched from Madras on the 10th April 1961 and are due to be returned closed by post direct to the Registrar or caused to be deposited at the Senate on or before April 28th 1961 which will be arranged at the addresses below.

I solicit your esteemed support and your first vote in the election.

96, Mount Road, Madras-17.

23, Promenade Rd., Trichinopoly.

35, South Marret St., Madurai.

S. Parthasarathi B.A., M.L.,

Chief Security Officer of

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SOCIALISM AND THE CONSTITUTION

1961 By **C. RAJAGOPALACHARI**

When the Constitution was drafted and passed in 1950, the nineteenth and thirtyfirst articles thereof inscribed therein as a fundamental right to be enforced by the courts against the government of the day, whoever it may be, the right of all citizens, without any discrimination against any of them, to practise any profession, to carry on any occupation, trade or business, and to acquire, hold and dispose of property. These are the words of the Constitution. When, in contravention of this, the methods of communist countries in respect of citizen's properties were sought to be adopted, the Congress party was compelled by the adverse decisions of courts to amend the Constitution on several occasions. Amendment of the Constitution was easy enough as there was a steam-roller majority for the Congress party. The original constitution-makers solemnly adopted articles to prevent socialistic expropriation and to give no room to the government for practising a fraud on powers by giving inadequate compensation for compulsory acquisition. The subsequent amendments were passed only to facilitate such a fraud.

The original sub-clause in the article permitting the imposition of restrictions on fundamental rights in the interests of the general public was in the course of the debate improved by the addition of the word 'reasonable' before the word 'restrictions', which was not in the first draft, but which was put in to give the courts the final voice regarding

the legitimacy of such restrictions and to prevent the nullification of the citizen's fundamental right by the exercise of the power to place restrictions in the interests of the general public. The Supreme Court was given the authority to examine and strike down any misuse of the powers.

Article 26 of the Constitution specifically laid down the right of every religious denomination or any section thereof to own and acquire movable and immovable property and to administer such property in accordance with law. The State was not allowed to practice any kind of expropriation.

Article 31 laid down that no property movable or immovable or any interest in any company owning any commercial or industrial undertaking shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired.

It is obvious that the founders of the Constitution intended to provide not only against the 'socialistic pattern' but also against any misuse of powers to achieve such an object by indirect or devious means. This article of the original Constitution has been subsequently amended so as to nullify the original intention.

There is a chapter in the Constitution dealing with policies and principles of government. The provisions of this article are not 'justiciable'. But the direction in this chapter is that the State shall

strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which social, economic and political justice shall inform all the institutions of the national life. The State according to this chapter should direct its policy towards securing that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good and the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment. There is not a word here to support the false doctrines of egalitarianism. The principles enunciated are those that govern the laws of America against combines and monopolies. What the Congress regime now does under its system of permits and licences is exactly the opposite of what is laid down in the Constitution—they serve to concentrate wealth and the means of acquiring additional wealth on the few persons chosen by them for doing business or industrial production in several important lines and these monopolies created by the State in favour of chosen persons work to the common detriment.

There is not a word in the Constitution recommending the socialistic pattern or socialism but everything was done in anticipation to prevent such mischief. The present government has not only disregarded the intent and purpose of the founders of the Constitution but have laid violent hands on the Constitution itself.

MISUSE OF POWER AND THE REMEDY FOR IT

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Coffee in Madras city hotels and restaurants now costs 20 nP. a cup as against 17 nP. A single meal now costs 75 nP. as against 63 nP. a month ago. When the hotel-keepers were questioned they give the following prices of commodities which, and much else, they have to buy and pay for before being able to serve their customers.

Sugar costs now Rs. 120 a bag as against Rs. 95 in 1957. Firewood has risen from Rs. 63 per ton to Rs. 85; coffee seeds from Rs. 219 per cwt. to Rs. 260; milk from Rs. 1.12 per measure to Rs. 1.75; rice from Rs. 44 per bag to Rs. 74; charcoal from Rs. 160 per ton to Rs. 240; gram from Rs. 40 per bag to Rs. 60; ghee from Rs. 71 per tin to Rs. 105.)

The Hindu's Delhi correspondent has reported that the Congress Parliamentary Price Committee had a "lively discussion today (April 7) for over two hours" on the problem of increase of prices of necessities and that the view that emerged from the discussion was that the "basic mistake lay in not visualising at the time of the second plan such a rise in prices".

It appears that they came to the conclusion that steps should be taken to evolve methods by which prices may not be allowed to rise. It seems the Finance Minister Sri Morarji Desai himself presided at this meeting.

The rise in prices which it was agreed "had not been visualised at the commencement of the Second Plan" was estimated to be very near to 30 per cent during the Plan period. The great confabulators resolved to examine at the next meeting the question of 'improving the machinery of production and distribution' which was at the root of this unpleasant rise in prices. All those who were competent to criticise and who did not belong to the ves-group of

the party, were shouting 'inflation' but were treated as incorrigible cynics if not traitors to the cause of revolutionary advance on which the ruling party had decided and which necessarily 'involved a degree of inflation'. But now the party is going to "improve the machinery of production" to cope with the inflation and induce prices not to rise so immoderately.

What is this "machinery of production" which is going to be improved under the orders of the administration? It is obvious that this producing machinery is not situated in the Secretariats at Delhi or in the offices of the State Governments. They can tamper with the distribution which will make matters worse and reach a crisis. The "machinery of production" is in the peasant's farm. And every one knows what has at present happened there, the greatest uncertainty and the farmer's own running deficit financing. These are the features of life and operations at that end.

The machinery that causes the rise in prices is situate in the Secretariats where taxes and levies are conceived, and orders issued to make up for the red gap in budgets. The State Governments have been relieved of all their old-time anxieties and now live on doles from the Centre for everything. This is the irrefutable source of all the unpleasant phenomena in the markets including the restaurants and eating houses. There is no use in "lively" or other discussions. The only thing to do is to give up wrong policies and if

Efficient Planning

Really good and efficient planning will enable the Government to spend less and to borrow less money from all parts of the world and thus reduce the demand for maintaining the high levels of taxation already imposed and for levying other taxes on all classes of the people.—SIR COWASJEE JEHANGIR.

that is not possible and if the ruling party cannot give up their facadism and gigantism, the thing to do is to give place to those who do not believe in such exhibitionist advance and who believe in progress and prosperity through freedom and in an honest free economy wherein the State will take a back place and the energy of citizens released and allowed full play instead of being choked and suppressed by an intolerable Statism.

The Congress has resolved, we are told, not to enter into any alliances and to fight the elections alone. Why should they seek alliances, when they can depend on triangular and multilinear contests among their opponents and when they have unlimited funds and the whole administrative machinery at their effective command for running the elections? It is a shame that where the party has adopted a policy of total economic grip it pretends to run free general elections refusing to make arrangements for a neutral regime during the election period. "Voluntary" levies are merrily going on to fill the party chest from the coffers of the favoured monopolists at their beck and call. It has the numerous Sevak Samajs, social welfare bodies, development boards and other quasi-official bodies operating at public expense, organs of so-called decentralized government power to be briskly used as party organisations, and Ministers and Deputy Ministers organizing election tours paid for by the State. There is an almost unlimited quantity of artificially produced money to confer election-eve boons on the major voting groups. This misuse of position and refusal to make the elections really free, may even warrant a total boycott of the elections by all who wish to protest against it.

Why indeed should the Congress Party seek any alliances? They hope to win hands down, unless the electorate wakes up to end this paste-board totalitarian rule and this intolerable corruption, and convert the elections into a tem-

THE SPEAKER'S DILEMMA

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The Speaker of the Lok Sabha is in a quandary over the question how far replies from the Treasury Bench vouchsafing information would be in the public interest. Strictly speaking, Parliament is entitled to know all particulars about finance and administration. Indeed Congressmen in pre-Independence days were vociferous about "the country being taken into confidence". Defence Minister Krishna Menon has constant recourse to the formula "not in the public interest" whenever he is under interpellation, and if it came to supplementaries he would take the stand that his portfolio of expenditure, arms-purchase and factory-outlay, should remain a top-secret with him since considerations of security require full blanketing.

Meanwhile the M.Ps are entitled to discuss all grants. The Estimates Committee and allied probe-agencies of Parliament find their business stultified by the excuse that any frank disclosures entailing responsibility would amount to the passing on of information to potential enemies. India is a country teeming with open secrets for foreign eyes. The veil of secrecy is a heaven-sent blessing to those who love spending sprees and who have their vendettas even at the institution of the Auditor-General if he conscientiously exercises his power according to the constitution. In the fight between the Defence Minister and A. K. Chanda about wilful appropriations, the Prime Minister who is by nature allergic to scrutiny of accounts (largely because of his lordly upbringing) was disposed to curb auditing authority by a rubber-stamp amendment of the constitution itself. As if the Defence Minister's genius for business-guidance was fit to be further exploited, Mr. Menon had been put in charge of the Menon Committee of the cabinet to report on the status of "autonomous corpora-

tions" and public sector enterprise in respect of their discretion free from interference of the *hoi polloi*. Just before he left for the U.N.O., the document had been formally filed for Cabinet intimation. The principle of spenders being allowed a free hand is emphasised; and every one who spends feels it irksome to be questioned.

Mr. Ananthasayanam Iyengar pleads that he cannot indefinitely ignore the right of M.Ps for information while money is debated. Should it be left to the arbitrary judgment of the Ministers to say NO on the ground that it is top-secret and that the private member deserves snubs whereas in principle it is the right of Estimates Committees, the M.Ps. and indeed the public to know how the money goes, especially under a spell of improvidence? Without the public being prepared for the recent naval augmentation, it was announced that India has secured a second-hand aircraft-carrier renovated over three years into fit shape. What was called the *Hercules* was renamed *Vikram* at a modest price of Rs. 30 crores. With the blaze of the air-age and atom-bomb weapons, there is not much to be gained in the investment in any aircraft-carrier; and the people of that irremovable aircraft-carrier-base, namely, the United Kingdom, are not elated about their past status as an invulnerable base for fighting Continental wars.

Recently, I had occasion to talk to a retired veteran about the potency of the aircraft-carrier launched by Mrs. Pandit at the present stage of India's rearmament; and his opinion is that in a scrap with any well-equipped enemy in the Arabian Sea or the Bay of Bengal for the defence of India, the lumber-craft, despite its modernised superstructure, would prove most vulnerable by sharp raids from above, not to mention the risks of torpedo-strategy.

Since perils across the land-border are more real than invasion by sea-coast, the allotment might have been diverted with advantage to defence; but then preparations for our security are being claimed as dead secret, be it for sweeping manoeuvres in Afro-Asian waters or the small sum of Rs. 60,000 required to build an exclusive air-strip as the picturesque landing-ground of a Cabinet Minister flying in his own luxury-plane escorted by a couple of beflagged Dakotas. Surely it is not the amount alone that counts.

One point which the Speaker cannot overlook is that the worst coming to the worst, Cabinet Ministers can claim that divulging of information would, apart from being against the public interest, turn out to be a violation of the Official Secrets Act. In the United States a colleague chosen by the President, like himself, pledges loyalty to the constitution, Bible in hand, whereas (in the absence of a formal Constitution) the British Cabinet Minister proceeds to Buckingham Palace, just "kisses hands" on assumption of office, a ceremony of pledging loyalty and allegiance due to the Sovereign. In India, however, there is an explicit procedure whereby the Minister pledges himself to the protection of official secrets. The Indian Institute of Law would do well to trace the origin of these differences without leaving such problems to "conventions" which the Law Minister Ashok Sen wants to develop so as to serve as haphazard precedents.

If the Defence Minister takes that stand, inquisitive M.Ps could be squelched just as total censorship could be clamped on the claim of "an emergency having arisen". The subterfuge would be a violation of the spirit of the Constitution, but when Constitutional amendments could be cheapened by the ruling party at 48 hours' notice, the spirit of democracy could be throttled instantly. Unless there is the spirit of prudence, fairplay, collective co-

(Continued on page 12)

SIDELIGHTS ::

As a historian has observed about the politics of Queen Anne's time, in Delhi also now, not one of the great personages sitting around the Prime Minister has "a defined scheme of policy independent of that private and selfish interest which each is bent on pursuing". Stupid and wrong as the system of governance known by the name of Socialism is, if all of them had been really bent on it, there would be errors but heroic and excusable errors, and not such as are now being committed or hatched.

Lest we forget, let us remind ourselves that we are now in the era of the Third Plan set in motion as from April 1. We have an impressive picture reproduced here from the *Indian Express* firmly establishing that preparatory publicity had been undertaken, although two days after the first stride, the National Development Committee upgraded estimates by Rs. 500 crores. The uncertainty of capital requirements and resource for expenditure is admitted in the blue-prints. This picture is captioned "Plan Publicity" and at the bottom is the explanation, "The little boy in the picture excelled in 'Chilambattam' in the Plan publicity week celebration on Sunday at Theogaraya College, Madras. The Finance Minister, Mr. C. Subramaniam, is seen awarding a sum of Rs. 10 to the boy". What the child could have grasped of the theme which he publicised through his teenage performance we cannot say. Probably he would preserve the ten rupee note as a souvenir. One doubts whether he would take a gamble on it in the prize-bonds scheme, but that he could have understood much of the "Mighty Adventure" as a propaganda-gent is extremely doubtful. He had to compete for it against jealous rivals, but the question arises whether this kind of stunt is going to be the pattern of trumpery-publicity to promote confidence. The late K. Rama Rau

once found himself as Chief Officer of Field Publicity to boost the Second Plan but he confessed that the puerility of it gave him a head-ache. The Planning Commission had better think again of their projects of popularising their ventures instead of putting out pictures of children bowing their heads for receiving ten rupee notes. The boy himself appears to be innocent of the merit of his con-



tribution to national work, since he appears as if bowing, reconciled to a hair-cut.

The Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha has asked the Government to consider whether the national Industrial Development Corporation should continue keep going as an institution. In the report presented to the Lok Sabha on April 1, the Estimates Committee had trenchant criticisms to give regarding its operations. Outlay amounting to crores was earmarked for "securing balanced and integrated development of industries in the Public and Private sectors". Actually it has been discovered that this co-ordination was myth and that its principal function is that of a "financing agency". Divested of that function, the Committee said, very few of the other functions of development of industries remained which could not be equally well discharged by other agencies already in existence. Considering

the present financial structure of the Corporation, the report said, it appeared that there was no prospect of its keeping down even its cost in the near future. It would perhaps be more appropriate if the present field of activity of the Corporation as a lending agency were transferred to the Industrial Finance Corporation or any other such agency whose operations might not result in losses entailing grant by way of subsidy, the report said.

The complaint that Rajaji carries no mass appeal is not new. It was heard long before the Swatantra party was born. It used to be carried to Mahatma Gandhi when he came visiting south in pre-Independence days. Answering one such complaint, Gandhiji wrote in *Harijan* (Feb. 10, 1946) thus:

"Rajaji is one of my oldest friends and was known to be the best exponent in word and deed of all I stand for. That in 1942 he differed from me I know. All honour for the boldness with which he publicly avowed the difference. He is a great social reformer, never afraid to act according to his belief. His political wisdom and integrity are beyond question. I was therefore pained to find a clique against him. It is a clique that evidently counts in the official Congress in Madras. But the masses are devoted to Rajaji I would be less than loyal to the organisation if I did not warn them against losing the valuable services which no one can shoulder as Rajaji can at the present moment".

What Gandhiji feared and warned Madras Congressmen about, has come to pass, but it did not stop with the loss of Rajaji's valuable services by the Congress. It has led to a change in the conception of leadership itself. The Mahatma did not approach the masses with bribes. He gave them a way of life, the way of honesty, rectitude and self-help, and hard and difficult things to do. He took care of their character and the nation responded handsomely to his lead rising at his bidding to heroic action. The present pattern of Congress lea-

(Continued on page 9)

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

By ACHARYA J. B. KRIPALANI

The following is a summarised version of Acharya Kripalani's speech on foreign policy delivered in the Lok Sabha recently.

The report of the team of the officers of our Foreign Department who met their Chinese counterparts on the so-called border issue with China shows that, so far as India is concerned, there is no border issue at all. The Chinese occupation of our territory is pure aggression and a betrayal. What are we doing about it? The immediate problems are the vacating of the territories occupied, and the defence of our country from further aggression. China claims 50,000 square miles of our territory. About vacating our territory the Prime Minister says it will be a long-drawn affair. It may take ten, twenty or more years. That is natural for a Government which took ten years to prepare our case against China. As for further aggression in India, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, it is said that we have strengthened our defence. I hope we have, though the Chinese have occupied the heights, from where they can descend at any time.

What are going to be our relations with aggressive Communist China? The Prime Minister, speaking in Parliament in November 1959 said that historically, whenever there has been a powerful Central Government in China, it has been expansionist. This aggressive tendency has now been sharpened by ideological zeal and fanaticism. Communist China believes that it has a revolutionary mission to perform in Asia and the world. This analysis, as is usual with our Prime Minister, is correct; but correct analysis, as is again usual with him, is not followed by appropriate action.

We began our freedom with a good deal of prestige in Asia and Africa. We were the only colonial nation which seriously struggled for freedom and made all-out sacrifices for it. In the wake of our freedom certain other countries, under British yoke, got their independence and the process is going on. Our sympathy and support was given to freedom movements in Indonesia and Indo-China. We took some initiative for the solidarity of Asia. We called two Asian conferences in Delhi. We sponsored the Bandung Conference. We celebrated the 2500th anniversary of Buddha. We built up a political and cultural identity of interest in freedom and democracy in Asia. We helped to enhance the prestige of Communist China. We advertised to the world that

it was a progressive and even a democratic regime. We allowed it to swallow the buffer kingdom of Tibet in the name of progress. We gave up our rights in that country not in favour of Tibet but in that of China. We enunciated along with China the principles of peaceful co-existence, and the Panch Sheel. We advocated Chinese entry into the U.N.O. The result of all this has been shameful ingratitude and betrayal.

We seem to have been paralysed since the last five years. We have forgotten that both India and China have to play an important role in Asia. We have allowed China to push us out of the position of our moral influence which was built upon the justice of our international policy and the example of our successful non-violent struggle for freedom. We have allowed China systematically to undermine our prestige and good-will in Asia. China has been busy entering into treaties of friendship or of non-aggression with all our neighbours, Nepal, Burma, Cambodia, Afghanistan and even Yemen. Tomorrow it may be Pakistan even. Today Shri Chin-ye is in Indonesia. We know what he is at, there. He said China has occupied territory where only animals live. Perhaps he wants to change them for the Chinese variety! I am afraid he got the idea from what was said here by our Prime Minister about "no grass growing and no man living on these heights".

China has isolated us from our neighbours. In all these countries our present relations with China are not properly understood. The result is that these countries have taken a neutral attitude on the question of Chinese aggression. The West has done likewise.

Radio China blares out Chinese propaganda to South East Asia for many hours every week. The Bank of China is actively furthering Chinese interests in this region. It has advanced Rs. 70 crores as loans to various countries and entered into barter agreements. Its wishes, as a good customer, are generally respected. China has also intensified its campaign of vilification against India. In an interview published in *Look*, an American magazine, in January last, Chou-En-lai described India as an enemy of Socialism. He said that we had artificially manufactured the Sino-Indian boundary question after the

collapse of the reactionary Tibetan revolt, in order to show our opposition to Socialism in Tibet, and in order to suppress the progressive forces at home and get more Western aid. China definitely regards us as its enemy and that of Communism, and its democratic rival in Asia.

Our Foreign Minister is also our Prime Minister. He is busy with a hundred and one things, including conflicts in the Congress, its State legislative parties and Cabinets. He has little time to look into the details of his Department. The evidence of this is that we have lost 12,000 square miles of our territory, without striking a single blow in its defence. This is something unique in history. In no democratic country could a Government have remained in office which had lost so much national territory. If the Prime Minister has no time, it appears that the Foreign Department suffers from some serious malady, which paralyses its thinking. Otherwise, we could not have sent an astounding note to China a couple of years back, when we first knew and

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protested against the building of the Akasai-Chin Road. The Indian note solemnly complained that a hundred miles of road had been built, through 'indisputably' Indian territory "without visas"! Such a protest would be ridiculous were it not so tragic for our country. We see the Chinese danger. The Prime Minister has admirably analysed its nature. But we have no policy in this regard. Let the Prime Minister strengthen our contact with our neighbouring countries through trade, educational and cultural contacts and goodwill missions. Let us also expose the false claims of China as being a reasonable, peace-loving and progressive nation. If we fail in this, future generations will not forgive us. It is now proved from our own documents that Tibet was an independent country, internally and internationally. That being established to our satisfaction, I think it is time that we changed our policy in the U.N.O. with regard to Tibet and instructed our delegation there to vote in favour of the contemplated resolution sponsored by Thailand and other nations. At this late hour, that is the least we can do for the wrongs from which Tibet has suffered.

Not long ago, we were told, that three rings of foreign spies connected with three foreign embassies, had been operating in our country for over a decade. There has been an effort to minimise the gravity of this discovery.

It was said that nothing of importance had leaked out and that only the members of the lower staff of the embassies were involved in this espionage. It is hard to believe that lower employees indulged in this dangerous activity merely to get unimportant material, and that too in ten years. It is very naive also to believe that the lower officers indulged in espionage, without the knowledge of their superior officers. An Ambassador is the absolute master of his staff in foreign lands. Therefore it is impossible that the heads of the three missions did not know what their lower staff were doing. High diplomats do not carry on spying themselves. They are too honourable to do so and engage their lower staff to do the dirty job.

The Summit Conference at Paris last year was broken up by Russia to the disappointment of the people of the world, because only one of its members, not all, had indulged in spying over Russia. Here we are not even told the names of the countries whose employees indulged in this vile activity against the host country. This information must be supplied to the nation. If it is not, all embassies here will be suspect. This will be doing injustice to innocent parties. Further, the exposure of names will also enable our people to know with whom to associate and with whom not to associate.

Another important event that has recently happened is the dispatch of our

troops to Congo to restore law and order and to see that democracy functions there. If the U.N.O. had an army and a corps of officers, our army unit would be indistinguishably merged therein. As it is, our army unit will be considered as Indian. It is also not quite clear under whose political command our unit will work, whether the democratically chosen Government of the late Shri Lumumba or of the U.N.O. What will be the position if these two parties give conflicting orders? All these things should have been clarified before we sent our unit. Today, the very port where our soldiers are expected to disembark, is in the hands of the partisans of Kasavubu.

If our unit misbehaves, or even if it performs its proper duties, some section of the Congo people may suffer. This is likely to create ill-will against not only our unit, but our country. It may also happen that in a civil war raging in Congo the action of our unit may be resented by both the parties. What will be the position of our soldiers then?

Moreover, people of Indian origin settled in Africa, are not the hot favourites of the native population. They have, by and large, not been known to have identified themselves with the Africans and made common cause with them. In a lesser degree than the Whites they have exploited the native population.

In this matter there is a contradiction in our policies. We have declared from the house tops that, as a peace loving nation, we will solve all international problems through peaceful means, even with the Portuguese and the Chinese. Also, time after time we have declared before the world that war solves no problems. Is it that only big wars solve no problems, but the same is not true of small and local wars, or those waged on behalf of the U.N.O.? This does not appear to be a logical position to take. I am afraid people will give us no credit for indulging in this kind of double-thinking but will accuse us of hypocrisy.

There is yet another important internal problem connected with the dispatch of our troops abroad. This refers to the constitutional right of the executive to dispatch troops outside the country, without consulting parliament. If the Constitution is silent on this point, as it is on many points, including the position of our President, our liberal government should lay down healthy and democratic conventions in this behalf. This is the only path of wisdom and constitutional propriety in a democracy.

POPULATION AS NEMESIS OF PLANNING

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The explosion of the population to the extent of 70 millions in a decade has exceeded the worst apprehensions. The increase slashes the national income and cuts the ground under the Third Plan. For the future, the rate of increase, which can add 100 millions in the next decade, poses even the question of subsistence, making meaningless all talk of 'take off' to the level of other countries.

There are certain laws of population which, since Malthus and Darwin, have stood the test of time. The first law is that population and poverty move together, the breeding being faster, the lower the economic condition. The Census figures support this in two ways. First, the increase of population has been most marked in States which are economically depressed. Secondly, in every decade since 1911, the population has reflected the economic condition, there being a marked rise in the decade ending 1941 because of the conditions of slump which prevailed then, with a distress exceeded only by the decade just ended in which the last sample survey has disclosed that there were 60 millions living on 5 annas a day, 40 millions on 4 annas and 20 millions on 2 annas and less. Thirdly, as poverty is more marked in villages, the size of the family there is larger, confirming the relation between over-population and poverty.

The second law is that as the correctives of nature, like disease, famine, insecurity are removed, society imposes the correctives of continence, convention and competence in other fields of satisfaction. Since Independence, social and religious obligations of continence have broken down. Conventions which even took the form of the law of primogeniture, the indivisibility of the family house and holding have been shattered by new laws fragmenting both land and life. At the same time, life remains as poor as before except in respect of new

white-collared employment which also inflation has robbed of value, and corruption, of dignity. There is little to divert the people from their prerogative of sex.

The third law is that artificial contraceptives are effective only in the higher strata, while it is the lower strata which breeds fastest. In Madras, which is regarded as leading other States in family planning, only 3330 surgical operations were done in 1959, at which rate it would take 4,000 years to cover the susceptible population.

The planning of Government has ignored these simple laws. Employment and the security of a regular income which would have weaned the people from their sexual prerogative have been sacrificed to heavy industries and administrative schemes, which can employ the smallest fraction of the unemployed whose number has therefore risen during the Second Plan by 8 million according to Government's own calculations. Secondly, taxes and loans have absorbed the savings of the people, which could have provided competing attractions to family breeding. Without the incentive to work and win, the population has generally resigned itself to an animal existence.

Thirdly, the planning never considered subsidies for housing, particularly in rural areas, to reduce the dangerous congestion, which emphasises sex on the one hand and denies gracious living as an alternative, on the other. The impoverishment of life in villages due to their being squeezed

of money for the improvement of towns, to the elimination of the larger landowners who gave some tone to village economy, and to the principle that the villager must contribute for amenities which the Government themselves provide in urban areas, has acted in the same way to emphasise family breeding.

Fourthly, planning has implied a series of frustrations which demographers recognise as a potent cause of sexual inclinations. The incursion of the State into the life and occupations of the people has corroded the impulse for self-development. Secondly, the favour shown to some castes has been a punishment to others and to the country. Thirdly, the futility of most schemes of Government, including education which has been able to raise literacy only at the annual rate of 0.7 per cent has taken out the joy of fulfilment. Generally the communist pattern in which life has been falling has desensitised the higher human impulses.

Can the country return to 1947, the dawn of our Independence at least in respect of the freedom of the human spirit? This means that government must give up its negative powers of restrictions while keeping its positive powers of assistance to minimum standards of work and income to the whole population. The community would gladly bear this liability if its incentives to production are not reduced on the communist theory of state ownership and control of the instruments of production.

At the same time, schemes of assisted emigration are necessary, not only to work off the populations we have received from Pakistan and Tibet, but to maintain an outlet the country has known for nearly a hundred years. The ban on the emigration of unskilled labour can only flatter the pride of those who ignore that just this labour in the past has established Indian communities throughout the world whose standard is higher than the best average we have. In Africa, South America, and in the Far East, there are vast un-

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developed areas where our labour would be welcomed, if it is properly sponsored by our diplomatic agencies or even by the U.N.

Another positive measure may be assisted migration within the country to undeveloped areas, this becoming a basic part of plan-

ning. The part of the Government should be only of assistance to those willing to move and not of complete insurance to those it wishes to move. If the stress is on free enterprise only those capable of making good will move to fresh fields.

The whole problem of overpopulation has therefore to be conceived not in terms of contraceptives employed by the highest strata in foreign countries but in terms of incentives for better living and lower breeding in our own poor country.

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CONSTITUTIONAL BREAKDOWN IN ANDHRA

By Prof. M. VENKATARANGAIYA

For the last one year the government in Andhra Pradesh has ceased to function in the way in which the constitution expects it to function. According to article 164(2) of the constitution the council of ministers has to be collectively responsible. Collective responsibility implies that the council acts as a single team under the undisputed leadership of the chief minister. For the last one year the council of ministers has come to consist of two rival groups openly carrying on an almost a daily battle with each other, one group being led by the Chief Minister Sri Sanjeeviah and the other by the Finance Minister Sri Brahmananda Reddy. Each group has hurled charges of corruption, nepotism and maladministration on the other. They have also issued from time to time statements and counter-statements of a similar character.

The Congress High Command and the Congress Working Committee had from time to time to enquire into the conduct of these rival groups. High-placed personages deputed by them came to Hyderabad to patch up the differences but they failed. Members of the two groups made many pilgrimages to New Delhi in this connection though nothing has so far come out of such visits. All this is referred to here to show that there is more than ample evidence to prove that the council of ministers in Andhra is not working on the principle of collective responsibility. It has ceased to function according to the constitution. Their is a constitutional breakdown in the State.

Under circumstances like these any chief minister would have tendered his resignation and reconstituted his council of ministers. This is a power which is inherent in him and it is also his duty and responsibility. But the Andhra Chief Minister has not cared to exercise his power or to discharge his responsibility.

The result is the neglect of administration. And it is the public that suffers from such neglect. Neither the council of ministers, nor the Congress Legislature Party, nor the Pradesh Congress Committee nor the Congress High Command has taken into consideration the woes and sufferings of the people consequent on the maladministration of the State.

Every constitution provides implicitly or explicitly for a guardian of the constitution—for some one to protect, preserve and defend it when a govern-

ment ceases to function in accordance with its principles. In our constitution the Governor of the State and the President of India are such guardians. They have certain inherent prerogative rights like the King or Queen in England. We have taken the English Constitution as a model and the Governors of States and the President occupy the same position here as the king or queen does in England.

It is a matter for regret that even though there was so much evidence available to prove that the council of ministers was functioning contrary to the principles of the constitution the Governor of Andhra Pradesh has not cared to exercise his prerogative right in the matter. When he assumed office he took the oath: "I will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the constitution". (Article 159). His inaction all these months shows that he has had no respect for the sacredness of the oath he took.

Three courses of action are open to him when he finds his council of ministers divided against itself. One is to warn and advise the Chief Minister that if the differences are not made up he would be put to the necessity of dismissing the Ministry. A second course is to dissolve the Legislative Assembly (as the majority party in the Assembly continues to have confidence in a ministry even though the latter is functioning in an unconstitutional manner) and order fresh elections. In a democracy the electorate is the final court of appeal and it is the duty of the Governor to give opportunity for that court to pass its verdict. A threat that he would adopt this course would have taught a lesson to his council of ministers and the Legislative Party to which they belong. No one likes being put to the inconvenience of facing a general election. But the Governor has failed to adopt this course.

The third course open to him is to report to the President of India as provided for in Article 356 (1) that a situation has arisen in the state in which the government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and leave it to the President to take action under Article 355. The Governor has not so far taken any action under this Article 356 (1). He has been a passive spectator of the happenings clearly contrary to the principles of the constitution for whose protection and defence he took

a solemn oath. And the President of the Union on whom also rests the responsibility of defending the constitution has not cared to take the Governor to task for his neglect of a duty cast on him by the constitution.

It is high time that the Governor and the President stand by their oath. Otherwise the public will suffer more and more and they will be compelled to bear the suffering for another year—the next general election.

SIDELIGHTS

(Continued from page 4)

dership is totally different. The ruling leaders have no use for self-help. Its comparatively unspectacular rewards are dismissed as unattractive, not falling within the magic circle of mass appeal. It is easier to covet than to work, therefore feed covetousness. Hence the Congress leaders have evolved a policy of feeding mass covetousness with crumbs from the expropriated property of the rich. When they speak of fifty crores of loans to the poor, it means fifty crores' worth of demoralisation, spread before the people on election eve to bribe them into voting the Congress into office for another term.

When there is dissidence in the higher ranks, the dissidents are offered ministerships to stimulate their loyalty. Leadership has thus become the fine art of promoting and consolidating the selfishness of the various elements of the population at different levels with masked largesse distributed out of the revenues and funds collected with the aid or abuse of political power. All this they call mass appeal.

The present conflict in India is not merely a struggle for power between contending parties. It is a revolt against degeneracy in leadership. Rajaji symbolises the type of leadership that does not offer to feed the greed of people in exchange for loyalty and looks to the development of character for national renovation. By Congress standards it may be estimated that there was no mass appeal in Rama Rajya. But today Sri Rama is worshipped by millions of people throughout the country.

IS THE GOVERNMENT BLACKMARKETING IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE?

By PHIROZE J. SHROFF

The top-ranking economic do-gooders in our country who are proclaiming from house-tops their determination to raise the standard of life of the people seem to be innocent not only of the knowledge of the elementary laws of economics but common sense as well. The latest example of their unpardonable economic bungling is provided by their policy in respect of sugar export.

It is an elementary law of economics that a country exports only such commodity in the production of which it enjoys a comparative advantage by reason of the cheapness of labour or abundance of natural resources or favourable climatic conditions or such other factors. In defiance of this universally accepted economic principle our Government has decided to export during the current season 5,00,000 tons of sugar at the world price of Rs. 400 per ton, whereas the cost of production is Rs. 700 per ton exclusive of excise duty. According to these figures the loss on the proposed export would amount to Rs. 15 crores exclusive of the loss on excise duty to the exchequer. This loss of Rs. 15 crores is to be made up by raising the internal price of sugar. In other words, the consumer is to be subjected to an additional taxation of Rs. 15 crores on a commodity which is already taxed very heavily.

The reason advanced for pursuing this policy which is at variance with the principles of international trade as well as common sense is that it is necessary to obtain foreign exchange. But the question is: at what price is this foreign exchange to be obtained? Mr. A. M. Thomas, Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture stated in the Rajya Sabha that up to February 26, 1961 in the current financial year 37,906 metric tonnes of sugar had been shipped and that the loss estimated was Rs. 1.3 crores, exclusive of the loss to the exchequer on excise duty. The foreign exchange earned on the exported quantity was Rs. 1.52 crores. In other words, the Government obtained foreign exchange for Rs. 1.52 crores by paying Rs. 2.82 crores. The short effect of this peculiar transaction is that the Government mulcted the Indian tax-payer heavily in order to obtain foreign exchange at a rate which is much adverse to India even when compared with the prevailing black-market rate for dollar or sterling currency which is reported to be Rs. 6.50 to a dollar or Rs. 17 to a pound sterling. It is fan-

tastic to export goods worth about Rs. 185 for obtaining foreign exchange of the value of Rs. 100.

We are told that it is necessary to earn foreign exchange, particularly in order to import machinery. However, at a time when there is much idle capacity in various industries, is it acting in consonance with reason to obtain foreign exchange at heavily adverse rates? India began her career as an independent nation with huge reserves of foreign exchange as a consequence of which the Indian rupee enjoyed a world reputation of being a strong and stable currency. Now the picture has completely changed. The time has been long overdue for making a thorough investigation into the manner in which our foreign exchange resources have been depleted or rather dissipated and the country put under an excessive burden of foreign debts.

Citing instances of bad planning and lack of foresight on the part of authorities the latest annual audit report on defence services states that in one case machinery and equipment worth about Rs. 17 lakhs received in 1957 are still lying in stock as the contract for building the hulls has not yet been concluded. In another case equipment costing over Rs. 4 lakhs, purchased between 1955 and 1958, was still lying in stock. The public would like to know what action has been taken against the officials concerned for these and similar lapses and blunders and why the minister concerned has not been asked to tender his resignation? Is the foreign exchange which has been obtained after "starving" the people to be used in such a reckless and scandalous manner?

Instead of concentrating on the promotion of our traditional exports like tea, textiles, shellac, manganese ore, and mica, which have been experiencing precipitate falls during recent months and years, the Government are trying to implement their misconceived scheme of sugar export. Not so very long ago our tea was our biggest foreign exchange earner and the receipts from the export of tea amounted to well over a hundred crore of rupees. For some time our exports of tea have been falling continuously. During the first nine months of 1960, tea exports amounted to Rs. 69 crores as against Rs. 76 crores during the corresponding period of the previous year. Wrong taxation policies and ill-conceived wel-

fare schemes of our Government are pricing our tea out of our traditional markets. The utter illogicality of the export policy of our Government can be seen from the fact that they levy export duty on tea and reduce its competitive potential in the international market and they heavily subsidize the export of sugar when that commodity has not the slightest chance of competing in the international market.

Manganese ore has been a good foreign exchange earner in the past. However, during recent months there has been a steep fall in the export of this commodity with the result that almost 50 per cent of mines in the country have been closed. Instead of taking effective steps to rectifying this unhappy situation, the authorities want to push on with the hare-brained scheme of sugar exports!

The progenitor and staunch propagandist of the peculiar export policy which envisages obtaining foreign exchange at any cost is the Prime Minister himself. Mr. Nehru is reported to have said that "If we want to earn money by export, we must do without things here and export them. It is not a question of surplus. I want to lay stress that we must starve ourselves of goods and things and export them to get foreign exchange". It is alright for ministers, highly paid bureaucrats and other privileged people under the present regime who do not feel any pinch in respect of food, clothing, housing, transport and fuel to talk in this strain and preach austerity to the people. But in a country where sugar consumption is about the lowest in the world, to deprive people of the benefit of increased production of sugar in the country and export it at a heavy loss is bad economics and worse business. Where is the sense in making people "starve" and then setting about to find means to cure the crippling effects of starvation?

The Government's export policies and programmes require a thorough scrutiny and overhaul. We have Trade Commissions in several countries of the world, but we do not know what exactly is their contribution towards promoting our export trade and whether the heavy cost of maintaining these Trade Commissions is justified on the basis of their help in promoting our exports.

It is certainly desirable to be able to export on a fair and profitable basis. But to persevere in an export drive to earn foreign exchange at worse than black market rates is ruinous to our country's economy. The trouble with our Government's export policy is that it does what it should not do and omits to do what it should do.

CAPITAL COMMENTS:

CONGRESS DEFEAT AND DISCOVERIES

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: If the latest by-election for a seat in the Lok Sabha was fought at any place other than at the Capital it would not have possibly excited half the interest that it has done. In Delhi it acquired the importance of a major contest, though as a side-piece; it became a prestige issue—and understandably so. Any party could afford to lose but not the ruling party. It needed to live up to its tall claims and pompous pretensions. The myth of its invincibility having been neatly exploded beneath the shadows of the Red Fort, the Congress bosses are now feeling rattled. Their studied silence notwithstanding, preparations on their side are afoot for an inquest into the electoral disaster.

Mr. Brahm Perkash and other local leaders were counting on a victory; they only feared that they might not get a majority of more than 10,000 votes. And they woke up on the day after the election to realise that their candidate was beaten by that very margin. The greater was the chagrin as the Congress lost to the Jan Sangh (which in its view is communal), at a time when it was about to wage a holy war on all communal bodies. It was the rudest of shocks.

Other parties too, notably the Swatantra Party, suffered badly. Doubtless they have lessons to learn as much as the Congress; they can however take their defeat easily unlike the Congress. For the real issue was whether the Congress could be routed, no matter by which particular party in the Opposition.

It was thus a victory of the Opposition over the party in power, and quite an impressive one too. The significance of the by-election in Delhi lay in the proof that a majority of the electorate would rather like to unseat the Congress if there was in the field an Opp-

sition party which was either strong or could create the impression that it had a fairly good chance of winning.

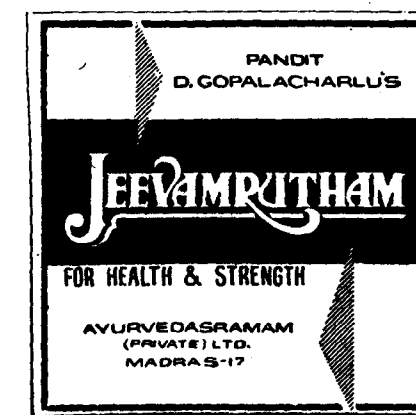
It is in this perspective that the by-election should be viewed and the moral drawn from the electoral verdict. The Jan Sangh was known to be both organisationally strong and extremely lucky in its candidate. There was nothing half-hearted in its whirlwind campaign or vitriolic oratory; there was a lot of punch in its onslaughts on the Congress and its candidate. It worked for a victory—and got it hands down; incidentally it brought a new hope to non-Congress, non-Communist parties, which might now seek to augment their chances by a kind of consolidation of the Opposition forces.

It is difficult not to feel rather amused at the belated discovery of the Congress that communalism in the country was on the increase and needed to be combated with a relentless severity. Yet strangely enough, after shouting about the menace out of first impulses, Congress Members of Parliament at their latest party meeting modulated their voices under the sway of second thoughts. Perhaps they realised that they could not claim to have had clean hearts, having unabashedly absorbed the Muslim Leaguers in Kerala into their bosoms out of too blatant a political expediency. They also seemed to be alive to the difficulty of dubbing individuals or parties as communal with any cock-sure confidence when some might challenge the contention, if not seek to turn the tables on Congressmen themselves. Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, leader of the Jan Sangh Group in the Lok Sabha, has already denied that the Jan Sangh is a communal body as it is opposed to the communal demand

of Punjabi Suba and to the very idea of bringing in religion into politics. What the Congress says to this is not known. In any case it will wait till the Law Minister who is examining the legal and constitutional aspect of the question gives his expert opinion and also till its supreme leader, Mr. Nehru, will have his say.

It is, however, not difficult to know what Mr. Nehru will say on the subject though it should always be difficult to know what he will really do about it. He has a horror of communalism in any form or shape and he holds such extreme views on the subject that he is apt to dub one a Communalist a trifle too easily. He is apt to have doubts even about a man who visits a temple or wears tilak on his forehead! Judged by the rigid Nehru standards, more than half of his party men cannot escape from the odium of being communalist!

It is a tragedy that for all their perfervid nationalism (in a broad sense), Congressmen do not realise that in actual practice they are easily susceptible to caste enthusiasm and even subcaste impulses. They are not conscious of their own doubtful role in party affairs when at election time in the matter of choice of candidates, they insist on putting up candidates of particular communities. This is done either out of identity with candidates from the same class or community or out of the consideration that in given constituencies where particular communities predominate, they alone can possibly win. The result is



that communal appetite grows on what it feeds or is fed upon.

It is no use shutting one's eyes to ugly realities while no purpose is served by pretending that communal instincts are not deliberately exploited for doubtful political purposes. And the greater danger is there to the noble cause of anti-communalism when any unrepentant promoter of sub-communal ends, becomes acceptable, if not also respectable, if only he chooses to pass for a Congressman. Being pledged to socialism is like plunging into the Ganga—it is an all-absolving prescription for *moksha*, immediate and remote!

The Congress has made yet another discovery. Apart from communalism which is now raising its head as in the pre-partition days, crime is on the increase. The U.P. Home Minister is agitated over one particular aspect of the problem of crime, namely the ready asylum that criminals are having, for instance, in his state, by seeking the refuge of political parties. Speaking in the U.P. Vidhan Sabha on police demands, he gave some telling figures. In one district alone, the Socialists with 4,000 members have 100 history-sheets, the PSP with 2,000 have 16, the Communists with 325 have seven, and the Congress with 40,000 have two. He said this, not to make out that the proportion of criminals to membership in the Congress was negligible but to warn the country against a general trend. It should, however, be borne in mind that when Mr. Charan Singh was talking of criminals, he was only paying heed to the criminals who got into 'history-sheets' and not to the larger number of those who deserved the appellation though they had not (yet) got into the 'sheets of history'. Mr. Charan Singh said he gave orders to the police to deal with criminals, "irrespective of personalities" and possibly also irrespective of party affiliations. Given a longer lease of life, the Congress, whether in regard to communalism in Madhya Pradesh, or crime in U.P., or reactionaryism elsewhere, should have an exciting time.

IS NATIONALIZATION NECESSARY?

By R. V. RAGHAVA RAO

In all advanced countries of the world where nationalization has been experimented there is an intense trend away from nationalization. But the planners of India are in no mood to learn from the experience of other countries. They seem determined to commit all the mistakes committed elsewhere and then only draw the lessons. What they do not realize is that it may be too late by then.

It is an elementary and acceptable principle of economic thinking that nationalization should be resorted to when (1) the industry or trade is of vital importance because of defence and security reasons (2) the industry or trade involves such enormous investments that no private party can afford them (3) the industry or trade shows a strong inherent tendency towards becoming a monopoly and (4) when the industry is of such a nature that it will be a waste and inconvenience to have more than one organization such as posts and telegraphs and Railways.

But in India none of these considerations seems to weigh in deciding what to nationalize. The primary, if not the only, consideration has been the profit motive. Whichever industry is in a position to make good profits is liable to be nationalized once the greedy eyes of the Government fall on it. This is a most unhealthy and disastrous development in the minds of our rulers and planners in recent times. This was clearly admitted when the life insurance business was nationalized. We have also been told that general insurance business is not being nationalized because it is not yet profitable enough.

Nationalization is an ultimate and desperate remedy. But in India it has become the very first drug to be administered for any industry. Take the example of nationalization of bus services. Nobody will deny that a very important service like bus service cannot be left entirely to the whims and fancies of the private enterprise, although services like the TVS in Madras are more efficient than any Government run service can ever dream to be. But resorting to complete nationalization of all motor services is carrying this too far. The performance of Andhra Pradesh Road Transport Corporation vividly illustrates the folly of resorting to complete nationalization. The Road Transport Corporation has decided to nationalize all the routes in Kistna and Guntur districts. Most of the State buses are huge Leyland buses. In some of the routes nationalized, the bus is

bigger than the road. The result is, the bus goes into costly repair after every trip and services are anything but regular. It has become the common practice to suspend services on certain routes because buses are not available. All this while hundreds of buses belonging to private operators are locked up in sheds on the roadsides as a result of their being thrown out of business after nationalization.

In the case of Andhra Pradesh the main motive behind nationalization as was made abundantly clear, was the growing discontent of the Government at the high profits that were allegedly being made by private operators in Kistna and Guntur. But it is a strange irony that in the same districts with increased traffic, the state transport is managing to make a loss even after "doubling" the rates! The Road Transport Corporation has become a huge drain which can take up any amount of money. If only the State Transport Corporation could content itself by running good buses on certain important routes, and exercise close supervision over the private operators with a view to increasing their efficiency, it will not only make profits, but it would have helped hundreds of people to be happy.

The same principle of grabbing that was noticed when the STC took over the distribution of cement and export of iron ore motivates governmental policy in matters relating to transport. Even in this 20th century are we to blindly follow outdated dogmas with fanatical perseverance?

THE SPEAKER'S

(Continued from page 3)

operation and patriotic responsibility for the last *naya paisa* in currency, we are in danger of leaving Speaker Ananthasayanam Iyengar in difficulty as a question-mark, those in power indulging in disbursements without restraint on the principle of "Business as Usual". The Prime Minister of England is also called First Lord of the Treasury to signify that he is pledged to safeguard the assets and revenues of the nation against profitless expenditure by the impetuous egotism of colleagues. A blank-cheque prerogative would be as sinkable as any aircraft-carrier hurriedly commissioned on wrong priority.

INDIA'S OIL FUTURE By A CORRESPONDENT

In the light of India's rapid industrial progress, it is reasonable to assume that the demand for petroleum products will rise steeply in the coming decade, providing enough scope for both the public and private sectors to work towards the objective of making adequate oil supplies to meet the nation's needs. But unfortunately, the industrial policy of the government would still appear to be shrouded in a thick sheet of doctrinaire thinking, both in regard to the means to be selected in exploiting the country's national wealth, as well as in determining the agencies through which the objectives are to be reached.

The present demand in India of petroleum products is in the order of seven million tons a year. According to the Draft Third Five Year Plan, this figure will increase to 10 million tons. This is, of course, less than the 11 million ton figure quoted by another competent source, though the figure of 14 million tons has also been mentioned in ministerial pronouncements. It will be noted that in terms of forward planning, these figures represent a considerable divergence of opinion. A difference of a million or two may seem of no consequence to the layman, but to the oilman it means much, considering that a "large refinery" may have an output of not more than two and a half million tons. Way down the line is the so called "average refinery", such as the Nummati Refinery coming up in Assam, with a capacity of three-fourth's of a million tons. A refinery or even a cracking unit is not engineered and built overnight; so the lack of unanimity in the field of demand expectations though trifling on paper is quite disturbing to oil planners. The success of any oil company is entirely dependent on how correct their estimates are so that they will have sufficient crude oil, transport, refining facilities and distribution facilities available when required without having excessive facilities which are not productive. Only with confidence in their planning can an oil company enter into long term contracts to supply a market.

Against this estimate of a demand of 14 million tons, the indigenous sources of supply established as reliable are those in Assam. The present production from Indian oil fields is only 400,000 tons annually, mainly from the Digboi fields. On the invitation of the Government, foreign companies, have

applied for exploration rights, and it is on the cards that India will quicken her programme of oil search. But for a very long time to come, it may not be possible for the country to meet her own "crude" needs.

Existing refinery capacity is estimated at approximately six million tons. To meet partly the balance of eight million tons by 1965 (should the demand be 14 million tons) two public sector refineries of a total of 2.75 million tons are under way in North East India. This leaves a gap of 5.25 million tons. With the insufficiency of local refining capacity to meet the full product demand, there will have to be imports of finished products until this gap is bridged.

That being so, one must view with a combination of amusement and concern what appears to be the latest pastime of juggling with figures in terms of million tons of crude! It is not really so simple. Refineries cannot be considered merely in the light of meeting, in terms of million tons, the total estimated consumption of the country. One very serious factor which must suffer in this sort of game is the question of product imbalance.

What is the nature of this imbalance? India today has an increasing need for what are known as middle distillates such as kerosene and diesel oil, and to meet this demand the existing four refineries are doing their very best to raise the output. Now, when stepping up the production of the middle distillates, the refineries have perforce to manufacture more and more petrol, and the consumption of petrol being comparatively lower, there is bound to be an over-supply of this product.

One aspect of this imbalance is already showing itself in transport bottleneck and pricing. The shortage of tank-wagons is mainly a result of restricted finance, insufficient raw materials and delays in delivery schedules. Bottlenecks are also on the increase on account of existing tank-wagons being switched to different uses. Thus, tank-wagons which should normally carry petroleum products are often employed to carry special chemicals for steel plants and other Five Year Plan industries. Also they play the role of water carriers, coupled to passenger trains, to feed steam locomotives in the drier areas. Because of the tank-

wagon shortage, there has been a diversion of petroleum products transport to tank trucking, a comparatively costlier operation. Increased use is also made of railway covered boxcars, but here again additional expense is involved as steel for drums is scarce and boxcar transport of oil is effected with the aid of 45 gallon containers.

The problem connected with pricing is so complex that it is still in the process of settlement. The term "price war" has been bandied about of late. It is well known that the price which is operating today is the result of an unsuccessful attempt at a price agreement between the Government Cost Accountant and the Oil Companies a year ago—as a result of which, after lengthy negotiations, the parties agreed only to disagree, and the existing unsatisfactory 'ad hoc' arrangements emerged.

In any economy where the control of prices is an established policy, it is to be expected that just, fair and reasonable prices, acceptable to all parties, be established and it is for this reason that it is sincerely hoped that the Damle Committee which has been entrusted with the recommendation of a new price structure will be successful in its efforts.

It is also to be hoped that whatever may be the result of the Damle Committee's deliberations, that Government will permit the very considerable reductions which have been given by the Oil Companies since May 1958 to reach the consumer—in whose interests presumably these enquiries, committees and investigations have been set up.

Here it must be mentioned that the oil companies have in the last two years paid considerable amounts to the Government, under *ad hoc* agreements, by way of additional excise duties which are non-recoverable. Specifically, since May 1958, the oil industry collectively paid the sum of Rs. 40 crores on this account. Additionally, reduction in posted prices announced in August 1960 have resulted in effect in an annual cumulative contribution by the industry of over Rs. 6 crores.

While applauding the desire of Mr. Malaviya's administration to reach self-sufficiency, one must question the plans for achieving it. If a given target in production of crude and its refining is to be reached by a given date, to what extent can this be achieved in the private sector? In view of the importance and urgency of the situation, is it not desirable to permit the private sector to play a more important role, specifically by increasing the existing capacity? Here is the crux of the matter.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ADVANCE PAYMENT FOR DRINKING WATER

Sir,—Kasumpti is a town with a population of 3,000 inhabitants situated in Himachal Pradesh at a distance of about three miles from Simla. The Deputy Commissioner and the Tehsildar hold their courts in this town. There are also numerous other offices of the local government, besides the posts and telegraph office and a public library and reading room in the heart of the town. As such, this town is regularly visited by the Deputy Commissioner, magistrates, police officers, excise and taxation officers, postal officials, besides visitors, lawyers, clients, businessmen and hundreds of government servants employed in the local government offices. But the local government has totally failed to provide even a drop of free drinking water to the inhabitants of this town. Even for the requirements of water for the animals, widows and school children, payment has to be made to the Simla Municipality in advance in cash. The advance payment demanded by the Simla Municipality is 3-1/2 times what the Simla citizens, only three miles away, pay and four times as much as what the Delhi citizens pay. The population of this town is poor—perhaps the poorest in India,—most of them half-naked, illiterate, ill-fed and starving. It is these people who have to pay cash in advance for drinking water, not only for themselves but also for their animals,—the only source of their livelihood.

The common man in this town has not yet begun to feel that the British rule is ended or India has become a free country; for countless representations and interviews with the Governor of the State, the Deputy Commissioner of the District, the Chief Engineer of the Public Works Department, the local Members of Parliament and Congress Chiefs have all failed to bring about any relief. Desperate and helpless, they now seek your assistance in securing for us, not some monetary grant, or a school or park for our children, or a pucca road or a hospital or food at cheap rates like what are provided for in Kashmir—but a bucket of drinking water without cash payment in advance, or in the alternative, supply of drinking water on payment at reasonable rates or at rates in force in Simla and at a more central place nearer to our residence, or at least a change in the system of payment. As it is, the Simla Municipality

posts a keyman at the water tap, who sells water at the spot even for animals or way-farers after collecting payment. This water tap is the only source of drinking water to this miserable town in free India.

Simla Municipality is in Punjab, but the source of all drinking water to this Municipality is Goma in Himachal Pradesh. The pipe line that carries water to Simla passes through Kasumpti and yet the townspeople have to pay not only cash in advance but at exorbitant rates.

The hardships of the citizens do not end here. The charge for electricity to this unfortunate town is 2-1/2 times more than that in Delhi and 1-1/2 times more than that in Simla. Apart from the charge being high, the supply itself is undependable as it can be suspended at any moment by the Electricity Department at their will. Such stoppages occur regularly for long hours during nights when it is needed most. Any number of representations on the subject to the Electrical Department has not moved them. The irresponsibilities and indifference of the department have caused a frustration in the people of this town who are losing confidence in the Government. The Government, as far as they are concerned, exists only in name as they find that even such bare human needs as free water and cheap electricity are denied to them even after thirteen years of Independence. India is generous enough to supply water and electricity to Pakistan and Kashmir, but is it not shameful that the local authorities do not extend such essential services to their own subjects?

The public trust that you will be good enough to give priority to this important issue and move the local government—

- (i) to arrange the installation of a public water tap near the Mandir, of this town,—which is the most central and convenient place for one and all, and
- (ii) to ensure regular supply of electricity to this neglected town at normal rates, and earn our heart-felt gratitude for your this act of generosity and kindness. CITIZEN OF KASUMPTI.

WHO IS IGNORANT?

Sir,—Speaking at the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers

of Commerce and Industry, the P.M. levelled the following charges against the leaders of the Swatantra Party: (i) they were quite ignorant of India and the world of today; (ii) they were blind to the revolutionary changes taking place both at home and abroad and talked in terms of the social set up of the old age.

At the same time the P.M. admits that these leaders who are in opposition are highly educated and eminent individuals. If that were so, is it not a contradiction in terms to charge them with ignorance and meaningless conservatism?

A great thinker that he is, it would have been better for himself and the country if instead of assuming that eminent people who differed from him were ignorant and outdated, he had put the question to himself as to why they differed from him so radically and tried to genuinely answer it, he would have no difficulty in discovering that his opponents far from being ignorant, it is he that is suffering from a passionate dogma-complex, viz., of a socialism of a leftist sort. This blinds him to all reasoning to the contra.

Except in Russia, people all over the world are beginning to realise that socialism, pure and simple, which did not differ much from communism, brought its own problem more serious than that of capitalism—both morally and materially. Ultimately it led to the fall of national wealth and prosperity. West Germany, Japan and America stand as shining examples of 'benevolent' capitalism.

We in India after pursuing the cult of socialism for 14 years are nowhere near prosperity. Far from it, we are in the very throes of inflation at its peak and on the verge of national insolvency. Our foreign debts are staggering. Only the P.M. is still unable to see the folly of his pet political theories. May God give him the wisdom to retrace his steps. X.Y.Z.

SHOULD VOTING BE MADE COMPULSORY?

Sir,—We take pride in having given unto ourselves a constitution based on universal adult suffrage. But the experience of the past two elections shows that a large percentage of the electorate does not realize the value of the ballot box. A good many of the voters have to be goaded and herded to the polling booths by the candidates or their partisans. We have not got over our apathy to the results of the election, whether Rama rules or Ravana

rules the land. No doubt in some areas voting will reach a very high percentage. But they are only exceptions.

I feel that for some years to come, there must be some sort of compulsion on the electorate to exercise their franchise. When democracy is well established with a strong and able opposition the element of compulsion may not be required. But till then, the voter must be made to realize the value of the ballot paper and make his choice of one party or the other.

I think that the Representation of People Act must be suitably amended by providing punishment, by way of fine, of every voter, who failed to exercise his franchise without valid or sufficient cause. This would ensure the largest percentage of polling and make a legislator really a representative of the people and not one in name only. I also feel that such a deterrent provision will do away with a number of malpractices at the elections and also minimise costs to the candidates. N. BALASUBRAMANIAM IYER.

ENQUIRY NEEDED

Sir,—The shooting down of 12 illiterate Adivasis of the Bastar District on last Friday by an A.S.P. and the S.A.F. of the Madhya Pradesh Government would have shocked all sensitive souls all over India. A careful reading of the Government communique shows that there was not sufficient provocation for the staging of the near massacre, on the 31st March.

If the Adivasis were the first to have taken to the offensive the communique would have mentioned about the officers and the police-men injured. We would have been provided with a list of injuries sustained by the officials and graphic details of the atrocities committed by the Adivasis would have found a place in the communique. As there is absolutely no mention of any of these things in the Government notification and because it speaks of an attempt to encircle the police station it is necessary to ask whether it was necessary to shoot down 12 human-beings by firing 45 rounds. Did the officers and the police act in panic? Or were they trying to teach a lesson to the tribal people for daring to demand the release of the ex-ruler of Bastar? Or was the tragic show arranged for the benefit of the advisory board constituted under the notorious Preventive Detention Act before whom the ex-Maharaja has been made to appear? The public has a right to get answers for these questions from the authorities

through a high-powered judicial enquiry.

There is another point in the Government communique which is intriguing. It is stated that against 12 persons who died there are only 7 injured persons in a crowd of 10 thousand tribals though the police in-all fired 45 rounds, besides many tear-gas shells. In the above circumstances it is hard to believe that injury was confined to 7 persons. We may reasonably expect the number of injured to be much more. Hence it is all the more necessary to have a thorough probe into the whole of this sordid business holding a judicial enquiry presided over by a high court judge from out-side Madhya Pradesh. V. S. SRIKUMAR.

OUR SACRED DUTY

Sir,—Let those of us who belong to the middle income and lower income groups and who are in the vicinity of 45 years of age ask ourselves: "Are we happy now? Do we feel that our family is above want or at least in a state of reasonable sufficiency? Are we satisfied that our children, the future citizens of India that is Bharat are happy and developing themselves along the right paths of life with proper education? Do we feel real zeal and enthusiasm for our work? Finally do we feel happy to live at all under these socialistic ways of the present Government?"

It is high time that the suffering millions of India think for a few minutes every day in calmness and concentration, just like offering prayer to God, about what we were and what our present condition is. If every one of us does so I am sure we will see that the right guide for us in our present sufferings are C.R. and Swatantra. He alone will give us the crowning victory with his indomitable weapon of Dharma—that is Swatantra. The price for such a great emancipation is after all fifty nP. membership and sincere support. Will the Indian citizens do their sacred duty? D. RAJAGOPAL.

ASSISTANT EXAMINERS FOR S.S.L.C. EXAMS.

Sir,—The qualification prescribed for the post of Assistant Examiners for the S.S.L.C. Public Examination is four years' teaching experience in the higher forms for graduate trained teacher. I am a post-graduate trained teacher with five years' experience. I have been teaching Social Studies for the past

four years and English for the past two years in the sixth form.

In spite of my having the above qualification, I have not been selected for the post. That, in itself, is not of great consequence. What however is of some consequence and importance is that teachers less experienced that is, with a teaching experience of just four years, and with opportunities to handle only one subject in the sixth form, have been appointed as Assistant Examiners in large numbers this year—in one instance six appointments from a single institution. When it is to be noted that the school authorities are asked to mention also the caste of the teacher qualified for the post of Assistant Examiner, when names are sent every year, one is tempted to read more into this business than what strikes the eye.

Is it to be assumed that though qualified in other respects, a candidate can be disqualified on the basis of his caste? Or, does it mean that nothing is taken into consideration and that names are selected from the list just at random?

ONE AFFECTED.

"COMMON" MAN AND UNCOMMON MINISTER

Sir,—A bachelor will not know what married life is. Likewise, our finance minister Mr. Morarji Desai, who never uses tea, coffee, betel-nut and cigarette, will not know the difficulties of the common man who uses them. So there is no wonder why he taxed these items. As per Rajaji, Mr. Morarji Desai's taxes are mere mathematical calculations without any consideration of human aspect.

Because it is the common man who elected him, there is no purpose in blaming him for his action. If the common man wants to get rid of him let him cast his vote to some other suitable man.

Bombay.

P. V. V. RAJAN.

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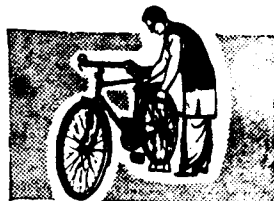
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FREEDOM WITHIN PARTIES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

We can take for granted that the rule of one nation over another has ended in this world and that every country is now concerned only with her own affairs and how best to run her government. The chief and perhaps the only issue now in every country is how to secure good, honest, just and stable administration, a government that is concerned with the public interest and not with the interests, the prestige, influence or the longevity of any particular party.

How can this kind of administration be secured? We have no hereditary monarch or benevolent dictator with army or household guards to support and keep him in power. We have democracy. How can democracy yield this good, just, diligent and impartial administration which the people want? Political parties are necessary to oppose one another and keep watching and criticising so that good government and the wise decisions necessary for it may issue. We must evolve a majority party which will leave things to a neutral administrative machinery and not seek to use the administration and its officials for its own advantage. Needless to say, we require in the first place an administrative machine which is devoted to its work, pledged to justice and fair play and habituated to do it and which has the courage to stand up to all party tricks and intimidations. We must in the second place have political parties who are keen to watch and criticise policies but who will not

when in power interfere with the administration any more than one would tamper with the prescriptions of a doctor who deals with a patient's illness.

We want political parties founded on definite principles and slants of approach but who will not make a clique or a conspiracy of political association.

We do not want any party in charge of government for a time, to disturb the order of things simply for change's sake, and on the other hand will do so courageously when what is sought to be done away with has been proved to be an evil and only then. We want discussion, and opposition to be based on conviction and sincere feeling and not merely tactical strategy based upon block votes under quasi-military discipline. The members of political parties should therefore be free in the real sense of the term and not pledged to act under what is called party discipline in every matter. It is only under these conditions that the usefulness of opposition parties will be a reality.

The Swatantra Party has definitely guaranteed freedom to all its members in every respect except the basic principles on which the party has been constituted. And these basic principles may be briefly described as the restoration of the fundamental rights of citizens guaranteed in the original Constitution adopted by India in 1950, which have been whittled down by the present ruling party, because it could not carry out its

policy of expropriation and running after the will-o'-the-wisp of egalitarianism without such whittling down.

Freedom of occupation and the competitive principle by which men are induced to put forth their best energy, and the right of each citizen to hold and enjoy what he has lawfully earned, these are age-old conditions which have enabled man gradually to evolve civilization. This is the basic condition for men to have an incentive to work hard and think aright and this basic condition for progress is therefore recognized as a fundamental right either written or unwritten.

After reaching a stage of progress, certain men are inclined by reason of ambition or ignorance to forget these age-old laws of progress and proceed to act in violation of these natural laws. An illusion seizes their minds that the basic condition is no longer necessary. We have to save civilization by reviving respect for the basic truths on which civilization rests. We must not destroy or allow to be destroyed the incentive for right thinking and wise and diligent action on the part of individuals who make up the nation by undermining the security and freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution. The Swatantra Party wants therefore the personal interest in work to be maintained. It wants minimum government and maximum freedom left over for the individual's energy, enterprise and responsibility. To

weaken the individual's sense of responsibility and to cultivate in him the habit of dependence on the State run by a majority party would be the cultivation of irresponsibility and laziness and the encouragement of toadyism and parasitism. It leads inevitably to corruption and evil practices.

There are evils in party governments; but party government is a necessary evil. We must seek means to reduce the evils, which is done by reducing the powers of Government to the minimum. This is what the Swatantra Party aims at. This is what Gandhiji so often said.

Proportional representation would be ideally the best basis to rest democracy upon. But unfortunately in a large nation efficient government is not possible on that basis. The freedom given by each party to its members to vote freely on matters outside the strict boundaries of its stated basic principles will give the nearest approach to a government based on proportional representation and give adequate opportunity for minority views to command consideration and acceptance whenever found right. Legislation and administration in most matters will not depend on party whips and on decisions of the majority within the party but on the free vote of all the members in Parliament and in State legislatures. Debates will be free and frank and help to reach just decisions and will not be mere partisan speeches leading to nothing but what was previously settled, the whole show being a mere ritual.

The Swatantra Party has given a great lead in this respect, to all other parties. But it is feared that other parties will be slow to follow this example because it means preferring the general good to the interests of one's own party. The general interest demands freedom of discussion. But the interests of one's own party demand rigid discipline. Those who flourish under the rigidity of party controls and who do not know any other way of political life think that the

freedom given in the Swatantra Party to its members is ridiculous. They cannot even understand such a state of things. They fear that such freedom as the Swatantra Party gives to its members would lead to chaos and total break-up of any party. This is just what every parrot which is used to cage-life must feel as regards being let out to find its own food and drink.

An incidental consequence of the Swatantra Party's principle of freedom may also be here dealt with. The incapacity to understand this new conception of freedom in a party organisation leads people to think that the Swatantra Party is governed by its founder-leader's personal views on the official language issue and on the Punjabi Suba claim. They fail to remember that the founder of the party declared on the very day of the party's birth, and reiterated it on many occasions thereafter, that these are free issues on which the nation's judgment based on non-party lines and impartial debate should prevail and that the Swatantra Party as such has not aligned itself on one side or the other over these issues. Such misunderstandings follow from the general difficulty of appreciating freedom on any issues within a political party. It is wrongly assumed that there is no room for such freedom in a party organization and that it is only a make-believe. But in reality, as already explained, without such freedom, party government must stand totally condemned. With such freedom, on the other hand, the political party system has a useful and necessary place in democracy.

It is therefore proper and fit that the Swatantra Party should publicly appeal to every person, to whatever party he may choose to belong for other reasons, to co-operate with the Swatantra Party if he is convinced that the whitening down of the freedoms guaranteed in the original Constitution is dangerous to progress and would lead democracy gradually to the dictatorship of a party and must be resisted, and that all the

MORE SCANDALS

Considering the heavy losses due to avoidable causes, including lapses, irregularities, careless planning and wasteful expenditure, it is not surprising that the Public Accounts Committee's report on the Defence Ministry presented to the Lok Sabha this week should read like a veritable indictment. The audit report for 1959-60 is equally revealing. The Defence budget, it appears, is seldom prepared in accordance with the Ministry's spending capacity. The recurring phenomenon of unnecessary or excessive supplementary grants may be explained by the fact that policy changes or shifts in the supply position of stores often make original estimates appear erratic. There can, however, be hardly any excuse for haphazard purchases and expenditure on projects of dubious value. Here is one instance. In 1957 machinery and equipment worth about Rs. 17 lakhs was imported for use in the construction of two vessels, but it has been lying in stock since the contract for the building of hulls has yet to be finalized. Maybe by the time someone is found to build the hulls the four-year-old equipment will be declared unusable and written off with a lordly shrug. This is a comparatively small sum. But what about the Machine Tool-cum-Prototype Factory which, since it went into production in 1953, has shown losses totalling 77 lakhs? Or about the power-house costing 15 lakhs which has not been operating since 1947?

The commissioning of a cargo vessel seven years after it was bought and the expenditure during this period of a sum exceeding the price on alterations and installation of machinery tells its own story. As pointed out by the Public Accounts Committee, what is ironical is that the ship was acquired on the plea of urgency. But perhaps the most flagrant example of disregard for the value of public funds is brought out in the Committee's recital of facts about the building of roads in some hilly areas. The original estimate was Rs. 304.47 lakhs for 308 miles of roads. Work began in 1952. It was far from completed by the end of 1958. Only 98.11 miles of the roads had been laid by then, but the cost had been mounting. The 98-mile stretch had eaten up Rs. 392.64 lakhs.—*Hindustan Times*, April 10, 1961.

fundamental rights solemnly guaranteed by the Constituent Assembly in 1950 must be restored in full in order that progress and prosperity may be achieved without loss of freedom.

A DEMOCRATIC FRONT

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The mid-term election which the Congress has forced on Orissa is not only to take advantage of certain local election trends but also to test the strategy for the General Elections, particularly the defences of the Congress against its failures during the last 13 years. The Congress manifesto however shows indifference to sustained thinking as if the Congress relied more on money and organisation for its success.

The manifesto promises to make all classes of people "independent, live agents of a co-operative society". The first question is why the Congress did not do this during the last thirteen years. The second question is what is this universal co-operation which will unite the workers in fields, factories, trades and occupations. The only general form of co-operation, that of primary credit societies, has just been pronounced by the Estimates Committee to be a waste of public funds as the Reserve Bank has found that only 14 per cent of the societies are making proper use of loans. In respect of co-operative farms, the percentage of those working with profit is even lower. The only co-operation which the Congress can have in view is of the Communist pattern of submerging all rights to private property.

Secondly, the manifesto promises that the economic "policy will be more and more steadily directed to Socialism". No one has asked the Congress to identify the Socialism in its policies. There is no Socialism in State ownership of land and industry if the resulting production is not comparable, on the one hand, with soaring taxes and prices, and on the other with the increasing overpopulation and unemployment. The Government have ordered an inquiry as to how much the rich have become richer and the poor poorer. The proper inquiry should be how Government's own policies have been responsible for this. The mistakes that opponents of the Congress

have made is to attack the Socialism in the Congress, which does not exist, instead of the Communism, which that party recognises exists in the progressive sections of the Congress, with which it has just decided to ally itself. To remain in power, the Congress has adopted nearly every recognisable Communist method. The most serious question is if Congress can stop what it has started. Apart from the alliance offered by the Communists, there are two other factors which must broaden and deepen Communism in the Congress. The first is that the Congress, which has the political power, must extend its economic power to cover the consequences of its mistakes. Secondly, those who have tasted the blood of disappropriating others will not be restrained, even though the process will ultimately wipe their own gains. If this helplessness of the Congress to save itself from the full evolution of the Communism which it has introduced, is recognised, only those who have nothing to lose can support the Congress.

The manifesto attacked the Ganatantra Party as a set of feudal chiefs, discarded by resurgent India. In the first place, the Congress itself hugged the Ganatantra Party when it helped it to form the Government. Secondly, while the chiefs have their income assured to them and do not depend on politics as a profession, it is the Congress candidates who must exploit the ignorance of the people to provide themselves with a livelihood. It is a basic equation, not recognised, that the rich man, who wants nothing for himself is the best representative of the poor while the poor candidate is all too willing to be a tool of the rich, which can explain why Congress policy has made the rich richer.

The manifesto attacks the Communists only because they "invited the Chinese to occupy large parts of the country". In the first place, the invitation was from the Con-

gress itself which kept the country ignorant of the occupation for five years. In the second place, if this is the only fault the Congress can find with the Communists, it must be deemed to agree with all their other ideas and methods, which must open the eyes of all those who support the Congress as the opponent of Communism.

The manifesto pities the Socialists because they have no aims left, which the Congress has not taken over. What is forgotten is that the Socialists believe in political freedom and that in Europe they are no longer limiting economic freedom by State enterprises and controls. As they are irreconcilable with the Communists, they can have no affinities with the Congress after its commitment to Communism.

The manifesto of the Ganatantra Party is only defensive. It should have a manifesto which all other parties, except Congress and Communists, can accept. It should promise democracy in replacement of dictatorship of the government and bureaucracy, of which the people are tired, full freedom to production subject only to restrictions on personal expenditure which does not add to production, social security from full employment and minimum wages as a beginning for equality of opportunity, reduction of taxes and loans so that the common people do not pay for enterprises which the rich are able and willing to undertake, a foreign policy concerned only with the integrity of our territory and the interests of our own people, an end to changes and experiments with traditional rights and responsibilities, and a government by representatives with enough of their own, so as not to live on others.

On this common front, all parties, should agree at the highest level, so that electoral alliances can be made which avoid the gift of votes to the Congress and Communists, who are out to destroy democracy. Since the ideological integration involved is not difficult, the organisational integration for the Democratic Front, should be natural and easy.

SIDELIGHTS ::

The case of Sri Pattabhi Rama Rao, Andhra Minister, is going up to the Supreme Court. It is not open to criticism in the interval. But it has been stated that the matter has been taken up for examination by the Union Law Minister. It may be useful to suggest that he may make a research into two important aspects in the case. A person who was affected by the nationalisation order of the bus route as decided by the previous Chief Minister, Sri Sanjiva Reddy, and had received notice of it, books a telephone call on the concerned minister. The booking and payment for the same are proved, but the question is whether the statement of a person as to what took place on the telephone when it supports his own case can be allowed to be taken as good evidence or evidence at all in his own favour. The general principle is that telephones and telephone messages cannot be accepted as proof against the receiver and in favour of the sender. Again it transpires that the verdict or suspicion of the High Court is based wholly on affidavit evidence not subjected to any cross-examination or other direct scrutiny. It would be cruel on inadequate or inadmissible evidence to damn a person giving him no chance to cross-examine the other party and defend himself and clear his character. It is well that the case is going to the Supreme Court for scrutiny and Sri Pattabhi Rama Rao's resignation is kept pending and not accepted.

The Prime Minister's speech in the Lok Sabha debate on Defence estimates was marred by bad manners. He worked himself into paroxysms of protest over positions that had never been taken in the debate. He wasted much forensic frenzy in combating phantasies of his own creation which he attributed to the Opposition. For example, Acharya Kripalani never pleaded for the rigid application of the rule of seniority in Army promotions. On

the contrary he took care to state, expressly, that "the point at issue was not one of seniority versus merit" and "seniority could not always be the criterion for promotion in any service". All this was lost on the Prime Minister. Disputing a contention that had never been urged, he exclaimed, petulantly; "The Army would go to pieces if top-ranking appointments were made only on the basis of seniority and not on merit. This kind of thing had not been heard of anywhere except perhaps in some primitive country". Why does the P.M. throw so much moral indignation into a vacuum in this manner? Why does he invent fictitious debating points to refute to prove himself in the right? He seems to be possessed by a passion to win applause for himself as a hero of modernism fighting the battle of progress against the forces of primitivism. Neither pretention of international leadership, nor the role of the hero is for those who fail in the performance of elementary duties. In the pursuit of fame, Mr. Nehru has come close to that other hero, figure of immortal fun, whom Cervantes created in his world-famous book for the amusement of generations of readers.

The Prime Minister took the line that "his knowledge about the Army and senior officers was far superior to that of Acharya Kripalani or any Opposition member". From that sublime angle of self-conceit, he could not be expected to cherish anything but supercilious contempt for the Opposition itself as such. We find him accusing Acharya Kripalani with failure to accept the basic fact that in a parliamentary and democratic procedure, "the majority functions". What exactly Mr. Nehru means by this he has not explained, but he has made it clear by his demeanour. When Sri Rajindra Singh asked, "are we to be guided by our own opinion or by that of the Prime Minister", Mr. Nehru seemed to have had a

shock at so much assertion of independent opinion not in conformity with his own. He rebuked the member, saying, "he has chosen a wrong path permanently". Veterans in the nation's service, leaders like Acharya Kripalani and Acharya Ranga, who have given as many years of their lives if not more to public causes, as Mr. Nehru himself, were shown no better courtesy. They are dismissed arrogantly with such phrases as "wrong in judgment", "wrong always", and jeered at obligingly in concert by the Prime Minister's sycophantic party cohorts. All this is unworthy of a Prime Minister of India. Evidently Mr. Nehru's conception of the functioning of the majority is not limited to running the government. It seems to include the running of it as a dictatorship, with the opposition overawed and silenced into docile acceptance of the superiority and infallibility of the leader of the majority party. This may be Communist practice, certainly not democratic procedure.

I recollect a talk I had with Lord Attlee (then Mr. Attlee) at his house eleven years ago when he was Prime Minister. He explained that the exercise of the right of the majority party to rule was only a part of the functioning of democracy. Its more valuable feature was the role played by minority dissent. The great honour paid to minority dissent as a source of constructive wisdom is the distinguishing mark of the British parliamentary system of government, he said. Mr. Nehru has yet to learn the A.B.C. of such a system for all his fourteen years of Prime Ministership. When the Chinese made incursions into the country he hid the fact from public knowledge. Twelve thousand square miles have been lost to the aggressor. No military action has been taken to recover the lost territory. It has been surrendered for good to the enemy. Yet we rush troops to Congo to set right matters there. Now comes the crowning outrage on common-sense with our Prime Minister

(Continued on page 15)

ABROAD IN BATTLE-DRESS

By POTHAN JOSEPH

In a fighting speech aimed at Acharya Kripalani's protest against the dispatch of Indian military forces abroad, Prime Minister Nehru contended that, according to the Constitution, he or the National Executive is not bound to obtain popular sanction or parliamentary consent for such expeditions because according to him the Government, functioning for the party in power, was vested with authority to declare war. And therefore he could detail armed forces to restore and regulate good government in the Congo.

It is a truculent but precarious proposition, since India had sent not a token force to participate in the U.N. intervention but an "adequate force" in support of India's foreign policy, expecting it of other nations to send their quota, however humble, to join hands in quelling the Confederationists of the Congo and in erecting a unitary system of the Indian pattern.

There has been recent controversy about the status of the President initiated at the founding of the Law Institute of India, the crucial question being whether Dr. Rajendra Prasad's position was more in the role of the British Sovereign or the President of the United States who incidentally is on a par with the President of India as Supreme Commander of the fighting forces. When Britain engages herself in hostilities, the announcement is that His or Her Majesty is at war. The American President for his part has to declare war on either of two conditions: he must have the vote of Congress (at least the Senate) for the militant breach of diplomatic relations and the announcement of actual belligerency, or he should instantaneously take action in defence, if the United States were attacked. At the Pearl Harbour surprise, President Roosevelt declared war in defence of American interests without any parliamentary formality and the people of the United States were at one in realising that Japanese

treachery called for war, offensive and defensive, to tame the aggressor.

In India the role of our fighting forces had been correctly defined by the Prime Minister during the declaration of the Korean war in which we participated. We were not sending any troops, the specific reason advanced being that though committed in the alignment, India's fighting forces were meant for Indian defence. We did not however shirk; we sent two medical units affording corresponding relief to the personnel of the combatants at the front.

Much as we hear about the winning of immortal glory in the Korean campaign by India, our fighting arm played a part in the categorization of prisoners during the truce without order to shoot, and General Thimmayya displayed discipline and tact when our troops performed turn-stile duties in the release of prisoners. American casualties alone accounted for 135,000 in the Korean tragedy; but since India had not joined the bloody part of the conflict, our troops were rightly spared, and the Nehru doctrine of India's fighting forces being earmarked for India's defence stood firmly vindicated. The truce-line is now being maintained across a certain track parallel-in-latitude in good company, but the only

memorable loss sustained by India in the Korean affair was the loss of Colonel Unni Nayar, an alert journalist, who during the peaceful deployments in the area rode over a land-mine which exploded and ended, to the grief of all journalists, a promising career.

Acharya Kripalani in his conservative wisdom was aggrieved at the departure from precedent, and contended that in any case parliamentary endorsement, if not recognition of the President's title, should have been brought on record. On this issue Pandit Nehru asserted with asperity that he had on a previous session dropped hints about the Congo excursion and that if any one in Parliament wanted to have a say, they should have then spoken. "Speak now or hold your peace for ever": that is an announcement of the clergyman at weddings when he puts the public question whether any member of the congregation knew of any objection to the alliance.

While we discounted the status of Kasavubu and the decisions of Congolese chieftains at Tannanarive, 5000 of our armed soldiers were being transported to a front 4000 miles away to operate under the executive orders of the Secretary-General whose deputy as man-on-the-spot is Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal. His Chief is denounced by a powerful camp in the U.N.O. as a lackey and a murderer deserving instant expulsion and capital punishment: the taint of guilt, the deputy cannot escape in

CONSTIPATION AND PILES

Habitual constipation can cause piles or haemorrhoids, a condition where the veins within and immediately outside the rectum become swollen. Because of the pain it becomes more difficult and distressing to evacuate the bowels. The constipation gets worse and so do the piles with painful fissures. It follows that, if the acute pain and discomfort caused by the piles can be relieved, evacuation of the bowels will

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the Soviet verdict, on account of his marsupial status.

None of us could reasonably deplore the constructive suggestion of Acharya Kripalani at least in respect of future expeditions overseas. Prime Minister Nehru told the Lok Sabha that Indian troops in the Congo would even go to Katanga undeterred by Tshombe's "threat of war". People cannot escape the reflection that at the same time Indian troops would not go near the Chinese on our side of the Mc Mahon Line since the Prime Minister had told the House much earlier that it would mean war.

It is a gratuitous exaggeration to think that India has a supreme responsibility in saving the Congo and catching the nameless murderers of Lunumba. India now cannot leave her jawans under-equipped or under-armed, a situation different from what faces America despite her consciousness of responsibility for the success of the gallant undertaking. The following message from America will be read with interest:

Washington, Mar. 31.

The United States yesterday banned all arms shipment by U.S. carriers to the Congo.

State Department Press officer, Mr. Lincoln White, told a news conference that the U.S. Commerce Department issued the order on Wednesday prohibiting shipments of arms, ammunition, aircraft and engines, trucks, buses and other "implements of war" to the Congo.

India is no doubt proud of "playing a big part" behind the scenes of the Security Council at the U.N. Assembly, and therefore the Chief delegate has done well in securing the support of Ceylon for the demand that funds and supplies must be found at least for one month to keep the boys in food and fettle, whilst the Soviet bruisers would be satisfied with nothing less than the head of Dag Hammarskjöld on a charger. The Prime Minister is welcome to hold against Acharya Kripalani that within his prerogatives lies power to declare war and send overseas expeditions, but the claim is pivoted on assumptions that have no explicit place in the Constitution of India.

April 22, 1961

SWARAJYA

7

OUR DEFENCE MINISTRY

By **ACHARYA KRIPALANI**

The following is a summarised version of Acharya Kripalani's speech in the Lok Sabha in the debate on Defence Estimates.

About Russian pilots flying over our strategic area, my information is that in November 1960, the Air Force Commander in Jammu and Kashmir told the senior Military Headquarters in the area that Russian helicopters, flown by the Russian pilots, were soon to undertake trials in the forward area. The Army, being responsible for the security of the border felt that it was wrong for Russians to fly over and see our defence, and land at the out-posts, and check our defence arrangements. They asked therefore, for clearance from Army Headquarters. They received no reply to various reminders. By-passing the local Military Headquarters, General Kaul, Quarter Master General, took upon himself to fly in a helicopter to one of the forward posts. The Russians have flown to most of our forward posts and have presumably obtained all information that they or the Chinese need. Why was the extraordinary procedure adopted of issuing orders by phone to Junior Air Force Commanders by the Defence Minister himself? The normal course is that orders should pass through the Defence Ministry, to Service Headquarters, to Camp Headquarters, and then to Local Commanders.

Let there be an independent review of the state of affairs in the Armed Forces and the running of the Defence Department. This can be done by a Committee of the members from both the Houses. In the alternative let the President as the Commander-in-chief appoint a commission of inquiry to go into the affairs of Defence. This commission should consist of independent persons of high standing, in and outside Parliament, and some retired military and Civil officials. It should be presided over by the Vice-President or a person of equal status. Nothing less will allay the apprehension that is widespread in the public mind.

The Captain Superintendent of a Naval Dockyard purchased one item of stores at the rate of Rs. 26,320 per ton, when the market price was about Rs. 720 per ton, about 36 times the market price. Another item of stores purchased by the same officer was at Rs. 25,200 per ton when the market price was Rs. 4,816. These are stunning figures. When I read them I thought my eyes were deceiving me. I consulted friends about the accuracy of the figures. They said that the figures were correct.

What happened to this Captain Superintendent? The report says:

"The Captain Superintendent had been transferred in the normal course to a senior post on completion of his tenure".

The promotion was made in direct contravention of the instructions issued by the Home Ministry. This requires that a Government servant, whose conduct is under investigation, should be promoted only after *exoneraton*.

Here is another instance of waste and negligence, if not also of corruption. The Government sanctioned the construction of certain roads approximately 308 miles, at an estimated cost of about Rs. 305 lakhs. This was in December 1952. After 6 years, that is, by December 1958, only 98.11 miles were constructed. However the amount spent was Rs. 392 lakhs, nearly four times. The original estimate of the explosives to be used for this road building was about Rs. 20 lakhs. Actually explosives used was for Rs. 155 lakhs.

Two senior engineers visited the work-site and reported: "Explosives had been used indiscriminately and on jobs which could have been done by manual labour." The Public Accounts Committee opined that "it is not convinced that the increase in the construction cost was justified; that there had been unnecessary expenditure, which could have been avoided, had greater supervision been exercised". If the Committee has not talked of corruption it is because it has no machinery to detect it.

Here is yet another example of culpable negligence. This relates to a loss of Rs. 174 lakhs due to defective storage. About this the Committee says that it is "shocked to see the magnitude of the loss".

Commenting on the accounting method of the store material in a Naval Dockyard, it says:

"The Committee are distressed to find that store accounts should be in such a chaotic state. They have reiterated on many occasions the importance of accurate store accounting and periodic stock verification. Unless the stores are correctly accounted for, there is a grave risk of pilferage".

The report of the Committee is bristling with remarks like "the Committee are shocked", "the Committee are dis-

OUR RUSSIAN PILOT-MASTERS

The London *Times* deals with our parliamentary debates on defence administration, in particular about the use of Russian planes and Russian pilots for the protection of the Chinese border. "Whatever the truth may be in the rumours that these aircraft are not giving the performance expected of them" says the *Times* of London, "there need be nothing suspicious in the training programme". On the contrary, we are told by this leading London paper that "if any one were to be suspicious, it would be the Chinese, noting Russia's readiness to supply India with aircraft specifically chosen for the defence of the northern frontier". Whether this is intended to be British irony, one can't say. But it reads very much like Thackeray. One wonders since when and how this theory of Russia quietly acting against the interests of China in favour of India was invented and given credence. If the defence of any non-Communist country is to be managed on this basis of a big rift in international outlook between China and Russia, all we can say is that it is fated to end in a sad disillusionment. One wonders whether America and her press would concur with this British picture of international communism. It is good enough for Western columnists to write such wishful prognosis, but it is too dangerous a foundation for basing the actual defence policy of any country upon and it is unwise to expose our northern frontiers on such a castle in the air. We cannot risk Indian security, believing in the defence capacity of such airy fortifications. C.R.

tressed", "the Committee are unhappy", "the Committee are not convinced", etc. The pity of it is that this is not the first time that such scathing criticism has been made about this Ministry. But it learns neither by experience nor from informed criticism.

Let us have a look at the Audit Report of 1961. There was a question, of the purchase of spare parts of mechanical transport vehicles. That trans-

action was considered so irregular that the Public Accounts Committee last year recommended special investigation. Accordingly, a one-man committee of Shri Vishnu Sahay, was appointed. (How far it is right that special investigations, recommended by a Committee of this House, should be entrusted to one Civil servant is a question which should be considered by this House).

However, the report of this one man Committee is still awaited. But in the meantime "contracts still continue to be placed without a proper and accurate estimate of the requirements". For instance, in respect of certain new contracts, placed from January 1958 to July 1959, for spare parts of mechanical transport vehicles, after the orders were placed, an attempt was

made by the department to reduce the quantities in respect of 140 items. This attempt did not succeed and we had to purchase materials not wanted by us. This is how planning is done in this important department upon which depends the safety of the country.

Much has been said about the production in the Ordnance Factories under this Ministry. The Audit Report of 1961 makes interesting reading, about the rejection of products from these factories and also about the method of planning and production.

It says:

"At the end of the financial year 1958-59 the total value of semi-finished stores in the Ordnance Factories was Rs. 943 lakhs".

Out of this Rs. 355 lakhs was in respect of orders prior to 1958-59. The report says:

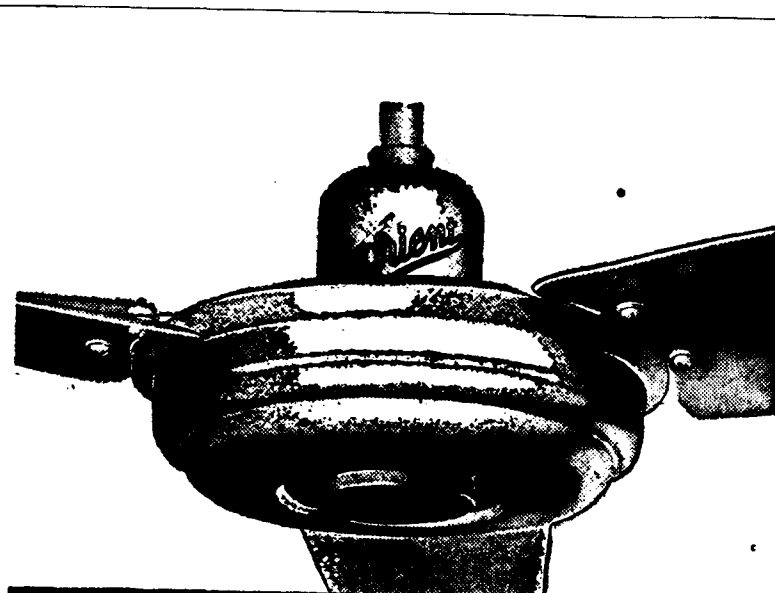
"Apparently these stores, the manufacture of which was taken up more than six years back are not required by the indentors and the expenditure is likely to prove infructuous".

The Machine Tool-cum-Prototype Factory furnishes another example of what I have said. This was scheduled to go into full production in 1951 but actually opened for production in 1953. Almost a decade has passed but "no definite programme for development and manufacture of proto-type or arms and ammunition, has so far been laid down by the Government".

The total amount invested in this factory is 437 lakhs and even after 6 years of the commencement of production, it had actually suffered a loss of Rs. 77 lakhs.

In June 1948 and August 1950, three orders were placed for 69,000 units of a certain item of ammunition. These orders were to be completed by March 1952. Upto the end of May 1960 one factory was able to complete only 8,120 units and the rejections were 8,619 units. The second factory completed only 1,853 units, the rejections were 8,526 units. The rejections have been 106 per cent in one and 460 per cent in the other case. Also, though the ammunition was required by March 1952, it was not manufactured till August 1960.

Here is another instance. A central Ordnance Depot placed 5 orders between December 1947 and 1949 for 401 units of a particular article. In September 1955 the same depot proposed the cancellation of 341 units out of the order, but this cancellation was not accepted on the plea that parts were already "at an advanced stage of manufacture". However only 20 units were supplied upto January 1960.



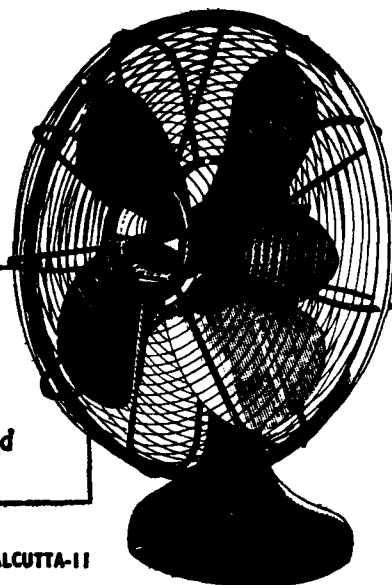
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SPOON - FEEDING BY THE CENTRE

Given below are extracts from the speech delivered by Prof. N. G. Ranga in the Lok Sabha on March 28, 1961 on the Orissa budget.

This budget, like any other State budget, brings to the fore the extraordinary development that has been taking place in our country, in the sense, that instead of the State Governments trying to enjoy or trying to achieve a financial viability, they are becoming more and more dependent upon the Centre. Secondly, instead of the State Governments being encouraged to exercise all the autonomous powers that have been granted to them by the Constitution, they are also being lulled into a sense of false security by these various grants-in-aid from the Centre. And the result is that they are being degraded. Whether they are conscious of it or not, whether the Centre is doing it consciously or not, they are being degraded more or less to the status of local boards. They may be enjoying all the trappings of a democratic ministerialism—Ministers, Chief Minister, Cabinet and all the rest of it—but actually they do not seem to be enjoying any more status than what the district boards used to enjoy vis-a-vis the old State Governments. Thirdly, as a result of the activities of the Planning Commission and the Central Water and Power Commission and various other central authorities that are functioning under the Union Government there is diffusion of responsibility. The State Governments are not able to hold themselves responsible for their failure to implement particular schemes and they are even able to quote the failure of the Central Government to sanction their schemes for their failure to implement them. I have come across one particular instance of this in this budget itself. You will find in the item dealing with minor irrigation schemes, that the State Government had sent up a number of minor irrigation schemes to the Centre, to the CWINC. The CWINC took such a long time in finalising the estimates and the schemes, that by the time they were sent back they became too late, with the result the local Government was not able to implement the schemes at all.

Secondly, the Union Government has decided upon a policy of co-operative farming. They want to encourage the State Governments by offering them all kinds of incentives and this backward State of Orissa is no exception. It has been requested and encouraged to organise a number of pilot schemes in co-operative farming. One would have understood if the Central Government had waited until the experiment of pilot schemes had become a

success in other States, and, thereafter, in the light of that success, it had asked this backward State to copy these experiments, but, on the other hand, it seemed to have completely forgotten the backwardness of the State and had gone forward with its proposal for the organisation of pilot schemes in Orissa with all the incentives that the Union Government alone is capable of giving.

Then, there is a cry for more and more employment avenues in Orissa, perhaps more than in many other States. Actually, as many as 79,499 employment-seekers registered themselves at the very few labour exchanges that were there in this State, and employment was found only for 9,460. That gives a measure of the magnitude of the unemployment problem there. There are already in that State quite a large number of handloom-weavers. Yet, the Union Government has induced the local Government to make provision for the establishment of a number of power-looms. It is a well-known fact that power-looms are not labour-intensive; on the other hand, they are capable of displacing the existing handloom-weavers. This is a State which is crying for more and more employment avenues, whereas it is exactly here that the Union Government presses its own favourite or pet schemes in favour of these capital-intensive schemes or medium-sized schemes. Are they for the benefit or are they for the disadvantage of the State Government? Why has the State Government agreed to these various schemes from the Centre? It is because, as it would be found on page 5 of the *White Paper on the Economic Conditions And the Developmental Activities in Orissa, 1961*, that out of the Rs. 160 crores, which is estimated to be the outlay for the third Five Year Plan, the contribution of the State Government is expected to be only Rs. 28 crores and the rest of it is to come from the Union Government. This, in fact, would be in addition to so much more which would be coming from the Union Government in the way of grants for a number of schemes, and there are twenty of them costing Rs. 1.77 crores. The State Government of Orissa has to depend upon the Union Government to the extent of Rs. 134 crores in a Plan of 160 crores. No wonder that it has no freedom; no wonder that it is obliged to accept what all schemes the Union Government may consider to be advisable, whether they are in the interests of the State or not.

In this poor State, the most important priority should be given to agriculture. But, what is the position there? All these friends have been talking about the need for more and more employment and the rich and richer people not willing to come forward to start new industries and so on. But, look at the performance of the peasants themselves, the poverty-ridden peasants of Orissa. They have brought under irrigation almost all the land that was offered irrigation facilities. And even if we were to estimate that additional employment has come to be provided for only one person throughout the year by the conversion of one acre of dry land into one acre of wet land, we would find that the agriculturists or the peasants in Orissa have already provided during the second Plan period employment for more than seven lakhs of people.

In the third Five Year Plan, it is proposed that additional irrigation facilities will be provided for another three lakhs of acres, and, therefore, for another three lakhs of people additional employment will be provided by the peasants themselves. These enterprising people ought to be encouraged in every possible manner. But, instead of helping them to develop service co-operatives, in order to strengthen themselves, Government wants to organise alternatives to this peasant economy by organising co-operative farming pilot schemes, which is very deplorable.

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SHOULD WE BAN COMMUNAL PARTIES? •

By Dr. A. NARASINGA RAO

I am surprised and shocked by the suggestion that communal parties should be banned, and the complaisance with which this idea is received by the public. To me every interference with the freedom of representation is a fetter imposed on the ideal of democracy. The policeman uses fetters only when he is certain that the freedom of the fettered person will be injurious to others.

A community is a set of persons having common ties or interests who agree in attaching importance to certain values in life, and who have a strong feeling of kinship with one another. And the word "communal" means "belonging to the same community". I do not see anything in this description suggesting that such an association is necessarily selfish and detrimental to the interests of others. One has to look at what ideals and values the community stands for before deciding that that communal grouping is bad.

Even assuming that a communal party has been formed to safeguard its own interests, I do not see anything wrong in this. In a Welfare State, we want every one to be happy and to have

equal opportunities with others. Supposing a particular community feels that it has been denied this equality, the remedy which democracy prescribes is that it should voice its disabilities through its own elected representatives. How can this be done if every communal party is banned? Why strangle the unuttered appeal even before it is voiced? In a true democracy even the most absurd or unreasonable plea must be allowed utterance, for there is always the sound commonsense and wisdom of the country as a whole, as represented in the legislatures, to reject such pleas as are unreasonable or anti-social and accept only such as are reasonable. To deny hearing to the communal parties is equivalent to casting a doubt on the wisdom and reasonableness of the legislative body as a whole, in other words, on the fitness of the country for democracy.

But behind all this talk of banning communal parties, is there not the presumption that communal parties, whatever that phrase may mean, exist to ask and not to give? Suppose we have a community which feels it has some-

thing valuable to contribute to the body politic, something which it regards as so valuable and so good to humanity as a whole that it wishes to share it with everyone. According to the Upanishads the ideals placed before a Brahmin (a seeker of the Supreme Brahman) are "Swadhyaya" and "Pravachana" i.e., study (including research) and propagation of truth. Suppose a group of those who believe in these ideals form a party to which the name "Brahmin Party" will not be inappropriate, (whatever the caste into which they may have been born) with a view to holding these ideals aloft, should the party be banned? Suppose a number of sanyasins form a party to emphasise the idea of self-sacrifice, and to see how far these ideals could be given effect to in the conduct of State affairs, should such a party be banned? It is wrong to ban a party unless its aims are avowedly anti-social.

Perhaps it is felt that communal loyalty competes with and weakens loyalty to the country as a whole. If this be the basis of the dislike of communal parties, I am afraid it is based on a misunderstanding of the structure of society.

Does it have an amorphous structure like chalk, or does it have a structure

THE PROBLEM OF...

(Continued from page 7)

becoming complicated. These complications are likely to grow. We have, therefore, to be careful in watching changes in international economic relations in which we are involved. Whereas this is a vast problem, one factor which is conclusive is that we must have a long-term export policy with a view to solving our foreign exchange problem as soon as possible. It is obviously not desirable for us to be dependent on a large number of countries for small and big quantities of foreign aid longer than necessary. In our desire to have rapid economic development within the country, we have not paid adequate attention to the effort that is necessary in this important aspect of development. It is unfortunate that at this very juncture we find that our traditional exports, like tea and jute, are stagnant and are meeting with increasing competition from other countries. We have not yet developed the art of selling our goods abroad in competition with those of other countries. In this effort we have to learn a good deal from the experience of other countries; some of the points on which attention has to be given without delay may be summarised as under:

(1) The export trade must be in the hands of people who have specialised in the work and are able to devote their major attention to the task;

(2) One of the essentials of success is that the export trade should be a profitable business. In return for this, the exporter should observe a code of honour, inasmuch as he should develop a national goodwill for the country, among the buyers of other countries by maintaining a supply of quality goods at competitive price and thus establishing relations which will help us in selling our goods abroad in larger quantities. The Government should be ready to help the exporter at least in the early stages by giving subsidy and other incentives;

(3) Both the business community and the Government should actively co-operate in having a suitable efficient organisation for a continuous study of the markets of the world and in doing propaganda to stimulate such markets;

(4) It should be possible for the industrial establishments in the country to adjust their production to the changing requirements of our foreign buyers;

(5) The aim should be not only to maintain and develop our traditional exports like tea and jute, but also to launch on the systematic export of manufactured goods;

(6) To strengthen such relations from the long-term point of view, we should have cultural contacts as a means of better understanding with other countries, which should include the study of languages of different countries, where we wish to maintain trade relations;

(7) These efforts should be actively supported by adequate shipping, insurance and banking facilities, by a knowledge of trade techniques and procedures in other countries, by arrangements for exhibitions, fairs and emporia of our goods in different countries, and above all by the enforcement by the trade itself of the necessary code of honour which should be observed by exporters in their dealings with foreign buyers;

(8) In view of the urgency of the problem suitable research teams of competent persons should be sent out in appropriate areas to make on-the-spot enquiries and to ascertain the best method by which our export trade can be stimulated;

(9) Export trade should not be treated as a bye-product of other activities;

(10) In other words, all reasonable steps should be taken to develop export consciousness in the country to earn the foreign exchange required by us.

that communal appetite grows on what it feeds or is fed upon.

It is no use shutting one's eyes to ugly realities while no purpose is served by pretending that communal instincts are not deliberately exploited for doubtful political purposes. And the greater danger is there to the noble cause of anti-communalism when any unrepentant promoter of sub-communal ends, becomes acceptable, if not also respectable, if only he chooses to pass for a Congressman. Being pledged to socialism is like plunging into the Ganga—it is an all-absorbing prescription for *moksha*, immediate and remote!

The Congress has made yet another discovery. Apart from communalism which is now raising its head as in the pre-partition days, crime is on the increase. The U.P. Home Minister is agitated over one particular aspect of the problem of crime, namely the ready asylum that criminals are having, for instance, in his state, by seeking the refuge of political parties. Speaking in the U.P. Vidhan Sabha on police demands, he gave some telling figures. In one district alone, the Socialists with 4,000 members have 100 history-sheets, the PSP with 2,000 have 16, the Communists with 325 have seven, and the Congress with 40,000 have two. He said this, not to make out that the proportion of criminals to membership in the Congress was negligible but to warn the country against a general trend. It should, however, be borne in mind that when Mr. Charan Singh was talking of criminals, he was only paying heed to the criminals who got into 'history-sheets' and not to the larger number of those who deserved the appellation though they had not (yet) got into the 'sheets of history'. Mr. Charan Singh said he gave orders to the police to deal with criminals, "irrespective of personalities" and possibly also irrespective of party affiliations. Given a longer lease of life, the Congress, whether in regard to communalism in Madhya Pradesh, or crime in U.P., or reactionaryism elsewhere, should have an exciting time.

IS NATIONALIZATION NECESSARY?

By R. V. RAGHAVA RAO

In all advanced countries of the world where nationalization has been experimented there is an intense trend away from nationalization. But the planners of India are in no mood to learn from the experience of other countries. They seem determined to commit all the mistakes committed elsewhere and then only draw the lessons. What they do not realize is that it may be too late by then.

It is an elementary and acceptable principle of economic thinking that nationalization should be resorted to when (1) the industry or trade is of vital importance because of defence and security reasons (2) the industry or trade involves such enormous investments that no private party can afford them (3) the industry or trade shows a strong inherent tendency towards becoming a monopoly and (4) when the industry is of such a nature that it will be a waste and inconvenience to have more than one organization such as posts and telegraphs and Railways.

But in India none of these considerations seems to weigh in deciding what to nationalize. The primary, if not the only, consideration has been the profit motive. Whichever industry is in a position to make good profits is liable to be nationalized once the greedy eyes of the Government fall on it. This is a most unhealthy and disastrous development in the minds of our rulers and planners in recent times. This was clearly admitted when the life insurance business was nationalized. We have also been told that general insurance business is not being nationalized because it is not yet profitable enough.

Nationalization is an ultimate and desperate remedy. But in India it has become the very first drug to be administered for any industry. Take the example of nationalization of bus services. Nobody will deny that a very important service like bus service cannot be left entirely to the whims and fancies of the private enterprise, although services like the TVS in Madras are more efficient than any Government run service can ever dream to be. But resorting to complete nationalization of all motor services is carrying this too far. The performance of Andhra Pradesh Road Transport Corporation vividly illustrates the folly of resorting to complete nationalization. The Road Transport Corporation has decided to nationalize all the routes in Kistna and Guntur districts. Most of the State buses are huge Leyland buses. In some of the routes nationalized, the bus is

bigger than the road. The result is, the bus goes into costly repair after every trip and services are anything but regular. It has become the common practice to suspend services on certain routes because buses are not available. All this while hundreds of buses belonging to private operators are locked up in sheds on the roadsides as a result of their being thrown out of business after nationalization.

In the case of Andhra Pradesh the main motive behind nationalization was made abundantly clear, was the growing discontent of the Government at the high profits that were allegedly being made by private operators in Kistna and Guntur. But it is a strange irony that in the same districts with increased traffic, the state transport is managing to make a loss even after "doubling" the rates! The Road Transport Corporation has become a huge drain which can take up any amount of money. If only the State Transport Corporation could content itself by running good buses on certain important routes, and exercise close supervision over the private operators with a view to increasing their efficiency, it will not only make profits, but it would have helped hundreds of people to be happy.

The same principle of grabbing that was noticed when the STC took over the distribution of cement and export of iron ore motivates governmental policy in matters relating to transport. Even in this 20th century are we to blindly follow outdated dogmas with fanatical perseverance?

THE SPEAKER'S

(Continued from page 3)

operation and patriotic responsibility for the last *naya paisa* in currency, we are in danger of leaving Speaker Ananthasayanam Iyengar in difficulty as a question-mark, those in power indulging in disbursements without restraint on the principle of "Business as Usual". The Prime Minister of England is also called First Lord of the Treasury to signify that he is pledged to safeguard the assets and revenues of the nation against profitless expenditure by the impetuous egotism of colleagues. A blank-cheque prerogative would be as sinkable as any aircraft-carrier hurriedly commissioned on wrong priority.

INDIA'S OIL FUTURE

By A CORRESPONDENT

In the light of India's rapid industrial progress, it is reasonable to assume that the demand for petroleum products will rise steeply in the coming decade, providing enough scope for both the public and private sectors to work towards the objective of making adequate oil supplies to meet the nation's needs. But unfortunately, the industrial policy of the government would still appear to be shrouded in a thick sheet of doctrinaire thinking, both in regard to the means to be selected in exploiting the country's national wealth, as well as in determining the agencies through which the objectives are to be reached.

The present demand in India of petroleum products is in the order of seven million tons a year. According to the Draft Third Five Year Plan, this figure will increase to 10 million tons. This is, of course, less than the 11 million ton figure quoted by another competent source, though the figure of 14 million tons has also been mentioned in ministerial pronouncements. It will be noted that in terms of forward planning, these figures represent a considerable divergence of opinion. A difference of a million or two may seem of no consequence to the layman, but to the oilman it means much, considering that a "large refinery" may have an output of not more than two and a half million tons. Way down the line is the so called "average refinery", such as the Nunmati Refinery coming up in Assam, with a capacity of three-fourth's of a million tons. A refinery or even a cracking unit is not engineered and built overnight; so the lack of unanimity in the field of demand expectations though trifling on paper is quite disturbing to oil planners. The success of any oil company is entirely dependent on how correct their estimates are so that they will have sufficient crude oil, transport, refining facilities and distribution facilities available when required without having excessive facilities which are not productive. Only with confidence in their planning can an oil company enter into long term contracts to supply a market.

Against this estimate of a demand of 14 million tons, the indigenous sources of supply established as reliable are those in Assam. The present production from Indian oil fields is only 400,000 tons annually, mainly from the Digboi fields. On the invitation of the Government, foreign companies, have

applied for exploration rights, and it is on the cards that India will quicken her programme of oil search. But for a very long time to come, it may not be possible for the country to meet her own "crude" needs.

Existing refinery capacity is estimated at approximately six million tons. To meet partly the balance of eight million tons by 1965 (should the demand be 14 million tons) two public sector refineries of a total of 2.75 million tons are under way in North East India. This leaves a gap of 5.25 million tons. With the insufficiency of local refining capacity to meet the full product demand, there will have to be imports of finished products until this gap is bridged.

That being so, one must view with a combination of amusement and concern what appears to be the latest pastime of juggling with figures in terms of million tons of crude! It is not really so simple. Refineries cannot be considered merely in the light of meeting, in terms of million tons, the total estimated consumption of the country. One very serious factor which must suffer in this sort of game is the question of product imbalance.

What is the nature of this imbalance? India today has an increasing need for what are known as middle distillates such as kerosene and diesel oil, and to meet this demand the existing four refineries are doing their very best to raise the output. Now, when stepping up the production of the middle distillates, the refineries have perforce to manufacture more and more petrol, and the consumption of petrol being comparatively lower, there is bound to be an over-supply of this product.

One aspect of this imbalance is already showing itself in transport bottleneck and pricing. The shortage of tank-wagons is mainly a result of restricted finance, insufficient raw materials and delays in delivery schedules. Bottlenecks are also on the increase on account of existing tank-wagons being switched to different uses. Thus, tank-wagons which should normally carry petroleum products are often employed to carry special chemicals for steel plants and other Five Year Plan industries. Also they play the role of water carriers, coupled to passenger trains, to feed steam locomotives in the drier areas. Because of the tank-

wagon shortage, there has been a diversion of petroleum products transport to tank trucking, a comparatively costlier operation. Increased use is also made of railway covered boxcars, but here again additional expense is involved as steel for drums is scarce and boxcar transport of oil is effected with the aid of 45 gallon containers.

The problem connected with pricing is so complex that it is still in the process of settlement. The term "price war" has been bandied about of late. It is well known that the price which is operating today is the result of an unsuccessful attempt at a price agreement between the Government Cost Accountant and the Oil Companies a year ago—as a result of which, after lengthy negotiations, the parties agreed only to disagree, and the existing unsatisfactory 'ad hoc' arrangements emerged.

In any economy where the control of prices is an established policy, it is to be expected that just, fair and reasonable prices, acceptable to all parties, be established and it is for this reason that it is sincerely hoped that the Damle Committee which has been entrusted with the recommendation of a new price structure will be successful in its efforts.

It is also to be hoped that whatever may be the result of the Damle Committee's deliberations, that Government will permit the very considerable reductions which have been given by the Oil Companies since May 1958 to reach the consumer—in whose interests presumably these enquiries, committees and investigations have been set up.

Here it must be mentioned that the oil companies have in the last two years paid considerable amounts to the Government, under *ad hoc* agreements, by way of additional excise duties which are non-recoverable. Specifically, since May 1958, the oil industry collectively paid the sum of Rs. 40 crores on this account. Additionally, reduction in posted prices announced in August 1960 have resulted in effect in an annual cumulative contribution by the industry of over Rs. 6 crores.

While applauding the desire of Mr. Malaviya's administration to reach self-sufficiency, one must question the plans for achieving it. If a given target in production of crude and its refining is to be reached by a given date, to what extent can this be achieved in the private sector? In view of the importance and urgency of the situation, is it not desirable to permit the private sector to play a more important role, specifically by increasing the existing capacity? Here is the crux of the matter.

BOOK REVIEW:

LIFE AND LOVES OF LLOYD GEORGE

In the galaxy of British Prime Ministers in this century, the personality of Lloyd George stands out as about the most fascinating (if also the most intriguing), next only to that of Winston Churchill. The story of his eventful life, the quick rise from the obscurity of a Welsh village to the glory of 10, Downing Street, reads like a modern romance. His public life is familiar enough through many sources like the well-written biographies of Frank Owen ("A Tempestuous Journey") and of his one-time Secretary Dr. Thomas Jones, not to speak of his own War Memoirs. The outlines of his family life are not unknown to the readers. But a good many years after his father's death (and evidently of all others involved), his eldest son, Earl Richard Lloyd George, has now come out with an utterly frank and un-inhibited account of Lloyd George's personal life, including the indiscretions of youth, the extra-marital affairs of virile manhood and the indulgence of old age. Against this shady background, the constant infidelity to his wife (the author's mother) stares the reader in the face with a sinister glow. This apart, we get a complete picture of the Welsh Wizard, with the lid off, as it were. We know something of the private motivations of his major public decisions, the secret of his

* LLOYD GEORGE: By Earl (Richard) Lloyd George (Frederick Muller Limited, London, Pp. 248, Price 21 Shillings).

THOSE RUSSIAN JETS

(Continued from previous page)

Prime Minister and the Defence Minister. How could it be otherwise? The general elections are less than a year ahead, and the nomination of party candidates should have the final approval of the Congress High Command. Rules are being framed which may keep out an appreciable number from the new Lok Sabha. It has been announced however that the rules will not be rigidly applied in every case, and there are bound to be exceptions. Safety therefore lies in Congressmen demonstrating their party loyalty, especially if they qualify themselves for exclusion under the rules.

success, the reasons for his failure and the limitations to his greatness.

Lloyd George's first marriage was the fruition of a love affair on both sides and the young woman responded to him in full measure. David and Maggie were a well-matched pair, the author assures us, and the latter's calmness of temperament and stability of character supplied what was most lacking in the former, with his mercurial ways. Among the earliest of his affairs was one with a handsome widow (whom he came to know on the local municipal council) on whom he fathered a son. This threatened to wreck his chances of first election to Parliament, but the matter was hushed up at some expense by the local bosses of the party. His wife was, however, kept in the dark about it for a long time. After becoming M.P., the gay Lothario, when on a visit to Latin America, tried to sample the dark charms of a Spanish lady and the enraged husband challenged him to a duel, swearing vengeance. He could somehow manage to escape with the bare skin of his teeth and when he appeared at home minus his cherished moustache, everybody who knew him was not a little surprised and intrigued. Even after he became the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he did not learn to be more restrained, or more discreet at any rate. His name was linked with a certain Lady J. and the scandal reached the gossip columns of the Sunday press. His position was at stake, but he came through it all unhurt, mainly because his wife, though wronged, stood by him so firmly. His fits of penitence never lasted too long. Often, the promise of self-correction lasted only till the moment he met another woman who caught his wayward fancy.

But none of these escapades could affect his political career till the end of the First World War. For, his son tells us, he had no loyalty to any of these mistresses, who were but a part of his spare-time hobby. They did not really engage his mind. But, after the Victory, of which he was hailed as the prime architect, he began to lose himself in the halo of his own glory and his grip on the Commons started to relax, as he spent more and more time in the company of the lion-hunting dames of society. He could hardly believe his ears when, enjoying himself in pleasant company, in his drawing room the news was broken of the Government's defeat in the House. He was well past

seventy, when he played the youthful gallant to Viscountess Snowden, a statuesque lady, full of mature glamour. His wife left him finally when she found his bedroom strewn with women's underclothes. An attractive young teacher by name Francis Stevenson, employed first as tutor to his daughter Megan, became his secretary, whom he married at the age of 80, after the death of his wife. In his political retirement, he was surrounded by a veritable scraggio of youthful land-girls on his extensive farm at Churt, in Surrey,—typists, accountants, French interpreters and others, if we are to believe the son.

The author explains that he was exposing the father's infidelities, mainly to spotlight the wrongs done to his mother, to whom he and other members of the family were deeply attached. Opinion may be divided on the question whether he is doing it more in sorrow than in anger or for reasons less commendable.

It must be remembered, however, that the whole book is not about the adventures of a latter-day Don Juan. There are quite a few revealing glimpses of the astute manner in which this political strategist handled men. There are brief, but vivid, sketches of politicians of the time like Bonar Law, Curzon, Birkenhead, Simon, Rufus Isaacs, Northcliffe and Beaverbrook. He needed all his resources to beat the Generals like Lord Kitchener and Gen. Sir Douglas Haig (obtuse in military strategy, but brilliant in personal intrigue) before having his own way in the direction of war. More shrewdness and courage were exercised in his successful attempt to bring Churchill back to office in the teeth of all-round opposition. Here is a fine study in comparison: "In many ways, both men were remarkably alike. They were both dominant, independent, immensely dangerous in opposition and capable of daring flights of imagination. Both men had ideals. Winston had scruples too—father hadn't".

Hard words they might seem, but not unjustified. The sentiment might sound rather unfilial, but the remark is not altogether untrue. "The truth against the world", it is interesting to recall, "is the family motto of Lloyd George". One does not know how he would have liked this example of it set by his eldest son. Much of the book may be considered harsh, but it is not malicious. The son is sorry for the mother, but for the father too. It is not only a revealing, but a well-written document.

—D. ANJANEYULU.

April 22, 1961

SWARAJYA

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
COST OF STEEL PLANTS

Sir,—It is not clear if the news published recently on the 1st April under the heading "Rise in cost of steel plants" is to be taken as a serious report or a folly fit for the April Fools' Day.

The Speaker of the Lok Sabha at Delhi is reported to have made a suggestion that when the revised estimate exceeded the original estimate by about ten per cent, it was understandable, but that when several crores were involved the House was entitled to know. Otherwise "there is no meaning in our sitting here". A gross travesty was made of this innocent request for information, a bogey was created and both the Finance Minister and the Minister for Steel etc. proceeded to demolish it.

The Finance Minister explained that "the Finance Ministry went into such matters carefully and unless they (?) 'okayed' them no money could be spent". He added that "it was not possible to run any project or run the administration, if the House was to be approached everyday (!). When a project was under execution and there was an increase in some item we cannot say we will hold it up".

The Minister for Steel etc. was even more devastating. He stated that "it would be impractical in such technical matters to come before the House and not to take action pending its decision. Also there was no such thing as revised

estimates in a big project. When undertaking a project, engineers and others, after ascertaining the soil conditions and other relevant factors would give certain figures, but as work proceeded the cost might go up on account of technical reasons. In such cases even the Minister might not be consulted". A curious position for the Minister and the House sanctioning funds!

These explanations appear to indicate that in the case of these very expensive projects, the long standing practice for undertaking works in the public sector has been thrown to the winds. That is, before a work is undertaken the procedure hallowed by tradition and justified by common sense—a procedure by implication apparently still in force in other cases—is to prepare an estimate of expenditure, ascertain the probable return on completion and in the case of irrigation works on completion of five years after such completion, and thereafter to undertake the work if deemed advisable. Unfortunately in the anxiety of the Government to advance the prosperity of the country the Minister alleges (correctly or otherwise) no estimates are made and works are started. Even before the first project is completed, the teething troubles are over and it is possible to ascertain how the project has turned out, a second of the same kind is started and then a third; there is talk of a fourth steel plant in the third Five Year Plan. To make matters worse and more confusing, additions are undertaken so that any lessons which it is possible to learn from the earlier undertakings become available too late.

The three steel plants were first estimated to cost Rs. 300 crores which is now expected to go over Rs. 605 crores. If the increased outlay brings about a larger out-turn and at a lower cost per unit, all would be well. If however the cost should compare unfavourably with that of the units in the private sector or of imported steel, export to other countries would become impossible save at a loss, the same predicament as of sugar at present. Mr. S. K. Patil, Minister, has recently drawn attention to this fact and the price of fertilisers of indigenous origin being about 30 per cent more than the imported material and uttered a warning that unless care was taken textiles will be in the same predicament.

This is an aspect of the steel projects about which neither the public nor the

Government can afford to be indifferent. Let us trust that the legislature responsible for sanctioning funds for expenditure will tackle the Ministers in earnest.

K. V. IYER.

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A SAD COROLLARY OF WORLD COMITY

By **C. RAJAGOPALACHARI**

Judging from the scanty reports received we may conclude that the hopes of the American Government have been foiled and that the rebellion against the Castro-dictatorship tied up to Soviet Russia has for the time being failed. The Kennedy administration has admitted enough for us all to draw this inference and to feel assured that for the present there is no intention on the part of angry U.S.A. to take things further forward. This has given a new feather to the Soviet cap.

British feeling appears to be working on an irrational plane, mixing up the Cuban affair with Eden's bid against Nasser which failed on account principally of U.S.-led opposition to British intervention. There is no rhyme or reason in this feeling of polite tit-for-tat. British intervention in the Suez affair was not to help any freedom drive or anti-totalitarian movement in Egypt. It was either self-interest or pro-Israel feeling and had no base on any broad principle of democracy. In Cuba, the issue is between the dictatorship of Soviet-aided Castro and of a democratic rebel group operating against the *de facto* regime in possession. American self-interest in the displacement of Communism in a neighbouring State and American sympathy with the Cuban freedom group cannot in any way be compared to the British invasion of Suez.

The important doctrine of non-intervention in internal affairs

calls for re-examination. All efforts to maintain world-peace and to evolve world-government accept this doctrine of non-intervention in what are called domestic affairs. Otherwise, no progress can be made in getting the co-operation of the various nations who have to surrender a part of their sovereignty in order to establish a world law and a world authority. This is a justifiable ground of expediency. But while this is expediency, what is the case of humanity in this connection? Undoubtedly there is such a thing as tyranny against minorities, the dictatorship of particular parties who seize power and maintain it by brute force, the tyranny of racial autocracy against weaker though more numerous populations as in South Africa, and such other conditions in many parts of the world crying for justice and external sympathy and assistance. The doctrine of non-intervention in internal affairs would in such cases be cruel irony and be a permanent hurdle in the way of an enlightened social world-order. If placed on the level of a world-charter it will be a permanent bar against improvement.

Civilization and moral progress depend on dissent and struggle, courage and sacrifice. If big powers all play for safety from their own respective points of view—which alas is the present condition of affairs—there is no hope for humanity's progress or for the abolition of tyranny still prevailing in various forms. All of them

would fall in the category of "internal" affairs and be excluded from the enterprises of heroism on which humanity's march depends.

In the days that are gone, when there were no rockets or nuclear weapons, there was room for personal heroism and adventure for noble ends. There was a constant flow of external assistance for good causes and the world was one for this purpose. But now we have a set-back. The self-interest and security of each big power looms so immensely large now, that all smaller nations and smaller suffering groups are left to themselves and can command no material assistance, however just and good their cause may be. Nuclear power has orphaned the small nations and oppressed groups.

Kennedy hopes for a deathless struggle by freedom-lovers in Cuba, and says that the suppression of the present Cuban revolt does not terminate the battle for freedom. But how thin is the hope for people to wrestle with monsters who have taken possession of all the resources of the State and are in a position to crush all attempts at emancipation, be the monster a single individual who has command of the organized military forces, or a single fanatically bound political party which has enslaved the majority and taken possession of all the organs of government! The only hope lay in the common bond of humanity and in external assistance issuing

THE CEYLON STRUGGLE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Ceylon Tamils (who are old Ceylonese and are as attached to their mother island as any other citizens of Ceylon) are asking for a federal form of government in which the Tamil speaking population of North and East Ceylon may have autonomy subject to the Federal Government of all-Ceylon. This will enable them to take pride in Ceylon nationality, without any bar-sinister of inferiority.

The language issue is merely an outer symbol of the competition between the two nationalities. It is a battle between communities, not at all a battle of cultures or

out of noble thoughts, but the doctrines of world government and non-intervention in internal affairs and the fear of mass-destruction associated with nuclear weapons have brought all chances of chivalry and noble enterprise to an end.

We should not therefore all chime in, condemning America or damning her with faint praise. She is in a great dilemma and her noble sentiments are put to severe trial. Our Prime Minister has, as was to be expected, given way to the doctrine of non-intervention and has thereby given moral support to Soviet Russia. He is in line with the Communist Party of India. Communist assistance to Castro is taken for granted as something natural; America's part alone gets the name of intervention in other people's internal affairs. Internal oppression by a single party, which has seized possession of the State is sacrosanct against intervention. Tyranny takes various shapes and when it puts on the cloak of legal government and of nationalism, it becomes the worst form of tyranny enrolled in the cause of international Communism. How one wishes our Prime Minister were a less easy target of Communist strategy.

languages. Neither culture nor language is in danger. Either can stand on its own strength and is not capable of being extinguished or even hurt in a substantial degree. The question is whether the Tamil speaking people are to be treated as equals or not. Equality will be ensured under a federal regime. The unitary Government is necessarily leading up to place them on an inferior level. This is the more unjust because the progress so far achieved and the present status of Ceylon as a whole depended not a little on the patriotic services of the eminent Tamilians of Ceylon. The refusal to grant equal status on a federal basis to the Tamil population amounts to ingratitude.

Let not the Tamil Northern and Eastern Ceylon population be confounded by superficial readers of news in India with the people of South Indian origin who have migrated to Ceylon when the plantations needed hard labour and who have settled down in and around the plantations as permanent but yet unrecognized citizens of Ceylon. They are an entirely different group. Their quarrel is a different one.

Any sympathy from South India extended to the original Tamil

speaking people of Ceylon, who are fighting a tremendous battle for autonomy within a federal regime, can be easily mistaken for a Tamil conspiracy to bring Ceylon sovereignty and its integrity into jeopardy. That is the reason why South Indian leaders have been patient and have not given too swift expression to their feelings of sympathy with those who fight a just battle in Ceylon on the language and federalist issues. The present Ceylon Government party has been for sometime past pretending to see a great conspiracy between South Indian Tamils and Ceylon Tamils which of course is mere myth born of an inferiority complex.

The question of direct action and the advisability of continuing it is quite a different question and should be judged entirely by the leaders of the movement. One who is at a distance and who is a votary of peace may be inclined to advise compromise if it could be had on honourable terms. It is hard to believe that reason will not ultimately prevail. We all hope in India, who have seen the lady-Premier of Ceylon, that she will bring her best emotions into play and succeed in controlling the extreme elements on the Sinhalese or Buddhist side (whatever name we may give it) and bring the protest movement to a suspension on honourable terms.

WHY SHE JOINED SWATANTRA PARTY MAHARANI GAYATRI DEVI'S SPEECH

Explaining to a public meeting at Jaipur last week, the biggest ever witnessed in Rajasthan, why she had joined the Swatantra Party, Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur said:

People are always asking me why I have joined the Swatantra Party. I should like to assure you that it was after a lot of thought that I have decided to join this party. It is impossible for me to see what is happening in this country, and specially in Jaipur, and remain silent. People feel dissatisfied and they feel the situation is hopeless. But what is the use of talking? One must try hard to remove the causes of dissatisfaction.

Two years ago when I returned from Europe, I was extremely upset to see the old historic city of Jaipur being destroyed. I spoke to the chairman of the municipality and also to the Chief Minister of Rajasthan about this, because to my mind it was ridiculous to break the old walls of Jaipur city and put up a bazaar in its place. There is ample room for markets in the new residential areas of the city. Jaipur city is an example of Indian culture and architecture and on all accounts it is our duty to preserve it. When my effort to do so were futile I turned to our Prime Minister, Shri Nehru, for help. My appeal to him was not in vain

SAMPATH'S SECESSION

and the destruction of Jaipur was stopped. For this I shall always remain grateful to him.

The whole country is dissatisfied, every class of person whether he be an industrialist or a tradesman, an agriculturist or a labourer, a Government employee or a craftsman, and the people as a whole are unhappy.

People are being crushed under the burden of taxes. The daily necessities have become extremely expensive. The price of cloth and food is rising steadily. Education, medical attention and justice are not only expensive but out of reach of most people.

With the introduction of co-operative farming, the agriculturist stands to lose his land. There are efforts to nationalise big factories and mills when the Government has not the means to run them. Corruption is on the rise. The veteran and revered leader Rajaji tried several times to point out the right road to the Congress. But when they would not listen to his wise counsel, he formed a new party, the Swatantra Party. People all over the country welcomed it because they saw in it new hope. I too saw in it all the good qualities which were once those of the Congress Party. That is why I joined this party. There is a lot of controversial talk about me and some of the erstwhile princes joining this party. Why all this controversy? It is something incomprehensible. The Indian princes always maintained the arts and culture of India in their States. They have fought many a battle for this country and have sacrificed much for India. After Independence, when the new India was being built, the Rajas put forward a glorious example. The way they sacrificed their territories for the sake of the country will go down in history. In the name of land reforms, the jagirdars were asked to leave their jagirs, which they did. But too soon their sacrifices were forgotten. Today they are called reactionaries. All the promises that were given them are being gradually broken. This reflects on us badly in foreign countries, because people from outside will think if the Government can break its agreement to its own people, why should it honour its agreements with foreign countries. And what about the jagirdars who joined the Congress? Are they not reactionaries? Are only those who joined the other parties reactionaries? We have joined the Swatantra Party as ordinary citizens of India. Our Constitution gives us the right to join whichever party we prefer. The Swatantra Party respects this right of every citizen

The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam has split. The split is put on many and rather vague grounds. Objectively speaking, it is an unfortunate timing whatever the merits or justification may be. The Congress Party is the beneficiary of the split, and those who are interested in bringing a sense of humility to replace the present arrogance of the ruling party must be sorry for the developments in the D.M.K. at this juncture when there are only some months for the general election to take place.

The objection of too much prominence being given in the D.M.K. to cinema producers is not new. Sri E. V. K. Sampath's uncle, the famous E. V. R. Periar, has been making this his principal point against the D.M.K. for a long time past. The nephew's present charge reads almost hereditary.

His chief and real point is the giving up of the claim for separation from India. He has brought it down to a claim for real State autonomy in a federal structure. The formula of the right of secession, a copy of the Westminster Statute formula, has no meaning in the context of South India. There is no room for secession to be even dreamt about, as indeed admitted by implication by Sri Sampath. The States in the Indian Union are not viable as separate units, particularly if they secede on a quarrel and not by cordial agreement. Whatever may be the quarrel or the misbehaviour, no State can exist as an independent unit unless it allies itself closely with

some foreign power, which is unthinkable.

The D.M.K. as well as the D.K. are children of communal hatred. It is not easy quickly to shake off the vapours of one's origin. But, if the leaders make a sincere effort, this is not impossible. If this is done, it will be seen that the present issue is whether the All India ruling party is to be opposed or not. Half-hearted opposition or alliances with the Communist Party can bring no good or useful results. The latter would be suicidal however attractive. The Congress and the Communist Party have no real differences and for all practical purposes form one party. It is the present duty of all other parties who are opposed to totalitarianism to join up against them and not be deceived by the interested ridicule or arguments of the Congress bosses. The Congress Party hopes to seize power for another five years solely on the strength of money, office, and deceptive propaganda. Its only fear is a combined anti-totalitarian opposition. To meet this fear they put forth such arguments as 'negative policy' and the like or seek to emphasize the inappropriateness of alliances between parties having differing ideologies. The one and most important issue is democracy or totalitarianism. Another term of office to a party that has held office for 15 years already would lead to totalitarianism, unrestrained and arrogant beyond tolerance, and subversion of all fundamental rights. Sri Sampath must beware of the sirens. —C.R.

to be able to choose his own body and that is why it is becoming more popular every day.

I should like to assure you that if I can serve you in any way, I shall be happy. My husband and his forefathers have served you and this country for hundreds of years. I too wish to keep their example before me and do the same. You will, I am sure, help me in

this. Your relationship and mine is an old one and one that will never be broken.

To my dear sisters who are sitting here today, I should like to say that this work that I have taken on myself can never be fulfilled unless they help me. This step which I have taken is in the tradition of Rajasthani women and now I believe that you will follow me.

SIDELIGHTS ::

There is much ado now in Congress circles about banning communal parties. The existing laws give ample power to the Government to check the activities of individuals propagating communal hatred, and when the offending individuals are dealt with as they should, under the law, the atmosphere would not be favourable for the growth of communal parties. But in its fourteen years of rule the Congress could not take effective action to stamp out the evil effects of undesirable communalism. It conducted spectacular campaigns against communalism which contributed to the drama of politics and served a propagandist purpose, but communalism as such has grown and flourished rather than diminished in the Congress regime. Many of its leading figures have been communalists in disguise drawing strength and support from hatred-mongering apostles of rabid communal cults ravaging the country. Mr. Nehru has been to them an ideal leader.

An admiring nation has placed Mr. Nehru on a high pedestal and rewarded him with power and popularity, but in historical perspective his leadership is found to be one of theatricality. It has chased the spectacular for the sake of the show and missed the essence of progress in the ardour of the showman. Mr. Nehru's battles with communalism have been theoretical and verbally passionate. They have not been followed up by practical action conforming to the advertised idealism. Naturally, therefore, anti-communal laws have become dead letters and the Congress administration itself has become a hot-bed of rampant communal ill-will. One more law now would be conforming to the pattern of the prevailing

make them worse, as the communalism of the name boards is not so dangerous and deadly as that enthroned in power masquerading under deceptive camouflages. A law to ban communal parties would only help the Congress to get rid of powerful elements likely to successfully challenge its hold on the voters in the coming elections.

A projected meeting of Muslims in Pudupet (Madras) had to be abandoned recently. The organisers who had intended to celebrate the Prophet's birthday belonged to the Ahmadiya community, a minority sect. The majority disputed their right to the celebration and succeeded in preventing it. This attitude of intolerance is suicidal, as it would set a bad example prejudicial to the interests of all minorities including the Muslims themselves. The Muslim community, which is itself a minority community, should, in its own interests, safeguard all minority rights. So should everyone else majority or minority, interested in freedom of worship and association and other freedoms for all citizens without distinction.

In a statement to the Press Mr. Thakur Niranjana Singh, M.P., has declared that the P.S.P. enquiry committee, after meeting officials, the new Bastar ruler and many eye-witnesses, has reached "a definite conclusion that the police-firing at Lohandiguda was a pre-planned affair". It appears from his statement that at a meeting on the day prior to the firing incident there was a meeting of officials under the presidency of the Commissioner of the division to which the district Congress president was specially invited, and that plans for firing were discussed "with a view to creating terror and panic among the Adivasis who were raising their voice against the administration and the

Congress rule". (P.T.I.) If this be fairly well-established it is a scandalous and dangerous instance of tyranny by those in power. Such terrorisation plans are the feature of all dictatorships, be it of an individual or of a party. The disclosures explain the large number of victims to the police firing, which has caused general dismay and horror.

A correspondent sends me the following:

Proceedings of the Commissioner, Municipal Council, Tiruvannamalai.

Present: Sri K. Cunniah.

Dated: 27-3-1961.

Roc. No. 3087/61-B3.

Sub: Prize Bonds — Drive — North Arcot Dt. — Intensification of the Drive — Instruction — Issued.

Ref: Circular No. Rc. 11679/61 dated 21-3-61 from the Collector of North Arcot, Vellore.

The Collector of North Arcot, Vellore has issued instruction that the sale of prize bonds should be rushed through and the bonds may be issued to all Municipal employees to try their luck. All the Municipal Employees are requested to purchase the bonds from the Commissioner not less than the minimum mentioned below as suggested by the Collector. The cost of the bonds will be recovered in cash from their pay for March 1961 at the time of disbursement.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------|
| 1. Income Rs. 100 and below | Rs. 5 |
| 2. Income Rs. 100 to 200 | Rs. 10 |
| 3. Income Rs. 200 to 300 | Rs. 20 |
| 4. Income above Rs. 300 | Rs. 50 |

Sd. K. CUNNIAH,
Commissioner.

To all the Municipal Employees.

Copy to the Headmasters, Secondary Schools, Elementary Schools.

They are directed to recover the amount in cash from the Municipal employees at the time of disbursement of their pay and remit in the office.

Copy to B1 Section.

NJ.27/3. Copy to C4 Section.

The proceedings speak for themselves. They reflect the pitiable state of citizens under Congress rule. The prize bonds

(Continued on page 14)

DIPLOMACY AND ACTS OF FAITH

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Among the current mental fixations of the Prime Minister is the conviction that in his hold of the Chinese situation India never had it so good as today, despite popular apprehensiveness about Peking's forward policy. By the token of perfervid confidence, the Chinese fixation has deeper roots than his beliefs in our responsibility for the Congo and again in Laos where he has been long waiting for a bid to re-convening the International Supervisory Commission of which India is Chairman.

Mr. Nehru was trenchant against sceptics of his wisdom in relation to Chinese aggression, his rhetoric on April 3, in the Lok Sabha bearing witness more to sorrow than anger. How could Opposition members be dense to the fact that immense pressures are "working on China" to compel Peking to seek a settlement? He cherishes the report of India's official team on the border-dispute and the research-results on a survey of centuries with the passion of Lutherans relying on the first translation of the Christian scriptures. Fundamentalists believe in the literal interpretation of the Bible against the pioneers of Higher Criticism. The Prime Minister takes his stand on the rock of the Gopal-Desai Report on Sino-Indian history as against the contrary thesis put out by the Chinese scholars, who in Congo parlance could be dubbed mercenaries; the latter report was translated into English under the top-script "Unofficial". The report of the Indian team was not in Hindi and therefore such a safeguard about direct English composition could be accounted for, without ascribing motives, in unworthy habit.

When Averell Harriman discussed matters in brief with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the latter was stunned to learn that the American Ambassador had never

heard of the report of the Indian official team which held the field. Mr. Nehru took it for granted that any well-read person should have studied the Indian report with its devastating claims for paramountcy as against the heretical bilge produced by the Chinese charlatans. The Prime Minister gave him a copy containing the correct maps traced by Indian cartographers which are, of course, different from the prints over which even our Soviet friends have so far failed to be precise. We do not know if Mr. Harriman spent his time in the rest of his air-travel concentrating on the Monumental Document which is expected to turn the scales in favour of India and re-establish her rights in the Chinese "controversy". From his style of bludgeoning complainants in the Lok Sabha, the Prime Minister could not be easily dislodged out of his Chinese position. He did not own up that at least on the official version 12000 square miles had changed hands without resistance. Indeed in his statement, he did not rule out a change of heart amongst the Chinese under scorching exposure as found in the book, adding that it was "not wise to send armies across the Himalayas". Mohammed Bin Tughluk in his expansionism once sent an army as his Himalayan adventure for the conquest of Tibet, but nothing much was heard of his crack troops afterwards. Surely if we are not equal to it, it is best not to attempt belated excursions to oust the trespasser.

As for change of heart, both Chou En-lai and his Foreign Minister Cheng have betrayed no symptoms of cardiac transformation, so that it matters little whether Mr. Nehru rules it out or develops any alternative panacea. He told the House that he tackled the situation on independent lines. Firstly, China must needs become

alive to the feeling that "the border-dispute has lowered China's prestige". Again, he "pointed out that it was no small matter that China had to face criticism by many Asian nations". Asian nations on the other hand appear cool and collected over China's drive into Indian territory. *Pravda* has not printed a direct word in censure; Mr. Krushchov had been apparently preoccupied in regard to the question. The Prime Minister may hold that apart from Asian nations ridiculing China's moral recreancy, the entire Afro-Asian Bloc might join in deploring Chinese lapses, all the envoys having perused the report of the Indian official team and rejecting the version of the opposite side so unilaterally drafted in Chinese language for sinister official rendering later. Hamlet cried "The play, the play is the thing, to catch the conscience of the King". Prime Minister Nehru believes that the reading of the report would act as a sting to weaken the conscience of the world, apart from enlivening the scruples of Chairman Mao himself and effecting an epic-retreat from territory mistakenly occupied by China's advancing columns. In the climax of his parliamentary eloquence the Prime Minister lambasted his critics; of course the majority under his Chief Whip won the day by voice vote.

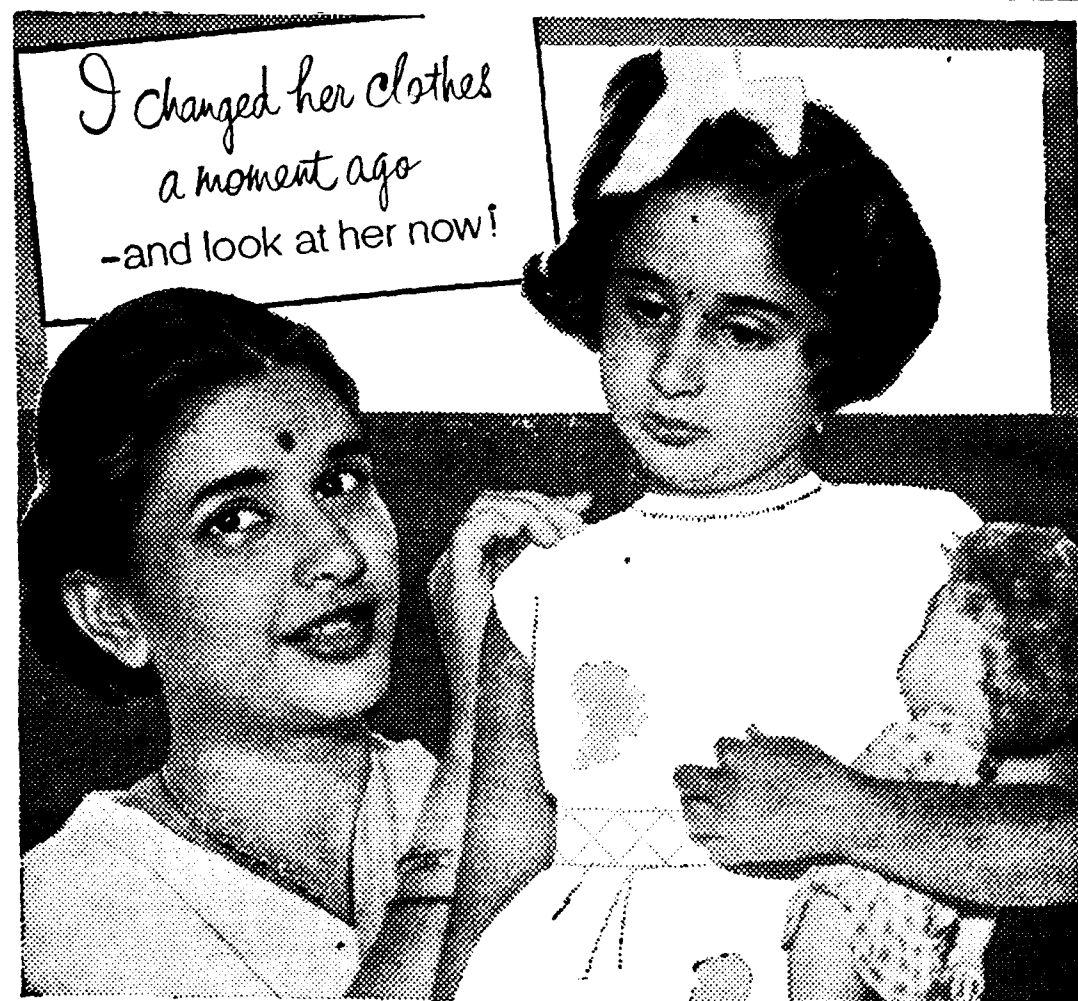
Ordinary people would consider such a process of thinking as being more amateurish than mature, although a constant boast of our Prime Minister is that India is a mature nation and therefore her guidance is constantly in request the world over.

In the theological controversies of early synods, prelates and priests would occasionally come to blows on issues like the status and origin of the Third Person in the Trinity. An old Bishop once appeared with a huge volume, leather-bound, which he had written. As the orator warmed up on his reading page one of his portentous essay, there was uproar in the holy chamber whereupon the

old man threw his huge tome at the head of the disbeliever from Chalcedon. The heretic was stunned under the impact, and afterwards the assailant crossed himself expressing the hope that in his swoon, the deviationist

would realise the correctness and unchallengeable authenticity of the view he had sponsored. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru seems to entertain the hope that stunned by the truth of the Indian version and stung by the reproach of

Afro-Asian observers, the Chinese soldiers would turn their back on India, trudging home with a penitent conscience. Verily hath it been written that Faith can move mountains, be it as small in measure as a mustard-seed.



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CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE CONSUMER

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

While in theory democracy should establish the sovereignty of the consumer, in practice, in countries where public opinion is ill-informed or inarticulate, the sovereignty is of vested interests. The consumer is served when more is added to his life at lesser cost. By this test, the five years of the Second Plan represent a sacrifice of the consumer by the yardstick of prices, which are indicators of what has been produced and what has been consumed. A 29 per cent increase of wholesale prices, with decrease in the proportion of employment and increase in the proportion of population, leaves no doubt that whoever has benefited from the Second Plan, it is not the common consumer. Even though the Government have appointed a committee to stave the obvious conclusion against its Socialistic pattern, the beneficiaries cannot help disclosing themselves, particularly by their anxiety for the Third Plan.

The principal beneficiaries have been the licensees of Government in industry and trade, to whom the Government have assured monopolies, in return for financial support of the party. The Indian Federation of the Chambers of Industry and Commerce has always supported the Plans, with very trite objections designed to make them appear representatives of the public. Mr. Birla has just come in a big way to support the Plan, notwithstanding that he has been critical before of State enterprises, particularly in steel.

It is necessary to understand the nature of the monopoly that Government assures. In industry, existing establishments are favoured not only by controls on new enterprises and capital issues but also by the difficulties of obtaining foreign exchange, electric power, railway sidings and various licences under State and local laws. The result is that new enterprises which manage to emerge

are so burdened with expenditure that their cost of production is high, making a present of the difference to existing establishments.

Secondly, Government uses both import and export control to favour existing establishments. By banning imports of consumer goods, the public pays on an average about 50 per cent more than the world price, though it is as high as 75 per cent for sugar. Not only the price but the quality is entirely at the choice of the producers. As if this was not enough, the Government has proceeded in two other ways to favour its proteges, first that in proportion as they export, they are given import licences, which they sell at huge profits to others. At the same time, the loss they suffer from export at lower world prices is made up by increasing the prices for our own consumers. Secondly, under the last budget, the Government have increased the customs duty on machinery, giving an equivalent advantage to established industries, which will enable them either to keep out new units or to raise their prices to the higher level arising from the greater capitalisation of new companies.

These are simple economic facts, but the Government which obtains donations from established industries and the Press which is also dependent on them, are joined in a conspiracy of silence. What established industries forget is that their gains may be short-lived because a Government committed to the Socialist pattern could, as it fails, extend its taxation and nationalisation, even within the Constitution it has amended. No one would be sorry for the consumers, on whom, both Government, through its taxes and the monopolists through their prices, have battered.

The other beneficiaries are pressure groups, first 1.7 million unionised workers, out of 140 million workers and 30 million landless labourers. The wages of unionised

workers, excluding fringe benefits exceed in a month those of the landless labourers for a year. It is proposed now to give these workers a share in the management which will complete the conspiracy to add more to the prices, which the common people will pay.

The second pressure group is the higher class of cultivators, which gets the benefit of the hundreds of crores spent on Community Projects and Co-operation and will be placed in power to help the Government, through the scheme of panchayats.

The third group is of Government servants whose number has since 1947 increased four times and whose cost has increased

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eight times. While this is in the Communist pattern of politically neutralising the more intelligent section of the people, it is at the expense of the common people who have to pay higher taxes and prices.

The Congress has ignored the consumer because he is unformed, unorganised and unenterprising, afraid of those in power and disposed to blame others weaker for the mistakes of Government. The Congress has cultivated pressure groups because they give it all the help necessary to hold down others. The staggering fact disclosed by Sri Ashok Mehta that the Congress has put 160 new jeeps to fight the Orissa elections just shows how moneybags are helping it. Financial help for the general elections is being organised even on a greater scale, industrialists, licence-holders and contractors being already laid under contribution.

The common consumer who pays for all this, can overcome the conspiracy of vested interests against him by standing for equality of opportunity for all in trade, industry and the professions so that competition establishes competence in the service of the people. They must insist that Government should confine itself strictly to its role in free countries, of only doing what the people are unable or unwilling to do. There must be only so much planning as is necessary and as much free enterprise as is possible. This alone can establish the sovereignty of the consumer and the rule of freedom.



INSURANCE OF DEPOSITS IN BANKS

Since the recent failure of a certain number of banks the interest of the Government in deposit insurance has revived and the report runs that they are tackling the matter in earnest. U.S.A. appears to be the only country where this kind of insurance is in force and the following particulars relating thereto may be of interest to the public.

Initially started in 1933, deposit insurance in U.S.A. is now functioning under the Federal Deposit Insurance Act, 1950. According to earlier information, all banks of the Federal Reserve System are insured. Any other bank may become insured on application and after examination by the Insurance Corporation and approval by its Board of Directors. Such banks may terminate the insurance at any time after giving notice, the insurance lasting for two years from such notice.

Insurance is up to \$ 5000 of each depositor. The assessment or charge is 1/12th of one per cent of the average deposit of the bank (less authorised deductions) payable half-yearly to provide reserves. From 1950, i.e., since the new Act came into force, the Corporation transfers 40 per cent of its net assessment income to its capital account and the balance is distributed pro rata to the insured banks.

On the closing of a bank the Corporation immediately assumes the insured deposit liabilities of the bank. But the decision to close such bank does not rest with the Corporation but with the Directors of the bank or the State or other authority which chartered it.

On the other hand, the Corporation has power, inter alia, (i) to terminate the insured status of a bank which continues after notice and hearing to engage in unsound and unsafe practices, (ii) to examine it periodically and to determine its condition for insurance purposes, (iii) to approve or disapprove of any proposal to reduce capital, (iv) to approve or disapprove of any proposal to establish and operate a new branch, (v) to prohibit payment of interest on demand deposits, and (vi) to limit the rates of interest on time and savings deposits.

The capital of the Corporation is 1,026,043 shares (\$ 100 paid up each), all held by the Secretary to the Treasury. It has power to borrow up to \$ 3 billions from the Secretary at any time. As on 30th June 1947, there were 13582 insured banks and of their total deposits of 135.7 billions, over 62 billions was covered by insurance. Over 96 per cent of the more than 80 million depositors were fully covered by insur-

ance to the extent of \$ 5000. The surplus of the Corporation amounted to \$ 2090 millions (1959) largely consisting of U.S.A. securities.

The management of the Corporation is vested in 3 Directors one of whom is the Controller of the Currency and two others, and the law provides that not more than two may belong to the same political party.

It will be noticed from the above that the average per depositor works out to \$ 1670, whereas the limit of insurance is \$5000 (Rs. 24,000). It would therefore appear that in Indian conditions, Rs. 2,500 would be a suitable limit. The rate of assessment or charge should be reasonably low. The total deposits of scheduled and non-scheduled banks in India amount to over Rs. 625 crores. With a charge of 1/4th of one per cent on deposits of Rs. 5,000 and less and 1/8th of one per cent on deposits of over Rs. 5,000 ample revenue will accrue to the Insurance Corporation. As in the case of all well-managed insurance, the annual surpluses will grow like a snow ball these should amply suffice with a capital of Rs. 5 crores as in the case of the L.I.C.

The next question is who should bear this charge? Obviously the beneficiary, which would mean the payment of a slightly lower rate of interest to the insured depositors. It is well known that banks allow a higher rate of interest on larger amounts for longer periods. Thus if a bank allows 4 per cent as the rate on deposits of Rs. 5000 and less, it may be reduced to 3-1/2 per cent and on larger deposits to 3 and 3/4 per cent. An effect might be to divert some of the deposits to the P.O.S. Bank. For the successful working of the Insurance Corporation, it is therefore necessary that the rate of assessment should be low.

It will be seen from the above that the insurance scheme is not a panacea against bank-failures. Banks have failed in the past, and quite recently also and will fail in the future. All that the scheme provides is protection to the depositors to a limited extent. In fact, according to the United States Government Organisation Manual 1960-61 pay off by the Insurance Corporation has occurred in the case of 257 banks.

With the record of the Reserve Bank as disclosed recently in connection with the failure of the Palai Central Bank and others, it is a matter for consideration whether the time is opportune for a new Corporation (virtually the Government) undertaking the responsibilities of deposit insurance.

K. V. Iyer

THE INDEPENDENTS SHOULD NOW SPEAK OUT

By Prof. M. VENKATARANGAIYA

The electorate in every democracy consists of three groups of voters. In the first are those who are active members of one political party or another, who subscribe to its creed and who pay memberships subscriptions. In the second group are those who generally sympathise with one party or another without becoming formal party members. They always cast their votes in favour of the party with which they sympathise irrespective of the merits of its ideologies and policies. In this sense every party has its "fellow-travellers". In the third group are the independent voters who are not committed in advance to any party. They take an objective view of the achievements and failings of each party and vote accordingly. It is their presence in the electorate that gives significance to a general election.

There are countries where parties are based on religious, racial and linguistic differences instead of on differences arising out of political and economic issues. In them there is no scope for the existence of a body of independent voters. Everyone has a sort of closed mind and blindly votes for the candidates set up by the religious or the racial or the linguistic party to which he is naturally attached by birth, training and environment. In such countries the numerical strength of different parties becomes fixed and rigid. Although general elections are held in them as formally required by their constitutions they do not have any significance. A general election cannot convert a majority into a minority or a minority into a majority. The same party is returned to power from one election to another and the same government with the same policies continues in the office. It is only the external forms of democracy that are found in them. Its real spirit is lost. It is the body of independent voters who constitute the salt of democracy and give flavour to it.

Fortunately the political parties in our country are based on differences arising out of political and economic issues. There is therefore a large body of independent voters and if they properly and conscientiously discharge their responsibilities they will be in a position to determine in a general election which party deserves to be put into office.

In England where a large group of voters generally votes for the Conservative Party and another equally large

group for the Labour Party the results of a general election are determined by what has come to be called the "floating" vote, which is really the vote of the uncommitted independents. It is its presence that makes a general election so very exciting. It is to them that political parties address their appeals and propaganda. It is they that have to be converted. In this respect the situation in India is similar to that in England.

What is however to be recognised is that the independent voters should not become mere victims of party propaganda. Some of them should speak out their mind and take part in educating the rest of the independent electorate.

In the group of independent voters—as in all political groups—there are two elements—one active and another passive. The former consists of the "intelligentsia", persons who can think for themselves and who can by their own effort and observation form opinions on the issues of the day. They are in a position to give a lead to the passive element in the group; and it is their responsibility to give that lead by boldly coming out and telling the electorate what they think about the country's political and economic situation as it has evolved over a period of nearly fifteen years under the rule of the Congress Party. This is the most opportune time for them to do this.

In June elections are going to be held in Orissa. They are a prelude to the countrywide general elections which will follow a few months later. There is a real trial of strength between the Congress and the non-Congress democratic parties in Orissa. It is not only the electorate in that State that is keenly watching the situation but also the electorate in the country as a whole. People therefore are in a mood to listen to any advice offered to them by independents and as responsible citizens in a democracy it is the duty of the independents not to keep silent but give expression to their views. This is the special responsibility of the more active and the more intellectual section among them.

In giving a lead to the electorate in Orissa or elsewhere the independents should lay special stress on three general points.

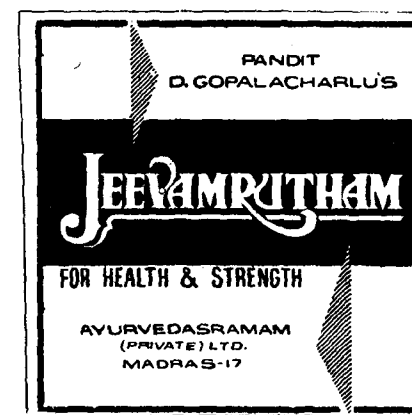
One is that in a democracy like ours there is need for a strong democratic party in opposition. It may be the Socialist Party or the Swatantra Party or

any other party which believes in democracy. In the absence of such an opposition there is the danger of the party in power becoming dictatorial and irresponsible as the Congress Party has become of late. The independent intellectual should strive his best to drive home this truth and persuade as many voters as possible to vote for candidates belonging to democratic parties other than the Congress. It is only then that a strong party in opposition will emerge.

A second point on which stress has to be laid is that the Congress has been too long in power and the time has come to replace it by some other democratic party. The enjoyment of power for too long a period has brought demoralisation. The public have an interest in preventing a demoralised party from coming back to office. That the morale of the Congress Party has suffered a complete collapse is shown by the constant quarrels for the sake of mere power and position between the party organisation outside the legislature and the legislature party. These have become the order of the day in Mysore, Andhra, Bihar, U.P. and several other States. Besides this there are the quarrels between the ministerialists and the anti-ministerialists inside the legislature parties—a phenomenon to which there is no parallel in any democratic State. There are quarrels among group leaders not in respect of any principles or policies but only for the sake of ministerships and the quarrels subside when at the expense of the public exchequer ministerships are created and offered to the dissidents. There must be an end to all this demoralisation but it cannot be ended unless the electorate makes the Congress party take a holiday, get down from the pedestal of office and ruminate for sometime over its own failures and shortcomings.

A third point to be stressed is that it is not necessary to capture power simultaneously at the Centre and in

(Continued on page 11)



April 29, 1961

SWARAJYA

11

FAT BOOKS

By SRIVATSA

No one can look at the serried columns of Thomas Hodgkins' "Italy and Her Invaders" without feeling melancholy. There they lie on the shelves, volume after volume. The dust of ages has settled on them, and they are yellowing as time passes. Nobody has the hardihood to try to read them. It is not only that they look so remote from contemporary minds, the very elephantine size of them forbids any familiarity. Yet, and this is the pity, their author must have worked very hard at them. There used to be a cosy metaphor on the lips of many some years ago when they talked of burning the midnight oil. That image is obsolete in this age of atomic electricity. But it does portray what poor old Thomas Hodgkins must have done. Thackeray said of Macaulay that he read ten books to write a sentence, and wrote libraries to write a book. Imagination boggles at the thought of what Hodgkins must have read. Then, to have written them all down, that was another stupendous task. But posterity repays him with silence.

The fact, of course, is that the poor man lacked genius, which preserves and irradiates. "The Decline And Fall Of The Roman Empire" is no joke, but it is a trifle compared to Hodgkins' work as far as mere size is concerned. Yet we have the great historian's own testimony to his labours, and his enormous application is evident on every page. His genius enabled him to transmute the dross of his "sources", as we would now say, to pure gold. The result is that, though Belisarius and even Julian the Apostate can make no great appeal today, his history is read. For, it is preserved for ever in the amber of the Gibbonian style. It is significant that respect for that famous, that monumental accomplishment is still considerable today when literary iconoclasm has run riot and style, derided and spurned, has fallen by the roadside. Gibbon was much more than an Augustan, though he was a child of his age, and he had his full share of its frailties. He was a universal genius and he is read to this day. That poor old Thomas Hodgkins was not, and nobody reads him.

But, if he is unconsulted, he is still entitled to the credit of perseverance. Imagination staggers at the thought of the doughty man sitting down manfully and writing them all down, all those eternal pages. Fat books, like fat men, are always a joke. To Gibbon him-

self, that eminent royal Philistine, George III, once remarked, "Still scribbling, hey?" The author of stout books or of too many books is always liable to be suspected. The savant complains of Carlyle that he preached the gospel of silence in thirty-seven stentorian, shrieking volumes. The reader complains of having to read so much of one author. When one single book happens to be particularly stout, there is an instinct of rebellion in the human mind. It is certain that that book cannot be uniformly good. It also suspects that it is an old bore who has taken to writing instead of talking. That is why literature contains many expressions of dislike of the too large book or series of books. Of Lord Campbell's "Lives of Lord Chancellors" it was said that they added a sting to death itself. When Macaulay came to review Nares' "Life of Burleigh", he had a pair of scales brought up to weigh the portly volume, and concluded that human life was too short to read such books.

Yet, surely there is something to be said for reading enormous books (provided, in the first instance, some means are found of holding them conveniently in one's hands). To put vulgar things first, there is the satisfaction, at the end of the exploit, of having read one thousand solid pages of print. Many people go to the grave content without having read one-tenth in their lifetime. More important, continuity of interest helps to keep fat books absorbing. Boswell, much of Dumas, most of the Russians are rather long, and it cannot be pretended that these are not interesting. The truth is that some authors need elbow room. Jane Austen might have written little gems of novels. But her detachment was superhuman, indeed supernatural. To write of teacup tattle (though with supreme genius) at a time when Napoleon was knocking at the gates of England, without making the slightest reference to any of the monstrous events of the Revolutionary wars is like writing a novel of Barchester when Hitler's bombs were dropping over the town without any mention of the Luftwaffe or the Fuehrer. Most other authors are not so detached and in any case not everybody can write little gems. Some subjects, of their very nature, demand much room, and it is only proper that this should be granted them. Mr. William Shirer has taken over one thousand pages to describe the "Rise and Fall of the Third

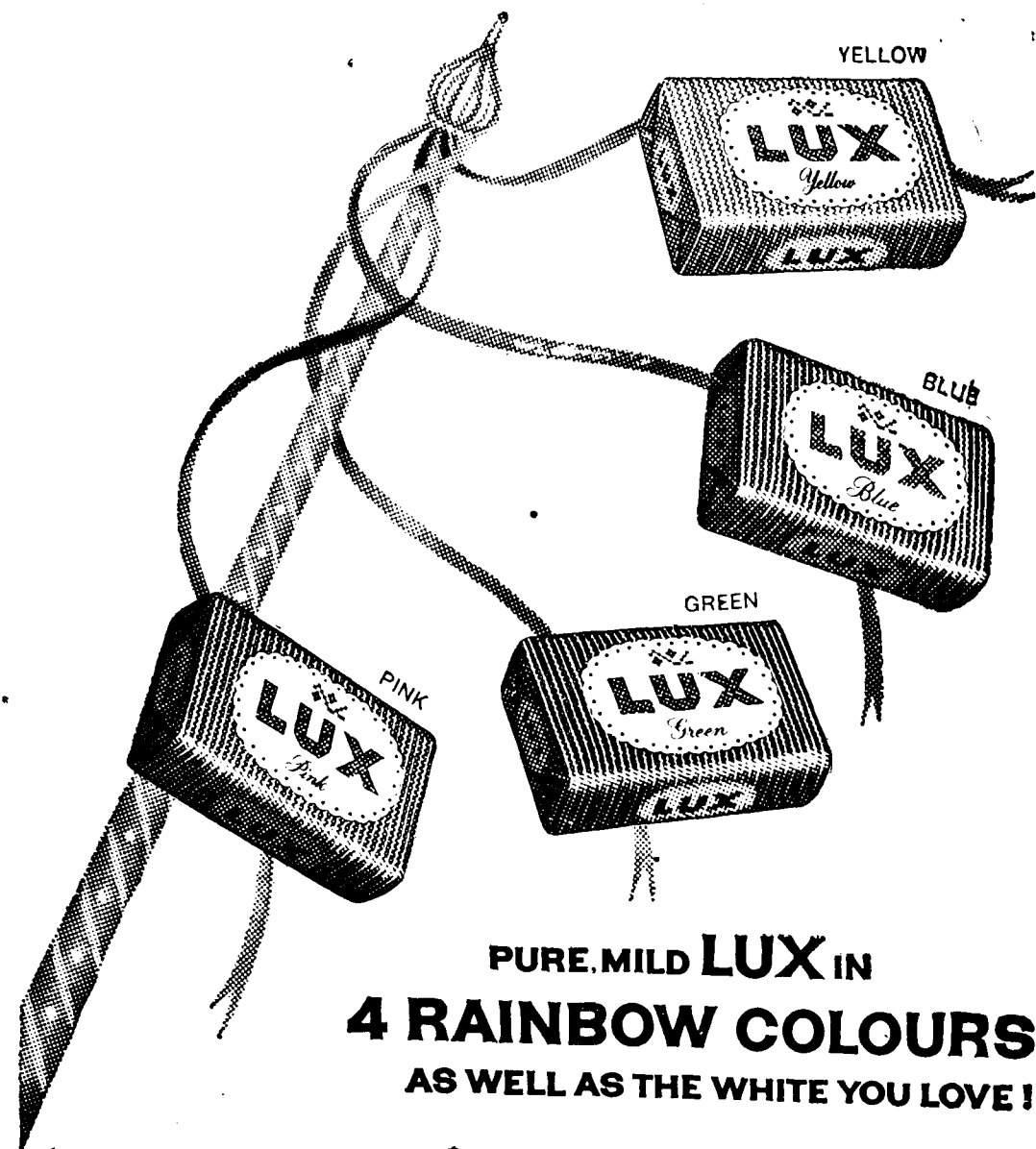
Reich", and a few years ago Brigadier Fitzroy Maclean chronicled the wars of Marshal Tito against the Axis at some length. Not one reader could have complained of any excessiveness. The manner was suited to the matter. But poor old Thomas Hodgkins was unfortunate. He wrote on what has now become an obscure subject, he wrote far too much, and he wrote far from entertainingly. Hence his mausoleum of volumes in the library.

The Independents...

(Continued from page 9)

all the States if things are to be improved in the country and if the political and administrative machinery is to be got out of the rut into which the Congress Party has thrown it during all these years it held office. Even if power is captured in two or three States it will have a healthy and wholesome effect. There is no need to attach importance to the threat put forward by the Congress Party in its manifesto in the Orissa elections that if a party different from that which is in power at the Centre comes into office in a State, it will not get any Central aid. This is a meaningless threat and if it is put into effect there will be a violent revolution. It is against both the letter and the spirit of the country's Constitution. There are chances of non-Congress democratic parties coming into power in some States like Orissa, Rajasthan, Punjab, etc. It is the duty of the independent intellectuals to strengthen the forces working in this direction.

Congress policies are open to attack on many grounds. Even without going into the details of those policies there is enough in the general political situation in the country which demands of the independent voters a highly critical attitude to the party in office. Let us hope that the independent intellectuals will rise to the occasion and make their influence felt among the uncommitted sections of the electorate.



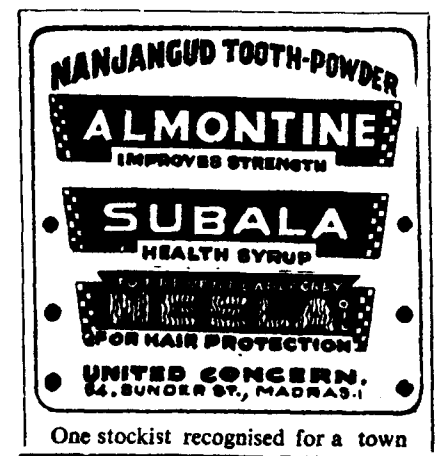
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CAPITAL COMMENTS:

CONGRESS FACADE OF UNANIMITY
AND UNITY

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: After the strenuous Budget session is over, the Prime Minister will have a short holiday, away from the madding crowd's ignoble strife and the capital's continuous excitement over one thing or another. Once again he has chosen the delightful Kulu Valley for summering while this time he will be there as the guest of the Roerichs (the Russian painter, Mr. Roerich, and his Indian wife, Smt. Devikarani). There he will hold communion with Nature and refresh himself.

Last time when he went to the valley there was some talk of his possible retirement, at least partly encouraged by his own loud thinking or casual reflections. This time there will be no such idle talk, for he has already taken care to discourage people, particularly his own party men, from unnecessarily speculating about his future. He was in sound health, he told them, and he had no uneasy apprehensions about his long life.

It was not without purpose that he spoke to them in this vein. For he noticed a tendency among them to associate the place of the Deputy Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party with his succession, as if it were on the agenda. Firstly, he attached little or no importance to the Deputy Leadership; secondly, it had never struck him that it would automatically ensure one's chances as the future Prime Minister. He made the party understand that it was all loose thinking, if not worse; in any case, the question had no relevance to realities as he was there, hale and hearty, and still very much determined to remain at the post of duty.

Mr. Nehru gave a bit of his mind to his colleagues in the party since the lobbying about the Deputy Leadership, from the moment Mr. Pant died, had greatly distressed him. He had no

preferences in the matter: he could work with anybody and he would. Perhaps this was an answer to Mr. Jagjivan Ram who was supposed to have approached him and pressed his claims as his oldest colleague in the Cabinet. Mr. Nehru would not, however, go by any such criterion. As in the case of the Army which would go to pieces, he said, if appointments were made on the mere basis of seniority, in that of the Congress Party too, it seemed to be his feeling, that claims of seniority would work havoc. And that apart, he was emphatic that he would not nominate or suggest anyone. It was for the party to do what it liked or have one whom it wanted.

This sounds unexceptionable, indeed. And yet such is the grim irony of Congress politics, that the same Mr. Nehru would not let U.P. Congressmen elect the men they wanted, either as the Leader of the Congress Assembly Party or as the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee! And one could ask how Mr. Sanjiva Reddy happened to be "catapulted" into the Congress President's chair. Of course, he was unanimously elected; equally of course, he was discovered by someone in particular and presented for ready adoption as the man of the hour. It is significant that Mr. Nehru, while declining to name anyone for Deputy Leadership in succession to Mr. Pant, also, in a way, stipulated that the choice of the Party should be unanimous as always in the past. No answer will be forthcoming to the question why, then, on the eve of the election to the Deputy Leadership, Mr. Morarji Desai was made (or invited) to occupy the room next to Mr. Nehru's in Parliament House. One can well believe Mr. Nehru when he says that he will not thrust anyone on

the party. But what one cannot believe is that there will be no uncontested election if the word does not go round that X or Y is more acceptable to Mr. Nehru.

However much unpalatable it is, the truth must be told that today as Congress democracy is functioning, not every unanimous choice is because of a free vote. Any unanimity that is flaunted in the face of the public, as a result of indirect pressures or secret pulls, is in reality a fake. What everyone in Delhi knows is that while the supporters of Mr. Jagjivan Ram press his "seniority" inside the Cabinet, those of Mr. Morarji Desai go by his "rank". Perhaps the former is a historical accident and the latter is a matter of political preferment, on whatever ground. But the Congress Parliamentary Party, undeterred by any such consideration of wheels within wheels, will make its choice, free and unanimous, as an example to healthy political life.

Mr. Nehru, in his talk with his party men, also assessed the relative positions of the parties in the country and told them something cheering or heartening. In several States the Congress was strong. But even in "pockets" where it was not so strong, it could make an impression on the country if it vigorously propagated Congress ideology in terms of Socialism and Secularism. Mr. Nehru welcomed the getting together of all "reactionary" elements under the Swatantra banner in the process of polarisation of parties. He however saw no harm in the rise of Swatantra as it had, in his view, neither any present nor any future. He cautioned the Congress against the rally of Communalists in whatever guise, for they were the real enemies to the progress of India.

Having already taken the cue from the Prime Minister, the Congress President has declared war on all communal bodies and ruled out electoral alliances with any of them but, of course, with no retrospective effect. The so-called alliance with the Muslim

BOOK REVIEW:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF
WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS

"A study of his (Yeats's) development" wrote Louis Macneice "is a study in rejuvenation". Indeed "the Irish vessel was emptied of its poetry" only after reaching "the holy city of Byzantium". And Yeats himself had written in 1925 that as he grew older, his Muse grew younger. It is a pity, however, that Dr. Narayana Menon has not "attempted any re-writing" and has "left the essay as a record of a particular time and period". One wishes that Dr. Menon had revised this book in the light of the outstanding works of Yeatsian scholarship which have appeared since 1942 (the year when this book was first published). Just as Yeats wished to escape from old age and decay and project himself into the timeless world symbolized by Byzantium, this reviewer would advise the Indian students of Yeats's poetry (unless they intend to be academic Rip Van Winkles) to move into the contemporary Yeatsian world represented by scholars and writers like Louis Macneice, Prof. Jeffares, Monk Gibbon, Hone, Koch, T. R. Henn, Richard Ellmann, etc. It must be admitted, however, that despite this limitation, Dr. Menon has given us a clear survey of the poetic development of Yeats without getting entangled in the various threads of Yeatsian phantasmagoria.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS. By Dr. V. K. Narayana Menon. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1960, 92 pages. 10 shillings and six pence.

League in Kerala was either no alliance in the fullest sense of the term or the Muslim League was really no communal organisation. Communalists will have no place in the Congress: they will be given no quarter anywhere. They cannot dream of getting a Congress ticket in the coming elections. The Congress will rather lose elections than harbour Communalists or encourage the force of Communalism in any way. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy is as firm about it as Mr. Nehru. "From now on" the path is clear before the Congressmen. They will go to the electorate as Socialists; they will go about the country as adherents to the secular ideal.

In one of his inspired moments, Yeats had posed this problem: "Why should we honour those that die upon the field of battle, a man may show as reckless a courage in entering into the abyss of himself". And Yeats had revealed this rare type of courage ever since he began his career under the influence of the aesthetic movement of the nineteenth century. It was during this time that along with Lionel Johnson and other members of the Rhymers' Club, he had despised the 'Grey Truth' in his quest for beauty. And the Rose was the symbol of intellectual beauty.

*Red Rose, proud Rose,
sad Rose of all my days!
Come near me while I
sing the ancient ways—*

Miss Maud Gonne, however, told Prof. Jeffares that the Rose was not only a symbol of beauty, but was "also intended to allude to her by the symbol". It is necessary at this stage to introduce three ladies who have had a remarkable impact on the personality of Yeats—Miss Maud Gonne, Mrs. Olivia Shakespear (Ezra Pound's mother-in-law) and Lady Augusta Gregory. Miss Maud Gonne ("A Helen", a 'Pallas Athene', whose "complexion was luminous, like that of an apple blossom through which the light falls") had made a tremendous impression on Yeats. Indeed, in his letter to Ellen O'Leary, Yeats wrote: "Miss Gonne will make many converts to her political belief. If she said the world was flat or the moon an old caubeen tossed up into the

They will first demonstrate their strength in Orissa—strength born of unity. Mr. Patnaik is sanguine of a sweeping victory for the Congress; Mr. Sanjiva Reddy has returned hopeful from the State. They are, however, uneasy at Mr. Mahatab's sullen aloofness. Mr. Mahatab is once again summoned to Delhi; Mr. Patnaik will also be here. Both will be made to drink out of the same glass—and to each other's political health and sent to Orissa to emerge out of the battle of the polls as fellow-architects of Congress victory. There will not be any trouble—and there need not be—before the hour strikes, if it does, for the divisions of spoils.

sky, I would be proud to be of her party". Some of his finest poems in the beginning of his career were inspired by his unfulfilled love for Miss Gonne. And since Miss Gonne had chosen the metaphorical broomstick ("all women must choose between broomstick and distaff and Maud Gonne had chosen the broomstick—I mean the witches' hats"), he found a deep sense of repose in the company of Mrs. Olivia Shakespear. However, there was something dramatic about his association with Lady Gregory. Lady Gregory had provided him with a home for nearly twenty summers. "There goes the end of Irish lyric poetry" remarked Arthur Symonds as Lady Gregory wafted him into her charming home at Coole Park in 1896. In a recent publication on 'Lady Gregory', Miss Elizabeth Coxhead has stated that Lady Gregory (who was familiar with the folklore and dialect of her Kiltartan parish) had "provided the ladder and put into his mouth—literally into his Abbey plays—the idiom of the people" since Yeats was never able to "get down from that high window of dramatic verse". And his historic association with the Abbey Theatre ended in an anti-climax when his weird play on "The Herne's Egg" (based on a strange combination of an Irish saga and a Tibetan legend) was rejected on the charge of blasphemy.

In his perceptive study of Yeats, Richard Ellmann commented: "Had Yeats died instead of married in 1917, he would have been remembered as a remarkable minor poet who achieved a diction more powerful than that of his contemporaries but who, except in a handful of poems, did not have much to say with it". Yeats had proposed to Maud Gonne soon after the death of Mac Bride; in the wake of her refusal, he switched on his attention to her niece Iscult, who also rejected his proposal of marriage. And after a brief spell of engagement, Yeats married Miss Georgie Hyde—Lees on October 21, 1917, which proved to be a turning point in his poetic career. Mrs. Yeats's experiments in automatic writing constituted a kind of "scaffolding" (in the Yeatsian sense) for his poetry, during the period when he was particularly distressed. Yeats himself has given us an idea of the creative process:

*There on that scaffolding reclines
Michael Angelo
With no more sound
than the mice make
His hand moves to and fro
Like a long-legged fly
upon the stream
His mind moves upon silence*

This phase in Yeats's development reminds us of T. S. Eliot who started

writing poetry in French at a time when he was desperate, although he had no intention of becoming a bilingual poet. In a sense, this comparison is not particularly apt since Eliot merely succeeded in shoring up fragments of 'The Waste Land' whereas Yeats tried to create a poetic cosmogeny of 'A Vision'. But the point worth stressing in both these cases is that an intellectual adventure (whether on the linguistic or esoteric plane) results in a new phase of creative endeavour.

Dr. Menon has criticized (and correctly too) the drift of Yeats's thought towards authoritarianism. And Yeats's attempt to oscillate between Auden's 'Moscow' and Eliot's 'Rome' reinforced by his disillusionment as a Senator in the Irish free Senate made him out of tune with the

*Levelling, rancorous,
rational sort of mind
That never looked out
of the eye of a saint
Or out of a drunkard's eye.*

Indeed, Yeats had almost his foothold in the quicksands of fascism:

*Mere anarchy is
loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide
is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of
innocence is drowned;
The best lack all
conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity.*

However, in his "General Introduction for My Work" Yeats reaffirmed his political beliefs: "I am no Nationalist, except in Ireland for passing reasons; State and Nation are the work of intellect, and when you consider what comes before and after them, they are as Victor Hugo said of something or other, not worth the blade of grass God gives for the rest of the linnet".

The range of his poetic achievement is truly astonishing. In trying to communicate the deeper significance of symbolic poetry, he has revealed a fresh insight:

*I, being driven half insane
Because of some green wing,
gathered old mummy wheat
In the mad abstract dark and
ground it grain by grain
And after baked it slowly
in an oven: but now
I bring full-flavoured wine
out of a barrel found
Where seven Ephesian
topers slept and never knew
When Alexander's empire
passed, they slept so sound.
And his first poem in 'The Tower'
'Sailing to Byzantium', rises to the
heights of great poetry:*

Dr. C. V. RAMAN AND THE RUSSIAN ROCKET

And though he has not an atom of principle, it must be confessed that he invented the Taglioni shirt.

THACKERAY: *Christmas Books.*

"What was going on around the world today was perturbing. The whole world went mad when a man put into a bullet and sent into space returned to the earth safely. I do not rejoice at this achievement of man; on the other hand, I became cold, absolutely cold at this. It made very little difference whether a dog or a monkey or a man was put into space. This is not the real spirit of science. It is militarism run mad". So said C. V. Raman about the recent achievement made towards what is called the conquest of space. 180 miles is no significant part of cosmic space though it is very big in itself. On the background of the distances of stars this is less than the ratio of an atom to a ton of solid matter. Dr. Raman's appraisal is really the right one and he is our biggest man of science. Eve must have thought her achievement was great when she rebelled and reached up to the fruit of a certain tree, but Adam felt as C. V.

Raman feels now. There are, incidentally, quite a few people who do not accept all that has been stated by Yuri Gagarin about his two hour stay inside the rocket as beyond suspicion. There are reasons for this attitude of doubt.

But be this as it may, rocket feats do not have any connection with the economic policy of the Soviet State, although there is an attempt to mesmerise prestige out of it for economic and political policies. They have more to do with the competition set in motion by national ill-feeling and fear. When will man exercise his mind to reach up to these evil planets coursing round earth and making it miserable? What rocket will conquer them?

Dr. C. V. Raman has not allowed his sense of true scientific values to be affected by the glamour of mere technological advance nor has he like others lost his hold on human values on account of the hypnosis of scientific advance.

C.R.

*That is no country
for old men. The young
In one another's arms,
birds in the trees,
Those dying generations—
at their song,
The Salmon-falls, the
mackerel—crowded seas,
Fish, flesh or fowl,
commend all summer long
Whatever is begotten,
born, and dies.
Caught in that sensual
music all neglect
Monuments of unaging intellect.*

Yeats had pointed out in his essay on 'The philosophy of Shelley's poetry' ('Shelley and not Blake had shaped my life') that "Shelley was born in a day when the old wisdom had vanished and was content merely to write verses, and often with little thought of more than verses". And Sir Herbert Read (in a recent broadcast over the B.B.C.) has rightly suggested that this judgement of Yeats on Shelley "is the best possible judgement on Yeats himself".

A. RANGANATHAN.

SIDELIGHTS

(Continued from page 4)

scheme of Sri Morarji Desai was an essay in Government sponsored gambling. By rousing the cupidity of people, egging them on to hope for cash prizes by sheer fluke without putting in any effort to earn and win them, it was calculated to debase the public taste. But even the freedom to abstain from the gamble does not seem to be left to the citizen, to judge by the Commissioner's proceedings, quoted above. Congress has become an instrument for wholesale and piecemeal demoralisation of popular standards, and every citizen who values the public morale owes himself the duty of doing his bit to get rid of a regime like this at the next chance.

—SARA

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR SUGAR EXPORTS AND SUBSIDY

Sir,—In a country which is under comprehensive planning for the last ten years, where an all powerful planning commission is supposed to plan wisely and well, where licences and permits are necessary at every stage of setting up factories we are faced with the phenomenon of a major industry (sugar) facing a difficult situation created by nearly one third of its production being surplus to the country's requirement. It also finds its product priced out of international market by its cost of production being nearly twice the international price.

Evidently there is something very wrong both with the planning and the licensing of capacity in this industry as in many other fields. Huge over-production at uneconomic cost has been permitted by the authorities in spite of the Draconian powers they wield. When the condition of the existing factories is so bad we hear of many new factories under construction and a few more under contemplation. Commonsense indicates that further expansion should be stopped until such time as the internal consumption catches up with production or until such time as the sugar factories are in a position to sell their surplus stock at a profit in the international market.

It is also necessary to bring down the cost of production of Indian sugar by reducing the highly artificial price paid for the sugar cane. The internal consumption has to be increased by lowering the heavy excise duty on this article of daily necessity.

The poor consumer of sugar in our country is made to pay Rs. 1,200 per ton against the international price of Rs. 400 per ton. This exploitation of consumer has gone on long enough and he needs some relief immediately. Hence the proposal of Mr. Puri that the internal price of sugar may be increased in order to enable the foreign buyer to buy Indian sugar at the subsidised rate of Rs. 400 per ton will be strongly opposed by every Indian consumer. If the sugar mills have no other go but to export a million tons at a loss of Rs. 800 per ton then their loss should be made good by a subsidy out of the excise duty levied on sugar consumed internally. In no case the consumer will take another increase in sugar price lying down as before.

V. S. SRIKUMAR.

DEAD MEN ON VOTERS' LIST

Sir,—Elections are held to the Madras University Senate once in three years. The registered graduates have

to elect 30 Senators. Graduates of the University can register themselves on payment of a fee of Rs. 5 and once they are registered they remain on the register for their lives. The statute provides that the register of graduates shall be revised and corrected on the 1st day of October each year. The present list of graduates as published contains about 16,668 voters. It is obvious that this list has not been revised for a long time as we find in the list the names of some who died years ago. Notwithstanding their death they are immortalised in the voters' list! To take but a few instances, the late Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, who died on 17th December 1959, still continues to be a voter. N. Ramanuja Iyengar, who was the first Indian Inspector-General of Police, Madras, died as early as 1941. According to the list he is alive! Sir K. P. Lakshmana Rao, retired Judge of the High Court, died on 4th June 1960, but he still continues as a voter. This is also the case with N. Chandrasekhara Iyer, retired Judge of the Supreme Court who died some years ago. There should have been devised some method and procedure by which the University should revise the voters' list every year as required by the statute.

Some of my friends who have the misfortune to stand for the present election have told me that quite a number of manifestoes and letters issued by them to the voters according to the list supplied by the Registrar have been returned to them with the endorsement 'deceased' and a greater number of letters and manifestoes with the endorsement 'left' and 'address not known'. I am sure if a careful scrutiny is made of the entire list, quite a decent proportion of the voters would have to be removed by reason of the death of the voters and if proper effort and steps had been taken the correct addresses of the voters would have been got.

The present elections to the Senate of the Madras University are conducted on a very defective and out of date electoral list and without due regard to the provisions relating to the annual revision of the list. Such an election in my opinion cannot have any validity. In fact the Supreme Court in the Chief Commissioner of Ajmer Vs. Radhey Shyam Dani reported in A.I.R. 1957 S.C. page 304 has observed that "it is the essence of these elections that proper electoral rolls should be maintained and the elections held on such imperfect electoral rolls would acquire

no validity and would be liable to be challenged at the instance of the parties concerned". It is still open to the Vice-Chancellor to cancel the present election and hold an election on a properly revised and up-to-date voters' list.

M. RANGANATHA SASTRY.

PRIZE BONDS

Sir,—The Government has launched a special drive (like the Mysore Keddah operations) for the sale of its five year prize bonds. These bonds have been devised with sedulous ingenuity. In order to collect funds for its dynamic and gigantic five year Plans the Government (both Central and States) have been floating loans bearing 4 per cent interest every year, which have been readily taken up by the moneyed classes. But the Government wanted to collect funds from the lower middle and lower classes also. The Government realising that 4 per cent interest will be no incentive to these classes, has hit on the idea of luring them with prospects of winning substantial prizes by lottery, but insidiously counter-poised with the stipulations that these loans would have no interest and would be non-returnable until maturity. But the chances of any purchaser winning a prize, particularly when unsold bonds in Government possession are included in the lottery along with the sold bonds will not be more than .0001 per cent. Naturally the initial lure has waned and the prize bonds have ceased to be popular with the poorer classes, who could ill-afford to purchase them, owing to soaring prices of essential articles of food. Hence the present drive for the compulsory sale of these prize bonds. It is seen from the numerous pitiful letters to the Editors, that school masters, village officers, low paid Government and quasi-Government officials dealing with the public, are not only compelled to purchase prize bonds beyond their capacity, but also to sell to the unwilling public, the quota allotted to them, on pain of dire disciplinary action for failure.

While the interest bearing bonds, encashable before maturity are sold to the richer classes at a discount the non-interest bearing and non-encashable prize bonds are being forced at par on low paid officials and the poor, who could ill-afford to purchase them.

It is hoped that Government will realise that these compulsory measures to boost the sale of the unpopular prize bonds to the poor are the very negation of its proclaimed policy of welfare, state for the poor and desist from them forthwith.

L. R. VENKATRAMANI.

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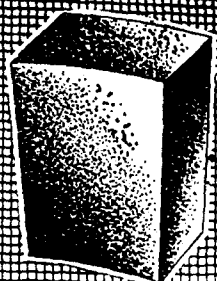
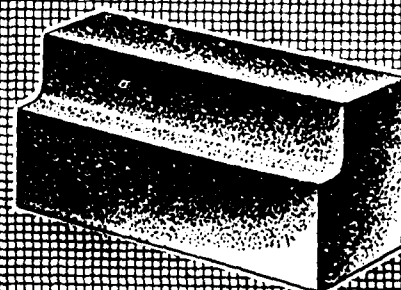
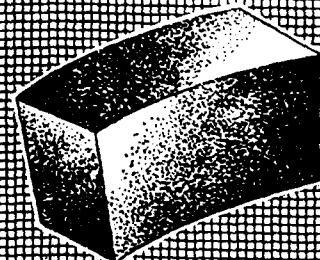
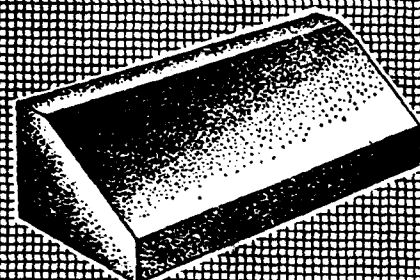
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THE ETIOLOGY OF CONTROLS

By C. RAJA GOPALACHARI

Controls over the economy of India came into being for coping with emergencies during the war. After the war was over, instead of terminating these controls, the officials of the Government kept them up for reasons which are obvious to those who know the appetite of officials for exercising power. Once having tasted the pleasure of non-justifiable authority over moneyed people, the members of the public services maintained the regime of regulation and found many plausible reasons for it and indoctrinated those who guided policy. When the Congress Party took over the Government of the country the officials convinced the interim Ministers who were new to the business of government that without controls there would be a shortage of the respective commodities and terrible public distress in consequence. The new Government accepted the advice of the senior officials and regimentation and controls continued under the National Government though there was no war or other emergency and industry and commerce could have been left to the laws of free economy.

Thereafter came the notion of producing progress in a spectacular degree. The ambition of the Congress Government to demonstrate their own and the nation's potentiality after emancipation from foreign rule led to a conspiracy of action, so to say, between the Congress Ministry and the official hierarchy to maintain and stiffen the regime of controls and

regulations. The appetite for power motivated the officials, and ambition to produce spectacular progress in India and earn the admiration of the world led the policy-makers in the Congress to accept official advice for controls of all kinds to be placed on the economy of the country. In addition the officials succeeded in creating an atmosphere of fear of scarcity of all kinds and the politician-ministers succumbed to it. Then came Sri Nehru's Socialistic pattern as the goal of the Congress. This enhanced the need and the importance of all sorts of controls. The officials welcomed the adoption of a creed in which controls of all kinds and concentration of authority in Central officials' hands were inherent. The logical conclusion of the Socialism of the Congress and the official appetite for power over individual citizens and their activities coincided. Hence the enthusiastic and loyal acceptance of the Congress policy of Socialism by officials who in their heart of hearts know that it was neither practicable nor was the true way to increased production. Often does intelli-

Tagore never tired of explaining that "harmony can never be reached by compulsion"; that without freedom no valuable creative efforts are possible; and that power is always tempted to suppress free inquiry and criticism.—HELMUT G. CAL-
LIS on Rabindranath Tagore.

gence thus yield to appetite and work itself up to advocacy of what it knows to be erroneous. A third element soon came into operation. Party men found good business in the system of controls! This appetite was even keener than that of the officials. Many of them found the monopolies created by permits and controls to be an easy way of becoming rich and their position in the party opened up a new life for them. The party's support for a system that gave them such grand opportunities to display their importance and materially to profit was a very powerful third element in the maintenance of controls, and Socialism gave them a specious electioneering point in addition. The vanity of achieving spectacular things, the power appetite of officials and the greed and corruption of party men, these three elements sustain this unwanted and retrograde permit-and-licence regime in India, while in war-devastated lands in other parts of the world their diligent people rebuilt prosperity on the basis of free economy. And from them we are not ashamed to borrow vast sums for fulfilling our so-called planless plans. It is hoped that the permit-and-licence regime and the rule of a party which is wedded to that pernicious source of corruption and hurdle to progress will be overthrown at the ensuing general elections in spite of the huge funds placed by those who benefit by that system at the disposal of the ruling statist party.

CAUSES OF COMMUNALISM

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The current obsession of the Congress is Communalism, which the leaders introduce in the speeches they make on any subject. There may be two explanations, first that the Congress is preparing the country for its action banning parties with communal titles. Though the Committee appointed has reported in favour of this, there may be second thoughts that the measure will be ineffective because parties can change their names and alter offending provisions, without changing their purpose. The second explanation, which is probably the more important one, is that the Congress is trying to win back the vote of many communities, which it has lost from the impact of its policies and procedures.

It is very distressing that in spite of its record of tolerance, India is today the only country in which communalism is a major factor. This is not due to religion which since Independence has been retreating before other interests. Similarly, caste as such, has been weakening due to new viabilities in occupations and locations. Loyalties to language, territory, tribe, occupation are apparent but they arise from two causes, economic and political.

Economics are important not only by themselves but also because of their dependence on politics. Economically, there has been regression not only as indicated by the latest figures of national income, which if moderated to the latest census figures would be even lower, but by the admission the Government have made that their planned expenditure has benefited only small sections, particularly those in urban areas. Poverty throws back individuals to the herd for protection, giving common interests a strength by themselves unrelated to all other interests. If Government policy had been concentrated on the single aim of giving everyone the opportunity to develop his economic potentials, no one would

have had either the time or the necessity for communal alignments, as a measure of self-defence against crushing forces.

The entire politics of the Congress have encouraged communalism because they have suborned economics to serve them. Through the maintenance and intensification of controls, the Congress created a class of monopolists, bound to support it at the expense of the general population, in return for obtaining the highest prices for the lowest qualities in the open market and any prices in the black market. Secondly, by becoming owner of one third of the corporate sector in industry and all the land in the country, Government left no economic independence to the natural leaders of the people. Thirdly, it exploited favouritism, in respect of labour by pampering the organised sector of less than 2 per cent of the total of workers, in respect of cultivators by lavishing the benefits of community projects and co-operation on the higher ranks, in respect of the literates by employing those most inconvenient in its own services, in respect of different interests, such as those of caste, language, religion, by favouring those likely to serve it best, irrespective of their other qualifications. This mutilation of values has been possible, on the one hand because of the absolute power of the Congress, and on the other because of the ignorance and helplessness of the masses. Power has been used by equating politics with profit. Not only the legislators but even the third rate Congress workers, who were considered by the Congress President to be better than top ranking leaders of other parties, find politics the most paying profession for their qualifications. They are ready to pay for it by securing the support of the majority in their constituency by promise of promoting its interest. The Congress, forced to adopt candidates, according to the ma-

jority communal interest in the constituency, has to thank itself that it has enthroned communalism.

The Congress can end the basic causes of communalism, first by reducing the share of Government in employment, industry and trade for which different classes compete on the basis of their political power. If Government confined itself to its own business of administration, even though its power may be reduced, it would cease to be faced by people organised to obtain their share of preferment. Secondly, whatever Government has to dispense should be on the basis of merit and not of democracy. This would stop individuals from organising the political strength of their groups to obtain what they do not deserve. Government may assure equality of opportunity but further viability should be on merit, irrespective of caste, class or territorial reasons. If, for instance, Harijans were assured full employment, at least on minimum wages, they would not care to organise themselves, as sixty millions would be satisfied with their basic necessities instead of a few thousands being gratified with jobs which may be beyond them.

Thirdly, the Government should show maturity by restraint in both what it says and does. It has been calculated that the Indian Prime Minister makes more speeches than all other Prime Ministers together. He speaks on every subject, the resulting confusion encouraging the claims of different classes. Similarly schemes like the linguistic division of the country, community and social welfare projects, pachyatraj, excite the cupidity of those who have no right or qualification. If the Government could concentrate on the single task of developing the resources of the country by helping those who help themselves, people would not organise themselves into classes to get their share of patronage of the Government. The policy of self development, to which the Swatantra Party is dedicated can end communalism in this natural way.

May 6, 1961

BANKRUPTCY OF STATESMANSHIP

By BHARADWAJA

It is easy to be wise after the event. But statesmanship consists essentially in foresight and intelligent anticipation of the consequences that will follow from every major decision on public policy. Unfortunately the Congress record, during the past decade has been a systematic failure of leadership to rise to the demands of statesmanship—a record of major failures in every field of public policy due primarily to the pursuit of short-sighted makeshifts and the subordination of national interest to party advantage. The result is writ large today all over the country. National unity—the consolidation of which should have been the primary objective of a country which had emerged into freedom after long years of subjection—has been steadily weakened to such an extent that it is today supposed to survive on the slender thread of Mr. Nehru's physical leadership of the Government. A nation's future should surely be built on stabler foundations than the vanishing halo around a single leader, however eminent.

It is a potentially dangerous situation and the Congress, which has wielded unquestioned power for fourteen years, must squarely bear the blame for the tragic pass to which it has brought the country. First among its major blunders was the reorganisation of States on a linguistic basis, whose legacy since 1956 has been a bitter crop of inter-state animosities, and frustrations among minority linguistic groups which are found in every State. When the States Reorganisation Commission's report was published, the more far-sighted of our public men could see that its implementation was going to give rise to new problems and that the creation of States on a unilingual basis was bound sooner or later to destroy the sense of national unity in a multilingual country. The structure that had been brought into

existence in 1950 by the genius of Sardar Patel has in it an intelligent mixture of the old and the new and it did not violently upset the administrative structure that had been inherited from the past. It could have been retained for at least a quarter of a century till we had solved our basic economic problems and could afford the luxury of redrawing the boundaries of States as we pleased. The people's energies and attention could have been concentrated on the basic problems of development facing them instead of their passions being worked up over linguistic claims and border disputes.

The timing as well as the character of States' reorganisation was thus a failure of statesmanship. The same malaise of political myopia has infected the Congress's policies with regard to the official language and educational reform. Heaven knows what havoc has been done to the present generation of the young by the frequent and nearly always ill-thought-out educational changes that have been made in recent years and by the importing of politics into the educational field. Academic achievement in India has never been so poor and barren as it has been in the past few years, despite the enormous increase in the expenditure on education, on imposing edifices for national laboratories and on brick and mortar generally instead of on talent and scholarship. The frustration in the teaching profession is perhaps the most damning indictment of Congress rule, because ultimately the quality of a people is determined by the calibre and integrity of those who are in charge of the education of its young. Everywhere Congress Governments have demoralised the teachers and vitiated the atmosphere of educational institutions by the corruptions of politics. Here again the nemesis will come when we discover that our

schools and colleges and universities are turning out C-3 products who cannot hold their own against their counterparts from other countries. The dependence on foreign capital for development is bad enough. But the perpetual dependence on foreign experts for everything is a greater humiliation. And yet, if present trends are any guide, we are ensuring by our steadily deteriorating standards in education and by the dilution of the academic profession with political favourites and gilded ignoramuses, the continued dependence on foreign experts for all time.

The bankruptcy of statesmanship is writ largest in the economic sphere where we have at the end of ten years more millions unemployed than ever before, prices higher than at any time in our history, an enormously swollen bureaucracy infected with discontent more pervasive than ever, and the people sorely disillusioned and largely cynical about the promises of freedom and democracy. These are the ideal conditions in which the subverters of freedom and the enemies of orderly progress can find their element. Unless the public realise the true dangers they face and also identify the real authors of their troubles they will not be able to meet successfully the challenges with which they are confronted.

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SIDELIGHTS ::

Mr. Nehru was less than fair to some of his dead colleagues, Sardar Patel in particular, when he told the Congress Party in Parliament that the post of Deputy Leader of the party is "not of high importance". Sardar Patel was the most formidable national leader that the Gandhian movement threw up. His Bardoli fight was the most outstanding example of non-violent resistance to the mighty British in the history of India's freedom struggle. After Independence he performed the difficult feat of integrating the States with the Union in a miraculous way by agreement and without the use of force. Though he did not hold the office of Prime Minister he was in every way worthy of it. It cannot be said that he was less important than Mr. Nehru for the reason that he did not become Prime Minister or enjoy the fruits of freedom so largely as Mr. Nehru did. Sardar Patel was a strong, firm man made in a heroic mould. He never ran after small things. Only great objectives commanded his attention. Of such a leader no man in his right senses can say that any office held by him was not of much importance. Perhaps Mr. Nehru would not have ventured the remark he made had Sardar Patel been alive today. While the Sardar was alive it was the simple truth that Mr. Nehru's own importance was enhanced by having a Deputy Leader of the stature and importance of Sardar Patel.

Why did the Prime Minister let himself go in this manner, indulging in derogatory reflections on an honoured office held by the dead great, which those who heard him could not but regard as absurd? He must have done it in the unrestrainable momentum of the habits and practices of his own particular pattern of leadership. There are leaders and leaders. Mr. Churchill, for instance, built his

fortunes of his country by offering his countrymen nothing but tears, blood and sweat. That type of leader strengthened and elevated the character of his followers and made heroes of them. So also Mahatma Gandhi. He offered no material inducements to secure converts to his fold. The great Gautama Buddha whose devotees can be numbered in hundreds of millions throughout the world today, was in his time a prince who had renounced the world and had nothing materially profitable to give to those who rallied round him. These leaders of eternal renown are cherished long after their time because the inspiration they gave to men was for sacrifice, nobility of conduct and a way of life. They did not dwarf their followers to establish their own power and glory.

Mr. Nehru has been fortunate as a leader. But his leadership has been a misfortune to the country. Over the years he has gathered an enormous amount of power round himself. This power has become all-pervasive through an adroit use of the high sounding doctrines of Socialism. The favour of the Prime Minister and his coteries has become extremely worth, cultivating for the sake of the advantages it brings. There is no rule of reason or commonsense here. Both have been put to flight by self-interest. Men are enslaved in their desire to get on well by being on good terms with the Prime Minister, pleasing him, and refraining from doing anything likely to run counter to his wishes.

This interested conformity has gone to such an extent that its victims have become incapacitated for a proper discharge of their duties in a manly way. The election of a Deputy Leader by a party is by no means a task beset by insuperable difficulties. But the Congress Party is driven to near

tion normally. The party men are oppressed by dread that a free vote by them in honest assessment of the relative merits of the contending candidates may not prove palatable to the Prime Minister. So they beg him to take on a function which is theirs by announcing his preference or postpone the election altogether!

Here we have an example of how the Prime Minister has unmanned his followers and impelled them to abandon their democratic rights, while he reacted to the phenomenon with relish and complacency, luxuriating in his own importance and debunking others not less great as of no consequence. But it is not an isolated example. It is the very speciality of the Nehru leadership and its influence and effects percolate down to every corner in our politics, public life and Parliament. This sort of trading of loyalties for favours is naturally not conducive to the elevation of national character. It has made leadership itself an instrument for debasing, humiliating and unnerving men. While the Mahatma made heroes of common clay, Mr. Nehru has made sycophants of his followers and his power is based on the inspiration he has given to self-interest in the conduct of politicians and others. Second-rate leadership of this kind will leave no mark behind when it is finished and will be gathered to the vast mass of the inconsequential in history left by rulers who wasted their opportunity when they had the chance and though they strutted the scene with mighty importance while they held the power, were forgotten no sooner than they ceased to be in a position to confer favours.

—S.A.K.A.

After all, cowards have their own uses, especially in politics. It is from among them that sycophants are made, who make up the blind following so essential for maintaining every kind of leadership—dictatorship or otherwise.

THE NEW DELHI BYE-ELECTION By A POLITICAL OBSERVER

The result of a parliamentary bye-election in this country causes as a rule little excitement, partly because of the massive majority behind the Congress Party in the Lok Sabha. The recent contest in New Delhi was for many reasons an exception. It was considered a prestige seat, being in the capital city; many wishful thinkers seemed to believe that the personality of the candidate would make little appreciable difference, except to the margin of victory. One would normally have expected that the loss of this seat would lead to a searching enquiry as to its causes. But there has been a marked tendency to suppress the shock of the disappointment and a reluctance to publicise the facts beyond those that have been mentioned by individual Congress leaders.

The Jana Sangh undoubtedly had a more efficient electoral organisation than the Congress, with large bands of active volunteers visiting the different areas. Equally true is it that the Congress nominee, a new recruit to the Congress and for years one of its most vigorous critics, was not acceptable to an influential section of the Delhi Congress Party; and internal dissensions consequently prevented the kind of canvassing that brought success to the Jana Sangh's nominee.

Another factor also may be conceded as generally true. A large number of Central Government employees have not overcome their sense of disappointment and resentment with the manner of the Government's handling of the strike situation last year. Rightly or wrongly they consider that while assurances were freely given to hasten the termination of the general strike, the policy pursued thereafter has been slow and half-hearted in dealing with its basic causes.

There has been widespread comment in the lobbies of Parliament that Government servants as a class "let the Congress down" in this bye-election. Many, it seems, were so indifferent that they would not go to the polling booths: this was noticeably the attitude of the higher ranks of the civil servants. The rank-and-file in some of "the colonies" (as the new mass constructions on the outskirts of New Delhi are described) voted almost solidly for the Jana Sangh candidate.

Beneath, however, these local and personal considerations lurk factors which the country as a whole has a

watched last week with interest a group of Congressmen and sympathisers discussing the defeat of their candidate. One of them referred to a poster prominently displayed by the Jana Sangh with considerable effect: the Congress candidate in this election had opposed the Congress in a previous election and gone round Delhi with a lantern in his hand. In his election speeches on that occasion he had observed, it would appear, that the Congress administration had created so much darkness in the capital that a lantern was necessary even during the day! Such a poster, with a caption that such a man was the nominee of the Congress Party this time, proved telling with a section of the voters.

This was, of course, sheer opportunism which is not unknown in elections; but another influence also seems to have been at work. There was animated comment by another member of the same group on their candidate's record: he has for some time been markedly pro-Communist in his sympathies, if not in his affiliations; and he is actively helping the Soviet Embassy in editing one of their several propaganda magazines in Hindi. A number of people who usually vote for the Congress had conscientious objections to voting for a pro-Communist candidate. As this observer put it picturesquely, "his kurta might have been of khadi, but his under-clothing was pink, if not red". It is not only that many voters boycotted the polling booths as a mark of their disapproval of the Congress nominee; but few of the Congress top-leaders showed any willingness to speak at election meetings. The exceptions were, of course, Mr. Krishna Menon and Mr. K. D. Malaviya, both very popular with the Communists and their supporters. Mr. Krishna Menon did not apparently have a quiet hearing at one of the meetings he addressed on behalf of the Congress candidate. At a gathering consisting almost entirely of Secretariat assistants, he was so heckled about some of his policy statements on China and Tibet that he could not complete his speech.

The type of candidate set up by the Congress in this bye-election from New Delhi may well become the pattern for the general elections next year in different parts of the country. Communists have no objection to standing as candidates on behalf of organisations other than their own if thereby their prospects

rashtra and Gujarat, they made common cause with one or two groups, to form the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and achieved a notable victory at the polls. They even agreed for a time to work under the leadership of a non-Communist Socialist.

There have been reports in the press of numbers of communists joining the Congress in the Punjab; and it is not the only State in which such a development has taken place. It is pertinent to recall that Mr. Krishna Menon answered an embarrassing question in Bombay on the eve of the last elections in 1957—whether he had any association in the past with the Communist Party—with the evasive reply that he was offering himself for election in that election as a Congress candidate. Many more of the same type will be coming forward in 1962 to offer themselves for election on the next occasion too as Congress candidates.

Such a conclusion appears to be inevitable, judging from certain recent developments. The New Delhi bye-election affords evidence that the Congress High Command will give its blessing to a staunch pro-Communist candidate if he would agree to stand as a Congress man. Mr. Nehru declared at a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party last week that "a polarisation of political forces" was in process of taking place in the country. The Prime Minister's main target of criticism was communalism and parties which are frankly communal in composition and outlook. On the side of the Communists, too, the Vijayawada Conference has supported the formation of "a national democratic front". Such "fronts" were formed in some of the countries of Eastern Europe and functioned until the Communists felt strong enough to drop their bourgeois associates.

All these are significant indications that after the 1962 general elections, there may be at least as many Communists sitting behind Mr. Nehru as in front of him.



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FOUNTAIN - PLAY OF ADVICE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Official authorities on foreign policy in a distracted world are free with the advice that a country must decide for itself and contribute to the peace of the world, self-determination being the antidote for piratical discords. When we heard of the Cuban revolt, India's reaction was to report distress in New Delhi and proffer the dictum that the future of Cuba was a matter for the Cubans to determine, a proposition on which both Russians and Americans agreed as they mounted support on both sides as if to unleash the fight. India's pronouncement was duly echoed and experts (who abound with facile solutions for nations under tension) felt immense complacency in having tendered such commonplace counsel in time. Still developing the theme of self-determination, arm-chair pandits suggest various courses for prompt action like the holding of a plebiscite under impartial auspices, a referendum, adult franchise, the setting up of a Constituent Assembly to ascertain the will of the people, a preliminary appeal for secret balloting, an advance-pledge by the U.N.O. that implementation is guaranteed, etc., etc.: all these devices are marshalled as methods of immediate democratic security. Individual countries may also produce their hobby-horse whether in terms of religion or other parliamentary sham purporting to eliminate colonialistic intimidation.

The supreme object is that the will of the people, so long under alien enslavement, must prevail in the world so that dictatorship shall cease.

A country may boost its special nostrum in the offer of advice gratis; as far as the Congo is concerned India favours a unitary system with no trace of the confederal outline. Furthermore India wants foreign mercenaries listed by her to be kicked out and the Parliament of 1960, July, reconvened. Any suggestion for fresh general elections makes no appeal to India. Whether adult franchise would be appreciated by the Balubas is of no concern to some of the hot-gospellers of democracy in the Congo, free from the taint of a federal system to which the Prime Minister of India, for one, entertains some sensitive aversion. In all this horse-trading, it is basically conceded that the element of free choice for the Congolese is the starting point. The United Nations forum affords the best pulpit for the demand of elections. The plebiscite cue is present in the following message:

UNITED NATIONS (N.Y.), April 21: The General Assembly today called for the setting up of a three-member commission to supervise elections next August in the Belgian-administered trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi.

Voting was 86 to one (Belgium) with four abstentions.

The resolution adopted by the Assembly also called for a U.N. supervised referendum in August on whether or not the institution of the Mwami (King) should be retained in Ruanda.

That Belgium rejected the plan causes no surprise since the United Nations Charter safeguards sovereignty in membership whatever be the result of lobbying and canvassing. Still the project of a three-member Commission to supervise elections amongst the people of Ruanda-Urundi looks more than statesman-like. The Secretary-General by a reso-

lution, short or involved, could be empowered to see that the people in Ruanda-Urundi have an Election Commissioner to enrol the nomadic adults of the territory, appreciate the contents of party-manifestos and realise the importance of defying the forces of pressure and corruption which neutralise democracy. Among primitive tribes the inducement of money (the voters, cowrie-minded turning up on due day) cannot be minimised. Academicians proceed on the assumption that without inter-tribal welfare, the adults of the region would cast their votes on instruction how to do it on ballot-papers as in the Western democracies. No proportional representation which is fit for sophisticated adolescents.

If India were put in charge of supervising self-determination in this region, Ruanda-Urundi, it may be taken for granted that the squads of election-superintendents sent there in advance would make it a point that corruption should not influence the voting and that the period of excitement should not afford any advantage for any tribal chiefs in the democratic test held under our impartial auspices.

If there is sense in the picture envisaged, the first decision India should ask the U.N.O. to see enforced, would be a simple one, namely, the party bosses of this remote area should be disallowed from squeezing the poorer folk for funds so that they could make a treasure of it and buy up votes and thumb-prints. Any corruption would make a mockery of the whole mighty adventure. Whatever be the machinery of democratic design, the basic content of procedure would be stultified, and thousands of the natives belonging to the terrain become just corrupted, also cannibalised.

Come to think of it, what was the demand heard in the Lok Sabha during the December session of Parliament in India? All the Opposition parties to a man, made the demand that there should not only be a truce-period during elections but that business-firms should be given an immu-

May 6, 1961

SWARAJYA

THE PROBLEM OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE

By Prof. C. N. VAKIL

nity against being "induced" to part with large contributions. The excuse of Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri was that during the past when the Congress led the struggle against British rule, all of them used to join the scramble for money wherever mulcting was possible. What Mr. Shastri (now the Home Minister) then forgot was that the struggle against the British was long since over, and that we are in the stage of fostering a tradition which does not encourage perpetuity of power to a party that had once moved ahead under the momentum of Gandhian prestige and which has now become an organised intrigue of totalitarian complexion to liquidate the institution of a strong Opposition in a democratic Parliament which cannot be despised by coterie able to squeeze in money enabling them to extend their authority.

Usually, experience has shown that at the close of a plebiscite or referendum, the people under liberation, particularly the losers, are apt to complain that the whole affair had been rigged by certain gangs. The only consolation over the verdict is that the losers should in a sporting spirit await their next chance in a contest. President's Rule for a while can provide "impartial auspices". The rule of fairplay should be regarded as paramount. The Congress majority in the Lok Sabha, however, brushed aside the remonstrance of other parties. And we pride ourselves that India is a mature country, high in the scale of democratic practice and the champion-exponent of correct foreign policy; and this is not in Ruanda-Urundi where the U.N. supervised referendum is proposed for the month of August. The thing in Ruanda-Urundi might not come off in the next quarter, despite the creation of a three-member Commission for clean returns. And India must make sure that she is by a notch or two higher in experience than the population of Ruanda-Urundi. We flaunt the flag of "maturity" since we are far ahead of the Adivasis of Ruanda-Urundi.

With the advent of independence in under-developed countries, beginning with India, the urge for economic development has grown. The problem, however, for countries like ours is different as well as difficult. We have a large and rapidly growing population, the majority of whom are poor and living on the margin of subsistence. It is not possible under these conditions for the country to have its own savings adequate to meet the demands for rapid development. Unlike other countries in the past, we are faced with the problem of rapid development, which means that we should bring about economic growth in a relatively shorter period. We have no political power to exploit other countries for these purposes as was done by some. At the same time, we do not have that affinity with other countries who can help, which the U.S.A. and Canada had. These countries were inhabited by people from England and Europe. They were able to welcome the immigration of enterprising persons from England and Europe, which helped the surplus population of European countries to settle in new areas. We have, therefore, to depend on the goodwill of other countries. Fortunately, the more advanced countries have realised that it is in their ultimate interest to raise the standard of living of the backward countries. This growing consciousness among the leading countries of the world at this juncture in our history is a great source of relief. The cold war between the two power blocs in the world has given an additional impetus to this tendency, with the consequence that countries like ours which are not attached to either bloc find it possible to get economic aid from both sides. There are, however, natural limits to such foreign aid. The demands of underdeveloped countries for development have grown. Countries in South-East Asia as well as in South America have been receiving some attention from the advanced countries in recent years. The emergence of national consciousness in Africa has created a new factor, namely, the need for development of the various African countries, who have received or are about to receive independence. This simultaneous demand from various quarters limits the amount of economic aid which can be made available from the countries which are able to spare it.

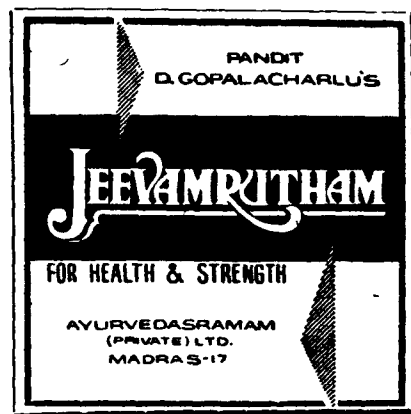
A new and somewhat unexpected factor which has come into prominence

in very recent times is the large export of gold from the U.S.A. During the war the monetary stocks of gold flowed from various countries to the U.S.A., with the consequence that the U.S.A. has now the largest stock of monetary gold reserves. It has given considerable assistance to other countries to restore their economic position after the World War. The recovery of Europe owes substantially to the Marshall Plan. Since then the U.S.A. has made elaborate arrangements for giving aid in different forms to a large number of countries including India. At the same time, it has military establishments both in Europe and in other parts of the world, which involve large expenditure outside the country. With the development of Europe the trade relations between Europe and the U.S.A. are changing their character. A combination of these forces resulted in an adverse balance of trade for the U.S.A. for which gold had to be exported to other countries. The movement was also partly due to speculative transactions which are inevitable under such circumstances. This factor is mentioned in order to draw attention to the fact that even the richest country in the world has a limit to its capacity to find resources to give aid to other countries. It is well-known that the Government of the U.S.A. is anxiously trying to restore its balance of payments position so that the outward flow of gold can be restricted.

For the Third Plan, we have estimated that we shall require certain large quantities of foreign exchange. We are aware that our own capacity to earn foreign exchange is very limited inasmuch as our exports are not adequate for the purpose. Our foreign exchange requirements are partly due to the need to pay interest and capital on account of foreign loans that we have already incurred. We have also to import certain large quantities of goods, raw materials and equipment for the industries that we have already established. Further development of new industries which we are planning requires the import of machinery. In view of the magnitude of our requirements to revolutionise our economic life in a short time, such a situation is likely to continue for years to come, though we are anxious to do away with foreign aid as soon as possible.

Our economic arrangements in relation to other countries are thus fast

(Continued on page 9)



SURF IN THE MODERN HOME...



'THE SORT OF CHANGE I LOOK FOR...'

says social worker Mrs NOREEN AMOLIK of Bombay

'THE SORT OF CHANGE I look for is in the home,' says social worker Mrs Noreen Amolik.

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SWARAJYA

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SHOULD WE BAN COMMUNAL PARTIES?.

By Dr. A. NARASINGA RAO

I am surprised and shocked by the suggestion that communal parties should be banned, and the complaisance with which this idea is received by the public. To me every interference with the freedom of representation is a fetter imposed on the ideal of democracy. The policeman uses fetters only when he is certain that the freedom of the fettered person will be injurious to others.

A community is a set of persons having common ties or interests who agree in attaching importance to certain values in life, and who have a strong feeling of kinship with one another. And the word "communal" means "belonging to the same community". I do not see anything in this description suggesting that such an association is necessarily selfish and detrimental to the interests of others. One has to look at what ideals and values the community stands for before deciding that that communal grouping is bad.

Even assuming that a communal party has been formed to safeguard its own interests, I do not see anything wrong in this. In a Welfare State, we want every one to be happy and to have

equal opportunities with others. Supposing a particular community feels that it has been denied this equality, the remedy which democracy prescribes is that it should voice its disabilities through its own elected representatives. How can this be done if every communal party is banned? Why strangle the unuttered appeal even before it is voiced? In a true democracy even the most absurd or unreasonable plea must be allowed utterance, for there is always the sound commonsense and wisdom of the country as a whole, as represented in the legislatures, to reject such pleas as are unreasonable or anti-social and accept only such as are reasonable. To deny hearing to the communal parties is equivalent to casting a doubt on the wisdom and reasonableness of the legislative body as a whole, in other words, on the fitness of the country for democracy.

But behind all this talk of banning communal parties, is there not the presumption that communal parties, whatever that phrase may mean, exist to ask and not to give? Suppose we have a community which feels it has some-

thing valuable to contribute to the body politic, something which it regards as so valuable and so good to humanity as a whole that it wishes to share it with everyone. According to the Upanishads the ideals placed before a Brahmin (a seeker of the Supreme Brahman) are "Swadhyaya" and "Pravachana" i.e., study (including research) and propagation of truth. Suppose a group of those who believe in these ideals form a party to which the name "Brahmin Party" will not be inappropriate, (whatever the caste into which they may have been born) with a view to holding these ideals aloft, should the party be banned? Suppose a number of sanyasins form a party to emphasise the idea of self-sacrifice, and to see how far these ideals could be given effect to in the conduct of State affairs, should such a party be banned? It is wrong to ban a party unless its aims are avowedly anti-social.

Perhaps it is felt that communal loyalty competes with and weakens loyalty to the country as a whole. If this be the basis of the dislike of communal parties, I am afraid it is based on a misunderstanding of the structure of society.

Does it have an amorphous structure like chalk, or does it have a structure

THE PROBLEM OF...

(Continued from page 7)

becoming complicated. These complications are likely to grow. We have, therefore, to be careful in watching changes in international economic relations in which we are involved. Whereas this is a vast problem, one factor which is conclusive is that we must have a long-term export policy with a view to solving our foreign exchange problem as soon as possible. It is obviously not desirable for us to be dependent on a large number of countries for small and big quantities of foreign aid longer than necessary. In our desire to have rapid economic development within the country, we have not paid adequate attention to the effort that is necessary in this important aspect of development. It is unfortunate that at this very juncture we find that our traditional exports, like tea and jute, are stagnant and are meeting with increasing competition from other countries. We have not yet developed the art of selling our goods abroad in competition with those of other countries. In this effort we have to learn a good deal from the experience of other countries; some of the points on which attention has to be given without delay may be summarised as under:

(1) The export trade must be in the hands of people who have specialised in the work and are able to devote their major attention to the task;

(2) One of the essentials of success is that the export trade should be a profitable business. In return for this, the exporter should observe a code of honour, inasmuch as he should develop a national goodwill for the country, among the buyers of other countries by maintaining a supply of quality goods at competitive price and thus establishing relations which will help us in selling our goods abroad in larger quantities. The Government should be ready to help the exporter at least in the early stages by giving subsidy and other incentives;

(3) Both the business community and the Government should actively co-operate in having a suitable efficient organisation for a continuous study of the markets of the world and in doing propaganda to stimulate such markets;

(4) It should be possible for the industrial establishments in the country to adjust their production to the changing requirements of our foreign buyers;

(5) The aim should be not only to maintain and develop our traditional exports like tea and jute, but also to launch on the systematic export of manufactured goods;

(6) To strengthen such relations from the long-term point of view, we should have cultural contacts as a means of better understanding with other countries, which should include the study of languages of different countries, where we wish to maintain trade relations;

(7) These efforts should be actively supported by adequate shipping, insurance and banking facilities, by a knowledge of trade techniques and procedures in other countries, by arrangements for exhibitions, fairs and emporia of our goods in different countries, and above all by the enforcement by the trade itself of the necessary code of honour which should be observed by exporters in their dealings with foreign buyers;

(8) In view of the urgency of the problem suitable research teams of competent persons should be sent out in appropriate areas to make on-the-spot enquiries and to ascertain the best method by which our export trade can be stimulated;

(9) Export trade should not be treated as a bye-product of other activities;

(10) In other words, all reasonable steps should be taken to develop export consciousness in the country to earn the foreign exchange required by us.

with different strengths in different directions like a crystal? It seems to me that in almost all societies, it is the latter structure that we find, except possibly in a Communist society. Firstly, the binding strength is very strong inside the family and men and women will fight fiercely or make great sacrifices for their family members. As between two members belonging to different families, or between one family and another the binding link is not equally strong. Again a number of families living in proximity with other families and sharing with them a com-

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mon language, culture and socio-religious ties, form a bigger communal unit. The link is not so strong, but it has considerable force, and the wise statesman who is trying to build up his Ramarajya should neither ignore nor deery such links, but use them in his task. Several such religious or cultural units are united not so much through the individual members of the units, but through abstract concepts like *dharma*, and also through their leaders, each of whom influences his own unit, and shares common hopes and aspirations with the leaders of other units. The wise statesman should encourage and help in establishing such contacts between leaders and in ensuring their mutual co-operation in wider fields. In a sense, the structure of society is like that of electrons held tightly in an atom, the atoms held less tightly in a molecule, and the molecules bound together in bigger units.

None of these smaller loyalties need stand in the way of the higher loyalty. In fact, each in its own field is irreplaceable and without them the structure will collapse. But as the higher loyalty, such as loyalty to the country, to the ideal of *dharma*, or to the whole of humanity is more abstract and touches the individual very much less, it has to percolate through the influence of a few gifted members of the community—in other words through the leaders of the group, and should be sustained and stimulated by the mutual contact of the leaders of different parts of the country or of the world among themselves. A communal organization which seeks to improve the conditions of a particular community has its own useful part to play in this scheme; only its aims are limited and can therefore be more effectively carried out. If by a classless society is meant a society in which the richness and variety of aims and outlooks on life which characterise different communities are sought to be suppressed in favour of a dead level of uniformity, Heaven save us from such a classless amorphous society! It is not a question of suppressing the narrower loyalties, which are quite natural and strong, but of linking them up with the higher loyalty including the highest of all loyalties—loyalty to principles.

What is really important is the recognition of the importance of relevancy. If I wish to appoint a driver for my car, I should insist on good eyesight, alertness of mind, a fair knowledge of mechanism and experience of driving. The community to which the driver belongs, his coming from the same village as myself, or his relationship to a dear friend of mine are irrelevant considerations. Similarly, if it is

election to the legislature, what matters most is the education and outlook on life of the candidate, his knowledge and experience of legislative bodies, his knowledge of law and his capacity for sturdy commonsense. If he comes to me and urges that I should vote for him because he is distantly related to me or that a good friend of mine is interested in him, or that he comes of a well-known family, I should have the courage to tell him plainly that all this has nothing to do with his competence for legislative work. In India a large number of appointments as well as a large amount of electoral support are based on irrelevant considerations. Both the candidate and those who recommend him urge considerations which may be relevant for inviting him to dinner but not for the position he is seeking to attain.

There is today a continual outcry against communalism and casteism which are depicted as separatist tendencies, wholly evil and without any relieving features in them, a heritage from a narrow and ignorant past. This is surely a one-sided picture. These hoary institutions stand for certain standards of honourable behaviour, of mutual help, and of traditional skill. Within their field they unite and give a feeling of security and kinship. But everything which marks out a boundary of activity while uniting those within, also marks them off from those without, but not in enmity or hatred. Tagore wrote in one of his books that a person may have one of two attitudes towards the road which lies between the place where he is and the place to which he wishes to go. He may consider it as an enemy which separates him from his goal. Or he may consider it as a friend connecting him with his cherished goal. Our leaders who abuse communal groupings are like those who regard the road as an enemy. The outcry against communalism is a misplaced outcry; it ought to be directed against *irrelevancy*, that is, against allowing communal considerations to have a place where they are wholly irrelevant, as in elections or appointments. But *irrelevancy* which is the real culprit can take other forms, for example supporting a policy because it is that of the party to which one is affiliated, in spite of one's own sincere convictions to the contrary.

A true builder finds out whatever is good in every bit of material he has and tries to make it serve some useful purpose, neutralising whatever defects it may possess. Even so a nation builder puts to the best use whatever strong material the past may have provided him, taking advantage of its strength and using it in situations where its weakness will not weaken the structure.

BOOK REVIEW:

TAGORE, PROPHET OF INDIAN RENAISSANCE

"Tagore" wrote Keyserling, "is the most universal, the most complete human being I have known". And viewed in historical perspective, it is clear that Tagore not only constituted a historic link in the long chain of Indian cultural evolution, but was also the prophet of the Indian Renaissance heralded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. It is appropriate, therefore, that the Ford Foundation has helped the Tagore Society (which was formed in connection with the Tagore centenary celebrations) in bringing out this anthology of Tagore's writings on contemporary social problems.

Mr. Douglas Eismenger of the Ford Foundation has correctly stated in his Foreword that there are many persons "in India and elsewhere who, though knowing Tagore as a poet, are less familiar with his role as one of India's greatest social pioneers". And the concept which runs through this collection of Tagore's essays and addresses is that of universality. Mr. Humayun Kabir has pointed out in his Preface that "this selection will not please everybody" since every reader familiar with Tagore's works will regret one or another omission. However, it is unfortunate that this collection does not include some of Tagore's outstanding lectures on the philosophy of nationalism. Tagore's approach to nationalism differed from that of his distinguished contemporaries who had merely Indianized the concept of Mazzinian nationalism. Tagore's greatness lies in the fact that he had infused the spirit of poetry into the Indian national movement. And in the final analysis, Tagore had universalized the concept of freedom.

Tagore had drawn the vital distinction between the Western nation and the spirit of the West, in his celebrated lectures on 'Nationalism'. While Tagore had appealed to certain sections in the West to rid themselves of that narrow cultural provincialism which tacitly assumed that the history of Western civilization was also the history of civilization, he also made it clear that "the desire for a common bond of comradeship among the different races of India has been the work of the spirit of the West, not that of the Nation of the West".

TOWARDS UNIVERSAL MAN by
Rabindranath Tagore; Asia Publishing
House, 387 pages, Rs. 12.50.

"Swaraj", as Tagore interpreted it, was not a mere political actuality; it was a process which extended the frontiers of the mind. But even in the heat of political controversies, he never lost his sense of perspective. And when Mahatma Gandhi began his nation-wide campaign to burn foreign cloth, Tagore had strongly opposed this proposal. With his characteristic dignity and the strength that flows from deep conviction, Tagore stated (in his "The Call for Truth", which is the finest essay in this collection) that in considering foreign (especially British-made) cloth as impure, "economics is tossed aside for the falsehood passing as a moral dictum". Tagore also believed that it was his "duty to fight the habit of blind obedience" and felt that the cloth to be burnt belonged "to people who are sorely in need of it". And he cogently argued his case in these reflections: "Regrettably, we have narrowed down our vision to mere material expectations. But even in the West a real concern to raise superior to material interests is now apparent.....I have seen such men in England; they have accepted insult and hurt from the hands of their own people in their struggle to liberate subject races from the tyranny of power. I have seen such renunciation in France too—there is Romain Rolland, for instance, an outcast among his countrymen I have watched the faces of students in Europe, radiant with the hope of world unity, and bearing with patience and courage, the blows they must suffer for their dream of the glorious age ahead". And Tagore, who had much in common with the artist-philosophers of Renaissance Humanism had warned the nation that we would "exhibit a sorry image of our country if we fail to see for ourselves the vast dimensions of India in its world context".

In his essay on "The problem of Education", Tagore had viewed the significance of education in its arcadian setting: "In favourable weather the classes should be held in the shade of big trees. Part of the teaching should be in the form of discussion between teacher and student while they are walking between the rows of trees. In the evening recess the students should read the stars, cultivate music, and listen to legendary and historical tales". It would be interesting at this stage to recall an interesting observation made

by Mr. Richard Church in his illuminating lecture on Tagore (delivered sometime ago at the Sastri Hall, Madras). Mr. Church argued that he could find a mystical affinity between the effervescent prose of the "Religio Medici" of Sir Thomas Browne and the later work of Tagore. It is possible that this book might have influenced Tagore's style to a considerable extent; however, according to this reviewer this book might have coloured his views on education even to a greater extent.

Like Ram Mohan Roy, Tagore knew the value of India's contact with the West. In his essay on "East and West", Tagore wrote: "Ram Mohan Roy stood alone in his day for India's union with the world on the broad basis of humanity. No blind belief, no ancestral habit obscured his vision. With a wonderful breadth of heart and intellect he accepted the West without renouncing the East and, single-handed brought the new Bengal into being". And Tagore argued that the "meeting of East and West" on our soil could "attain fulfilment" only if "an inner harmony is achieved". In order to realize this ideal, which is similar to Walt Whitman's poetic vistas "of the marriage of continents, climates and Oceans", in a world which has shrunk due to scientific advances, we need a bridge of fundamental ideas and cultural values spanning civilizations through time and space. The impact of Indian philosophical thought on Western intellectuals like Emerson, Whitman, Thoreau, W. B. Yeats, A. E. and several others, and Western influences on our leaders like Ram Mohan Roy, Tagore and Gandhi are some aspects of this cross-fertilization of cultures leading on to an international exchange of ideas. In fact, Tagore stated that "Vishwa-Bharathi acknowledges India's obligation to offer to others the hospitality of her best culture and India's right to accept from others their best".

Today, there is undoubtedly a need for a rethinking of the philosophy of nationalism in its proper perspective. It is remarkable that Tagore had pioneered a new approach to nationalism, in tune with the Time Spirit. As the eminent historian of Nationalism, Prof. Hans Kohn wrote in his 'A New Look at Nationalism': "None has spoken more strongly against the cult of one's own nation or nationalism than Vladimir Solovyev in Russia or Rabindranath Tagore in India, both men deeply rooted in the spiritual tradition of their community and yet wide open to the cultural insights of the West".

(Continued on page 13)

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May 6, 1961

Communists' Parliamentary Tactics

The following is a quotation from an introduction which Lord Morrison, formerly Mr. Herbert Morrison, wrote to an English translation of a book by Jan Kozak, a Communist and a member of the Czechoslovak National Assembly, entitled "How Parliament Can Play a Revolutionary Part in the Transition to Socialism":

"The Communists joined (in Czechoslovakia) a coalition government (a government of the national front) because the overall character of the participation in this government was: not to lose from sight, even for a moment the carrying out of a complete socialist coup'. They supported parliamentary procedure, because, for the purpose of the overthrow of the democratic regime, it was necessary to change the character of parliament into 'one of the levers actuating the further development and consolidation of the revolution'. They mastered the technique for a revolutionary minority to outwit, outclass and finally render impotent the democratic majority 'which had numerical superiority in the decisive organs endowed with power' and which suddenly found itself unable to stop the Communist revolution".

Morrison adds, "The countless details of the business of revolution, boasting described in this document, make it not only fascinating political reading, but above all an important political lesson".

Tagore, Prophet of Indian...

(Continued from page 11)

Indeed, as pointed out by Prof. Kohn, the possibility of a deeper cultural understanding between India and the liberal West can arise only if we no longer allow "our thinking to be channelled into widely accepted stereotypes about nationalism and its relation to liberty". And it would be logical to conclude that the new dispensation which followed in the wake of Ram Mohan Roy's letter to Lord Amherst could be regarded as a major contribution towards the intellectual synthesis of civilizations so that the Western impact on Indian Civilization (rendered as 'Sadachar' or 'proper conduct', in the concluding address on 'Crisis in Civilization') and the Indian response to the West might result in a truly great renaissance of humanity, more universal in its dimensions than the renaissances the world has so far seen.

A. RANGANATHAN.

CAPITAL COMMENTS:

AND NOW THE SOMERSAULT

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: There has been an amazing exhibition of a political somersault on the part of no less a man than the Prime Minister within an incredibly short period of eight days. Having a week earlier proclaimed to the Congress Parliamentary Party that the election of the Deputy Leader over which there had been so much of unhealthy excitement, was purely its own affair, that it mattered little to him who would be chosen, that personally he could work with anyone, and that in any case he would not nominate or propose anyone or even indicate his preference, the Prime Minister, at an emergency meeting of the party on Friday (April 28), in the wake of a resolution "reportedly drafted by himself", assumed full responsibility for resolving the tangle. Out of its full confidence in him, the party left it to him to decide the manner as well as the timing of the appointment, a "routine" matter having been given a wrong turn and unnecessarily complicated.

Once again, Mr. Nehru was frank and forthright in telling the party that the Deputy Leadership was of really no importance in the scheme of things, that it

could be filled even by a non-Cabinet member, and that election to the place had no relevance to the question of his succession. He was painfully aware of the fact that his earlier talk on this subject, equally direct and challenging, indeed indignant, had, far from discouraging a contest and consequential lobbying, given an yet sharper turn to the rivalries inside the Party. Mr. Jagjivan Ram desired to fight it out with Mr. Morarji Desai while the latter was supposed to have threatened to withdraw from the Central scene if due deference was not paid to him. Some members thought that the best way of preventing a clash would be by leaving it to the Prime Minister to handle the matter himself, in his own "inimitable" way. They knew their leader: they knew that notwithstanding his earlier stand he could be prevailed upon to untie the tangled knot. All that was needed was an artfully worded resolution—and luckily for them, Mr. Nehru persuaded himself to draft it appropriately! And this was done, out of touching appreciation of the party's generous confidence in him.

(Continued on page 15)

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And Now the Somersault (Continued from page 13)

His performance was described in the press "as an interesting anti-climax" to the situation and his latest speech as one of "sharp contrast" to the earlier one. Consistency is the hobgoblin, they say, of little minds. Big minds do not make a fetish of it. And Mr. Nehru is too big to bother about any possible charge of inconsistency. But it will be a rather dangerous position if Mr. Nehru makes a virtue of Lloyd Georgism in these matters—and it was of Lloyd George that Lord Simon once said: "What he says today is no indication of what he will do tomorrow".

Though it is open to him to put off the question till the next session of Parliament, it is more than likely that he will not keep it pending, and his party men guessing. And though it is also open to him to choose someone outside the Cabinet, it is not likely that he will go so far. It is now an open secret that Mr. Morarji Desai has got to be appeased, if he is not to be made to feel that he has been badly let down. Whether he agrees with the Prime Minister's theory or not, that the Deputy Leadership guarantees no succession to Leadership, he does not, for his own reasons, like it to slip out of his hands. Any day, the Finance Minister is a greater realist than the Prime Minister. He has learnt from experience something about the value of the bird in hand. And rightly or wrongly he has come to regard himself as the most important man in the Cabinet and in the party, next only to Mr. Nehru. He will feel hurt if he is passed over, whatever may be the interpretation put upon such an eventuality and however ingenious it may be. And since he has left few in doubt about his own views and intentions, it is extremely unlikely that Mr. Nehru will let Mr. Desai nurse a grievance against him. He would rather leave Mr. Jagjivan Ram disgruntled. Mr. Nehru's expert way of balancing things or men requires that, Mr.

SWARAJYA

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Krishna Menon at one end must be confronted with Mr. Morarji Desai at the other, so that with the trusted Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri as the ideal middle-of-the-road man, there may be a sense of perfection about the picture. So "within the next 48 hours" at the time of writing or by the time this will appear in print, the Prime Minister will have conveniently got over his earlier commitments and, at the request of the party, "barged in" the Deputy and left it to it, in the new democratic style, to adopt him unanimously—Mr. Jagjivan Ram not excluded. Whatever else it is or not, it is an example of the management of men within a sphere where everything is ultimately subordinated to the will or whim of the one supreme leader.

Now that the Budget session is fast approaching its end, Central Ministers who have been tied up at the Capital, are busy making their tour programmes. For, while serving the country as Ministers, they cannot as Congressmen, afford to neglect the interests of the party. Apart from their individual constituencies which call for their visit, Orissa cannot do without their eloquent exhortations. The State needs to be politically and administratively an-

nexed. For the Parliamentary Board meeting which is to dispose of appeals in respect of party tickets, Mr. Bijayanand Patnaik has come but not Mr. Hare Krishna Mahatab. The latter has not yet got over the feeling that he was denied even the courtesy of consultation when he was forced to move for the end of the Coalition Ministry and the dissolution of the Legislature. He has declined the invitation from Delhi to contest a seat, let alone conduct the election campaign. If the Congress will win and its Legislature Party will elect him then as leader, he will then re-consider the position and, probably say 'yes'. He too, like Mr. C. B. Gupta, may find a seat later in the wake of general approbation. The Congress President is reported to have sympathised with Mr. Mahatab in his present predicament and appreciated his stand. The only question is whether, in the case of an outright victory for the Congress in Orissa, Mr. Patnaik will remember that within the last few days he publicly claimed Mr. Mahatab (whom he had pushed out) as his "political guru" and the only leader of the State. One cannot perhaps be pinned down to one's earlier statements or declarations on the political plane. That would not be politics.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR ALL-PERVADING AND NON-STOP FEVERS

Sir,—We have been and are taking the necessary elementary precautions to prevent disease. Yet, for the past 4 months, many of us have been falling sick, one after the other. I learn that such wholesale and different types of fever have been and are occurring in different parts of the city, in something like an epidemic form.

People say that almost all the food-stuffs are being adulterated and that the water-supply is not pure; the prevalence of mosquitoes in a large way is also responsible for this illness.

May I, therefore, make a fervent and urgent appeal to the Health Authorities of the Madras Corporation and to the Hon'ble Ministers to take some immediate and special steps to see that (a)

the Water-supply is pure (b) the food-stuffs are not adulterated and (c) the mosquito-menace is put an end to?
Madras. V. KRISHNASWAMI SARMA.

UNLAWFUL ACT

Sir,—The Central Disciplinary Action Committee of the Indian National Congress is reported to have expelled from the party four Congressmen of Bihar, as they sought legal remedies for their grievances. Does this not amount to contempt of court?

Any party that puts a premium on its own tyranny and autocracy in contempt of the country's lawfully established courts of justice must be deemed to have acted unlawfully.
Coimbatore. P. S. KRISHNASWAMY.

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CONGRESS WITCH-HUNTING

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Congress Party men are unable to give up their desire to ban certain bodies. They seek to protect and nurse secular unity by forging penalties for what they call communalism.

The Congress Party's faith in compulsion is growing as its faults and failures are accumulating. The faithful repudiate the doctrine out of which they secured power. Ahimsa until power is got and himsa when once you are in power! Legislative compulsion imposed on those who do not agree with one's views is not less himsa because there is no shedding of blood or breaking of bones.

Communalism is rightly deprecated when it is a form of narrow-mindedness leading to injustice, cruelty and nepotism. It falls within the group of isms, casteism, linguism and communalism, to down all which is a favourite slogan of our ruling party. All these isms are various forms of narrow-minded attachment leading to injustice, nepotism and cruelties when temporarily or for a long period such narrow-mindedness finds itself in a position of authority. To casteism, linguism, and communalism, we might add party-ism too when it leads like the rest of them to discriminatory treatment, injustice and unfairness on the part of any ruling party.

The evils of the mind cannot be overcome by force or legislative compulsion. Where the law gives scope for narrow-mindedness, we

might make new laws or change the old ones to remove such opportunities. But it is futile to believe that by imposing sanctions or penalties we may be able to change men's minds. Of course, if change of heart is not wanted, but only external behaviour in conformity with the decrees of the majority, compulsion would be enough.

It is possible under cover of putting down this or that ism to gain electoral advantages by making laws which will throw the weight in favour of the ruling party. And this is a great temptation to the party in office during the period of the general elections. Personal and party advantages mislead even honest minds. It requires reflexion and restraint to abstain from doing things which it would be advantageous to oneself to do and what is also in one's power to do. It is easy enough to create difficulties in the way of minority groups suffering under real or supposed grievances taking measures for protecting their lawful interests. But the Constitution did not contemplate this.

It is easy too for the ruling party to get fundamental guarantees in the Constitution amended or annulled so as to suit its plans of coercion. But it would be a gross violation of human rights to handicap any group, however small or whatever its composition, seeking to protect its own interests, by imposing electoral or other disabilities on them. What reasonably can be done is

to punish the propagation of hatred and ill-feeling based on caste or class. This is provided for in the Penal Code of the land and a severe enough punishment is provided for therein. Any other law or regulation will lead to party oppression and not to the removal of narrow-mindedness. On the contrary it will lead to an augmentation of the very feelings sought to be removed.

The cruellest and most ironical feature of the Congress Party's policy in this respect is the open alliance between Sri Periyar and Sri Kamaraj in the Madras State. The former is the latter's most vociferous propagandist and Sri Periar's propaganda is unabashed, violent communalism. This curious anomaly has acquired a kind of logicity by long prescription.

Narrow-mindedness in any shape or form is bad and should be really coped with. But the idea of coping with it by compulsion is as ridiculous as fighting the wind with a gun. Good example and education are the only weapons against narrow-mindedness, be it communalism, casteism, or party-ism. But this is exactly what is not done, and is conspicuous by absence. Any attempt at forging coercive weapons to put it down will mean violently depriving citizens of freedom of association for the protection of their lawful interests.

To the totalitarian Congress mind every one outside that party

MORARJI'S JIBES C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

appears communal. It turns its blind eye to the strategy and the technique of its captains throughout the country who exploit communalism and casteism to the full. "The Congress is for unity; the Congress is for the nation; the Congress is the nation itself; everybody else is communal. Every one outside of the Congress stands for communalism or linguism or provincialism and for disunity: The Congress alone has the divine right to rule; National unity consists in subservience to the Congress Party." This is the Congress creed, the Indian brand of totalitarian tyranny.

HASTEN SLOWLY

As it is the interest of Government that reformation should be early, it is the interest of the people that it should be temperate. It is their interest, because a temperate reform is permanent, and because it has a principle of growth. Whenever we improve, it is right to leave room for a further improvement. It is right to consider, to look about us, to examine the effect of what we have done. Then we can proceed with confidence, because we can proceed with intelligence. Whereas in hot reformations, in what men, more zealous than considerate, call 'making clear work', the whole is generally so crude, so harsh, so indigested, mixed with so much imprudence and so much injustice, so contrary to the whole course of human nature and human institutions, that the very people who are most eager for it are among the first to grow disgusted at what they have done. That which taken singly and by itself may appear to be wrong, when considered with relation to other things may be perfectly right,—or at least such as ought to be patiently endured, as the means of preventing something that is worse.

BURKE.

Autocracy reaches a degree of arrogance and self-delusion when the very idea of freedom becomes a subject for jibes at the hands of those who wield temporary authority. Sri Minoo Masani did well in severely lashing the Finance Minister during the recent budget debate over the latter's sneers at *swatantra*. To the donkey, music is a joke and the fuss over *raaga* and *taala* a ridiculous waste of time and energy. In an assembly of his fellow-beasts King Donkey may well jibe at the human folly of harmony and music. The *Swatantra* Party's assurance of freedom to members in respect of all matters outside its basic principles is real democratic freedom and a guarantee for the rule of the real majority, whereas the system of whips and regulated voting in all matters, including even amendments in private members' Bills, as enforced by the Congress Party is pure despotism and amounts to the dictatorship of a majority group within a majority party and ultimately to minority rule instead of democracy—the very antithesis of proportional representation in national affairs. Small minds cannot grasp large ideas and the Little laughs at the Big.

It is not the *Swatantra* Party at which Sri Morarji's jibes are directed. He may in a way be entitled to do it. It is at *swatantra* itself he laughs. It is funny in his view that any party should allow its members to be loyal to their own conscience in matters not falling within the boundaries of the party fundamentals, whereas, truly, it is only this freedom that can save party government from becoming a stupid tyranny. Sri Morarji Desai does not laugh at Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan persistently advocating a non-party system in working representative government. Orderly and genuine democracy in any form of representative government can be saved under the party sys-

tem only if there be large freedom of voting even to party members. The *Swatantra* Party's 21st principle (of freedom to party members in all except fundamentals) is the nearest approach to maximum non-party government under a parliamentary system in which 400 million souls must find genuine, stable representation. Instead of appreciating or at least respecting the thought behind this and trying to understand its implications, Sri Morarji Desai, indoctrinated by thirteen years of sheep-rule, laughs at freedom itself, because he is unable to understand it.

American Photographs

We are told that some Americans at Palam Airport in Delhi took photographs of the Soviet planes bought by the Congress Government for defending the China borders and that these photographs have been seized and confiscated in the interests of our border defence! The Defence Minister is contemplating further action against these American enemies of India's security! The Soviet Government of Russia, we are to believe, is friend and co-guardian of Indian territory against Chinese aggression. The Soviet pilots are not spies, but the American photographers who see something ridiculous in this policy are the spies. Absurdity can go no further!

The Chinese forces have withdrawn from our two checkposts in the Himalayan border. This is not due to the force of our logic which the government believe will slowly but steadily win victories for us against the aggressive Chinese with not a shot fired by our army. The report attributes the withdrawal to heavy snow. But our Deputy Defence Minister asserts that "we are keeping a very close and vigilant eye on the border".

C.R.

CROSS CURRENTS IN THE CONGRESS By A POLITICAL OBSERVER

A great many people, depending for their news on reports in the press, must be wondering why there has been such excitement in New Delhi over the appointment (or election) of a deputy leader of the Congress Party. This is the last year of the present term of the members of Parliament. After the general elections in 1962 a new team will elect its own office-bearers. Moreover Mr. Nehru has declared that his health is sound and he has no intention of retiring from the Prime Ministership. It does not seem likely that he will again go out of the country between now and the next elections in March 1962.

Why, then, all this fuss? In normal circumstances, Mr. Morarji Desai might have been nominated the deputy leader as a matter of course and there would have been no interest—let alone excitement—over such a matter. After all, when Mr. Nehru went to London in February for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, he nominated Mr. Desai as his deputy to look after the duties of the Prime Minister in his absence. In the gloom created by Pandit Pant's death within a few hours of Mr. Nehru's departure for London, the significance of Mr. Desai being thus asked to deputise for the Prime Minister was overlooked by a section of the Congress Party which leans "left" towards Mr. Krishna Menon. Mr. Desai, with the strong sense of duty that characterises him, did not shirk the embarrassment of defending Mr. Krishna Menon in the Lok Sabha against Acharya Kripalani's attacks. In fact, many listeners felt that Mr. Desai made up through his vehemence for lack of conviction in the case he was arguing in support of his colleague, the Defence Minister.

But the circumstances are not normal today. However vigorously Mr. Nehru may assert that he has no intention of relinquishing office, the impression has spread in the Congress Party's ranks that if Mr. Desai were to be nominated its deputy leader, his claim to the succession—whenever the necessity may arise—will be greatly strengthened, especially after his two weeks' tenure last February. Therefore vigilance has become necessary for the left-wing elements to prevent the man-

tle from slipping by degrees to the shoulders of the Finance Minister. Even his occupation of the room in Parliament House formerly assigned to the Home Minister—too trivial one would think from any point of view—has become significant news, worthy of headlines.

This is not just a personal contest between two Cabinet Ministers for a position of dignity which carries with it, so long as Mr. Nehru is functioning, hardly any authority or influence. The fact is, as many have observed in New Delhi, that Mr. Krishna Menon is assiduously building up a following, not only in New Delhi but in more than one State. The selection of a pro-Communist candidate for the recent New Delhi bye-election to the Lok Sabha was possible only because of the growing understanding between Mr. Krishna Menon and the erstwhile chief of the Delhi Congress Committee, Chaudhri Brahm Prakash.

The net in fact has been cast wide. The Chief of the Orissa Congress Committee, Mr. B. Patnaik, owes a good deal to the Defence Ministry's favours in regard to contracts. In Kashmir, thanks to the collaboration between Mr. Krishna Menon and Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali (a staunch supporter of the Communist movement), a merger of "the fellow-travellers" group consisting of Mr. Sadiq and Mr. Dhar and their followers was possible with the Bakshi ministry in the State Government. In the Punjab, Communists are crossing over in hundreds into the Congress fold to strengthen Mr. Kairon's position.

The time is not ripe yet for Mr. Krishna Menon to disclose his hand. His own chances of coming into the next Lok Sabha have first to be placed beyond challenge. Bombay city—his present constituency—may not (according to reports) again be available; or even if it is, the fight may be even harder than in 1957. He must therefore look elsewhere. There are other constituencies where he may expect considerable support. He will again stand, as he did in 1957, as a Congress candidate of course with full Communist support. Calicut, as Acharya Kripalani said last week, is mentioned as a possibility. It may not, however, suit Mr. Krishna Menon to return to the Lok Sabha on an obvious combined Congress-Communist support from a Kerala constituency. Vijayawada, with an appreciable Communist element (strengthened by the recent Communist rally)

is an alternative; but again subject to the same consideration that his coming into Parliament would appear to be only through Communist backing. Bangalore city may be preferable as a constituency, since the part of the Communists in securing success for him would be less transparent here than either in Calicut or in Vijayawada.

The Prime Minister's anxiety to have Mr. Krishna Menon back in Parliament next year has been conveyed to Congress leaders in some States, and a few, who find joy in basking in Mr. Nehru's favour, are willing to help him in finding a safe seat for Mr. Krishna Menon. For the next twelve months, however, safety lies in Mr. Krishna Menon taking a back seat.

The relevance of all this is that in the contest for the post of deputy leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, Mr. Jagjivan Ram is being put forward by the "left-wing" elements under Mr. Krishna Menon's guidance. The Railways Minister has personal ambitions and would welcome support from any quarter. For the left-wingers in the party, it is essential that Mr. Morarji Desai should be defeated, so that he may be persuaded not to come back to the Lok Sabha after the general elections. In the Cabinet he has been Mr. Krishna Menon's most persistent critic, and his removal from the Centre, if it can be brought about, will greatly facilitate the already visible rapprochement between the left-wing elements in the Congress and the Communists. Mr. Nehru will also help by deliberately reducing the status of the deputy leader so that it loses all its glamour and outside, by harping on the dangers of communalism—diverting attention from the equally grave menace to India's security and democratic institutions from Communism.

Behind this contest in New Delhi, apparently personal and for a position of no real worth, is developing an ideological conflict between the Right as represented by Mr. Morarji Desai and the Left under Mr. Nehru and Mr. Krishna Menon.

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SIDELIGHTS :

The sale of marriageable boys who have acquired qualifications for lucrative employment is a disgraceful development of modern conditions in Indian society. But the remedy for it is not legislative penalty. Those who know intimately the minds of parents of girls and the condition of our society must feel that the law passed recently as a result of the joint wisdom of both Houses of Parliament and more particularly of the pressure of our present women legislators, will not make things easier, but indeed will make matters worse. Scorn and satire should deal with this cruelty, not the penal code. It is not easy to cope with social developments through legislation any more than to cure diseases by the lavish use of soap. The writers of current literature, religious leaders, education, courage and firmness, these must be enrolled in the battle for reform. Reliance on the magistrate is as futile in this as in most other things. Is not the change in the law of succession giving a share to girls on an equal basis with sons, a dowry in advance for the coming son-in-law and something that places poorer families at a terrible disadvantage in getting their girls married properly? The old order did not have this handicap.

The practice has grown of party agents giving voters-list-numbers in slips to the voters whom they approach and to ask them to take those slips to the polling booth to enable the officers to dispose of the person quickly. This may be very agreeable to the officers, but it has resulted in evil. It has facilitated impersonation and helps corruption. Why should the work of identifying the voter with the name in the list be left to be done by partisan workers? The list and the franchise are the responsibility of the public and the State and not of any party workers. Why should not the Government in its non-partisan character arrange beforehand to distribute to all

voters their respective numbers, instead of leaving it to be done by those who canvass for a party? This would help orderly exercise of the franchise. The distribution of serial numbers to the voters could be done much in advance and in an easy decentralised way. Every voter would then know his number and realise that he has a vote to cast. Those whose names have been omitted wrongly would then know about it and have time to get their names registered. This system would considerably reduce corrupt practices. Unfortunately for this very reason the Congress Party may object to this reform.

Experts in the country have pointed out that the public sector undertakings have not shown signs of good management, viz., a substantial net profit in spite of freedom from the taxation which private undertakings have to meet. An attempt has been made recently to meet the grave charge in a breezy way by alleging that profits have been ploughed back into the industry, as if this has not been done in a more substantial degree by private undertakings. Any attempt to answer the charge of wastefulness and incompetence must be met by more precise figures and fuller explanation. The management of industrial concerns run by Government will stand condemned unless more convincing figures and arguments are produced.

Sri Morarji Desai desires that all elections, whether to the panchayats or the Congress committees, should be unanimous without any canvassing. If all elections are to be unanimous, they need not be held at all. Occasionally we might come across a towering personality so outstandingly superior to his fellows in every way that none of them might care to contest an election with him. When contestants keep away rea-

lising the hopelessness of an electoral battle with a formidable, unassailable figure in public life, the result is a unanimous election, and it is the only sort of unanimity consistent with real democracy, of which the distinguishing characteristic is freedom. Other kinds of unanimity resolve themselves into some form or other of imposition by authority. An imposed unanimity is the very negation of democratic freedom in an election. Unless there is unrestricted freedom for every qualified voter to stand for an election and for every voter to bestow his franchise on any candidate he likes, the whole object of an election in a democratic system is defeated.

If Sri Morarji is to have his way, the party hierarchy will be filled by chosen nominees of the bosses, and at every rung the right of freedom of choice of leaders would be taken away from the constituencies concerned. And what is the harm in canvassing? Canvassing is an indispensable necessity if political campaigning is to go on, with the candidates putting themselves forward for public attention relatively with others contesting the election. Canvassing is nothing more than the effort put forth to succeed at the polls by the various contestants for coveted electoral posts. If a high value comes to be attached for electoral positions, there will be keen competition for them and canvassing in proportion to the competition. It is only in Communist countries that elections are unanimous and canvassing is out of the question on account of fear—fear of displeasing the all-powerful autocrats who might have backed favourites of their own for this or that election. It is this sort of totalitarian trend destructive of electoral freedom that Sri Morarji Desai wants to see introduced in his party. The transition from one candidate only for each party election to one party alone in the country will not be difficult to achieve.

Mr. Nehru in fact seems already to consider that it is the right of

the Congress to get everybody's vote. He is angry if voters do not support the Congress candidate, almost as though they had committed an offence, and talks to them in a bullying, hectoring way. Here is a report as it appeared in the Press, of what he said at Lucknow recently:

"Mr. Nehru according to the General Secretary, referred to the result of the recent parliamentary by-election at Delhi, and said Government servants formed more than 50 per cent of the electorate. The Jan Sangh had openly said that most of the Government servants of this kind were responsible for the rise of the Muslim League, and now wanted to give strength to Hindu communalism. Mr. Nehru exhorted all Congress workers to meet the challenges of communalism in the country".

If a Congress candidate wins an election, it is a sign of the confidence of the people in the Congress. If he is defeated, the electors are arraigned for misbehaviour. What has the rise of the Muslim League got to do with Delhi Government servants contributing to the defeat of the Congress candidate by bestowing their votes elsewhere? Government servants are not less than citizens. It is their legal right to vote for whomsoever they like. It is unbecoming of the Prime Minister, who is expected to uphold the Constitution, to go on like this cavilling against a section of the community who did no particular wrong but merely exercised their franchise, as everybody should, according to their own lights.

The Prime Minister's vigorous attacks on communalism are calculated to give the impression that it is an external evil which the Congress is bent on stamping out. It is nothing of the kind. Congress tirades on communalism have been limited to paper propaganda. In actual administrative practice, each Minister specialises in his own particular species of communalism and the sum total of personal communalisms of the leaders in power has resulted in the rampant country-wide communalism against which Mr.

PETER AND PAUL ECONOMICS

By POTHAN JOSEPH

When King Mahendra assumed plenary power, Prime Minister Nehru announced his "concern" and spoke of his "distress" that B. P. Koirala whom he trusted had been imprisoned with his colleagues. It was taken as a blow at democracy fostered under India's care. If King Mahendra was a disappointment, his sense of autocracy and alienation from India's foreign policy became doubly marked when the brother Mr. M. P. Koirala was made Ambassador Plenipotentiary in Washington. Chester Bowles known in the Kennedy coterie as the "Ghee-Whiz" diplomat engrossed in the upliftment of South Asia had once been Ambassador of both India and Nepal and had established a close link between India and Nepal at the time of King Tribhuvan, while a treaty had stipulated Nepal's obligation to consult New Delhi about Nepal's foreign policy. This

Nehru wages verbal war. What the Congress has inspired and created, the Congress cannot get rid of. We have an epitome of the true Congress position in regard to communalism in Sri Ramaswami Naicker's assistance to the Madras Chief Minister. Let Mr. Nehru study this phenomenon.

Occasionally one hears the Prime Minister calling upon those not firmly devoted to the Socialist objective to quit the Congress. This is in a way a liberal attitude as he has not called upon them to quit the country! It is conceded that all need not be Socialists and there is a place in the body politic for persons of other persuasions. Some of the Prime Minister's colleagues in the Government do not however seem to be prepared to go thus far. Addressing the other day a gathering of income-tax officers at Kanpur, Sri B. Gopala Reddi announced that since "the income-tax department had

status of predominant partnership and the presupposition that supreme wisdom in diplomacy must be sought in India for Nepal's security had always irritated the god-king and Vishnu-regent of Khatmandu. He shook off every vestige of tutelage, convinced that he could administer Nepal as a sovereign State without India's advice and patronage. Before the revolution during which monarchy was fully restored, India had taken it upon herself to extend economic aid and expert advice to Nepal as an affiliate kingdom.

With the recent exchange of envoys between Khatmandu and New Delhi, Mr. Nehru thought it doubly incumbent on him to preserve friendship and to continue with grants and loans to Nepal making it appear that India bore no grudge and that her tension with China made no difference. Indeed when the King of

Socialistic aim before it to achieve, you have to keep an eye over those who want to flourish at the cost of the poor". This is strange preaching. Government departments have nothing to do with the politics of the ruling party. As democracy envisages periodic changes of Government with the right to rule passing from one party to another, Government servants should be trained to ways of loyalty limited to administrative functions, and should not get involved in party politics. That the ruling party is different from the Government and should not take advantage of its hold over the Government to advance its party interests is a democratic conception. It is also a safeguard of democracy. Totalitarian regimes do not admit of this distinction between Government and party. To what an extent the virus of totalitarianism has gone into the Nehru regime is revealed in the three gems of celebration let fall by three of its shining lights as illustrated above.—S.A.K.

Nepal staged a *shikar* in honour of Queen Elizabeth's visit, one hundred elephants had been despatched for the picturesque service in the Tiger-forests of Nepal. In such demonstrations of courtesy, Mr. Nehru is a master-technician, and the only jar on the occasion was a unilateral amendment in a Royal speech at His Majesty's banquet inserted at the instance of Lord Home who had hurriedly made his appearance during the transit across India. Civilities apart, Mr. Nehru has been anxious to make it clear that domestic changes in any country would not call for any intervention by India despite world-obligations shouldered on Atlantian shoulders. The rulers of Sikkim and Bhutan were lavishly entertained and their status redefined as being pro-India. Meanwhile China has not been asleep, though dubbed "stupid" by Mr. Krishna Menon who recently challenged the erstwhile *Panch-Shila*-partner in international deployments to come down the hills if they dare, since India was ready to give them "a warm welcome" in the plains or in the glades or on the beach. President Kennedy referred to Jawaharlal Nehru's "soaring idealism" but in the Nepalese context, it is now well known that China is courting Khatmandu's friendship and offering loans, grants and construction contracts, but just as we take aid from both blocs impartially, Nepal too seems inclined (without strings of course), to draw upon the chivalrous generosity of rival suitors.

New Delhi propagandists in the last week of April evinced uncommon enthusiasm in tom-tomming the continuance of India's aid to Nepal in terms of unalterable and disinterested friendship. Just as Ambassador Galbraith maintains that American aid to underdeveloped countries is not given under the spur of rivalry but because it is "right", India too could assert that uninterrupted help for Nepal is rendered just because it is right. Nevertheless in our heart of hearts we cannot ignore the blandishments of China over the new frontier of negotiations, far from the shelter of New Delhi's sagacious counsel in foreign policy.

Meanwhile Russia has offered to give Rs. 3 crores by way of aid to Nepal on a nominal interest and she has also offered to share the Rs. 12 crore worth of Chinese aided projects. Against that boast (April 26), there was the roaring boost (April 27), reminding the world that India's commitment for the future of Nepal exceeds Rs. 28 crores. Even the United States commitment so far is smaller, equivalent to Rs. 22 crores. Indeed an illustrated brochure under the title "Co-operation for Progress" has been distributed from the Indian Embassy at Khatmandu.

The caption of the pamphlet reminds us of the stodgy motto bringing Eisenhower-foodships to India under the slogan "Peace through Food". In *Old Curiosity Shop*, two fat-headed rivals pay court to a small girl, Codlin and

Short. The former boulder imagines that repetition is the secret of winsome success and so he pesters the child with the constant whisper "Codlin is the friend, not Short". India is much in the same predicament, and in terms of channelling external aid, our endeavour to pay out of empty pockets is slightly quixotic. India today represents a Dependent Economy, and when we shove out funds for the backward neighbour we really are putting out pennies from the hat proudly held at the back for the filling-in of quids by sympathetic strangers. The touch of vainglory should really diminish glamour.

Nepal will no doubt say thanks, but King Mahendra would also not acknowledge the flow of funds —we as receivers allowing the drain of a filtered trickle under excessive fanfare. If we are not modest about it, there would be a picture of "Keeping up with the Joneses" with money borrowed from the Smiths who as pawn-brokers in slumland have a small capital for doles.

There is a lot more of mutual delusion rather than healthy rivalry when people become philanthropists on borrowed money. A penurious journalist, suddenly dressed up in a Bond Street suit, expressed his surprise at the operation of modern economy to his listening friends in Fleet Street: "Look here, this suit is made out of Australian wool which makes the sheep-owner a millionaire. Next the shipping companies bring over the stuff and you know how wealthy ship owners become; the wool is spun in the Bradford mills giving the operatives their livelihood; when it is woven, another set of our British compatriots are benefited; finally the tailor puts on a stiff charge for making, and tailoring is a prosperous trade. While all this is true and whilst so many benefit by my wearing this smart suit on which you all congratulate me, the wonder is that I have not paid my bill at all, no, not a dime". That is modern economics, but how far and how long can India practise it?

CAN CONGRESS FACE A STRAIGHT FIGHT?

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

There is no class in the country which is not tired of the Congress and would not like a change of government after thirteen years of the same persons and principles in it. Democracy is meaningless if the opposition is forever to have only a debating role, with the party in power becoming more hardened in its ways and with the people becoming more resigned to their helplessness. The frustration of the people, which is progressive, is dangerous because it can lead only to ghastly explosions, immediately of a communal nature and ultimately of a revolutionary kind.

The question is if the secrecy of the ballot will allow the public to express itself against the Congress. The Congress has been preparing itself against this in various ways. In the first place, it has made sure that it will have more money for the elections than other parties. By securing the right, which all other parties opposed, of contributions from corporate bodies, the Congress has made sure that the power it derives from controls will give the party in power alone the opportunity to make big interests pay till it hurts them. Some sign of the size of this power can be seen from the report that for Orissa elections alone, the Congress has put into the field 150 new jeeps. Since the income of the Congress cannot be limited by law, the Opposition parties are only left with the course of seeing that it does not augment the limits of expenditure fixed by law for each candidate's election expenses. It is feasible in law to establish that expenditure by the party organisation and by third parties is a natural part of the expenditure of the candidate. It seems necessary therefore to raise the issue before the Election Commissioner and in Parliament and also to demand that the accounts of the parties in respect of elections should be audited and published.

Secondly, the Congress Party is taking advantage of the power and patronage of being in office. In almost all its new schemes, Community Projects, Co-operation, Panchayat Raj, Khadi and handloom development and the ever increasing controls and laws, the Congress has staff and money to advance its party interests. In addition, it takes advantage of official facilities, like tours, ceremonial functions, large and small conferences to combine official with party work. The State governments have refused to limit tours which include party work. The least that could be demanded is to assess relatively the official and party work and limit government expenditure only to the former. Secondly, after the Ministers have filed their nominations, all visits to their constituencies must be deemed to be only for election work for which reason the Ministers must be compelled to take leave and be in private capacities without government transport and official attendance.

Thirdly, Congress Ministers have nursed their constituencies, the average public expenditure in which is computed to be ten times the average for the rest of the country. In Madras, one Minister changed the location of a co-operative sugar factory from an area where sugar cane was already grown to his own constituency where he argued cane could be grown. One Central Minister has established the Film Institute at Poona, buying buildings at fabulous prices, notwithstanding that Madras, which is pre-eminently a film production centre, offered free buildings. There is no means of preventing the use of public funds for personal purposes like this, which generally have the alibi of official support. Only publicity of what each minister has done for his constituency can convince the people how much of planning is conditioned by interests of the party and of Ministers.

Fourthly, the Congress has created the impression that it will always remain in power. This disposes all those dependent on it for employment and business to give support for fear of subsequent victimisation. Some scientific assessment of public opinion, preferably through the system of Gallup polls may disclose the shape of things to come for the Congress, particularly from its own dissensions and from the economic erosion of all but those favoured by it. Forums for the expression of opinion by all those not committed to any party, should also reduce the false hopes of the Congress for immortality.

Fifthly, the Congress has taken advantage of the division, among numerous candidates, of the votes against it. In the first general election, the Congress secured only 50 per cent of the votes and in the last one only 42 per cent. In the coming election with perhaps only 30 per cent it may still remain in power, unless other parties understand their common interest in not splitting the anti-Congress vote. They must think of an electoral alliance, which leaves the single best candidate in the field against the Congress candidate. The basis of this alliance may be the preservation of democracy against the dictatorship which the Congress has established. It may be that the Communists, who have little now to distinguish them from the Congress, may not join the Democratic Front but this will have the advantage of diverting the vote of all those who disapprove of the commitment of the Congress to Communism. In any case the Communist votes are only important in urban areas.

If for any reason, the Democratic Front cannot be achieved it should be possible at least to agree that every Minister will be opposed only by a single candidate. Even self-sacrifice by other parties in this connection will serve their general purpose of effectively opposing the Congress. The mortality of Ministers at ele

CONSTIPATION AND PILES

Habitual constipation can cause piles or haemorrhoids, a condition where the veins within and immediately outside the rectum become swollen. Because of the pain it becomes more difficult and distressing to evacuate the bowel. The constipation gets worse and so do the piles with painful fissures. It follows that, if the acute pain and discomfort caused by the piles can be relieved, evacuation of the bowels will be made easier.

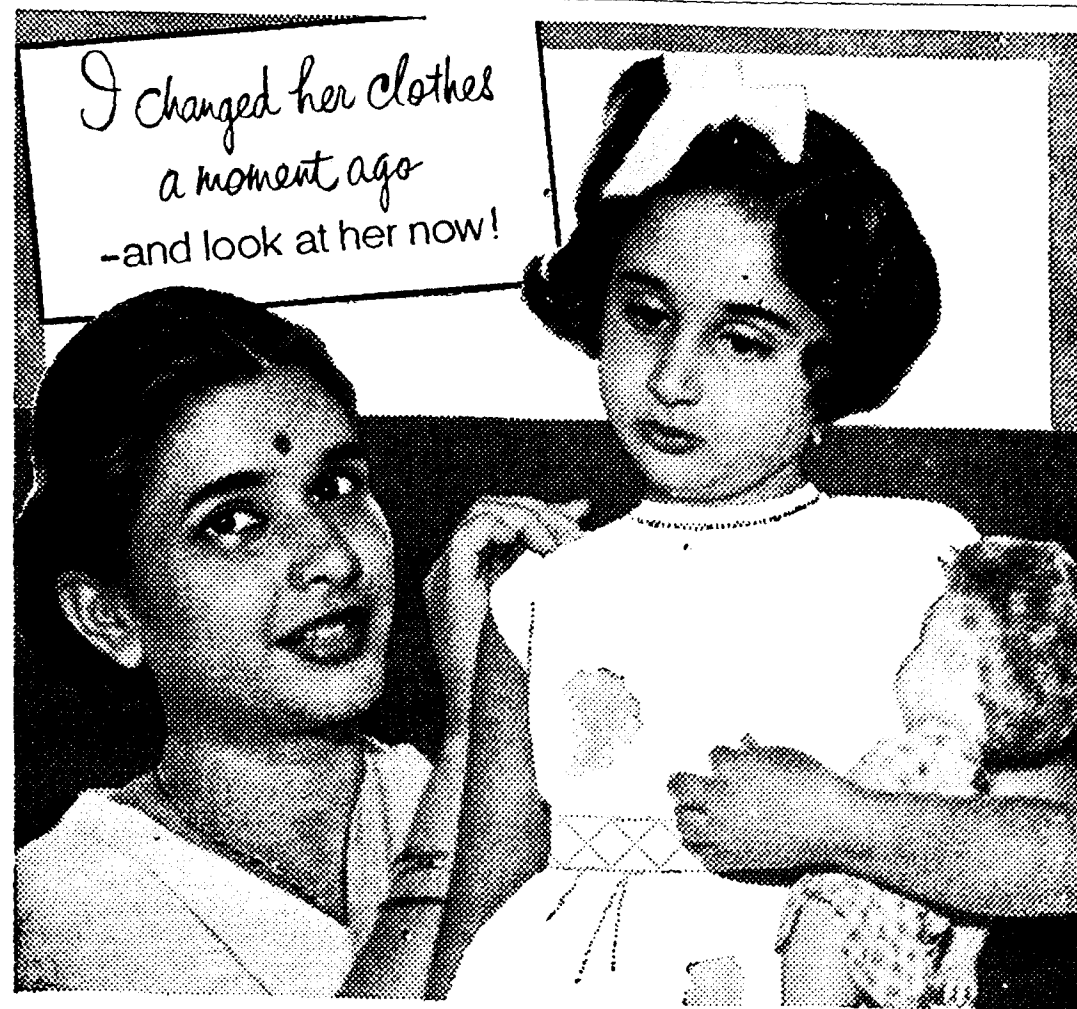
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May 13, 1961

tions has always been high and it should be complete, if the votes against them are not divided. Such single combat, in the tradition of Sohrab and Rustom, will be symbolic on the one hand and really democratic, on the other, because only at elections can the

people measure themselves against the Ministers. The implications of the defeat of the Ministers will be, first a verdict against the Government, if not against the party, second a change of leadership, which will involve a change of policy. At the same time, the

Ministers faced with single combat will lose their confidence and arrogance and become disposed to save themselves before the party. As soon as all parties can agree to this strategy, the Congress Ministers will be served with notice to quit.



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SWARAJIA

9

"THROW US OUT"

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

"Throw us out". That was the final argument used by the Prime Minister in the recent debate in Parliament on the Defence policy of the Government against his critics led by Mr. Kripalani. But that is not an argument—it is an appeal to *force majeure*. The Prime Minister knew very well that with the large, serried and immovable majority behind him the Opposition had not the slightest chance of carrying a vote against him, his Government, and its policies. The *brutum* of such a majority is not the reasoning of civilized discussion. It is like the shaking of fists by tribal warriors. It is entirely out of place in the age of discussion. It offends the elementary rules of parliamentary debate, where the participants are expected to argue, persuade and convince by reasoning based on facts and figures. There was no such attempt on the part of either the Prime Minister or the Defence Minister to justify the acts or policies of the Defence Ministry in recent years. Any number of assertions of self-righteousness, of self-patting on the back, filled the speeches of the two Ministers. "We have done what is right, what we consider to be the good of the Defence services, the security of the country; if you will not take what we say for gospel-truth, throw us out"—that was the sum and substance of the Prime Minister's reply in the Defence debate.

There was no attempt at traversing the charges of Mr. Kripalani. Take the question of treatment of personnel in the Army. By a strange ruling of the Deputy Speaker, supported by the Speaker—both moves unknown to parliamentary experience elsewhere—the mention of specific names of officers affected by the Defence Minister's administration was tabooed. The powerful argument of facts was denied to the Opposition. But the public labour under no such disability. Only the notorious facts may be adduced to show the weakness of the Defence Minister's defence. The very resignation a year ago of General Thimmayya—which only for patriotic reasons he withdrew—is enough to show that things were far from well with the Defence Minister's administration of the Army. Heads of departments do not resign their posts of duty and responsibility for frivolous causes. And an Army Chief would not resign, especially with the threat of Chinese aggression ever present, in a mere huff. And why should he have been allowed to retire when with the enemy at our gates a General of his experience and efficiency would have given a sense of security to the country? And his successor—has he war experience and army record that would give us this sense of security? Is this a time when seniority should determine selection for this post of challenge and danger? And then there are the cases of officers who have retired before their time because they could not carry out the pet projects of the Defence Minister in the time he fixed. Chance meetings with army officers make one acquainted with such instances, related more in sorrow than in anger.

The Defence Minister's plea is that all promotions to senior posts in the Army are done by selection boards. But the last 10 years of Congress Party Government have accustomed us to the watering of Public Service Commissions and Selection Boards by the appointment of agreeable and agreeing members. Even the Army has begun to be affected by the disease now prevalent in the civil service of service personnel looking out for the frown or favour of Ministers and trimming the sail of their information and advice, accordingly.

As for the irregularities spotlighted by the Auditor-General we are told that these occurred in a previous Ministry. Do not Congress Ministers hang together, the successor responsible for the mistakes of his predecessors? And what has the successor done to rectify the mistakes of his predecessor? Ministers in England have resigned for less than these mistakes. Is talent in such short supply in the Congress Party that a Minister of Defence who does not enjoy in full the confidence of Parliament—of the Opposition as well as of the party in power—and of the country cannot be replaced?

The part played by the Prime Minister in the Defence debate shows how little appreciation he has of the place of the Opposition in parliamentary government. He might remember that the Opposition is known in England as Her Majesty's Opposition and that the leader of the Opposition is paid a salary as if he were a Minister. For, an Opposition is as necessary to party govern-

ment as the party in power. The Opposition must be considered to be as patriotic as the Government. No bad motives should be attributed to it. Freedom and truth in debate require the observance of this condition. If the aim of speeches in Parliament is to persuade and convince the other fellow you must try to do it with facts and arguments—and not throw your majority at him. A majority is easier than a repartee, said Disraeli. And the party in power must be prepared to go some way with the Opposition—especially in such a vital and patriotic matter as defence of the country, for when it comes to a crisis like war, the whole country must be behind the Government of the day. And Pascal's advice that "the art of persuading consists as much in agreeing as in convincing" is more applicable to parliamentary debate than in other forms of public discussion.

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THE LEADER, THE DEPUTIES AND THE DUMMIES

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The Deputy Leadership of the Congress Parliamentary Party continues to be the one absorbing topic for political discussions at the Capital. The Prime Minister's recipe, though swallowed by the members of the party who had asked for it, hardly seems to work. They are still for wallowing in doubt, if not revelling in confusion.

No contest is eliminated by the Prime Minister's prescription; if anything, the area of conflict is widened. No controversy over the issue is brought to an end: it will now rage for a longer period. The whole question centred round personalities. These personal equations now come to the fore more pronouncedly.

Nor is it the only aspect of the matter that is agitating the Congress Members of Parliament. They are inclined to think that Mr. Nehru was neither fair to the aspirants to the Deputy Leadership nor wise in having underwritten the office. It has almost appeared to be an ungenerous denigration of the place with a retrospective sweep while no such suggestion was made, or could ever have been made, at any stage during the past thirteen years.

It is difficult to believe that Mr. Nehru ever wanted to create the impression that nobody else in the party mattered at all. But it is just the impression he seems to have created. He however wanted them to know that it was idle on their part to expect that they could use the Deputy Leadership of the party as a lever for securing leadership ultimately. He was firm in discouraging his party men from thinking on those lines.

The way in which he has handled the whole issue threatens to have two adverse effects: his colleagues are in danger of losing their sense of confidence and the rank and file their sense of self-reliance. The development portends no good to the Congress as

a party nor to India as a Democracy. The Leader will keep his Deputies at a distance (respectable only in an ironic sense). Where the Deputies count for little, the rest know that theirs is the lot of dummies. Most Congressmen realise their present plight. And such is their plight that they dare not publicly stand by what they privately repeat.

With the Budget Session now at an end and with mercury mercilessly mounting, the Central Ministers will, one by one, move out of the Capital. Some will go very far; they have engagements abroad. The Finance Minister, the Food Minister, the Minister for Defence, the Minister for Steel and the Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Relations and who else—they will avoid the Indian summer, for as long as they can. Others will go to their constituencies, now that nursing them has become quite a live issue. Quite a few will gravitate to Orissa to step up the Congress campaign for an outright victory, in the hope of saving the State from uneasy alliances or unstable Ministries. Whether things will work out that way is a different issue. Meanwhile, the Congress High Command is rather rattled that Mr. Harekrishna Mahatab has not only refrained from contesting a seat in the State elections but appeared on the wider political scene as a critic of the working of the Plan.

The National Book Trust which has recently been in the news, though not to its advantage, has now a paid Chairman, Mr. G. C. Chatterji, a well-known educationist, the idea of having a paid Chairman being that he should be a whole-time man. Yet he is also the Chairman of the Board of Secondary Education, on an honorary basis. This kind of arrange-

ment is not always to the equal advantage of the two bodies under one's charge. Mr. Chatterji's predecessor at the National Book Trust, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, was at one time simultaneously Chairman of the University Grants Commission. It was within the knowledge of the Education Ministry that the experiment was not conspicuous for its success within the context of composite responsibility. It is not perhaps in the interests of any Trust or Board that it should have as Chairman, whether paid or honorary, anyone whose interests are divided and whose energies are not unlimited. It means that either the Government are not very particular about achieving the best results or there is an utter paucity of men at higher levels. Neither is really the case. Doing things casually or haphazardly and letting things just drift, has become rather a costly administrative habit.

On Wednesday (May 3), the Union Defence Minister, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon woke up at four and sixty. Though he had a the weapons (of defence as well as of offence) in his armour, there was no booming of guns on the occasion. He had a comparatively quiet time except that some personal friends did him the courtesy of a warm hand-shake. He set a good example to his colleagues, by not letting himself be paraded in public, out of gushy sentimentality or feigned adulation. Mr. Krishna Menon is just as young or as old as Sir Anthony Eden, with the difference that he has not yet done "the full circle" while being on the right side. At sixty-five, he can be reasonably sure of several years of political excitement ahead of him.

Postscript: Courtiership, with whatever results, has been such vogue here as to excite the lively comment from a discerning M.P. (if I can reveal what I heard or overheard) that "a lot of butter is being wasted in Delhi!"

May 13, 1961

SWARAJYA

13

CONSTITUTIONAL APPRAISEMENT OF INDIA'S SOVEREIGNTY

By PHIROZE J. SHROFF

The sovereignty of India does not lie with the President, the Prime Minister, the Government, the Parliament or all of them combined. It resides with the people of India and each one of the 438 million souls who inhabit this ancient land is a repository of the Indian sovereignty in a joint and indivisible partnership with his fellow countrymen. The Preamble of the Constitution of India provides that "We the People of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic ... in our Constituent Assembly ... do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution". It is the People of India who have given the Constitution to themselves. It has not been given to them by any individual, however exalted he be in his own estimation.

No individual, however eminent, has the right to arrogate to himself the sovereignty of our country and speak and act on behalf of the country as if he were the sole arbiter of the destiny of the country and the people. Because sovereignty resides with the people, the President, the Prime Minister together with the Government and the Parliament are the creatures and servants of the people and in the last resort are responsible to the people for the exercise of their powers and performance of their duties.

The Prime Minister who is invested with enormous powers under the Constitution must constantly bear in mind that so far as the sovereignty of India is concerned he is no more and no less than one of the 438 million people in whom reposes the sovereignty of the country. As the head of the Union Government it is the primary duty of the Prime Minister to protect and defend the integrity of the country. He cannot part with an inch of the territory of the people of India without their knowledge and consent.

It is a great calamity as well as a matter of shame for the entire country that an alien power has occupied some 12,000 square miles of Indian territory. History will place an indelible black mark against parties who permitted such an outrage to be perpetrated against the integrity of India.

The Prime Minister of India who holds his office in trust for the people of India, kept the people in total darkness about the aggression on India. In

his wisdom he thought it desirable and necessary to keep the knowledge of aggression from the people of India. He seemed to be under the delusion that the aggressors would voluntarily and peacefully vacate aggression as soon as they would be confronted with unsailable data regarding the legal and traditional borders of India.

The fatal mistake that the Prime Minister made was to trust the aggressors rather than the people of India. The Prime Minister displayed a pathetic and lugubrious trust in the goodwill and sense of justice of the aggressors, who were co-signatory with India to the doctrine of Pancha Sheel.

When the fact of aggression on Indian territory could no more be concealed from the people of India, the Prime Minister began to pontificate about the barren and snow-covered tracts of India's border areas and two thousand years of friendship with China and declared that he would negotiate and negotiate and negotiate to the probable merriment and contempt of those who had forcibly occupied extensive areas of Indian territory with the document of Pancha Sheel in one hand and the bayonet in the other. The people of India have no ill-will against the people of China or any other country, but they do not have to be apologetic about holding squarely the territory which is their own.

It is a trite saying that nothing succeeds like success. The Prime Minister of India, however, has proved that where there is a plethora of political adventures and the people are wanting in the assertion of their constitutional rights, even a lack of success or a total failure on the part of the leader may endow him with indispensability and a halo of infallibility. Democracy can never take firm roots in a country where people have the mentality of dumb driven cattle.

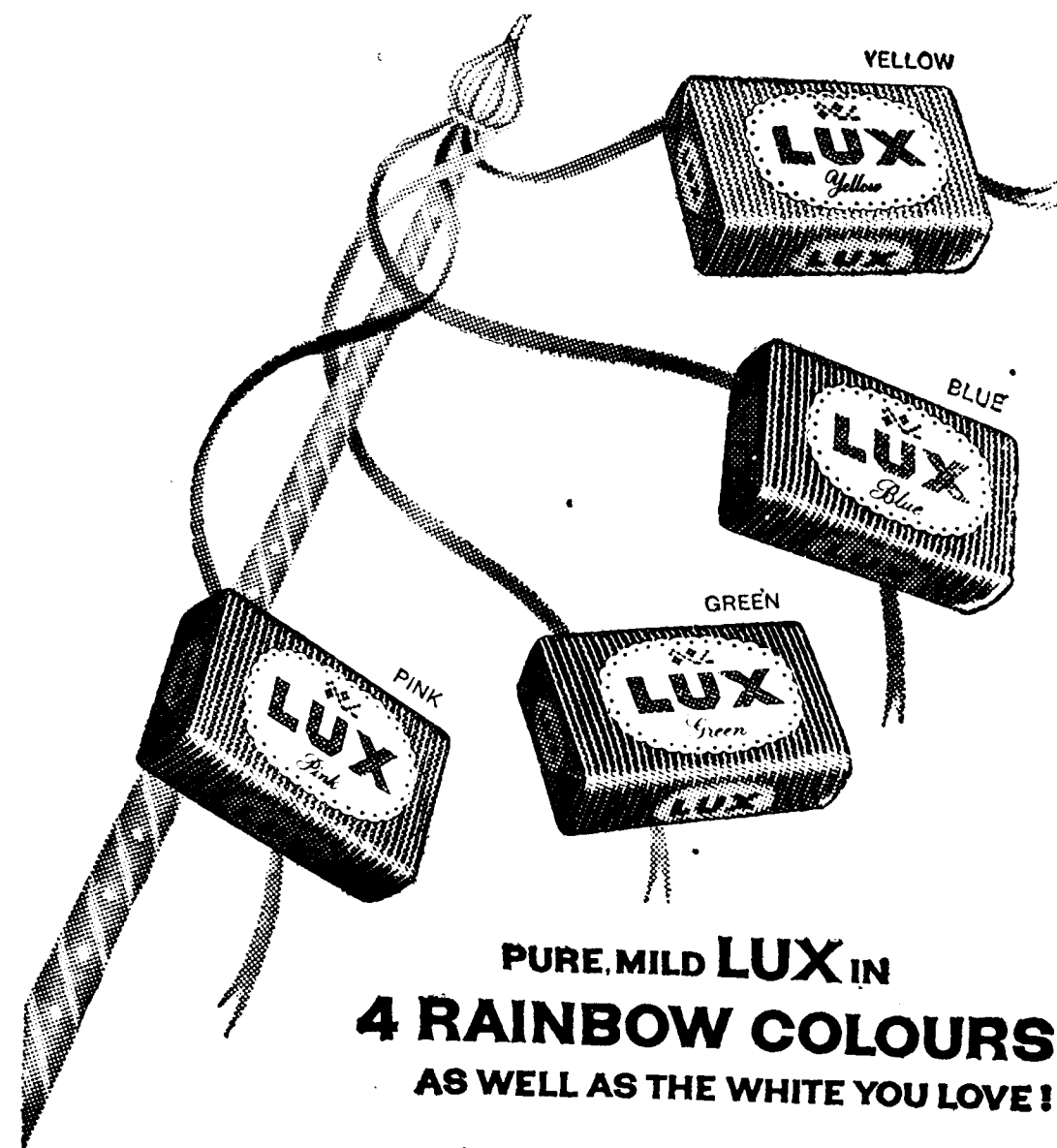
The raison d'être of the Ministry of Defence is to defend the country. This the Defence Ministry, which is a creature of the Prime Minister, has signally failed to do. As Acharya Kripalani has said in the Lok Sabha there has been no instance in history where a people have permitted hostile forces to occupy 12,000 square miles of their territory without striking a single blow. Strange and pitiful are the ways of some of our leaders who never stop patting

themselves on the back for what they call their historic and memorable achievements on the national and international stage. Acharya Kripalani could have added that never in the history of a democratic country there has been a case where the Prime Minister and the Government remained in office after having permitted alien forces to over-run huge tracts of its territory and having deliberately withheld the knowledge of aggression from the people.

It would not be wrong to presume that the Prime Minister kept the knowledge of aggression from the people because of his strong Communist leanings and because he wanted to push on with his policies which are based upon Communist ideology. One may even say that he displayed a greater devotion to his ideology than to the cause of the territorial integrity of the country of which he is the Prime Minister.

It has been truly said that a people get the government they deserve. We made a fetish of the Prime Minister and his alleged uncanniness and infallibility. We allowed him to assume powers which were dangerous for him and disastrous for the country. Our pre-occupation with our narrow regional or sectional interests made us oblivious of the dangers besetting our democracy and our national sovereignty. The favoured few who prospered under the present regime at the cost of the vast majority of our countrymen broadcast far and wide the myth of the indispensability of the Prime Minister. Let us learn that Prime Ministers may come and Prime Ministers may go, but this ancient land will go on for ever.

In the internal as well as international sphere the Prime Minister has assumed to himself more powers and responsibilities than are good for him. For this the fault lies mainly with a tame Parliament and a mock Opposition. What the Prime Minister needs is a prolonged period of introspection, meditation and contemplation. He must cease listening to sycophantic adulation and calmly appraise the consequences of all his policies and consider what effect they have produced on India's sovereignty. The greatest disservice that the present regime has done to the country is to destroy the morale and undermine the character of the people. A regime which makes people dishonest or corrupt stands self-condemned. The nation needs a spiritual and moral regeneration to be able to ward off all dangers to national sovereignty.



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RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
DISCRIMINATION IN RAILWAY SERVICE

Sir,—A stringent departmental examination called Appx. III-A is conducted by the Railway Board on all India basis in the accounts department for promotion to the ranks of Junior accountants, Inspectors of station and stores accounts. As per rules laid down in the Accounts Code one should have passed Appx. II-A examination and should be a permanent clerk with 5 years of service to appear for this examination. Special exemption from these conditions are being granted by the Railway Board on individual applications made by the temporary employees based on the merits of the case.

In calling for applications for the grant of such special exemption for ensuing Appx. III-A examination it has been stated that only employees belonging to the Scheduled castes and tribes who do not fulfil the requisite conditions can apply. In this connection employees with over 5 to 6 years of service in the initial recruitment grade as well as promotion grades have not been confirmed. Representations in this direction have not borne fruit. The recent circular has placed an employee of the Scheduled castes and tribes with barely one or two years of service in a very advantageous position when compared to senior men with 6 to 10 years of service. The Scheduled caste candidates can easily pass Appx. III-A and become senior to the senior non-scheduled caste employees as the date of passing Appx. III-A is the criterion for seniority for further promotions.

The discriminatory treatment meted out to the non-scheduled caste employees in denying an opportunity even to appear for a departmental examination in contravention to Article 14 and 16 of the Constitution has resulted in wide discontent and frustration in the staff. If this state of affairs is allowed to continue it would only help to impair the efficiency which is already at the lowest ebb due to the various anomalies existing in the Accounts department. ONE AFFECTED.

ALARM CHAINS IN TRAINS

Sir,—It was stated by the Deputy Minister for Railways in the Rajya Sabha that out of 700 passenger railway trains now running in India, the alarm chains of 676 trains had been "blanked off". It is not explained why the alarm chains are still in use in only 24 trains. This is obviously an oversight which will soon be remedied

and then India will be the only country in the world in which a railway passenger will be unable to stop the train when he has been robbed or stabbed. This is a distinction of which the Railway Ministry can be justly proud. Nothing like cutting off the nose to spite the face!

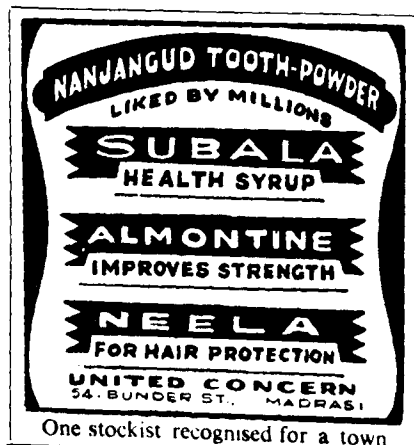
When India was under British rule, our foreign rulers evinced far greater interest in the safety of the travelling public and they were not callous enough to withdraw the protection of the alarm chain to the vast majority of railway travellers just because of stray cases of misuse. They took special steps to deal with such misuse by posting additional police to travel in trains in which such misuse was frequent. The culprits were given deterrent punishment.

As observed by a correspondent in your columns, the only remedy would appear to be to test this arbitrary act of the Railway Ministry through a writ in the High Court.

Bangalore. V. T. SREENIVASAN.

DEPLORABLE

Sir,—If press reports be correct, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's references in Bhopal to the communal disturbances in Jabalpur were, to say the least, most unfortunate and deplorable. While a judicial enquiry is proceeding, Mr. Nehru pronounced judgment! He said that even without holding an enquiry he would say that the allegation that the Muslims made an organised attack and the Hindus only defended themselves was a false and blatant lie, and that it was obvious that the responsibility for the riots was on the majority community, and that, as a rule, wherever there was serious communal disturbance it should be considered a blot on the service record



of the top-officials who should be transferred forthwith.

If the Prime Minister has already pronounced judgment publicly, is there any need for continuing the judicial enquiry? Is the enquiry likely to be "judicial" any longer? Are officials and Congressmen likely to give evidence which might not square with the Prime Minister's judgment? Is it permissible even for the Prime Minister to pronounce judgment when a question is *sub judice*, as it were? Is he above the law and the proprieties?

He condemned the top-officials and asked for their transfer forthwith. He did not, however, censure the Ministry, not even the Home Minister, and demand their resignation. His outbursts are likely to demoralise the officials who are not free to defend themselves in public, as the Ministers can.

This is not the first time that Mr. Nehru let himself go like this. He made derogatory remarks against Chief Justice Chagla, Supreme Court Justice Vivian Bose and Generals Cariappa and Thimmayya, who are not less responsible than he. His subsequent apologies, though they do him credit, do not obliterate the mischief of his unfortunate and deplorable emotional outbursts.

Bangalore.

P. KODANDA RAO.

MAHATMA GANDHI ON CONTROLS

The following is an extract from Mr. Colin Clark's monograph entitled "Growthmanship" (published for the Institute of Economic Affairs, London, by Barrie and Rockliff):

"In a most interesting conversation which I had with Gandhi in 1947, condemning the prevalence of indolence among his countrymen in language which I hesitate to reproduce, Gandhi went on to say how mistaken he thought was Mr. Nehru's policy of trying to establish rationing and price control of grains. This policy would lead, he said, (quite correctly), to idleness on the part of ration-recipients and to waste on the part of the cultivators: it would be much better for all concerned to let the prices of grain rise and to expect people to work harder. Gandhi must be considered a distinguished addition to the ranks of free-market economists".

CALUMNY

Dr. M. Santosham who was President of the Madras City Unit of the Swatantra Party has been subjected to slanders at the hands of certain party members without any basis for such attacks. It transpires that sometimes ago he took a loan of Rs. 2,000 from Sri Ramanatha Ayyar as a purely personal transaction of his own. This was his private affair and he has returned the money to Sri Ramanatha Ayyar. The calumniators seek to make out of this that it was a donation which he did not bring into account. This is a baseless charge made in order to harass and wound his feelings. To make assurance doubly sure I had a talk with Sri Ramanatha Ayyar also and he fully and without qualification confirms this. Dr. Santosham had on the other hand been meeting from his own pocket demands in respect of arrears for telephone charges etc., due from the Party's City office in George Town. I appeal to party members not to give any credence to these baseless slanders. C.R.

BAN ON COMMUNAL PARTIES

Sir,—Is it not childish for the Congress Party to think of a ban on communal parties? By banning communal parties, does the Congress Party think that there will be no more communal disturbances? Only by co-operative methods can communal disturbances be stopped radically.

In Kerala, the Congress Party, in order to defeat Communists brought life to communal parties that were dying. Since then, communal parties sprang up in many States. Now the Congress Party seems to repent for its childish acts and in order to conceal its misdeeds thinks of a ban on communal parties.

Bombay.

P. V. V. RAJAN.

GROWTHMANSHIP

Sir,—In recent months, the debate on the Third Plan has centered on monetary targets of investment. This over-emphasis on monetary targets blurs the real issue of economic development. The human and other fac-

tors are equally, if not more, important than monetary investment. To appreciate this viewpoint, students of public affairs in India would do well to read the latest monograph entitled *Growthmanship* by Colin Clark, the eminent economist. He refers to economic development in underdeveloped countries and argues that Government should establish the legal and institutional arrangements conducive to growth, namely security under the law, freedom of movement for men and capital in response to economic opportunities, educational facilities, improvements in transport and communications.

His experience in Australia showed that investment is sometimes undertaken not in the public interest, but as political showmanship to demonstrate politicians' "capacity, authority or beneficence". ARISTIDES.

"Socialism" and what it leads to

Dr. Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, announced last night (May 1) that his Government was Socialist and would hold no more elections. From now on his Government will rely on the direct backing of the people expressed in such demonstrations as they had just seen. The dictator asked the crowd, "do you need elections?" And the crowd roared, "No!"

Here is a demonstration indeed of what we may expect from Socialism and Socialistic rule. Egalitarianism and totalitarianism are logically and unavoidably connected as cause and consequence. "There shall be no more elections" is a franker statement of policy than the holding of elections, sticking to all economic power, including the power of imposing the heavy penalties and sanctions that a permit-and-licence raj places in the ruling party's hands, and continuing to be in office during the election period, making collections for the party purse and doing party propaganda with all the assistance of the official machine. Fidel Castro is frank, which the Congress Party in India is still ashamed to be. C.R.



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FIRST FRUITS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

For a considerable time past the Swatantra party has been pointing out the folly of placing the whole or the greater part of the weight of foreign obligations on the State instead of reducing that burden by the encouragement of foreign capital coming into private investments in India in every possible and desirable form. It has been laying stress on the great advantages of the private investment of foreign capital in India as against the borrowing policy followed by the Government. In the third week of January this year I wrote:

It is very nice to talk of Rs. 12,000 crores, of which the bureaucracy will manage 8000 crores (never mind the waste) and leave the rest to competing favourites in the 'private' sector to whom permits and licences will be issued. But how will the nation pay back these 12000 crores plus interest?

Our Nasik money (whatever the latest designs) cannot be depended on for this. We must know what gold we can dig out or what modern articles we can prepare and hawk to the prospective sophisticated consumers of those goods in Western countries. Let us be told about this and then we can say the Plan is a plan, not till then.

I repeat what I have said before, it would have been relatively wiser to ask the capitalists of America and Britain to invest in India in partnership with venturesome Indians (and there were many who were and there are many still who are eager for it) and let this amount of 12000 crores come into India that way, and not via the national Gov-

ernment, in which case the risk and the responsibility and the task of management would be theirs and would be exceedingly well done and borne without burdening the people with fresh direct or indirect taxes or with the prospect of bankruptcy. Progress and prosperity would have easily come that way although it may not have fed the megalomania of the ruling clique.

To my question, what is your plan of repayment, there is no answer but the non-sequitur statement that all successful people borrow in the world of business. It is true they all borrow, but they borrow with a plan for repayment, except those who do not intend to repay, who are not successful people and who should be in prison and not in business!

Again I wrote in the first week of February as follows:

No good businessman borrows without some definite plan and expectation of production to meet the calls for repayment, based on reasonable calculation. American and British capital could be encouraged to flow into private partnership in India. Industry could thrive with frugal management and the help of foreign capital and know-how. It would be a responsibility of those who are in charge and would help the nation's progress. But Government borrowing for public management falls into a different category.

There is now a welcome realisation on the part of the Congress Government of the better way of exploiting foreign aid. It is refreshing to read what the *Hindu* columnist Leo writes in a recent issue of that paper:

With the growing difficulty in securing foreign exchange resources

and the need to evolve some practical basis by which the strain of servicing foreign obligations would be considerably reduced, it has been for some time past emphasized that the entry of private capital should be encouraged to a greater extent than hitherto. The clarification by the Central Government of their attitude towards participation by foreign interests in the development of our industries is therefore to be welcomed. It is good to know that there will be flexibility in the procedures governing the grant of industrial licences where foreign participation is involved.

If a special department of the Commerce and Industry Ministry will be opened to deal with this work, it is hoped that as a result the irritations and vexations caused by the numerous licensing and other formalities which delayed and hampered good private projects will be reduced and not increased. These irritations are not always the consequence of want of manpower. They are on the contrary a chronic disease attendant on official authority; and the more the staff the greater the sweet exercise of this power to keep men waiting.

The Government has given indications now that there will be more encouragement of the flow of foreign capital into private industry and much more flexibility of policy, and much less annoyance and delay. All this is good, but it is necessary also to realise that this welcome change has come about as a result of the pressure of an opposition party that

stood for reason as against an unplanned plan of State-borrowing from abroad in which the ruling party had bogged itself. The disaster of this policy was obvious but even the obvious was refused to be seen by the ruling clique. Nor was it realised by the people who supported the regime of the Congress, so great was the *maya* of modernism boosted by the Prime Minister. It seems as if it is now slowly realised that it is not wisdom for a nation to get into heavy foreign debt without a definite and feasible plan for repaying it and that it would be much better to induce foreign capital to deal with private industrialists between whom and the foreign investor the responsibility of good and profitable management would be shared.

It will no doubt be stoutly claimed that this policy is an evolution of the ruling party's own unaided wisdom and that it owes nothing to the views of the Swatantra party or any other external advice. It does not matter what may be claimed by the ruling party, but it does matter that those intimately concerned with the development of industry in India have now a demonstration of the effect of an opposition party and its pressure on the intelligence of the Government and its official advisers. The nation benefits by an opposition party much more than is generally realised in this country. Opposition begins to give results even before it takes shape in the form of elected members sitting in Parliament. The movement itself has achieved a change of policy in many things and in this important matter of switching from State-borrowing to foreign capital investment in the private sector. It remains however to warn those concerned that it is not wise for them to be content with such immediate results, and yield to the temptation to let things remain as that and save themselves from doing anything more in the direction of building up the opposition into a massive parliamentary reality. Let them not become complaisant so that one may be com-

pelled to cry in the words of Milton:

*What wise and valiant
man would seek to free
These, thus degenerate,
by themselves enslaved?
Or could, of inward slaves
make outward free?*

It is hoped that the good returns already obtained from a vocal opposition will not produce complacency but will act as an incentive for further effort which may be crowned with the successful establishment of a stable balancing force in the dynamics of the governance of our national affairs.

It would be miserable pusillanimity to be content licking up immediate advantage and do nothing more, satisfied with the gracious condescensions of the ruling party. The moral of immediate successes should not be complacency but greater sustained effort. Such immediate results cannot go on for long and will stop if a real strong opposition party is not formed. There should be no relaxation in the work of setting up a party to serve as a standing threat to the ruling clique and a competitor for the seat of power. Otherwise the power of the ruling party in a 'welfare' State or in a permit-licence-regime becomes absolute and we all know from Lord Acton what absolute power leads to. His warning has been often referred to, but much quotation has not reduced the truth of that warning. With the present trend to expand the field of governmental power, the danger pointed out by Lord Acton has become much more serious than during his time, as we have already experienced in India.

Parliamentary government in the present day is under attack. It is attacked from outside by the propaganda of the Communist States; it is under an insidious and more dangerous attack from inside which issues out of the political greed of the party in power. When the party in office seeks by exploiting its temporary advantage and by improper and devious means to maintain its power, it brings the parliamentary system

THE FAMILY FARM

Any national farm program should be based primarily on the promotion and preservation of the family farm. That is the basic unit here in Illinois—that is the way it must continue to be. We have no wish to become a nation of giant commercial corporation farms and absentee landlords. Our whole vitality as a nation depends on a contrary course. So let us beware of programs that aid most those who need it least.

Any future farm program should be run for farmers by farmers. Basic administration on the local level should be in the hands of farmer committees elected by farmers themselves. No bureaucrat, no economist or scientist, knows the needs and trends and variations of the local farm picture as well as the local farmers. On the national level, we need a Federal Farm Board comprised of leaders from the key commodity groups—a board which can explain the farmer's needs to the Administration and the Administration's hopes to the farmer. This would be a board made up of real farmers—and by farmers, I do not mean some of those whom Mr. Benson has appointed to high offices—so called "farmers" who own one cow and ten banks. I mean those who contributed so much to the local administration of our farm programs in the past—and who can and should do so in the future.

Any future farm program must concentrate on cutting the farmer's costs.

Finally, any future farm program should assure our nation's farms of a fair share of the national net income. This does not mean that farm prices must always rise—but they should not be the only ones to fall. The farmer does not want to ration poverty—he wants to share abundance. He has made a tremendous capital investment in his farm—and he wants a comparable return on that investment. He puts in a long hard work-week all the year around—he wants comparable wages for his labour.—From PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S *The Strategy of Peace*.

into contempt. The best safeguard for democracy and the parliamentary system of government is a strong opposition. It is not disloyalty but true loyalty as distinguished from parasitism and interested flattery to help the formation of an opposition when it is virtually absent and the ruling party is steadily assuming the role of dictatorship.

SIDELIGHTS ::

Soviet Premier Khrushchov will send his son-in-law Mr. Alexei Adjubei to be the Soviet Ambassador at Washington. All socialistic patterns may now follow the Moscow example. It may be now deemed legitimate to appoint nearest relatives to biggest positions without any sceptical notions about propriety.

At least 40 per cent of the working time of senior and middle-level officials of the Union Government is spent on meetings and conferences according to the result of an official study. The meetings themselves have become a new form of red tape leading to increase in costs and disproportionate waste of effort. The organization committee has suggested a special and intensive study of the types of subjects discussed at these conferences which have come into vogue, the number and quality of personnel present, their co-efficient of participation and the results achieved in order to meet this growing evil. These proposed terms of reference sound ironical and imply that a large percentage of the officials moving up and down to attend these conferences add little to the objectives contemplated. When we take into account the expanded field of national life seized by officials, these conferences and the waste of money, time and energy involved assume the shape of a colossal new element consuming taxpayers' money.

At a pleasant social party at Dasaprakash last Saturday, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, released to the public Telugu editions of two works of Rajaji, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Originally written in Tamil, these two books have been translated into English and Hindi and many other Indian languages. They have now been rendered into Telugu, and the Telugu editions have been brought

out by Sri V. Kalidas of Vyasa Publications.

Rajaji's life has been one of untiring activity and continuous service. If he himself were asked which work of his he rates highest he would undoubtedly answer that these two books of his have given him greater satisfaction than any other of his multifarious activities. On one or two occasions Rajaji has in fact given expression to this sort of sentiment. And not for nothing. We live in days when the ballot box has supplanted all other moralities. Numbers count. The demands of larger multitudes take precedence over the rights of numerically weaker elements. Votes determine laws, and the laws themselves are changing in such a way that the minorities have less and less protection left against injustice, tyranny and persecution.

What is popular is not always right, and mass hysteria can be roused even to the point of brutal cruelty by demoniac demagogues. Hitler's Germany is an example of this. The saviours of humanity have often been lonely persons who dared to stand for the right against the whole world of their time. Rajaji has realised that intrinsic standards of right and wrong should be cultivated and established if the present dangers of letting authority go by counting of hands is to be checked. Men may be deceived by propaganda but the individual conscience cannot be cheated. Rajaji has turned to the epics to turn the popular mind from the greed of mass driven propaganda to the higher values of the individual conscience.

Dr. Radhakrishnan, in a learned speech studded with Sanskrit quotations, brought out brilliantly this supreme merit in these two books of Rajaji's. They illustrated, he said, the sovereign status that was given to ethics in the affairs of men in ancient Hindu polity. The great Avatars, Rama

and Krishna, though divine, held their divinity under a veil. They acted like mortals and passed through all the travails of mortality. It is from this that the eternal inspiration of the epics for the attainment of the divine in man springs.

Dr. Radhakrishnan echoed a sentiment dear to Rajaji himself when he said that these two great books of his represent the greatest of his many distinguished services in his eventful life packed with honours and achievements. The Vice President spoke from a lofty level of philosophic understanding, but even a child could follow him easily. In presenting the most recondite syllogisms in the clearest and simplest terms, he has an experience dating back to his professorial days. I recollect how as a teacher of philosophy in the Presidency College he would come to the class 20 minutes late and finish his lecture 10 minutes early. Yet in that 20 minutes he would give a brilliant exposition unsurpassed for brevity and clarity, and what he taught none failed to grasp. Students in those days admired him as they admired none else. He never spoke a harsh word, but the strictest discipline was maintained in his classes.

Time has not aged Dr. Radhakrishnan. Years and honours have sat lightly on him. His disposition is ever happy and cheerful. Through scholarship he won international renown, and it is from that high altitude that he has made his descent into our national politics. This endows him with an air of superiority, which owes nothing to the artifices of cultivated appearance or manner, whatever the dignity to which he is called.

Telugu speaking people must be greatly beholden to Sri Kalidas for having made Rajaji's story of the two great epics available to them in their own language. These Telugu translations hardly read like translations. They have caught the spirit of the original marvellously. Knowledgeable friends have given high praise to the style and quality of the work.

SAKA.

PLAN OR PERISH

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The Pradesh Congress Committee meeting at Trichy, Minister Subramaniam characterised Rajaji's opposition to planning as blind and unrealistic because the country had to plan or perish. In the first place, Rajaji has only opposed planning which is in the Communist pattern; secondly there are many countries, Germany and Japan notably, which have registered many times our achievement without planning; and thirdly the results of our planning suggest more impoverishment than development of human and natural resources.

If the planning was for the people, as it should be in a democracy, it should have begun with the provision of the basic necessities of food, shelter and clothing. Though the deficiencies in this respect are generally known and felt, the statistical position, even as disclosed in the Economic Survey to the Budget, is staggering. In 1954, when planning which has

since cost 6,000 crores began to be effective, the net production of cereals and pulses was 60.13 million tons, which in 1960 increased only to 62.96 million tons while the population rose from 338 millions to 379 millions. The scarcity is reflected in the rise of the food grain price index from 73.1 in 1955-56 to 102.2 in 1959-60. In respect of cloth, the production index has fallen from 111.9 in 1955 to 111.1 in 1959, which means with reference to the increase in population, a reduction per head of 14 per cent. In respect of housing, though the towns have seen some new buildings, in the villages, 90 per cent of the houses are single room tenements of mud walls and thatched roofs, with congestion and insanitation added from the rise in population. Minister Subramaniam can claim that the standard of living is rising because people do not know these figures published by Government themselves and are helpless against inflation and taxation which are confiscating their reduced incomes.

Rajaji and others who can see these results of planning, have no use for it. The plan which the Swatantra party is considering is different. It is based on the following principles:

(1) That there is no further increase of taxation and national indebtedness because the result of both is to place a burden on the masses which should be borne by those who have money and enterprise.

(2) Accordingly, to limit the expenditure of Government, the principle of self-help will be utilised throughout. Government limiting itself to a subsidy of one-fourth or one-fifth of the actual expenditure incurred by private parties on approved items. An extension of this will be to transfer social services, particularly education, to private agencies, whose contribution in money and services will ease the burden now thrust on the masses.

(3) That to reduce inflation and increase the value of the incomes of the people, controls will be replaced by free competition which will improve quality and reduce prices in favour of the general body of consumers. The present monopolies assured by controls will be ended by outbursts of production for which the rich have capital to supply and the poor have demand, pent up now by taxes and controls.

(4) That to reduce foreign indebtedness which is burdening the people with payment of heavy interest charges, on the one hand and disgracing the country and limiting its independence on the other, industrial expansion will be left only to private enterprise which can secure foreign collaboration and capital, to be paid without any new strain on the foreign exchange, by equivalent exports to be allowed. To reduce internal indebtedness, State enterprises will be gradually denationalised, all extensions for existing enterprises being immediately offered for subscription of shares by the public. The German system of tax certificates will be used to subsidize private enterprises, bonds being offered as capital, which in effect will mean that instead of borrowing Government will be lending money to the people.

Subject to these principles, the Plan will meet the felt needs of the people by a programme which assures increase in food production by remission of rent and revenue related to the adoption of improved methods, which are easily within the capacity of the cultivators but have so far been without incentives. A reduction of 25 per cent of the revenue, equal to about 25 crores if related to a 25 per cent increase in production will increase the national income by 1,500 crores.

Secondly, the price of fertilisers which is now more than 50 per cent above the world level will be reduced by allowing private investment freely in fertiliser factories. Thirdly, to reduce the present

LOTTERY OF POWER

Every consideration points to the desirability, nay, the moral necessity of reducing the powers that Government has taken in our country. The rich concentration of power is the cause of the admittedly unhealthy competitions of groups and leaders for positions of influence and consequent rifts within the ruling party, which have not yielded to the repeated appeals of the leader of the party. The cause of the malady not being removed, the appeals are futile and of no effect. The willingness to spend practically unlimited sums of money in violation of the spirit of the election laws is also due to the same corrupting cause. The excessive power that the party in office has seized in all the affairs of men and in the economic life of the people excites the thirst of greedy and ambitious people.

"A seat in this House, for good purposes, for bad purposes, for no purposes at all (except the mere consideration derived from being concerned in the public councils) will ever be a first-rate object of ambition in England. Ambition is no exact calculator. Even avarice does not calculate strictly when it games. One thing is certain, that in this political game, the great lottery of power is that into which men will purchase with millions of chances against them. Nothing will ever make a seat in this House not an object of desire to members by any means or at any charge, but the depriving it of all power and all dignity. This would do it. This is the true and only nostrum for that purpose". Burke said this and proceeded immediately to confess that such a remedy was not possible. With a permit-and-licence raj intruding in every walk of economic activity,

Swatantra party sells its plan and the people realise how they have been cheated of their legitimate expectations, all the money and transport of the Congress will bring voters who will exercise the secret ballot for the party which gives them their historic heritage.

the attraction and the evil are much greater in our country in 1961 than in Burke's time in England. The total remedy is not possible but the doctrine for which Gandhi stood, reduction of the Government's power to the minimum and the release of the free economy of the people to the largest extent, is not only possible but is a crying necessity for national progress and for the cleansing of the political stables. This is the principle of the Swatantra Party, a principle hallowed by the repeated avowal of faith on the part of the Father of the Nation. C.R.

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THE RED SIGNAL

By A. V. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR

The present state of affairs in India should be a matter for anxious concern for all those who think. The ruling party and some other parties are proceeding on the basis that Socialism is the only available road for India for attaining national advancement within a reasonable time. They have been carrying on propaganda that there is no alternative to Socialism. They have begun to believe that large schemes, expenditure of thousands of crores and the creation of a bureaucracy necessary to carry them will by themselves take the country on the road to prosperity, irrespective of the actual results, in the shape of disturbance of the country's economy through inflation, soaring prices, discriminatory benefits to a microscopic minority, the economic languishing of the middle and poor classes and the starvation of the destitute sections who constitute a considerable percentage of the population. Those who see the red signal and have raised their voice of protest deserve the nation's gratitude.

The time has come for the intellectuals and the middle and the poor classes who are not wanting in intelligence to stand up to those who plead that there is no alternative to Socialism. The economic betterment of the masses is certainly an urgent task but one can ask whether we are on the right road to it. It has been pointed out by competent observers that the benefits of the huge expenditure on the two Plans have gone mainly to the ever bloating public services, a small parasitical class living on State patronage in the public and private sectors, foreign manufacturers of capital goods and to the organised workers in industry who have been pampered from time to time. Any increase in the national income, far from resulting in any substantial saving or filtering down to the masses has gone to enrich the classes mentioned above. The pattern of policy, the scale of expenditure and the control of the economic mechanism have been such as to entrench the ruling party in power and weaken the democratic forces.

There is nothing in the glittering name of Socialism to a people like ours, whose philosophy and culture have taught them to look always into the core of reality. There are two questions to be seriously considered by thinking persons. One is whether Socialism of the type which our rulers are adopting will bring about the results claimed for it, the economic development of all sec-

tions of the people and conditions of stability. The other is that, assuming that some progress and stability have resulted, is the price paid for them in terms of the huge expenditure, abuse of the processes of democracy, the loss of freedom for individuals and communities for unfettered development, worth it? The propaganda of the ruling party that if it is not returned to power and allowed to continue its policy of Socialism, there will be chaos, seems to have frightened even some sections who are convinced of the dangers of Socialism and of the need for a change. They seem to have fallen a prey to the political fatalism of a kind expressed in the following words by William Blake the poet in the wake of the confusion that resulted from the French Revolution: "I am really sorry to see my countrymen trouble themselves about politics. If men were wise the most arbitrary princes could not hurt them: if they are not wise, the freest government is compelled to be a tyranny".

It is however worth while to briefly examine the two questions posed above. No argument is necessary to realise, whatever their claims may be, that the present policies of our rulers will not within a reasonable time provide food, clothing and shelter to the entire population, which have a right to the same in any civilised country. The reasons are obvious. The expenditure on public services personnel, both Central and States, which now works to about 40 per cent is disproportionately large. The inflation and high prices which have come to stay will progressively bring down the real value of purchasing power and hence of salaries and wages, hitting middle and poor classes. The growing population is a factor that will neutralise any small gains and upset all calculations. As for the disadvantages, the country has not had its money's worth for all the crores spent on the Plans, due to high prices, wastage and corruption, which have not been denied. There is no virtue in executing a scheme for 5 crores, for instance, if it could have been done with 3 crores by selecting the time, agency and materials wisely and ensuring effective supervision. The New Deal economics and Galbraithian theories cannot be applied to India on account of its extreme poverty and the refusal of the State to take up responsibility to provide employment and food to all, as in the case of all civilised countries. This

distinction is vital. The second reason is that we have now the external trappings of democracy and not the genuine article due to several causes. One of these relates to the general character of our people who are liable to be guided somewhat by non-political considerations in elections. Another of these is that on account of adult suffrage and big constituencies elections cost heavy amounts which few honest publicists can afford. To this extent, competent and deserving candidates are actually handicapped.

As for loss of freedom for the individual this is really a serious result of the pursuit of Socialism. Referring even to the West, where democracy is said to work better, Oscar Wilde in his essay on 'The Soul of Man under Socialism' says: "High hopes were once formed of democracy; but democracy means simply the bludgeoning of the people by the people for the people. It has been found out. I must say that it was high time, for all authority is quite degrading. It degrades those who exercise it and degrades those over whom it is exercised ... When it is used with a certain amount of kindness and accompanied by prizes and rewards, it is dreadfully demoralising. People, in that case, are less conscious of the horrible pressure that is being put on them and go through their lives in a sort of coarse comfort, like petted animals, without ever realising that they are probably thinking other people's thoughts, living by other people's standards, wearing practically what one may call other people's second-hand clothes, and never being themselves for a single moment". If this is the position in England, the less said about it in India the better. Though he pleads strongly for Socialism he realises that it is inseparable from authoritarian rule. He writes: "But I confess that many of the Socialistic views I have come across seem to be tainted with ideas of authority, if not of actual compulsion. Of course authority and compulsion are out of the question ... It is clear then that no authoritarian Socialism will do. For while under the present system a very large number of people can lead lives of a certain amount of freedom and expression and happiness, under an industrial-barrack system, or a system of economic tyranny nobody would be able to have any such freedom at all. It is to be regretted that a portion of our community should be practically in slavery, but to propose to solve the problem by enslaving the entire community is childish. Every man must be left quite free to choose his own work".

Our rulers have stated that the special merit of their policy is that they

WISE AND APPPOSITE WARNING

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The idea of regulation is always associated with certain chosen and favoured individuals. Regulation cannot stand alone and by itself. It always boils down to favours and monopolies given to particular persons. A regime of permits and licences and quotas and prices decreed from the secretariat is neither a free nor a mixed economy. It is privilege and prerogative. "Partial freedom is privilege and prerogative and not liberty," said Burke. "In a regime of monopoly there can be no patriotism. There may be a party spirit but public spirit there can be none".

It would be useful to quote further from the same great philosopher who was a source of inspiration to Mill, Gladstone and Morley. "Whether the middleman acts as factor, jobber, salesman, or speculator, in the markets of grain, these traders are to be left to their free course; and the more

want to usher in Socialism by democratic methods. This is self-deception. While democratic Socialism is possible if historical accidents and traditions specially conduce to it, it is impossible under modern conditions. Parliaments of today are unsuited for it as C. D. H. Cole has pointed out. He says: "But Parliaments as they exist today are obviously incapable of organising or controlling effectively the economic life of the country. They are too vacillating, too inexpert, too congested with a mass of secondary business to take such a mighty task on hand". He adds significantly the following: "If then Socialism is to come, I believe it will be transitionally some form of dictatorship, and when that is over, a system of administration far more closely resembling Sovietism than Parliamentarism".

Therefore Socialism means eventual destruction of democracy and its replacement by authoritarian rule of some brand or other. Those who believe in democracy and individual freedom cannot subscribe to the creed of Socialism. The Socialistic structure of society is not the *sine qua non* of economic growth and industrial prosperity and social justice, as proved by countries like England, Japan and West Germany.

they make, and the richer they are, and the more largely they deal, the better both for the farmer and consumer, between whom they form a natural and most useful link of connection,—though by the machinations of the old evil counsellor, *envy*, they are hated and maligned by both parties. The middlemen are often accused of monopoly. Without question, the monopoly of authority is, in every instance and in every degree, an evil, but the monopoly of capital is the contrary. It is a great benefit particularly to the poor. A tradesman who has but a hundred pound capital which, he can turn say, once a year, cannot live upon a profit of ten per cent. But a man of ten thousand pounds capital can live and thrive upon five per cent profit in the year. These principles are plain and simple; and it is not our ignorance, so much as the levity, the envy, and the malignity of our nature, that hinders us from perceiving and yielding to them; but we are not to suffer our vices to usurp the place of our judgment. The market settles, and alone can settle price, which is the balancing element between consumption and production. Market is the meeting and conference of the consumer and producer when they mutually discover each other's wants. Nobody has observed with any reflection what market is, without being astonished at the truth, the correctness, the celerity, the general equity, with which the balance of wants is settled. Those who wish the destruction of that balance, and would fain by arbitrary regulation decree that inadequate production should not be compensated by increased price, directly lay their axe at the root of production itself. They may, even in one year of such false policy, do mischiefs incalculable; because the trade of a farmer is one of the most precarious in its advantages, the most liable to losses, and the least profitable of

any that is carried on. It requires ten times more of labour, of vigilance, of attention, of skill, and let me add, of good fortune also to carry on the business of a farmer with success, than what belongs to any other trade".

It has become a favourite procedure with legislators and the executives, playing to their tune, to sit heavily on farm produce prices, acting on the theory that those prices regulate all other prices. In order to keep down prices at all levels, they think wages should be kept down, and this cannot be done unless the price of basic food-material is forcibly kept down. Acting on this theory, the farmer is oppressed and his state of penury made permanent. This short-sighted policy of keeping things cheap, by making the life of the peasants one of barren penury and hopelessness, cannot be too severely condemned. It is the worst form of tyranny that can prevail in an agricultural country.

The following profound words on the subject of legislators, with no knowledge of the work involved in agriculture, interfering in the affairs of farmers, uttered by Burke must be inscribed in large letters on the walls of our legislative chambers: "Of all things, an indiscreet tampering with the trade of food grains and other farm produce is the most dangerous, and it is always worst in the time when men are most disposed to it,—that is, in a time of scarcity; because there is nothing on which the passions of men are so violent and their judgment so weak, and on which there exists such a multitude of ill-founded popular prejudice. What man, of any degree of reflection, can think that a want of interest in any subject, closely connected with a want of skill in it, qualifies a person to intermeddle in any the least affair, much less in affairs that vitally concern the agriculture of the country, the first of all its concerns, and the foundation of all its prosperity in every other matter by which that prosperity is produced?"

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COMMUNALISM

India has to resist with all force not only Communism, an external danger, but also communalism, an internal evil, more dangerous and capable of bringing chaos and confusion in the body-politic. It is wrong to assume that communalism is a new evil and therefore new method should be discovered to fight it out. I would say that this trait of attaching oneself to one's kith and kin, caste or community, is as old as mankind. Having inherited the trait, we are perhaps reacting differently, and sometimes dangerously.

Communalism, being a natural phenomenon, has to be fought in a natural way. Is the country prepared to fight this out in this natural way? Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur sums up this situation in this grand manner: "The whole country is dissatisfied, every class of person whether he be an industrialist, or a tradesman, an agriculturist, or a labourer, a government employee or a craftsman, and the people as a whole are unhappy". Naturally, the unrest and dissatisfaction of the people must find a way out, and communalism becomes a ready medium for exhibiting the deep-rooted maladies.

It is really unfortunate that communalism and casteism are made to appear as the chief cause of all troubles in this country, when the actual culprits and mischief-mongers lie somewhere else. Dr. A. Narasinga Rao, writing in SWARAJYA of May 6, says that the outcry against communalism "ought to be directed against irrelevancy, against allowing communal considerations to have a place where they are wholly irrelevant". The Congress party has to bear full responsibility for the present upsurge of communal frenzies. Now people organise themselves into groups and classes not to safeguard the interests of their caste or community, but to get their share of patronage of the Government. This attitude should cease and give place to the policy of self-development.

The Swatantra party blames the Congress for the germination of Communist ideologies and communal tendencies in the country, and believes that unless the Congress is defeated at the next elections, the state of things will not improve. Any idea to ban communal parties will only enlarge the area of conflict.

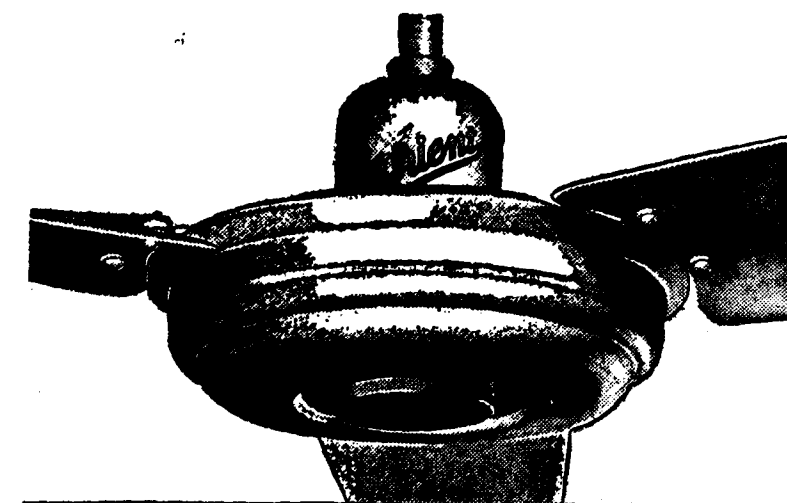
Elections and appointments are the two fields, amongst others, where communal considerations play havoc to the detriment of national interests. The

candidates for the elections should be chosen not on caste, community or parochial basis, but on their competency for legislative work, and on their past approved social and humanitarian service. Appointments should be made on considerations of merit and usefulness without giving any scope for group loyalties and personal prejudices.

The Hindu caste system has withstood the test of time, and is based on the independence of the self and interde-

pendence in society. A casteless and classless society is a misnomer. We have tried to do away with castes, but the attempt has let in classes and groups. Let there arise as many sangams and societies, associations and clubs to discuss problems of common interest affecting the social, economic and religious life of the people, and to encourage mutual respect and affection between families, groups and communities.

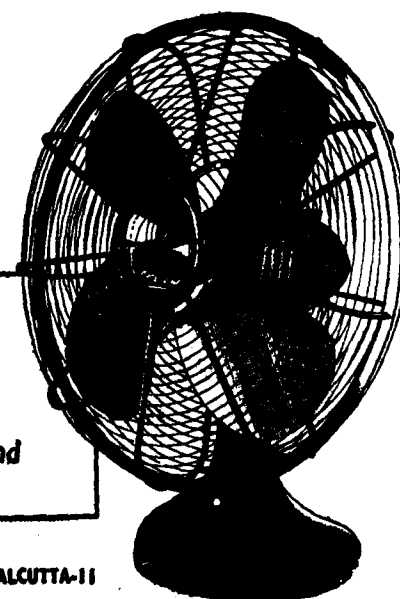
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“TALK, TALK, TALK”

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: On finding it impossible to cope with a fellow passenger who, irrespective of wherever the conversation started, got round to his pet theme, “Alpha of the Plough”, in one of his delightful essays, muses thus on “the missionary of the One Idea”:

We flee instinctively from the man who is always telling us the same thing, who comes into the circle with one ceaseless scheme, to which he hitches the heavens above and the earth beneath, and the waters under the earth ... You have but to say ‘good day’ to him in the street, and he will buttonhole you and with the abstracted air of one who has seen a vision, will open the flood-gates of ... upon you.

That’s that: there is no escape from it. There is today in our midst no more outstanding example of the man with one idea than our Prime Minister. His obsession is the Plan. He must talk about it any time, anywhere, any length. Nor is he satisfied that he does the talking tirelessly. He wants every other Congressman to emulate his shining example and “talk, talk, talk”, so long as it is the Plan that they talk about.

The other day, at an end-of-session meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, he urged the members to publicise the Plan, popularise it and shout about it.

Wherever you go (he said) talk about the Plan and planned economic growth. The more we talk about the Plan, the better.

Adepts in talking—and in talking about things in which they do not necessarily believe—Congressmen will no doubt now scour the country, making non-stop speeches on the Plan (and incidentally on its prime architect), with Socialism on their honeyed lips. For according to their Supreme Leader, they can’t talk too much about it.

One Congress veteran, Mr. Harekrishna Mahatab, seems to have anticipated Mr. Nehru. An unfettered man now, he is so anxious to share his mind with the public on the very subject which his Leader has prescribed. In a

series of articles on ‘The Party and The Plan’, in the columns of the ‘Hindustan Times’, the former Chief Minister (and Congress Chief) of Orissa, has already put the public wise. Here are some of his *obiter dicta*:

The only part which the party is required to play (in respect of the plan) is to keep the Prime Minister firmly in his place, so that he may direct the Plan as he wishes.

Anybody who wants to be somebody in the Party must support the Prime Minister.

Favour or disfavour of the Prime Minister works a great deal in the disposal of internal disputes in the Party.

The fact that the Congress supports Mr. Nehru should not be misunderstood to mean that the Congress stands for what Mr. Nehru wants.

The Congress Party as such has nothing to think about or do, except ... manoeuvring for position.

Wealth is playing a greater role in society than ever before ... Money plays a greater role in the Congress itself than ever before.

Mr. Mahatab is talking about the Plan all right but, of course, not in the right vein. As one who knows that anybody who wants to be somebody in the Party must necessarily support Mr. Nehru, he has not profited by wisdom. May be he has effaced himself or knows that he has been written off. All talk about the Plan must be “according to plan”.

Members of the Congress Parliamentary Party left for their respective places with clearer ideas about what is expected of them, or where their duty lies, in the matter of electing Deputy Leaders. They are themselves responsible for the story that the Leader favoured the idea of a free election when Mr. Krishna Menon’s chances were said to be bright and discountenanced the move when they grew dim. To deflate the importance of the place, two were suggested—while to prove the absurdity of any talk about “succession”, the premium was put upon comparative obscurity. It is now generally assumed that Hafiz

Mohammed Ibrahim from the Rajya Sabha and Dr. P. Subbarayan from the Lok Sabha will be installed as Deputies, so that even the proverbial man in the moon may not make the mistake of associating either, with future leadership at the highest level. The one immediate result is the eclipse of Mr. Morarji Desai. It must be a rude shock to him to realise that the technique employed in bringing him down or pushing him back has something of the Soviet touch. If the new Deputy Leaders will be elected unanimously, Mr. Morarji Desai who is busy lecturing on the virtue of unanimity in elections, will have been ironically answered. He should then have less to complain than Mr. Jagjivan Ram, whose latest worry is that the Congress stood in danger of being converted into a reactionary organisation, having been run on the lines of capitalism by men opposed to socialism. Other Congressmen have, it seems, other ideas, for instance that both Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr. Jagjivan Ram should go back to their respective States, having found themselves ‘frozen’ at the Centre.

Elaborate directions are given by the Centre to the States to take stern action against communalists. Equal vigilance is now exercised in the border areas in bringing within the arms of law, Communists who are engaged in anti-national activities. This does not, however, mean that either communalists (as in Kerala) or the Communists (as in the Punjab) who see the wisdom of joining the Congress will be denied opportunities of seeing light and functioning in more respectable party cloaks. The doors of the Congress are flung open to them on the generous assumption that when once they enter the holy premises, they will become absolved of all ills or evils. It is now an open secret, indeed a recognised fact, that the Congress cloak covers a multitude of sins. The Communist infiltration into the Congress ranks is the latest and not the least portentous development in Indian politics.

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PORTRAIT OF A DISTRICT

By SRIVATSA

The man in Plutarch has been ughed at for maintaining that the moon shone more brightly over his native Corinth than elsewhere in Greece or the world. But his was a true instinct, though perhaps he parodied it. The native's love is a strong one and must be considered legitimate. It is particularly strong among the people of Tanjore which, it should be noted for the benefit of the unregenerate, is a district of Madras State which has been bountifully favoured by nature. His love is apt to grow rather lognathic, and then he irks people of other districts less plentifully endowed. They may then sneer at him behind his back. Jealousy of the Tanjorean is an ingredient of human feelings in Madras State.

But the Tanjorean has every right to be proud of his native home and hearth. What a river can do to favoured parts of this "harsh and haggard" land of ours has been amply proved here. The Cauvery is the source and origin of all the blessings of Tanjore district. Even where she or many of her tributaries and the canals from those tributaries may not be bodily present, their influence is felt. She is, as it were, the presiding spirit of the district, whose influence no one may avoid. The Cauvery has an illustrious history before she arrives in the district. She is a sanctified river, and she makes a distinct contribution to religious history when her two arms form the island of Srirangam, where is located the famous temple of Sri Ranganatha. But in Tanjore district she surpasses herself. She continues to be an object of veneration. She also brings life to millions.

There can be few more exhilarating experiences than to stand in the midst of the incredible greenery of the paddy fields which the Cauvery or her minions so bountifully produce in this district. The wind plays gently over the swaying corn. It runs over them in ripples, like waves on the seashore on a quiet evening. All around are evidences of man's industry which can evoke the beautiful response of nature. There is always the scent of running water, its gentle noise is seldom far away. The characteristic Tanjore landscape is best appreciated when the day is declining to dusk, and a solemn stillness holds the sky. The fierce sun has departed for the time being, and a perfect gentleness envelops the scene. All around waves corn in full ripeness field by field. The little channel through which

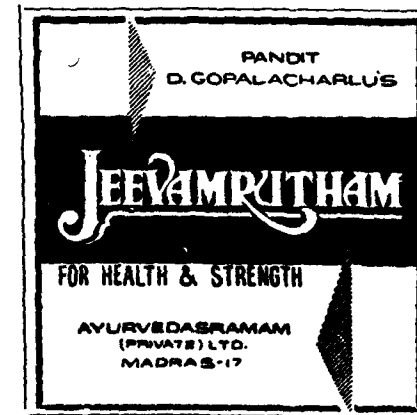
the Cauvery produces the harvest runs by murmuring. As far as the eye can reach, it is all acres and acres of paddy, sportive in the wind. The telegraph wires which, by now, even the villager has come to accept as part of his scene, and which, in fact, strike no incongruous note, also seem to preside benignly over the landscape. Not yet similarly acclimatised are the huge contraptions that seem to have something to do with the distribution of electricity. They stand rather hostile, still foreign to the soil on which they find themselves.

It is an idyllic scene, even Arcadian. But this can be said only of the villages. The average small town of Tanjore district is a monstrous hybrid, combining in itself all the evils of urban life and the deficiencies of rural existence. Its customary adornments are the tea shop and the cinema theatre. At the first there is dispensed stale music brayingly and excruciatingly "amplified" so that all peace is disturbed for miles around. At the second there is provided the "picture" which, to a growing number of people, is "eating and drinking wholly". Apparently they need nothing else. But the corrupting influence of the average film and the monstrous hero-worship of certain "stars" need not be discussed here. It is enough to point out that the real spirit of Tanjore resides in the villages.

The district is witness to a comparatively affluent life. Existence here is not lived near the bone. There is willingness and scope for the pleasures of life. Hence the well-known arts of the district. It is perhaps still pre-eminent in music. The Carnatic system is based on a rigorous and exacting science, but through this grinding ordeal it gives forth the most inspiring and melodious music in the land. It is fully instinct with religion. The famous "trinity", Sri Thyagaraja, Muthuswami Dikshithar, and Shyama Sastri, poured out their soul in music, such music as is not written or heard nowadays. Sri Thyagaraja was a saint who expressed himself through his compositions. The ancient tradition of "Bhagavatha Mela" plays is still kept up, though rather precariously. Sanskrit scholarship has had its home here. The Maharatta kings of Tanjore were great patrons of learning, and at least one of them, Raja Serfoji, deserves more attention than has been paid to him. The golden age of Tanjore has perhaps departed, the glory is gone. The recent legislation prescribing the maximum extent of land that a

person may hold must complete its collapse. Yet there are still some durable monuments. The temples of Tanjore, famous in song and story, rise majestically from the flat plain. They are the real depositories of Hindu culture. Into their making have gone centuries of painstaking devotion, all the riches of the arts. Typically enough, the shrine in Tanjore town, a monument to the piety of a Chola king, is a jewel of architecture. No one may think of the district without thinking of the Cauvery and the temples.

It is also true that the greatest glory of the district is the Tanjorean himself, the man. He is nearly extinct. Very often he lives a cramped and uncongenial life in Bombay or Calcutta today dreaming of the vast places of home and the acres of his ancestral house. The local native himself has fallen on evil days. Yet he existed until about twenty years ago. He was characterised by the box of betel-leaf and nut which he always carried in his hand. It was his sign-manual, as it were. He could not bear to tear himself away from the astringent leaf. He was knowledgeable in music, and he was apt to be rather severe on the transgressors of his severe code. In some instances, he had read widely, especially in Sanskrit. But mostly he preferred to stroll through life. Not for him the rude contact with labour. He preferred to watch and to contemplate. Yet he was not the social parasite that this may suggest. The fact was that he was rather the connoisseur of life, tasting it at many points. His life has now collapsed. If he is not an alien in teeming cities, to whose progress his intelligence and proved devotion to duty make a great contribution, he has become apathetic and dispirited at home. His passing will be mourned. He enriched life, he added savour to it. He was distinctive like his district. His district will take on a new shape under the impact of the "socialistic pattern of society", but he himself is gone.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

NO ELECTIONS, PLEASE

Sir,—It was reported in a newspaper that Shri Sivagnana Gramani was told by our Chief Minister that when he was in Delhi the Prime Minister was too busy to be approached about the Tamil-speaking citizens of Ceylon. In Parliament too the Prime Minister expressed embarrassment about the question and only hinted that what could be done would be done. No one can doubt the diplomatic propriety of his attitude, nor the enormous pressure of work weighing upon our Prime Minister. Such is the variety and depth of his concern that the Congo and Cuba and Laos engage him night and day not to speak of designing for the schoolboy the right kind of satchel that will make him less unwilling to go to school, or finding right names for ladies' and gents' watches to be progressively assembled and ultimately manufactured in the public sector of India with the assistance of Japan. A law has been made to compel all textile mills, because many mills have agreed to it, to pay bonuses to their workers and to ban strikes and lock-outs. And a law is made to compel all High Courts, because most High Courts have agreed, to work more days in the year. The Chairman of the University Grants Commission has said that our universities should not continue to pass only 50 per cent of their examinees while in Western countries 80 per cent pass. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao defends Hindi's claim to be the national language because more Indians speak it than other Indians speaking anyone of the other thirteen languages of the land.

Fourteen years of political freedom have taught us many things. But we can still learn. Fidel Castro who has for the present got the better of his enemies recently harangued millions of his subjects who endorsed with the utmost enthusiasm his new slogan, "No

more elections". It is an excellent idea and along with the other countries recently liberated from foreign imperialisms and colonial servitude we can stop the criminal waste of time, energy and money involved in elections, and divert these to the fulfilment of the urgent and long-neglected tasks of national reconstruction. Nobody wants elections, neither the electors nor the candidates, neither the public nor the men of goodwill. A parliamentary party finds more than one candidate for the place of deputy leader and solves the problem by suggesting no election, no deputy leader, a deputy leader who holds neither ministerial office nor even a seat in Parliament, as many deputy leaders as there are Houses of Parliament or candidates for the office, and putting the issue into the ice box. So elections are, what they have always been, an expensive and disruptive force halting national progress and retarding emotional integration. The people of India must make known their general and irrevocable determination to resist "election" in every shape and form at every level of national business, public and private, in every nook and corner of this great and ancient land. This, of course, will not take away our birthright to say 'yes' by voice and vote whenever our rulers desire such demonstration of our solid support to whatever they may be thinking and planning for our welfare.

OBSERVER.

INCOMPREHENSIBLE

Sir,—The utterances of some of our leaders are beyond the comprehension of ordinary men.

The Congress President Shri Sanjiva Reddy is reported to have described at Cuttack the reported move for an alliance between Ganatantra Parishad and the Swatantra party as "very strange and interesting".

I fail to understand why he should say so ... Would this alliance be more strange and interesting than the alliance entered into between the same Ganatantra Parishad and the Congress two years ago? Would it be more strange and interesting than the revival by the Congress of the Muslim League in Kerala, and formation of a coalition ministry with the same?

In the same speech the Congress President is reported to have said that "the Swatantra party would not have been born at all, but for the fact that the name of one of India's great lea-

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THE SWARAJYA, MADRAS-10

ders, Mr. Rajagopalachari was lent to it".

I again fail to understand why the Congress President is so much upset over the birth of the Swatantra party. Does he want that there should be no opposition party in the country? If so, does he want his party to carry on a democratic government without opposition? Lord Attlee has said that he began to get a salary from his Government as soon as he became the leader of the Opposition. On the contrary the Swatantra party has to encounter all the impediments and anger of the Congress and its Government. Why this difference?

S. M. SHAHIL.

PLIGHT OF SANSKRIT PANDITS

Sir,—It is a pity that the credit and recognition that Sanskrit and Sanskrit pandits had been enjoying during the British regime are on the decline after Independence. The first educational reform that was brought about after Independence was Tamil being made a compulsory subject. Of course, this is quite praiseworthy. But, on the other hand, nothing was done to brighten Sanskrit. It is taught for only three periods a week. This reduction in the number of periods from 6 in the British Raj to 3 at present brought about a fall in standard. In a school with a

Controls give rise to fraud, suppression of truth, intensification of the black-market and to artificial scarcity. Above all, it unmans the people and deprives them of initiative; it undoes the teaching of self-help they have been learning for a generation. It makes them spoon-fed.

MAHATMA GANDHI.

strength of 2,000 pupils we find scarcely enough Sanskrit pupils for one section. As a result, many Sanskrit pandits have been thrown out of employment and in many schools Sanskrit is not taught. A SANSKRIT PANDIT.

RESERVATION OF SELECTION POSTS ON RAILWAYS

Sir,—On a writ petition filed by a certain Court Inspector in the service of the Southern Railway, the Madras High Court held that the circulars issued by the Railway Board making reservations for selection posts in Class III contravened Section 16 of the Constitution of India. After some time during which it may be presumed that the Government of India took all available advice and with their approval, the General Manager of that Railway filed an appeal to the Supreme Court against the judgment of the local High Court. Recently the Supreme Court by a majority of three to two upheld the power of the Union Government under Section 16(4) of the Constitution to make reservations for scheduled castes and tribes not only at the stage of initial appointments but also for selection posts.

It is common knowledge that in these affairs of the courts, it is the number for or against that prevails; thus for instance the judgment of the Chief Judge does not carry greater weight than that of a puisne judge. In the eyes of the laymen the judges of the Supreme Court and the Judges of the High Courts rank alike save that the former hold higher status.

Thus in the matter under dispute there are three judges of the Supreme Court for the reversal of the judgment of the lower court as against the same number of judges (a judge of the High Court included) against such reversal. This situation is rather unfortunate. In British days, the court of final appeal was the Privy Council and it was situated far from the seat of disputes and from the disputants.

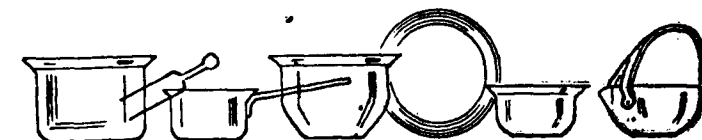
The judgment of the Supreme Court may have serious repercussions on the efficiency of the administration as apprehended by the eminent dissentient judges. The Andhra Pradesh Government have already followed the lead of the Railway Board in this matter and promulgated their orders. There is a humorous side in this affair which can be brought out best by the following extract from "Uncommon Law" by Sir A. P. Herbert (of Punch fame):

"The House of Lords, as an appellate tribunal, is composed of eminent and experienced lawyers; but if I may

say so with respect, they are only by small margin more eminent and experienced than the lawyers who compose this court (Court of Appeal) ... The difference in capacity is one of degree; indeed, the only real difference is that the House of Lords has the last word ... At the end of certain hotly contested cases, decided

only by a majority in both the Court of Appeal and the House of Lords, the weary and impoverished litigant, adding up the number of judges who have voted for and against him in the various courts has found that, per capita, His Majesty's judges were equally divided on the point in dispute".

K. V. IYER.



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MADRAS, MAY, 27, 1961

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SURRENDERING TO THE INEVITABLE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Travelling in my younger days was all done in shabby pony carts. Sometimes the cart would be put on the withers of a larger size pony and then the tilt was very awkward for those who were squatting in the farther end of the basket of the cart. And if the animal got wicked and reared in protest against the whip, the little fellows at the back edge were bound to drop out. Physicists would say the thing *must* happen; they are bound to drop out. But would it be right for that reason to *push* them down, saying it is a gravitational necessity that cannot be escaped? No, rather, it is the duty of the parents inside to do their best to break the force of this fall, if fall the child must.

It is true the trend of things everywhere is a break-down of authority and tradition and a swing to godlessness and proletarianism. But it does not follow that everyone must therefore act in furtherance of that same end. Is it not rather the supreme duty of good men to do their utmost to save as much as possible of the violence and the wreckage? Evolutionary forces do work irresistibly, but man's place in evolution is to work intelligently to modify, resist and correct natural trends.

Eliminate the traditional restraints and the hierarchy of guidance, there will be nothing to keep humanity together in orderly cohesion. Without moral restraints

there is no force that will hold the structure of society. The notion that secular government and democracy can be a substitute for Religion is moonshine. Small men think they become great by laughing at things to which men do reverence, and set up to preach to mankind a doctrine of progress without Religion. The Father of the Nation was a deeply religious person not in any evasive godless sense, but in the traditional Indian sense. He knew, and what is better, he felt inwardly, that Religion is the basis of civil society, and the source of all good and of all comfort—to repeat Burke's great words. Unless Religion and values issuing from it are preserved under the guidance of the elite, there is no hope for the world or any part of it in the dangerous conditions that have come into being as a result of technical 'advance'. It is pusillanimity to go floating down the current and helping that easy process. The moral duty of those who have right understanding is to stem the current and push up where the cataract is approaching, with courage and trust in God.

Is not death the sure and inevitable end of life? Yet is not life very legitimately a continual vigorous resistance of death? Do we misread truth and inately say, well, death is the inevitable end, so let us hasten it? No, we do not say so, but rightly hold that the meaning and essence of life is all

the time to go against the current leading to death. So in everything else. The energy and wisdom of man must counteract and thereby supplement nature. Let us not be deluded by pessimist philosophers and historians who always talk of the inevitable.

"Totalitarian states can be described as little more than enlarged wolf-packs in which the individual, unless he be in a position of power, is denied the human rights of responsibility, initiative and independence. But when individuals assert their inalienable rights of selfhood the wolf-pack is broken and civilization is born". (CARLTON WILLIAMS in *The Freeman*.)

The same writer says very truly almost as if referring to the case in India: The desire to succeed, to be accented and accredited, is universal. To achieve such desirable ends, the individual is inclined to avoid opposition or offence to others—especially those who are in authority. The only hope for the survival of freedom is the widespread practice of individual responsibility, no matter how difficult it may be. It requires a man to be a man no matter if all the rest are parasites. The organization, be it union, or state, does not create but only tries to keep what has been created. If there is any such thing as social responsibility or vision, it is reflected from individuals.

WARS WITHOUT WAR

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Speaking of Kennedy as poles apart from himself, Khrushchov said: "We have to co-exist and find a common language on questions concerning peace". War, he thought, would hinder the inevitable victory of Communism and he added the pregnant sentence: "We shall achieve our victory without it". He was meeting what Gen. Lemnitzer was telling America at the same moment "If the U.S.A. was attacked, it could without any doubt destroy Russia". Russia is too nimble for the straight thinking of the Americans. With one threat or another of total destruction of America, Russia has with the minimum of force and that of other people, spread communist rule over about 800 millions and communist ideas over an equal number. In the last one month, it has outwitted the U.S. in Cuba and Laos, placing the charge of aggression on it, having prepared its own in advance, in the name of helping the rule of the common people. In South Vietnam, while Americans are declaring their massive help, infiltration of arms and men for the rebellion has already taken place. In Burma, on the pretence of helping to drive out the Kuomintang refugees, a foothold has been acquired for the Chinese from whom arms must be flowing not only to the Communists but also to the Shans and others disposed against the Government. In Afghanistan, the approach has been economic, the fighting potential being for defence of the claims of the Pathans against Pakistan, which on examination may be found to have been fanned by Communist agents. Even the mysterious supply of arms to the Nagas could be traced to allied arms captured in Vietnam and elsewhere which serve the double purpose not only of keeping the trouble alive but of putting the blame on capitalist countries. In Ceylon, though outwardly the Communist alliance is with the Government, the frustration of the Tamils must be watched for

starting an armed conflict as soon as possible.

The advantages of the Communists are, first that the independence of nearly all colonies accompanied by the British form of democracy has placed individuals in power whose ambitions are only matched with their lack of maturity. The forum of the United Nations, on the one hand, and the power arising from economic controls on the other, have given importance to the new rulers giving politics at once an abnormal dynamism and instability. Secondly, democracy mixes very badly with the growth of population and poverty making old values subject of new attacks. The economic aid offered by the free countries has reached only the upper classes, increasing with grave menace their disparity with the lower classes. Thirdly, the Russians have discovered the technique, as soon as their proteges fail, of calling on the U.N. to interfere in domestic affairs, in the name of democracy and world peace. They have been assisted by the neutralist countries, which have found that by supporting the Communists they can blackmail the free countries to increase their aid.

In this complex of factors there is no hope for resistance to the victory without war of Communism. Our own position is no better than that of other countries. Even if there is no supply of arms, there is the more dangerous supply of Communist ideas and methods. At Vijayawada, the Communists declared their common front with a section of the leaders of the Congress and with the greater part of its followers. In their Orissa manifesto, the Congress could find no differences with the Communists except their divided support for the Chinese occupation, which has not been different from that of the Congress itself. In the bye-election of the Delhi Municipal Corporation, which the Jan Sangh won, the Communists actively supported the Con-

gress candidate and even did house to house canvassing for him. Every feature of our planning is Communist in inspiration with a capacity which the Congress may not be able to resist, to become completely Communist in fulfilment, the various private interests now enriching themselves being swept away by the political force of the impoverished masses. There is the further portentous fact that the Defence Minister with his Communist markings is having an Army command of his choice, which may be able to stampede the ranks not disposed to Communism, should the power of the Congress be challenged. Though no one realises it, because the Congress has made Communism respectable by paying it the flattery of imitation, the Communists do not consider the conquest of India difficult even without arms.

The free countries have to do some straight thinking. Compromise has failed because the opponents take advantage of every weakness to make those who think little accept that it is the whole body of the case. If free countries are confident of their nuclear deterrents, they need not bargain for wordy support. They can simply say that those who are not wholly with them are against them. Secondly, they must see that the aid they give reaches the masses in concrete terms to overcome the illusory contributions which the Communists have already claimed for themselves. If they support planning, it should be for the people and not for the Government. Thirdly, they must take a realistic view of disarmament. While they will never really agree to disarm against each other as their differences are irreconcilable, the Communists being set for world conquest, they can agree not to arm those countries which do not make their own arms. The pace of little wars has been dangerous because of the arms supplied by the protagonists of the cold war. If the simple and straight proposition can be agreed to that there is to be no export of arms, open or secret, to other countries, domestic wars will be

A LESSON FOR COLLECTIVISTS IN INDIA

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

It is now common knowledge that there has been a debacle in China on the agricultural front. Peking is making large purchases of Canadian wheat and Sri Sanjiva Reddy speaking on behalf of the Indian National Congress referred to a two-ounce ration prevailing in China. Whether this success was based on reliable information or not, it is clear that collectivisation has not made China happy. The villages were grouped into big communes and large production brigades took charge of the cultivation. Man-power, tools and livestock were all pooled and a 'revolution' in production was envisaged as a result of mass-farming. The expectations were not realized. It is stated that natural calamities played their part but agriculture is always dependent on the skies and any plan based on uninterrupted grace from heavens is a wrong plan in agriculture.

"Large areas of good farmland were ruined by over-zealous operations organized by the urban Communist leaders. The peasants became weary of forced labour and short rations and the constant changes of emphasis on projects that caught the fancy of the Communists. What amounts to the virtual dismantling of the 24000 giant communes was finally decreed last March". (This quotation is from a leading article in *The Hindu*.) The fact of the matter is that no attempts can succeed in agriculture which seek to substitute patriotism and forced labour for the peasant's personal interest in the field. From commune to

reduced to quarrels which will yield to the superior resources of the Governments. If there is attack from other countries, it may be agreed that the U.N. should instantly intervene as it has done in Congo. If the free countries press this position strongly, the Communists cannot resist it without disclosing that aggression is their only means to destroy the independence of other countries.

village is only one step. The final step must be from the village to the peasant and his field. It may be that this is no longer possible in Communist China. But the basic truth of farming dynamics is not altered by political dogmas and conditions in China. The operations of cultivation of land are all over the world among all productive industries the hardest and most taxing. In the words of Edmund Burke, "it is one of the most precarious in its advantages, most liable to losses, the least profitable of any that is carried on. It requires ten times more of labour, of vigilance, of attention, of skill, and of good fortune to carry on the business of a farmer with success than what belongs to any other trade". Chinese agriculture had always been noted for high efficiency. The Chinese peasant produced large crops by hard and patient work without the use of machines or artificial fertilizers. The new leaders of China were bent on proving that socialist organization would give better results than the feudal methods they displaced. But the demonstration has been to the contrary effect.

The story of decreased production is not only in China. Communist efforts at improved farming in Eastern Europe too have proved the same truth—that the law of personal interest is inescapable in dealing with land and that the peasant's attachment to his farm is the basic foundation for agricultural production. If he is deprived of his rights in his field, the incentive for all the hard toil and vigilance necessary to make the earth yield the crop and save it from the depredations of bird and beast disappears, and however deep the ploughing may be done by the tractor the yield goes down. The attempt to substitute organization, public spirit and forced labour for the magic of ownership will fail in India too as it did in China.

Property and Freedom

Says an American writer:

Private property and a free economy are the material foundations of freedom. Neither liberty nor the pursuit of happiness as inscribed in the American Constitution is secure without the right to acquire and hold property. Property rights and human rights are inseparable, whoever controls the means of existence of a people, whether by monopolistic coercion at private hands or through the confiscation of property by the State, has power over life or death. Alexander Hamilton said: "Power over a man's subsistence is power over his will". Leon Trotsky the Communist put it brutally: "In a country where the sole employer is the State, opposition means death by slow starvation: who shall not obey shall not eat".

And therefore the Indian Constitution framers put it down solemnly in the 19th article that "all citizens shall have the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property and to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business". This was classified as a fundamental right of citizens of India and was guaranteed not merely against robbers and anti-socials and other law-breakers but against law-makers, the Government and Parliament included. But now instead of respecting the letter and the spirit of the solemn charter, a collusion has been forged by the Congress Party leaders and those who follow the Communist policy enunciated by Leon Trotsky quoted above—that who shall not obey shall not be permitted to acquire, hold and dispose of property and carry on any occupation or business of his choice, that all citizens are employees under the sole employer, the State, and that who shall not obey shall not eat. There is a complete accord between Congress and Communist and no Communist hand is raised against any proposition of the Congress in Parliament. The Swatantra Party is fighting to overthrow this sinister combine to amend and nullify the Constitution. C.R.

SIDELIGHTS ::

Mr. Mohanlal Saxena, a sitting member of Parliament, has resigned from the Congress. Says P.T.I. announcing the news: "In a letter addressed to the members of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee Mr. Mohanlal Saxena said that the Congress organisation, instead of remaining the most powerful instrument of public service, has become a machine for capturing power and holding on to it somehow". Mr. Saxena is one of the oldest and most devoted of the patriots who threw themselves into the national struggle for freedom. He has been in charge of the Motilal Nehru centenary celebrations committee in Delhi, and his association with the Congress, extending over forty years, has been of the most intimate description. Such a man does not sever his life-long connection with an institution to which he has given his best years, light-heartedly. It must have been done after prolonged and agonised introspection and under a compelling sense of duty. One resignation like this, put in the scales against the self-glorifying propaganda of Congress leaders, should suffice to counteract it and reveal the extent to which Congress degeneracy has gone. Mr. Saxena has left the Congress in helplessness and despair and he has the satisfaction, as an individual citizen, of having met the challenge of conscience by leaving what has ceased to be, a genuine instrument of public service and no longer commands his respect. But his resignation makes no difference to the Congress itself and leaves it as it is, still a machine for capturing power and holding on to it somehow. It is only when an attempt is made to dislodge the Congress from the power to which it clings that a secession like Mr. Saxena's will attain its true significance. The departure of patriotic elements from the Congress organisation will only confirm it in its obnoxious power-greedy excesses unless instead of just

keeping quiet, allowing the Congress to go its own way, they reinforce the efforts of those who understood the true character of the Congress much earlier and have realised that there will be neither freedom nor safety to the nation unless the Congress is thrown out of office.

A recent Allahabad case illustrates the extent to which the rights of an owner to possess and enjoy his own property can be violated under the system of controls that has become a characteristic feature of the Congress administration. The victim—the petitioner in the case—is the owner of a house in Allahabad. It was let out for rent to Mr. Mahabir Prasad Shukla, formerly Deputy Minister for Revenue in the Uttar Pradesh Government. For over eight years the owner has been trying in vain to recover the house for his own use. During this period his family of 14 members had to live uncomfortably in four rented rooms.

Here is his pathetic story. In 1953 he petitioned the Civil Court and obtained from it an order of ejectment against Mr. Shukla. But Mr. Shukla could not be made to vacate the house. Four years later he got it allotted surreptitiously in the name of the Secretary, District Congress Committee. The petitioner came to know that the Congress Committee was intending to vacate the house and made an application for its being released for his own use. The Assistant Rent Controller rejected the application, and the house was later allotted to Mr. Shukla. The petitioner then went to the High Court.

Mr. Justice Dhavan of the Allahabad High Court who heard the case passed judgment a fortnight ago holding the order of allotment of the house to Mr. Shukla illegal and directing the authorities concerned to eject Mr. Shukla

from the house as early as possible. His Lordship held that the order rejecting the owner's request to occupy the house was passed under the influence of Mr. Shukla who wanted it for himself; and that it was a perverse order as "no reasonable person could have held that the request of a family of 14 members living in four rented rooms for permission to occupy their house was not bona fide". The Rent Control Officer had made up his mind and misdirected himself without holding any enquiry, indicted Mr. Justice Dhavan while quashing the officer's order and awarding the house-owner Rs. 200 as costs against Mr. Shukla and Rs. 100 as costs against the State Government. This case, the Judge observed, serves "as a reminder of Lord Acton's warning against the corrupting influence of power and the need for safeguards against it".

Mr. Justice Dhavan's judgment concludes with these memorable words:

"Today under our Constitution, the courts must ensure that the words in the Sanskrit text of Article 5, *Bharatasya Nagariko Bhavet* (He shall be an Indian citizen) are not an empty decorative label but contain a guarantee of freedom and an immunity against petty tyranny which even the tallest in the land shall respect. This case should serve as a warning and as an assurance that whenever a humble citizen struggles against powerful opponents to protect his property or liberties it will be the duty of this Court, not to get lost in the technicalities of the procedural law, but to find a way of restoring what rightfully belonged to him.

A judgment like this cannot be ignored. It is a challenge to the executive authorities impugning their honesty and trustworthiness in the administration of the controls. When there is collusion between a Minister himself and local executive officers to harass an ordinary citizen and tyrannically deprive him of his undoubted rights, it is time to realise that the system under which such things can happen is a menace to society that should be forthwith scrapped.

SAKA.

The Finance Minister is Comforted

Mr. Hayden, by dint of telling all the world he is a great painter, has made them believe it.

THACKERAY in his Diary.

The President of the Madras Hindustan Chamber of Commerce has, according to newspaper reports, out-herded Herod and proved himself more tax promoting than the Finance Minister himself. It appears Mr. H. C. Kothari welcoming the Finance Minister to the annual meeting of his Chamber referred in the course of his speech to the fact that the proportion of taxation to national income in India was only 9 per cent compared to 28 per cent in U.K., 33 per cent in U.S.A., 27 per cent in Germany and so on. And Sri Morarji Desai taking advantage of Mr. Kothari's figures thanked him for showing him "a great scope for raising taxation". Nothing can be more amusing than this percentage approach ignoring the human aspect of the inadequacy of what is left over to support normal life when the national income is so low and is so highly taxed as it is in India compared to the other countries whose taxation percentages are quoted. Taking 1957-58 figures for the countries quoted, here are the *per capita* national income figures:

India	...	Rs. 289
U.K.	...	4561
U.S.A.	...	10124
Germany	...	3530

Take off even 50 per cent from the other figures we have still round about Rs. 2300, Rs. 5000, and Rs. 1800. But any experiment of that sort on Rs. 289 would leave a calamitous result. Reduce the courses in a Raj Bhavan dinner by half, the guests can still be content. But reduce Oliver Twist's ration by a little and you will starve him to death. There is nothing so fallacious as percentage fairness when we are dealing with vastly unequal quantities. Mathematics is good when it is fully understood, dangerous when knowledge is incomplete.

C.R.

OUR FISHERMEN AND THEIR WOES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

It is a most reprehensible form of cruelty and social aggression for the Government and its allied organizations to drive the fishermen families of Madras out of their natural immemorial homes and occupational camps in order to "beautify" the city and make room for industrial expansion and the housing of the more fortunate and influential classes. Madras was and must be treated even now as being basically a group of fishing villages—if human rights are to be respected in modern civilization. What right have the Government to oust these ancient owners of the sea-shore, whose occupation depends on proximity to their Mother, viz., the salt water that bathes the coast-land and the wealth it bears for them. The life and daily work of the fishermen of Madras have no representatives or advocates in the legislature but it does not follow that anything can be done with them that an official conceives in the direction of beautifying the city for tourists from abroad. In truth the tourists would develop increased respect for a government and its army of officials if they saw efforts made to make the lives of these ancient citizens of Madras more happy and easy. Foreigners would admire us if those who are in possession of authority displayed real concern to help these men who go out on the rough sea with their catamarans and their country boats and nets.

There is no meaning in ignorantly asking them to shift to places pointed out by ignorant officials when their work depends on their location. Their life is hard as it is, but if they are harassed in the way town improvement men are doing, it will be insufferable. The sea looks fluid and uniform for those who do not live on it. But to the fishermen it is like land and plotted into fields, definitely demarcated each with its own harvest and giving

it to the particular group of the community to whom it has belonged for ages.

Those who have a bias towards joint operations and socialist enjoyment can find in the lives and adventures of these fishermen what they so much aspire to. For that reason at least, they should be saved by the present ruling party from annoyance and inexcusable aggression.

Things must change with time but oppression is not justifiable. To interfere in the affairs of a people whose life is very different from the land animals that we are, requires a thorough understanding of their conditions of life and occupation and an attitude of respect for those who are poor, but who work much harder than we do and risk their lives and, above all, are contented with their lot and do not disturb the peace of the land or create problems.

Madras belongs to the fishermen families and not to the trespassers which we all are in the city. By all means beautify the city. You can beautify even the fishermen's *Kuppams*, but do not destroy them, do not put others where these poor folk have lived for ages, do not expect them to occupy apartments and pay the rents which you fix, do not ask them to live impossibly away from their places of livelihood. They have to watch the sun and the tide to make their sea-mother give what they want; they cannot change their time-table, and come from a distance to their place of toil to suit your tastes.

One word more at the end. Let it not be imagined that I am writing this to fish in troubled waters. Let the Government and their quasi-public organizations for city improvement stop interfering and begin helping the Madras fishermen families in an understanding way at once and in anticipation of the elections. I shall be very happy if all the credit is taken by the

(Continued on next page)

PROGRAMMES VERSUS PLANS

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

The Madras Minister of Finance in one of his recent campaign speeches against the Swatantra party and its leader said that it was surprising that any sane man or body of sane men could be against planning and plans in this modern age and in a country that wants to develop into progress. India has so much leeway to make, there is such a woeful gap between its present economic condition and that of the most backward of the progressive countries of the world, and there is so much for the present Congress party government to do, that without planning and plans it would be impossible to achieve the progress that has to be achieved. Plan or perish is the governmental maxim of the Congress party.

The justification of planning is rapid progress. Judged by this test what has planning as conceived and delivered by the Congress governments all over the country achieved? In agriculture under the impact of the plans and policies, while India needs 100 million tons of food-grains, the achievement in 1959-60 was 73.5 million tons and the estimated production in 1960-61 is 75 million tons and India has had to import food-grains at the average rate of Rs. 100 crores per year. Industrial production raised the general index of production in the 8 years between 1951 and

1959 by about 50 per cent but India has dropped from the position of the fifth greatest industrial country which it had under British rule, and industry's contribution to the national income is less than half that made by agriculture. The industrial labour population is less than 2 million and the economic policies of the Government have done little or nothing to find work for the 15 million unemployed and the 100 million underemployed. In education we are only 25 per cent literate in the most advanced State like Madras where the rate of progress in literacy is 1 per cent per year. Girls' education so urgently necessary for the social and economic progress of the country is deplorably still lower with about 10 per cent literacy, the level of girls' education at all grades being 50 per cent lower than that of boys. As an outcome of all the economic results of planning and plans the per capita income wobbles between Rs. 293.6 in 1958-59 and Rs. 291.3 in 1959-60. Is this a record to be quoted in favour of plans' and planning?

Not that plans and planning are out of place in a modern State, especially in a State that has to develop from its ancient backwardness. It must know what has to be done to make up for time and progress lost. And that has been well done for India by the two reports of the Planning Commission. It did not however require a Planning Commission costing about 75 lakhs a year—it has cost us in the last 13 years, 9 crores. A small Cabinet committee with a small office could have done it for one lakh or two. The Planning Commission has done its work so well that it is time it committed hara-kiri and saved the country money sorely needed for productive purposes. We know what has to be done—it is the business of the Government to go and do it, one thing or group of things after another, the first things first, foundations before superstructure, necessities before luxuries. A hierarchical table of priorities must be drawn up and adhered to.

What the country wants is not plans but programmes. The trouble about planning is that the plans are all there and offer temptations to governments addicted to planning which they cannot resist. And so they try to get round all of them at the same time, in one stride, and the result is none is won in the end. And as the larger and the

more spectacular things are more attractive to a government that is fascinated by bigness, the big ones like heavy industries, irrigation dams and hydro-electric works, atomic energy production, are preferred, and these big things cost a lot and leave little to be spent on the smaller but more fundamental and necessary things like literacy, village roads, minor-irrigation works, village housing, village sanitation and drainage, small-scale industries. These are not totally neglected, but they get only the crumbs from the planners' table.

A more sober, more realistic, down to earth party or government will take up programmes rather than plans. It looks at the plans in the Planning Commission's reports and picks out from them the ones that are most urgently necessary, the ones that will build the foundations on which the superstructure may be raised, the road to progress. Here in India the first things to be done are the promotion of literacy so that the 100 per cent target can be reached in 10 years as literacy is a *sine qua non* for agricultural and industrial progress. Only the farmer or the artisan who is literate can read and make use of the suggestions towards improvement contained in the information and instructions issued to him. Girls' education must have top priority as uneducated women will stand in the way of social and economic progress. Village roads are necessary to lift our farmers from the subsistence level with which they are satisfied now to the market economy which will make them produce more. Village wells, sanitation, drainage, housing will improve the health and strength of the farmers and farm labourers and enable them to produce more. The improvement and better organization of village and small-scale industries will not only vastly increase industrial production but find work for the 15 million unemployed and the 100 million underemployed. Minor irrigation works will benefit agriculture year by year from now immediately on rather than after the 10-15 years which the large irrigation works will take to finish. Such a programme of small improvements benefiting large masses of people, taken up as most urgently required improvements and spaced out so as to reach respectable percentages in 10 years (100 per cent in some and 50 per cent in others) would set the people on the road to rapid economic progress achieved by their own effort—the Government only providing the necessary facilities. Programmes rather than plans will spell the progress of the country.

IMITATION IN PERCENTAGES

By S. NARAYANASWAMY

It is reported that the President of the Hindustan Chamber in receiving the Union Finance Minister at an annual meeting, told him that India was paying only 9 per cent of her national income as tax as compared to 28 per cent in U.K., 33 per cent in U.S.A., 27 per cent in Germany and 25 per cent in France and that the Union Finance Minister welcomed this new light on India's taxable capacity and expressed his gratitude to the President presumably for this implied invitation to tax the country to a greater extent than now.

If the report is correct, this of course means the President felt that the 84 per cent highest slab of personal taxation, the 2-1/2 per cent highest slab as wealth tax, the 100 per cent ceiling on expenditure tax and 45 per cent corporation tax and Section 23-A taxes on inadequate dividends of 23-A companies are not high enough; and that the Union Finance Minister felt a strange exhilaration over this unusual, if stimulating acknowledgment.

Misleading statistical comparisons of taxation percentages by our economists and professors in the past have brought the country to a stage when, between the Union Finance Ministry and the Reserve Bank, they are fairly convinced that we have, so far as direct taxation is concerned, reached a deadlock and a limit; and any further levies would lead to diminishing returns consequent on reduced incentives or larger evasion.

This thesis about national tax revenue bearing a fixed proportion to national income has absolutely no validity for countries like India—whatever its validity for highly industrialised economies. Seventy per cent of our people subsist on agriculture. Roughly 50 per cent of our national income is agricultural and is spread over an incredibly large number of subsistence farm incomes. Agricultural incomes are not subject to Central taxation and are subject to State level taxation over certain high limits of income, through agricultural income-taxes and in a small way, through land revenue under a system of permanent settlement, based on area and the irrigation facilities available. The overwhelming number of our agricultural incomes are so meagre, that they account in the main for that ominous statistical figure called the per capita income of India, which everybody knows is incredibly low and has gone up very slightly, in spite of two

Plan cycles of intensified economic activity. These subsistence levels of income (which range from 200 and 300 rupees per year) cannot within the foreseeable future be brought within the meshes of our tax systems, except for the very small land revenue they are already paying to States. Nevertheless, if there is ever so slight an increase in these subsistence farm incomes, the aggregate will add up to create an optical illusion of a sizable increase in our national income, because the number of such subsistence farms is large. When Professor Nicholas Kaldor—to whom we owe the concept of wealth and expenditure taxes—expanded on this thesis of national tax revenue being based on national income, quite a few of our economists ran with this bit between their teeth—till they found out for themselves that it was strangely inapplicable to India.

The burden of direct taxes in India falls on a ridiculously small number of

income-tax assesseees—approximately ten lakhs out of four hundred and odd million population and probably 80 million earners of income, of whom the overwhelming number are agriculturists. Corporate bodies make significant contribution to Central tax revenue. The vicious part of the whole tax system is that direct taxes in India are heavily concentrated on a particular sector of high income earners and when Government tried to lower the income brackets in order to bring a larger number within the ambit of income tax, they found the business of collection uneconomic and went back to higher brackets, in order to reduce the arithmetical drudgery that brought poor returns.

What will decide the taxable capacity of a country is not the national income—unless there is considerable urbanization of economic activity, and industrial output far outweighs agricultural output and all economic activity falls into large-income-bringing patterns that attract taxes. India seems not to be near any such radical metamorphosis. Until there is such a change, let

Our Fishermen and their

(Continued from previous page)

present Madras Ministry, provided the welfare of these fishermen is properly looked after.

Welfare and happiness mean almost the same. But the 'Welfare State' fulfils the requirements of neither. Men and women want out of life not only rice-gruel to swallow for hunger, but a sense of self-respect and a feeling of control over the environment sufficient to establish a basic independence. If these conditions are absent or taken away for "public reasons", the men and women concerned are not happy and do not consider themselves as faring well. You may not help much. At least forbear stamping on their toes and causing excruciating pain. It is not human whatever your motives may be.



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us not try to become statistical imitators of U.K., U.S., or Germany; much as we have indented on the know-how, resources and machinery of those countries. What is amazing is that, personal tax levels in this still backward country have been put up beyond the levels that obtain in several developed Western countries.

It is necessary to bring to the study of India's economic problems and in any effort to find solutions therefore, a basic awareness of the fact that, despite our Atomic Energy Commissions, our impressive steel plants and our imposing national laboratories, the overwhelming majority of our people live in villages, tilling the soil, growing

foodgrains that are inadequate to sustain the country's population and on top of it, get meagre incomes out of such activity. Exotic treatises and methods of approach to our problems that fail to reckon with the disconcerting actualities of India, will get us no nearer solutions than a school-boy's cracker-rocket will take us to the moon.



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TAMIL PROBLEM IN CEYLON

Dr. A. W. BERCHMANS

The Prime Minister declared in Parliament that the Tamils have been living in Ceylon for the last 600 or 800 years. It would have been more precise and appropriate to say that the Tamils have been living there for the last 3000 years or even more. A bare stretch of 22 miles of sea separates Tamilnad from Ceylon.

There is some confusion over here and people think that the Indian Tamils (who number about 9 lakhs) who went to work in the estates during the middle of the last century are asking for language rights, etc. These Indians are treated as Stateless persons by the Ceylon Government and they don't come into the picture at all.

The Ceylon Tamils numbering 15 lakhs or even more, are distinctively different and occupy the northern and eastern parts of Ceylon, an area of about 10,000 square miles approximately out of the total of 25,000 square miles. Though a minority, they are not scattered in the midst of the Sinhalese majority community but live as a compact group in the Tamil areas in the northern and eastern parts of Ceylon.

The Sinhalese are the descendants of Vijaya and his followers who were banished from their homeland in the north of Bihar. After a hazardous Sea voyage, they finally reached the coast of Ceylon, settled there and married Tamil women from the Pandian Kingdom.

From the earliest times Ceylon was inhabited by these two ethnic racial groups. There were Sinhalese kings and Tamil kings and there were wars and feuds between them but never in the annals of history were the Tamils subjected to the Sinhalese rule as is happening today.

During the 16th century, the Portuguese came into occupation of the coastal areas of Ceylon and this was followed successively by the Dutch and The British. The British annexed the Kandian kingdom in the early part of the 18th century and became rulers of the entire island.

During this period of foreign rule, Sinhalese and Tamil languages had the same status and both were recognised as national languages of Ceylon. It may be mentioned here that the 5 or 6 lakhs of Ceylon Muslims are of Tamil origin and their mother-tongue is Tamil. There is also a negligible number of Malays. All these communities under the British rule came to believe in the ideal of Ceylonese Nationhood and never for a moment dreamt of Sinha-

lese hegemony. The Tamils could not even imagine that parity for Sinhalese and Tamil languages which had existed for centuries will be done away with and Sinhalese declared the only official language.

During the forties, the Soulbury Commission (under Lord Soalbury) visited Ceylon with the idea of giving a measure of self-government. The two eminent Sinhalese leaders, the late Molamure and Stephen Senanayake, requested the Tamils to join the Sinhalese in putting forward a concerted demand for full self-government and offered 40 per cent representation for the minorities in the legislature. This was something very fair and the Tamils should have grasped the hand of friendship. Instead, the then self-styled Tamil leader rejected this and put forward a fifty-fifty demand. For want of proper leadership, the Tamils missed the political bus. Still, they were wedded to the ideal of a composite Ceylonese nation. Otherwise, when the time for freedom came in 1947 the Tamils could have clamoured for a federal Constitution with autonomous Sinhalese and Tamil States failing which, they could have insisted on constitutional guarantees for their language, proportional representation in the legislature and the Services, etc. Instead, they reposed full confidence in their Sinhalese brethren and joined them in the demand for freedom, which in its fruit has ultimately proved to be very bitter to them.

In 1948, the United National Party government was functioning and the Tamils were represented in the Cabinet. But after the death of Mr. Stephen Senanayake and the defeat of Sir John Kotalawala, successive governments started pursuing rabid communal policies. The late Bandaranayake left the U.N.P. and formed his own party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Each party wanted to capture power and political expediency made them promise the Sinhalese electorate that if returned to power, Sinhalese will be made the sole official language. The Buddhist clergy started taking an active interest in politics and the result was that Tamil, which had been one of the official languages, was arbitrarily denied that status and the Tamils were brought to the level of second grade citizens. The Tamil Ministers had no other alternative but to resign from the Cabinet. Then the All Sinhalese Ministry started colonising the Tamil areas with Sinhalese settlers under the pretext of in-

creasing food production. Repressive legislative measures followed in the fields of education and administration. Instead of Ceylonization, the Tamils were confronted with Sinhalese.

This was the background under which the Federal Party came into existence. Federalism was anathema to the Sinhalese government and its leaders made violent speeches and incited the Sinhalese masses. All this resulted in the communal riots of May 1957, when thousands of Tamil families were uprooted from their homes in the Sinhalese areas, hundreds of them massacred, and Tamil refugees had to be transported by ships to Tamil areas.

The Federal Party has become the chief spokesman of the Tamils and launched a non-violent Satyagraha this year. The Sinhalese government used all their resources to suppress the movement. The Tamil leaders have been arrested and complete censorship imposed.

Is it fair to call the suppression, oppression and persecution of a national minority an internal problem?

The United Nations Organisation must evince a keen interest in the welfare of national minorities and there must be provision in the Charter for national minorities, wherever they are oppressed, to present their case in the world forum and get real justice.

NANJANGUD TOOTH-POWDER
ALMONTINE
 IMPROVES STRENGTH
SUBALA
 HEALTH SYRUP
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POWER MONOPOLY IN INDIA

By V. P. MENON

The following are excerpts from a speech delivered by Sri V. P. Menon in Poona on May 2, 1961, under the auspices of Vasant Vyakhyan Mala.

The Congress has established something approaching a political monopoly, and is fighting hard to maintain it. The great party which took power in 1946 was a national party. It stood for the national idea, of India as greater than all sections of Indians. It has become a party of sections. Instead of a unitary party it is a federation. Its politics is conducted in terms of communities, sects, castes. Under the aegis of the Congress and subject to the supremacy of the Prime Minister, there exists a regime of linguistic blocs, community blocs and caste blocs. This system has percolated everywhere, even into the universities and the national laboratories.

Standards tend to rise or fall together. As we go downhill in regard to what constitutes national interest, we go downhill in regard to integrity and intellectual attainments and everything requiring an effort which calls for the best. How deplorably our level has fallen is familiar to everybody.

Our public life has degenerated faster and farther than it would have done if our politics had not so quickly fallen into the grip of monopoly.

If we had had an effective rival party, or if there had been an effective check upon the Prime Minister within the Congress or the Government, India would probably have been saved the disaster of States reorganisation. For a monopoly of power is not necessarily a source of strength. If the possessor of the monopoly happens to be a weak man, it can be a source of weakness. That proved to be the case in regard to States reorganisation. There was some pressure for it from various interested groups, but most intelligent patriots realised its dangers, and nobody was clearer on the point than the Prime Minister. He proclaimed his opposition to States reorganisation repeatedly and emphatically. Yet in the end he allowed himself to be manoeuvred into agreeing to it in the case of Andhra, and then when the principle had been accepted in one instance, there could be no denying it in any other. The process is still going on.

Nobody now will deny that the linguistic reorganisation of the States was a great disaster. It has sanctioned and accentuated all our sectional loyalties and correspondingly weakened the

houring States quarrelling over boundaries in a way which had never been known before. It has created a new problem of linguistic minorities all over the country. It has taken us back a long step towards the anarchy of the eighteenth century.

The monopoly of power under which we suffer was still more clearly responsible for the other great disaster which has overtaken the States, namely the loss of their power vis-a-vis the Centre. In both party and government it became ever clearer that there was only one voice which counted, and it became the recognised practice to take all disputes to him, and eventually to refer all important decisions to him. Centralised planning has, of course, made matters worse still. The funds largely come from the Centre, and the sanctions for all major projects have to be sought there. The States have consequently become mere agents and hangers-on of the Centre. And centralised planning, it need hardly be said, is the outcome of centralised power.

The latest instance of the centralised power was in connection with the disturbance in Jabalpur. With one sweep of his hand the Prime Minister wants to ban all communal organisations. Presumably he himself will decide which organisation is communal or non-communal.

Politics becomes a mere unprincipled scramble for power when it ceases to be a competition between workable alternative policies. If it can be kept at the level of a discussion of principles it will be spared some of the worst malpractices.

Whatever their character, elections cost money, which has to be recouped; so when he gets into power the politician resorts to further improper practices in order to get his money back. Thus a vicious circle is set up. Moreover, once a party has attained power by such means it will have little scruple in misusing the power of the government to influence the electorate. Thus Mr. Asoka Mehta complained the other day that at the start of the election campaign in Orissa the Congress party had 160 new jeeps, whereas anybody else who wanted a jeep, even if he had the money to pay for it, had to await his turn. It is a glaring instance, though

governmental power by the party in office for its party purpose.

Thus under the system of monopolised power the line of division between the party and the government or the administration has become blurred. The member of the party tends to feel that he is above the law.

It is unfortunate that economic planning was launched at the time when the country was succumbing to the central monopoly. That circumstance has stamped our planning with the character of an imposition from above and made it distasteful to the people. I believe that planning is necessary to our economic progress, but planning in a free society will not achieve much unless it gains the sustained support and enthusiasm of the public.

The principles upon which our planning has been conducted are wrong. Under the present arrangements there is no accountability, no real check on extravagance and no co-ordination.

Our planning has been a matter almost exclusively for the Centre. It has increased the power of the Centre and reduced the States to nonentities, depriving them of initiative, experience and responsibility. It has made planning a business for somebody else, not for the ordinary citizen or even the State Minister, and has thus encouraged irresponsibility and the begging mentality. Even the States' chief interest in planning is how much they can get from the Centre.

Instead of the expert or the business approach, we have taken the political approach. Estimates no longer have any significance whatever. It has ceased to excite remark if a project costs two or three times the estimated expense, or a public sector concern works for years without making a profit. On the other hand, "nation-building" departments habitually demand, and get, far more money than they need, so that in the last year of the plan they are compelled, in order to save appearances, to shower money in



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all directions without worrying whether it achieves any result.

One result of this domination of planning by the politician is waste. Another is all-round slackness, inefficiency and corruption. A third, and by no means the least, is inflation. I know that some of our economists argue that inflation is inevitable in a developing economy, and that the fixed income receivers whom it hits are small in number anyway. I am not sure that they are a small number, and I am sure that many of them are important. They include the whole of the teaching profession, for example. There can be little doubt that a major cause of the deplorable state of education is the whittling away of the value of the teacher's salary by 30 per cent in the past five years. And this inflation has been wholly due to unbusinesslike, inefficient, wasteful, central planning.

The most conspicuous, and perhaps the most fateful, victim of the power monopoly has been our foreign policy. Our country has been invaded, and the invader remains in possession. I cannot believe that this invasion is a mere border dispute. It has a long-term purpose, and that is the subjugation of our country. Our military counter-measures are not disclosed to the public.

In view of the common danger from China, Pakistan has offered us a military understanding. We have rejected the offer. All our other potential allies in Asia, except Malaya and Ceylon, are shaky or visibly going over to China's side. We have made no attempt to restore their confidence in us.

China has a powerful organised body of supporters inside our country. Only a few weeks ago a very important person from the Communist world came and conferred with the supporters of Communists in this country for some ten days. (He then went to Delhi and had an interview with the Prime Minister).

Our country faces a national crisis, both internally and externally. In such a national crisis, the party which brought us into trouble is the least competent to get us out of it. The proper course is that suggested by Sri Jayaprakash Narain: an advisory body of national leaders of standing must be formed to share the responsibility of conducting foreign affairs; and the same principle should be applied to the more acute and pressing domestic problems. The situation does not brook of pusillanimity and tame acquiescence. The solution cannot be found in uncritical faith or the fancied omniscience of those temporarily in power. The time calls for a complete re-assessment.

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CONGRESS CONTRADICTIONS GALORE

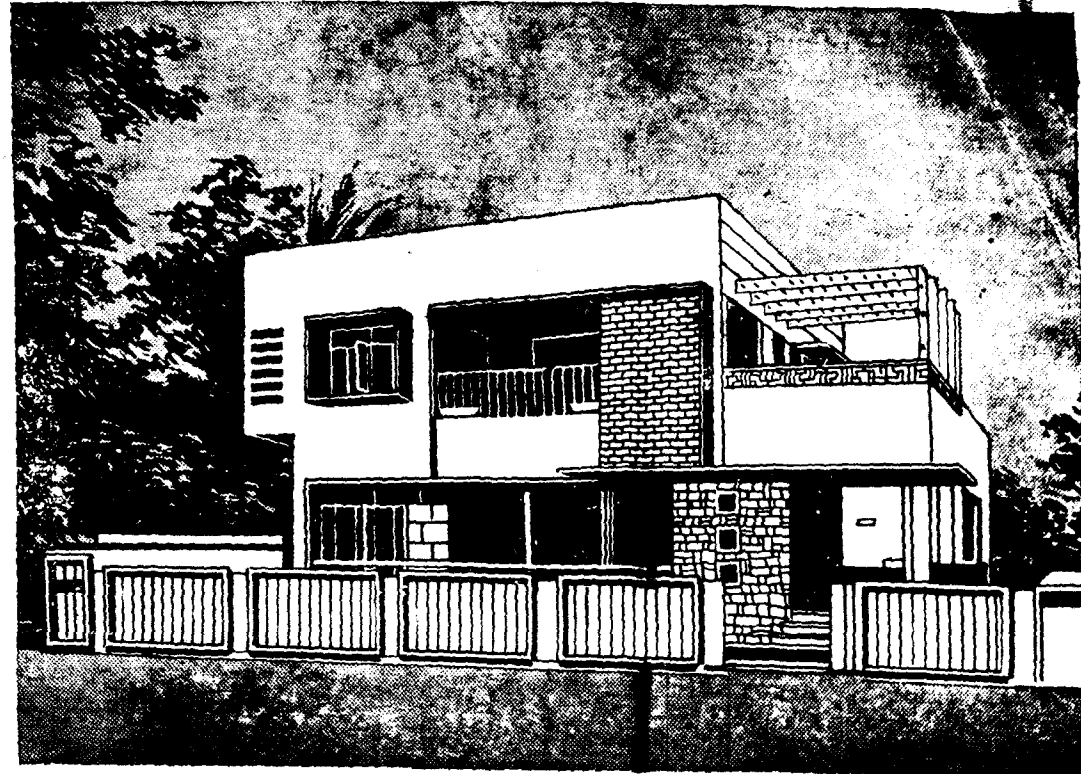
By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: There is loud lamentation in local Congress circles that once again the electoral hopes they set their hearts upon, turned to ashes. In the civic by-election last week, as in the one for a Parliamentary seat six weeks ago, it is the Jan Sangh that both defeated and humiliated the Congress. For, Congressmen, who were smarting under the earlier blow and still licking their wounds, spoke of wreaking their vengeance upon the "reactionaries" (which, in their view, all Rightists are). There was a call for a Leftist rally under the banner of the Congress. Reluctant to weaken the friendly Congress, Communists lined up with Congressmen; other Leftists of different shades swelled the ranks, led by Delhi's radical ex-Mayor, Mrs. Asaf Ali.

It was a straight fight: it was also described as a "prestige fight". Election-eve forecasts promised victory to the Congress candidate as the Jan Sangh candidate had been earlier defeated by the Congressman whose death caused the vacancy. But it was all wishful thinking. The constituency which represented a cross-section of voters, comprising university men, mill workers, displaced persons, businessmen and middle-class Government employees, far from being impressed, felt repelled by the opportunist Congress-Communist alliance, with the result that victory went once again to the Jan Sangh. With morale in the ranks rather badly shattered by two reverses in quick succession and at the same hands, Congress leaders are giving furious thought to the future of the party within the context of electoral fortunes.

Quite recently Mr. Dawood Ali Mirza of the Rajva Sabha had an hour's talk with the Prime Minister about the proposed Muslim Convention and argued with him that the idea deserved to be

abandoned in larger national interests. Mr. Mirza left Mr. Nehru with the impression that the latter "did not seem to approve of the move" and "was" in fact "very much distressed at it". And there were newspaper reports to that effect. Now it seems that either Mr. Mirza misread Mr. Nehru's mind or that Mr. Nehru has soon overcome his sense of distress. The Congress President, following a meeting of the Working Committee, has accorded permission to the sponsors of the Muslim Convention to go ahead. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy is convinced that the Convention, though communal in composition, is secular in character; indeed, he may be pleased to attend it and even address it, "if invited". This should not of course be mistaken for fishing for an invitation. Whether the august President of the Congress will grace the occasion or not, he has given his blessings to the Convention, since the Congress hates to disallow freedom of expression while it simultaneously loves to counteract, combat and kill communalism, wherever it raises its ugly head. In Madhya Pradesh, where communalism was to be completely stamped out under orders, the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee openly protested against the formation of the Muslim League in the State. Perhaps he will now be told that the Muslim League should not be confounded with the Muslim League of the pre-Independence days but should be allowed freedom of expression and of opinion and encouraged to turn secular under Congress inspiration. Perhaps it is only non-Muslim communalism that needs to be watched and wined out. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy asks his countrymen not to overlook the fact that the Muslim Convention has been sponsored by Nationalist Muslims but he does not tell them why in that case it is not called a Nationalist Muslim Convention. What?



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CONGRESS - COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

I still think it's an honest man pursuing an impossible, ruinous, illogical system—not a selfish monster, but a despot on principle, which entails the use of the worst acts, the worst agents, and the most monstrous consequence of ills.—THACKERAY in a letter to his mother about Louis Napoleon.

Walter Lippmann in his interesting articles in the *Herald Tribune* in New York and in the *Hindu* of Madras has with refreshing candour set out an important though unpleasant truth. What he has recently said about the futility of fighting fire with fire in relation to the American approach to the problem of containing Communism applies with equal force to the fighting supposed to be going on in India between the Congress party and the Communists.

The illusion about fire being strategically and usefully used to fight fire, results not in the extinguishment of the unwanted fire, but in a conspiracy and a joint fire. "In a free society like ours" says Lippmann, "a policy is bound to fail which deliberately violates our pledges and our principles, our treaties and our laws. The ultimate reason why the Cuban affair was incompetent is that it was out of character, like a cow that tried to fly or a fish that tried to walk."

The attempt in India that is made by the Congress party to fight the Communists by adopting the very policies of expropriation which the Communists want, cannot succeed; and it must to the extent of its success end in the Congress becoming a Communist instrument and not in a victory over Communism.

In India, as in America, as Walter Lippmann has stated in clear

terms, in the struggle with Communism, we must find our strength by developing and applying our own principles, not in abandoning them. We must re-discover our faith in the fundamental guarantees about the freedom of person, property and occupation with which we began independence and not abandon that principle and hope to fight fire with fire. We cannot sacrifice free economy in order to fight the Communists.

If the sacrifice of free economy is to be the strategy of the war against Communism, the battle ceases to have a motive. If unintentionally done, it is a stupid betrayal of faith. If deliberately persisted in, it becomes a conspiracy between the Congress party and the Communists. The latter are licking their lips with glee seeing how this conspiracy is progressing. It was the same when in meeting the violence of the British Government, we sometimes thought violence should be met with violence and found our mistake.

We must adopt a way of producing progress and economic development through a free economy, not by losing faith in our own principles and surrendering to the totalitarian methods of Communism called by another name. The goal of progress must be reached by the way we have chalked out for it in the Constitution. Any short cut by way of the Communist path would be betrayal of our

pledges and principles, and a surrender to our enemy. Let us not in our eagerness to march quick integrate India with the Communist empire.

The Swatantra movement is a movement for liberation: Liberation of the citizen from the maw of the State. The fight for liberation is not less important or less sacred when it is to be fought against a *swadeshi* organization that has seized government and seeks to be a totalitarian dictator than when the struggle was against an alien organisation which ruled us from London. The substance of freedom is located in the daily lives of citizens, not in the External Affairs department in the Secretariat. Are the lives and occupations of citizens in liberated India as free as they can reasonably be? Are the restraints and regulations imposed on the citizens by the Congress party such as must be borne by citizens in every free democratic country? Are these restraints and regulations conducive to justice and fairplay and to the more equitable distribution of the means to happiness?

The answers to all these questions are in the negative. The restraints and regulations are such as to create undue advantage to favoured individuals. They are such as must destroy initiative and discourage enterprise and generally act as deterrents of the crea-

tive effort of the human units that really are the nation. Other countries in the world have got on very well giving full play to the energy of the people in the direction of industrial and agricultural production. These restrictive regulations and their consequences in the material plane have had a devastating effect in the moral and spiritual plane as well. Individual greed has grown along with all the other evils associated with it. There now prevail more fear and more slave mentality than when the British were running a purely police government. The citizen is gradually losing his soul without knowing it. And this is more disastrous than even a fall in material standards. There are some worthy souls who began with the Gandhian idea of Socialism who believed as much in freedom as in general material welfare and progress, but who have got tired of the processes of freedom and come to believe that material progress should have priority over freedom. They have thus in effect gone over to the side that now holds Communists and Congressmen in one doctrinal net. These Socialists keep their party apart just by force of habit imagining that thereby they help to keep off the danger of Communism without losing the electoral advantage of offering paradise to the underdogs. Those who believe in the path of compulsion for bringing about material progress and who would give the latter priority over freedom should join the Congress, so that the issue of freedom may be kept clear and political goals and the forces behind them may be properly polarised. There should be no confusion in the popular mind and the issue of freedom shorn of ambiguities should be put before the voters. It should be either Swatantra or permit-licence-raj. Other party ramifications confuse the question and serve to give adventitious advantages to the party which runs permits, quotas and licences. I hope some day we shall see Indian politics polarised between Congress and

COMMUNISM THROUGH PARLIAMENTARY METHODS

J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The Independent Information Centre, London, has released a very secret blue print, prepared by Jan Kozak on the basis of Czechoslovak experience, for introducing Communism through parliamentary methods. It is aimed at countries in Asia, South America and Africa, in which the democratic structure is impeding the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is of special importance to India because our development so far closely follows that of Czechoslovakia.

Lord Morrison, in his introduction stresses the important political lesson of how a parliamentary regime can be overthrown by a Communist minority, beginning only with one Communist minister in the coalition government. Broadly the strategy is to organise pressure from above and from below so that those not supporting Communist measures are disclosed as enemies of the peasants and workers, excited by promises of improving their conditions. In our Cabinet, the Ministries of Defence, Oil and Natural Gas, Planning and Labour and even Railways have ministers with known Communist leanings. The Prime Minister is himself a professed friend and admirer of Communist policies and methods. To the extent they are determined to remain in power at all costs, the overtures of the Communists for a National Front are portentous. In addition to a Minister, the Czechoslovakian Communists secured representation on various roving commissions in respect of food and blackmarketing, which enabled them to register themselves

Swatantra and all minor variations absorbed on either side. We shall then have balanced administration, vigilance, democracy and impartiality. The 'outs' will be as useful to the nation as the 'ins' and sometimes do more service when out than when in.

as friends of the people. We have a similar development.

The second prong in the Czech strategy was the popularisation of revolutionary demands like programmes for buildings, atomisation of agricultural holdings, millionaire's levy. In India, Communists can claim sponsorship of similar and other popular programmes.

The third measure lay in the utilisation of the economic political power position, especially the nationalisation of banking and of key and heavy industries. We have gone further by nationalising insurance and disciplining all industries and trades through the system of controls.

The fourth direction was to label all those critical of Socialist measures as enemies of the people. In India freedom of opinion still exists but the command of the Government over the press, radio and other organs of publicity builds up only the personalities of government leaders.

The pressure from below was first through trade unions, second through protest meetings, strikes, and third through arming of the proletariat. In India we have repeated the first two methods and the third to the extent that the hand of the communists can be found in disturbances and risings, including that of the Nagas.

How near Communism are we then, from the Parliament becoming an instrument of revolution? The Congress has atomised farming, nationalised industry, holding now more than a third of the corporate sector, disintegrated other parties by adopting their programmes and sterilised independence in the legislatures by decisions taken by the party coming only for endorsement. What remains is the private sector in agriculture and industry which is allowed to exist because it is necessary for sustaining the economy, which is beyond the capa-

city and competence of government agencies. The lesson of this failure is restraining to some extent but whether it can stand against any internal or external crisis remains to be seen. The internal emergencies are more serious. They can arise from economic deterioration, like a continued fall in grain prices, entailing recession, from collapse of law and order on account of communal and linguistic disturbances, from exhaustion of foreign exchange for maintenance imports, arising from exports being priced out of foreign markets and from calamities like drought or floods of overwhelming dimensions. The desperation arising may sweep away democratic forms.

Secondly, the forms of democracy still remain. Will they be able to stand the results of the next elections? The Communists are wanting alliance and in the election to the Delhi Corporation actually did door to door canvassing for the Congress candidate. If other parties form a common front, the Congress to remain in power may not hesitate to an alliance with the Communists with whom it has no real differences. If the results of the elections are adverse, there will be a similar pull for alliance, which will close the circle in the Czechoslovakian pattern.

Thirdly, the experience of Communist economics has been discouraging. Atomisation of holdings has reduced production. Co-operation has been a financial drain which has only supported inflation. State enterprises have yielded a return of only 0.51 per cent while depriving other industries of transport, power and finance. The large planned expenditure has not spelt improvement in the living conditions of the people. The people therefore may have no stomach for more Communism. The danger will arise only if there is a collapse. This will induce the millionaire levy to stave the indignation of the people. In fact, the Communists are already saving that millionaires are only being fattened for their table.

GOVERNOR IENGAR BURSTS CO-OPERATIVE BUBBLE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"These statements are not true; but please don't call them lies. This is not lying; this is voting with your party".—THACKERAY.

The continuous flow of bunkum on Co-operation has been fortunately broken by a bit of plain commonsense from the mouth of the Reserve Bank Governor. The needle however, is hidden in a great big hay-stack.

It had hitherto been taken for granted that the process of collectivisation will somehow increase the total yield and make up for the shortcomings of the individual pieces. The plain mathematical untruth of this proposition was pointed out ever so many times by ever so many people speaking from experience, but emotional bias and wishful thinking and party loyalty stood like a thick fog on the truth. Sri Iengar has spoken the truth at last at Kumbakonam. "If the agrarian economy", he said, "is a subsistence economy and if savings are impracticable, co-operative effort cannot succeed. The effort to build up co-operatives must of necessity be co-ordinated with efforts to increase agricultural yields. Increased thrift and greater co-operative effort can come only with rising crop yields and increasing agricultural prosperity".

The only prospect for democracy is that the Congress sees to what it is committed without being aware of it. If the Prime Minister has cast a spell over the Congress and the country, some clear thinking can make him and the Congress realise what is coming unless freedom is restored to the country. In this connection, the rifts which have arisen in most States and are likely to arise in the Centre itself on the election of the Deputy Leaders, may be blessings in disguise, if the dissidents take their stand on democracy as opposed to the drift to Communism.

So at last, though the language is still loaded with jargon, the truth is stated that the mere process of adding up cannot produce anything extra over and above the sum of the individual units. The story that increased agricultural prosperity would issue by the mere bringing together of individual units has now been admitted by Mr. Iengar to be an illogical notion contrary to the permanent laws of arithmetic. All the talk about the great advantage of collectivisation is froth. What is wanted is individual zeal and incentives for that zeal. Zeal and vigilance will come not with joining up several people's fields into one, but can come only out of individual ownership.

"The yield per acre in India of rice appears actually to have declined over a greater part of the last three decades. It is today very little more than what it was in 1931", said Mr. Iengar. Mere collectivisation then can produce no new increase, but on the other hand will reduce personal interest, vigilance and exertion, with the necessary adverse results.

It is good fortune that the Reserve Bank Governor does not speak like a partyman but speaks the truth though carefully. It is unfortunate that fallacies are kept alive for the sake of the party line. Burke pointed out long ago that fanaticism is not caused only by dogmas in religion. It may be caused by a theory concerning government or agricultural or industrial production. It is dangerous, the same great political philosopher said, to try experiments on the farmer. "Those who have made but superficial studies in the natural history of the human mind have been taught to look on religious opinions as the only cause of enthusiastic zeal and sectarian propaganda. But there is no doctrine whatever, on which men can warm, that is not capable of the very same effect".

SIDELIGHTS ::

The report of the Indira Gandhi Committee on National Integration has been received with marked scepticism in the press of the country. "One is seized by a sense of cold despair on reading the committee's proposals," says the *Indian Express*. "One wonders whether the members of the National Integration Committee realise that their report is a severe indictment of the Congress party" comments the *Times of India*. "The party", it says, "has been in power at the Centre and in the States (except for a brief period in Kerala) ever since the country gained independence; and during these years national unity has steadily weakened. The leaders of the Congress had a fine opportunity to complete the revolution of rising expectations which they themselves had started, a fine opportunity to weld the diverse peoples of what is indeed a subcontinent into a great nation. They have squandered the opportunity. The recommendations of the National Integration Committee are a measure of this failure of leadership".

Now when the Congress has appointed a committee to devise drastic measures for combating communalism, nobody is impressed as it is the general consensus of opinion that the Congress itself has created this evil. Writes the *Hindustan Times*: "The need is for Congressmen to search their hearts and face the reality of their creation in 14 years of power without a check and without a challenge". The same train of thought is brought out by Sri D. V. Gundappa in a recent article. "On communalism and casteism", he writes, "we hear much scorn and indignation poured from public platforms" and then asks, "Is it not pertinent to ask where more than half of our Ministers and Chief Ministers would have been if the communal ticket had not been an operative force? It is indeed on this very factor that the Congress banks in

choosing its candidates for election. How hollow, then, are the anti-communalist declarations so frequently heard?"

The Committee's attempt to equate the achievement of national integration with the removal of social and economic backwardness comes in for severe comment in the *Hindu* in the light of the Congress record:

"Whenever there was an occasion when the Congress could have demonstrated its concern for national unity and an integrated citizenship, it has preferred to subordinate these interests to party advantage. The recent revival of Muslim communal politics ... is largely traceable to the fact that the Congress succumbed to the pressure of the Harijan group and voted in favour of an additional ten years of special concessions and electoral safeguards for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. ... Had the Congress taken courage to do away with special protection of any kind for any section of the community on grounds of birth, it would have prepared the ground for a completely non-communal approach to political and economic problems".

The *Hindu* dismisses the report as "immature in its approach and vitiated by excessive preoccupation with the political fortunes of the Congress party", and points out that in a country where more than

80 per cent of the population is near or below the subsistence level, the singling out of backward classes on the basis of religion or caste is meaningless.

It is the punitive angle in the Committee's report that has provoked most denunciatory strictures. Alluding to the Committee's view that collective fines should be imposed against the community which has committed aggression, the *Times of India* calls it *dangerously foolish*. "It is not only that the very principle involved is objectionable. The imposition of collective fines on a communal basis would inevitably sharpen communal consciousness and thereby promote precisely that which is sought to be removed".

The *Mail* is even more devastatingly severe. It says:

"Collective fines are not a form of punishment to which any self-respecting government will have recourse ... If the truth must be told, national integration cannot be achieved by means which the British Government employed in other contexts—of robbing one community to placate another, or of resorting to punitive measures".

Adding its voice to this chorus of censure, the *Statesman* says:

"Collective fines, preventive detention or use of police force will depend on careful political calculations and there is the risk that the rigour of their application will be severe on minorities or opposition groups".

The *Free Press Journal* pertinently observes "our internal problems have been aggravated by several foolish policies the ruling party has pursued," and caustically remarks that "emotional outbursts by responsible leaders cannot by themselves soothe the feelings of the aggrieved". And yet there is hardly any realisation in Congress circles to view the results of their actions in their proper perspectives. The same old mistaken policies continue to be followed and the familiar process of disintegration merrily goes on. How else could one explain for instance the persistence of the Congress, "to still think in terms of preferential treatment for the minorities in regard to employment in both the public and the private sectors?"

Burke does not approve Indira Gandhi's proposals

Crimes are the acts of individuals, and not of denominations; and therefore arbitrarily to class men under general descriptions, in order to proscribe and punish them in the lump for a presumed delinquency, of which perhaps but a part, perhaps none at all, are guilty is indeed a compendious method, and saves a world of trouble about proof; but such a method, instead of being law, is an act of unnatural rebellion against the legal dominion of reason and justice.—BURKE.

Rajaji's message to the then Adivasi minister of Orissa, sent twelve years ago was: "True and lasting benefit can be conferred on backward sections of the people only if they are helped in ways that incite earnest endeavour, not by overdoing kindness. We can please people for the time being and satisfy our own instincts of compassion by conferring on them easy advantages. But that way lies perpetuation of backwardness. It is only if we make advancement dependent on industrious application that we dig up buried talent. We should by our attitude bring up the qualities which have lain hidden and under-developed for generations. If we make things too easy we encourage unhelpful habits of life from the start and ruin the process of growth".

Twentyfour years after Gandhiji's great fast and the Poona pact, the Congress Party has now given what amounts to separate electorates to Harijans, just what Dr. Ambedkar wanted and against which Gandhiji undertook a fast unto death. For the seats now reserved for the Harijans in Parliament and local legislatures no one but Harijans can stand and all the non-Harijans of those constituencies have been deprived of their elementary right to stand as candidates in these areas if so they desired. No special pleading can hide the fact that this is just what was avoided in the Poona Pact on the strength of which and the assurance that all separatist provisions will end after twenty years that Gandhiji broke his fast. This has been brought about by the persistent policy adopted by the Congress Party to nominate only its stooges from among the Harijans and made it practically impossible for any one else to win.

The Indira Gandhi Committee's report has evoked little confidence and the important organs of public opinion in the country have condemned it with one voice. Nobody expects the Congress to save the country from communalism, as communalism itself is the outcome of the way in which the Congress has exercised its power these past fourteen years.—SANKA.

THE BEARDED LADY OF KENTUCKY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Would you wish your own daughter, madam, to have a smooth cheek, a modest air, and a gentle feminine behaviour or to be—I won't say a whiskered prodigy, like this Bearded Lady of Kentucky—but a masculine wonder, a virago, a female personage of more than female strength, courage, wisdom?

THACKERAY.

Some people, mostly women, think now that sex is an unwanted, unimportant accident which we must tolerate, because it is there, but not underline and aggravate; that we may ignore it and carry on as if all were men and there were no difference.

Should women and men aspire to the same goals, walk the same way, compete on the same terms and be jealous, envious and intolerant of one another with no distinction or variation on account of sex? Shall we forget, ignore and discard the great phenomenon of love generated by the distinction between man and woman, the mysterious force that brings so much heavenly happiness into being, which operates as a divine instrument for inexpensive, unceasing joy, without which this world would be a desert if not a torment?

It is a colossal mistake to build on a negation of what is a fact, to disregard the distinction of sex, ignore the co-ordinate co-existence of male and female in the world, and to seek to make a more satisfactory world than what God intended, by levelling down in daily life the great difference between man and woman and their complementary virtues, capacities, functions and talents and substitute competition, jealousy and hatred where every element had been shaped by nature for happiness and mutual supplement.

"Aha, you are showing the cloven foot of reactionary ideas! You are revealing yourself as a feudalism and a conservative", says Mrs. Progressive.

Yes, I believe that men and women were designed to make each other happy, to do different jobs all which must

be done. There is enough competition on each side of the line, between men and men, and between women and women; there is no need to break the line and have a pell-mell, all-round struggle.

The family is an unalterable unit, the basis of civilization, and it requires man and woman to come together—to supplement and not compete with one another. Any polity or culture or economy that ignores the family is bound to end in a caricature and corruption of life; and progress would only be a debased form of slavery for both man and woman under the single soulless employer, the State.

There are some who fondly believe that the pinnacle of progress will be reached when women will serve not to make men and themselves happy but are employed to guard the State's interests as spies in the commune or in the family reconstituted contrary to its fundamental character wherein women will obtain a nearer admittance to secrets by reason of their sex. It would be an abominable exchange if the family with its mistress is to disappear and a State primary unit take its place at the bottom of the totalitarian organization. The family is the heart that pumps life into the State. But in the totalitarian leviathan it is the State that pumps life into all the units at the bottom. The fluid pumped is not blood, not the natural joy of life, but the bitter plasma of regimentation and terror, the negation of happiness.

Emancipation from the bondage of the soil is no freedom for the tree.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.



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ORGANISATIONAL PURITY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Veteran freedom-fighter Sri Mohanlal Saxena's resignation from Congress and his accompanying statement have again brought to public attention the persistent canker in the Congress organization. Power has corrupted not only those of the Congress party who have obtained offices of influence in Government but also the entire organization. The blood stream of the Congress has been poisoned and this is seen at all levels even as diseases of the blood disclose themselves in various forms in all parts of the body. Bogus membership has been complained about from ever so long ago. All sorts of steps have been taken from time to time either to put an end to the evil or to appear to be virtuous. But in spite of decades of effort Sri Mohanlal Saxena has found it flourishing even to a degree compelling his resignation in protest.

But bogus membership is only a means to power in the Congress organization and its persistence is only a symptom of the deadly canker which has taken hold of the party. This is intimately connected with the unhealthy power enjoyed by the organisation in the economic life of the nation through the permit-licence-raj that has been installed as a permanent feature of the so-called Indian democracy.

Falsehood takes various shapes. Bogus membership is only one form of it. It is at the base of the power-plans of influential and ambitious Congressmen. But it does not stop there. It has infected even the purity of the electoral machine of the State. Immorality does not stop where it has thrived. It infects all round. Once upon a time there was not a whisper

about vote-buying by the Congress party. Once upon a time—alas—it was long ago. Now people do not hesitate to charge the Congress party also with such "tactics". Do we not hear of "heavy polling" for Congress in rural areas where candidates opposing the Congress party have not the means to appoint and post observers and agents? Do we not hear, again, of very heavy polling at some centres in the afternoon of polling day, and consequent unexpected Congress victories although the prospect had been unfavourable in the morning? Any questioning of voters' identification means a deposit of Rs. 50 a question.

It is well known that election expenditure has reached in some constituencies the one lakh mark and, in some, even exceeded that point. These are freely admitted and the limits of expenditure prescribed in the law are a dead letter. Look at the very substantial amounts demanded by the Congress party from candidates. It indicates the temperature of the organizational greed for money, the money value of the seats aspired to, and how far expenses have exceeded the legal limits.

It is not possible to hold corruption when it has found a fixed place in the organization of the ruling party. It oozes into the official organization easily and by natural causes. It will take little time for petty officials to be inoculated by it, and then they will apply and compete for being appointed as polling officers in the rural area. Democracy is not easy. It requires as much care for purity as it requires vigilant and honest supervision over the materials that go to build a temple tower.

There is no need to despair, however bad the case may be, provided we have the courage to tackle root causes. The root cause is the excessive power taken over by the Government at the instance of the ruling party. This

creates ambition and greed according to the nature and temperaments of the persons affected by the desire for power. As for individuals, so for governments, it is not good to indulge the appetites. The less of power taken over by the State and the political organization that is charged with the responsibilities and is in enjoyment of the advantages of administration, the greater the odds in favour of purity. This is the reason why Gandhiji said that that country is best governed which is least governed and pleaded for the greatest amount of freedom to citizens and the lowest quantum of power for government. We may be easily misled to accept the theory of the compelling necessity in the modern age to expand the field of governmental operations, but it will be certainly at the cost of the purity of the administration. It is safe to be lean, not safe to grow fat, if we wish to preserve health.

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE.



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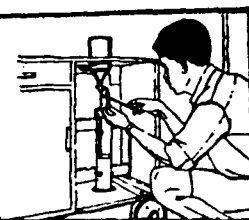
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**MUST NEIGHBOURS WASTE THEIR
SUBSTANCE**

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

If what we have hitherto deemed to be civilization has produced more and more anxiety and fear of some kind or another, we may well conclude it is not civilization. Fearlessness is the true test of civilization. Progress towards civilization is measured by the gap between man and the wild beast from whom it is said he has evolved. The human family which issued out of the same parents whether according to religious traditions or according to the theory of evolution of species, has developed different features and skin-colours. So also has it developed different ways of life according to the differing physical and historical causes that shaped them either through long years of slow change or through sudden revolutions. If we love and desire peace we should learn to recognise the value of our neighbour's way of life to him as we value our own, and tolerate one another without seeking to impose our convictions and manners on others. Co-existence is the name given to this tolerance and this wisdom; for this is wisdom, intolerance being folly.

If any two sovereign nations decide—what I say applies particularly to India and Pakistan, but it would apply to any two neighbouring sovereign countries—decide, I say, never to think of going to war with each other as it would ruin both, and to resolve all unresolved differences by the arbitration of a board constituted for the purpose, rather than by the gamble of war, they should constitute their present defence armaments into a single force under a single authority for the defence of the two countries against possible enemies.

This may appear to be contradicting the pacifist basis of what was first said above. But it is in fact not so. All gradual progress towards a goal must for a time

contain such contradictions which however will grow less and less with growing confidence. The expenditure on armaments will necessarily be less, much less than before, much less than when the budgets had been made on the basis of mutual fear, until finally when example has had its effect on other nations it may become just nominal. Thus should we work to bring about peace and disarmament—if not unilaterally, almost so and on that same principle—slowly, steadily, and under God's grace, as Robinson Crusoe

grew his corn out of a couple of corn-blades that he found by chance.

Although I lay stress on graduality, I may at once say that this does not apply to the world-poisoning programme of nuclear weapons which a few nations have framed for their own security. This must be stopped at once and once for all. This is necessary because a couple of nations cannot be permitted, whatever their difficulties or mutual fears, to poison the rest of mankind as a consequence of their plans of seeking security for themselves. They must plan otherwise than by a method which spreads poison and threatens danger and destruction to those who are not concerned in or cause their fears.

IF TAGORE WERE ALIVE TODAY

By J. VIJAYATUNGA

If Gurudev were alive today how much would he approve the celebrations being held in honour of his centenary? And how much condemn? The Government with all good intentions has built a Rabindra Bhavan in Delhi, and the Minister for Culture and Scientific Affairs has threatened to erect a Tagore Theatre in each of the main cities. There is to be song and dance on a big big scale. Speeches by the hour, day and week. And participation by distinguished men and women from other countries in the celebrations. How happy would Gurudev have been at this spectacle of so much money spent in celebrations?

Would he have said as he did in a letter he wrote to Sir William Rothenstein in 1913 commenting upon the fuss made of him after he was honoured by the award of the Nobel Prize:

"... I am being smothered with telegrams and letters for the last few days, and the people who never had any friendly feelings towards me nor ever read a line of my works are loudest in their protestations of joy. I cannot tell you how tired I am of all this shouting, the stupendous amount of its unreality being something appalling. Really these people honour the honour and not myself".

I have no doubt that he would have expressed himself in even stronger terms at the way his name is being

exploited on behalf of this ideology and that, and by officialdom to whom the Tagore Jayanti is a god-send, sending them across half the world, at the tax-payers' expense to make a single speech at some university, enabling them to give full rein to their command of the English language. I have just attended the first public function of the Centenary. The song and dance part consisted of a phun cholan performance by a Manipuri, and *tandava* dance by another Manipuri, and some dances by girls—all of them provided by a local "cultural" society at a high fee. Then there were the speeches, one mentioning the "Affluent Society" and Tagore in the same breath. And so, it will go on.

That other countries should be celebrating the Tagore Jayanti is a matter of pride for India. The form of their celebrations need not be critically examined. We have to be just grateful that they are honouring India's greatest thinker and writer of the century.

But as far as celebrations in India are concerned we must ask ourselves, "Would this have pleased Gurudev had he been alive today, and a hundred years old?"

First: Buildings. We have been bitten by the building craze. The costliest white elephants have been the laboratories and "research" institutes that have been built at extravagant costs. Where are the scientists we have

produced as a result? If the same money had been spent in endowing our universities and expanding their existing laboratories and providing them with equipment we would today have a better scientific record to show. As it is, the National Physical Laboratory has been asked by the Delhi municipality to devise an improved method of synchronising Delhi's traffic lights! The Madras Veterinary College has been functioning for many years and doing all that is necessary in training young men in slaying, flaying, and tanning leather. But we must go and build a leather research Institute which simply duplicates the work of the older institution. And research institutes and laboratories are springing up like mushrooms and the Director-General is constantly travelling abroad recruiting brains, pooling resources and exploring avenues—for spending the money that should be used to provide a meal a day for everyone of the 436 millions in India.

We must remember that Jagadish Chandra Bose, a close friend of Tagore, had none of the equipment of the favoured scientists of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, but that he revolutionised scientific thinking arriving at his conclusions by working with instruments he himself made and carrying on his researches patiently without the spotlight which has become a bane in post-independence India.

In a letter which Tagore wrote to Leonard Elmhirst who was Director of Village Reconstruction Work at Santiniketan, which was named Sriniketan because it was a complement to Santiniketan, he said:

It was not the Kingdom of the Expert in the midst of the inept and ignorant which we wanted to establish, although the experts' advice is valuable. The villages are waiting for the living touch of creative faith and not for the cold aloofness of science which uses efficiency machinery for extracting statistics, the statistics that deal with fragments of dissected life. ... With your instinctive humanity you came into the closest touch with the living being which is the village, and which is not a mere intellectual problem that could be solved through the help of arithmetical figures. I have personal experience of scientists who think that they know human facts without taking the trouble to know the man himself. It is not for them to create and not even to construct, they never have done it, though they help.

A visitor may compare Sriniketan with other institutions of similar

nature in other big countries and, ashamed of the paltriness of our own efforts, may advise us to abandon it. This is like comparing the mothers of our country with those in the West, who possibly carry on their maternal duties more intelligently and with greater efficiency, and then to say that this mothers' business should be altogether given up in India. Yet mothers' love *does* work even in the East though not fully supplemented by medical science. The principal element is there.....

The immense benefit realized by the surrounding villages through the constant inspiration of sympathy and encouragement of Sriniketan must never be belittled in favour of some impersonal abstractions of science... I, who am no scientist, set more value upon this human side of our service than anything which is academic. I can never believe that specialists are in their proper place at the head of organisations where constant co-ordination of human factors has to be made through personal contact and a wisdom born of sympathy.

In letter after letter he writes to Elmhirst stressing his concern for Surul. "You know my heart is with Surul". November 13, 1922. "The work in Surul is a work of creation, for in it you are not following some fixed path prescribed in books..." April 18, 1923. "Unless our different works in Visva-bharati are luminous with the fire of vision, I myself can have no place in them. That is why all the time when Sriniketan has been struggling to grow into a form I was intently wishing that it should not only have a shape, but also light... A lighted lamp is, for us, the end, and not a lump of gold". June 25, 1924.

"...An ideal centre of education at Sriniketan. It is well-known that the education which is prevalent in our country is extremely meagre in the spread of its area and barren in its quality. Unfortunately this is all that is valuable for us, and the artificial standard set up is proudly considered as respectable. Outside the *bhadralog* class, pathetic in their struggle for fixing a university label on their name, there is a vast, obscure multitude who cannot even dream of such a costly ambition. With them we have our best opportunity if we know how to use it. There, and there only, can we be free to offer to our country the best kind of all-round culture, not mutilated by official dictators..." December 19, 1937.

"My path, as you know, lies in the domain of quiet, integral action and thought, my units must be few and

small, and I can but face human problems in relation to some basic village or cultural area. So in the midst of world-wide anguish, and with the problems of over three hundred millions staring us in the face, I stick to my work in Santiniketan and Sriniketan hoping that our efforts will touch the hearts of our village neighbours and help them in reasserting themselves in a new social order. If we can give a start to a few villages they would perhaps be an inspiration to some others—and my life work will have been done". December 27, 1939.

Like Gandhiji Tagore's main concern was with the Indian village, but he had a more complete picture of the ideal village than Gandhiji. Sanitation, self-help, education in terms of village needs, and song and dance and recreation as a complement to manual labour—this was his ideal. How wrong of officialdom which is throwing away all this money in *tamshas* of song and dance and buildings to ignore this crucial aspect of Gurudev's life-long obsession with the need for improving the lot of our villagers without uprooting them or recruiting them for industrial labour, or introducing sarpanches among them and turning them into political fodder.

Rabindranath Tagore was an aesthete in the best sense of the word, he was poet, playwright, educationist, and thinker. But his thinking was in terms of humanity at large, and for practical purposes that has to be the humanity at large in India, the teeming humanity of Indian villages. He was a very practical man: he took over the management of the vast Tagore estates while still a young man, and ran them efficiently: he started his educational experiment at Santiniketan, and had to go begging for money for it: he had to pawn, even though to a friend, the watch and chain he had received as a wedding present.

And by getting a few young men and women to cavort on a stage we think we are honouring him. Gurudev had a horror of buildings. The classes at Santiniketan were held under trees. I taught there myself and know. He anticipated the fate that was to befall Santiniketan. He wrote:

"I myself attach much more significance to the educational possibilities of Siksha-Satra than to the school and college at Santiniketan, which are everyday becoming more and more like so many schools and colleges elsewhere in this country, borrowed cages that treat the students' minds as captive birds whose sole human value is judged according to

(Continued on page 15)

PRINCES AND THE COMING ELECTIONS

By PHIROZE J. SHROFF

The reported move of the ruling party to debar Princes from standing as candidates at the ensuing elections by a legislative or executive fiat providing that the recipients of privy purses will be deemed to be persons holding public offices, will be received with concern and dismay by all persons who are pledged to democracy and who believe in the sanctity of plighted word, especially when the word has been given by the Government, which is expected to set a standard of just and legal conduct.

At a time when our country was faced with great dangers from within and without the Princes agreed to divest themselves of all authority and power in respect of the territories of which they had been rulers. Their patriotism and self-sacrifice were extolled by the highest in the land. In almost all cases they voluntarily entered into solemn covenants with the Government of India, under which they were allotted privy purses based on a sliding scale applicable to the then current revenue of their States. These privy purses were in respect of what the Princes had already forgone and were not subject to any subsequently created disabilities. It may also be noted that the privy purses have been subjected to substantial erosion as a result of Congress-created inflation.

To preserve to them their dignity and to assure them of a fair share in the democratic governance of their States the institution of Raj Pramukhs was brought into existence and was given a constitutional status. This institution was abolished by a constitutional amendment even before the ink on the original constitution was dry.

The privy purses which were assigned to the Princes were not made dependent on their not taking part in politics and the public affairs of the country. In fact, the Princes stood on the same footing in these matters as any other Indian citizen. To deprive the Princes of their right as Indian citizens to stand as candidates for election would amount to a one-sided revision of a solemn contract. The dishonesty of the proposed move can be seen from the fact that no congressman thought of suggesting the ban so long as some of the Princes were prepared to stand as candidates on Congress ticket and vote with the Congress whenever required to do so by a party whip.

It is argued that the Princes would get an unfair advantage in the elections because of their financial resources. The resources of the Princes, it is needless to say, pale into insignificance before the resources of the ruling party, which enjoys tremendous power and uses all the weapons in its armoury to collect enormous election funds. Even the government machinery can be adroitly pressed into service to assure the success of the ruling party at the polls. The Princes are shorn of all power and unlike the ruling party they cannot distribute or withhold favours in various shapes and forms to influence the electorate.

It has also been argued that the Princes, by reason of their financial resources would be able to influence an illiterate and ill-informed electorate. It is hardly necessary to expose the hollowness of this argument. When the electorate votes for the Congress party it is intelligent, enlightened, well-informed and patriotic; when it votes for a Prince, it degenerates into an ignorant, indiscriminating, benighted and unpatriotic rabble!

The rulers of former princely States have traditions of leadership, service and culture. As in the case of any other group, amongst them, too, there have been black sheep. The electorate can be trusted to vote for those amongst the Princes who had given a good account of themselves and reject those who had proved undesirable rulers. The same applies to the descendants of the Princes. If a Prince is elected to the Lok Sabha he stands no higher than 520 other M.Ps.

Under the rule of the Congress party, the condition of the people in the former Princely India, along with that of the people in the rest of India, has steadily deteriorated. They have become sick of the rampant corruption

FREEMAN

One free man will say with truth what he thinks and feels amongst thousands of men who by their acts and words attest exactly the opposite. It would seem that he who sincerely expressed his thought must remain alone, whereas it generally happens that everyone else, or the majority at least, have been thinking and feeling the same things but without being able to express them. And that which yesterday was the novel opinion of one man, today becomes the general opinion of the majority. And as soon as this opinion is established, immediately by imperceptible degrees but beyond power of frustration, the conduct of mankind begins to alter!

LEO TOLSTOY.

and misrule. If the long-suffering people choose a Prince as their representative, rather than a person who flaunts the cap of a certain colour as his sole or main qualification, they have every right to do so. If the Princes fail to give a good account of themselves after being elected as the representatives of the people, they will write themselves off from the political life of the country. In their case the principle of *noblesse oblige* will naturally apply with greater intensity and force.

If a black-marketer or a contact man with more money than a Prince can stand as a candidate for election, why should a Prince be deprived of his right to do so? We do not want a democracy of yes-men. As it is, we have suffered enough during the last 15 years or so under such a pseudo-democracy. We want a democracy in which there is a Parliament of upright, able and freedom-loving representatives of the people. Prince and peasant should be equally welcome in the national Parliament if they secured the confidence of the people.

The various devices of the ruling party to stifle opposition would unmask it as a power-seeking clique which wants to govern the country in perpetuity, regardless of its sins of omission and commission. The old-time highwaymen used to tell their victims: "Your purse or your life". The self-styled votaries of truth and non-violence of our times tell the Princes: "Your privy purse or your right to stand as candidates to the legislature". The proposed ban on the Princes is not merely a breach of faith. It also amounts to denial of justice and negation of democracy.

PROPERTY

Property is the fruit of labour; property is desirable; it is positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

SOCIALISM, A WRONG STEP IN POLITICAL EVOLUTION

By K. BALAN

The social component of Indian civilization is the tradition of our culture. All our religions emphasise love and charity as the spiritual basis on which society must rise. Without this religious attitude social development on peaceful lines is impossible to achieve.

In the ancient days when Indian civilization was distinguished for the high learning and culture of our people, there was practically no economic problem for our society. Indifference to material life among the learned and the cultured, and the religious life of the common people which at once reduced their material wants and trained their minds to love and charity, had all the essentials which made possible a Socialistic order without any effort towards that direction. This Socialism, which was rightly called a discipline, was alone what could be conceived by our ancestors as an instrument of social justice which did not call upon humanity to sacrifice its spiritual and intellectual values.

But that is not the India in which we live today. Intellectually, we are no more an independent nation. Our values have changed. Our outlook of life has become irretrievably secular and pragmatic. The old institutions which once ruled our people by faith have given place to new popular leaderships to rule us by law. Today, for us, the world has nothing but matter, and in our approach to life there is nothing to restrain us except the law of the State.

The evolution of Socialism as a political ideology was merely accidental. When States were brought under popular leaders, the satisfaction of life for the people was made the responsibility of the governments. As easy mass satisfaction was generally possible only by increasing the wealth of the countries on a large scale, the impatient leaders looked to the expediency of utilising the State power in the field of economic production. Socialism is the outcome of such an expediency whereby both the instrument of production and the working force were identified with the common interest of the State.

Unfortunately the Government leaders can never be more interested in the people than in the State itself. They enhance their power only by strengthening the machinery of State. It is a well-known fact that for the maintenance and development of the State power the Socialist countries spend a much higher proportion of their

national resources than the Democratic countries, although it is difficult to distinguish between the State sector and the people's sector in the former. Administrative establishments, industry, scientific research, defence, transport and communications and all such departments which add to the power and prestige of the State are the pet institutions of the Socialist States on which they lavishly spend while stinting the people with scanty rations in the name of rational distribution, and that in a miserably regimented life. In short, Socialism serves to increase the power of the States more than it helps to improve the lot of the people. Even Hitler's Germany was a Socialist State!

Now, let us study the slowly developing tendency of India's own economy towards this system. They say that in Gandhiji's approach to our rural economic problems there were many suggestions which conformed to the principles of the Socialist economy. For instance, co-operative farming, co-operation in cottage industries and marketing of rural products etc. which Gandhiji prescribed for the betterment of the economic conditions of the peasants and the village artisans were only some features of the Socialist economy.

But let us not forget that Gandhiji's ruralised Socialism—if we may call it so—was limited to a simple economy and a community of unsophisticated villagers. Gandhiji never suggested that co-operative efforts should grow to the dimensions of an enormous Socialist system, which a high material standard of living must demand. To have a co-operative system of economy in a moderate standard is one thing; but to have Socialism in a high material standard is quite another: while the former is helpful to stabilise life by virtuous co-operation in an atmosphere of rural simplicity, faith and honesty, the latter only helps the regimentation of a materialist society whose satisfaction of life is possible only in material plenty.

However, the skin-deep intellect of the Socialists did not impress the religiously wise Gandhiji, who held firmly to his view that true happiness of man lay in his heart and not in the materials his brains and hands could shape. Till his death, Gandhiji's efforts continued to be to prepare a genial heart in the people for disciplined happiness through religious training.

But the Socialists had no intellectual capacity to conceive the profound ingeniousness of the Gandhian persuasion. For them, a religious heart succeeding to get satisfaction of life in a low material standard remained only in imagination.

With Gandhiji's death, the emphasis on modernisation of India got over its most powerful opposition. Speedy industrialization and urban development absorbed the whole attention of the Government. Five-Year Plans were devised and worked one after another to increase the material wealth of the country.

But the planners took a very unintelligent view of the social, intellectual and spiritual aspects of the people's life. Like true Aristotelians they spurned all suggestion of the spiritual unity of humanity. They relied on the rule of law to rationalise relations in society. With the knowledge of the external world alone they sought to develop the intellectual capacity of the people. By decking marble temples with colours and lights like the shops of the evening bazaars, they also proposed to elevate our spiritual consciousness.

As a result of all this, the moral standard of the people declined as the Plan projects began to rise. Proportionately their demand for higher material satisfaction also increased.

Needless to say, it is impossible for this country to obtain a higher material standard for all its 440 million population, if the standard as conceived today must be constituted of the innumerable elements which make possible a sophisticated life. It is on this question that the compulsion of Socialism begins to strike our economy. It has already struck and the marks are becoming more and more visible as days pass on.

If religion and culture are lost for humanity and the people's minds are set on the gratification of the senses, then the material satisfaction of life must present the biggest problem for solution in the world. If Socialism as understood now is the solution to it, should we not ask, instead of prescribing the remedy, why should we not check the malady itself?

After shaking off the restraints of religion, destroying the higher aims of culture and debasing the outlook of the people by training their life through sensual channels, if we take to Socialism as an administrative expediency to counter the material deficiency in the country, it can only help us to a worthless end. Socialism will liquidate all our traditions, not excluding the last addition of Gandhism.

SCIENCE AND IDEOLOGY

By A. RANGANATHAN

In his delightful book on "The Impact of Science on Society", Lord Russell observed that "mass psychology is, scientifically speaking, not a very advanced study, and so far its professors have not been in universities; they have been advertisers, politicians and, above all dictators". Till now, we have been watching the progress of political propaganda through scientific appliances like the radio, television, etc. But the climax seems to have been reached in the latest technique of making use of science itself in the art of political propaganda. Science is no longer regarded as an intellectual discipline and an emancipating force, but as a strategic proposition which is measured in terms of its propaganda value. And commenting on the recent exploit of Soviet Russia in sending a man into space, Dr. C. V. Raman rightly stressed that it was "cold-blooded militarism—militarism running mad—nothing else. It is not Science". This is not a new phenomenon in history. It is well known that those scientists who had contributed to the war effort had escaped the guillotine during the era of the French Revolution. The founders of the Ecole Polytechnique even welcomed General Bonaparte. And though Nazi Germany lagged behind the West in the field of atomic research, she had forged ahead with her V-2 rocket programmes at Peenemunde. And it is obvious that Soviet Russia's rocket research programmes project her into "a position of strength" in the spheres of economy and defence. Indeed, it is well to remember that a particular type of research geared to military ends can flourish only in a dictatorship; the very logic of its existence depends upon an ever-increasing spiral of war effort.

Sometime ago, Mr. Krushchov had characterized the first successful flight of the rocket as "a victory for the whole camp of Socialism". And Mr. Krushchov's thesis was echoed by Dr. Peter Kapitza (a former fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge) who maintained that without the active assistance and support of the Communist Party, the Soviet scientists could not have launched the rockets into space. Indeed, it is necessary to realize that there is no connection between the individual triumphs of a scientist and the ideology of the society in which he lives. Surely, no one would attribute the brilliant achievements of Copernicus, Galileo, Brahe and Kepler to the feudal ethos of

the mediaeval age in which they struggled. Again, the epoch-making contribution of Prof. Heisenberg, Nobel Laureate in Physics, was not viewed as a justification of the political state of Nazi Germany. While science has no connection with any particular ideology, it has always struggled against dogma. Today, the totalitarian State has taken the place of the mediaeval College of Cardinals which had persecuted Galileo. Indeed, as pointed out by Prof. Michael Polyani, "the Soviet Government had the distinction of being the only form of government ever to have hounded a scientist (Prof. Nikolai Vavilov) to his death—a great scientist merely for his scientific views. When Lysenko (whose so-called theory fitted in admirably with the Marxist philosophy) found that Vavilov would not agree with his thesis, he adopted the "scientific" process of liquidating an opponent—accusing him of subservience to foreign scientific opinion since Vavilov could not be forced to condemn Morgan and accept Michurin's thesis that any form of plant or animal life could be forced to change in a direction desired by man—dismissal from his post, banishment to Siberia and death. It is clear, therefore, that the true scientific spirit is sacrificed on the altar of political ideology in Soviet Russia. And there can be no doubt that these space flights are viewed as a means to increase Soviet Russia's military strength.

In his widely publicized telephonic conversation with Mr. Yuri Gagarin, Mr. Khrushchov is said to have remarked that the capitalist countries could "try to catch up with our country, which has blazed the trail into space and launched the world's first cosmonaut". And Mr. Khrushchov had also projected the image of the "new Soviet man". This is a clear example of the mixing up of science and superstition. One is reminded in this connection of Thomas Henry Huxley, whose life was devoted to the propagation of the Darwinian theory of evolution. In a famous debate which took place in 1860, Bishop Wilberforce (the prototype of our modern political ideologists) asked Huxley whether his descent from the ape was on his father's or his mother's side. And Huxley flashed his classic retort instantaneously: "If then, the question is put to me, would I rather have a miserable ape for a grandfather or a man highly endowed by nature and possess-

ing great means and influence and yet who employs those faculties and that influence for the mere purpose of introducing ridicule into a grave scientific discussion—I unhesitatingly affirm my preference for the ape." Actually, there is no essential difference between the technique of Bishop Wilberforce, who introduced ridicule into a serious scientific discussion and the method of the modern political ideologists who project their ideological obsessions into the spheres of genetics and rocketry for mere socialistic propaganda.

Dr. Raman observed that "the real motivation of science came with the understanding that this instrument (science) should be used to understand nature and the amazing phenomenon that it presented in varied facets". But what of the future of science? Science was born of the spirit of freedom, but is still in chains in certain places. Can it break free? Indeed, the ideal of political freedom is derived from the concept of scientific freedom. And Prof. Harold Laski had cogently argued in his "Liberty in the Modern State" that "those who have fought for the right to think freely in theology or the natural sciences are not less certainly the ancestors of political freedom" since "without Bruno and Galileo there would have been neither Voltaire nor Rousseau". And that tribute to Benjamin Franklin in Juvenal's verse—"He snatched the thunderbolt from Heaven and the Sceptre from tyrants" picturesquely sums up the contributions of this distinguished American scientist to science and the cause of freedom. Similarly, one hopes that the Soviet Columbuses who are able to get a glimpse of the delicate blue band around the curve of the earth in breaking through the chains of gravity could also free themselves from the fetters of ideology in their quest for scientific freedom.



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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR HAVERSACKS

Sir,—Every one knows that a small idea emanating from high quarters makes more noise than an important one from persons lower down. One such is the reference casually to haversacks for the use of school children by our Prime Minister sometime ago. In answer to a question in the Lok Sabha recently the Minister for Education is reported to have stated that the Central Advisory Board of Education had commended the suggestion to the States, that the Central Government also were taking action and that an inexpensive sack (more correctly satchel) was being designed.

The idea of haversack was suggested by the Prime Minister when he happened to see small children carrying a number of books and note-books in their hands and being not able to manage them easily. Satchels of cloth or canvas are quite familiar features hereabouts; the drawback is that they require to be renewed oftener than once a year; satchels of leather are more costly and beyond the reach of many. Some carry their articles in boxes of tin or aluminium; they are much more costly and liable to hurt the toes of themselves or of their neighbours, if dropped accidentally.

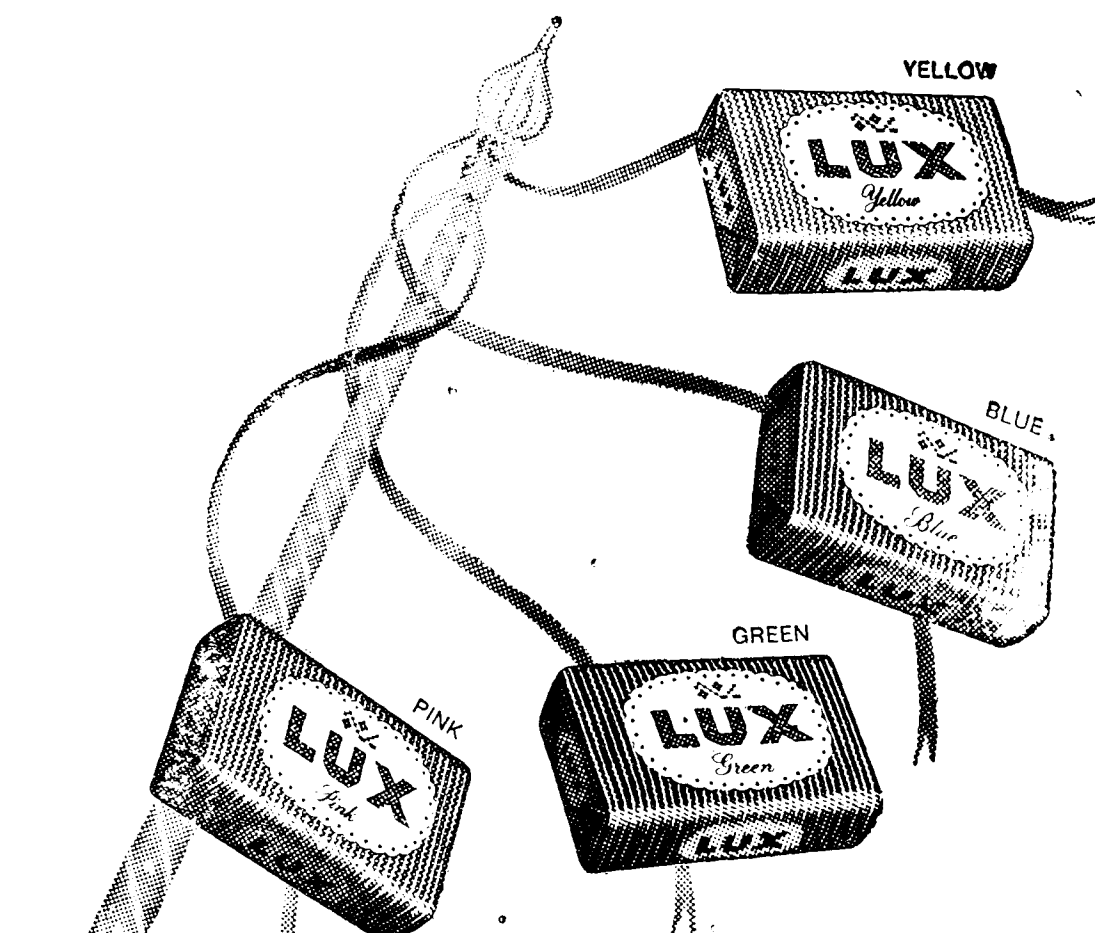
One wishes that the authorities paid more attention to the contents than to the containers. Why should the children be required to carry such a number of books and note-books some of them of 80 pages, 120, and even 200 pages, the major portion of which remains blank at the end of the academic year? Cannot the number of books also be reduced? In a certain school, for one of the lower classes four books had been prescribed for the main language! A reduction in the number of books and note-books will lessen the burden on the shoulders of the children and the drain on the purses of parents, a consummation devoutly to be desired.

Some of the schools insist on the children doing their work in the class room with fountain pens, a piece of extravagance, for good pens are costly and bad pens are a nuisance. One certain way of reducing the demand for notebooks and indirectly the ever increasing demand for paper in the country is to return to the use of slates in the class room, the slates being provided by the school and retained in a corner in the class room after the day's work is over.

K. V. IYER.

WORDS OF WISDOM

It is one of the finest problems in legislation what the State ought to take upon itself to direct by the public wisdom, and what it ought to leave, with as little interference as possible, to individual discretion. Nothing, certainly, can be laid down on the subject that will not admit of exceptions,—many permanent, some occasional. But the clearest line of distinction is this: that the State ought to confine itself to what regards the State or the creatures of the State, namely, the exterior establishment of its religion; its magistracy; its revenue; its military force by sea and land; the corporations that owe their existence to its fiat; in a word, to everything that is truly and properly public,—to the public peace, to the public safety, to the public order, to the public prosperity. In its preventive police it ought to be sparing of its efforts, and to employ means, rather few, unfrequent and strong, than many and frequent. Statesmen who know themselves will, with the dignity which belongs to wisdom, proceed only in this the superior orb steadily, vigilantly, severely, courageously: whatever remains will, in a manner, provide for itself. But as they descend from the State to a province, from a province to a parish, and from a parish to a private house, they go on accelerated in their fall. They cannot do the lower duty; and in proportion as they try it, they will certainly fail in the higher. They ought to know the different departments of things,—what belongs to laws, and what manners alone can regulate. To these, great politicians may give a leaning, but they cannot give a law. BURKE.

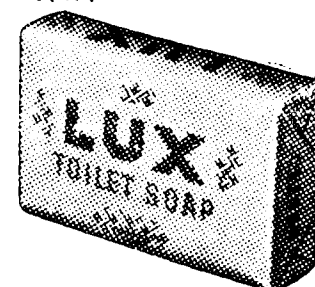


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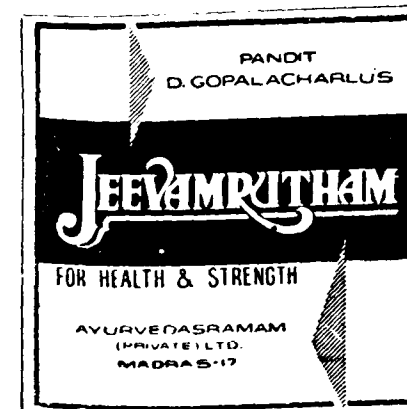
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IF TAGORE WERE...

(Continued from page 10)

the mechanical repetition of lessons prescribed by an educational dispensation foreign to our soil."

After independence the educational system is still foreign to our soil. I repeat that Gurudev had a horror of cement and mortar. I would appeal even at this late hour to the Honourable Minister for Culture and Science not to proceed with the threat to build Tagore theatres in all the main cities. Give instead all that money for village improvement, but for heavens' sake not under the Community Project scheme.

Gurudev would turn in his grave at the monstrosity that has been named Rabindra Bhavan. On the day the foundation stone was laid the Director-General of a certain department looked at the plan of the Bhavan at the same time as I did. He whispered to me that it was more suitable for a chamber of commerce. It is not even for that. A squat, gloomy edifice with slabs seemingly lifted off from Purana Qila and built up here it is the very antithesis of all the ideals that Tagore upheld.

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O FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT!

By **C. RAJAGOPALACHARI**

The Congress party leaders do not tire of repeating that casteism, communalism, regionalism, and linguism stand in the way of progress. All progress is presumed to stand linked up to the fortunes of the Congress Party and everything that comes in the way of that party's plans and intrigues for success is a bad 'ism'.

Every one of those isms issued out of the actual procedures and policies adopted by the Congress party. This has been stated and re-stated by all the leading organs of public opinion in the country and the indictment has been made in spite of the awe with which these organs of public opinion look upon the ruling party and the powers it has taken which impinge on the business of conducting newspapers. Down-with-caste, down-with-communalism are cheap slogans which are easy to utter and are facile incitements to class conflicts which may be exploited for gathering votes. Wisdom and good government consist in avoiding procedures that furnish continued life to the anti-national aspect of the institutions of religion and denominations.

If one exploits certain feelings and prejudices where they help the ruling party to make temporary gains, one cannot but expect these feelings and separatist emotions to flourish. Who created the linguistic anarchy that now threatens to overwhelm all educational and national progress towards unity? Parochialism and

linguism have come to their present monstrous size and savage nature by reason of furnishing these forces with ample opportunity to practise tyranny, by distributing administrative autonomy on the tribal basis of language. The Prime Minister now calls the linguistic fanaticism that has reared its head by its true name, which I gave it long ago. The warning given was not heeded. Bloodshed has become the precursor of government wisdom so much so that people have been led firmly to believe that a few police firings and deaths must be gone through before any good object is to be gained.

It is now proposed to put down communalism by laws and by force of police powers. We might as well fight the wind with muzzle-loading guns. Are you going to fight linguism too which it is now confessed is no less of a wicked anti-national force? Are you going to ban linguistic organizations too which interfere with politics in one way or another? Caste is both an evil and an organization in itself. Are you going to pass laws banning castes? Are you not aware that in the States, every administrative and educational authority is working under government instructions or connivance, with caste before it as a *vade mecum* for favours and disfavours, throwing merit to the winds? Are you aware of the subterfuges employed to deceive both people and authority in this mean work?

Has not the language policy directly and indirectly practised

by the Congress Party led to educational anarchy and disintegration, insulating State from State? The national unity and widening of windows brought about by English has been hamstrung by the Government's language policy and its declared ideals. The drive against English has brought about its bad results so quickly that feeble repentances and penances are being now practised but without giving up the main policy that has brought it all about.

The British people brought in a Hanoverian gentleman in 1714 to be King of England not minding the fact that he knew only German and could not speak or understand a word of English, the language of the people of England. Can we not learn some wisdom from this piece of English history and give up our prejudices against what is often senselessly described as a foreign thing, the English language, and allow it to function as hitherto? The *status quo* in language will maintain and enlarge and consolidate national unity such as we inherited from the British regime. Instead of wisely recognising this and following the only correct policy in respect of language, we seek to make minor repairs of the damage caused by wrong policies adopted by the Congress Party, by pleading for some parochial *status quo's* neglecting the major all-India and all-important *status quo*. Vanity is the greatest enemy of wisdom and is mistaken for patriotism. Otherwise, who would think of disrupt-

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ing English, which has bound us all together into a nation and made a highway for India into the international world, and exchange that possession for quarrels and brawls and worse, all over India?

There could be nothing, more hypocritical than the declaration of the conference of Chief Ministers that the services should eschew communal tendencies. The services tried their best to do this. It is the Chief Ministers that injected the communal vice into the services, and incidentally injected dishonesty also because the one could not be injected without the other.

In the name of control and regulation for the general welfare, the ruling party is creating private monopolies in many paying lines of industry and trade. And these monopolies are given to favoured individuals and groups, and for paltry gains for the party chest. These favoured individuals are great propagandists for the Plan and for the socialist ideology! Those who contribute to the party chest make it up many times over, through the monopolies they get. And this is whose loss?—the consumers' and the nation's. Even as bargains these transactions show but poor understanding.

At a recent meeting Mr. Nehru laid down: "If we want results, we must plan". No one denies this. Any good plan is a design to exploit natural forces. No one can get away from natural forces. The struggle for progress can be achieved only by making the utmost use of personal interest and the creative energy, sustained effort, and untiring vigilance that personal interest creates. To leave things to the unreliable watch and poor initiative of paid bureaucrats is the anarchic way.

"Planning can only succeed to the extent that we put into it strength, vigour, enthusiasm and passion". This banality is pronounced after nearly fifteen years of responsibility and office. Strength, vigour, enthusiasm, and passion in the struggle for peaceful achievement can come only if we recognize the plain-as-pikestaff

truth that personal interest is at the bottom of human energy, enthusiasm and passion; and unless plans are made to rest on this firm and live basis, they are but houses of cards.

"N.D.C. wants public sector to yield more" was the headline in all newspapers last week. The N.D.C. will have to cry in vain. For the public sector is devoid of the living spring out of which flows human energy and human enthusiasm and human vigilance. Laziness, indifference and barren dullness are the unmistakable and well known marks of the public sector. We must reduce this necessary evil, the so-called public sector, to the minimum and not let it encroach and spread over fields where the private citizen's own interest can be well and safely yoked to the public interest. Wherever this has been done we have remarkable success in spite of every handicap that has been needlessly put in the way by a government that has fanatically adopted a wrong dogma.

We are told that from the discussion held on May 31 in New Delhi "one significant theme" emerged, which was that "more introspection was called for to find out why the country was not getting as much

as it should from its investments in the Plan". The word 'introspection' must be underlined. Introspection may lead to a better and greater recognition of natural laws, of the magic of property and personal interest. Unless and until this is done, the people's money must continue going down the drain of bureaucracy. The burden of taxation must go on increasing. National indebtedness to foreign nations must assume heavier and heavier proportions with no plan or hope of repayment. We shall never be able to manufacture or otherwise raise commodities which we can sell abroad in order to repay the astronomical sums we proudly continue to sign for. Sri V. T. Krishnamachariar may dogmatically tell us that we shall be able to repay without explaining how. It would be more honest to say that there is nothing wrong in begging for grants from the prosperous West in exchange for goodwill in the Cold War, and take advantage of it. This may be a tenable plea whatever it may cost in self-respect, provided we take steps to utilise the money in the proper way, the opposite of which is being done now, trusting bureaucracy where we should bank on private enterprise and the vigilance born of personal interest.

PLANNING - FROM DURGAPUR TO DELHI

J. M. LOBO PRABHU

In time and in effect, the transition of the spotlight from Durgapur, where the Congress planned for its own future, to Delhi where the National Development Council claimed it was planning for the country, there is a small and a great gap. At Durgapur, at least four trends can be discerned, first that law and order, inherited from the British, are breaking down. The President, Sanjeeva Reddi, while facing the camera also faced the spring dagger of an assailant who thought the focus should be in Assam. The steelmen rioted burning down the entrance gate; Deputy Minister

Misra was deprived of his dhotti for speaking in Hindi, Chief Minister Roy was mobbed but made a more dignified exit; the Press reported, perhaps wrongly, similar attentions to Nehru; in any case, the AICC session was held under close police surveillance, as if the Congress was, after the linguistic division of Assam, as popular as the British after the territorial division of Bengal.

In the circumstances, the plan for law and order of the Congress was the integration report of the Prime Minister's daughter, who is now in Paris. That report, which collects British practices against

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popular reactions to the rule of force, like collective fines, police supremacy, can only prepare for the Congress an exit like that of the British. There can be no national integration until the Congress decides to serve the people before serving itself, by giving up all cheap expedients to collect votes like linguistic divisions, group privileges and State ownership and planning in favour of its political constituents.

Thirdly, Durgapur was concerned with the state of Congo, Laos, Angola and disarmament, as if the Congress had a responsibility for the world which could excuse its neglect of the conditions of the people of the country. At the same time, it declared its firm resolution to resist aggression from China and Pakistan. The second is an old story and there is no new act of Pakistan, specially when it is engaged with Afghanistan on the other side, of any new aggression. On the other hand, China is probing the borders of Bhutan and adding more lies to its claim against the MacMahon line. Our resistance is that Krishna Menon is the leading protagonist for the claims of the Communists at the Geneva conference. The resolution is only meant to deceive the electorate that the Congress government is seriously contesting the occupation of 12,000 square miles of Indian territory.

The fourth resolution approved the Ginger Group's tests for Congress candidates for the General Election, that they should unreservedly support the Socialist programme, they should have a record of work in the legislature and their constituencies and that a third of them should make way for new blood. If by Socialism is meant Statism of the Communist variety, the Ginger Group may succeed in weeding out many who are not prepared to give up the original Congress ideology of allowing people their rights according to their worth and work. If the Ginger Group resolution is seriously applied, the Congress will divide itself even more definitely than it has done so far.

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3

The people will also know that there is no difference between the Congress and the Communists.

On this background the meeting of the National Development Council at Delhi was naturally an anticlimax. It is probably for this reason that Nehru's enthusiasm reached hysteria when he demanded enthusiasm, passion and even anger for the Third Plan. Exactly why the people should show all these for the Third Plan which repeats the Second Plan that only increased inflation by 25 per cent, taxes by 14 per cent, foreign debt by 100 per cent without removing scarcity of the most common requirements, Nehru did not pause to inquire. His greatest outburst was on education when he declared that he would rather close factories than schools. Was this offering consolation to the people who had got nothing from the factories and think they can get something from schools?

The Plan was approved as it had emerged one year ago and as the Planning Commission had been drafting it for the last three years. Were all the meetings and drafts necessary in these circumstances? In fact is the Plan at all necessary, when Nehru states that it will be enlarged as necessary or possible and concedes that State governments may alter it provided the broad objectives are respected?

Is the Plan important for more than its propaganda for the elections? It is threatened first by a shortfall on foreign aid on which it largely rests because NATO countries are not likely to respond handsomely when Nehru has just attacked them for their African policies. They are likely to take refuge behind the report of the World Bank experts that the Plan is communist in inspiration. Secondly, the Plan is threatened by the inadequacy of transport and power which could not equal present commitments and cannot be expanded so quickly to meet a Plan which is double the last one. Thirdly, as Minister Subramaniam pointed out, steel, cement, coal and power having failed to keep their targets, the Second Plan has

not laid the proper foundations for the Third. And lastly, even though prize bonds have been forced by officials on the public, is credit likely to be available from the people, when banks are failing and nothing appears safe?

All Chief Ministers said something on the Plan and one even seriously pressed that banks should finance public sector projects, forgetting that the bank rate was nearly double the rate the government pays on its loans. The only contributions to Planning were made by Union Minister of Planning Mr. Nanda and by Mr. Nehru. Mr. Nanda was against the concentration of economic power and wanted Socialism through a high rate of growth and equality of opportunity. Monopolistic trends have been created in a closed market by the system of industrial licensing. Logically Mr. Nanda should agree to free enterprise which would also serve the purpose of rapid growth. He spelt equality of opportunity as full employment, social services like education and social security like provident funds. He failed to realise that if there was full employment, the people would themselves be able to take care of education and social security. He announced a provision of 150 crores for rural projects to employ 2.5 millions. Why should not the provision be larger so that all are employed? If not, why should it not be in the form of subsidies for private projects to attract private investment in a much larger measure and fully wipe out unemployment and under-employment? Mr. Nanda is learning something of planning but not fast enough for the Third Plan.

Mr. Nehru is also learning. He said: "Merely to put up public undertakings is not Socialism. It is a relatively small step in a certain direction". He admitted that results in the public sector undertakings will have to be much better. If he can turn away from his wasteful projects to the people, wasting for want of work, there will be an advance not only in Socialism but in Planning.

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SIDELIGHTS ::

Mr. T. B. Morton, party chairman of the Republicans reported to the Republican National Committee on June 3 opposing proposals to Congress leading to greater centralisation. The report read: "His party opposed the ever increasing concentration of power in Washington because it believed the individual was better able to plan his own life and spend his own moneys."

"We Republicans take our stand for the individual. We will not barter local and State responsibility for centralisation, nor will we trade a little government intervention for a little handout (grant or subsidy). We consider it sheer arrogance to believe that people in Government know better for the people than they know for themselves".

Citing the Kennedy farm programme, the report said that it "would substitute coercion for co-operation. We are against the insulting concept of government by big brother". Mr. Eisenhower who presided at this fund raising meeting said his party had positive programmes to deal with national problems but keeps them "oriented to the citizen, not to political expediency. I look in vain and with deep concern for fiscal responsibility today in public affairs. As I note the mounting expenditures, I often think how easy it is to buy things when you are spending the other fellow's money".

We have only to read Delhi for Washington. Every word and thought herein coming from the mouth of the Republican leaders may be read as coming from Rajaji about the Congress party's policies and administration in India.

"The air rings with condemnation of communalism and casteism, some of it honest but most of it merely a form of lip-service. It has now become part of the standard equipment for a politician to denounce caste at every turn; but it is by no means rare for politi-

cians, in their steady pursuit of power and place, to seek advantage on the sly by subtle appeals to the caste consciousness of the various sections of the public" writes the *Hindu* commending Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar's address at the Summer School of Anthropology in Kodaikanal. It is everybody's knowledge and joke that the bosses of the ruling party in the State of Madras have become experts in this sly art of simultaneous exploitation and condemnation of a venerable institution that once stood as a rock protecting Indian culture and religion against the most powerful assaults made against it from the imperial centre and by others with imperial favours along with proselytising zeal. This venerable fort is now in ruins obstructing our house-building programme. "Let us remove the stones with reverence and gratitude and not with scorn and falsehood. No one can blame family affection as a bad thing, nor the extended form of family affection known by the name of affection for one's caste or community. It is only when, instead of being the inspiring source of helpfulness it becomes an emotion of hatred for others that either family or communal affection becomes an evil. It would be folly to deprecate or discourage the expansion of affection from self to family, from family to all blood relations, from blood relations to the community out of which the blood-relationship normally issues and thence to the entire people of the land and thereafter spreading out yet wider into humanism. To look only at the negative aspect of the flexible wall and to tear it up may be good for particular purposes and on particular occasions, but not if we look at it from a proper perspective and with positive wisdom and love instead of with jealousy and hatred in the heart."

Sri Sanjiva Reddy, the Congress President desires to start newspapers pledged to Congress

party policies and says that it is difficult to get the finance necessary for the purpose "as the Congress is not the favourite of capitalists today". He seeks to hide the fact that all the newspaper proprietors who are big capitalists are practically under the thumb of the ruling party by reason of the large advertisement revenue depending on government pleasure, the newsprint regulations and many other things else. Occasionally there are mild criticisms in the newspapers of Congress policies and even these small gestures of independence are not to the taste of the ruling party. Hence the desire to have its "own" papers. It is needless to point out that "own" papers can carry no weight. Parasite journals not technically owned by the Congress are far more useful to the ruling party with their appearance of independence, than any government publication or openly owned Congress papers. The lament that the Congress is "not the favourite of the capitalists today" is a hypocritical half-truth. It is true that those who are in business and industry really do not approve of Congress policies, but there is no doubt whatsoever that they are in dreadful fear of what the ruling party can do to them without any remedy in courts. They have to keep on the right side with the ruling party. Enforced obedience is in this context as 'good' as loyalty from the heart. As a matter of fact the Congress party in most States is collecting money successfully for party purposes from big capitalists by systematic levy, and the pretension of want of funds is a joke. It is perhaps indulged in to buttress the falsehood that the Swatantra Party is a rich man's party, which Congressmen find it convenient to spread although it has been demonstrated to be a lie.

One hears every day detailed stories of how Congress leaders and Ministers have been approaching the industrialists, the transport men and others for collections for the party chest. All the ap-

(Continued on page 10)

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RHODESIAN PREMIER'S WARNING

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

No one desires that any race of any colour or standard of civilization should be kept by another people in helotry or subjected to foreign rule by force of military strength, money or organizational power. But when dealing with the affairs of men, facts and history cannot be ignored or by-passed. The laws of human nature and the dangers of the actual world situation must ever be kept in mind. When pursuing an utterly righteous end it may enthrall us to such a degree that we may be apt to disregard these difficulties. Even when advice comes from those whom we cannot regard as disinterested advisers but who are probably interested partisans, we had better listen and consider whether there is any truth and wisdom in what they point out. The actual experience in Congo has furnished a painful and naked demonstration of what must happen if a wrong step is taken or a good step at a wrong time or in a not well-considered manner. The agony and travail of Congo should not be allowed to pass without impressing a lesson on us.

Sir Roy Welensky, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, spoke some truths at Salisbury on May 20. "The West is losing the battle for Africa" he said. No doubt this sets the wrong key for a disquisition. Whose is the battle for Africa? Not the West's, nor Russia's certainly. It should be deemed a battle for human justice and not as if it were a chapter in the cold war strategy of any particular nation or group of nations in the non-African world. He would have been more right if he had said Freedom and Democracy are losing the battle. Perhaps he meant only this although he put it in a different angle.

And why is the battle being lost, whoever or whatever it may be that is losing it? Sir Roy Welensky puts it bluntly against the nations of the West. "They

just do not understand what is involved". He says they are suffering from a wishful illusion which he with African experience does not share. "The West has failed to understand that you cannot buy friends". Money has great power as things stand in the present world; but it cannot serve as a market price for goodwill and friendship. Ill-will and distrust cannot be bought off with money and reconditioned overnight into friendship and trust. "Money and effort have been misdirected" says Rhodesia's Prime Minister. "On this continent," says he, "the shortest road to dictatorship is the premature grant of full democracy". The hesitation to grant freedom to conquered people and the justifications pleaded for that hesitation, no doubt sound stale in the ears of ardent freedom-loving people. But what Sir Roy Welensky says is not an untruth. Between democracy and dictatorship there is, and it ought to be realised that there is, a vast difference. Most released nations are by want of adequate preparation driven unavoidably into the net of dictators. Those who are still free are preparing for that condition. The dictatorship of a *swadeshi* leader is an attractive and tempting bondage. It has in it something of the nature of woman's eternal urge to dependence. In the one case it leads to true happiness but in the other unfortunately it leads to chaos. The individual wife's span of life is about the same as that of the husband's, but the span of life of a nation is much, very much longer than that of any dictator who takes over absolute power. After the best of dictators the aftermath is anarchy or a worse dictatorship.

There is another oft-recurring phenomenon of the nature of tyranny even within the boundaries of an emancipated people's territory—the tyranny of the majority over minority groups and communities. For the latter,

national emancipation is often a fall from the frying pan into the fire.

The only healthy rule for nations is enlightened democracy which can support itself through the centuries without break unlike personal dictatorship which, beginning however benevolently, must end in corruption by the pressure of the power that is enjoyed. The checks and balances provided in proper democracy are necessary to preserve power from becoming a corrupting or tyrannical poison.

It looks as if Sir Roy Welensky's seemingly old-fashioned warning may now inform the West's policy. Indeed it appears as if his is the chastened voice of the Western people themselves. America too may learn from the present agonies in Africa and be inclined to moderate her well-known bias and turn somewhat towards what may be called the restraint of Morleyan liberalism in the field of colonial emancipation. The solution however is not what the Rhodesian Premier indicates. It is not prolongation of colonial domination of one race by another that will serve mankind in the present situation of world rivalries. It is the establishment of a safe and well-organized world-trusteeship which will, by the very nature of its constitution, be more interested in the shedding of its own responsibility as soon as possible than in maintaining its hold and authority, totally unlike the tendencies of the trusteeship of a single nationality which has been tried and found wanting in most cases. There is no better way out of the dilemma than the entrustment for a time of the affairs of emanci-

Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the Government's purposes are beneficent. Men born to freedom are naturally alert to repel invasion of their liberty by evil minded rulers. The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding.

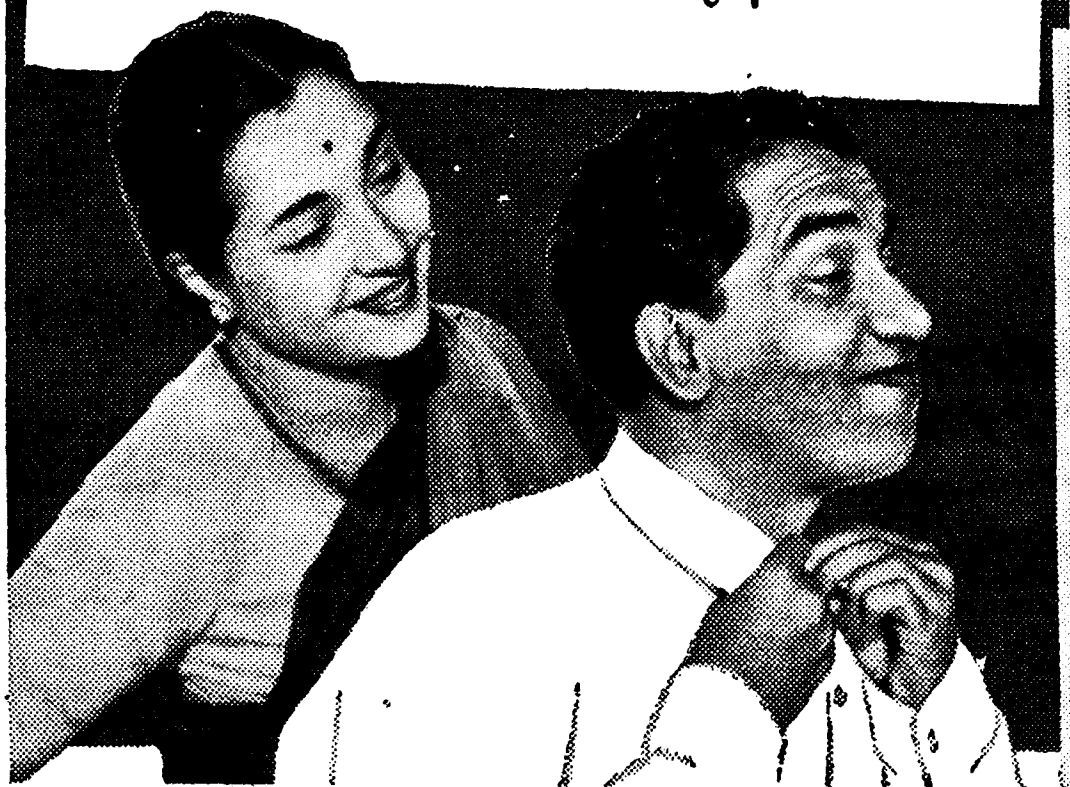
—JUSTICE BRANDIES.

pated people to the care of the United Nations, when our object is adequately to prepare that people for full self-government. This calls for the organisation of a first class United Nations Civil Service such as Dag Hammarskjöld has been pleading for. It is an

urgent programme that must be taken up in the interest of the people waiting for emancipation from the domination of colonial powers or from that of dictators, whose power however great and overwhelming for the time being and able to preserve order is ne-

cessarily limited by the merciless laws of time and is bound to lead to disorder and anarchy after that limit is reached. This is not a scheme with a sinister reactionary intent behind it, but kindness and much wisdom, which is better than thoughtless benevolence.

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'Now I wash all his clothes with SUNLIGHT—and he's happy!
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June 10, 1961

CAN'T THE PAYER CALL FOR THE TUNE?

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

According to a recent announcement in the Press, the U.S.A. which used until now to specify major heads of application of its financial help, is, in future, to give *carte blanche* to the Government of India to apply that help to the third plan as a whole. This line of action is in line with that of the creditor who does not bother how his debtor makes use of the money he lends, whether he uses it or burns it, because the security he holds for the debt makes him free of all worry about the repayment of the loan. But is that the proper attitude for a Government to take, which is interested in the promotion of the welfare of the country to which it has offered financial assistance? For the credit of its statesmanship, it must be concerned about the use made of its loans and grants by the Government and people who take them.

That is how the first aid from the U.S.A. to countries that needed it was organized. When the famous Marshall Plan was offered the 16 European countries that accepted it presented proposals for their economic development and formed an Organization for European Economic Co-operation. The proposals concerned and aimed at a strong production effort by each participating country, internal financial stability, economic co-operation, a solution of the problems of the deficit with the American continent particularly by increased exports. The Economic Co-operation Act passed by the U.S.A. Congress in April 1948 not only authorized expenditure on the programme but set up the Economic Co-operative Administration to supervise the programme. The Colombo Plan also specified defined aims and specific programmes such as 3.5 per cent increase in cultivated area, 17 per cent in areas irrigated, 10 per cent increase in food production, 67 per cent increase in electricity, and so on.

The allocation of funds for specific plans and programmes thus obeyed the great principle of specification or

particularization which is the foundation of any sound Budget—specific amounts of expenditure to be applied to specific purposes. This principle of specification or particularization must be applied also in the case of loans or grants from one Government to another if the purpose of the promotion of economic progress is to be secured. A lending or helping Government may not be indifferent to the ways in which its financial help is utilized unless it is indifferent to the ultimate result or rests satisfied with the comfortable feeling of having done something good or of having eased one's conscience. This precaution is especially necessary against Governments that are bitten by the microbe of anism or ideology. The Government of India, as at present constituted, is bitten by the microbe of Socialism. And so it goes in for nationalization, state industries and big and heavy industries. Lending countries like the U.S.A. or the members of the new Aid-for-India Club are impressed by big programmes—because they are used to them. But big and heavy industries came up in the U.S.A. and other economically advanced countries only after a century of efficient agriculture and small industries, and after roads, and protected water supply and decent housing and sanitation and drainage had been progressively provided. Probably the advocates of these large-scale financial grants and of the *carte blanche* in regard to their use are under the impression that all these necessities of progressive economic life and preliminaries to industrialization are already secure in India.

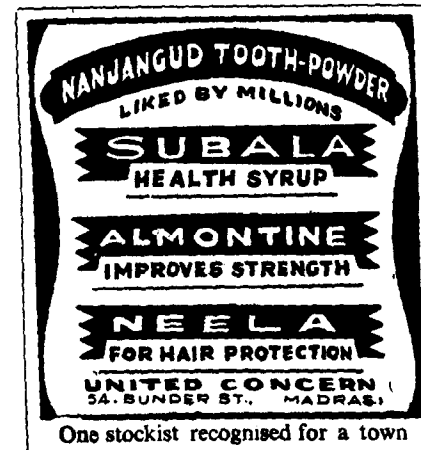
It is not so. The necessities and preliminaries of industrial development have not been made secure. Agricultural prosperity must precede industrial expansion—as the economic history of even the U.S.A. shows. The aids and facilities to that agricultural progress are not here in India in sufficient strength. Road mileage is about 750,000 miles behind economic requirements, village roads connecting the farm with the nearest market town being in tragically short supply, and Indian farming continues to be subsistence-farming. And yet railways are still preferred to roads in the III Plan. Village wells, village sanitation and drainage, rural house reconstruction all calculated to secure the health and strength of the agricultural worker towards greater agricultural productivity, do not figure in prominence or priority

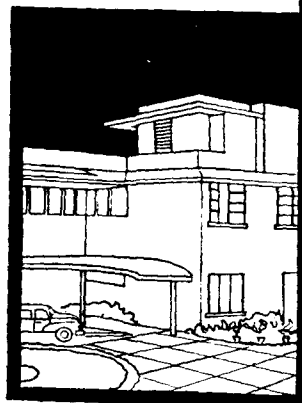
in the plan programmes. Small-scale rural and cottage industries that would find employment progressively for the 15 million unemployed and the 100 million under employed adding to national income and investment do not get the financial assistance and patronage that heavy industries get. Junior technical schools converting the unskilled workers into skilled workers and training the skilled workers for posts of foremen and supervisors are forgotten in the race towards impressive engineering colleges of university standard.

For all this lopsidedness the Governments that send financial assistance without indicating specifically the use that should be made of it, are responsible. To give a free hand in this respect to the Government of India, as at present constituted is no doubt flattering to their vanity and adds to their prestige. "You see" they would tell the people of India and the world, "how these foreign Governments trust us with their money, leaving us to do what we please with it". But more important and lasting than the prestige of the present Government is the permanent and increasing prosperity of the people. And to promote this end, which is, we suppose, the object of these foreign loans and grants and subsidies the lending and subsidizing Governments have a duty, and must do the duty, to insist on the Government of India drawing up and faithfully following a hierarchical table of priorities—of necessities before luxuries, of foundations to under-pin the superstructure—village roads, village wells, rural sanitation, drainage, housing, before railways, heavy industries, steel works and the like. Money given must be spent on the former group of workers first till all these primary needs of the people and the economy are satisfied. That is, if these foreign Governments aim at statesmanship, and are not content to be mere bondholders.

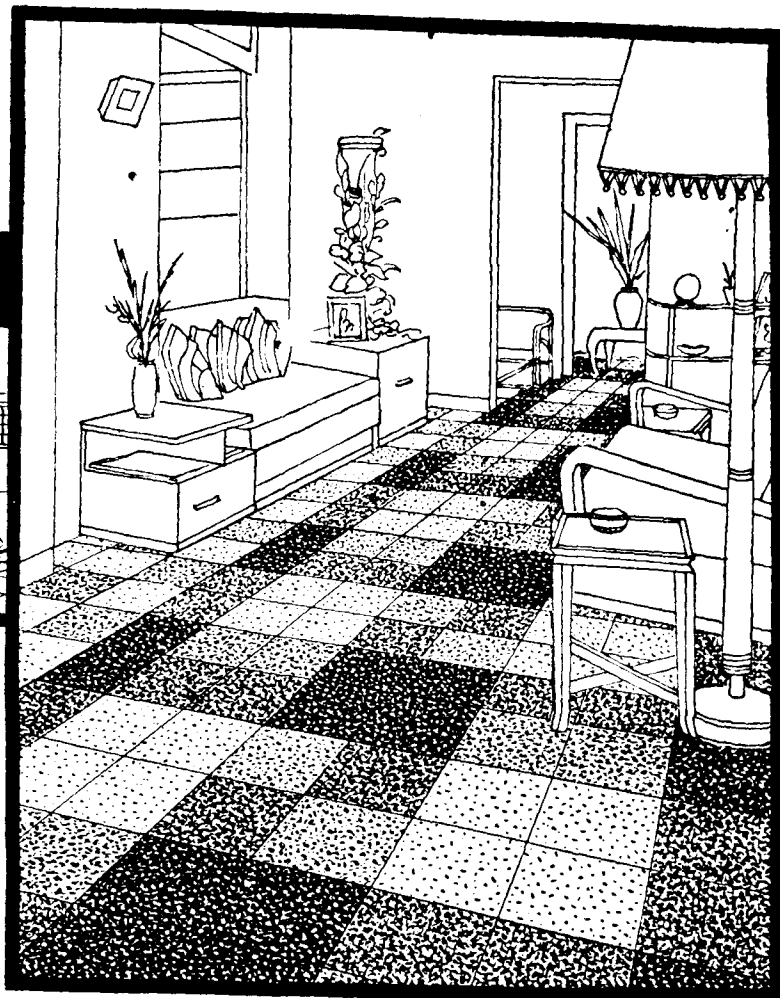
I place economy among the first and the most important of virtues, and public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared. To preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with public debt. If we can prevent the government from wasting the labour of the people under the pretence of caring for them, they will be happy.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.





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COMMUNAL PARTIES: LEGAL SCRUTINY OF PROPOSED BAN

By **PHIROZE J. SHROFF**

The proposal to ban communal political parties is very much exercising the public mind for some time. It is being suggested from some quarters that such parties incite hatred between communities and thus lead to a breach of the public peace. A majority of members of the seven-man special committee of the Congress party in Parliament has expressed itself in favour of the proposed ban. On behalf of the Government we are told that the Union Home and Law Ministries are studying various aspects of the question. The Election Commission has also been requested to give its view on the advisability of banning political organisations with a communal bias from participating in the elections.

The move to ban communal parties has originated from a section of the ruling party and has also received some measure of support from certain quarters which are interested in their own success at the ensuing elections. The advocates of banning what are called communal parties urge that action can be taken against such parties under Article 19(4) of the Constitution and if there is any legal hurdle against taking action it should be got over by suitably amending the Constitution.

It has also been urged that it is not necessary to amend the Constitution to achieve the desired goal and that communal parties can be prevented from taking part in the elections by a suitable amendment of Section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code which makes it penal to promote or attempt to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of Indian citizens by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representations or otherwise. It is hardly necessary to point out that forming a communal party does not fall within the purview of this section and that any amendment of Section 153-A, which is in conflict with the relevant Articles of the Constitution, would necessarily be *ultra vires* and inoperative.

The ardent but far from disinterested advocates of ban on communal parties also opine that the Election Commission can press into service Section 124 of the Representation of the People Act of 1950 which provides *inter alia* that "the systematic appeal by a candidate, or his agent or by any other person with the consent of a candidate, or his election agent, to vote or refrain from voting on grounds

of caste, race, community or religion, or the use of or appeal to religious and national symbols, such as the national flag and the national emblem, for the furtherance of the prospects of that candidate's election" will be a corrupt practice.

Now, every tyro in constitutional law knows that what is repugnant to, or inconsistent with, the Constitution cannot be done under any other law of the land. The right to form associations or unions is a fundamental right under Article 19(1)(c) of the Constitution and it cannot be modified or restricted in any way except under the provisions of Article 19(4) of the Constitution.

Article 19(4) empowers the State to make any law imposing, in the interest of public order or morality, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right to form associations or unions. The framers of the Constitution deliberately used the term "reasonable restrictions". It is for the courts of law to decide whether the restrictions imposed under sub-clause (4) are reasonable. Thus any action taken by the executive under this clause becomes subject to judicial scrutiny. It is not enough to say that the communal parties have to be banned in the interests of public order or morality. The courts will have to be satisfied that in any particular case there is a direct connection between the subversion of public order and the overt act by any particular communal body.

It would be subversive of democracy to amend the Constitution to ban com-

munal parties at the direction of the executive and to oust the jurisdiction of courts in this matter. Such a move would lead to one-party rule which is the very negation of democracy. It is the totalitarian regimes which impose one-party rule on the people and eliminate or liquidate opposite parties by executive action. Further, Article 13(2) of the Constitution clearly provides that "the State shall not make any law which takes away or abridges the rights conferred by this Part (i.e. Part III which deals with Fundamental Rights) and any law made in contravention of this clause shall, to the extent of the contravention, be void".

The Constitution recognises the fundamental right of the people to form associations or unions and thereby secures to the people their right to go in for group activities to promote their well-being without indulging in anti-social activities. It is the very essence of democracy that people should be entitled to form groups or parties with a view to putting forward candidates for election to the legislature. Under our Constitution there is no bar against people belonging to any particular religion, caste, sub-caste or region to form groups of their choice. This is so because under a democratic form of government minorities are to be given adequate protection for the exercise of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Article 25 to 28 of the Constitution state in clear terms the fundamental right of people to freedom of religion. Our Constitution provides freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion; freedom to manage religious affairs; freedom as to payment of taxes for promotion of any particular religion; and freedom as to attendance at religious

THE GANDHI CAP

The Gandhi cap, that's now so much in vogue,
For one true man, crowns many a crooked rogue.

A symbol of all that is good and pure,
Most of its wearers desecrate it, sure!

It has become an instrument of power
That politicians swear by every hour.

Those modern Midases-blackmarketers
Use it to coin gold from the poor man's tears.

What it can do you hardly will believe:
No magic wand did e'er so much achieve.

Who knows if he, whose name to it is given,
For *their* acts may not suffer hell in heaven?

K. T. NARASIMHA CHAR.

June 3, 1961

June 10, 1961

instruction or religious worship in certain educational institutions. For the exercise of these rights religious groups have the fullest right to form communal parties and put forward suitable candidates for the legislature to see that their religious rights under the Constitution are safeguarded and religious grievances, if any, are ventilated and redressed.

In this connection it would be interesting to note what the Constitution of Eire has to say on this subject. Citizens of Eire are guaranteed the right of forming associations and unions, subject to public order and morality. The Constitution, however, specifically provides that laws regulating the manner in which the right of forming associations and unions and the right of free assembly may be exercised shall contain no political, religious or class discrimination. The framers of our Constitution have drawn on the Constitution of Eire in several matters and it would be in the fitness of things if our successive governments will bear in mind the clear prohibition of the Constitution of Eire on the banning of any religious party. In fact, in a number of democratic countries religious parties have taken active part in politics without any let or hindrance by any political party in power.

It is a human tendency to form groups for various purposes. What is called groupism is not bad in itself. What matters are the group activities and the purposes to which they are directed. Communal parties are one of the numerous manifestations of groupism. There is nothing wrong if a community pursues its own advancement or progress or defends its own legitimate rights without doing any harm to the society as a whole. As a matter of fact the beneficent activities of a communal group to promote its own welfare or progress redound to the benefit of the whole society of which the communal group is a part. Communal and caste groups serve a socially useful purpose by providing cohesion, stability, and

mutual understanding and respect between the members of the group. Members of a communal or caste group endeavour to abstain from doing any improper act which may make them lose face with their group. This is a highly desirable social end. Political parties with communal labels will cease to exist when minority communities will feel secure about their rights under the Constitution. When a communal party practises and promotes hatred between communities and incites violence it will automatically come within the disqualification specified by the Constitution. It is common knowledge that many politicians come to power by making adroit of machiavellian use of groupism and after securing their position, start abusing and attacking groupism. The ruling party has not hesitated to make overtures to communal groups or put forward for election candidates of particular communities from well-knit communal constituencies when it has suited its purpose.

It is to be noted that there is no intrinsic virtue in secularism nor any intrinsic evil in communalism. What matters is how secularism or communalism functions in the society. A gang of dacoits may affirm their faith in secularism hundred times a day and still continue their career of murder and dacoity. On the other hand a good Muslim or Christian or Sikh may become a member of a communal organisation and still continue to be a good and creditable member of the society. If 5000 or more members of a community form an association to safeguard their rights under the Constitution or to take a concerted part in the economic, social, cultural or political progress of the country, they do nothing wrong or reprehensible. Ban on communal organizations is, therefore, indefensible on legal or ethical grounds.

There is one party in our country which has its roots outside our country. It has extra-territorial loyalties. It derives inspiration from an ideology which promotes hatred, violence and class war. Several of its leaders have no hesitation in justifying unabashed alien aggression on Indian soil. It has no respect for democracy as practised in civilised countries and as prescribed under our Constitution. It does not believe in representative government and swears by one-party rule. It believes in subversion and strife in furtherance of its aims. The communal parties against whom it is sought to impose a ban are free from guilt on these scores. Is it just and fair that the sheep should be slaughtered and the wolves in sheep's skin go free?

In spite of vehement denials there is no doubt that the real object behind the proposed move to ban communal parties is to stamp out opposition to the ruling party. But the move will defeat its own purpose, because the members of a community like the Muslim, Sikh or Christian, will rally round their co-religionists in whom they have confidence. Nothing will prevent a communal party from having a non-communal name and pursuing its own policies. Statesmanship demands that government be carried on with goodwill, tolerance and just compromise rather than bitterness, intolerance and persecution. No democracy can survive the onslaughts of a militant and uncompromising majority. If today the Congress party bans communal parties, tomorrow another party will ban all other parties, including the Congress party.

SIDELIGHTS

(Continued from page 4)

proaches are linked to some licence or some other 'favours' hanging fire. One is amazed at the complete freedom from any sense of embarrassment or delicacy that has been now developed. It is now collection for the party, but how long will it take for a little more progress to be made in this direction? Once the sense of delicacy or shame is lost in utilising official power for collection of funds, it will be a small jump later on for successors to collect for their own private purposes. The practice of using positions of authority to put pressure for donations for any purpose, be it for the party chest or even for charitable or educational purposes, is fraught with grave moral danger. The passage from such activities to worse things is dangerously easy. Who knows whether even the collections for the party chest are 'properly' accounted for?

Asking for one's party is asking for one's own advancement. The transition from this to one's own aggrandisement is easy, smoothed and lubricated by man's Ancient Enemy, Satan. To permit such collections as are now being done by Congress Committee Presidents, Ministers, Deputy Ministers etc., is to pave the way for worse practices and for making people detest parliamentary democracy as a sink of corruption. SAKA.

June 10, 1961

SWARAJYA

11

CAPITAL COMMENTS:

DURGAPUR AND AFTER

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: With assaults on its authority and challenges to its very existence rapidly on the increase, the Congress is sinking deeper and deeper into the morass of its own myopic folly. The deliberations of the All-India Congress Committee in Durgapur brought no peace to agitated souls, nor any comfort to distressed minds. From all accounts, including their own private ones, the session was "a bad show".

The attendance was thin and the spirits of the delegates were low. If the surroundings were picturesque, the demonstrations outside were hostile. It was unfortunate that Durgapur—for matter of that any place in West Bengal—should have been the venue for a Congress rally under the dark shadows of Silchar; it was ominous that, on his arrival there, the Congress President should have been threatened or confronted with an assassin's dagger, and that the Prime Minister called a "murderer". All this was symptomatic of the insanity that had variously manifested itself in Assam and Bengal because of differences over languages.

The atmosphere was so vicious, indeed so poisonous, that the Congressmen who assembled in Durgapur could hardly have given calm consideration to the various issues facing them. So they went through the traditional ritual, of talking under emotion and passing some high-sounding resolutions. All who incurred the wrath or displeasure of Congressmen were duly warned—the Portuguese, the Chinese and the Pakistanis, abroad, and the Communalists and the Communists at home. Nor was there any stinting in the denunciation of linguism, groupism and the like. For the rest, the Congress addressed itself to the question of national integration, the Indira Gandhi Committee Report having called attention to the disintegrating and dis-

ruptive factors that have emerged or re-emerged at the end of four-teen years of Congress rule.

One should not perhaps make too much of the familiar contradictions in Congress policy. Yet one cannot be totally blind to them. On the eve of the Congress Working Committee meeting in Durgapur, the Congress President told a Press Conference that "a determined attempt" would be made to find a solution to the difficult language problem in Assam while the "determination" petered out into a plaintive appeal for a twelve month *status quo*. Of course, the Congress is also determined to stamp out anything that affects national unity. But it shows no sense of awareness of the ugly reality that its own ranks are swelled by frank opportunists and bogus members. Complacency could not have gone further than the Congress President's statement that no case of corruption on the part of any Congressmen had been received by him for reference to the panel of independent men appointed by him last year while only recently Mr. Shri Ram Sharma publicly alleged that Mr. Sanjiva Reddy killed the Vigilance Committee set up, in the Punjab!

One day recently Mr. A. P. Jain, having met the Prime Minister and talked things over, said that Mr. Nehru "expressed serious concern" at the defeat of the Congress candidate (the late Mr. G. B. Pant's son) in the Sultanpur by-election to the Lok Sabha. Within the next twenty-four hours, however, Mr. Nehru said he was not interested in by-elections because he was not interested in individuals. To him general elections made a difference because of their sure indication of the people's approval or otherwise, of the Government's policy and programme. Neither in the by-election in Delhi nor in that in Sultanpur had he made any pub-

lic appearance. But to Bhubaneswar he rushed, as the mid-term elections in Orissa are no by-elections and as they are also likely to have their repercussions on the general elections in 1962.

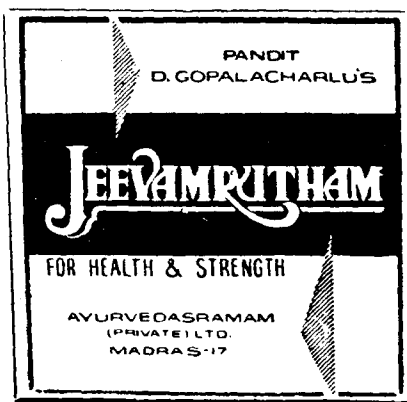
Much of what he found there, on the Congress front, distressed him and even angered him. For, he found Congress aspirants to party tickets, on having been denied them, stood as Independent candidates, forsaking their enthusiasm for Socialism and betraying the Congress; he also gathered that Congressmen were working against Congress candidates from a group other than their own. So, in his best style he went for those who were "stabbing the organization from behind when it is engaged in a battle". "Shaking his fists", he thundered: "Whatever you may do, you reject these Independent Congressmen who are self-seekers and utterly undependable". One can understand his sense of agony as well as of anger. But what one cannot understand is his naivete in talking of Congressmen who stood as Independent, as self-seekers. Few Congressmen really believe in the declared objectives of the Congress; they are Socialists only in name; several of them will lose their interest in politics if the Congress is not in power, with enormous patronage at its disposal.

At the end of his tour of Orissa, the Prime Minister pitied those who stood against the Congress in the elections and said that if the Oriyas wanted a stable Government, they could only look up to the Congress for redemption. The next few days will reveal whether the purpose in holding mid-term elections in Orissa has been served at all, and whether the Congress has been well advised and the State Congress reliably led by Mr. Bijayanand Patnaik.

Weighing the party against "a general background of the misuse of power and privilege", the *Hindustan Times* editorially observes:

Add to this a record of inept administration, galloping corruption

(Continued on page 15)



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I shall not ride abreast"**

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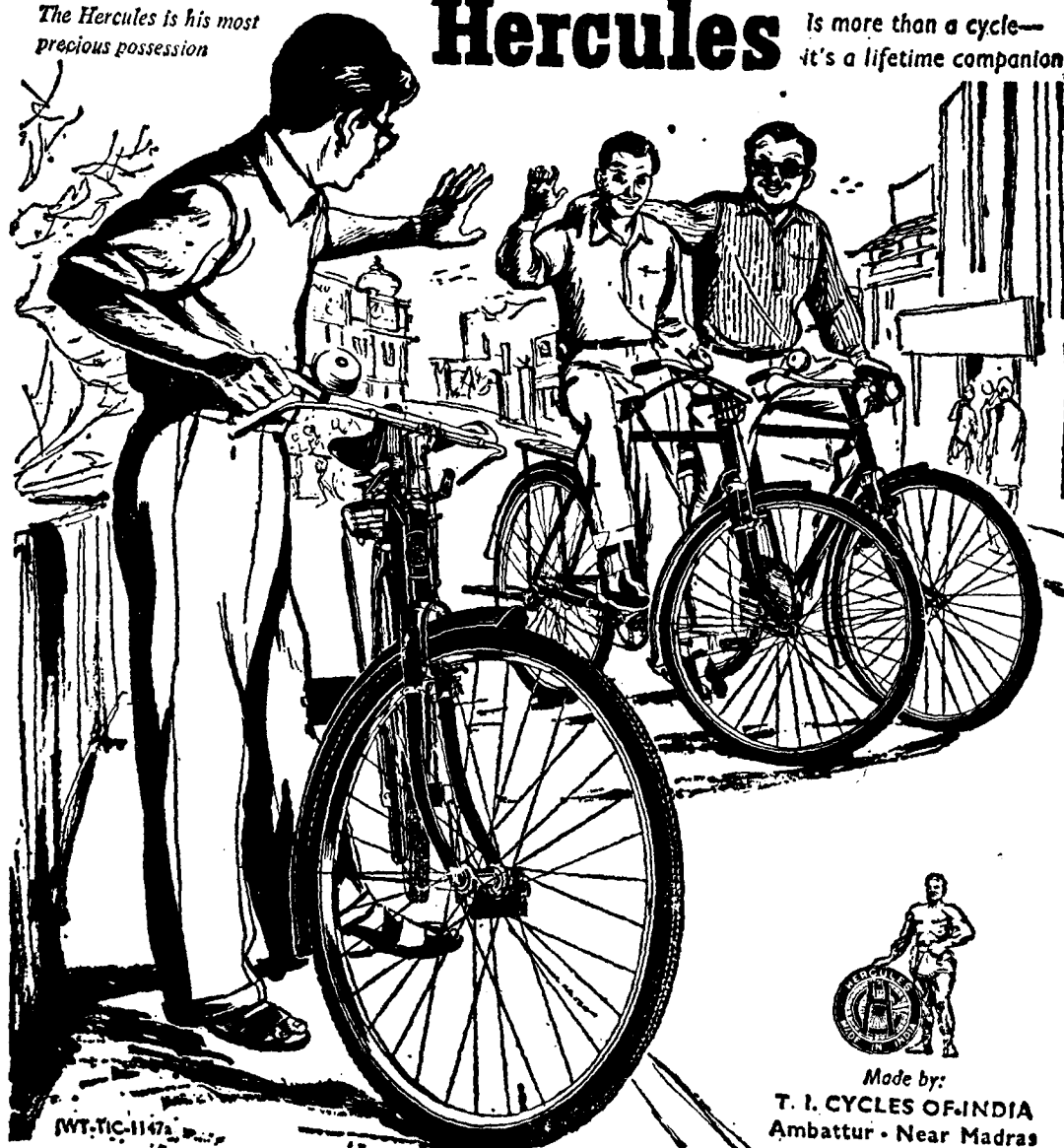
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JUNE 10, 1961

LINGUA FRANCA

This slim volume* is a collection of a dozen articles by divers hands and of press summaries of speeches made by Mr. Nehru and others on the question of the future of English in India. Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer in his article disclaims any prejudice against Hindi and points out that, as it is useful to persons who travel in India in regions other than the South, it may be described as serving already as a *lingua franca*. That term was first used in Europe to denote the polyglot mixture of Italian, French, Greek and Spanish used in the Levant. It also came to be applied more loosely to any language serving as a medium between different peoples. In these senses it may be conceded that Hindi is a rudimentary *lingua franca*. But I would stress that, in the far more important sense of serving as an effective medium of common ideas, Hindi is not, and is indeed a long way from being, the *lingua franca* that the Indian sub-continent undoubtedly needs. Dr. Ramaswami Iyer's article is devoted mainly to showing why this is so and why it is necessary that English, which plays that indispensable role today, cannot be given up for as long as one cares to look ahead.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, who writes on "Five Fallacies about Hindi", cogently refutes the muddle-headed contention that English should be replaced as early as possible by Hindi as the official language of the Union. He points out that, though English came as the language of the alien conqueror, it has established its utility in such a way that the country is far less ready to shed it today than it seemed to be when Swaraj came. If it is contended that the Government and the people in a democracy should speak

the same language, this condition is better satisfied by English, since in every linguistic area there is an educated minority which can use English effectively, whereas Hindi has a negligible following in non-Hindi areas. Besides Hindi is too undeveloped to function as an effective substitute for English as a medium of modern knowledge and of up to date political and administrative ideas, ideas without which a free country cannot maintain its freedom in a fiercely competitive world. Mr. Rajagopalachari goes on to point out that there is no greater delusion than the tacit belief that sustains the Hindi enthusiasts—that some day Hindi will replace the mother-tongues of all the peoples of India. Persistent attempts to foist Hindi as the official language, when it is most clearly unfit for that role, he concludes, will lead not to unity but to disruption.

The articles by Mr. K. M. Munshi, the late Sir Mirza Ismail and Mr. C. D. Deshmukh lay emphasis on the need for Hindi equipping itself over a long period for the role for which it is cast by the Constitution before it can be safely allowed to oust English. They point out, as also does General Cariappa in a vigorous article, that English, as our window on the outer world, must have a permanent place in our schools and colleges. Mr. S. N. Moos, Retired

THE IDEALIST FEW

When the wick is burning at its tip the whole lamp is said to be lighted. The ideals of life find luminous expression only in the top most few. If in any country even a small number of its people succeed in realising an ideal, that is a gain for all the people. If ever the day comes in India when her leading men hold aloft the highest Truth and highest Good above other considerations, and regulate their lives accordingly, then they will give a special direction and power to the efforts of all.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, trenchantly criticises that State Government's short-sighted educational policy in this respect. Mr. Pothan Joseph shows how much the public life of the country owes to English.

The Mysore Government's level-headed evidence before the Language Commission, Mr. Nehru's observations at the Radio Forum in which he stressed the importance of English for scientific and technological progress, and clearly expressed his misgivings about the policy which Hindi chauvinists seek to press on the Government and a brief report of the All-India Language Conference held at Calcutta, are among the other contents of this useful volume.

In Ireland English displaced the language of the people, Irish, almost completely in the long centuries of the English conquest.

CONSTIPATION AND PILES

Habitual constipation can cause piles or haemorrhoids, a condition where the veins within and immediately outside the rectum become swollen. Because of the pain it becomes more difficult and distressing to evacuate the bowel. The constipation gets worse and so do the piles with painful fissures. It follows that, if the acute pain and discomfort caused by the piles can be relieved, evacuation of the bowels will

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* India Demands English Language: Edited by Isaac Mathai; (Mathai Publications, Blavatsky Lodge, French Bridge, Bombay-7. Rs. 3).



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June 10, 1961

That kind of thing cannot happen in the language-conscious world today; especially in India, with its vigorous regional languages, Hindi cannot succeed, any more than English did, in becoming the mother-tongue of the masses. Hindi may in conceivable circumstances replace English as a *lingua franca* in the course of decades, as during the English supremacy English replaced Urdu and Persian. But he would be a bold man who confidently prophesied that this would happen. English is rapidly becoming the second language of the civilised world; Hindi does not seem to have vitality enough to develop so rapidly as to be able to overtake English in this respect in India. In any case it would have to fight for the position on its merits. It would be folly to try artificially to promote it by repressing English, as the result would be a grave set-back in many spheres of national activity.

English has not only brought India into the main stream of world thought. It has enabled us to take an objective view of our own heritage and understand it better. And a small minority of Indians using English may, in the years to come, be a potent power for promoting international understanding. They can interpret the East to the West and the West to the East in a way which it is practically impossible for Europeans to do; for unlike us, they did not know political subordination and had not perforce to get under the skin of an alien civilisation. More concretely, English has built up a tradition of scientific enquiry and administrative efficiency which it would be folly to scrap from *amour propre*. It is for these solid and unsentimental reasons—and not because our languages are not “chic” or because there is no word for asparagus in them (to quote the dismayed discovery of one of the contributors to this volume)—that thinking people all over the country want English to retain an important place in the linguistic economy of India.

N. RACHUNATHA IYER.

June 10, 1961

SWARAJYA

15

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR THE PRESIDENT AND OTHERS

Sir,—Thomas Jefferson was sworn in as the President of the U.S.A., in 1801 and in 1805 he wrote to a Senator as follows: “General Washington set the example of voluntary retirement after eight years. I shall follow it. A few more precedents will oppose the obstacle of habit to any one after a while who shall endeavour to extend his term. Perhaps it may beget a disposition to establish it by an amendment of the Constitution”. He feared “that the indulgence and attachments of the people will keep a man in the chair after he becomes a dotard”. It took more than a century for the American Constitution to be amended limiting the tenure of the Presidency to two consecutive terms. It would be well to extend similar limits to all elected appointments, for it looks a farce that the same person should be elected umpteen times.

Though in the present circumstances, our President has clearly declared his intention to retire at the end of his present term, it cannot be stated that his admirers and followers will not try to persuade him to change his mind. It is therefore advisable that the tenure should be limited by statute to two consecutive terms of five years each as compared with two consecutive terms of four years each in U.S.A.

This raises the question of the tenures of other appointments in certain key posts. In this regard, the Government cannot do better than follow the practice in pre-Independence days. The tenure in the Secretariat of the Government of India was limited to three years, whether of Secretaries, Deputies or Under-Secretaries. The Viceroy, and the Governors of provinces held their offices for five years and the same limit applied to Members of the Viceregal Council, Chief Engineers in the P.W.D. of the provinces and so on.

The advantage in this system is that holders of the appointments do not get rusty in their jobs but continue to deal with their work with fresh eyes and from new angles. Vested interests are not created, there is much less room for complaints on account of nepotism, corruption, etc.

This principle need not be confined to high appointments only; in offices of lesser ranks also the principle will secure no less advantages, for there will be less time for officials to take root, spread their tentacles and aggrandise to the detriment of the general public.

For concrete instance of the bad results arising from the non-observance of this policy, one need only refer to the cases of misappropriations of public funds which come up before courts now and again long after the same had been carried on for several years and the total defalcation had grown too large. As an example it may be mentioned that a clerk remained in charge of the same piece of work involving disbursements for many years and when a change was ordered, begged to be left alone as he intended to retire shortly. Not long after, he had to proceed on leave and his successor brought to light a long-standing fraud involving thousands of rupees of public money. If one cares to look back, many other instances will come to memory.

It is good administrative policy therefore to transfer incumbents from place to place or from one piece of work to another periodically. This will also ensure that no single individual considers himself indispensable or is considered indispensable. On the other hand the changes should not be at too short intervals, for thereby the incumbent gets no chance to get familiar with his duties, to see what improvements are possible and to be true to his employers. As an instance it may be mentioned that during recent years no Chief Judge of the Supreme Court has held the office for a reasonably long period of time.

K. V. IYER.

DANGEROUS PORTENTS

Sir,—While the press and the public have been unanimous in their ridicule and condemnation of the report of the National Integration Committee, the Congress Working Committee has adopted it for implementation! The report is portentous of the repression and terrorism that will be let loose by the Congress Government in the name of steps to bring about national integration.

To placate its power-mad coterie and entrench itself in power, the Congress vivisected the once united nation and as the parochial, linguistic and communal poisons injected in the process have gone too deep for the lost emotional integration to be reclaimed, it has now decided to bring about enforced integration (sic) through the ruthless expedients of collective fines and Preventive Detention Act.

Is this the twentieth century civilization the Prime Minister has been promising to bring about?

Coimbatore. P. S. KRISHNASWAMY.

ALARMING!

Sir,—Not many months have passed by since we read and wept over the tragic episode of journalist Rama Rao owing to the blanking off of alarm chains in our railways.

Yet another shocking news that has come out in the press reveals how the ‘alarm chains’ serve no purpose in our railways. A lecturer of an Agra College and his whole family, it has been reported, were robbed at pistol point in the ordinary ‘third class’ compartment and the worst part of the daring incident was that when some one pulled the alarm chain, the train could not stop.

Similar situations may not take us by surprise, when safety and security of the passengers have totally been disregarded and it seems in the light of these incidents that the railways can do away with the ‘alarm chains’ for they serve no better purpose than mere ornamentation.

Y. V. VISVESWARAN.

DURGAPUR AND AFTER

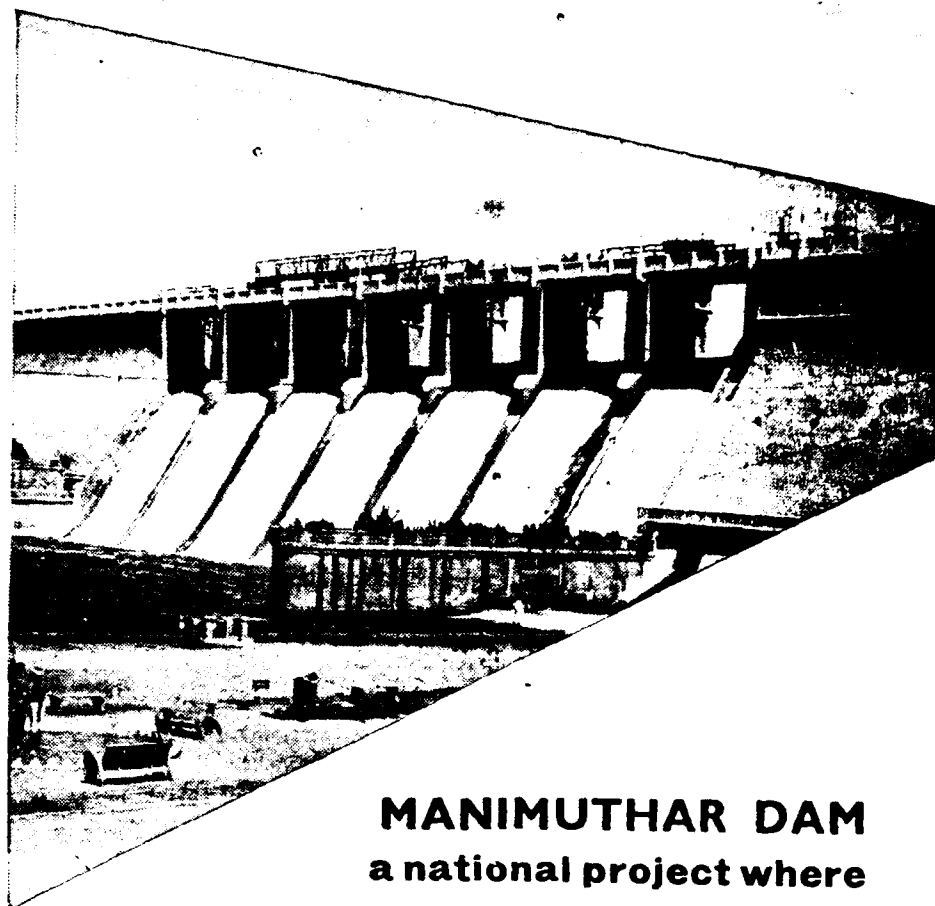
(Continued from page 11)

and rising prices, and you have enough good reasons to go on with why people are reluctant to continue taking the Congress party on trust.

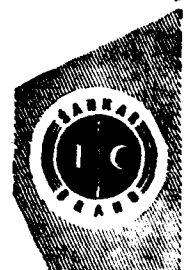
It attaches no significance to the so-called probe into “Sultanpur or New Delhi or Nowgong or Calcutta” but urges Congressmen to “search their hearts and face the reality of their creation in 14 years of power, without a check and without a challenge”. This is, indeed, asking for too much, for Congressmen are united in swearing by a leader who is convinced that the Congress is the only organisation that can give the States individually and the country as a whole, stable Governments. It is not their fault if the people are not enamoured of the same picture of Congress horses and Government stables. There is today an unknown consternation in Congress ranks, over not only what has happened in Delhi or Sultanpur but what may happen all over Orissa.

While in Orissa, Mr. Nehru was making enquiries about Mr. Hare Krushna Mahatab:

The Nightingale that in
the Branches sang,
Ah, Whence, and Whither
flown again, who knows.



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INDIA - 1947 TO 1961

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

There have been many changes since 1947, but the one which dominates and largely explains others is the rise of the power of the Government and the fall of that of the people.

The process has been so steady and subtle that the people have not realised the disinheritance they have suffered in respect of the individual's right to self determination, the freedom to direct his life as he considers most conducive to his happiness. This was enjoyed under British rule but has disappeared now. Even if the blame is not placed on anyone, or on any party, the fact remains that history and human nature have worked to dwarf the stature of the individual to make democracy meaningless and restrict independence and happiness to the very few who are favoured.

The history of the fall of the rights of the people, begins with the sudden descent of power by the unexpected withdrawal of the British both from their civil and military positions. Sardar Patel, as a pragmatist, tried to build and use the power of the services but died before he could complete the task of imposing the necessary checks. The services dug in, with small but not substantial concessions to democracy, largely by meeting the personal predilections of their Ministers. The Controls inherited from the War time economy both strengthened the power hunger of the services and satisfied the sense of importance of the Ministers.

A threat to this position was posed by the termination of Con-

trols on food brought about by the initiative of a Chief Minister in the South. Logically, this should have led to the termination of all controls, but the First Five Year Plan imposed disturbing forces on the economy. The idea grew, perhaps unconsciously that the State had not only political but economic power and both Capital and Labour and middle classes must bow to it.

While the first election under the new constitution returned candidates still committed to serve the people, at the second election those who sought to serve themselves through the Government's policies of planning and control managed to get themselves returned. The second Five Year Plan, accordingly tended to increase the power of government and its officials in the economic life of the people to satisfy those elected to serve their own personal interests.

At this stage, two new factors came into operation. First, the Cold War began to realise the importance of uncommitted countries. Marshall Tito attended the Avadi Session of the Conference and Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchov followed him. The Indian Government managed to obtain massive foreign aid for its State enterprises. Even if the communist nations gave less, they laid the foundations for Statism of their own pattern, on which the Free countries contributed competitively.

The second factor was that the Government began to realise that its political power, which might

have been disturbed by other parties, had its best defences in loyalties to be created in important groups through economic power. Here also a page was taken from Communism, the programme of that Party being progressively copied in the name of the "Socialist Pattern" adopted at the Avadi Congress.

It is necessary to see how these loyalties have been created. For the largest body of voters, the peasantry, so called Land Reform based on the principle of expropriation was offered at the expense of the bigger landowners. Permanent tenure to tenants at will and reduced rentals satisfied the largest number but this left the landless and the cultivators of less than one acre who constitute only a little less than half the total of rural households more aggrieved; because their viability and rising to bigger holdings was blocked. The application of what is called Celings on landholdings was therefore added. As even this process of expropriation did not yield enough land to satisfy even the smallest fraction, the next step was forced, namely Co-operative Farming. Since this was notoriously unsuccessful in working, the proposal now is to reclaim some 2 million acres of the 50 million acres of land which remains uncultivated for various reasons. At the same time, the Block Development Movement and the Co-operative Movement have made public money available to the higher ranks of cultivators, who are politically more important.

June 3, 1961

June 17, 1961

The net position is that everyone in the villages expects much, by the predatory policy of the Congress party which seeks to create support for itself by that means in the coming elections.

This may be a miscalculation because the villagers are tired now of promises while they are painfully aware of partiality, corruption and official and political arrogance. The election in Sultanpur District has shown that it is no longer possible to herd the villagers to vote for the Congress candidate.

The second group whose loyalty has been fostered by exceptional treatment are unionised workers. There is however competition here from the Communists, who are clever enough to claim all gains as arising from their sponsorship or their forceful presence.

The third group is of the licence-holders in industry and trade. To some extent, their support is natural because under the monopoly conditions assured to them in the closed market, they have done very well through prices, well above world levels. Otherwise their support is forced because they have to depend on official favour even for the day to day working of their enterprises, under various controls. They may be apprehensive that the general evolution towards Communism will ultimately atomise them as the landowners are now being atomised. For this reason, their support of the Congress is perhaps less than what appears on the surface.

The fourth class is of officials whose numbers and emoluments have increased relatively more than that of other classes and have become significant at any election. Their loyalty is however weak, as the Delhi by-election showed, for two reasons, first, that their incomes are reduced by the Government's policy of inflation and second, that they do not feel happy being subject to political interference, involving corruption,

nepotism and loss of self respect. They are painfully aware of the poor quality and integrity of the Ministers they serve.

The Congress is becoming aware that even the groups pampered by it may be disloyal in the coming elections. This is driving it to more Planning so that its economic power may become even more effective than now and that of the people even less than what it is at present. If this finally implies Communism and dictatorship, there will be no strength left in the people to question them.

The destruction of human personality in this way is not only harmful to democracy but to economic development. In a recent book "Ten Years of Storm" Dr. Chou, a well known Chinese scholar and writer who also held office till 1958 till he escaped to Hong-kong discloses how Land Reform was secured by killing at least two millions, family life was broken up by the New Marriage Laws and all freedom was destroyed by jail sentences for counter revolution. The net result is that China has today to import grain from Canada, as the ration available is less than two ounces per head. What China thinks of our future should be clear from Mr. Chou-en-Lai's report on Sri Nehru's visit to China: "We must try our best to utilise our relations with India and through her, influence the British Commonwealth to disrupt the capitalist camp. Mr. Nehru wants to step on to the international stage but as a leader of a newly independent nation, he has not much chance to being an international figure. We must help him. Having gained Nehru's good will, we may yet break up the capitalist camp".

This is China's scheme: Russia has used Nehru even more to serve the aims of Communism. On his part he has flattered and encouraged the Communists by imitation of their methods.

Those who believe in the values of freedom have therefore left the Congress Party. Though this may

have strengthened those who have remained to serve their own ends, the day of reckoning may not be far. The elections still provide a measure of democracy, which the common people may use if they gather courage and wisdom, in spite of all that the Congress may do and intrigue. In this connection, the people have to be convinced of two things; first, that it is not too late to turn against the Communist pattern; second, that the only way to do this is to deprive Government of the powers it is assuming in the economic field. If free enterprise as in the Free countries of the world is restored to the people, the economic power of the government will weaken and the political power of the people will increase and they may then obtain for themselves the best from their heritage and from the opportunities which belong to India as a great and free country.



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SWARAJYA

3

NOT WHAT YOU SAY, BUT WHAT YOU DO

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"My horse may be worth twenty pounds in London now" said Mr. Dizzin; "but if I am certain that the Government will take possession of him to mount the cavalry, my tenure in the brute becomes hazardous, and his value instantly drops".

From an old English book.

My dear and enlightened friend Humayun Kabir spoke at the Damascus University on Wednesday last week and in the course of his address, said that all the cardinal principles of Islam had been embodied in the Indian Constitution.

So likewise may savants admiring the Hindu scriptures assert that the cardinal principles of the Upanishads have been embodied in the same secular document. And the Sikh and Christian and particularly the Buddhist doctrines too may be deemed to have been embodied in the proud document.

This follows from the fact that the blessed saints and seers of all religions spoke the same things to all men in different languages and the framers of the Indian Constitution had no intention to ignore or depart from those accepted principles of conduct and pattern of life.

The point however is not what was embodied in the written Constitution but what is being done by those to whom the task of government has been entrusted under that Constitution. Do they fulfil the trust or do they disregard the terms of the trust, even seek to alter the trust deed itself to suit their own conduct?

Not what you talk but what you do matters. Does the Constitution want or permit a party returned to office to expropriate what is the lawfully acquired or inherited property of a citizen, and offer such plunder as a bribe to others for being returned again to power? Does Islam or any other scripture permit this to be done by any king or ruler? Does it permit or want you to condemn communalism and simultaneously and in a sly way exploit the same communal and caste groupings for your own purposes?

Does the Constitution which embodies all the cardinal principles of Islam, as Humayun Kabir says, and as others believed the teachings of Buddha and Christ and the Bhagavad Gita, commend the collection of funds for the ruling clique's party-chest, the operation being entrusted to prominent ministers who hold the power of promoting or ruining the business of commercial men and industrialists and selected go-betweens?

Would it be approved by Mohamed or Buddha or Jesus that officials should be trained and given an intensive course in collecting money for the party from milch-cow men living in daily terror of officials or who amass more wealth through monopolies acquired by the favour of the ruling party, knowing that such training will inevitably and automatically serve to teach ministers and officials how to collect bribes for personal and family purposes later on when they wish to do it.

What matters is not what is embodied in the Constitution, but what is done, by the so-called Congress leaders who have acquired ruling power and who have got a stranglehold on the life and the purses of all the Vaisyas in the country.

Does any of the scriptures of the Hindus or others commend the proportion to which taxation has now grown: taxation open and hidden which makes the cost of living a grievous affliction to the poor and to the orphaned middle classes? An old Chinese saying was 'what you do is loud and drowns what you say'.

One can thus go on writing on the subject of hypocrisy and bad management and the greed for power that has corrupted a party which once displayed exemplary honesty. But what

good is it? Unless we displace the intoxicated demagogues from their places of power, there is no hope for the good people of this country. If this is not done, what awaits us is military rule or worse than that, the taking of all power by the Communists. The only hope of averting either of these calamities lies in defeating the Congress Party at the ensuing elections or at least a measure of success in that direction which will result in the installation of a balanced machine of government in the place of an inebriated political autocracy, which thrives on the international tension and the support extorted from abroad and takes pride in it.

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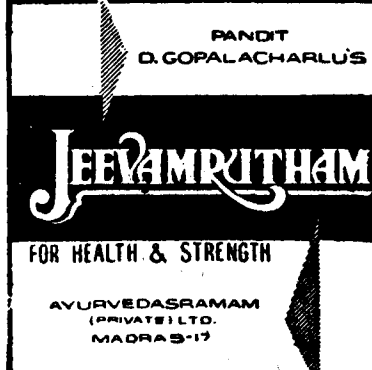
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SIDELIGHTS ::

The following communication has been received from the Secretary of the Hindustan Chamber of Commerce, Madras:

In your esteemed weekly dated the 27th May 1961, you have published two articles one by Mr. C. R. under the heading 'Finance Minister Comforted' and another by Mr. S. Narayanaswamy under 'Imitation in Percentages' and in both certain statements were made which are misleading.

The articles referred to relate to certain percentages of taxation in relation to national income in other countries, a quotation from the Presidential Address. It is regrettable that the authors should quote a sentence from a twelve page address tearing it away from context. The relevant paragraph runs thus:

"Additional taxation of Rs. 1,650 crores during the third plan period appears to be a bit too high within the limits of practicability. It is true that taxation in developed countries is relatively high. The proportion of taxation to national income in U.K. is 28 per cent, in U.S.A. 33 per cent, in Germany 27 per cent, in France 25 per cent, in Italy 22 per cent and in Japan 21 per cent as against 9 per cent in India. But there is this difference that India has just started her planning with meagre resources and the avenues of taxation are very much limited".

It is clear from the above quotation that if the paragraph is read as a whole, it will be seen that taxation is high and additional taxation is impracticable. It has also been asserted that India has just embarked on planned economy and the avenues of taxation are very much limited.

The remarks in SWARAJYA were based on a report prominently published in a leading daily. We gladly publish the above letter seeking to explain the statement. The Finance Minister appears however to have fully exploited the statement in the manner commented on in these columns.

The Congress party's policies and motives lead to the following interesting problems for solution by the Congress High Command.

1. How to abolish castes without losing votes based on Caste affiliations.

2. How to abolish linguistic fanaticism without disturbing linguistic boundaries and the autonomy of linguistic regimes.
3. How to attack Communism and liquidate the Communist party by itself going over to Communism.
4. How to agitate for terminating the international Cold War without sacrificing the aids and loans issuing from the Cold War in support of the Congress party.
5. How to decentralize Government without any loss of power in New Delhi.
6. How to work parliamentary democracy without detriment to actual dictatorship.
7. How to give up English without losing English.
8. How to have no truck with the Moslem League in Kerala without disturbing the Congress-League coalition.
9. How to favour important individuals and groups and create commercial monopolies for them and interpret it as Socialism.
10. How to end corruption in administration without weakening the back-door influence of partymen.
11. How to deflect attention from inefficiency and misgovernment.
12. How to use ministers and officials for collection of funds for the party without teaching how to take bribes for themselves later on when all is quiet on the election front.
13. How to make 2+2 rather five than four.

It may be expected that committees of research will be constituted to investigate and report on these problems!

The following are extracts from an article on *Asian Discrimination* by Christopher Hollis, published in the *Spectator*, London, in the issue dated April 14, 1961:

South Africa's departure from the Commonwealth has inevitably called forth both accusations and confessions that the hands of other Commonwealth countries are not wholly clean. It is answered that, whatever their sins, they at least are not precisely the same sins as those of South Africa... and so it is argued that South Africa is a special case. Yet there is within the Commonwealth at least one example of racial persecution every bit as intense, and every bit as governmentally inspired as that of the South African Government—that in Ceylon. A few years ago I was speaking at a meeting on racial problems in Dublin. At this meeting there was much talk of the familiar sort of the wickedness of *apartheid* policies in South Africa. Then up there got on the platform a little man who said that he fully agreed with everything that had been said in condemnation of the South African Government but that the sufferings of the blacks in South Africa were as nothing to the sufferings of his people at the hands of his Government. He was a Tamil, speaking of the Government of Ceylon, the Government (as it then was) of Mr. Bandaranaike. He produced a very formidable dossier of facts to support his contention.

Indeed his general case can hardly be in dispute. We make an absurd mistake if we assume, as so many do, that racial discrimination in the modern world is only of whites against blacks. I knew Mr. Bandaranaike ever since he and I were officers together in the Oxford Union and saw him very shortly before his death. I had for him an affection, but that he was a fanatical racist beside whom Dr. Verwoerd looks sometimes little better than a parlour pink, he himself would have been the last to deny. His policies have today been adopted with even greater fanaticism by his widow, who thinks herself vowed to a holy cause in implementing them.

The encomiums paid to young Mr. Patnaik for choosing his time, and about his organising ability, the frank statement of the P.S.P. leader about money-power and the uncontradicted secret circular published some time ago in the papers about the use of a mysterious weapon, the *amoghaastram*, all these lead to some unhappy apprehensions about the future of democracy in India. SAKA.

BUNK OF INTROSPECTION

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The word "self introspection" has been sounded in Congress statements after the Durgapur session but we have scanty evidence of any self-critical analysis in the assessment of the political decay in progress. On the other hand the spirit of self-complacency is reflected in a reply given by the Prime Minister to Mr. K. K. Sinha, a student of public affairs and a keen observer of current events, whose indictment relates to the fall in standards of administration and public rectitude. The Prime Minister has been dodging, grievances on the subject by the creation of a machinery of investigation in which people are not likely to have confidence.

One of the earliest demands of the Congress after its founding was for the separation of judicial and executive functions so as to eliminate malpractices in the operation of justice under the British bureaucracy. At annual sessions, we had a resolution insisting that it is not fair to allow the old system of the East India Company where the suspect was caught and tried by the policeman in the role of a judge. If we consider post-Swaraj developments in perspective we find today that in the sceptical efforts of the Prime Minister to put down corruption, nepotism, licence-graft and mercenary intrigues within the ruling party, he has performed a full-circle feat by a reintegration of judicial and executive functions in his own personality as Head of the Government and, interchangeably, as the Supremo of the ruling party.

When Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh referred to some scandalous cases in a speech at Madras, the Prime Minister, peeved in the extreme, asked for the material on which the charge-sheet was based. What Mr. Deshmukh in the public interest wanted was a judicial enquiry whereas the Prime Minister would concede only a process of mockery in respect of any enquiry into facts. The very idea of

bundling all original and vital documents for examination in Flag Staff House by himself or his secretariat was bound to make it a specious and stultifying procedure. The same theatricalism in a different form was staged by the appointment of the Jagannathdas Commission bearing the prestige of a High Court Judge distinguished for integrity and intelligence. Complaints were to be submitted about any administrative abuse or serious irregularity, but it is found after many months of keeping the door open that no charges had been filed. The inference drawn by Mr. Nehru is that charges of corruption and discrimination mounting in the country, must be the invention of *mala fide* critics. Perhaps, his self-introspection leads him to conclude that while "lapses" occur at low official levels, the administration goes on hunky-dory.

To indicate the fallacy of this self-righteous verdict let me quote an official press-release dated May 28 (New Delhi) the very first paragraph of which states that one hundred and thirty Government-employees, 24 of them gazetted, are facing an open enquiry started by the Special Police Establishment in April 1961. Details follow about high officials from the Defence Ministry down to the peccadilloes in other departments including a dignitary in the branch of Government Epigraphy where an officer is sentenced to undergo two years rigorous imprisonment for charges on seven counts. Particulars are superfluous, but the crucial question at issue is what might have happened if all the material warranting action by the Special Police Establishment had been trundled up for examination by the minions in the Prime Minister's secretariat where he wanted even the Deshmukh indictment to be scrutinised under his supervision. How is it that no member of the public did ever approach the judicial tribunals.

and special organisations improvised by the P.M. to receive reports so that corruption and waste could be "eschewed"? On Government's own tepid accounting, we have had this press-release admitting dishonest antics at the level of the Union Government. No statistics at State-level.

From the time of the Sadashivnagar Congress there has been much beating of the drum calling for any complaints, provided evidence is handled according to the Prime Minister's prescription of filing first information in his forum and leaving the initiative to unknown quarters with vindictive potentialities. As he sees it, the Prime Minister has a clean slate in front of him, whereas there is a crisis of confidence in the bureaucracy.

It looks as if the time for self-introspection has not really come with the Durgapur mummery of white-washing. Indeed the real business of scrambling for power has begun to cloud the entire atmosphere, the applications for election-tickets being reported to have reached the level of 2500 in the U.P. The trickle will duly grow into a stream but in the very first report it is given out that Pandit Nehru has also applied humbly and meticulously for one ticket so that he might be re-elected. He, the dispenser of all favours in India, is advertised as applying for a favour—a move no doubt for dramatic effect. There is no sign of self-introspection. The danger of hero-worship is that it ferments into a condition of self-worship on the part of the hero.



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June 17, 1961

SWARAJYA

RELIEF FOR STERILITY, OLD AND NEW

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The man of science is a child made large. The urge of curiosity and adventure that is the moving force in the child takes the man of science to unknown territory and reckless pursuit. But what is pardonable or even healthy in the child is unpardonable in the mature man of science. Example, the atomic breakdown and all its consequences.

I remember how one day I set fire to a cloth hanging to dry in a room and watched the flame going up and when I was thoroughly delighted with the scene I went and told my aunt to share in the entertainment! Of course she and others rushed to put out the fire; else the old fashioned house with rafter and bamboo roofing would have gone into flames entirely.

This was an advance demonstration on the lines of the present nuclear technology and the Geneva Conference which is trying to put out the global fire. The man of science behaves as I did; but when he has seen something important happening, he seeks to put his results to some human use according to his ideas of human wants, in order to get value for his wares. He is engaged not in an appointed task for humanity, but seeks to sell to humanity what he has discovered by toilsome accident; he seeks to cash in the results of his curiosity and idle adventure. It is topsyturvy, the reverse of the proper order. Dr. C. V. Raman therefore rebukes his brother scientists who have tried shooting to the stars.

The successful fertilisation of a 'ripe' ovum in a test tube has been recently announced from Tokyo. The Japanese expert claims that the test-tube-impregnated ovum when transplanted in the womb of a sterile woman would (or might, to be more accurate) enable her to bear a child. So, says the scientist, here is ser-

vice to mankind; the unfortunate women who have not been able to bear children can have a son or daughter with the help of a scientist! Modern scientific adventure standing on its head and playing tricks is good entertainment indeed. Standing on its head, because it first proceeds on its own urge and then thinks of human use for what it comes across.

Ancient wisdom has a right to sneer at such successes, for thousands of years ago it presented a complete, more natural, less dirty, safe and more certain, not one but a couple of solutions for the problem. Instead of surgical transplantation, with all its doubts and risks, of other people's ovum and sperm prepared by the diligent science-man in his laboratory, our unlearned forefathers permitted bigamy as respectable in such cases and as an alternative founded the institution of adoption. The nursing of affection for children taken from kinsmen's families or elsewhere and of their deliberate choice was the old recipe. The ugly transplantation of ovum and semen is an awkward edition of the natural procedures advised by our ancients. For is not the womb of a sister or cousin or other relation as good and safe a laboratory as any of the scientists? It has the advantage of a more expert directorate than any laboratory of the present day can claim to possess. Modern science and technology have wandered a long way, so to say, and by a full circle arrived at ancient wisdom. In essence both procedures amount to the same thing, the adoption of some other mother's child as one's own.

The painless way of adoption gives to the childless mother a ready-made young baby and not a fertilised ovum from different unknown sources purchased by the scientist. A born baby is certainly a better bargain than the surgeon's tube. It is certainly

cleaner and less risky in every way. One does not know what Dr. Roundabout's gift may turn out to be. You know whose child you adopt, what he or she looks like and more or less what probable inherited character may develop as the boy or girl grows. Adoption by choice, open and public, sanctified by religious rites and fostering love is far superior certainly and more enlightened and more moral than the concealed adulteries done at the instance of the technological biologist in his laboratory and sold to you.

It is better that you know whose child you take by adoption knowing how the boy or girl looks like, and came of what parentage. Certainly it is better than this filthy process called artificial insemination or test-tube-fertilisation. Better still, is acceptance of God's will and making the wisest use of your capacity for affection and your wealth when you have no child of your own to shower it upon. And there is a whole world of hungry poor children waiting for that love and that material assistance which by reason of childlessness you can easily afford to give. May the urge of benevolence never dry up in men and women and may sterility be an opportunity and not looked upon as misfortune. And may the dangerous vanities of science come to be looked upon as wicked, like all other vanities.

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THE LESSON OF ASSAM By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"Shastri's Language formula: Continued use of English at State level in Assam": this headline figured in all the papers last week. The *a fortiori* argument is unanswerable, and the conclusion inevitable, that not only in Assam but the continued use of English at inter-provincial and central level is the wisest policy to follow at Delhi; unless indeed a new rule of public life in India is sought to be reached by convention that riots and disturbances and police killings must always precede government wisdom. The nation owes a debt of deep gratitude to Assam and to the Bengali people who have paid a heavy price to teach us all an important lesson. Every one now has realised the unwisdom of withdrawing English and what horrors and follies follow and fill the vacuum.

What is found necessary and good for Assam and for one year is most probably good for all India and for all time, because these feelings about language are not going to die in a year or two. Time limits are an excuse for incapacity to take proper decisions by reason of the conflict between incorrigible bias and plain common-sense. It is the result of want of courage to do the right thing at the right time and a Micawberian faith in the theory of something turning up later which may make things easy for a bankrupt.

The truth is written in large and clear characters that as far as modern India is concerned the English language is and must continue to be the instrument of unity and impartiality, the window for daylight, the path to progress and the highway to international position.

National dignity is bound up with the classical language of not with Hindi or any other local tongue, but with the classical language of India, namely, Sanskrit. That great language may hold all our national ceremonials and be our symbol of seniority among the

peoples of the world. But the political and administrative medium of multi-lingual India had better—for the sake of peace if for nothing else—be the same as that of Britain and America, a medium which the elite of our nation has laboriously and successfully acquired and has been using for over fifteen decades, which has united all the regions of India and places them all on an equal level.

The withdrawal of English from its present position in the Government and the Universities will result in disastrous inefficiency of administration, the conversion of United India into a group of warring is-

lands, with tyranny and disaffection raging in each autonomous area. Nature has, as is usual with that stern mother, given us notice in advance. We have seen how ugly, things can become if we remove this vital instrument of modern unity in India. If we learn a lesson from the Assam troubles, she must be considered to have constituted herself a public benefactor at great sacrifice.

Sanskrit and the Vedas bound us together in the golden past. But today's classic is English. It binds us all with a strong rope; it is a medium that is not only a medium but a sustaining blood vessel of nutrition. And what is most important, it gives us a high place in the larger world, gives equal rank to Nehru with Kennedy and Macmillan and an advantage over everybody else.

CRISIS

Facing NEWSPAPERS in India

IT is our duty to tell the public that due to the acute shortage of newsprint in the country at the present moment, several Newspapers face the possibility of having to close down.

The Ministry of Commerce does not appear to have taken adequate steps to ensure availability of newsprint against licences issued by them to Newspapers on the Rupee Account. The Ministry has issued authorizations to Newspapers for NEPA newsprint when the mill is unable to execute orders. There has also been inordinate delay on the Ministry's part in the issue of licences for the current licensing period. The situation facing the Newspapers is grave as there are today no stocks of newsprint in the country to meet an emergency such as this.

Issued by the Indian & Eastern Newspapers Society and published by this Newspaper in the national interest.

CAPITAL COMMENTS:

MANOEUVRES AND MANIPULATIONS

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: For once the familiar queues for tickets at cinema houses recede into the background before those for Congress tickets for seats in Legislatures and Parliament. From the august Prime Minister downwards, everyone is apparently expected to apply for one—and wait, in which case it is not unlikely that Mr. Nehru too will receive a copy of the questionnaire about his aptitude, his attitude, his activities and his record of service, so that the selection may become easier in the process! Whoever has planned this—and the Congress is so overwhelmingly plan-minded—deserves the first Congress ticket. And since one Plan follows another for our common good, it may be that according to another—and a bigger and a better—Plan, those who will be elected on the Congress ticket, will also be invited to apply likewise for Ministerships! And if the present scramble for election tickets is any criterion, it may be easily assumed that almost every Congress M.L.A. and M.P. will press his claims for preferment when Ministries are to be formed. Congressmen have, it seems, made office popular, though themselves unpopular.

What suited the Congress in Kerala in respect of the election of the Speaker is an arrangement by which it could vote for the Muslim League nominee without seeming to have violated the anti-communalist code. The political hat-trick converting the Leaguer of yesterday into an Independent of today and making him thus acceptable, if not respectable, was a triumph of ingenuity, not of integrity. The simple device or ready deception was so transparent a fraud on the public that it evoked strong criticism from the Leader of the Opposition in the Kerala Assembly. Indeed, even the friendly Press was hardly prepared to swallow the sugar-

coated formula which was pressed into service to perpetuate the old alliance. To have resorted to so blatant an expedient was, in all conscience, bad; what was worse was the Congress claim that it conformed to the letter and spirit of its new anti-communal policy. But nobody could be deceived. The *Hindustan Times* sharply described it as "a piece of nauseating hypocrisy"; it was nothing less.

The Silver Jubilee of the All-India Radio (on June 8) was rightly an occasion for, thanksgiving and felicitations-offering. Its growth from modest beginnings into a vast organisation is one of the outstanding events in contemporary India. Its strength or popularity has been the result of wise planning and hard work at the administrative level. Much of its recent progress is due to the drive, initiative and imagination of its late Secretary, Mr. P. M. Laud, and its present Director-General, Mr. J. C. Mathur. Among those who have mastered the technique of the mike and made broadcasting highly attractive as well as effective, on major occasions, there is perhaps none comparable to Mr. Melville de Mellow. He would have brought distinction even to the B.B.C. While the A.I.R. has doubtless done well in the main, it could have done better. It was, however, under serious handicaps. For one thing, it has functioned as a department of the Government or a limb of the bureaucracy, without the hope, or even the pretence, of ever becoming autonomous like the B.B.C. For another, Dr. B. V. Keskar, who may have doubtless served it with zeal, has however stayed there for too long.

For no fault of its own, the Andhra University for about a half-year now, is without a properly elected Vice-Chancellor. It

is obvious that something has gone wrong somewhere, in a matter which should have posed no problems at all. Andhra could once boast of India's most eminent Vice-Chancellors. Though of lesser eminence, the late Dr. V. S. Krishna had yet eminently succeeded in building up the University with no loss of prestige. There is no paucity of talent in Andhra. There are men of ability and experience who could easily vie with other Vice-Chancellors in the country. When the selection of a panel of three was left to a committee of three distinguished Indians, it was assumed that there would be plain sailing. Nobody was ever prepared to think that a leading educationist (Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar), a Judge of the Supreme Court (Mr. Justice K. Subba Rao) and a Union Minister (Mr. B. Gopala Reddi) could not suggest names out of which at least one should be acceptable to the head of the State! But in hurling a surprise at everyone by turning down the list and asking for fresh names doing little justice to the committee and less to the panel, Andhra's Governor, Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, as Chancellor, was ill-advised. The University now stands confronted with an impasse over technical difficulties as well as temperamental differences. Any attempts that may be made to amend the University Act for tiding over an awkward situation, will be resented as an assault on the autonomy of the University and a crude exhibition of governmental interference, for saving the Chancellor's prestige. The Governor-Chancellor cannot convince anyone that he either knew more, or had at his heart the interests of the University more, than Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Mr. Justice K. Subba Rao and Mr. Gopala Reddi, all combined. Nobody, however high placed, should ask for, or be allowed to have, the privilege of taking a second wrong step, having first slipped. The whole episode is one of incredible bungling. Mr. Sachar has made a mess of things—and the Sachar mess is a sorry mess.

A PURIFICATORY RITUAL

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

What is hypocrisy? It is not mere simulation or pretence; it is something more. If you elaborately set up a virtue or pattern of goodness for others and you practise dissimulation while you do just what you have preached against and the pretence is obvious to everybody, you are a hypocrite.

At Durgapur a firm resolution was passed by the Congress party that there should be no dealings with communal parties and a direction was issued to Kerala that there should be "no truck with the Muslim League" in dealing with the Speakership vacancy.

Now, a joint meeting of the Legislative parties of the Congress, P.S.P., and the Muslim League of Kerala State was held on June 7 at Trivandrum and it was announced that the Muslim League party leader Mr. Mohammed Koya should go through the ritual of announcing his resignation from the Muslim League and then all the parties including the Congress would put him up jointly as the Government nominee for the Speakership.

Mr. Shankar (leader of the Congress party) claimed that this was a "satisfactory" settlement and that this was an acceptance of the wishes of the Congress High Command "in spirit as well as in letter". The leader of the Opposition Mr. Nambudiripad however declared that "nobody will be deceived by this formula jointly arrived at by the Congress and the Muslim League", that this was a "virtual rejection of the Durgapur line of 'no truck' with communal organization" and that it was obvious that the "Congress High Command had given its blessings to this shameless violation of its declared policy".

The straight-forward course would have been for the Congress to say that though now the Congress has resolved to have no alliance with any communal

organisations in future, it feels bound to respect the obligations arising from the alliance already entered into with the Muslim League in Kerala and therefore it accepts the claim of the League to the Speakership. But casuistry and hypocrisy are more agreeable to the Congress than the respecting of contracts or frank confession of failures.

The Congress party had entered into an alliance with the League in Kerala on well understood terms. The very resolution laying down future policy implied that an alliance had been previously formed such as was not now favoured. Whatever new policy the Congress chose to adopt, its previous commitments should continue to be honoured and there should have been no shame or difficulty about giving the Speakership in Kerala to the Muslim League.

Mahatma Gandhi had demonstrated in a great and unforgettable manner the duty of honouring commitments. He insisted that the Congress Government of India should pay the fifty

crores to belligerent Pakistan which India had promised to pay, even if it should become an addition to the sinews of war for aggression against India. But the present Congress leaders have no regard for commitments or contracts or property rights. They prefer to solve difficulties by hypocrisy. The leader of the Muslim League party is given the speakership, because unless the League is placated Congress cannot get on there. So a ritual is suggested that the leader of the League party should "resign" his membership of the League and then the Congress party would nominate him with a clean conscience absolved from the sin of disregarding the Durgapur resolution even before the Durgapur ink was dry. The League leader accommodates himself to this ritual and goes through it—which of course is a pity but understandable for he gets what he is otherwise entitled to—and the scene is closed and declared O.K. A so-called anti-communal resolution would look nice and so it had been passed. A 'truck' with the Muslim League was necessary and so it has been done. And a ritual as prescribed by the Pope resolves the contradiction. It is not for non-believers to cavil.

A PLAN FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION

By Dr. A. NARASINGA RAO

The object of national integration is to produce among the citizens of the Indian Republic a feeling of unity and kinship, a sense of pride in belonging to a great country and a determination to do one's utmost to remove want and suffering and to raise the level of life among the citizens both materially and morally.

It might at first appear that such a movement is unnecessary when the country has won freedom after a struggle and when independence has been already established. However, there are special factors such as the huge size of the country, the wide level of the cultures of its inhabitants ranging from hill tribes to highly civilised communities, the bewildering variety of languages and social customs, religious differences, etc. which make the

passage from a feudal age to a modern democracy, a somewhat slow process. The feeling that India is a single country was perhaps present under rulers like Asoka and Akbar, but it developed into a powerful impulse only after the establishment of the Indian National Congress. It was further intensified by the freedom struggle under Mahatma Gandhi. This binding force, which was due to the presence of the British disappeared with them and all the linguistic and other loyalties have revived after freedom was won. The first question to ask is: What are the forces which bind human beings together, and give them a feeling of oneness and stimulate them to noble efforts? The forces are partly emotional and partly intellectual. Secondly, how are human beings organised into smaller and bigger groups among themselves?

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The smallest natural social group is the family consisting of the husband, wife, children and close blood relations. The binding forces are here instinctive and strongly emotional. It is a heritage from pre-human ancestors. Sometimes a tribe is merely an overgrown family tracing its ancestry to some remote progenitor.

Now loyalty to other members of the family may be considered to be a loyalty which competes with loyalty to the State and is therefore a rival to it. There are two ways of dealing with such a situation, the *jungle method* and the *civilized or democratic method*. The jungle method is to destroy all rivals and corresponds to what some of the Moghul princes did, imprisoning or killing all brothers so that there are no rivals left. This is the method used by totalitarian countries, where the State

combats the family loyalty by loosening the marriage tie, taking direct charge of children, indoctrinating them and encouraging them to spy on their parents and report against them for any utterances disloyal to the State. The wife also is encouraged to report against the husband, and the husband against his wife, and so on. The democratic method meets the situation by accepting family affection as natural and picturing the State as a fulfilment of the same idea with the State as a big family, with citizens who are as brothers and sisters and so on. Religion which also seeks a higher integration transcending the family, pays tribute to the family model by expressions like the "fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man".

A number of separate families living in close proximity in the same village, sharing similar experiences, meeting often and dependent on each other constitute the next bigger unit. Here the ties are not only emotional but also intellectual and cultural such as common festivals and religious practices. The jungle method would seek to liquidate these ties by pooh-poohing religion and socio-religious practices, discouraging festivals and replacing them by national celebrations and so on. The democratic method would let these alone, not interfering with them and treating them as harmless manifestations in which the energy of the people finds self-expression.

The caste system is an inheritance from the past which served a useful purpose in its time by forging bonds transcending village frontiers and emphasising ideals of austerity and learning, chivalry, fair dealing and service. In their original forms they were craft guilds which helped in conserving traditional skill, gave a sense of unity and kinship and security to the weaker members, and a sense of pride in their work. Today with facilities for travel and Western education, their influence is fast disappearing. Where they survive it is in relation to marriages, inter-dining and religious observances which affect one's personal life and have no political significance. Even these are fast disappearing, and the best way of dealing with them is to ignore them altogether, and not to use the jungle method against them as the Congress wishes to. They would have long ago ceased as a political force, but the Congress Government itself took the false step of making an elaborate schedule of backward communities and forced them into the legislative bodies and important appointments by accept-

ing far lower standards than for the other communities. Now it is good to give opportunities by way of educational facilities for those who are backward, and with these special advantages they must be encouraged to come up to the level of others and compete on equal terms with other communities for elections and appointments. To lower the standards for appointments and elections for particular communities is tantamount to saying "You are not quite fit, but we will take you and will willingly lower our efficiency because you belong to a particular community". Such an attitude demoralises the community and perpetuates their inferiority and removes all incentives for betterment. Once having committed this mistake, the Congress party found that it gave them the advantage of securing votes from these communities because of the special favour shown to them at the expense of the other communities, and so this relaxation of standards continued. It ill befits the Congress Government which started the communal game and is continuing it even today to throw up its hands in horror and decry communalism and casteism as anti-national forces!

My suggestion for dealing with casteism and communalism is to ignore them, and not give them a false importance by jungle warfare methods. There is no need to amend the Indian Penal Code to make disturbances of communal harmony an offence, or to punish those who create disaffection on grounds of religion, caste or language. For, there are already provisions for punishing those who create disaffection or make disturbances. If a candidate urges communal considerations as to why he should be elected, let us educate the electorate to ignore such considerations and to consider fitness as the only criterion for election. There is no road to democracy except through the education of the electorate and the building up of a sturdy common sense.

A common language is a powerful aid to understanding and therefore to sympathy, and in the British days, the Congress was keen on linguistic provinces. The States in India are now organised mostly on a linguistic basis and probably some more will follow suit. Fearing that provincial loyalty is a powerful rival competing against loyalty to the State, the present Government wants to eradicate it by jungle warfare methods. Now the power of speech is man's most precious possession and the gateway to all knowledge. And so, any homage paid to one's own

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language is something good, and the binding force of the mother tongue should be utilised in building up a strong nation, because it has its own value and need not conflict with loyalty to the State. To fight against it is both unnatural and foolish. One should rather try to canalise it and build up a sense of nationhood based on it.

Let me organise in each important village or town in every State groups of mature persons who understand the need for national integration. These clubs or "integration centres" will invite and offer hospitality to cultured persons from other States or linguistic groups to come and stay and mix with the local inhabitants, explain to them their own cultural achievements, their literature, art, and social habits; their own approach to similar problems, and generally point out how, underlying all apparent differences of dress, food habits and language, there is a deep unity in all fundamental matters. The guests including men and women will stay at least for a week, visit homes, address gatherings and generally promote mutual goodwill and understanding. This implies the existence in each State of mature persons who believe intensely in this integration work as a national necessity and are willing to devote a part of their time and energies for this purpose, by visiting centres in other States. All this may sound like propaganda, but there is really an essential unity in the culture of our land fostered by epics, pilgrimages, ideas like *dharma* which permeate all the linguistic cultures and this unity has only to be brought to the surface to be appreciated. Compared with the importance of the results to be achieved, the expenditure is very little and can be met from local collections supplemented by State and Central grants, and railway concessions. What is required is faith and energy, and if the scheme is worked intensely for five years, we may expect some tangible results at the end of the period. As the idea of the different provincial or linguistic groups as essential parts of the country as a whole permeates the masses, problems of linguistic minorities, additional State languages, etc. will get solved in a spirit of give and take. There is nothing wrong with our people. Independent India is still young and has yet to realise a sense of its own unity, and this takes time. The scheme outlined above will shorten this period of time.

Instead of spending our energies in decrying smaller loyalties which have

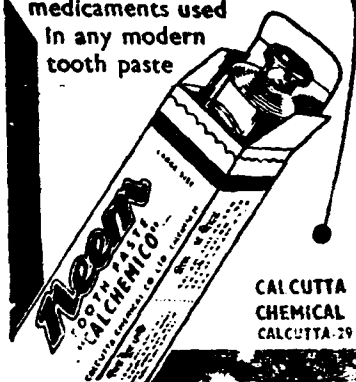
their own place, let us rather concentrate on integrating the country at the linguistic or provincial level where it is weakest, and make our people realise that the obvious differences in dress, habits and language between those in different provinces correspond to the natural differences between brothers and sisters who are children of a common mother, and that we owe our

loyalty first and foremost to our Motherland.

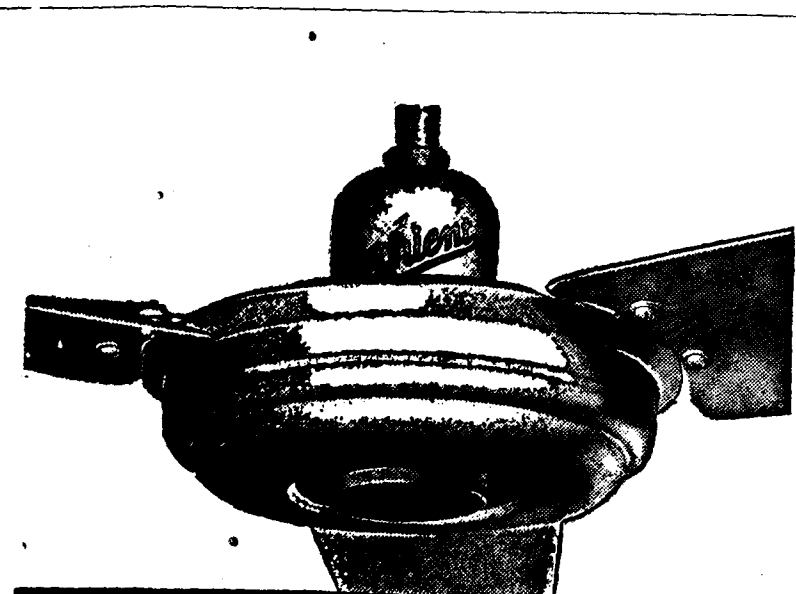
Just as communal or linguistic loyalties should not stand in the way of loyalty to the country, even so our loyalty to the State should not stand in the way of still higher loyalties such as loyalty to humanity as a whole, loyalty to *dharma* and loyalty to one's own conscience.

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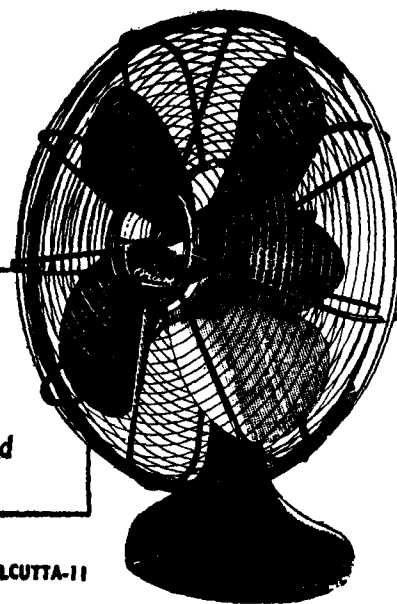


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RAJAJI SPEAKS TO THANU

You drew right, Mr. Thanu, when in one of your weekly cartoons you made me say "Congress is Government-backed and so wins easily". I said this not now, but long ago, and have been saying it all the time. It is this that made me demand that the Congress Government ought to vacate office some months before election-time. And perhaps it is this that makes Congress not do it!

What you say that I say has, indeed, to be repeated and re-enforced. As each year passes, the power of the government, that is, of the party in office, is expanded and entrenched in more and more fields of national life, and as a result, as each year passes, the power of any party or people to oust them from Government is more and more reduced. If we let a political party seize more and more of economic power, we make it more and more of a dictator and less and less open to replacement through the ballot box. As each election returns the party to power, it becomes more and more unassailable. It is this that made the Congress Government in Delhi so eager to oust the Communist Government in Kerala.

When once free economy is replaced by controls and licences all at the disposal of a particular political party, the people are doomed to be ruled for all time by that party.

This is both pessimism and realism. It follows that delays and hesitations and compromises with a party that has come to exercise controls on the economic life of the people and to taste power in that direction are dangerous to freedom, and parliamentary democracy. Totalitarianism derives strength from itself and the fall of democracy down the inclined plane proceeds with accelerated pace. It is therefore necessary that freedom and its lovers be warned in time and act with a sense of urgency at the earliest stages.

I am not inventing or exaggerating when I claim that all the powers exercised, and as some

believe necessarily exercised, by the State in the economic field, and all the aid and flow of international money into this country, ought to be administered by a non-party Board or a coalition organ of administration—if parliamentary democracy is to survive State-regimentation of the economy of the nation. The same principles apply here as ought and in some degree is admitted to

apply to Public Service Commission and Universities and the judicial system. Over-all policies may be decided by the party in power but the administration must rest with non-party organs of government. Else, the whole of the administration becomes one vast permanent electioneering organization for the party in office. Enough of this has already happened to help people easily understand what I am attempting to explain.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR BUSINESSMEN BEWARE

Sir,—With the elections fast approaching, the tempo of Congress propaganda and collections to Congress party funds are increasing. The party that claims to have done the maximum good to the people requires the maximum funds to fight elections! To this end it has legalised the untenable and obnoxious practice of contributions to political parties from the profits of private companies! While individuals are free to contribute to any political party of their liking in their individual capacity, this unjust legislation will eat into the very vitals of healthy democratic principles in the politics of our country.

Two things stand out conspicuously in the passing of this legislation. The first was openly breaking, without the least compunction, a solemn declaration publicly given in Parliament that Congressmen would be given the freedom to vote on this issue according to their conscience. When the time came for voting the party whip was used, and questioning Opposition members were silenced on the ground that "it was the internal affair of the party". Would Gandhiji have countenanced this action if he had been with us now? The second point is that while our Prime Minister finds time even to comment on and mock at the innocent practice of the Hindus taking a bath after an eclipse—though that extra bath does no harm to the country nor does it cost anything either to the Prime Minister, State exchequer or to the Congress party—he was deliberately absent from Parliament when the subject of company contributions to political parties was being discussed, and has discreetly parried every single question put to him on this matter. Is anything else necessary to prove the injustice of this legislation?

Now that company contributions have been legalised Congressmen are authoritatively wooing businessmen for their money. The axe of Socialistic pattern is sorely in need of a handle in the shape of money from private enterprise with which to ultimately cut, root and branch, the very tree of private enterprise in India after Congress saddles itself in power in the next elections.

Businessmen would do well to ponder over this and see where their true interests as businessmen and as true Indians lie. The Swatantra party will not leave the consumer to the mercy of the trader as is being argued by Congressmen; it will see that trade and commerce flourish in healthy competition, free from the crippling State control, which is the only sure way to the nation's prosperity. Will businessmen use their traditional shrewdness at this crucial time in the history of the nation and avoid their own self-destruction?

I. SHANKAR RAO.

ORISSA ELECTIONS : A REPLY TO NEHRU

Sir,—In his recent tour of Orissa, Mr. Nehru was reported to have referred to the Ganatantra Parishad as a party composed of former rajas with a feudal outlook; but there are quite as many ex-rajahs, ranees and zamindars among the Congress contestants as among the Parishad ones. Further, Mr. Nehru was reported to have asked people to pay more attention to party principles and policies than to individuals; but one hardly finds in his reported speeches reference to the principles and policies of the Parishad or indication as to how they are reactionary.

Ex-rajahs and zamindars, who seem to be more sinned against than sinning, are now practically in the same position as other citizens. Is it not unfair and wanting in grace to constantly refer to them as feudal relics—especially when the Congress claims to have abolished the feudal order?

During the last election campaign too, the same theme was harped upon, and in a letter published in the *Statesman* (4-3-1957), I concluded with the words: "It amounts to saying that ex-rajahs become progressive if they join the Congress but remain reactionary if they do not!"

But the Congress seems determined to learn nothing although there is growing disillusionment about its unrealistic and, not unoften, opportunist policies, ill-thought-out reforms and craze for spectacular projects despite its thin Sarvodaya cum Socialist facade.

Lastly, Mr. Nehru's criticism of former Congressmen who are contesting as Independents after being refused Congress tickets, cuts little ice since several such 'Congressmen' who flouted party discipline in the past were welcomed back into the Congress.

No wonder people begin to ask in what way the Congress moghuls are more principled and progressive than the ex-rajahs or other partymen.

Berhanpur. D. V. RAMA RAO.

WITH NEHRU IN POWER, WHAT?

Sir,—The other day Sri Jawaharlal Nehru wailed that while on paper the national and per capita incomes had shown substantial increase, there was no physical evidence of such increase and that a committee should be set up to trace where it has got hidden. The lament is only for public consumption and the setting up of the committee an eye-wash; for, it is hard to believe that such an astute leader like Mr. Nehru does not comprehend that it has gone into the hands of the Congress monopolists including the horde of contractors and corrupt officials engaged in the execution of his fantastic plans and that a sizable portion has flowed indirectly into the Congress coffers by way of tax-free donations. The plans have been consummately conceived for self-aggrandisement and perpetuation of a monolithic party rule leading inevitably to totalitarian dictatorship.

More than once Sri Rajaji has asked what plan the Prime Minister has for

repaying the disproportionately heavy foreign borrowings to which he is committing the nation, but no answer has been forthcoming. Perhaps Mr. Nehru's scheme is to extract the maximum loans and benefits possible from the Western bloc, chiefly from the U.S.A. by exploiting the cold war and, when it comes to a crisis, turn left to Russia and China for support, come out openly as dictator in Castro fashion. This is apparently why he is leaving China in peaceful occupation of more than 12,000 square miles of the country's

territory without even lifting a little finger after keeping the fact of the occupation a secret from the nation for over five years. In any other country this would have led to the impeachment and trial of those concerned.

For the nation, therefore, it is not the oft repeated question "After Nehru who?" that requires an answer, but "With Nehru and his sycophants in power what?" The result of the 1962 general elections will decide it.

Coimbatore. P. S. KRISHNASWAMY.



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BEREAVED

The world of journalism in India has lost one of its bravest and best veterans. He was a fierce soldier for truth and justice, with a heart as gentle as a child's. Altogether he was a rare type of man. His affectionate devotion to me these last days was such that my personal bereavement is next only to his wife's. Having seen the physical travail that he had to bear, I have no heart to complain. He has gone to the peace that belongs to good men. He was a shining example all his life, teaching men how to be fearless, how to sacrifice, how to be good and how to be useful.

He was an authentic representative of God to me in these difficult days which I am going through. I have lost one who bathed me with his affection and rejuvenated me when I felt weary. He was beloved of all because he overflowed with love and forgiveness for all. He helped with his courage when I felt mine failing. He gave hope when I felt depressed. He would urge the constant presence of God whenever I felt lonely. He stood like a rock for Dharma and compassion. He was every moment of his life an example and a demonstration of the complete surrender to the Divine Ruler which alone gives the peace which the soul yearns for. In this he was a monitor for me. My bereavement is great and I am unable to suppress my self-pity.

C. R.

We deeply regret to have to inform our readers of the passing away of our beloved Editor Sri Khasa Subba Rau at 3 a.m. on Friday, June 16.
—Publisher: SWARAJYA.

A VALIANT SPIRIT

By N. RAGHUNATHAN

For those of us who have known Khasa Subba Rau, the world will never be quite the same place again. He was a great journalist, an unrelenting crusader for righteousness, a passionate lover of the ideals of his race. But one thinks at this moment, rather, of the joyousness of spirit that was such a tonic to his friends and that sustained him through his long-drawn illness, especially in the last few months of exceeding physical weakness and pain. A man with a capacity for deep personal relationships and infinite affection, there was yet a rare detachment about him, an ambient spirituality that kept him unspoiled by the world. He was one of the few genuinely religious men I have known.

He was a connoisseur of human quality. In this respect life was to him an endless adventure of discovery. He was often disappointed, for what he thought was gold turned out to be tinsel, and he could phrase his disillusionment as vigorously as he proclaimed his find. But that did not stop him from continually foraging farther afield. For the more he encountered fakes the more he was convinced that there must be many good men and true, unobtrusively doing the world's work, whose merits should be blazoned

so that they could come into their own.

He thought of politics primarily as the art of finding honest men who could provide the moral ballast that modern administration with its enormously complicated machinery, its impersonal efficiency and its tendency to ignore human values, badly needs. He started with high hopes, because having been himself profoundly influenced by the idealism of the Mahatma, he thought that the leaders who had gathered under that banner and been tested in the fire of suffering, would provide a firm scaffolding for the building of the new India of all our dreams. It was on a note of high confidence that he started *Swatantra* when Swaraj still seemed a distant vision. He gradually lost the freshness of that faith, but faith in human nature he never lost.

His indignation flamed forth against corruption and injustice, meanness and chicanery. Furtive evil-doers, however exalted, went in fear of his flail. For what *Swatantra* and *SWARAJYA* did in this respect for the opening decade of the era of freedom there is only one historical parallel, Labouchere's *Truth*. Detached observers sometimes felt that his denunciations were as immoderate as his panegyrics. But that was only a

measure of his whole-heartedness. If he felt he had wronged, he made amends with a generosity and thoroughness that turned the whilom victim into a lifelong friend.

He was too ardent by temperament to be coldly judicial in his discussion of public personalities or look too far ahead in the posing of public issues. But he had no rooted prejudices, and he never lost sight of ultimate values, while he fought for proximate ends. No man was ever written off finally in his books as hopeless. He thought it unprofitable for the journalist to probe for motives, and dangerous to fit men neatly into fixed categories. Whatever a public man's previous record might be, he could be sure of a fair hearing at Subba Rau's hands, and hearty support should his new venture seem at all likely to promote the public interest. His limitless charity often puzzled, and sometimes provoked hard-headed folk. But he remained unrepentant.

Subba Rau's was a very individual style. There was no trace of self-consciousness in it. It spoke his total absorption in public affairs. At times it flowed like a smooth and swift current, at other times it faithfully mirrored a mind painfully anxious to deliver the whole of its meaning without distortion or over-colouring; often its very cumbrousness achieved a lucidity that was beyond the reach of mere syntactical skill. Subba Rau had the uncanny power of limning a personality unforgettably in a few broad strokes.

Subba Rau, with no taste for business, was by circumstances forced, in the latter half of his career as a journalist, into business as proprietor and publisher of his own journals. He showed a flair for management that made his meagre resources go a long way, but prosperity never came his way and, truth to tell, he never looked for it. The best use he could find for any little cash that might come into his hands was to give it away as quick as possible and forget all about it, though often he could ill afford

TRIBUTES

By the death of Shree Khasa Subbarau, India has lost one more from the thinking ranks of the great champions of freedom of the Gandhian age. Of all those myriad warriors who were brought to the fore during that age, Sri Subbarau stood out as one of the bravest and far-sighted champions of Gandhiji's ideals of Swatantra and Dharma. As a journalist, and an ideologist, Subbarau was an outstanding intellectual and writer and proved to be the heart and soul to all those of us who tried to remain loyal to Gandhian standards of public life.

Subbarau distinguished himself as much by his sufferings and sacrifices during our national struggle as by his scrupulous espousal of the noble standards of public service that Gandhiji had placed before us. There were few writers of this country who could write such English prose and Subbarau wrote only when his head and heart, scruples and thoughts coincided with the urgings of his Saraswati; hence, his pure and sweet style in English that was noble enough to convey his powerful thoughts and inspired feelings.

The Swatantra movement in general and lakhs of its votaries like me all over India have lost in his death, a personal friend and guide. The loss sustained by Rajaji, the founder of our movement is indeed grievous. I pray to God to give us all the needed moral strength and inspiration from the life and thoughts of Sub-

such generosity. But, poor as he was in this world's goods, he was rich in the very personal affection that he inspired in a large circle of readers, most of them personally unknown to him. It was a tribute to an integrated personality that left its sign-manual on the least little thing that came from his pen. To the last he remained inexorably honest as a crusader in the public interest, and he kept his vision undimmed. No journalist could ask for greater happiness.

barau to carry forward the beacon that he lighted and fed with his own spiritual powers.

N. G. RANGA.

One day, back in 1921, a village teacher walked into the office of *Swarajya*. It so happened that Shri Prakasam did not have the time to write a leader for that day's issue. Being a friend, Khasa Subba Rau obliged by writing the leading article for the day. Prakasam liked it so much that he told Khasa in Telugu: "Why are you wasting your time as a village schoolmaster? Come and take over as Assistant Editor and from tomorrow you shall write the leading article." Thus started Khasa's journalistic career, and Indian journalism acquired one of whom it will always be proud.

What Khasa wrote, he wrote with conviction. He never feared or cringed nor had he any occasion to retract what he wrote.

When Khasa was on the editorial staff of the *Free Press*, there was the Quetta earthquake and what he wrote about the earthquake so upset the British government that a security of Rs. 10,000 was demanded of the *Free Press*. Sadanand observed that the article was worth a security of Rs. 20,000!

In a country so ridden with linguism, Khasa stood high above all narrow language or regional controversy.

In the service of the country, Khasa Subba Rau actively participated in all Civil Disobedience campaigns. In 1932, he was so brutally whipped by the police officer with a cane all over his body that he had to be shifted to the General Hospital in Madras. The nurses in the hospital wept at the sight.

Khasa's death leaves a void difficult to fill not only in the world of journalism but also in the field of political thought.

M. R. MASANI.



IN MEMORIAM

By POTHAN JOSEPH

"He did nothing common or mean, upon life's memorable scene". Such a negative epitaph would not befit Khasa Subba Rau who was a dynamic figure to the last, even when bodily ailment had made his daily survival a burden. Khasa and I were colleagues at the helm of the *Indian Express* during the period when its sales leapt from a modest return of 2500 copies to a status of classic prestige not only for multiple circulation but for the influence it had won during critical years of the struggle. A high intellectual, Khasa was also gifted in equal measure with superb integrity; short of the blend of these two qualities in his surroundings, he was always in a fret and no cheap substitutes could hold him beyond his capacity for endurance in the traffic of frauds and Philistines. He was fundamentally so simple-minded and self-effacing that he could never understand the place of intrigues in world-affairs; and his righteous indignation would flare up at the sight of any subterfuge in personal conduct or public life. When machinations and snobbery appeared to win the day, Khasa was a bundle of nerves, and he could, defiant of consequences, throw away opportunities of long security and colourful self-advancement. Khasa has been described as a fearless crusader, but courage was natural to him and he did not have to take a deep breath to induce in himself any mood of bravery. When a situation revealed melancholy meanness, Khasa functioned without prompting.

During the Simon Commission's visit, Khasa was badly mauled, but he took it stoically, expecting no praise for heroism; though a word of encouragement from Gandhiji at that time buoyed him up tremendously, he himself was not conscious of any spirit of sacrifice in the performance of a duty.

When the fight was over in 1947, he just could not understand

the dogma that a record of jail-going should be deemed a passport to Congress recognition for elective office. The truth of the matter was that in Khasa's eyes, the tale of national sacrifice extended to all the millions of India who had directly or indirectly to pay the price of a campaign without getting into the headlines. The queuing up of a new elite astonished him, because he was looking forward to a process of de-mobilization after the epic struggle based on Gandhian values. Deviation from the right path was to him an atrocious absurdity, and when disillusionment came, Khasa reverted to the old type of radical humanitarian, and a bold iconoclast in the marketplace of Congress decline.

The end of British rule was not Khasa's sole interest in life but his passion was so to create a new order that there could be no regrets over the cost of transition. I have heard Khasa Subba Rau being described by some as being prejudiced against the non-Brahmin movement. The fact was he reacted adversely to any plan of mollicoddling a class or a community into a status of preference which would eventually result not only in the deterioration of standards but in the further backwardisation of the backward. The current struggle among Castes and Clans to be listed as being backward as a qualification indicates that Khasa's instinct did not totally misguide him. For him to hear of any underhand transaction or of dissimulation was more a moral provocation than a political challenge. Hence the remarkable features of his journalism after the attainment of Independence. He had the burning consciousness that the regime was unworthy of what Gandhiji meant when he led the nation.

As a writer of virile English prose, I wonder if any of his contemporaries could surpass him. There never was need for any

clarification once "Saka" put it down in writing. Where reference to personalities were inescapable, he never flinched from his emotional urge, and whenever any young man revealed signs of promise, Khasa would be the first to hail him. That he had towards the end congenial atmosphere where there was the blend of intellect and integrity has been to me a great relief whenever I heard from him about his failing health. On the last occasion we met, he spoke about the calm of faith in God at the end of a life of many reflective phases. Suddenly it recalled to my mind the verse in a famous hymn:

*Here in the body pent,
Absent from Him I roam
Yet nightly pitch my moving tent
A day's march nearer home.*

Swatantra and its message absorbed him, preparing his mind for another day of deliverance yet to come. The notion that a satyagrahi is a law unto himself had no place in Khasa Subba Rau's belief in the discipline inseparable from every vocation. Life was something far from the faculty of exhibitionism. For him, *Swatantra* was the Indian Resistance Movement, only it isn't underground. After life's fretful fever he sleeps well. Let him sleep. We bow our head and mourn the loss of an incomparable man and a gallant champion of good causes, never daunted by adversity.

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KHASHA SUBBA RAU

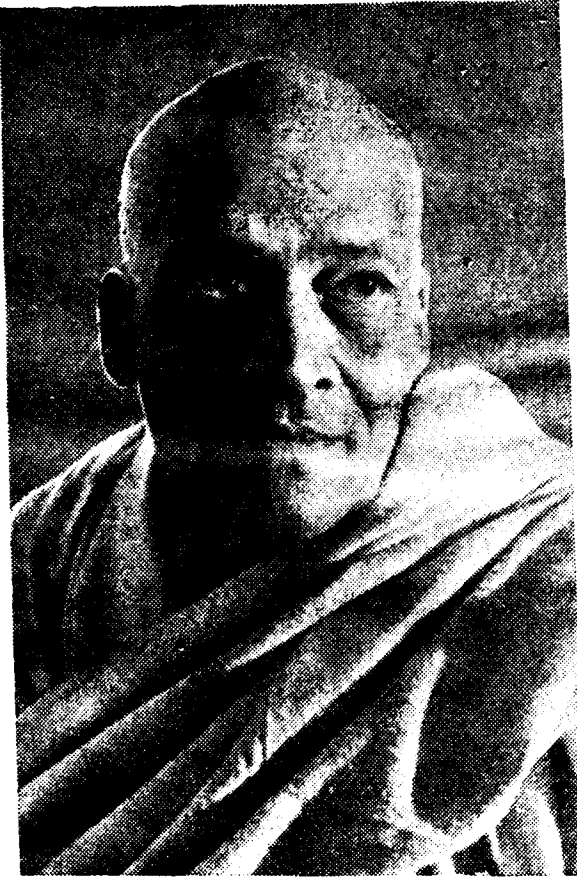
By K. ISWARA DUTT

It was hardly possible to receive the news of the death of Khasha Subba Rau with the calm fortitude that alone could reconcile one to the ghastly reality. It came like a thunder-clap though his mind had been slowly getting prepared for it since the first stroke which laid him low. It was common knowledge that he was struggling, now with hopes of survival, now with such hopes in the wane. And one also knew that he hated his physical breakdown being a burden on others. So he fought the mortal disease with the same "chivalrous, uncalculating fearlessness" with which he had always fought for his opinions, till in the end he died, "the perfectly brave man he had always been". He was only 35 and none too old. One could say: "it was the death of a man, but it was also the end of an epoch" in Indian Journalism.

Perhaps there were more famous journalists, more gifted editors, more brilliant writers, but few, far too few, who could compare with him, let alone equal him, in making journalism more purposeful, and none who had the same quality and independence of outlook. From the far-off days in the early twenties of this century when he had joined *Swarajya* under Prakasam's banner, till he died in harness amidst the incantations of another *Swarajya* (the one he launched in mid-1956 with Rajaji's blessings), there was hardly any in our journalism who possessed and displayed the courage he did—"a courage which in that degree is by definition heroic".

There might have been controversies about the causes he stood for, or the men he swore by, but there was no controversy (nor was there room for any) about the

sincerity of his beliefs or their intensity. Those who appealed to him or cast their spell on him were his heroes, indeed his gods; he shared not only their opinions (which was understandable) but also their likes and dislikes (which was not always understandable). But his mental make-up was such that he would rather go the whole hog with them, at any cost than give them up or let them down for any advantage thereby.



It was because of his extraordinary capacity to identify himself with them and the causes that stirred the best in him, that he always wrote strongly, with his mind geared to the highest pitch. Perhaps, the most glaring of his faults was 'over-doing', for he poured out his mind unabashedly, with an unmistakable exuberance and in superlative terms, while because of his unquestioned sincerity, what might have in others

sunk to mere partisan spleen, in him rose to be crusading fervour. It mattered less whether he was right or wrong; what essentially mattered was the force of his writing, which was the reflex of his own feeling or faith.

Whether he praised someone to the skies or hurled him down into the abyss, he did so with the same spontaneity and motivelessness. He could never subscribe to the theory that a man once applauded or derided earned a prescriptive right for the same consideration for ever, irrespective of subsequent history. It was in that perspective that his judgments of men needed to be viewed by those who were a trifle, and not un-often, baffled by some seeming contradictions in his reactions. And it was a tribute to his personality that his pronouncements were invariably magisterial and sometimes Jovian. Within the last two decades there was no more feared a journalist in our midst. Indeed, he was the readiest in detesting cant wherever found and at whatever level, and in smiting the world's humbugs, however mighty. When his mood was one of generous enthusiasm, he was unstinting in his appreciation. If he was lavish in his praise, he was ruthless in his censure. There was nothing half-hearted in whatever he said.

All his life he was a writing man, with the unique privilege of never having written except as he felt or believed. It was because of his moral qualms on this account that in the earlier phase of his journalistic career, proprietors found it impossible to coax or coerce him into meek obedience to their mandates, or to make him "betwaddle the paper" he served. He had no use for any paper with which he had no intellectual sympathy; he had no use even for any editorship if it did not mean the imposition of

the editor's will. He had no attraction for any big salary: he was that rare man amidst us who even thought that in the attachment of a fabulous salary to editorship, there was almost a touch of vulgarity! He had a dread of salesmanship in whatever sphere or at whatever level. He had always a will of his own which needed a pulpit or a platform or a paper, and never had he any difficulty in asserting himself to the extent of compelling attention. Positive, direct and vigorous in controversy, he brought to our journalism something of Cobbett's downrightness, Stead's challenging spirit and Garvin's massive eloquence. I would go further and recall with a certain appropriateness what John Buchan (later Lord Tweedsmuir) said of Meredith Townsend of the *Spectator*:

There is no one today with the same power of hustling every event back to first principles and investing the conundrums of the world with an apocalyptic gravity.

Weekly journalism, intellectual and serious, seemed to suit him best, for a highly critical, if spirited, contribution to the political debate. For eight years, as Editor of *Swatantra*, Khasha achieved uncommon success in galvanising periodical journalism. What is a great Editor?—asked E. T. Raymond and defined him as a man who could "imprint his personality, on everything permitting the expression of personality that appears in his paper". Khasha was more than the editor of his paper: he was the paper itself. For the discriminating, thoughtful reader, in the peculiar southern climate, Khasha's editorials and personalised columns were the weekly mental pabulum. He loved to write at his best: he equally loved good writing in others. It was a mercy that the lamentable disappearance of *Swatantra* in 1956 was, however, shortly made up by the launching of *Swarajya*, just at a time when, after about a decade of Independence, the country sorely stood in need of a pre-eminent journalistic mentor who could dare and would never grudge the throne. One might wonder—I do—if ever

there was a man "more quick and eager to say exactly what he thought about anything in the world" and how he felt about it, and if ever there was a journalist who so instinctively "discarded qualifications and reserves" in making his pronouncements, however unorthodox or daring. If, in a political sense, 'SWARAJYA' became, or seemed to be, Rajaji's paper, intellectually and morally, it was the creation of Khasha. But for 'SWARAJYA' which was Khasha, some, if not several, of the articles which enlivened its columns would not have possibly seen the light of day.

Wherein exactly lay the strength of 'SWARAJYA'? I can only recall what Baldwin said, on a memorable occasion, of a famous English weekly:

If I were asked to say in a minute or two what it is we think the *Spectator* stands for, what it is we admire it for, I would say this. We admire the *Spectator* because it has always stuck to its principles. We may not like them at times, but it has stuck to its principles, regardless of circulation, of profit, or of any other consideration. It has always been loyal to lofty standards. You may not always think the standard an absolute one, but there is no question of their not having adhered to them. They have tried to unite the various functions of the Press—the function of the watchdog, the function of the newsvendor and the function of the critic—and to unite them in the public service, and in the public service alone.

That is precisely the achievement of SWARAJYA as conceived of and conducted by Khasha.

And its significance lay in its setting, for, the State was perilously reaching a stage when there was to it but one function of supreme value.

It is the function exercised by the man who will bring out corruption into the air, oxydize it; burn it up. But the exercise of such a function in such times can be undertaken only by, at the best, a very small number of men, at the worst by only one man, or perhaps by none. For, this function requires a combination of three things, each rare, and in combination, of course, much rarer still. These three things are knowledge, the power of lucidity in expression, and, lastly, courage.

This was what Hilaire Belloc wrote by way of tribute to Cecil Chesterton when he died. In our own country, and within recent years, of that rare type, Khasha Subba Rau was the highest example.

Khasha was mostly known by his writings and through his papers. A man of abounding vitality, there were in him secret reserves. He was almost a stranger to those who were denied the opportunity or privilege of intimacy with him. By his side, one was in the presence of not merely a journalist of long standing but a man of stature. There was about him a sense of elevation; and to whatever side he turned, he looked for tidiness, physical as well as mental. One was always struck by his arresting profile, the broad forehead, the sparkle in his eyes, the timbre in his voice and the stimulating quality of his talk. He loved company but did not seek it for any social pastime. Never did he go out of his way to find friends. Indeed, it was not easy to cultivate him. To those, however, to whom he felt drawn, he was the very soul of good fellowship. His friends were few but by 'adoption tried', they were bound to him 'by hooks of steel'.

As one of that concise category—ours was 37 years of friendship on which "no cloud or speck of dust ever rested"—with links deep and abiding, forged by the Invisible Hand, I bemoan the loss of not only a noble friend but an elder brother and a kindred spirit who thought of me, in his own characteristic words, as only 'an extension' of his 'own self'.

Here was a man who brought to our journalism an intellectual passion and a moral purpose, enriched it by the power of his word and ennobled it by his character. And if Indian journalism has lost one of its law-givers and luminaries, India herself is the poorer by the disappearance of one of her most enlightened and illustrious citizens who knew not what it was to falter in judging things or weighing men, in

LESSONS LEARNT IN THE HARD WAY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Economic planning has acquired a hold over the educated Indian mind and the literate population of the country of a kind that is to be found perhaps nowhere else in the free world. Indians are in fact prepared to assign to the new theories of growth a certitude which many other people find difficult to accord.

THE NATIONAL AND GRINDLAYS REVIEW

Not by repeated arguments but only by painful experience do men see light. Arguments are met by arguments. Prejudices and obstinacy are not shattered but get hardened by the hammer strokes of reason.

We have seen this in the case of the language problem in multi-lingual India. But recent painful events have made a silent change in the convictions of many important leaders. The case of the Prime Minister is different, for he had, I believe, always doubted the wisdom of replacing English by Hindi. He now has ample evidence to confirm his misgivings. A silent shift has occurred in the linguistic policy. I do not wish to repeat old arguments which may take the unpleasant colour of 'I told you so' which may not help but may hinder the course of the new sanity.

The Executive of the Indian Medical Council has suggested to the Gujarat University that English should continue as the medium of instruction for medical courses. The University had called for the opinion of the Council on its plan to switch over from English to Gujarati as the medium of instruction at university level, for all departments including the Medical Faculty. In a letter to the University authorities the Council is reported to have stated that 63 out of the 67 organisations and authorities whom the Council had approached had strongly recommended English as the medium of medical education.

As the foreign House of Hanover has admirably suited the British Throne, let this 'foreign' language, which has served India these ten decades so well, continue to serve the administration,

and preserve the unity of this large country. Let the maximum mobility be enjoyed by the elite of the nation by the continuance of English. Mobility more than all other things helps to unite us into one nation. English gives mobility to the elite of all the regions and keeps away the evil spirits of suspicion and jealousy. These evil spirits will be encouraged by the displacement of English by any particular Indian language.

Political leaders of local areas should realise that the measure of their own non-acquaintance with English should not be a negative force to mislead them. Their political power does not lie in the administration. It lies and should lie in the legislatures where the language of debate and exposition will be the local language. Education and administration should aim at all-India unity, all-India mobility, efficiency, impartiality and avoidance of unfairness and even the appearance of it. Let us look upon the language medium in the same way as we look upon other means of communication, the railway, the telegraph and the like as a handy servant and not be needlessly afraid of it.

Again, in regard to the agricultural and food problems of the country, facts revealed in surveys and embodied in official reports have brought about a clarification more effectively than any arguments and debates. After surveying the statistics of the performances of Co-operative Societies, the Governor of the Reserve Bank has given his unmistakable impressions. *The Hindu* reviewing all this pungently wrote the other day: "Every other type of society (calculated to improve the out-turn of agriculture) which in-

involved some form or other of pooling of land for purposes of cultivation seemed to work more often at a loss than at a profit. It is up to the Government to find out why this is so". Why this is so is obvious enough; lack of interest which nature attaches only to ownership.

Here are the results of one year's working, the last under review. 251 Joint Farming Societies broke. 622 societies showed a loss amounting to Rs. 13 lakhs.

285 Collective Farming societies worked at a loss of nearly Rs. 7 lakhs and 221 societies showed no profit. One lakh and two thousand acres were placed under 893 collectives. Not only was there no profit but there was loss of Rs. 2½ lakhs. Ignoring the losing societies those that produced profit yielded three and half rupees per acre put under collectives!

Of the Tenant Farming Societies, which also were experiments in the pooling of lands, 890 ran at a loss totalling nearly Rs. 4 lakhs.

These facts prove the futility of any form of collectivism, either compulsory or induced by various temptations. These latest figures of the Reserve Bank at least must convince, where arguments have failed. India cannot afford to depend on State-directed compulsory labour, abandoning the magic of property and the incentive of individual interest. If slavery is execrated, it is because labour is compulsorily extracted for the benefit not of himself but for another person or organization.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a fraud, wrote Lord Morrison of Lambeth recently in introducing a revealing secret document of the Communists. It is the dictatorship of the Communist Secretariat, he said, and not of the proletariat. So is the socialism of the Indian National Congress a combination of ignorance and fraud. The dictatorship of the party high command goes by the deceptive name of socialism.

The poor man be lifted to a better life. There is no doubt about this and every one agrees that this should be our great aim

A CUSHY JOB

By POTHAN JOSEPH

and pre-occupation. But the Congress party is going the wrong way to achieve this, by using the powers of the State to mop up all savings and resources and increasing the field of State-management. What should be done is to do everything to increase private prosperity and expand the opportunities of the poor for employment. It is only in the enlargement of the field for employment spread country-wide that the welfare of the poor lies.

It is an insane and impossible plan to seek to give land to everyone and adopt an expropriatory drive to appear to be wanting to do this. It is dishonest to ask for votes on this basis. It is equally unintelligent to rely on collectivization in any form to improve the lot of either small peasants or landless workers or to increase production.

The first thing to be clearly realised is that the increase of national wealth depends on the expansion of individual enterprise and energy. Every inducement, incentive and encouragement should be given to this end. Instead, every thing done by the Congress tends to discourage individual effort by its twin policies of expanding public management to the maximum and by a system of controls and licences giving monopolies to favoured individuals protecting them absolutely against competition. The latter is given the name of the private sector and people are made to believe that everything is done for helping individual enterprise through a mixed economy. A poisonous mixture of private monopolies and growing statism is what now the Congress party stands for. There is a go slow policy followed now in view of the general elections. But when they are over, the Congress policy will be naked statism. The Swatantra Party stands for prosperity through a free economy, with no favours but fair competition and a rapidly enlarging field for employment in all the productive and distributing activities of the nation, industrial, agricultural and commercial.

In international deadlocks and cultural exchanges to promote mutual understanding, there is a large number of sinecure jobs which seem to be prized by the lobbyists of the governing classes. Comfortable travel abroad on cultural errands is naturally coveted by languid party hacks. Mark the cable from Geneva (June 10) which says that the Soviet delegate Mr. Semyon Tsarapkin "reiterated the demand at the 316th session of the Three-Power nuclear talks". If during prolonged proceedings, one obtains the rank and job of "Observer" there can be nothing more enviable for a valetudinarian. For three years the Three-Power committee had been discussing problems about nuclear test ban but the situation remains unchanged. Another occupation appropriate to Mr. Lazy-Bones is the role of a statistician on the Chinese mainland whose function is to announce periodically that Chinese air-space has been violated for the 11th time by intruders from Formosa described as being a satellite and a captive of the United States guarded by the Seventh Fleet. The sky-watcher and his staff presiding on the coast announce the story that the 96th violation of airspace on the mainland since New Year had been observed, in the wake of which a protest is lodged somewhere, perhaps indirectly because of the handicap that the Republic of China is not yet a member of the United Nations despite India's pertinacious efforts.

Comparatively the job of a lighthouse keeper far from the madding crowd may be more attractive for misanthropes. The old salt is alone far above the rough waves and if he is of a contemplative disposition he could lead his hermit-life in peace and quiet.

The Observer's position is different, even as the role of the Union Public Relations Officer in a Cultural troupe abroad requires considerable *bonhomie*. This young

man abroad attends to hotel reservations and transport-bookings, and he has to be something of a "stuffed shirt" inclined to frequent the highways after the artistes have performed the Swan Lake or an exciting Bharat Natyam-number for the benefit of the host-country. Whether you are an Observer at the endless confabulations of a Geneva Conference or you are one of the props of a travelling circus, there is a certain routine to follow. The Observer in Geneva takes the daily course of attendance, quite aware that every day in every way, the conference is in no wise getting better and better.

There must be a Division in our External Affairs Ministry as well to deal with reported encroachments by Pakistan and China. Periodically we are given a number of aggressive incidents committed by the intruders across national frontiers and of course compensation is demanded. In the sequel of claims and counter-claims "responsibility" is foisted on the opposite side and whoever does it first, pointing the accusing finger, acquires the merit of alertness.

The Observer reporting to the Home Government or its Foreign Office has only to file a simple-code message at the cable-counter meaning that though the delegates met and engaged themselves in frank and cordial discussion, the meeting had been adjourned for the next day seeing that no common area of agreement or even a temporary formula had been reached. According to the latest report, at the time of writing, the Nuclearists in Geneva are still exploring the avenues with no stone unturned. When the Laotian Truce Commission (of which India is Chairman) assumed importance, a five-day deadlock intervened; at the end of which Mr. Gromyko and Lord Home appeared as Co-Chairmen of the original body that had nearly 5 years ago

brought the Samar-Sen Commission into active stride. There are no definitions of words and terms in common amongst negotiators, a lack which holds out opportunities of another stalemate. When under Mr. Krishna Menon's "key-role" activities in Geneva, the Zurich Summit was unveiled, two incidents took away from the dignity of the Laos Conference. Firstly, the representative of the Thailand delegation walked out on protocol-issue, thanks to irregular seating arrangements, but in spite of the defection, the Chinese Foreign Minister Marshal Chen Yi rose and delivered a vehement diatribe attacking France's draft-resolution for Laos as "interference in Laotian internal affairs".

Now, the Indo-China region had once been part of the French Empire, but in the course of the war, the Japanese had set up a number of puppet-governments amongst the Princely Order who did not take long to get infected with the idea of freedom, especially after the Japanese collapse.

France did make a bid for re-integration but the incessant collapse of French cabinets and the acquisition of arms and the practice of guerrilla tactics spelt the doom of French supremacy. What wins in Laos is the mastery of guerrilla advance, arms and supplies coming to the Pathet Lao from unknown patrons. Who exactly they are, Dean Rusk, Gromyko, Lord Home and Marshal Chen Yi know very well. The summit is in reality reduced to a pantomime. Last year, the U2 incident is supposed to have wrecked the nuclear debates at higher level, but even now summitry's technique remains the same.

At the 316th session of the nuclear talks at Geneva, Comrade Tsarapkin "reiterated" the Soviet demand. What followed may be given in the form of a short newspaper extract, thus:

His statement was immediately criticized by the U.S. negotiator Arthur Dean, and Sir Michael Wright of Britain.

Mr. Dean described Mr. Tsarapkin's statement, as a basic attack

I am glad beyond expression that Sri Pothan Joseph, doyen amongst Indian journalists, has agreed to be Editor of SWARAJYA. —Rajaji.

on international organisations, a challenge to U.N. members, large and small.

Mr. Dean accused the Soviet Government of seeking to undermine the accomplishments of the past, and said that the Soviet demand reflects the determination to reimpose in full severity the jungle law among the family of nations.

The situation would be the same, short of a miracle, when the 360th session of the conference reassembles in autumn. The Observer's job remains happy and unaltered with intervals of an occasional jaunt home. The only comfort is that indicated by President Truman once: "As long as they keep talking, they keep us distant from the stage of coming to blows".

LESSONS FROM ORISSA

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The majority which the Congress has won in the Orissa Assembly after eight years, for the first time since Independence must be a subject of rich speculation, both in respect of its causes and consequences. Out of 140 seats, Congress has won 82, seven from the P.S.P. nine from the Communists and 18 from the Ganatantra. After allowing for its losses, it has gained 26 seats on the total of 56 it held in the dissolved Assembly. This is a considerable success and following the defeats at Delhi and Sultanpur, very reassuring to the Congress.

One cause, trite as it may appear, which can be deduced from the detailed study of the results is that the Indian electorate is disposed to change its loyalties. A similar disposition in the Irish is illustrated by the story that when the sitting went again for the vote, he was told it could not be repeated as he himself was out before, while he had been in since. The revulsion against the sitting members is also to be associated with the disappointment with what they have done or failed to do. Thus in spite of 42 new seats the Congress won, it lost 16 of the seats it held before, the Ganatantra lost 20, the Communists 9 and the P.S.P. 7. It was obviously to capitalise this disposition for change that Congress dropped many of its sitting members and now proposes to have at least one third new blood in the General Elections. The failure of the Congress dissidents, standing as Independents also confirms the tendency for changing political horses.

Among other causes for the success of the Congress was its superiority in men and money. Even as the campaign started, Ashok Mehta had pointed out the 140 new jeeps the Congress had put into the field. It is true that the Ganatantra Party had some ex-landlords, but the princes of

wealth today are the merchants and manufacturers, of whom the Congress leader Sri Patnaik is a leading one while others, in and outside the State had paid taxes on the favours they had received. The biggest problem for opposing parties is how to reduce the money power of the Congress. Legislation to ban contributions from corporate bodies has already failed. To public opinion the Congress is now indifferent in the confident belief that India forgives everything but failure. Warnings to the rich that they are only being fattened for the communist table go against the inherent optimism of private enterprise on one hand and the traditional fatalism of the people, on the other.

There are two legislative measures that the opposing parties must seriously and promptly consider. The first is to factually limit election expenses to the amounts prescribed by plugging the open evasions that are taking place, first by the expenditure incurred by the party, and second by supporters. If it is made incumbent on all parties to keep an account of their income and expenditure, the contributions received by individual members can be aggregated with their own to check if they exceed the prescribed limits. If the Election Commissioner or the Parliament is not disposed to accept this very reasonable proposal, the only expedient, and a poor one, is to insist that the Income Tax authorities have a duty to assess this income and expenditure under the law as it stands. Legislators of the opposing parties must bestir themselves quickly to deprive the Congress of this advantage, which is frustrating democracy and is likely to perpetuate One Party Rule.

The second law necessary to break the advantage of money, which now transports and refreshes the largest number of voters who

are indifferent, is to make voting a legal obligation, punishable for default as in some countries, with a uniform fine which may be Rs. 5. The Orissa elections in which only 30 per cent of the electorate voted and those mostly transported at the cost of the candidates make democracy meaningless. As polling stations are now located, except illness, there is no excuse for default to vote except that the voter wants the benefits of democracy without its responsibilities. If the voter has to come to the polls on his own, the preponderance of those who are transported and bought will be reduced by the numbers of those better informed and better intentioned. The Congress cannot resist such legislation without implying that it is against the full functioning of democracy.

All opposing parties have this common ground against the Congress and Communists that they stand for individual freedom against Statism of the latter two. It should be possible for one or all of them to be united on the principles, first that the State may not do what the people are willing and able to do, second that taxation and the accompanying inflation should be kept as low as possible as their real burden falls now on the consumers who form the whole population, third that socialism to be meaningful should not be on production, which should increase as much, on its own, as possible but on consumption which should assure a floor for all and a ceiling to the rest, through the mechanism of taxation on personal expenditure, and fourth that the growth of the economics of the state is destroying democracy. In fact a programme like this will cut across the differences of all parties and by the economic transformation offered make our democracy practical even in the Platonic sense that democracy is only for those who are economically competent.

Another cause of the success of the Congress is the division of votes among its opponents who were in Orissa three times as many.

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f so much sense does not dawn on the opposing parties that they can never score against the party in power unless they offer it a straight fight, they are not understanding the mechanics of democracy. An alliance for the elections is necessary on the basis of

democracy as against the totalitarianism of Congress and Communism. Leaders of all democratic parties therefore must consider this without further delay. They should discover the common ground between them and adopt also the common strategy of avoiding at-

tribution of their aggregate strength by opposing each other. Otherwise they will all remain, even if they do not recognise it, the best supporters of the Congress and the communists from whom Congress derives its inspiration and plans.



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COMMUNAL PARTIES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A friend sent some questions to me respecting communal parties and particularly about the Muslim League. Mr. Phiroze Shroff's article in a previous issue of SWARAJYA makes the legal position perfectly clear. It is morally wrong and legally not permissible to place any ban on any association formed for the furtherance of the interests of any group of people, be it for their political interests or any other interests. This is a fundamental in democracy and has been enshrined in the Constitution.

However, communal parties will permanently remain as minorities if they enter politics in communal groups and will unnecessarily evoke resistance from other communities. It is, therefore in their own interest and in larger interest of the country, that religious and denominational minorities should participate in one or other secular party.

The banning or the licensing of political parties is a privilege enjoyed only by totalitarian dictators. The narrow-mindedness called Communalism has to be fought intelligently, not by legal bans but by education and propaganda. The Swatantra Party believes in recognising merit and is pledged, if given the opportunity to demonstrate its impartiality in giving equal opportunities to all minorities, having due regard to qualifications. The Swatantra Party is opposed to any open or administrative or indirect discrimination against the Muslims or others.

A question has been raised about Urdu. Urdu is one of the recognised languages under the Constitution. The Swatantra Party is devoted to the purpose of restoring the true spirit of the Constitution and implementing it faithfully. Urdu should receive the same treatment as the other languages mentioned in the Constitution. In every area where a sub-

stantial section of the people speak Urdu, all facilities for the education of children through the medium of Urdu should be given.

Every citizen of India is entitled to protection and the due process of law. When incidents occur between two citizens of India, even though they may be of different communities, the

guilty individuals should be punished. The crimes of the individuals should not be allowed to be deemed to be the offence of any denomination or community. The family, friends and other members of the offender's community should enjoy complete protection from fear and mob violence. Any government official, minister or lesser politician found failing in his duty, in the discharge of this responsibility, should be dealt with severely.

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TRIBUTES TO KHASA SUBBA RAO

Numerous messages of condolence and sympathy were received from all parts of the country and abroad from Sri Khasa's friends and admirers. The following are a few of them.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan:

Khasa Subba Rao was a devoted servant of the public and a great journalist.

Sri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Maharashtra:

Great loss to Indian journalism.

Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer:

A truly faultless man of wise and independent judgment. By his death the loss to Indian journalism becomes irreplaceable.

Mr. Paul C. Sherbert, formerly of the United States Information Service, Madras, now Executive Director of the Asia Society, New York, in a cable to Sri. T. Sadasivam:

Khasa belonged not only to you and your country but to us and our country; for no man could have lived a more useful life or set a better example or been more gentle or more mindful of the best interest of his neighbour, his country and the world. My wife and I truly enshrine him in our thoughts and in our daily lives. We send our most heartfelt condolences to his family and to his many friends.

Dr. Thomas W. Simons, Consul General for the U. S. A. in Madras, in the course of a moving speech at the public meeting at the Rasika Ranjani Sabha Hall on June 17 said:

It has been my good fortune to have had associations with Khasa Subba Rao almost from the beginning of my stay in Madras four years ago. Sri Khasa Subba Rao thought in large terms. He had a firm belief in the integrity of intellectual achievements. It takes some courage in this world of today to maintain such a devoted attitude toward the realm of the intellect. The forces of democracy with their emphasis upon all people

sometimes blurs the significance of the work of an intellectual activist and realist though conventional habit and mental attitude may be accepted most easily; they are not always challenged in the interest of a better life. It was to the notable credit of Sri Khasa Subba Rao that he undertook to challenge the conventional thinking of today and thereby point out new ways for the betterment of his country.

I have met few people, either for or against him, who have not readily admitted to his sincerity and high objectives in life.

I do not wish to fail on this occasion in expressing on behalf of my fellow countrymen our appreciation for his intelligent understanding of my country. He has had many friends in the United States. His open and candid approach to problems has always appealed to Americans. It has been most interesting to find that his SWARAJYA has its place in the libraries of many American universities and newspaper offices across the country. It is honoured for its information, for its forthright leadership and for its high intellectual qualities. I am sure that I express the wish of the people of the United States, when I say, that I hope that SWARAJYA will continue

and carry on the work that Sri Khasa Subba Rao has done so well.

Sri C. D. Deshmukh:

Through his SWARAJYA he performed the job of a true and fearless journalist. What struck me above all in Khasa was his great professional integrity, his candour, his capacity for righteous indignation and his cultured urbanity not often found in the journalistic writings of the day.

Mr. Phillips Talbot, who was in India more than once and who is now Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs has sent a special message to the family:

Together with his many other American friends and admirers I was deeply saddened at the passing of Khasa Subba Rao. His high attainments in the editorial profession will make his loss keenly felt. I send my warmest sympathy to his family and friends in India.

Sri K. M. Munshi telegraphs from Bombay to say:

Khasa Subba Rao's life was a dedicated one and we will all miss him. In him the country has lost one of the ablest protagonists of fearless journalism. He is a great friend and a valiant freedom fighter.

SAFETY LAST

By BHIKKU

Fearlessness is the ripeness and succulence of wantlessness. Even as a poor student in the Presidency College, Khasa Subba Rao would give away his second dhoti to one nearer the edge of basic realities, making do with a towel until his washed single remaining dhoti dried for his college wear. Owning and possessions at no time had a toe-hold on him, sensitive as he was to the beauty of art and craft-ware and the flavour of good living; and this immunity was so twined with his fibre that though he had to stare squarely at Medusa's head in dire want that permitted only rice and thin buttermilk as provender in Kavali for himself and his children, he would not pawn his inward honour even by evasive silence, where justice or his sense of rightness was even shadowily in question. As a student, he lived with the late C. S. Rangaswami of *Indian Finance* in Triplicane as one of the family. Years later, when an intrepid younger brother of Rangaswami, in emulation of

his senior, then a successful financier in Bombay, fell grievously into slough on a fling in the share market, what should Subba Rao do with a patrimony that he happened to come into at the time but just give it away—a very considerable sum—to retrieve the folly of the young man. There were other similar occasions in which Subba Rao parted gladly with ease and prosperity when they came his way when some one handily bore on him for relief.

Immediately after graduation he joined Rangaswami in Northern India and served, for a period as the Private Secretary to the Rajah of Amawan, when his friend served in a similar capacity with the Mararajah of Darbhanga. But soon Swarajya and Prakasam proved a steel magnet for such as he in their very improvidence and impecuniosity. Though chronically in want, he was comparatively happy in that paper, in the privileges its Subs had for free thinking and free out-

(Continued on page 19)

EXCEPT UNDER LICENCE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A warning of the greatest importance and most emergent nature has been given by a Senator of the U.S.A. in a letter to the *New York Times* (June 4). Writing about deficit spending, he winds up thus in words that deserve attention and reflexion by statesmen all over the world: "The steady relentless climb in Government spending, especially if accompanied by ever-larger deficits constitutes a growing challenge to freedom in this nation".

'Freedom' is a word not so well understood as people may believe they do. Especially nations who have had to struggle against foreign rule are most apt to fail to grasp the full sense of the term. Freedom is very different from liberation from foreign rule. It is a continuing way of life and instrument of progress wherein the individual and his activities are free and self-determined, not imposed by external compulsion.

The opposite of freedom is universally experienced now in India, thanks to evergrowing State power and ever increasing and aggressive conviction on the part of Government that it alone knows what is good for the people severally and collectively and makes long term commitments, impossible to be released from for any later Government. It is not a colourful metaphor but a felt reality that the people of India are fast being metamorphosed into a nation of sheep, into a permanent pathological condition that is best described by this phrase, which is the title of a current best-seller book. Who the shepherd of the sheep is to be will not be a democratic question to be answered by the people at elections as may seemingly appear in the Constitution. As each year of sheep-condition advances, who or which clique is to be the dictator will be more and more a previously determined unchangeable

fact. When the nation is progressively held as sheep, little freedom remains to choose at elections. It is a self-charging mechanism and democracy itself becomes a mere sheep-function. That is how all totalitarian and fascist states have come into being in recent times.

It is a warning that may not be ignored if we love freedom in the real sense and do not equate it with freedom to be sheep.

And this danger becomes worse when the dictatorship manages to get its ways and means programme included in the budgets of prosperous foreign nations and has practically settled down to live not only on foreign aid, but politically on foreign embassy testimonials and foreign opinions emanating from the Cold War combatants. The sheep condition gets aggravated by the external flattery that boosts that condition.

The latest most innocent looking regulation announced from a certain State metropolis is a good pointer. Food adulteration is bad, but it is not remembered that a universal licence system is worse. The Andhra Order dated June 17 reads thus:

Under the provisions of the Prevention of Food Adulteration Rules, 1955, the Government have specified the following articles of food which shall not be manufactured, sold, stocked, distributed or exhibited for sale except under a licence:

Cereals, grams, nuts, starches, spices, jaggery, edible fats, honey, copra, coffee, tea, ice candies, food colours, food preservatives, flours, condiments, asafoetida, molasses, sugar, confectionery, chicory, ice-cream, prepared food and food-flavouring agents.

This is Freedom indeed! Because the Administration wishes to prevent adulteration, every activity shall be under licence! God knows how much of adulteration has corrupted the administration itself. Licence for "production, stocking, distribution and

Dr. K. S. KRISHNAN

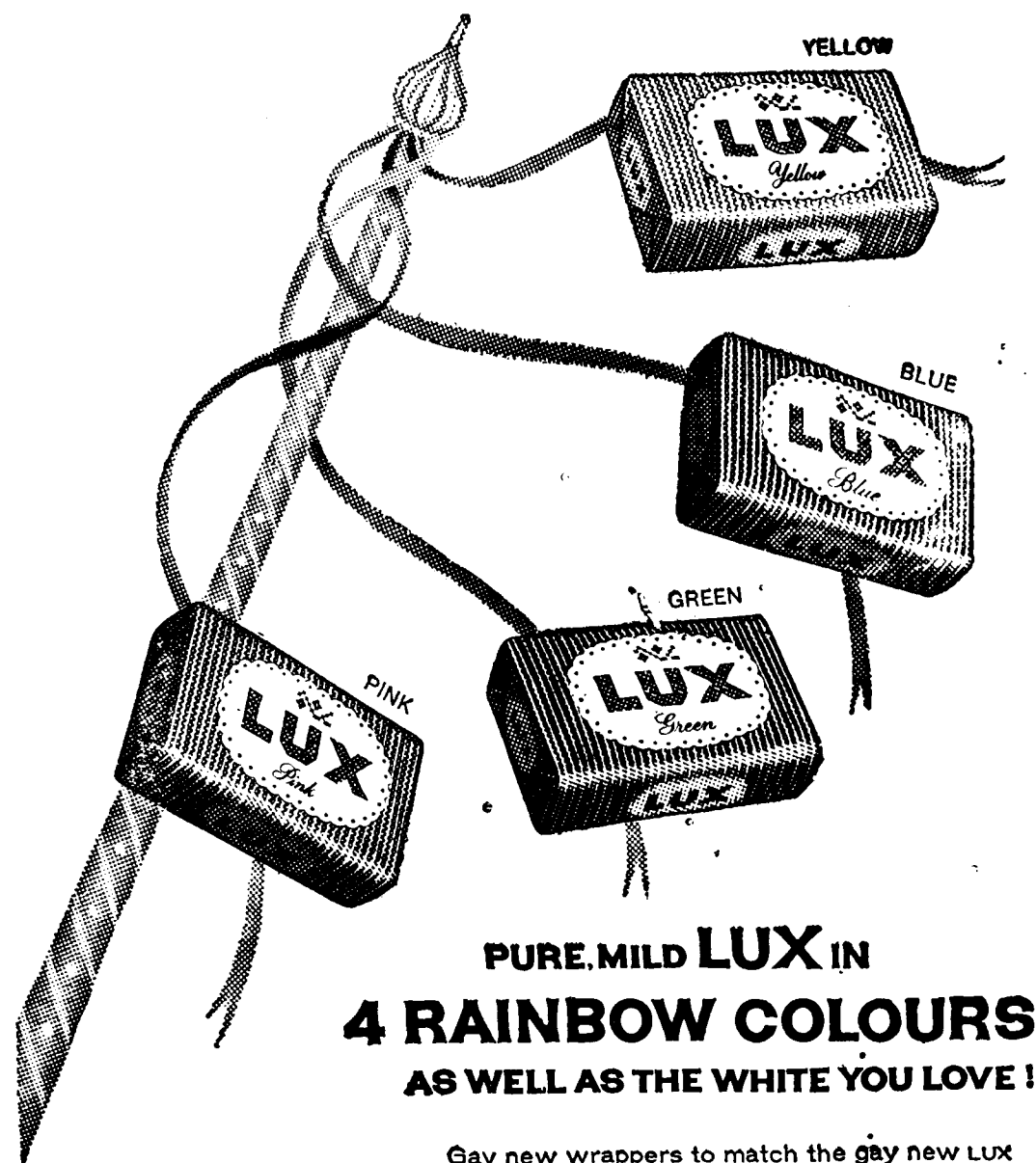
Dr. K. S. Krishnan, one of the most lovable, most eminent and best of men in modern India passed away suddenly on June 14 in Delhi. His learning, devotion and attachment to Vaishnavite religious literature both Tamil and Sanskrit were as remarkable as his great scientific eminence. He never came to Madras but honoured me with a long and affectionate chat which each time left me more impressed than ever by the unique combination of piety, modern learning and freedom from snobbery and quackery that one saw in him. His premature passing away is a cause for great grief for his numerous friends besides being a great and irreparable national loss in particular to lovers of Tamil and of modern science.

C.R.

exhibiting for sale" means licence for living. We shall have favouritism, monopolies, injustice and distress galore, new entrants into business being blocked unless coming up with political backing, and the inevitable graft that must ensue from these conditions may be imagined.

And looking at it from the other end, one fails to see how licences can improve the quality or purity of the articles produced, stocked, or exhibited for sale. Will the licensing authority take a continuous part in the business of agriculture, manufacture and sale? And is he qualified for that task of improvement except perhaps of improvement of his own affairs? Indeed this universal licensing is a ludicrous remedy for the abuse of adulteration.

Authority takes refuge in the confiscation of freedom as the one unfailing remedy for every disease, even as in the old days purging and bleeding was the medicine man's single treatment for all physical maladies. On the background of the coming elections, the wholesale character of the regulation indicates something worse than mere quackery.

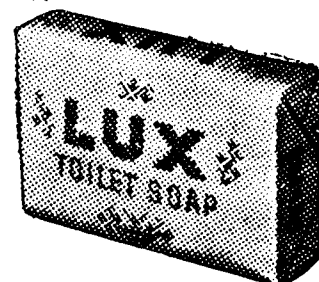


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SAFETY LAST

(Continued from page 13)

pouring of strait laced young enthusiasms. It was this baptism and this living in wilderness on locusts and wild honey that fired and refined the metal that was in the ore in him. It is in the mould of men that much of the mean and ludicrous should be mixed with pathos and poverty, but never could one trip on any tinsel or triviality in Subba Rao even in his direst needs.

Of the merciless beating that he bore along with a fellow worker for picketing in the early non-cooperation days he gave out one illuminating aspect: he was largely immune to fear of physical wants; he had to give himself a trial about riding on direct and intimate fleshly pain and that was reason enough for clenching his teeth and digging into his palm with knotted fingers in defiance of physiology and of the Sub-Inspector that beat him. When he was in the Hospital afterwards destined for Vellore prison, his poor old and ignorant mother moaned "They have beaten him for his offence; now, why should he also be put in jail?"

With little of visible monetary credit and less of cash and the handicap of an unsoftened devotion to truth he embarked venturesomely on the *Su-tantra*. The sheer fearlessness as of a naive child, in the assault on whatever was mean or covetous or overhearing, however respectably habilitated, combined with impersonality, raised the weekly to an eminence that is rarely accorded to English weeklies. A penetrating intellect that decanted the basic immoralities from the fripperies that clouded untenable words or actions on the part of the authorities and words of fire that showed up the untruth in its starkness were both his sword and buckler. Latterly he focussed with a burning glass on the satanically perpendicular negligence of the ruling party in the land for its greed of power and money, and for its exaltation of the machine as against the spirit, wilfully blind to the result that is and can only be the triumph of natural savagery of instinct in explosions of envy, blind passion, hatreds between class and class and senseless destruction.

For the last two years Subba Rao was in thrall with a body that was in divorce with his keen mind, but we had become accustomed to being frightened, just as people are who live on the slopes of Etna. The surprise and sorrow is therefore not the less when he passes away, peerless in his rectitude and singleness of purpose and his banner bravely aloft with the motto: Safety last.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR DEPOSIT INSURANCE

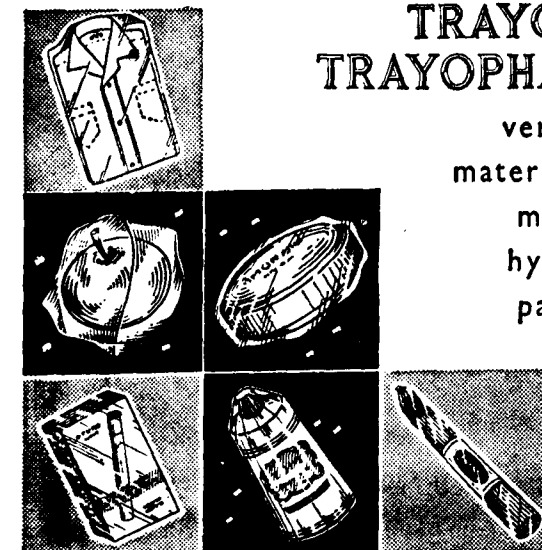
Sir,—India, it is often asserted, is the largest democracy in the world. Is it so in practice? Take for instance the deposits in banks in respect of which legislation is reported to be on the anvil. Except for U.S.A., there appears to be no other country where such insurance is in force. Thus India has not the experience of many other countries to profit by and it is therefore necessary that she should proceed warily. In U.S.A., the scheme has been in operation for over quarter of a century and under the latest enactment, barely five years old, the relationship between the Insurance Corporation and individual banks is entirely voluntary i.e., any bank may ask for insurance from the Corporation and may leave off at any time, after giving the prescribed

notice; per contra the Corporation may refuse to continue the insurance unless the insured bank behaved properly i.e., to the satisfaction of the Corporation.

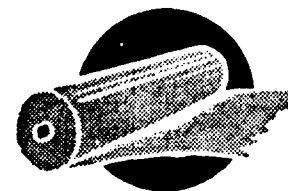
Other details apart, this is a very important point in the insurance scheme. Is it wise that the proposed legislation should require all banks to get insured, is it not advisable to proceed by stages? The proposal as it stands will throw a very great responsibility on the Corporation and require that it should be endowed with great powers which are likely to curb and curtail the initiative and enterprise of individual banks. Is this intended to serve as the thin end of the wedge towards the nationalisation of all private banks for which there is clamour now and again in the houses of legislature? K. V. IYER

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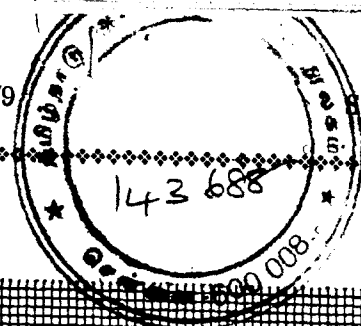
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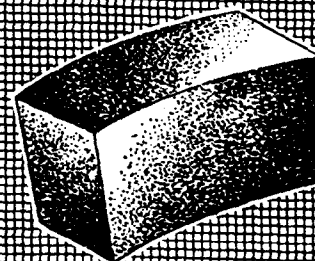
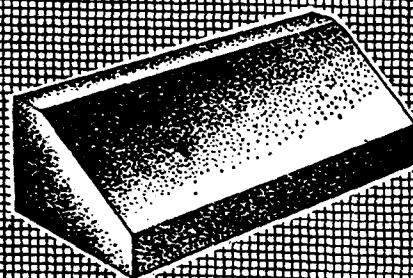
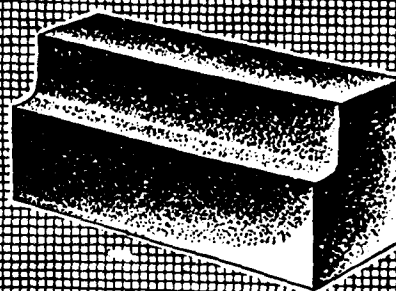
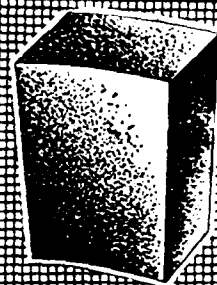
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