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INFLATION: CAUSES AND MEANING

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Rise in prices and in cost of living is the result of an unbalanced and unwise increase in the supply of money and not so much on account of shortage of goods or on account of the demand of higher wages by workers.

In the United States, for instance, charts have been prepared by economist-experts showing how the cost of living and commodity prices have steadily kept rising along with the volume of the currency, and quite independently of the volume of production of commodities. The *Newsweek* charts show that between 1939 and 1959 consumer prices increased 113 per cent and wholesale prices increased 136 per cent, the supply of money during that period having increased 270 per cent. The index of industrial production was 177 per cent higher in 1959 than in 1939. In spite of the rate of production of goods being nearly three times greater, wholesale prices more than doubled themselves, rising by 136 per cent during the same period. It is thus clear the villain of the piece is not shortfall of production but excess of money supply.

To attribute inflation to higher wage demands is also wrong. It would be a fallacious reversing of the cause and effect sequence. Higher wage demands are only another name for higher price of labour. All prices rise as a result of the increased supply of money owing to government budget policy, and increase in wage demands are only one example of rising prices, labour being a

'commodity' like other commodities for which a price has to be paid. Unless the demand for higher wages is altogether an unreasonable one not based on higher cost of living, a higher wage demand cannot be included among the inflationary causes.

When a political party in command of the State spends increased amounts on schemes intended to bring in more votes from particular groups and help to perpetuate

its rule, the supply of additional currency to fill the gap caused by increased public expenditure raises the prices of all the goods which the community purchases. The doles and subsidies are given at the cost of those who pay direct and indirect taxes including the very people who imagine they get special benefits.

Those whose money-incomes have not been raised by the government are forced to pay higher prices. Previous savings are all reduced in value, wherever they may have been deposited or held. The victims of inflation resent the gain which some sections make as a result of the same inflation. The new distribution of incomes is felt not to be the result of merit or effort but of political favouritism or speculation. Class and group hatreds increase in consequence. And this is further accentuated by the classes who gain by inflation spending their gains ostentatiously. The quick and easy gains resulting from inflation tend to increase the indulgence in speculation, display and corruption.

Inflation is not an evil visitation from without. It is the result of deliberate governmental policy. As a result of inflation, even gilt-edge holdings go down in value and men are cheated without their knowing it. The U.S. Government today is paying off in dollars worth 47 cents each, what it borrowed in 1940 in 100 cent dollars. The same or worse is the case in India where the rupee has fallen nearly five times below the old value.

THE GREAT EVIL

If the roads, the railways, the banks, the insurance offices, the great joint-stock companies, the universities, and the public charities were all of them branches of the government; if, in addition, the municipal corporations and local boards, with all that now devolves on them, became departments of the central administration; if the employees of all these different enterprises were appointed and paid by the government, and looked to the government for every rise in life; not all the freedom of the press and popular constitution of the legislature would make this or any other country free otherwise than in name. And the evil would be greater, the more efficiently and scientifically the administrative machinery was constructed.

JOHN STUART MILL.

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SANT FATEHSINGH'S FAST UNTO DEATH RAJAJI'S APPEAL

Rajaji issued the following press statement on 30th December last:—

It is most regrettable that the claim of the Sikhs for a Punjabi Suba with the same autonomy as other linguistic areas have been given as a result of the re-organisation of States, has been met not only with obstinate denial but with repressive measures striking heavily against the freedom of association and expression and the rule of law. The situation has been rendered very grave and explosive by the Sikh leader's decision to fast unto death as the last and only non-violent weapon available to a people when the Government has turned the deaf ear to all other appeals. I do not approve but I can understand the decision to resort to this weapon of self-immolation. A brave people, irritated to the point of rebellion, cannot be controlled by its responsible leaders except by such an offer to court death. One would wish that these fasts unto death had been discouraged in the past but the fatal fashion has been set irreparably. And in this case, the popular emotion and the Government's attitude almost justify the extreme step. I appeal to the authorities most earnestly to look beyond the nose and intervene in time. The Sikhs ask for a State with all its limitations in the Union, with a boundary that automatically provides for a more than 40 per cent opposition to any unjust rule by force of majority, not to speak of other constitutional safeguards against misrule.

The Union Government has had to tolerate and to do many things deviating from its ideals and slogans. There is no reason why a brave and martial people on one of the vital frontiers of India, who have served the cause of liberty and progress on more than one occasion in an exemplary manner, should be marked out for adverse discrimination in

Current Comments

The shameless reliance on money power which the Congress bosses are openly exhibiting is the feature of the recent Congress meets. Not only have Congressmen insisted that they must have donations from the companies under their regulating thumb, but they must call the Swatantra Party names, and say that it is a rich man's party or a privileged classes organization. Such shameless lying cannot be successful even among our illiterate masses. Ambiguous resolutions promising all kinds of concessions to this group or that, may however deceive. There is no doubt a fairly good market at election time for falsehood and immoral and unjust promises. But it is the duty of honest leaders of the classes to whom temptations are offered to expose these deceptive tactics. These classes cannot rise on concessions. On the contrary they will ever be thereby kept at concession level, their moral stamina being undermined by these partisan concessions.

Parkinson's cynical humour perhaps so over-shadows the substance of his propositions that probably people get more of the amusement provided than knowledge of the truths he propounds. However, the serious and emphatic language of Dr. Wilhelm Ropke, who says the same thing in his works leaves no room for such diversion of the

respect of the so-called linguistic formula. I do hope Government will intervene in time to save the situation. We have seen the harmful consequences arising out of the linguistic division of India that has been given effect to throughout India and well considered comprehensive measures may be taken later on to counteract them. But it is a grave mistake to discriminate only against the claim for a State around the Punjabi language.

understanding. The more money governments take from the people out of their income, the greater the proliferation of the bureaucracy and the extravagance, wastefulness and adventurism of the governments. This tendency characterises not only government budgets, but also party expenditure. There is hardly any difference between party and State, the identification getting more and more complete with every year of unchecked power. As an instance of this we have, as a first result of the huge collections now made from 'voluntary' contributors in commercial and industrial circles for the Madras Congress Party's chest, a proposal to have a grand 'pageant' to vie with the usual annual Delhi pageant. This is obviously intended to overwhelm by a noisy cultural show the widespread dissatisfaction and resentment over the misrule of the ruling party. It is as silly an attempt as it is wasteful and vulgar. It is an insult to the intelligence of the voters to plan such shows on the eve of the elections. The effect can easily be the opposite of what the planners intend to achieve. But ill-gotten money must be spent, and a 'pageant' is as good a drain as any other to let it down.

WORST FORM OF TAXATION

"Inflation is the worst possible form of taxation. It is like a flat rate of Sales Tax, the rate being as high on bread and milk as on diamonds and furs. It is a tax not only on everyone's expenditure but on his savings and life insurance. It is a flat capital levy, without exemptions, in which the poor man pays as high a percentage as the rich man."

—From the book "Economics in One Lesson" by HENRY HAZLITT.

DHOTIES AND SAREES By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Apart from tea and jute, the really exportable manufacture of India lies in the textile line. But our present Government is unwilling to make the necessary adjustment between the mill production and the handloom industry. The latter is eminently fit to meet the local demand for cloth and the former is capable of being canalised into cloth fit for foreign markets. If a reservation in favour of handloom products were made in the local market and the mills helped to manufacture for export to foreign markets instead of for competition against the handloom industry, there would be sense in Government policy. It would give needed relief to the millions of families dependent on the handloom and help India to find substantial foreign exchange to reduce the payment gap. Instead of this, a curious and pathetic attempt is made to manufacture and export hand-made goods to America. After the first novelty was over, American demand has disappeared and the handloom weavers are in great distress. They were encouraged and misled to make a large quantity of a certain type of cloth which was thought to be saleable in America and a huge quantity of it which is unwanted in India lies idle. These weavers are urging Government to buy the cloth and force it on unwilling lower grade public servants. This is a mess created by the Government and its mis-informed officials. The real solution is to direct handloom production to concentrate on dhoties and sarees and reserve for the handloom weavers the market for this traditional wear of men and women in our country—instead of building castles in the air by way of finding an American market for our handloom products. For tens of thousands of years these weavers have been supplying what the men and women in our country wanted and would still be glad to wear. Wisdom consists in re-

serving the Indian market, as far as these traditional varieties go, in favour of the handloom, and canalising the mill production for maximum utilisation for export to foreign markets without competing with handloom products and causing widespread distress among the cottage weavers. The rebates and subsidies planned to relieve the distress of the cottage weavers serve no good purpose. The bulk of the weavers are not reached and only the co-operative societies and their 'closed shops' benefit. The co-operative societies

have not capital enough to cover more than a third of the cottage weavers and they do not really encourage or permit enlargement of their membership. There is a good deal of fraud going on under cover of these rebates. The all-round mess must be cleared by a change of policy.

The mills must be told not to imitate the handloom dhoti and sari and asked to produce tailoring cloth both of such varieties as are required to supplement the handloom production in the local market and for export to foreign countries. There is no doubt our textile industry is capable of competing with production abroad in the latter varieties.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIRST CONVENTION OF THE SIKHS OF SOUTH- EAST ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

The first Convention of the Sikhs of South-East Asia and the Far East held in Singapore on the 27th November '60 and attended by over 125 delegates, adopted the following resolutions unanimously:

1. Punjabi is one of the fourteen languages recognised in the Indian Constitution. It has its own script 'Gurmukhi'. After Independence, the Congress Government has already demarcated 13 States on linguistic basis. This convention is deeply concerned over the discriminatory treatment meted out to the Punjabi language by the Punjab State and the Central Governments and hereby demands that Punjabi Suba, based on Punjabi language be formed without further delay and thus justice be meted out to the Punjabis, and an honourable position be given to the Punjabi language.

2. This convention condemns the ruthless use of lathi-charge, tear-gas and firing and violence to terrify and suppress the peaceful satyagrahis in Delhi, Amritsar, Bhatinda, Patiala, etc., etc.

3. This convention condemns the action of the Punjab Government of imprisoning the innocent, confiscating the properties, muzzling the press, sealing the sacred places, barring entry to temples, prohibiting meetings and demonstrations, suppressing the civil liberties in general.

(Proposer: Action Committee, Singapore).

4. This convention pledges full support to Sant Baba Fateh Singh and to other leaders of Punjabi Suba struggle. The Sikhs of the South-East Asia are behind them and support them in every respect.

5. Notwithstanding the arrests of about 50,000 Satyagrahis during the last six months for the cause of Punjabi speaking State, the Government has not heeded this constitutional demand. Now that Sant Fateh Singh has announced his death-fast which is to be followed by other important Satyagrahis, this convention warns the Government in time to save their precious lives, failing which the responsibility for the deterioration of the situation, consequent upon these deaths will fall squarely upon the shoulders of the Government.

(Proposer: Action Committee, Malaya).

6. This convention appeals to all the political parties of India in the name of Justice and Humanity to save the heroic minority of their land, the Sikhs, from being destroyed. Their demand of Punjabi Suba is legitimate and constitutional, but the Punjab Government at the instigation of the Central Government has let loose unprecedented terror against them. This convention appeals to them to use their good offices to persuade the Nehru Government to cease their atrocities against Sikhs and to concede their legitimate demand.

(Proposer: Sikh Sangat, Selangor, Malaya).

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SIDELIGHTS ::

Sri K. Santhanam spoiled an otherwise good speech in the Lok Sabha on company contributions to party funds with a mischievous insinuation at the end. He said:

"The other opposition parties now put on the mantle of virtue. They say that they do not want the contributions. I am sure they are going to get contributions as much as, if not more than, the Congress. They want this clause to be passed, but they want to oppose it here and have it passed by the Congress. That is the whole strategy of the opposition".

To say that the opposition parties are insincere when they say that they do not want the contributions is a cheap sneer not worthy of a sober politician. A Congress Minister has admitted that the Congress collected five crores for the expenses of the last election. Can all the other parties put together boast of a fraction of such an achievement? It is the strangle-hold of the Congress on business enterprises that places it at an advantage in the collection of funds and commonsense will show that no other party has a similar advantage. Even now the leader of the Swatantra Party will be delighted to offer not to go in for company contributions if, taking Sri Santhanam at his word, the Congress were to issue an ordinance banning them. As it is, he has laboured to wrest the alleged mantle of virtue from other parties and throw it on the Congress. But it goes on merrily as before in enjoyment of the harvest of vice.

There is an impression abroad that Rajaji wants a Punjabi Suba. It is not so. Rajaji is a total opponent of the entire scheme of linguistic states. The illogicality of denying to the Punjab Akalis, under an over-all national policy of linguistic division, a separate state to call their own, as has been conceded to every other linguistic community, is what Rajaji cavils at. Rash and impulsive, the Prime Minister is not able to assess correctly the consequences of his dis-

astrous innovations. He imagines he can shout the Akalis down, or silence them with repression and the imprisonment and persecution of their leaders. But the momentum of example is greater than the restraining effects of conflicting precepts, and with a past so full of the forswearing of earlier tenets under pressure, the Prime Minister's rhetorical exhortations have lost all validity and appeal. Tutored by precedent and tradition, people are confident that he will become a votary tomorrow of what he condemns today. Nagaland, less entitled to statehood than any other imaginable region in the country, is an advance signal of inevitable success for the far more tenable and viable demand for a Punjabi Suba.

Rajaji has no illusions about Mr. Nehru's capacity to confront the unwanted reactions and boomerang effects of his own doctrinaire nostrums and hasty measures effectively as a competent antagonist. He knows that it is a hopeless, desperate, Canute-like attempt, doomed to miserable failure. Mr. Nehru lives in an orbit of his own, enjoying the glow of satisfaction from temporary excitements, but a statesman trained to exclude the confusions of self-conceit from assessment of national needs and problems, cannot afford to take supinely for granted the axiomatic sanctity of every officially engineered trend. Rajaji is convinced that there is nothing but peril for India from obstinate persistence in the doctrine of unilingual statehood. There is perhaps no political leader in the whole country who would have dared to avow openly a creed going so heavily against the current of accepted contemporary superstition. It is the distinction of Rajaji's leadership that he does not count the cost to himself in proclaiming and adhering to the truth. His seeming approval of the Punjabi Suba demand must be balanced against his firm declaration that if the Swatantra Party gets the

chance it will cancel and revise the whole system of territorial reorganisation based on language.

Rajaji knows however that vested interests have grown round the unilingual states, and to dislodge them from the power they have tasted and learned to enjoy is a feat impossible of accomplishment by any democratic method that has to reckon with votes and the ballot-box. We can only counteract with safety devices what we have thoughtlessly let ourselves in for and cannot get rid of. A greater multi-lingual pull at a higher plane of government is needed to soften and get round the aggressiveness and exclusivism of linguistic administrative orientation. This can best be achieved by a re-orientation of the country into four or five multi-lingual zones in between the Centre and the states.

Having come very close to Sir M. Venkata Subba Rau in recent years, it was with a shock and a sense of personal loss that I read the news of his death. This last year has been a sad year. Many dear friends have passed away leaving an impression of the impermanence of life as life's outstanding reality. A survivor's plight as near and dear ones pass away is pitiable and not conducive to enthusiasm for obituary writing. I have got into a positive distaste for it. It is the fashion to review a life *post-mortem*, as a full perspective of it can be had only when it is completed. There is a certain absurdity however in deferring appreciation or criticism of a man's life till he is no longer in a position to approve or disapprove of it. I have had the gratification of receiving Sir M's endorsement as not incorrect to a tribute of mine which I had written and published earlier, more than twenty years ago. As it is as true now as when written and SWARAJYA's readers are not likely to have come across it, I reprint it below:

Social life in Madras owes much to Sir M. Venkata Subba Rau. He

(Continued on page 13)

ECONOMIC SPECTRUM

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The gray light of the economics of the common man flows from the spectrum set by the increasing activities of the Government. The speeches of the Finance Minister to the Productivity Council and to the Associated Chambers broadly forecast these activities as they will be formulated in the next budget and the Third Plan. While the Minister is unrepentant about increases in taxation, he seems to have suffered a change of heart in respect of foreign investment, private enterprises and export trade. He has found that without more foreign investment, the Third Plan, in the face of decreasing foreign loans, will be largely empty of industrialisation. He wants increased exports so that there may be foreign exchange for components and raw materials for the industrialisation, which has already taken place. The enlargement of the private sector is consequential, particularly as the public sector has failed to make a commensurate contribution to the internal and external markets.

The threefold plan of the Minister is likely to suffer from nearly the same set of causes, controls, taxation and inflation, side by side with deterioration in money supply, basic services and administration. Controls delay and distort the starting of new industries, adding to the prices by the resultant monopoly position of existing industries. Taxation also adds to the prices not only by its volume but also by being applied to administrative elaboration on one hand and to long-term industries on the other, which do not increase commodities which the people require. At the same time, the recent credit curbs imposed by the Reserve Bank have made money too dear for investment. The public sector is so heavily handicapped that it can neither work to capacity nor expand. Foreign enterprise, which is offered the same conditions as the private sector, is

therefore not likely to be attracted in any substantial measure.

The public sector is not likely to make up for this as Prof. Galbraith's report discloses numerous faults and difficulties in existing plants in addition to organic defects in management, pricing and capital formation. He concludes that the post office socialism, which state enterprises represent, far from reducing inequalities, is depriving the economy of its legitimate development. His finding is specially important that capital for industrialisation can only arise from the profits of industry which are not lost in wages and prices. What Government now terms "savings" from the incomes of the common people, retracted through taxes and loans, is illusory because it reduces the very purchasing power on which industrialisation depends. The report, which Government were compelled to disclose, like other suppressed criticism of Government plans indicates how impervious Government is to any correction. Nonetheless if the Third Plan is not modified, not only will it fail but will continue to tax people for what really reduces their conditions.

This is disclosed by the Second Agricultural Labour Inquiry Report, which also Government has reluctantly disclosed. According to it, agricultural labour, which represents 34 per cent of the National Income, has suffered a fall in its meagre per capita income of Rs. 104 to Rs. 99. The report further discloses that income from non-agricultural labour and from the cultivation of land has also fallen. It is not necessary to comment that land reform and the many rural development schemes of Government have done more harm than good. The beneficiaries are only middlemen, traders, officials and residents in towns. It is possible that as this result becomes obvious, the Government will fear the reactions,

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CAPITAL COMMENTS:

OLD EVILS IN NEW GARBS

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: For long years the Congress used to hold its annual session towards the close of a year: more recently it has preferred the commencement of a year, may be because it is better to hope at the beginning than despair at the end. Another interesting feature of post-Independence Congress is the partiality for a capital of one of the former princely states as the venue. Jai-pur, Hyderabad, Indore, Bangalore had each its turn. Now it is Bhavnagar where the stage is set.

The draft resolutions to be considered at the present session are now public property. One finds them riddled with familiar, if not

ECONOMIC SPECTRUM

(Continued from previous page)

particularly at the elections, of the rural masses they have sacrificed.

But Government seems incapable of learning from experience. The Madras Government is reported to be considering price control of subsidiary foods, the prices of which are soaring. Even if control of the small quantities and multiple qualities of items like chillies, spices, oils, is at all feasible, it will increase prices through the resultant black market, while production, which should be increased to meet the extra income Government have placed with urban classes, will miss the stimulus of appropriate prices.

The Minister for Planning is also showing his incapacity to learn. He has hinted at increasing the control on Banks and reducing regional disparities in prices, when everything Government have done in this direction has made things worse. What the country now requires is breathing space both from changes and taxes. This will make the picture clearer of the mistakes to be corrected so that the economy is restored to its natural tone and muscle.

worn-out phrases envisaging the future in terms of socialist economy and pattern of society. The resolution on the Third Five-Year Plan, for instance, emphasises the need of "a self-sustaining, generating economy" and "modern and scientific outlook" while the old emphasis on State-trading and co-operative farming is somehow missing. And while little is heard of community development, much is claimed for Panchayat Raj. It is said to be "revolutionising the outlook of our rural masses" so much so that "a new vitality is pulsating in the areas" where it has been established. The Congress is, indeed, highly gratified that the "solid foundations of democracy" are well and truly laid. Whether the realities in the country-side still really correspond to the roseate hues in the Congress picture or not, Congress leadership is not much bothered about, the hour having struck for a manifesto that should rouse the people to their duty to the Congress which is pledged to bring in the millennium!

It is the resolution on national integration that crystallises the Congress thought and also ironically unveils the Congress picture or perspective. Opening with a panegyric on what the Congress has done in the past, for the unity of India and cohesion of her people—a phase of Congress history which nobody even outside the Congress quarrels about or questions—the resolution is couched in a language of confession and caution that gives the whole show away. From a ringing note of self-adulation it slides into an apologetic strain, with quite a burdensome stress on the "unfortunately-however" aspect of the present-day problem.

"Under cover of political and social activities, the old evils of communalism, casteism, provincialism and linguism have appeared again in some measure. The Congress views

with great concern these unhealthy tendencies and is firmly of opinion that they must be combated in every way. Communalism, which has in the past done so much injury to the nation, is again coming into evidence and taking advantage of the democratic apparatus to undermine this unity and to encourage reactionary tendencies. Provincialism and linguism have also injured the cause for which the Congress stands. Caste, although losing its basic force, is beginning to function in a new political garb."

The passage cited above is not an excerpt either from an article by Rajaji or a speech by Mr. Kripalani but from the Congress Election Manifesto. Never have truer words been uttered by Congress leaders.

And yet, except for piously hoping for the emergence of a national outlook, "so that the forces of provincialism, communalism and casteism may diminish rapidly", the Congress has done 'precious little to combat the evils. That is hardly surprising. So long as the Congress is mostly led by men whose practices are at complete variance with their professions, there is no hope for the recovery, much less for the redemption, of the Congress. And the pity of it is that the worst enemies of the Congress are within its own fold, while some of them are occupying high positions, whether on the organisational front or beyond. For any Congressman not to have a sense of awareness of this deep-rooted malady, would be an exercise in self-deception.

If Congress realities are admittedly ugly, nowhere are they uglier than in Andhra Pradesh. The widely cherished—at any rate the widely publicised—hope that with the appearance of Mr. Palamraju as President of the Andhra P.C.C., unity would at once be restored to it, has been blasted within an incredibly short time. It did not seem proper that Mr. Raju who was expected to remain neutral between the clashing groups, should have allowed himself to be identified with the leaders of one group, and indeed publicly paraded as such, much to

RURAL WAGE-EARNERS' CONDITION HAS WORSENERD

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The condition of a section of the people computed generally as 20 per cent of the total population, viz., those who live in the rural area, who depend on the opportunities for labour in the biggest industry in the country, viz., agriculture, has considerably worsened all round, according to the findings of the special official committee which enquired into the matter. This has been sadly commented on in the press and is causing all-round melancholy musings.

Land in our villages furnishes occupation not only to owners and tenants but to a large number of villagers living round about, who have no proprietary or leasehold rights in the land. That the condition of these people who work as rural wage-earners has deteriorated since 1950 may cause surprise to statisticians. But to those who have anxiously watched and vainly tried to curb the tempo of changes in the land laws which compulsorily settled the relations between owners and tenants, it will not cause surprise. Politically-motivated changes in the land laws ignoring the traditional structure of the agricultural industry in the country and doing away with the binding character of contracts and the sacredness of property have led to a considerable worsening of the occupational opportunities of the landless classes in the country-side.

The 'reformers' have gone all out to rob the owners of land of their rights as owners, and placed their tenants in a dominant position against them without any respect for contracts and independently of the consent of the proprietors. The larger the area owned, the lesser have become the rights of the owners, and the greater the precariousness of their enjoyment of their own land. This is the pattern of all recent land reforms done with an eye on the ballot box. Urban land has gone up in

value but ownership of village land, the real source of food production in the country, has become an uncertain and undependable avocation. Apart from the uncertainties of the monsoon, the tyranny of ever changing laws manufactured in the chambers of demagogues and calendered in the legislatures has become an additional factor that makes the ownership of agricultural land an uncertain and unpleasant job and one that prudence should abandon as early as possible in favour of a bank account or house property in one of the big towns. The result is that land has practically gone by mere force of legal changes into the hands of irremovable tenants who do not care to employ labour. The poorest among the working classes have been badly hit.

Few policies can be so irrational as the Congress Party's persistent adherence to the plan of putting a ceiling on the area of agricultural land that can be held by an owner-farmer. The party does not think of putting a ceiling on other forms of property. It is not contended that the yield of food-grains will be better as a result of this ceiling on agricultural holdings. If it is really so contended, it would be an entirely groundless contention. On the contrary, the food production will go down as a result of this policy. The expropriation of "surplus" land above this ceiling is to be clothed with constitutionality by a pretence of compensation being given. For instance, as journalist Salivateeswaran has pointed out in his latest letter dealing in particular with the Maharashtra land ceiling measure, the compensation clause in it gives Rs. 900 per acre for land whose market value is known to range between Rs. 4,500 and Rs. 5,000 per acre.

Fragmentation due to enlargement of the owner families has been added to and accelerated by

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C. RAJAGOPALACHARI in SWARAJYA

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In 1960-61 there will be translations of the Second Edition into French, German, Russian, Spanish, Dutch, Norwegian and Swedish; also of the Introduction, summarizing the main features of the book, into Arabic, Chinese, Japanese and Polish.

January 7, 1961

fragmentation due to the laws. Now, all fragmentation tends to oust free labour. It reduces the chances offered to the local inhabitants to get wage-earning work in the several agricultural processes. The extinguishment of the larger owners of land has resulted in a 'closed shop' for the local labouring population. Just as, if in a frenzy of envy all the bigger industrial concerns were ordered to be closed down, wage earners would be hit, agricultural labour has been hit by the land 'reforms'. The lowest strata of the rural population including, of course, the Harijan population are the worst sufferers in the consequences created by these land 'reforms' which have been undertaken ever since Independence with an eye to the ballot box. Depriving rural labour of their traditional opportunities, the vote-hunters have been doping the sophisticated section of these classes

with various concessions and tempting promises of land ownership, which it is needless to go into in detail in this connection. The leaders of the Harijans unfortunately look to the betterment of the sophisticated section of their people and do not seem to understand or care as to what happens to the rest and the larger body of their people. So sure is the ruling party of the success of these schemes of deception and of the power of money arising out of levies made on the industrial managers under their thumb, that the only electioneering propaganda now adopted by them is "we shall surely succeed; other parties have no money and no power to spread themselves out effectively in the countryside and therefore they have no chances of success". There is no attempt to explain or defend policies, but prediction as to coming success at the polls is the main argument. The idea is that the Indian electorate will vote only for a party that will succeed, right or wrong.

It is no surprise that as a result of the land reforms wrongly so called, the bulk of the poor people in the country have got into deep debt and their income per head has considerably diminished. When the average income is very low, a reduction in it by a few paises is a terrible misfortune. And the latest official agricultural labour enquiry report shows a great decline per head. Under-employment and unemployment have increased. Unemployed days rose from 90 in 1951 to 123 in 1957. Wage rates have gone down for men from 108 nP. to 96 nP. The total indebtedness of this section of the population has been computed to have risen from Rs. 80 crores in 1950 to Rs. 143 crores in 1956. The percentage of indebted households went up from 45 to 64. The indebtedness would be greater but for drawings on past savings and assistance from relations working abroad and otherwise employed. The deficit in the domestic budgets of these people is stated to be as high as

Rs. 180 per year per household. Converting these figures into their human meaning the misery of the rural population (excepting those who happen to be the favourites of land legislation, viz., tenants) can be imagined. We shall soon hear of family planning drives and of reforms proposed to fix a floor wage rate for agricultural labour. Legislative compulsion is no cure for economic phenomena. Compulsion cannot tackle such matters. It would only lead to nation-wide fraud and further misery and a yet greater fall in food production with all its consequence on the life of the people.

Natural laws can never be met by legislative coercion. People must revise their notions of the functions of those who own land and the necessary part they play in social economy. To treat them as enemies of society and to oust them from their place in the economy has led to the worsening of the condition of those who depended on the opportunities of being employed by them for wages. Land does not merely give an income to the owner. It functions also to provide employment to those who depend on wage-earning. Before the industrialisation of the country's economy has taken place in adequate measure so as to absorb the labour of the rural classes and before any new rural schemes are put into execution such as will absorb local unskilled labour, all action directed towards fragmentation of land and the breaking up of the larger estates and transfer of Peter's rights to Paul on the ground that Paul has a larger quantum of vote-potential, is detrimental to the life of the main population in the countryside. The agricultural labour committee's report has made this plain.

Not to be excluded from the greatest, yet to remain included in the smallest, that is divine.

Inscription on
Ignatius Loyola's Grave

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January 7, 1961

AN INJUSTICE

BUS PERMIT PATRONAGE IN MADRAS STATE

Disturbing disclosures of official injustice and favouritism are made by ex-bus-owner T. Hussain Khan Saheb of Tiruvetipuram in the following letter to the Minister of Government Transport, Madras State:

I beg to bring to your kind personal notice the following facts and to request you to be pleased to pass orders favourably, considering all my real representations:—

Formerly, a man owning 20 buses was called a fleet-owner. Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, then Prime Minister, Madras, passed orders subsequently that a fleet-owner may own only 3 buses. With reference to this order I applied in 1946 for the issue of a permit to any of the three routes: (1) Kancheepuram to Tindivanam (via) Wandiwash; (2) Cheyyar to Madras (via) Kancheepuram; (3) Cheyyar to Chingleput (via) Kancheepuram. In reply to Regional Transport Officer's Nos. 156, 157, 165 of 47, I remitted also Rs. 48.

Sri A. S. Subramania Mudaliar, the owner of Karthikeyan Bus Service, Arni, and the South Indian Railway Company objected to the opening of the above bus routes on 22nd and 24th January 1947 respectively. The Regional Transport Officer, Vellore, held a meeting on 12th January to open the said routes.

It is always easier to centralise than to decentralise, and to widen the powers of the State than to curtail them. The temptation of centrism has been great at all times, as regards both theory and political action. It is the temptation of mechanical perfection and of uniformity at the expense of freedom. It is the small minds, above all, which succumb to this temptation, as Montesquieu said. Once the mania of uniformity and centralization spreads and once the centrists begin to lay down the law of the land, then we are in the presence of one of the most serious danger signals warning us of the impending loss of freedom, humanity, and the health of society.

WILHELM ROPKE.

All the big fleet-owners in their union objected to the holding of a meeting with reference to the Regional Transport Officer's orders. No meeting was further held.

All the big fleet-owners secured a Government order prohibiting issue of permits in the North Arcot district on the plea that the roads there were not good ones. This benefited the big fleet-owners and was disadvantageous to the other bus representatives. I gave a revision petition to the Hon'ble Minister Sri Gopala Reddi on 5th March 1949. I received in reply a Government order, endorsement No. 20345 of 49 Home, dated 26th March 1949. I received an order on the advice of the Minister from the Central Regional Traffic Board in his L.Dis.8485 of 49 to the effect that I should apply to the Regional Transport Officer in respect of the bus routes in the Chingleput—South Arcot districts. On the strength of this order, I applied to the Regional Transport Officer a second time for the grant of a permit (remitting Rs. 48) to any one of the three routes: (1) Kancheepuram to Tindivanam (via) Wandiwash; (2) Kancheepuram to Tiruvallur (via) Walajabad; (3) Kancheepuram to Tiruttani (via) Kalahasti. The permit was not granted.

For a third time, I applied for the grant of a permit to any of the three routes: (1) Madras to Oothukottai (via) Tiruvallur; (2) Kancheepuram to Tindivanam (via) Wandiwash; (3) Kancheepuram to Tiruttani. The permit was not granted.

I appealed to the Central Regional Transport Officer, Madras, on 26th October 1950 and 14th May 1951. My representations were of no avail. I preferred an appeal to the Government, who, in their order No. R.1534 dated 30th May 1951, rejected it.

I applied for the issue of a permit for the fourth time to: (1) Vellore to Kilnarma (via) Arni, Cheyyar, Wandiwash; for a fifth time to: (1) Polur to Madras (via) Chetpet, Cheyyar, Kancheepuram, Poonamallee and Aminjikarai, and for the sixth time to: (1) Vellore to Kancheepuram (via) Ransom, Perungattur.

No permit was granted to any of these three routes. Fleet-owners were granted

permits and I was overlooked in all these cases.

I was myself a bus operator during 1929-30 plying buses on all the routes in Madras City. In 1931, my services were taken over by the Union, later nationalised and taken over by the Government. I am also holding a driving licence. I possess the required experience in the line. My sons are mechanics with good experience in plying buses.

I have been trying to secure a permit for the last 13 years since 1946. I am financially sound to put on the road the latest model vehicles with up-to-date comforts and facilities to the travelling public. I have a motor workshop at No. 233 Gandhi Road, Tiruvetipuram.

To Sri A. S. Subramania Mudaliar, owner of Karthikeyan Bus Service, Arni, 3 bus permits and one long route express permit, in all 4 permits, have been granted in a year. He had already 28 buses and 3 spare ones, in all 31 buses. R.T.O. had given him 4 buses further on an appeal in that year. In spite of Minister Sri R. Venkatraman's orders that no permit should be granted to owners of more than 5 buses, and in spite of written representations and complaints to the Regional Transport Officer, favour has been shown to him, he being a fleet-owner and a rich man.

To Janab Sheriff Sahib, M.L.A. of M.B.D. Bus Service, Arcot, has been given a long route express permit from Vellore to Madras this year, though he had 36 buses (32 buses plus 4 spare buses). To Sri M. Venugopal Mudaliar, owner of Bala Vinayakar, had been given on 28th February 1959 a long route bus permit from Polur to Madras (via) Cheyyar though he had already seven long route buses. He is resident both at Madras and Vellore and favour has been shown to him by the Regional Transport Officer, North Arcot. Sri

PANDIT G. GOPALACHARI
JEEVAMRITHAM
HEALTH & STRENGTH
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A. K. Appavoo Mudaliar of Wandiwash has been favoured with two bus permits, one from Wandiwash to Arni (via) Arcot and another from Arni to Wandiwash (via) Cheyyar.

I wish to point out clearly that Minister R. Venkatraman passed orders that it is a viable unit if a man owns 5

buses and that fresh permits should not be granted to owners possessing more than 5 buses. Minister Parameswaran passed orders that permits should be granted only to individual representatives. Ever since these orders, I have been continuously applying for the issue of a permit for the last 13 years

with no success. But 25 permits have been granted to four bus-owners overlooking my representations.

Big fleet-owners alone have been favoured, especially with long bus routes by passing a fresh G.O. 2265 Home dated 9th August 1958, setting aside the Minister's orders quoted above.

CENSUS 1961

10 February—5 March



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THE PENDULUM OF PEACE

By T. V. K. KRISHNAN

The new year is already a week old, and the politicians and columnists have passed judgments on 1960 and given predictions about 1961. This seasonal game of looking backwards and forwards has limited advantages, for it is a game of adding up and guessing. Nevertheless, it serves as a reminder of opportunities gained or lost and as a warning of the perils that lie ahead.

1961 has begun badly. On the conscience of the world is the depressing shadow of conflicts in the Congo, Laos, Algeria, Nepal, Ethiopia and Saudi Arabia. In fact, this has been a restless week of strange subterranean movements. Unlike 1960 which began hopefully, the new year has had a dismal start. It may be recalled here that 1960 began with the world leaders visiting one another. President Eisenhower and Premier Nikita Khrushchov led the others in this scramble for personal contacts with an eye on the summit conference in May.

The shooting down of the U.S. spy plane which penetrated over a thousand miles into the Soviet Union on May 1 was a turning point in recent history. The thaw in East-West relations disappeared and the Paris summit failed. Since then a mood of belligerency has blanketed East-West relations.

It is convenient, although not strictly rational, to analyse world events in relation to the struggle for world supremacy by the two power blocs. The West, particularly the United States, met with many failures in the first half of 1960. The U-2 plane incident and the failure of the Paris summit in May were unqualified reverses for the U.S. Close on the heels of this, came the anti-U.S. demonstrations in Japan and the forced cancellation of Eisenhower's visit to Tokyo.

The U.S.-backed Government of Syngman Rhee in South Korea had collapsed earlier. In Turkey, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, a favourite of the U.S. Government, was swept off his feet, and his Government crashed like a pack of cards. In Cuba and in the whole of South America, the prestige of the U.S. was on the downgrade. The military coup in August which overthrew a pro-West Government in Laos and brought to power a neutralist Government, was another defeat for the West. In the Congo there was a sudden burst of Soviet activity which disturbed the West. The first half of 1960 was indeed a period of anxiety for the West.

In the last six months, however, the West has regained much of the lost ground. In Japan, in South Korea, in Laos and in the Congo, the West under the leadership of the United States has established favourable positions. In the Congo the unilateral intervention of the Soviet Union paved the way for Patrice Lumumba's exit. The general assembly session of the United Nations in September and October gave the West much satisfaction. Nikita Khrushchov's crude manners in the U.N. gave a negative prestige to the U.S. The Soviets and Czechs were pushed out of the Congo, and the Western nations secured the support of some 12 independent African countries (most of them former French colonies) in their tug-of-war with neutralists.

The pro-Western coup which failed in Ethiopia did not distress the West. The Government of Emperor Haile Selassie, it may be recalled, has received Rs. 37 crores worth of Soviet aid in 1959. The Soviet economic and political penetration in Africa, a serious threat to the West, has now been put under check. So the West believes, at any rate. The resignation of the Saudi Arabian Government and the dismissal of the Koirala ministry in Nepal are not unsatisfactory developments from the Western point of view. Above all, the great argument inside the Communist world about peaceful co-existence and the inevitability of war has given hope to Western capitals.

These victories are temporary. For, in this era of peace by balance of terror, the pendulum can swing back and forth with unpredictable swiftness. The neutralists will be happy to see that the present balance is maintained. But they are unhappy that there is progressive deterioration of popular institutions in some of the countries where the West has greater influence. In Pakistan and in Turkey, military dictators supported by the West are in power. In Laos, the U.S. is actively allied with a Government which has no democratic sanction and in the Congo the Parliament is suppressed to keep a pro-West clique in power. For doubtful tactical victories in the cold war, long-cherished ideals and institutions are being sacrificed.

I am a citizen of the world, I am a citizen of Weimar.

GOETHE

The neutralists have been ineffective. The neutral countries like Ghana, Indonesia, United Arab Republic and India have grave internal problems, and their prestige is on the decline. They failed miserably in 1960 in the U.N. to bring the two power blocs together for peaceful negotiations. But the greatest failure of 1960 was that of the United Nations. It is full of sad and sinister implications.

The Soviet Union has to share a large part of the blame for the tensions in the world today. The unilateral action in sending arms to the Congo and the Laos and the rattling of rockets by the Soviets have not in the least helped peace. The Soviet Union is everywhere, giving aid, fomenting trouble and competing with the U.S. The world does not expect them to behave differently. The West, therefore, has a greater responsibility to see that the cold war does not become hot. John Kennedy's election as the President of the U.S. offers a ray of hope.

But the breathless competition between the two power blocs for more power, more prestige, more security will go on. The Russians are preparing to put a man into space in 1961. The Americans hope to send their man up in mid-1961 and they are planning for five such experiments this year.

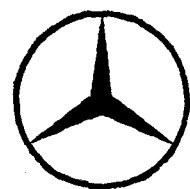
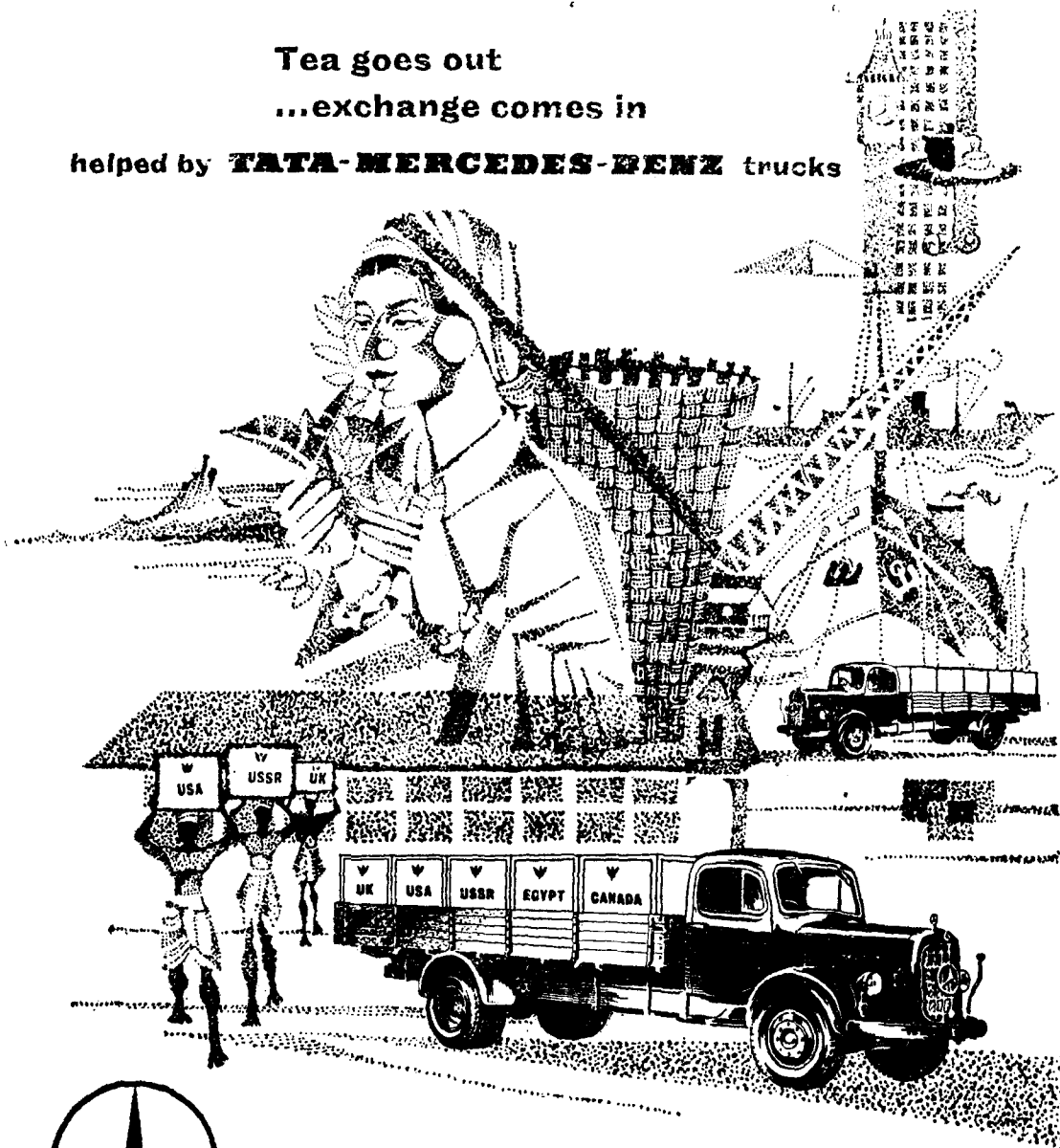
Apart from the tensions between the two power blocs, there will be many local tensions. In Algeria and Middle East there will be continued unrest. In Asia and Africa more dictatorships will come into being, and Soviet influence may show signs of increasing. China may explode her first atom bomb in 1961. The cold war will become more oppressive.

The crisis in the Congo will drag on and there may be new explosions in Africa. 1960 was described as Africa's year. This whole desperate decade may be dominated by Africa. More countries in West and East Africa will become free, and more federations may come into being.

In the midst of all these tensions and tantrums the world will no doubt become a more prosperous place in 1961. In Europe 1961 will be a boom year. More people will possess more means of comforts of personal life. Even in Asia and Africa there will be general economic progress. Man will conquer many diseases. He will fly higher and faster and live more comfortably. But he will have no peace.

Peace will be on his lips, in his hopes and slogans, in his policies and programmes. Peace will be the proclaimed goal of all his activities. And yet it is difficult to achieve.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR WHICHEVER IS MORE

Sir,—In order to make the intention clear, the stock phrases are "whichever is less" "whichever is later" etc. But the Government have just discovered a new phrase "whichever is more" in connection with the fixing of a ceiling on the amount of contribution which companies may make to the funds of political parties. This variation in the stock phrase has been missed by the rank and file of the legislators. For instance the Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd. becomes authorised to contribute more than Rs. 20 lakhs. It should be noted that in this enactment, the Government have not even adopted the principle of the sliding scale now in force in respect of the commission which the Managing Agents may draw as their remuneration for managing a concern.

The absurdity of the provision "whichever is more" would become obvious to the Government themselves had the opposition in the legislature suggested that (for instance) the ceiling on land holdings, which is the present day panacea in India for all ills, should be holding or 25 or 30 acres whichever is more.

But whoever accepts in action the wisdom of "what is good for the goose is good for the gander"? K. V. IYER.

COMPANY CONTRIBUTIONS

Sir,—The credit for giving the direct lie at one stroke to the false cry of the Congress that the Swatantra Party is the "rich man's party" and showing to the world that the boot is really on the other leg should go to the founder-leader of the Swatantra Party.

Probably, the most conspicuous thing in the whole debate on company contributions to political parties was the discreet and deliberate absence of the Prime Minister from Parliament when this subject which has far-reaching repercussions on Indian political parties in the future was being debated. Should not Mr. Nehru have been present when such an important debate was going on—if not for any other reason, at least to "extricate" the Members of the Opposition from their characteristic "confused thinking" and "narrow-mindedness"—catch-words which Mr. Nehru is never tired of repeating against the Opposition Members?

By saying that the contributions given by individuals connected with companies in their private capacity are passed on to the company's accounts through

dubious ways, the Commerce Minister was probably reflecting the action of many of his own party men in power.

Rs. 25,000 or 5 per cent of the profits, whichever is greater—what a "ceiling"! Congressmen can now go about the country demanding just the "ceiling" and nothing more (and nothing less too!) as the "voluntary" contribution from companies.

When the Government is having a strangulating hold on private enterprise in India and can ruin a company if it dares to incur the displeasure of the Government, the Commerce Minister has the cheek to say that companies would make the contributions after weighing the ideologies of the different political parties! In course of time when it is seen that almost all the companies have contributed to Congress funds the Minister will no doubt claim that *ipso facto* the companies approve of the ideologies of the Congress.

Kodambakam. I. SHANKAR RAO.

OUR OIL POLICY

Sir,—The extraordinary time wasted by the Oil Ministry in prolonging discussions with the oil companies interested in participating in the oil exploration and refining programme in India is becoming more and more curious. Even though the progress of the country has already been put back by a couple of years by following a muddled policy on coal, by affecting the production of steel, fertilisers and many other industries, just because oil exploration and refining do not affect any industry directly people have not realised the consequences of this dog in the manger attitude adopted by the Minister for Oil.

While the Government can certainly insist that the foreign companies who put up the refineries should employ and train Indian personnel and that part of the profits should be invested in the country etc., it is sheer folly and mistaken notion to go on harping on the Industrial Policy Resolution for not permitting to set up refineries for petrochemical industries to other oil companies.

The Government on the other hand should welcome competition so that even Public Sector refineries may work efficiently. If advanced countries like Australia and Canada welcome foreign participation and do not consider such things against the interests of their countries, does it mean that the Canadians and Australians are less patriotic?

OLD EVILS IN NEW.....

(Continued from page 6)

the resentment and annoyance of the other. Much worse is the open talk in the highways of Hyderabad that the very President of the Congress has been at the bottom of "groupism" in Andhra, whether by blatant encouragement of the evil or secret connivance at it. Could this really be true? At any rate it is obvious that he has either not made any determined attempt to stamp it out or dismally failed to stem the rot.

Inside the Congress party in Andhra Pradesh, guerilla warfare has again broken out—and even more virulently than before. From one side there is a demand for a probe into the actions of the present ministry, and from the other the counter-demand that the probe, if any, should necessarily comprehend the previous regime. Then the challenge was thrown at a Minister that he should declare his assets: it was hurled by an ex-Minister. He did not seem to know that the Congress President had indeed asked every Congress Minister to make such a disclosure. It was fatuous to have tried to make it appear that one Minister alone (whoever he be) had soiled his hands while the rest, by implication, were all above board. Apart from being a revolting exhibition of personal vendetta against someone in particular, it is sham heroics. It will not work: it may even act as a boomerang.

It is sheer malice to single out one, anyone, as "the only sinner in a world of saints"; it makes no sense when, in fact, the "saints" are in a precarious minority in the Congress. The mutual grave-digging which has become the pastime, if not a whole-time occupation, of Congressmen in Andhra Pradesh, should however do one good; it threatens to facilitate the funeral of the Congress which is soaked in what the poet calls "one wet corruption".

* The delay in utilisation of natural gas in Assam for setting up of petrochemical industries on account of the mistaken notions of the Oil Ministry should draw the attention of all thinking people in the country. CURIOUS.

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MADRAS, JANUARY, 14, 1961

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RIVALRIES: CAUSES AND CURE

By **C. RAJAGOPALACHARI**

We have had more than one Niagara of verbosity at Bhavnagar and they have been reproduced at full length in the papers for the benefit of those who did not go there; and of course it was all harmless water, whatever the volume was. The richness of the English language and its power of balancing thoughts on both sides of any question were amply demonstrated by apt students of the English language who led the oratorical displays at the Congress meeting. There were shrieking calls for unity by men who did and are doing their worst for dividing people against one another, not religiously, but in their daily work, creating class conflicts which have far more baneful results in our country today than religious and caste differences to which these have been added; there was a call for giving up "power politics" by persons whose one occupation by day and dreams during night are how to retain such influence and 'power' as have come to them by force of circumstances; these went to make up the turgid and empty eloquence at Bhavnagar.

Congress leaders are concerned about the growing "indiscipline" in the Congress which is regarded as far more serious than the publicly admitted climate of corruption. Incompetent shepherds and incompetent school-masters are naturally more concerned about rebellion against them than about anything else. Power depends on obedience. Indiscipline is the deadly terror of those whose ambition is power

and who use party politics for that purpose. The ambitious Congress leaders at the top fail to see that the more power they organize for the Congress party and its government, the greater the rivalry in sharing it. Human beings (and especially Congressmen) being what they are, the greater the unconstitutional and undisclosed profit, the fiercer the jealousies and rivalries in the sharing of it.

A leading newspaper which bestows equal attention to considered criticism and to the task of purveying news and which is by no means an unfriendly journal to the Congress party, has summarised the case thus: "The root cause of the trouble is the pre-occupation of most Congressmen with power politics instead of with the numerous tasks of nation-building which cry out for honest leadership and sustained energy. The real problem for the Congress is that it has too large a number of professional politicians who have no other occupation except playing the political game". The paper proceeds to make it more explicit by saying that these people have nothing to do between elections except "peddling political influence and patronage", indeed what I said at Chandigarh to which the Andhra Speaker took objection. Finally the paper ends its editorial with this verdict: "So long as this element dominates the Congress organisation at various levels, there is little prospect of its escaping the evils of power politics and group rivalries within the party".

Two fundamental points not touched by the editorial article quoted from, would be relevant in any critical survey of the Congress party's defects and difficulties. Not only the Congress party but any party that happens to run government will be in the same difficulty so long as human nature is what it is and so long as parties are composed of average men. The greater the power seized by government over individual life and occupation, the greater the temptations to corruption and internal rivalries in the parliamentary party that is in office. The remedy lies therefore in reducing to the minimum the State's power in matters material and enlarging the scope for individual energy and enterprise untrammelled by authority. Herein lies the ultimate and real preventive of all that goes by the frustration-nomenclature of indiscipline, group rivalry, power politics and the like. There is no cure or preventive for power politics except reduction of governmental power, the elimination of controls, permits, licences and all the annoying regulations that end up in giving unearned advantages to favoured people and corresponding harassment to all others.

The other fundamental point is that political leadership like every other leadership does not consist in the art of cultivating popularity but in right guidance. There is only one rule for those on whom lies the duty of guiding national life, to do what one believes to be good and to spare no trouble in the doing of it. Once

The Sahara Explosion

The French Government disregards the U.N. resolution and treats with contempt the wishes of the whole world. It has committed what the Russians have rightly condemned as a double disgrace. It has exploded its test bomb and it has exploded it in African territory, bringing into clear prominence its indifference to the opinion and the health of those who do not live in Europe. The concession of not exploding test bombs during the period when attempts are being made to reach an international agreement on the proposal to do away with nuclear weapons, is relatively small mercy. Those innocent nations of the world who do not have nuclear weapons and who wish to live unpoisoned, prized this concession as something great. But even in this small concession the French Government refuses to join.

U.S.A. and Britain are unable with a clear conscience to tell their perverse ally to desist, for they have already stocked for themselves a great pile of these deadly weapons. It is not easy for governments that have accumulated the 'profits' of sin to preach morality to new offenders. This is an unfortunate position. The nations who can with a clear conscience demand good conduct on the part of a new sinner are unfortunately not clear enough in their own minds and do not seem to know their rights. They are under the hypnotic spell of the brutal power of the big nations who, like the rowdy characters of an ill-governed village who hold their neighbours to ransom, are a law unto themselves. Some sanction must be boldly forged against a nation that refuses to respect the resolution of the U.N. in this respect. The anti-social attitude of France cannot be tolerated if the whole fabric of hope based on the U.N. is not to tumble down. C.R.

one gives this up and, instead, begins to discover and follow what is supposed to be popular desire, one is on the road to grievous error, and a leader's error is more grievous in its consequences than that of others.

Current Comments

The swan is reputed to sing only once, just before it dies; but the Congress swan has been singing all the time, that it would appear that its election manifesto may well be its last song. The first item in the manifesto is "to recover such areas as are occupied by the Chinese". Does this imply that Congress will repudiate the Prime Minister, who stated in the U.N. Assembly that Chinese occupation was in the nature of a "controversy" or the Defence Minister, who is always trying to get nearer to the communists? Three possible courses are open, negotiations, which have failed because the Chinese are unwilling to proceed on any basis but their own, second, reference to the U.N. which exists exactly to prevent aggressive occupation however imperfectly it may do it and third, military action to which we may not be equal without assistance from other countries. Unless the Congress seriously pursues these courses, it will only be deceiving the public by its declaration that the occupation is being resisted by it.

The second item is for the co-existence of the public and private sectors. To be meaningful this implies equality of conditions for both. This, however is not so. The advantage which the public sector has in respect of capital, which it obtains from taxes, created money and loans on interest not exceeding 4 per cent being at least offset by credit for industrialisation which is free and cheap is on one side only. Secondly, controls which delay and distort the starting and running of industries should make way for competition, which will be in favour of the large body of consumers. The best test for the quality of State enterprise is to offer investment in it first to the public, which would limit the share of the State only to what the public is unable or unwilling to take, thereby saving the plan provision and the consequential loans and taxes which the public have to bear.

the Congress is unwilling to accept this test it should appoint an independent Commission, as its State enterprises, which do not earn even 0.3 per cent are a criminal diversion of the finance, resources and opportunities of the country.

The third item is to raise the standard of living and progressively to reduce social and economic inequalities. The result of the first two plans is that unemployment has increased and the poor have become poorer, the agricultural labourer's yearly income having fallen from the meagre sum of Rs. 104.4 to Rs. 99, the proportion of women and child labour being on the increase all the time. It is not socialist pattern to increase the income of pressure groups like politicians, government employees, industrial workers and monopolists in industries and trades licensed by government, while the great masses of the people suffer not only in the size but also in the value of their income, which has been reduced nearly 40 per cent by inflation. The masses for whom the Third Plan does not even provide employment opportunities at minimum wages, cannot be expected to enthuse over the resolution on the Third Plan.

The Third Plan cannot sell until an independent Commission establishes that the first two plans of which it is a copy did more good than harm to the country. Mere statistics of what has been spent do not imply progress in health and education, economic or social welfare, when the people know the results for themselves. Similarly, plans for improving the administration, which have been repeatedly promised for several years cannot prevail over the experience of the people of the corruption which has descended so completely that every single free public service is only available by private satisfaction of officials.

The writing is on the wall, which all the power and money of the Congress cannot erase.

CENTRISM

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The temptation of centrism, mechanical perfection and uniformity at the expense of freedom, has been great at all times. Once the mania for uniformity and centralization spreads and the Centrists begin to lay down the law of the land, then we are in the presence of danger. It is always easier to widen the powers of the State than to curtail them. With the diminution of individual independence, as a great thinker has observed, intrigue, place-hunting, informing, ill-will, boot-licking, envy, jealousy and all the other poisons spread like the plague. With the fatal disease of concentration spreading, those in whose hands the threads converge have a task which simply exceeds human nature and they commit great and fatal mistakes. The battle of Swatantra in India is both against centralization and against statism. The two evils are branches of the same folly, the same *libido dominandi*. The desire to dominate produces both forms of centralization, statism in general and centralism against the States that make up the Union. When once authority falls in the

hands of a national hero, and power has done its work in corrupting the mind, there is no limit to appetite. Centralization and uniformity have the same meaning everywhere, but in India these policies hit harder than in small countries. Here the States lose to the Centre over and above the individuals losing to the State. In this vast area where customs and tenures and cultures have grown in variety and stayed in that variety for centuries, uniformity is stupidity as well as tyranny. A single political party is steadily seeking to convert the Union into a unitary State.

Paradoxically, by the unfortunate policy of striking English down and seeking to enthrone in its place a language which cannot ascend the steps to that high seat, an anti-unitary force is also set on foot, that of fragmentation of the nation into fractions entrenching themselves behind twenty local tongues. Centralization is bad but this together with linguistic isolation is worse. Isolation without power or responsibility is unadulterated folly.

REVOLT AGAINST CODDLING

Sri Shyam Sundar, a Harijan member of the Mysore Assembly and President of the All-India Depressed Classes Association has dared to give expression to an unpleasant truth. He has publicly complained on the first working day of the new year that the communal policy followed by the Congress governments is resulting in the "banishment of merit and intelligence from the educational institutions and the administration". In the name of reservation for scheduled castes and other so-called backward classes, he says, the Congress government is "annihilating" from the administration the real intellectuals and that those in power put one community against the other so that "they can cling to office". This is truly the

dawn of a new era of wisdom and reason among those who had been terribly doped and deceived till now. Let us hope and trust that this new-found truth will not be a victim to blind prejudice and anger. The concessions that are dangled before the backward classes are calculated to keep them ever in a lower status, so that they may continue to serve as camp-followers and keep the ruling party in perpetual office. It is time that these classes should revolt against this degrading programme of exploitation. When Dr. Ambedkar agreed to a time limit to those concessions he had this evil in mind. Nothing would please his spirit now more than this symbol of revolt which Sri Shyam Sundar has raised.-C.R.

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SIDELIGHTS ::

A Congress delegate proposed at the Bhavnagar session that India should be divided into five administrative units. The Working Committee declined to place the proposal on the agenda, considering it impracticable. The Congress President, however, seems to have considered it not so very impracticable; for he made a suggestion approximating to it very closely in his presidential address. The present multi-lingual zonal councils, he said, should be upgraded by being invested with statutory powers. If that be done, they would be equivalent to governments without the balancing restraint of legislative assemblies. Having made his suggestion, Sri Sanjiva Reddi seems to have been taken aback at his own boldness. He dropped it after mooted it in his address; and the session passed without being called to consider and discuss it.

This sort of initially hardy intellectual adventure, followed almost immediately by circumspect nervousness, is not accidental with the Congress President. It seems to be constitutional. He makes a daring plea that Congress power-wielders should give up their offices after completing a tenure of ten years. Then he is appalled apparently at the implications of his own proposition. He proceeds to soften its effect by adding that the ten year time-limit need not apply to the Prime Minister and he should continue to hold his office indefinitely. Who will elect, after this, to follow the Congress President's precept, and not the Prime Minister's example? If there is any merit in limiting the duration of power, it is difficult to think of anyone in the country so sorely in need of the benefit of it as Sri Jawaharlal Nehru. It is said of Mazzini that he never could show any real understanding of parliamentary government. And for a curious reason. He was so self-conscious in his conception of himself as the Messiah of an exalted, apostolic creed, that he

never could concede the possibility that he may be mistaken. He was so cocksure of himself that it was not easy for others to work with him. Liberty calls for sanity, a measure of tolerance. A man must believe that he may at least sometimes be mistaken if he is to treat others as equals. Sri Nehru is like Mazzini in his incapacity to work with others on a footing of equality.

We have evidence of this in the reduced position of the office of Congress President. When Sri Dhebar, exclusively a nominee of the Prime Minister, was brought in, he had no national reputation. He was a provincial leader. When he revealed unexpected resentment at being interfered with, he had to go. Then the Congress Presidentship was transferred to the Nehru family, and the Prime Minister's daughter was chosen. Srimathi Indira Gandhi revealed welcome good sense in declining to stand for a second term and thereby laid the country under a deep debt of gratitude. But so far as the once distinguished office of Congress President is concerned, the mischief had been done. It was reduced to dummy status, and there is no longer any glamour in it, no competition, not even any willingness to seek or hold it. A singular type of incumbent has made his advent who is the choice of the Prime Minister and accepts the office without enthusiasm, for fear of the discomforts of refusal, likely to be penalised as disobedience. There is no doubt that Sri Sanjiva Reddi's free choice, if only he could exercise it, would have been, not for the Congress *gadi* which he has assumed, but for the post of Andhra Pradesh's Chief Minister which with sickly distaste and assumption of cheerful patriotic obligation, he reluctantly vacated.

The whole doctrine of power-limitation so valiantly propounded by the Congress President is reduced to nonsense by his delibe-

ately excluding from its purview the Prime Minister, the one man in a position to give life to it with his own example. Sri Sanjiva Reddi, in his theoretical exposition of Congressmen's duty, called upon them to vote courageously in accordance with their convictions, and not to be bullied into supporting what they do not believe in. But when it came to practice, in his own case, long before the voting stage is reached, thought and belief are found held in suspended animation, paralysed for the time being by the P.M.'s dominating might. Sri Nehru thus acts as a blight even on freedom of thought in the Congress.

Neither national unity nor any outstanding national problem of the moment can be satisfactorily attended to without prior extrication from this plight, as they all resolve themselves into a question of redemption from the mess into which the Prime Minister has brought the country with his stewardship. He stands at the bar of history as the architect of linguistic nationalism. Linguistic nationalism stimulates the growth of linguistic nationalisms among neighbours. Expatriating on its disastrous effects, Professor Namier writes:

"Linguistic nationalisms shaping mass personalities produce their inevitable conflicts. A nation which bases its unity on language cannot easily renounce groups of sub-nationals intermingled with those of the neighbouring nation; and an alien minority within the State is likely to distort the life of the nation, and impair the growth of its civic liberty. The alien community within the disputed borderland, hostile to the State and possibly plotting against it, provokes repressions which are apt to abase the standards of government".

The standards of government in India have been and are being abased as a result of the chain of consequences arising from the adoption of linguistic nationalism as national policy. The mass personalities shaped by such a policy are now the stumbling block obstructing the delinking of language from politics proved essential for national unity by actual experience.

SAKA.

MENON EXAGGERATES

By POTHAN JOSEPH

As Defence Minister and policy maker, Mr. Krishna Menon has been giving vent to a grave apprehension in connection with the Laos crisis. Towards the end of the last U.N. session, marked as the Khrushchov-Congo season of distracted counsel, the SEATO tumults were uppermost in his mind. India has a nostalgic fondness for the outcome of the Geneva Convention of 1954 where Krishna Menon negotiated for truce so assiduously that hostilities were suspended and a watch-dog Commission was created for the Laos belt consisting of Canada, Poland and India, the last being designated Chairman. For five years of uneasy peace, its functioning could afford to be nominal. It drifted to the moribund stage like the Panama Canal Council of ancient birth but lingering, devoid of pulsating vitalism. India still prizes the honour, and oratorical discourses on the situation are adorned by the reminder that India is the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission. There is a well-known Prince who came under Sardar Patel's liquidation-proceedings but who had the chronic habit of referring reverently to his father who had the honour of eleven guns and enjoyed the hereditary title of being the Viceroy's permanent A.D.C. Anyway the circumstance of India being Chairman is a constant chant and treasured as if it were a priceless heirloom. Recent disorders in South-East Asia are under the pull of superior forces above desk level, indeed hardly within the grasp of non-combatant muddling amongst committees and deputies. Still India's heart is set upon the panacea (1) of reconvening the mildewed Commission of which India is Chairman and (2) of the flavouring of Prince Boun Oum's Government with a neutralist element so as to ensure peace under the supervision of the re-convened Commission of which India would be Chairman. He holds America to be opposed, and as for Khrushchov he has been all for concurrence with India's proposal. India wants peace in the area, not merely a feather in her cap; and the Red share in the Laos Cabinet would be of aid in maintaining unarmed supervision. Poland is ready to oblige, but Canada (under U.S. influence) is indifferent, fearful of futility and frustration at the present stage of intractable belligerency and the universal running of surreptitious arms and aircraft all over the world. India, still the undeposed Chairman of an undissolved Commission of

personal success in 1954, is represented as feeling it acutely at a focus point of world-trouble.

India has always proclaimed that in the matter of foreign policy she keeps herself to herself; only when two adversaries officially press India for good offices does she emerge, thus enhancing international prestige. That she has on this occasion gone out of her way is proof of the gravity of the crisis and her sensitiveness as Chairman.

India is uncommitted whereas Pakistan is involved in the SEATO pact. Mr. Menon asks us to anticipate what would happen if the SEATO machinery moves. President Ayub is sure to play his part. Pakistan's "big brother" as Menon dubs the U.S. would land troops thus upsetting India's balance of defence, for the redressal of which every part of India from Kashmir to Kanyakumari must bear additional burdens. Security is his responsibility and the build must be up.

Now the conception of President Ayub Khan leading thundering legions towards Laos is a bogey. He might take a leaf from India's example. India had been one of the 16 nations that declared North Korea an aggressor, but there was no contingent from India in the fighting front. The Prime Minister said that India's defence forces were for India's defence. We sent two medical units to render relief, for the release of allied fighters to that extent, and redeem the prestige of our association in the effort to curb the aggressor in Korea. We didn't go to Congo length, but even in the Congo India is a non-combatant. The big brother from America fought that war in Korea, General MacArthur's strategy winning round Inchon. The prospect of Pakistan "playing her part" in a SEATO explosion so as to affect India's defence is remote. Mr. Menon's apprehension is based on over-precise logic. Pakistan may spare a unit of field-dressers and smallpox inoculators squad in sheer emulation. Let us not be scared stiff by SEATO co-alignments.

During Henry David Thoreau's life, his now famous book, "Walden" went to press for a print order of 2,000. "Walden" and the famous "Essay on Civil Disobedience" were released as a Signet classic by the New American Library in an edition of 200,000. Total copies in print in Signet and Mentor editions combined exceed half a million.

RATHER PERSONAL

Is it that the *libido dominandi* is misleading Sri Jawaharlal Nehru? He is not by any means happy about the ways of Congressmen. Yet he sticks to the organization and is contributing to wrong courses by making things secure for the people indulging in them. He ought to listen to the better voice within him and cut himself off from the vulgarities and the sins of this organization which is living on its past history and on the advantages derived from holding office, the latter more than the former. But Sri Jawaharlal's better voice is stifled by the desire which like all desires feeds on itself, to dominate and be important. He is cultured enough to see the vulgarity and the littleness of such domination. He has seen greatness intimately and knows what the real stuff of greatness is and how different it is from all that now surrounds and chokes him and his better sense. Money pours into the party chest for frustrating the law. If must disgust him. How is he going to spend the money or suffer others to spend it? The People's Representation Act may as well be repealed and its cobweb barrage against corrupt practices brushed out. How is he going to write the story of his life through this ugly chapter? Of course words in plenty can be drawn from the rich mother-tongue of the British people and made to cover all the shame and ugliness by subtle phrase and counter phrase. But not many will be deceived. The pity of it is that one of the most cultured and sensitive of souls has to bear this organizational cross. If he dared to extricate himself, he could, and save his sensitive inner being from pain and callosity as well as help the country out of the sure ruin that corruption threatens it with. The great responsibility of a ruling party is to be a moral force as well as a political authority. A stage has been reached when words cannot avail to hide ugliness.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

THE LAST NIGHT OF THE YEAR

By M. KRISHNAN

To tell you about the last, dreadful, surrealist night of 1960, I must first tell you that I hold several testimonials from eminent personages. Have you not seen those advertisements in our newspapers by astrologers claiming certificates from Zamindars, Rajas and High Court Judges? Well, I, too, have a certificate from a Zamindar, a Maharaja, and a High Court Judge, testifying to my capacity for plodding industry and generally to my sobriety of outlook and conduct. True that the last was only a District Judge when he gave me the certificate, but within weeks of its issue he had been promoted to the High Court.

I have been consulted by eminent men when they were in trouble—much,

I suppose, as astrologers are. This clinches the point I wish to make, which is that though none of my patrons has been able to discover the least semblance of talent in me, they have had no doubts about my solid, bourgeois worth and sound mediocrity.

And now for that dreadful night!

From time to time, since I gave up being several kinds of clerk and took to free-lancing ten years ago, I have found myself in the grip of Surrealism. This is no indication of the disintegration of my 12-stone entity, but only something incidental, and inevitably incidental, to my way of life. After all no one, however solid, can take to the arts for a living and hope to escape Surrealism entirely.

This usually happens in midsummer, and being my cautious, sensible self, I have devised a remedy for the malady. I go away to the jungles when I feel it coming on, and so escape it or get cured. But in 1960 which, you will recall, was climatically abnormal, by the middle of September, when I was unprepared for it financially and otherwise, I found myself hedged in by Surrealism.

I tried, foolishly as I now concede, to fight it with commonsense and logic. Sense, as Rimbaud, Mallarmé & Co. discovered long ago, has no chance with Surrealism. By the third week of December the virus had entered my blood and was rapidly overpowering me, but still I had the wits to borrow money all round and take myself off to the remote countryside.

Maybe I should have left a week earlier. But surely in the remote countryside, as the guest of a young government servant full of rules and regulations, I gave myself the best chance of a cure? However, I only succeeded in infecting him, and when I found him getting up in the middle of the night to work, after spending the entire day in work, I realised that the kindest thing I could do was to leave at once. I took the first bus to Coimbatore.

And there I spent a day with another young government servant who asked me, earnestly, almost tearfully, what the purpose of her work was. She was committed to work on a scheme, and meticulously as she fulfilled her assignment, she could see no point in it—and for every day of this futile labour she was being paid! Tell me, Krishnan, she implored, is there really no purpose in my work? This was terrible. I had a train ticket to Madras for the next night, but by spending two hours at the station and indulging in a truly surrealist manipulation, I changed it for a ticket for that very night, and fled homewards.

Arrived at my leaky cottage on December 30, I found that the rains had visited me in my absence. The walls were wet and so was the floor, a heavy mustiness filled every room, and my books were grey-green again with mildew. The post-box was crammed tight with New Year cards from people to whom I had forgotten to send my greetings, and importunate bills—in addition, there was a notice from the electric supply people to say that the current would be cut off unless arrears were promptly cleared, and a letter from my bank to inform me in the courteous, old-fashioned language that banks still favour, that my account was overdrawn to the limit. Life had returned to normalcy at last!

I chuckled as I thought of Surrealism unting for me on the windswept platforms of Coimbatore station, unaware of my escape.

During the last few nights, of the ear it is my invariable habit to listen to the relays and excerpts from music festivals in the city, so thoughtfully arranged by A.I.R., Madras. It is true that on the night of December 30, as I turned on my radio, I felt vaguely apprehensive; I am, unfortunately, inceptible to music, and even more vulnerable to Tamil verse; I never now how the third-rate prosody and crudity of style of Gopalakrishna Bharathi and his brethren, currently so popular with our singers, ill affect me. Moreover my receiving set, recently overhauled, has lost its discreet euphemism and is now uncompromisingly clear. But I need have had no qualms. It was Mali, at his incomparable best, that was being relayed.

Ask any established *rasika* of Carnatic music, and he will compare the present to the past and find it sadly lacking. When one is past 45 (and that is why I used the word 'established'), one has a tendency to live in the past, it unfortunately the bias does not quite explain the opinion. The truth is that the great exponents of the past were great, and that the present is either a barren period for Carnatic music—though we still have our aging masters, and at least one authentic imposer.

However, Mali belongs unquestionably to the present. I have not heard rabha Sastri (nor have most of our *sikas*), but am very sure that for once the past must pay homage to the present. Mali's flute has that absolute rity, that self-conscious, almost that reissistic, delight in its own tonal stance, that reminds me of birdsong. Like birdsong, like a Shama heard at dusk in the bamboo jungles, it has the redible quality of quietness in its dling, voluptuous melody, with rakes of sudden, headlong rhapsody only, no bird-voice ever rose or sank surely and so steeply to untamed, so poignantly to anguish. And no impered, imperial nightingale, with ten walls to its gold-barred confinement, was ever half as temperamental and unpredictable in its song!

That night, luckily, Mali was in sympathy with his violinist, and willing to d his audience enthralled most of time. And it was such an anti-climax to anything else after listening to that I bundled up my accumulated rick and went happily to sleep.

The next day I was so busy sorting the bills, cutting out the pictures

from New Year cards and pasting them on to folders of white card so that I could return the greetings (taking care, of course, not to return any picture to its sender), and trying to get in touch with financial sources yet untouched, that I had little time to listen to the radio. However, it was switched on all the time, and in the evening, when I was developing some perishable images in my darkroom, I heard sweet music filtering in through the closed doors.

That night, when my film was safely hung up to dry, I sat expectantly besides my radio. The announcer's voice informed me that I was about to hear an excerpt from a Tamil Isai performance, and the opening line of the song roused hope in me.

In how many tongues sweet music is sung, somehow it is not like the music of sung Tamil.

Even in the translation (and how utterly translations fail to convey parochial feelings), perhaps you can sense that it is the lack of specification, the 'somehow' that imbues the line with the quality of poetry. But the persistent mispronunciation of the word 'mozhi' ('word', 'speech', here 'tongue' or 'language') by the singer irritated me. The second line was undistinguished verse that merely met the needs of prosody, and by the time the singer was embellishing the first line with *swaras*, the 'somehow' had been paraphrased to 'it is not like this sweet Tamil music'. And it was obvious that the singer, while possessed of abundant gusto, had little virtuosity. His voice trembled low over small, insufferable touches of tenderness, and rose gustily to climaxes that he invariably missed, and a series of uncouth mannerisms began to assert themselves. After ten minutes of it, I felt that I could endure it no longer.

And why didn't I switch off the radio? What a question! I would have you know that I come from a stock of which many unflattering things can be said, but the personal courage of which is wholly above suspicion. Was I to be the first in my family to accept defeat and turn tail, merely because the opposition was overwhelming?

However, courage is not to be confused with foolhardiness, and I felt it was in order to explore the same waveband on my receiving set, to see if by some chance some other excerpt, from some other performance, was being simultaneously broadcast. But wherever I struck Carnatic music, the same voice greeted me.

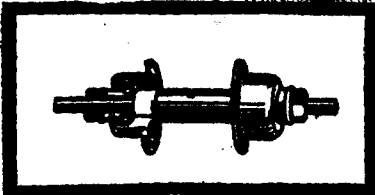
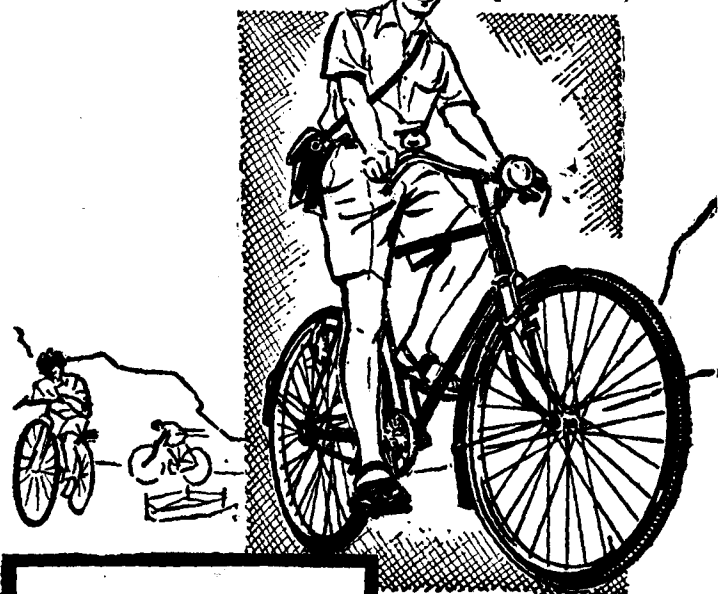
In despair, I strode out, entered my neighbour's house, seized his telephone and got A.I.R., Madras, on the line. I

informed the polite, official voice that answered me that I was one of those to whom his station had sent out an invitation to comment on its programmes (perfectly true—the fact that the invitation was a year old was, in my opinion, wholly irrelevant—there is no such thing as last year in Surrealism, and that I could not wait to tell him by post and in the ordinary way, what I thought about the Tamil Isai music being relayed just then; I gave him my opinion on it tersely, and then implored him to give us listeners something else anything else, instead. The man replied in a cold, official tone, that he was grateful to me for my opinion, but that the schedule could not be altered. He was very firm in this. So finally I hung up, after thanking him in what I meant to be an icily polite voice, for listening to my request—but I am afraid my voice was only that of a supplicant, with a last impassioned plea.

It is because of this incident that I began this recital with a detailed statement about the testimonials that I have. I suspect that this officer, whoever he is, will now think me eccentric, unreasonable, possibly even drunk—and no man was ever more sober or in the desperate possession of his senses!

I returned crestfallen to my radio, to find that the programme had inexplicably changed itself: And what was

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more, what I had said to that A.I.R. official about this Tamil Isai relay being the poorest music I had ever heard was no longer true. What was now being broadcast was decidedly poorer, and it took me minutes to discover the identity of the singer.

You know these 'brothers' and 'sisters' teams that we have in South India. For some time past it has been my suspicion that two well-known South Indian musical 'brothers' have fallen out among themselves. Naturally such private differences will assert themselves even in public song. More than once, within the past year, they have been heard to sing to slightly but significantly different *srutis*.

The programme now on sounded as if both these brothers had the layngists really bad, and were having a violent quarrel over 'Sakkani rajamur-

gannu'. Only, the mridangam, the ghatam, and the morsing that had accompanied the earlier Tamil Isai artiste were still there, and the violinist was still the same. Then the announcer confirmed my suspicions by declaring that it was the pristine Tamil Isai exponent who was still singing, and no 'brothers'. Why did he switch over to a Telugu song in the midst of Tamil Isai? And how did he acquire this split-personality and duotone all at once? Don't ask me. I can only tell you that everything is possible in Surrealism.

I twiddled the knob to take the broadcast to a more muffled point on the wave-band. The singer was now almost inaudibly gruff, and was singing 'Ne pokada gunte'. Obviously he had shouted himself hoarse, with the result that blatant *apaswarans* were now making themselves heard; he followed this piece with an equally hoarse

Thyagaraja-kriti in Arabhi, and then the announcer told me that I had just been listening to Maharajapuram Viswanatha Iyer! How this could have happened, I do not know—I only know that it did.

I stayed grimly on by my radio, listening to the National Programme of instrumental music (which I liked, but it was not what I was listening for). I knew that at 11 o'clock there would be a final excerpt from the Music Festival. One memorable year it was Rajaratnam that had ushered in the New Year, as only he could. Perhaps, at the last, I might hear something really worth waiting for? And it was some slick, undistinguished clarinet music from the Tamil Isai that they broadcast. Perhaps A.I.R., Madras, so inexorable in their schedules, will relay some slick Carnatic music on the harmonium to see 1961 out and '62 in.

January 12, 1961

SWARAJIA

LOOKING BACK ON NEW YEAR EVE, 3000 A. D.: A FUTURIST PHANTASY

By A. VANDERIET

For us who are about to enter the 30th century it is good to turn round and see what time has brought us in the way of cultural and economic progress.

Let us go back 36 centuries. Culture, in 600 B.C., had reached a high level in the East. Human thought had penetrated deeply into the mysteries of mind, life, nature, universe—God. There was an almost complete equality of sexes. But at that time things were in the process of change. A new idea was gaining ground: austerity—austerity as a means of acceleration of cultural progress. The standard work on this subject, which appeared in India just before the close of the 20th century, still a classic today, bearing the title *A Study in Austerity*, states:

"Culture can only progress in an atmosphere of austere living, or, as Sri C. Rajagopalachariar says, in an atmosphere of restraint. It appears that moulders of culture, wherever found, and in whatever period of human history, have themselves believed in, and have insisted on austerity. Buddha and Ashoka initiated consciously a world-wide movement which spread from India to Asia-Minor and Europe. Through Christ and the church-fathers it spread to the West and continued its journey through Calvin, Pascal and even through such giants of literature as Tolstoy and Bernard Shaw; and it returned to the land of its origin in the person of Gandhi. The austere man, wherever he appears, is likely to enrich philosophy, art, culture and religion. The result of austerity, whatever its drawbacks (its fanaticism, self-righteousness and intolerance) has been a revival of culture, of things that matter. A curious incidence, however, was the setback in the status of women. The austere man regarded women as a disturbing influence drawing him away from the essential things of life. In India in particular the woman as a cultural entity receded almost entirely from the scene. It took her 25 centuries to stage a comeback".

Culture and economics seem to have diverged until the industrial age: primordial ways in economic activity showed little change and were taken for granted; the human mind was mainly occupied with arts, philosophy and religion. Scientists as we know them today, had still to be born. Mental

All this changed with the advent of the industrial era. Technical universities were started one after another. The practical sciences were soon overshadowing the humanities. Universal franchise rehabilitated women. Technical comforts were created and life became easier. *Austerity receded to the background. The atom was split, releasing energy on a scale not dreamt of.*

Economics and culture were soon at war with each other. Although they are, essentially, on different planes, the link between them is the living human being. Marxism interpreted human relationships in a way different from cultural-religious standards. Many years were needed to decide whether one's neighbour was a competing economic entity or a brother.

Now, a thousand years later, when the terms "capitalism" and "communism" have totally disappeared from our vocabulary, it seems odd that for almost a full century the world was in the grip of distrust and mistrust, necessitating wasteful expenditure of time, energy and material on war-like preparations, retarding real progress all that time. The three or four world wars which "justified" and precipitated this foolish activity, had however to their credit an intensification of thought on technical problems which finally, in the 21st century, culminated in the great discoveries in the field of agriculture.

It is amazing to us that a full one hundred years after the beginning of the industrial and scientific age the human race was still thinking, in so far as agricultural production was concerned, in terms of land—acres, hectares, wide open stretches of land. At that time the problem of overpopulation reached alarming proportions. But, as we know now, with a global population of 50,000 million as against a mere 3,000 million, and enough space left over for ten times as many, human thinking around 2,000 was still primitive. The time-wasting and clumsy ways of land-cultivation still prevalent was the real cause of the feeling of insecurity and frustration which was the mark of this period in history. On such "soil" neither economics nor culture could flourish.

When man, around 2100, realized the fact that two hours of intelligent work a day with fully automatised machinery were enough to feed and clothe and house himself and his family in comfort all the distorted perspective

in his mind dissolved as if they were nightmares. Instead of war and insecurity being the prime problems of man, he was now faced with an entirely new problem: how to spend the leisure hour! Economics and culture converged again, with this difference, however, that culture no longer belonged to a few, the elite, but now to all—the masses.

It may be useful to pause and reflect for a moment at the discoveries of science in agriculture which made this great shift in perspective possible. Standing as we do 900 years after the change, it seems almost impossible to believe that so much effort and expense as was spent was so slow in bearing fruit.

The "deep thinking" referred to above, around the middle of the 20th century, which raised technical and scientific thought to a near-cultural level, was the beginning of a new economic philosophy. It was a slow growing phenomenon without a name; only at this distance of time has its character become clear—it is the philosophy of the moving belt.

The hallmark of industrial activity is the purposefulness of movement. Every movement is planned and is replete with sense. Every movement bears fruit. And every movement lends itself to endless repetition, which is multiplication. The crying need of the growing millions was about to be satisfied with production *ad infinitum*.

When the moving belt philosophy invaded the field of agriculture the ordinary farmer had to change his ways and become conversant with many new techniques. A great technical-scientific revolution was set off. Invention broadened the way to industrial farming. Soon grains, vegetables and all manner of foodstuffs were rolling off the moving belt. Nature was stimulated in various ways, gradually shortening growing times from six months to six weeks—and then to a bare six days! The elaborate first farm-factories were progressively reduced in size until finally one individual was able to handle a continuous complete production line, as he does today. The biblical programme of six days attained a new significance.

Almost every acre of cultivated soil was returned to its pristine beauty. In the course of two or three centuries the earth was covered with wooded lands, each country vying with its neighbours in scenic park architecture. The few billion tons of soil circulating in our farm factories are but a small part of what is finally available. The productivity of a ton of soil increased a thou-

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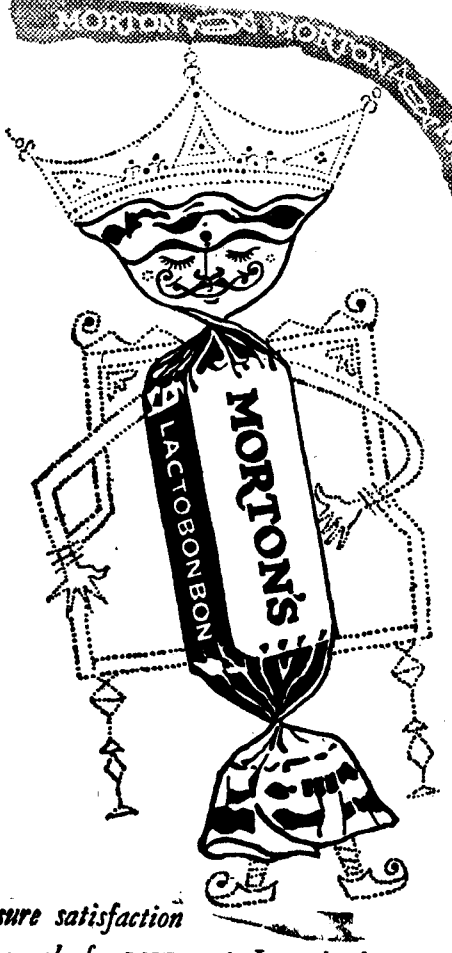
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WHY RAJAJI IS WELCOMED

By D. V. GUNDAPPA

Any country, and any age, would be happy and grateful to find among its citizens one so eminent in the combination of great qualities as Sri C. Rajagopalachari, scholar and thinker, man of ideals and man of action, dispassionate searcher for the truth and impassioned servant of the good, C.R. is in the great tradition of India's sages and *sadhus*. He represents the higher norm of the country's mind and conscience today, as authentically as Mahatma Gandhi did in his day.

In the circumstances of today, Rajaji is indispensable if our independence should come to bear good fruit, if it is to ensure good government by

mean: humanity, life, nature, universe... democracy. In this task, the leadership of the past twelve years has failed signally. Strap-hanging by an ideology—which the socialistic pattern is—can make neither for safety nor for certainty of progress.

Is it possible there is any one among us unaware of instances of the failure of the present leadership? Let him go to any middle-class home and ask the housewife about the state of her store-room. Let him ask any officer-clerk, any school teacher, any buyer in the bazaar about his family budget. He will hear an unprecedented tale of privation and pinching. The advent of the present regime proved indeed a signal for the liquidation of the middle class. Is it not the trouble-making class? The upper classes know how things go, but prudence will keep them silent. The lower classes have the courage to speak out, but not enough knowledge. It is the middle class that combines both intelligence and courage of speech. It is the one class therefore that the wielder of power has to fear. This is one of the explanations possible in relation to the recent fiscal and economic policies of Government tending to be oppressive to the middle class population.

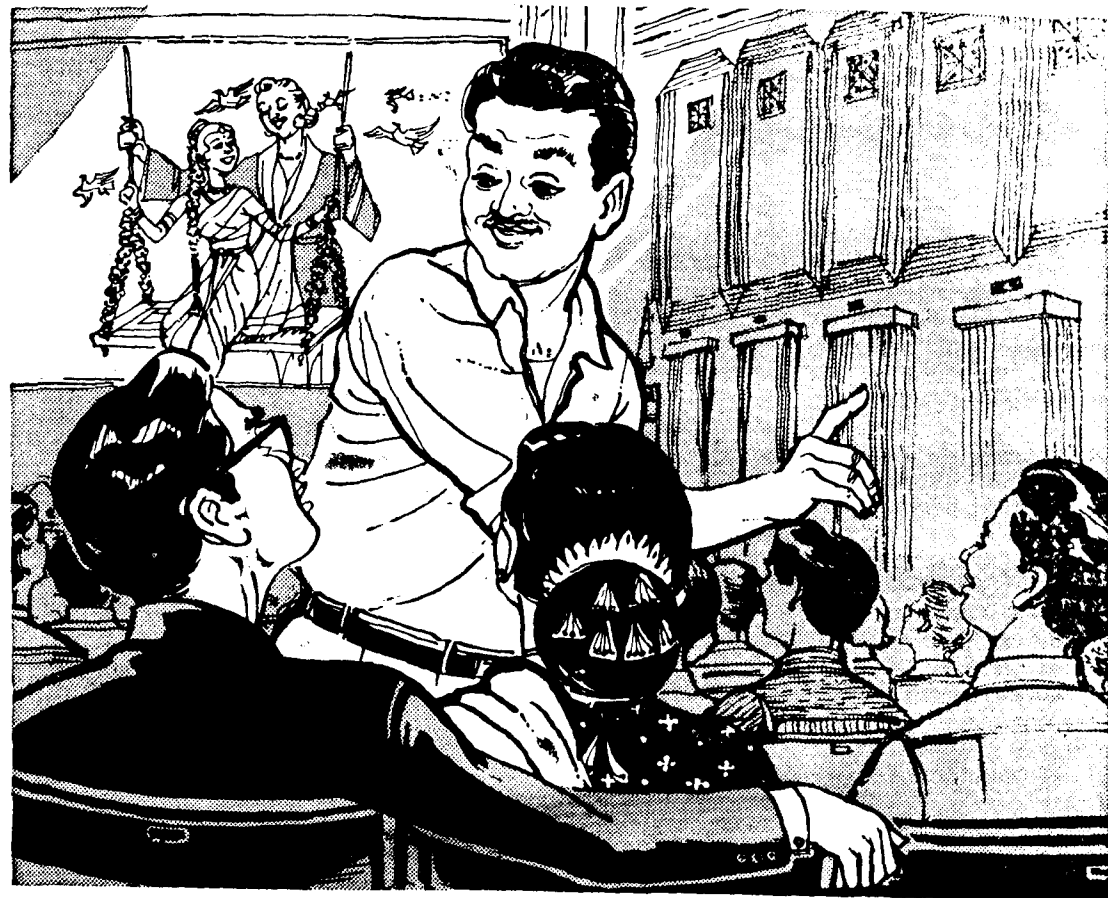
The only kind of productive activity of the present time that cannot be denied recognition is the production of files in Government offices and schemes and reports. This way, there has been fresh employment created—government jobs and more government jobs, committee-memberships and more committee-memberships, T.A. bills and more T.A. bills. The multi-promise projects—multi-promise rather than multi-purpose projects—of mammoth dimensions must take marathon lengths of time to prove themselves; and their contribution to the amenities of the present generation can only be on the debit side of the ledger. If the enormous funds and energies devoted to them had been directed to less ambitious schemes that are more easily accessible to the enterprise and labour of each region and locality, we may be sure we would not have had to go about begging for doles today. The story has been not one of first things first, but one of random things first and first things last.

The ministerial malaise is nearly All-Indian. Mysore and Andhra, Punjab and Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pra-

tottering. The High Command seems impotent and feels reduced to delivering homilies on unity and good-boy behaviour. Meanwhile the administrative crisis thickens. Can either purity of the services or their efficiency be expected in this atmosphere? The officialdom indeed becomes a part of the machinery of manoeuvres. It is astonishing that both the Ministers at State-ends and the bosses at the Delhi-end should be going about as though the power scramble were a matter of family give-and-take, having no relation to public life or the public interest in the State. Why will not the High Command devise a way of ascertaining non-partisan public opinion as to the relative merits of the contending parties? Have not these twelve years sufficed to bring home to it the futility of a policy of hush-hush when unworthiness of motive or insufficiency of capacity is brought to its notice? The home-front has been a scene of melancholy mismanagement at every turn.

Is the prospect on the foreign front less depressing? Hardly so. The very lullabies so ostentatiously sung to *Pancha Sheela* turned its cradle into a coffin. Our men in China, expected to watch and warn our Government in time, were too purblind to notice the inner workings of the Chou-En-Lai strategy. Where on earth is it that our self-commissioned peace mission to all the world had met with any degree of success? Ask the refugees from Tibet. Ask the Nepalese. Ask the Afghanistans. Ask the Koreans or ask the Congolese. Why, go and ask the people of Berubari. An old saying is "*Balache-prithvi*"—the earth is for the strong. Wherein now is our strength? Why should any one heed our word?

The root of the evil is in the unrivalled and unchallenged position of supremacy which circumstances gave to the Congress. We have to remember the condition of true strength for a party in democratic politics. The strength of a party in a system of ins and outs is the strength of its opponent. The fear of a rival is the condition of good health. If there is not the challenge of a competitor for popular favour, your one party is prone to grow flabby and self-complacent. Then will set in internal demoralization and factionism. It is the constant trial of strength with a fit rival that will keep the blood active and the muscle taut in your body. The prospect for the Congress hereafter is one of having to be prepared to take the second place if the electorate so wills it. Either it must



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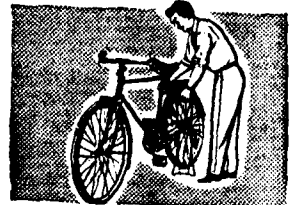
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set such an inescapable challenge to the Congress is the supreme service that Sri Rajaji has rendered to the country.

Who else is there that could possibly have rendered this service? Who else has that insight and experience; who that record of sacrifice and service; who above all has that dignified and thought-born courage? Let the country consider C.R.'s past record and note the significance of his present stupendous exertions. He has been exerting himself so energetically because he is not happy seeing the great purpose to which he set his hand in the prime of life go the way it is going. That purpose was not to facilitate the substitution of a messy socialistocracy for the White bureaucracy in Delhi. His purpose was the establishment of a sober democracy—not a meddling muddleocracy, but a government and a polity expressive of the norm of the country's intelligence and conscience roused to their highest. To usher in such a government is the task he has assigned to the Swatantra Party. Swatantra simply is "free opportunity for self-education and self-development both to the individual and to the community".

A measure imposed upon the country by the decision of a majority in Parliament is a party measure, although it becomes law. It becomes the country's law only in a technical sense, if it lacks the support of intelligent and willing acceptance by the country outside the party. A measure that derives its strength only from a technical rule of the Constitution can never be vital and never find a permanent and vital place in the life of the community. Judged that way, most of the legislation and policy of the Congress governments are things external to the body politic and imposed artificially, not spontaneous and not organic. The Swatantra Party recognises the fundamental importance of the people's long-established social and economic milieu, their age-evolved ethos, their traditional criteria of evaluation and habitual modes of thought in making its proposals of reform and development. It does seek to renovate life; but it insists that the renovation should proceed from within and must be a harmonious continuum and development of previous history. It must be natural and not mechanical. In this principle lies the title of the Swatantra to be regarded as a true upholder of India's nationalism.

Let us be thankful for the response the country has made to Rajaji's call. Every part and every province of the country has answered with ready and warm-hearted enthusiasm. His recent tour of Gujarat, like his tours of Andhra and Bihar and Kerala, was a march of

OUR CORRUPT & INCOMPETENT RULERS

Alas that the great Sardar Patel is no more! It is only after his sad demise that persons like Krishna Menon came into lime-light and Nehru's socialistic pattern of society bloomed at Avadi. Sardar's demise was the beginning of the end and the events after his death are a clear proof of this. No country has such a controversial person as Krishna Menon as Defence Minister. He has scandals like the jeep scandal to his credit, he has quarrelled with his Army Chief, he has quarrelled with the Auditor-General, he is famous for creating enemies wherever he goes, and his partiality for the Communist bloc at the U.N.O. is notorious. He is always away from the country, either in New York or London, even though he is the Defence Minister and the aggressor is on our territory. Still Nehru clings to him and delivers sermons about his brilliance.

Sri Nehru has blessed us with a Planning Commission. Borrowing from anybody and everybody is the main policy of this august body. We have become International beggars and have borrowed from every country possible. Our Finance Minister undertakes annual pilgrimages to foreign countries for begging more loans and aids. And it is strange that the Commission is not worried about re-payment. Who and how are these loans and commitments to be repaid and honoured? All sorts of taxes have been levied and sure efforts will be made to invent and levy fresh taxes. I will not be surprised if another foreign expert is invited by our Government to invent a new tax. Not satisfied with all these taxes Nehru's Government has started lotteries and hotel business. The tax payers' money is wasted lavishly in the name of planning and the socialistic pattern of society. The reports of the Auditor-General and the Public Accounts Committee are a clear proof of this.

triumph. Vast, thronging crowds welcomed him everywhere as though he were a messenger of high Heaven came to deliver the people from the grip of a terror. The newspapers in this part of the country have not given a full coverage to his meetings and the reactions of the public in the several places. But we can understand the embarrassments of the papers. Their perplexed inability to find space for the Swatantra Party does not seem to have made much difference to the prospects of the new party. Swatantra has gathered strength enough to command respect and is indeed looked upon with fear by rivals. This shows the sureness of Rajaji's feel for the country's pulse. Its

If one compares the record of the police firings and lathi charges after independence with those under the Britishers the result will be revealing. Our non-violent Sarvodaya saints have killed more innocent people during their short rule, and life after independence has become cheap. Tours are undertaken by Ministers not to contact the public and redress their grievances but to open hotels, bridges and attend marriage ceremonies. The several scandals connected with many of the major undertakings run by the Government are nauseating. Embassies have multiplied and foreign tours by Ministers and special missions have increased incredibly. The spending spree goes on.

Honest living has been made impossible and Government interference from the cradle to the grave has destroyed private initiative. Whether it is a jeep scandal or a L.I.C. scandal, the same story is repeated and the guilty continue in office with impunity. Nehru's Government understands only one language and that is the language of violence. Whether it is Andhra, Maharashtra or Naga State, the demands are conceded only after bloodshed. Is there one example of the Prime Minister conceding the legitimate demand of the people when they agitated for it only constitutionally? A sure foundation for the dismemberment of the country has been laid with the re-organisation of States on a linguistic basis. If the Fourth Estate had played its proper part and had exposed the shortcomings and limitations of the ruling junta, especially Sri Nehru, instead of praising him day in and day out, the position would have been quite different and the country would not have suffered to this extent. It should be understood that democracy is no license to perpetuate a corrupt, incompetent and inefficient rule.

M. ANANTH BHAKTA.

heart-beats are in unison with his own. That is the true condition of leadership as well as of statesmanship.

Without exaggeration, Rajaji is the pillar of the people's hope for their safety and security against the errors of doctrinaire fanaticism. He is our God-given guarantor for the golden fruition of our dreams of Swaraj. May the Almighty Lord grant him peace of mind and happiness and preserve him for long in health and strength for the good of India and the world and the glory of dharma.—(Excerpts from Sri D. V. Gundappa's speech at Founder's Day celebration of Mysore State Swatantra Party at Bangalore on December 9, 1960).

BANNER - WAVING AND BRAVADO AT BHAVNAGAR

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The year of Grace, 1961, may be said to have begun with the annual Congress stampede or banner-waving at Bhavnagar, amidst stirring (though by no means soul-stirring) slogans, pompous platitudes, flamboyant pledges and brave gestures. The people of India are now expected to gape at, and faint over, the new picture that the Congress has unveiled for public exhibition. The steel and power plants have (we are told) well and truly laid the foundations of India's industrial and technological progress; the panchayats in the countryside have again well and truly laid the foundations of India's democracy; the Five-Year Plans have likewise well and truly laid the foundations of the new socialist order. All that the people should now do is to take "a new year pledge to forge national unity and continue their progress towards democracy and socialism".

The Congress (we are reminded) had set before itself two objectives—attainment of freedom and the establishment of national unity. It has, to its credit, already realised one of the two objectives. If the second, the forging or national unity, still awaited realisation, it was because the people allowed themselves to be swayed occasionally by considerations of religion, region, language and caste and narrow sectarian issues. It was all the fault of the people, and if others, or those outside the charmed precincts of the Congress, thought differently, it was due to a lack of sense of history, they should rather see the "strange spectacle" in Asia, with most countries in the iron grip of military dictatorship, and also ponder over the stranger phenomenon in India, how she alone could present to the world "a different picture". There are no doubt some people in the country given to criticism of the policies and programmes "adopted by the coun-

try" (which in the context means the Congress) but "those people sat in their office chambers and indulged in all such criticism".

It was in this bold perspective that before rushing to Bhavnagar, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a mammoth gathering in Bombay, presented the picture of India. For the moment he seemed to overlook the stark fact that the evils which "the country" was said to be suffering from, had something of a tropical growth on the Congress soil. There were, however, pointed references to this ugly, indeed forbidding aspect, in the earlier draft resolutions of the Working Committee and the subsequent report of the General Secretaries. It was quite possible that while speaking of the regional and sectarian considerations of the people, Mr. Nehru had his own partymen foremost in his mind, for not unoften had he flared up on that account. If on the eve of the Bhavnagar session, he however turned his attention less to them than to "the persons who sat in their offices and indulged in such criticism", one should reasonably make some allowances for the political exigencies of the passing hour.

It is in the climate of political exigencies that the language of political opportunism reveals a new fervour. The Congress election manifesto will, among other things, emphasise that "Goa which is a part of India should be brought into the Indian Union", while all along we have been told that nothing could be done about it and we might hopefully await the end—the inevitable end—of all colonialism in the world, including Portuguese colonialism. But now, with the general elections in the offing, there is need for special emphasis on Goa as "a part of India". The Congress means that Goa "should be brought into the Indian Union" though it will not say how it could

be. Nor have our good and true—and brave—Congress friends fought shy of telling the Chinese where they stood. The Congress manifesto will also make it clear that "efforts should continue to be made to recover such areas as are occupied by China". By whom are these efforts to be made? What is meant by the significant phrase "should continue to be made" which pre-supposes that there was already some action for the recovery of Chinese-occupied territory? All that we know is that the Prime Minister has discouraged the country from thinking in terms of any military action and that the Defence Minister has not even talked much of this major issue. If the whole idea of the Congressmen assembled at Bhavnagar is not to hoodwink the people of India, it is difficult to know what it is. That the Prime Minister should have been a party to such a blatant declaration, only emphasises the element of opportunism in the bid for an electoral victory.

It was, however, with an aching heart that both the Congress President, Sri Sanjiva Reddy and the Super-President, Sri Nehru, turned to the internal conditions from external 'appearances'. Both were aware as well as apprehensive of the varied threats to national unity. Sri Nehru who once claimed the Five-Year Plans as the real defence of India, avowed that he would even be prepared to forsake the Plans for the sake of the national unity. Sri Sanjiva Reddy was not slow in taking up the cue and suggesting some steps for the promotion of unity and stability of administration. He had no illusions, it seemed, about the fate of the Congress in the absence of unified action and unreserved acceptance of agreed decisions: it was simply a matter of going to pieces. He was, however, the best judge as to how far, in response to his clarion call Congressmen voted according to their individual belief. He was for stamping out indiscipline in the ranks and yet he had not one word to say against the silly and stupid signature-campaigns in his own home-state.

Here was Sri Sanjiva Reddy pleading for ruthless weeding out of corruption "whether in the Congress or elsewhere" with, as they say, the tongue in the cheek; for, he could neither be unaware of the brusque disposal of the cases referred to by Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, nor unconscious of the

absence of work for his own wonderful panel. Of course he discouraged "loose talk about corruption and vague charges". He should have known or he should be told if he did not know—that in the absence of any serious inquiry into charges, there was bound to be "loose talk" because

of a certain kind of men let loose on the country. Sri Sanjiva Reddy also made a strong plea for the voluntary stepping aside of those who had been in power for a decade or more, for taking up organisational work. The measure of the response should help to open his eyes to the unabashed



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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR CONCEALED BRIBES

Sir,—The following passage in "Beyond the Welfare State" by the famous Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal published so recently as 1960 on contributions to the funds of political parties may interest your readers: "Reforms in the interests of the lower income brackets are often no more than bribes to conceal much bigger advantages given to the higher brackets.... The rich are usually left free to 'vote with the dollar' by making financial contributions to political parties that defend their interests. By a strange extension of the principle of the secret ballot, they are usually allowed to keep their contributions anonymous. They are, indeed, often in a position to deduct them from income for which they are taxable, so that this privately directed buying of influence is actually subsidised to a large extent by the State itself" (Pp 79-80).

M. VENKATARAMAIA.

COSTLY BLUNDER

Sir,—The Prime Minister said in the Lok Sabha that in the decision taken on Berubari, he had overlooked till too late the human aspect of the question, namely, the uprooting of the people of Berubari who had already been once uprooted and also that the consent of the West Bengal Government had not been obtained in a formal way. This is not the first time that Mr. Nehru overlooked important aspects of the questions settled by him. He had already once overlooked Chinese aggression and gave away a large area. Tomorrow, he may overlook some other aspects so as to keep one-man rule alive for some more time. It is surprising that all the Congress members of the Lok Sabha agreed and supported Mr. Nehru's costly blunder. One day, if, he were to

zeal to cling to office even at higher levels. It was the yawning gulf between professions and practice inside the Congress, more than even any loose talk about corruption, that tended to—in Sri Sanjiva Reddy's phraseology—"lower generally the tone of our public life and also injure the interests of national progress". Nothing was said or done at Bhavnagar to mark a change from the dangerous trends in the country. There was only an exhibition of banner-waving and bravado.

agree to give West Bengal to Pakistan, there is no doubt all the members of the Congress Party will agree to his action!
Bombay. P. V. V. RAJAN.

PEACE-MAKER

Sir,—These days Sri Jawaharlal Nehru makes long speeches to Western countries about peace and co-existence. Can we ask him whether he has adopted this method which he always preaches on platforms, during the Assam trouble, the Central Government employees' strike, the Akalis' agitation for Punjab Suba, and now Berubari? The answer is No. Some few lines of Swami Sivananda are worth quoting in this connection. ".... Peace should be found at home first and in the heart of man, and then let him talk of world peace. Unity should be found at home first and then let there be talk of world unity. Everybody is so much concerned about the affairs of others that one forgets in which state one really is. Let there be a re-assessment of values, material and spiritual, and re-adaptation of the time-tested ideals to the present day needs of the country and the world at large".
Sini. K. S. V. RAJAN.

WHAT PRICE NUCLEAR POWER?

Sir,—The following extract from the *Mechanical Engineering Journal* of U.S.A., September 1960 (Page 89), about the "Nuclear Power" might be found interesting:

The capital cost of atomic power stations under construction in the United Kingdom is coming down appreciably, according to Sir Christopher Hinton, Chairman of the Central Electricity Generating Board. He spoke at the Tercentenary Celebrations of the Royal Society, which was founded in London in 1660. Of five stations now building, Berkeley, with a capacity of 275 k.w. sent out, would cost the equivalent of \$ 450 (Rs. 2,250) per k.w.; Bradwell, a 300 k.w. station, would be slightly less; Hinkley Point (500 k.w.) would come out at about \$ 370 (Rs. 1,850) and Trawfynold (500 k.w.) at \$ 345 (Rs. 1,725); but Dungeness (550 k.w.), the most recently ordered was expected to cost no more than \$ 310 (Rs. 1,550) per k.w. sent out. Research and development costs, however, were still very high, and, even in another 15 years, were unlikely to

be less than six times the current costs of improvement of conventional thermal power plants.

From the above, it would be wise for the experts in India, to wait for at least 10 years before they go ahead with "Atomic or Nuclear Power Projects", except for some experimental projects. Besides, there are numerous Hydel Projects under construction and under contemplation in the forthcoming five-year plans. (In the above calculations, one dollar=Rs. five, has been assumed).
Bangalore. B. V. PATANKAR.

VIKRAMADITYA AT LARGE

Sir,—It was reported in the newspapers last week that Sri S. V. Ramasami, Union Deputy Minister for Railways, travelled in the electric train upto Tambaram to find out the hardships of passengers personally. While appreciating the Vikramaditya spirit in him the following remarks have become necessary.

He told the pressmen that "about 100 persons travelled in a compartment marked out for 21 persons and though there was some overcrowding, people were not uncomfortable". One cannot understand the logic behind this statement. If 100 people occupy the space of 21 persons there can be nothing but the worst kind of discomfort. He was further reported to have shown an uncollected ticket to pressmen and said that "this state of affairs should end". As a decent and responsible citizen holding an important place in the Union Cabinet he should have surrendered his ticket at the gate.

S. KRISHNAMURTHI.

GREAT MINDS THINK ALIKE

Sir,—The passage below is taken from Sir Winston S. Churchill's "My Early Life".

"Certainly the prolonged education indispensable to the progress of society is not natural to mankind. It cuts against the grain. A boy would like to follow his father in pursuit of food or prey. He would like to be doing serviceable things so far as his utmost strength allowed. He would like to be earning wages, however small, to help to keep up the home. He would like to have some leisure of his own to use or misuse as he pleased. He would ask little more than the right to work or starve. And then perhaps in the evenings a real love of learning would come to those who were worthy—and why try to stuff it into those who are not...."

This echoes Rajaji's thoughts on education.
Bangalore. K. PADMAKUMAR.



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NO ANSWER TO MY QUESTION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

When State Ministers agitate for a greater share of the Plan 'funds' and the Centre graciously promises this to each State, is one to laugh or grieve? One sees what State autonomy has come to and must deplore this perversion of the Constitution. There are no funds except what are raised by additional taxes direct and indirect, by additional borrowings from abroad to repay which we should be taxed again, and by additional printing of notes and consequent depreciation of values all round, an unseen confiscation of past earnings and a lowering of the rupee value in future receipts of rupees either as salary or wages or interest and repayment of 'gilt edge' investments. We play political pressures to share not in grants out of surplus money but in sharing these consequences, imagining we get *bukhsheesh* from the gracious Central Government. The delusion were really amusing if it had not such painful consequences.

Sri B. K. Nehru, the only residuary now in our Finance Ministry possessing knowledge as distinguished from briefs received from Secretariat officials (to be read with appropriate gestures) has confirmed the prospective debt position. We have to borrow at the annual rate of Rs. 500 crores during the next ten years. Let us assume we shall find the creditors by pressing the cold war to its utmost, by saying this is the only way to keep India from going off democracy and falling a prey to Soviet godfatherhood. Let us

assume that this additional 5000 crores liability will come by the grace of the West. I ask for the eleventh time what is the plan to repay and free ourselves from this debt? Must everything be planned except the repayment of the loans we take? Whether we plan it or not, the debts have to be repaid either in commodities which are really saleable in America and Europe, or in national honour, prestige and freedom. Freedom takes many forms as the times pass and the loss of freedom too has many shapes which it can assume. Do the Congress party who speak so loud and pretend to understand and believe in the Plan, have any notion as to how these 5000 crores and interest can be made up for in jute, tea and any of the old exports that we know, and in bicycles, sewing machines or pumps or motor cars or ships (or what else?) which we can dream we can make, better and cheaper than what British, American or European consumers are able to find in their own production? Or are we going to make artistic handloom cloth or curios or sell our temple images and sculptures and repay these debts? Nothing can be more absurd than such fond thoughts.

It is very nice to talk of Rs. 12000 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 12,000 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 venture-some Indians (and there were many who were and still are eager for it) and let this amount of 12000 crores come into India that way, and not via the national Government, 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-sequitor* statement that all successful people borrow in the world of business. It is true they all borrow, but they borrow with a plan of repayment, except those who do not intend to repay, who are not successful people and who should be in prison and not in business!

Current Comments

In the pursuit of Planning, India is enthusiastic about the opinion of foreign experts, from Kaldor to Galbraith; and since civility is the order of the day we win golden opinions. Recently a relay of journalists comprising nine experts from America and six observers from Great Britain toured India at the request of the Government in order to report on the country's title to foreign aid. Their itinerary lasted nearly one month for the inspection of plants and factories. Photographs were taken of their conferences with officials and non-officials beginning with the Prime Minister himself. Their impression of expenditure on the Second Five-Year Plan is favourable, and their anticipation is that the estimate of foreign aid amounting to rupees two thousand crores for the Third Plan cannot be deemed excessive. After the allotment of Rs. 10,200 crores as the budget for the Third Plan, there is permission for the different States to increase their investments. Professor Galbraith is not particular about the mobilisation of resources in the development in India through a process which he calls Post Office Socialism; but reading between the lines, he has a sense of priorities likely to differ from the projects adopted by the National Planning Council and the Central Planning Commission.

Steady Stride

One of the experts revealed his doubts whether India would be prudent in plunging for a fourth steel factory in the public sector. Already there is the evidence of hampered movements in the supply of coal and of exertions to fetch up coke to the surface of pits for diversion to factories on congested lines. Secondly, there is a shortage of technical personnel capable of the economic use of rupees one hundred and fifty crores of foreign exchange in the

construction of a fourth plant in the public sector before the expansion of factories in the private sector to installed objectives and capacities for production.

The next criticism of one expert in the visiting team must be carefully considered. He claims to have had talks with H. J. Bhabha who is an outright enthusiast for the production of power through the establishment of atomic reactors. Those who remember the course of budget provisions for the next five years will recall the swift deal by the Prime Minister in 1960 according to which Rs. 52 crores was assigned by Parliament for the creation of an atomic source of power in Tarapore. The visiting team is not enthusiastic about the produce of the investment. But Pandit Nehru recently announced that in addition to the gigantic project he favours other atomic reactors oblivious of the claims of more hydel possibilities. Occasionally when the Prime Minister harps on the importance of agricultural output, of the number of dams and canals to extend the scope of the self-sufficiency he is an agriculturist but the recoil towards gigantism persists. When he floated his proposal for the Tarapore project of deriving power from atomic sources he declared that it would be the biggest construction of the kind in Asia. He has got the money earmarked in token of transcendent success, but enthusiasts forget that even in the United Kingdom experts are determined to go slow with the idea of production of power out of atomic reactors. Not long ago a committee of experts in Britain deferred the idea until 1970. The fuel situation should not be geared to precarious ventures, however spectacular. Our agricultural labour, unemployed in the off-season, could be employed to develop irrigational projects to distribute water and increase not

only rural employment but accelerate the output of food-grains and other earth-grown commodities which are now in shortage.

Debatable

Industrialisation is certainly arguable in the atomic age. No doubt preparations for the Fourth Plan and atomic reactors look impressive, but on the ground of fuelage, propositions are being disputed. No foreign economist dare now to suggest that India would submit to any tutelage in her internal economy; and foreign capital is safe in India, since on recent calculations the investor abroad who has capital booked in India is reaping dividends to the extent of 12 per cent in comparison with what Government securities could offer.

The Small Car

Mr. R. Bhaskaran, University Professor, objects to the small car idea. He says:

What is really a sad feature of the automobile industry in our country today is that it remains unaware of the lessons which the history of the industry in other lands furnishes in such profusion and persists in such self-inflicted ignorance. The automobile of our time is a mass-produced product justified only by mass consumption. Mass production began with the automobile in a land of immense distances. For a while the automobile may have been the luxury of the privileged few; very soon it became an auxiliary limb of locomotion for the millions fleeing from home and the restrictions of an immobile society. In advanced countries the price of an automobile does not exceed the annual income of the semi-skilled worker. In our country by present calculation if we must have automobiles in the way they are had elsewhere, the cheap car should not cost more than Rs. 1000. Any discussion which overlooks these facts is irrelevant and will be a tedious waste of energy.

STUPENDOUS FOLLY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Maharashtra industrialists and in particular sugar industrialists are indignant over the land ceilings proposals which they rightly feel will fatally hit the growing of sugarcane which factory owners had successfully organized in furtherance of their important industry. This is a natural and proper protest. The sugar interests have pointed out how foolish and profitless the scheme of ceilings proposal is from every point of view.

While this is true, and indeed is an understatement of the case, how much stronger must the condemnation be when looked at from the point of view of agricultural employment and of food grains production? If sugar production is important how much greater is the importance of the production of rice and other food grains which the ceilings proposals will affect? Sugar is food no doubt and it yields important tax revenue, but rice and wheat are what the nation must live on. They are for people and government most fundamental. He who has eyes to see can realise how this ceiling madness has affected the interest and initiative which those employed in agriculture must take in their avocation. The big producers are being driven out of their hereditary and traditional occupation to cities to lead indolent lives and waste their substance. The basic pattern of life, of the most fundamental section of Indian life, is being sadly mangled.

There can be no hope of mechanization or other ways of improvement of agricultural production if all holdings are at one stroke to be converted into small holdings. No one will have the capacity to save and invest in fruitful experiment or risk any money in the adventure of increased food production. The dream of substituting real co-operative enterprise for the large landholder will not materialise.

There will be no powerful honest leaders of rural interests to

balance the industrial or labour interests in the conflicts that will inevitably arise in the increasing interference of the State in the economic life of the people. The peasant's interests will go unrepresented in political life except for the uninformed and inane speechification of political adventures. Real rural leadership will disappear in the course of a few years as a result of the striking down of the tall-poppies in rural life.

The supply of rice and foodgrains to the urban markets does not and cannot come from the small peasants, but only from those who have large holdings. It is they who have no anxiety-complex which unfortunately characterizes the smaller holders in a land so liable to monsoon irregularities and which leads to petty hoarding. After the ceiling proposals are worked out, the supply of grain for urban and industrial workers will surely go down, thus creating a scarcity condition that will affect prices everywhere and in respect of all commodities.

The official investigation into the condition of rural landless labour has revealed a grave situation. Rural labour in India consists of landless families in the villages who are not living on the handloom or other village crafts. These are computed to be 20 per cent of the total population. To this must be added the large number of families whose holdings are too small and who also depend on seasonal agricultural work available in the villages in the larger holdings, in order to supplement their scanty earnings from their own land. This is a much larger number than is realised by people who do not live in villages or can be seen in the Census figures. The total percentage of the population depending on income from wages in agricultural operations is much greater than is indicated by the Census figures as to landless workers. All these people depend on wages

earned in the bigger holdings. The earnings are mostly in kind and traditional in measure and therefore much more precious than money wages adversely affected by the rise in price levels. All these opportunities of employment for rural agricultural workers will disappear as a consequence of reduction of size in land-holdings.

The ceiling proposals instead of equalizing will act detrimentally against the poorest classes in the countryside. This can be realized only by those who are in intimate touch with the countryside, not by those who are now presuming to make laws to change the pattern of life in the rural area of our vast country. The very proposals and trends of land legislation have produced sad effects. The wages of agricultural workers have gone down, and unemployment has increased among them. Add to this the augmentation of distress caused by the slightest increase in the cost of those commodities which even in a low standard of life the rural classes have to buy apart from foodstuffs. Anything that hurts the rural families depending on wages earned in labour in fields is stupendous folly.

The ceilings proposals are a national folly which adversely hits the rural wage earners as well as the representation of agricultural interests generally in parliamentary life. Not sugar production alone, but also things of more fundamental importance, are adversely affected. Politicians can be induced to make exceptions in favour of the sugar interests provided strings are pulled properly as one can see in the Madras legislation. But who will take the trouble of protecting those who have no money to give to Congress party funds, the rural wage-earning classes? The leaders of the Harijans are absorbed in politics of a much less important kind. Otherwise they should be the first to object to any legislative fragmentation of holdings which will most seriously affect the daily lives of their numerous people in the villages.

SIDELIGHTS ::

It is a puerile idea that the Five Year Plan of the Congress Government can be made more acceptable or sensible than it is by celebrations on the parallel of birthday festivities. The expense over these celebrations will mount up to a sizeable figure, besides the whole idea being childish.

There is a sentence in Sri Rangaswami's report to *The Hindu* published this morning (January 16) about relations with China, which deserves re-printing. "The Personal Assistant to the Indian Ambassador in Peking was flogged in public on some trumped-up charge and protests from the Ambassador had little effect". What are we indeed doing with our prestige? If this should be swallowed, too, like the Ladakh occupation or the Sino-Burmese map including Diphuk pass, the prestige of India has gone down very low indeed. And what may the causes be? And what the remedies? It is time we seriously reconsider the non-alignment dogma, lest we reach a point of no-recovery.

An enormous amount of money is being sunk (inauspicious word) in the purchase and modernization of an old British aircraft carrier. Already more than ten crores of foreign exchange have been spent on it and much more has still to go into it to make it into a presentable bargain. I wish someone who could probe into the *rishimoolam* and *nadi-moolam* of government transactions would investigate when and who started this bargain and appraise its wisdom. Will this aircraft carrier be any use for the defence of India? Can it be put to any purpose outside a global war? The purchase of an aircraft carrier is hardly consistent with a non-alignment or anti-global war policy even if one should ignore the inappropriateness of such an investment in the context of our financial position.

The National Development Council has decided on a total Third Plan outlay of Rs. 12,000 crores, with Rs. 8,000 crores for the public sector and Rs. 4,000 crores for the private sector. This decision was the result of each Chief Minister competing for spectacular spending within his own State unmindful of the fact that the money will have to be got either by taxation or by borrowing. In the Second Plan the investment proposed in the public sector was Rs. 4,800 crores. Before the end of the first year, the Plan ran into difficulties, the foreign exchange position became desperate, and India would have been forced to be declared insolvent but for the generous assistance of the World Bank and of countries like the U.S.A., the United Kingdom, West Germany, Japan and Canada. Public sector expenditure under the Third Plan is for nearly double that of the Second Plan. It is based on the expectation of raising three and a half times the promise of foreign aid which India's indefatigable mendicant missionaries have so far managed to secure in their tours to foreign capitals. Whether that expectation will be fulfilled at all is now extremely doubtful. The bungling and miscalculation of inexperience might evoke goodwill and sympathetic generosity from the more affluent nations of the world, but they will expect their succouring aid to serve as an impetus for greater care and prudence in the future. The springs of generosity towards India from outside lenders and alms-givers will be dried up if the leaders of the country give the impression of plunging headlong into reckless squandermania depending on others to rush to their rescue. Here is what we read in the *India Pakistan Burma Association's Bulletin* (published in London) in its issue of December 1960:

"India is faced with the problem of raising over three-and-a-half times as much foreign aid as she has already

been promised. What is likely to make the task all the more difficult is the fact that the Third Plan has been drafted without any particular regard for current thinking on foreign aid matters in the 'donor' countries themselves. In fact, very little appears to have been learned from the experience of the Second Plan, which required an emergency rescue programme to prevent it from collapsing altogether. India obviously has little chance of claiming such consideration against the beginning of a Plan period. In other words, India has presented a new Plan, very similar to the old one which so recently got itself into such difficulties. In most cases, it is obvious that private sector projects would be in a better position to attract aid than those in the public sector. But India's Plan takes scarcely any of these into account; it still appears that the Government hopes its friends will present it with a blank cheque—to spend as it wishes without any of the inconvenience of having to re-shape its Plans and temper its ideology."

In an article published on another page, Sri A. D. Shroff describes the Second Five-Year Plan as an example of how not to plan in a democracy. It was a specimen of totalitarian planning. One characteristic feature of totalitarian planning is this, the targets are set up first, and the search for resources comes afterwards. The Communists are not in the least bothered even if a big gap be found between the two. They have their monolithic administrative apparatus, their all-pervasive police, their system of controls and compulsions to squeeze the spirit of independence out of the citizenry and make them helplessly servile to the State. With eyes open, the ruling party in India has planned for a Third Plan, even worse than the Second Plan with an even bigger gap between targets and resources. That means that the Prime Minister has decided to apply the screw to the unfortunate nation at his mercy in the manner of a Czar who is under no compulsion to care for any opinion except his own and that of his obedient cohort of sycophants.

Already prices are high and are still soaring. Taxation, debt to
(Continued on page 15)

PAST AND PRESENT

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Ancestral worship is sacred in the East and the present dynasty in Tokyo, now under democratisation, dates back to more centuries than we could conceive in our memories of Chandra Gupta. That we should honour the dead in the hope of resurrection of ourselves is certainly natural and elevating but the idea could very well be overworn in these days of fast traffic.

Tagore's centenary is scheduled to last a whole year; that is to say, for twelve months we remember his greatness as a poet and a patriot. It is quite an extensive period when we recall the prescribed routine of observances from the past. The best encomium paid to Rabindranath Tagore was condensed in the fewest words when Dr. S. Radhakrishnan gave the obituary: "He is now with the immortals in the company of Vyasa, Valmiki and Kalidasa". Tagore requires no memorial when we consider his tremendous versatility which makes him into a literary counterpart of Michael Angelo who expressed himself in paint and pattern. Poets express themselves in diverse impulses, in paint, in sculpture, in literature. Their mutual envy could also be characteristic as when Leigh Hunt wrote to Tom More:

*I have heard it said,
dear Moore
That your sons are heard
In the moonlight streets
Of Isphahan.*

Poets are the legislators of the world, and far from the days of Greek wisdom poets have been honoured as the moulders of the future. In the case of Rabindranath Tagore, his instrument was not merely that of a lyric singer whose accents linger because his impulses stimulated the freedom struggle. Nevertheless, there is a sense of artificiality in the present national excitement to trade on the past by extensive festivals.

For instance, there is the decision of the National Cultural Organisation to hold a Tansen

Festival on the occasion of the 472nd death anniversary of the musician. Let there be all honour to the memory of Tansen who, according to legend, made the trees swing and the rocks sway as described by the courtiers. Tansen is claimed as the "greatest singer in the last thousand years".

Meanwhile, post-stamps are issued in abundance as the tribute due to Thyagaraja and Bharati to gratify the South. Tansen passed away a few centuries ago, but the zest to applaud his memory on the 472nd anniversary of his birth seems a pseudo-commercial excitement. That he was a great singer we all concede. But this particular selection of his birthday exactly 472 years ago looks odd, if he is declared entitled to twelve months' celebration of his genius.

It is his birthday that is chosen, not his burial occasion, or the happy day of his wedding. In the Malvern Festival of Shakespeare, nobody remembers with precision his life-affairs. Indeed Baconians dispute the authenticity of his publications. Nevertheless, the show goes on.

That Tansen sang many years before his 472nd anniversary as a musician cannot be disputed because we have no record about his full biography. Tansen at some

time is reported to have joined the court of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior and then attached himself to the durbars of Raja Ramachandra Baghela of Bandhavgarh. It was at Bandhavgarh that Tansen attained eminence. Next in the wake of his reputation, the Moghul Emperor sent for him to Delhi in 1552, as a master of the *Ragas*. Everything was fine and Tansen's pictures and recitations have attained immortal status. In fact the great tribute of superstitious version has surrounded his fame. I quote from substantial authority:

A tamarind tree once stood at near his mausoleum. People, from far and wide, came to the spot to pluck leaves of this tree in the belief that those who ate the leaves would be great singers. The people thus denuded this tree of its leaves.

Every year on his death anniversary, musicians from all over India gather at Tansen's samadhi at Gwalior to pay homage to this immortal singer. Music concerts are held almost non-stop till the small hours of the morning.

Tansen in his time is claimed to have made trees dance and mountains remove themselves but in modern renderings we cannot get on with mere figures of speech in a technological age. Astrology has been conquered by astronomy, but the imagination of people continues to be fascinated by music, painting and drama. A man at the height of his success does not want commemoration in art nor in any promotion into the World Gallery of Portraits as a patron.

But is it at all necessary to work up celebrations beyond any reasonable tenure considering that ancient authorities laid down certain periods for mourning and restraints for rejoicings?

The 472nd anniversary of a musician with no more illustrious claims than Thyagaraja could be granted as much importance as the occasion for the 473rd birthday celebration; but still we love glorification of ancestors unlike Westerners who perhaps care more for the triumphs of posterity, fully aware of the failures of the past.

Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star

Borrow borrow, little Czar,
We wonder where we are,
You smile and frown,
Little Czar;
But aren't we going down
The easy road
The very slippery road
To hammer-and-sickle Town?

You won't relent
You won't repent
You think you've gone too far,
Little Czar,
Far too late to mend
God save us from the end
God save us from the end.

ANON.

MORE TAXES FOR PROFLIGATE PROJECTS

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The Planning Commission has informed the States that they will have to find together 200 crores additionally during 1961-62 by taxation, borrowing and small savings for implementing the first year of the Third Plan. The implications of this, even statistically, are staggering. The total tax revenue of the States after excluding shares in Central taxes and loans was 681 crores in 1959-60 of which the proposed increase will constitute nearly a third. It can come only from the sales tax, as the other heads proposed are not only proportionately small but both economically and politically inexpedient. Land revenue, which is the largest, being 100 crores, cannot be raised without antagonising the largest body of voters, who have so far received no reduction in their dues from the abolition of landowners. The revenue having actually increased from 47.09 crores in 1951-52. Against the declining tendency of grain prices and the increasing prices of other commodities, any increase in land revenue will have a recoil which will be politically fatal to the Congress. Irrigation revenue in the meagre total of 19.64 crores is subject to the same considerations, reinforced by the further fact that the greater part of the irrigation potential created

remains unused even at current rates. Electricity schemes which yielded 7.66 crores in 1956-57 slumped to 1.88 crores in 1959-60, in spite of vast capital expenditure. If the price of the current supplied is increased the loss may be accentuated because of a fall in consumption, which will also affect industrial development. Revenue from road and water transport was 5.48 crores but after the increase already obtained surreptitiously in the fares from the change to decimal coinage, the public will revolt if anything more is added. On industries and supplies in spite of an expenditure of 182 crores, there was a loss of 50 lakhs in 1958-59 and a profit of only 45 lakhs in 1959-60, a return of less than 1 per cent, which though better than that of the Centre, which shows nothing in its revenue budget, is too inconsiderable to contribute to the Plan. These figures, from Government's own publication *India 1960* may be a stunning revelation to the public but they are well known to Government, which is ignoring them only to mask its intentions to increase the sales tax and loans, including deficit finance.

Sales tax is the worst form of taxation first because the cost of its collection is highest, second because it is most susceptible to evasion, third because it is unconsciously paid by the public, including the poorest, and fourth because the high prices it sets create on the one hand inflation and on the other industrial stagnation. In respect of loans, the debt services of the States, which are financed from the taxes of the people, have risen from 8.49 crores in 1951-52 to 62 crores in 1959-60 and can only be increased by adding, on the one hand to the tax burden and on the other to inflation.

The proposals made by the Commission to the States must

have an equal counterpart in the proposals for the Centre. There may be no increase in income and corporation taxes because we already hold the world record and industrialists cannot be antagonised before they make contributions for the elections. There will therefore be an increase and extension of excise taxes and loans, with proportionately greater burdens on producers and consumers alike.

The simple question is, if such burdens on the people and production are necessary for planning, which has benefited only small groups, while reducing, according to the Agricultural Labour Inquiry Report, the income of agricultural labourers from Rs. 108 to Rs 96 annually and even of other workers and cultivators.

Although it invited public opinion on the Plan, in spite of criticism such as only some papers were able to make, the radio and Government publications being completely barred, the third Plan has not been changed, except that its outlay has been increased. There are three courses open to the public, first to insist that the Government should meet the criticism against the Plan instead of completely ignoring it as if the Planning Commission contains all the wisdom of the country. The second course is to delay the Third Plan till the new Government is formed after the elections in 1962. This will not only allow tax relief to the public which is near breaking point but will also enable the results of the second Plan to be correctly assessed. The third course is at least to eliminate from the Plan all expenditure by Government with taxes and loans from the common people, which private enterprise is able and willing to undertake with its own resources. If the Government is unwilling to accept this test, the general public can conclude that what is called socialism creates only power for the Government and profits for its licensees and contractors, while the people get less for what they contribute and pay more for what they

M. N. AND ELLEN ROY

The cruel murder of Mrs. Ellen Roy in her cottage in Dehra Dun on 13th December 1960 marks the end of an intellectual partnership which can be rightly compared to that of Sidney and Beatrice Webb. But while there had been many attempts at assessing the significance of the contributions of the Webbs to the trade union movement and Socialist thought in England, the work of the Roys remains almost unassessed.

M. N. Roy who was perhaps the senior partner in this political and intellectual adventure died nearly seven years ago on 25th January, 1954 almost unwept and unhonoured, but under less tragic circumstances than the other partner met her end. But Roy's death made his wife devote herself more energetically and earnestly to the work which her husband had left unfinished. It was while engaged in the compilation of unpublished speeches and writings of her husband for which she had received a grant from the Government of India and the Rockefeller Foundation that Mrs. Roy was murdered. This news shocked many not only because of the very tragic circumstances in which she died but also the loss we sustained of a political thinker of no mean repute.

To assess the contribution of the Roys to Indian and world political thought is no easy task as their eventful lives were spread over three continents. M. N. Roy, whose original name was Narendra Bhattacharya, was drawn to the turbulent politics of Bengal as early as 1901 when he was only a boy of 14. The earlier part of his stormy political career was a thrilling saga of political dacoity, armed insurrection, underground life, arrests and trials. His attempt to smuggle arms into India from Germany for a country-wide uprising against the British was one of the heroic chapters of our struggle for freedom of those early days.

The failure of this daring plan marked the beginning of his political

Odyssey which took him to several countries of Europe and America. Wherever he went he became the centre of political and intellectual activity. Roy was the founder of the Mexican Communist Party. He later visited Russia at the invitation of Lenin with whom he closely collaborated in the work of the ill-fated Third International. Even while he was engaged in the work of the International the thought which was uppermost in his mind was the liberation of his own country. His writings directed to this end laid the ideological foundation of the Communist movement in India.

In Germany, while working on one of his important works, *Revolution and Counter Revolution in China*, he met Ellen Gottschak. Ellen was an indefatigable worker in the cause of Socialism and there is no wonder she gravitated towards Roy who was equally passionately devoted to this cause and was a Marxist scholar. This friendship which later ended in their marriage in India in 1937 continued right up to Roy's death in 1954.

As in the case of many political workers of that period, Marxism exerted a profound influence on the intellectual make-up of Roy. But the ideological distance he traversed from nationalism and Marxism to New Humanism may appear not so very impressive but was really an arduous task for him. In this adventure he blazed the trail of a new political philosophy. When the nine massive manuscript volumes he wrote during the long spell of prison life in the thirties come to be published it will be a monumental contribution to his substantial work already come down to us. Roy was a prolific writer as he was a vigorous and original thinker. His political philosophy in molecular forms is scattered in innumerable books, articles and leaflets, in a number of languages. When they are collected, edited and published it will be a complete and coherent story of the intellectual growth of one of the best minds our century has produced.

Apart from the profound, though not popular influence of their writings, there was the influence of the lives of this man and woman which was no less significant. They, of course, made mistakes in their political actions. But they are mere drops in the tide of history. The memory of the Roys will be cherished by many in this country and elsewhere in the world for their abiding achievements in the sphere of political thought and action. N. A. KARIM.

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SALIVATI'S NEWSLETTER

Press Statement of
Mr. F. EDWARDS
 President, Deccan Sugar Factories' Association, Bombay

The proposed Land Ceilings Bill of the Government of Maharashtra is a very risky and dangerous move! No right-thinking business man or industrialist could possibly support such a retrograde step. The very basis of the success of the sugar industry in Maharashtra is being undermined, and the benefit, experience and efficiency built up over a period of 40 years is being thrown to the winds. Maharashtra is the most successful sugar producing area in India and this success is only due to the pioneering work and perseverance put in by the old established joint stock companies. Their experience has proved that only by having the growth of its sugar cane under its own complete control can a factory produce quality sugar at low prices. The profits made by such factories are not due to high selling prices, or profiteering, because the selling rates are fixed by the State Government! They are due solely to lower costs of growing cane and manufacturing. Looking to the yields of cane per acre and quantity of sugar produced per acre of cane, it is completely beyond all comprehension why there should be State Government interference, when the Central Government are urging higher production, at lower costs, to enable the country to participate in world trading and earn valuable foreign exchange.

Maharashtra produces results equal to the averages in other well known sugar producing countries of the world. Take Java, for example, and study the following figures:

	Yield of cane in tons per acre	Average percentage recovery of sugar from cane
Java	56.20	11.49%
Maharashtra	53.25	11.80%
All India	14.70	9.84%

Compare Maharashtra's results with the average throughout India, and ask yourselves the question: "Why should the State Government attempt to disturb such progress in Maharashtra, when the rest of the country's sugar industry is obviously so sick and ailing?" The answer cannot possibly be that

it is in the interests of the Nation or even in the interests of the State. There are abundant facts to prove that. It is therefore astounding that the Central Government should allow such legislation to be brought forward. The only obvious answer to the question is that the move is entirely political and is an effort to attain some ideological goal at any and all costs. The intention to apply ceilings to sugar cane farms is all the more astonishing when one recalls the utterances of Ministers and the Planning Commission in recent times and the steps that have been taken in other States to exclude industrial undertakings from their Land Ceiling Bills. Surely it can't be that the Governments of Andhra, Kerala, Madras, etc. are more enlightened than that of Maharashtra! In the Madras Bill provision is made for the setting up of a Sugar Cane Board with a High Court Judge as Chairman to determine whether sugar cane farms shall continue to be run by the factories which have been cultivating them hitherto. This is fair enough as it is expected the decisions will depend on facts and merit but the Maharashtra Government has set itself up as the sole judge as to what it should do with the surplus lands which become vested in it. And if any difficulties should arise in administering the Bill when it is enacted, the Government has taken the power to make such adjustments or take such decisions as it may consider necessary to meet the case. This is a bad feature of the Bill and should be opposed vigorously. Another possibility is that some of the sugar factories in the country may find themselves deprived of their farms while others will not and this discriminatory treatment should not be allowed by the Central Government.

The whole Bill is another example of unnecessary political interference in industry and commerce and the effect, if the Bill is enacted in its present form, must inevitably be detrimental to the progress of the sugar industry in the Deccan. It is to be hoped that the Government even at this late stage will indulge in some re-thinking and come to the right conclusion that it would be infinitely wiser to exclude well run sugar cane farms attached to factories, from the provisions of the Bill.

—ADVT.

COMMUNIST TECHNIQUES IN INDIAN PLANNING

By A. D. SHROFF

The First Five-Year Plan covered the period between 1951 and 1956. Actually, the First Plan was nothing more than a conglomeration of projects some of which had been initiated even before the attainment of independence in 1947. The Plan was a success in that at its completion national income rose by over 18 per cent and per capita income by about 11 per cent. It is significant that the much maligned private sector which had been a target of sustained and growing attack during the Plan period overfulfilled its targets of new investment whereas the public sector fell short of its target by about 40 per cent.

The Second Five-Year Plan is an example of how not to plan in a democracy. The Plan was initiated in 1956 with a proposed investment of Rs. 4,800 crores in the public sector and Rs. 2,400 crores in the private sector. Before the year was out, the Plan had run into difficulties and broken down on a number of fronts. For instance, the Railway Minister was complaining in Parliament that some of the railway projects could not be implemented owing to shortage of cement. Our foreign exchange resources, which were expected to be depleted at the rate of Rs. 40 crores per year, thus still leaving a balance of over Rs. 500 crores at the end of the Plan period, had almost touched the bottom of the bucket as early as 1958. But for the timely aid of the World Bank and the generosity of countries like the U.S.A., the U.K., West Germany, Japan and Canada, India would have had the misfortune of being branded a defaulter in her international obligations. The price of food and other necessities of life had registered a sharp increase owing to very heavy deficit financing, thus negating the possible increase in individual incomes. It is indeed a sad spectacle that before the Plan reached its completion, there have been urgent deliberations on ways and means of holding the price line. The basic cause of all these serious deficiencies, which even an unplanned economy does not encounter, is that totalitarian planning techniques, as copied from the Soviet Union, were sought to be applied in the Second Plan.

Totalitarian planning is all-comprehensive. In other words, a central board of planners determines the priorities for development, the initiation of all economic activities, the price policy and all other aspects of economic life. Like

the fascist State of Mussolini ("everything for the State; nothing outside the State; nothing against the State"), in comprehensive planned economies of the Soviet type nothing is outside the scope of the Plan.

Setting up of physical targets and a search for resources afterwards is another feature of totalitarian planning.

Totalitarian planning is biased towards heavy industries to such an extent that consumer goods industries and agriculture are given a step-motherly treatment.

A monolithic administrative apparatus backed by a secret police to brush aside all opposition in a ruthless manner is an essential element in totalitarian planning.

A look at Indian economic realities is enough to convince anyone that Communist totalitarian planning techniques are not suitable to India.

If comprehensive planned development on the Soviet model is unsuited to

Wrong Remedies

People talk of selective credit controls to deal with inflation. These controls are only treating the symptoms and not the disease. We cannot go on pumping money supplies into the economy and yet restrain inflation. The symptoms of an inflationary state of affairs are quite clear: a rise in the general level of prices and in the cost of living, hoarding by producers, traders and consumers alike, and profiteering. What is required is not mere credit control and price control, but a rigid restraint on deficit financing and increase in the total volume of production and in the total marketable surplus of commodities, agricultural and industrial. Mere price control and credit control, even if practicable (which they are not), are not going to hold down prices and keep inflation in check.

N. DANDEKAR.

Indian conditions, the question then arises as to the type of planning India should adopt.

First of all, it is important to remember that the purpose of planning in India is rapid and large-scale economic development to increase the national wealth, to ensure its equitable distribution and to promote a just social order. Certain basic postulates should be respected for this purpose. Realistic planning should first of all start from the premise that human nature is to be taken as it is and not as it ought to be. In other words, individual initiative and enterprise should be given great importance. Ideological slogans and shibboleths have no place in the work-a-day world. The right to private property should be firmly established and respected. Realistic planning should also recognise the harsh realities of economic laws which cannot be mitigated nor altered by legislation however powerful the legislature may be.

The starting point for planning in India should be the recognition of the pluralistic character of Indian society. In the din of slogan-mongering by collectivists like Communists and Socialists, it is conveniently forgotten that planning need not necessarily be monolithic as in the Soviet Union. Modern State planning would be erring on the side of wisdom if instead of trying to impose a monolithic solution, it promotes economic development by creating an atmosphere for entrepreneurs and individuals to take economic decisions which would lead to rapid and large-scale economic development. This would require some efforts on the part of the State to assess the basic resources of the community in terms of financial resources, man-power, technical skills, managerial ability and raw materials. Then the State would have to set up certain priorities for economic development and encourage development along those lines.

The bane of economic development is monopoly, whether private or public. Instances are not wanting as to how the consumer suffers when monopolies operate. It is, therefore, essential that the State should cease starting insulated monopolies or nationalising existing industries. It should foster healthy competition among private units, and, wherever in the interests of economic development the State has to enter the field of economic development, it should compete on a fair basis with units in the private sector.

Such realistic planning should have as its aim the production of adequate consumer goods. The drawback of Communist planning has been the dearth of consumer goods. It is not a few

planners but every individual as a planner who has to decide what he wants. In satisfying his demands economic activity is stimulated on a large scale, employment potential is increased, incomes rise and there is all-round prosperity. In fine, planning should be for free enterprise and not against free enterprise. It will not be like the Soviet

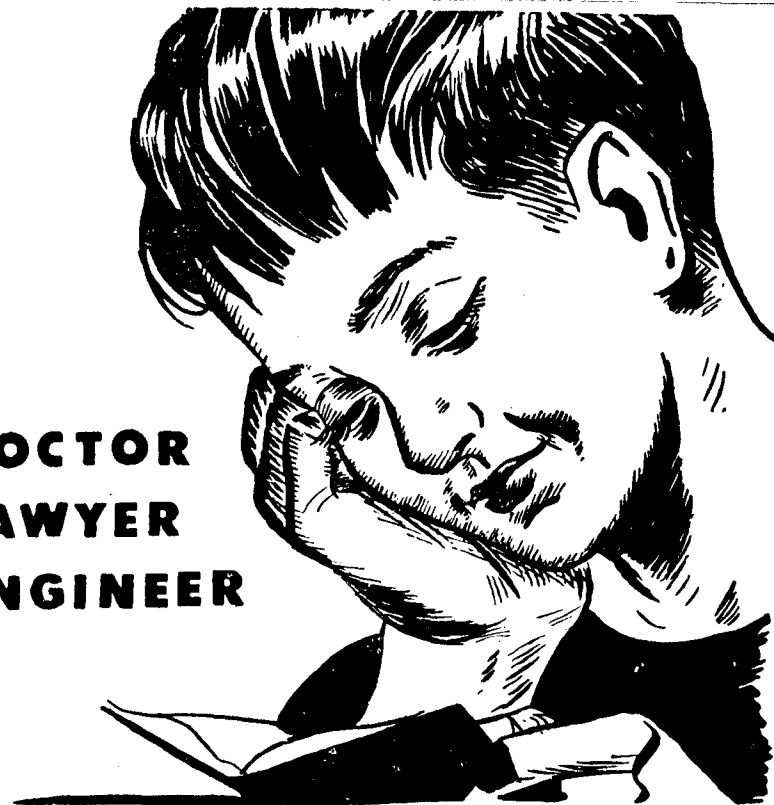
planning which a Sovietology expert aptly describes as follows:

"I know men and women without the ability to keep their own household accounts in order, who have no hesitancy in tackling the godlike book-keeping of human destiny".

Realistic planning, it can truly be said, ensures rapidity of economic de-

velopment and promotion of justice. With the spirit of independence and enterprise which such planning fosters in individuals, there will emerge a nation of freedom-loving people who find not only the satisfaction of their basic needs but also a joy in creation and the satisfaction of noble aspiration in a free society.

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FUNCTION OF PARTY IN A DEMOCRACY

The following are excerpts from the Presidential address of Prof. R. Bhaskaran of the Madras University delivered at the annual session of the Indian Political Science Association held at Patna recently.

By R. BHASKARAN

A new and very fundamental national task has been undertaken, which is to assemble and train a Hindi-speaking elite for our political and administrative needs at the Centre and establish clear channels of communication between it and the governments of the States. It is a stupendous task not to be confused with the comparatively easy business of getting some millions of Indians to learn a *lingua indica*. Patriotic and well-meaning citizens of the country may be allowed to think and say that this stupendous task has been undertaken gratuitously and without realising adequately all its implications. When this and similar fundamental questions of Indian politics are seriously debated, I have found that a plea of political necessity is put in on behalf of official policies, and when the debate continues on the predictable evil consequences of these policies their official defenders have only buoyant optimism to uphold them. Time, they have convinced themselves, is on their side. But one need not be a very assiduous student of history to realise that just as God is on the side which has the big battalion, time too serves those who have the wits to take it by the forelock, not those who have a precarious hold on its tail.

The plea of political necessity so frequently employed by policy makers in all fields of our government is supposed to justify and validate their decisions in the first instance, then to compel its acceptance by the people and their elected representatives. To say that some policy is a political necessity is only to say that in the speaker's opinion the people want it and no more is to be said on it. On the surface it looks very democratic because it is the plain duty of government to give people what they want. But it is also the plain duty of government to try to know who wants what, how that would affect others and what is good for all and for a longer period than the duration of a parliament or an assembly. It is the function of leadership not only to acquire and retain leadership but to justify its tenure by serving the true and long-range interests of the country.

The idea of permanent revolution should not be allowed to become endemic, for, it breeds indiscipline and irresponsibility at the top and apathy and revulsion at the bottom while all

the time it strains the bureaucracy's powers of endurance and survival. While Alexander looked for new worlds to conquer, his soldiers were wanting to get back home, which is an awkward and perilous situation in war and politics and it should not be allowed to develop. And that is the *raison d'être* of the two-party system, to give the people a choice of pace and direction in what would otherwise be an interminable ride on the same treadmill. Men, said Alfred Marshall, live by hope of change or at least change of hope. The moral and psychological strain of prolonged pursuit of one goal is eased by a change of objectives as well as by a change of place. The function of party in a democracy is to offer this life-giving change and if the purpose and the rules of the game are understood and admitted by the political parties, the people would come to know real democracy and learn to live under it.

Just as majorities have much to learn by way of scrupulous regard for the law and patient attention to the views of the opposition, minorities should also learn how to increase their numbers, rather than take their mino-

rity status as a settled fact and claim special privilege on that account. In other words, we should learn the ways of an open and mobile society and this means giving up the comfort and security offered by a closed society based on status. This transformation is impeded in India by the intrusion of totalitarian political ideologies from the West at a time when the change from status to contract had hardly commenced.

It is not only the Congress party that is inspired from the top; all other parties are similarly inspired. And all parties are alike in not wanting to let the people hurt themselves. They all want to take care of us, and very nearly in the same way, from the cradle to the grave. Our political elite has no more real knowledge of the country and its people than the British civil servant in India who meant well by his charges and was doubtful of their ability to fend for themselves. There can be no real political progress and it means there can therefore be no other progress as well, until a new leadership comes into being which will refuse to bear a kind of "white man's burden" and squarely insist that every one should take care of himself unless he is manifestly incapacitated. It will learn to make the most of the native resources, material and spiritual, and refuse to help preserve anything which does not strive to preserve itself. It would surely be difficult for such honest and steadfast leadership to establish itself in power through the ballot box, but a

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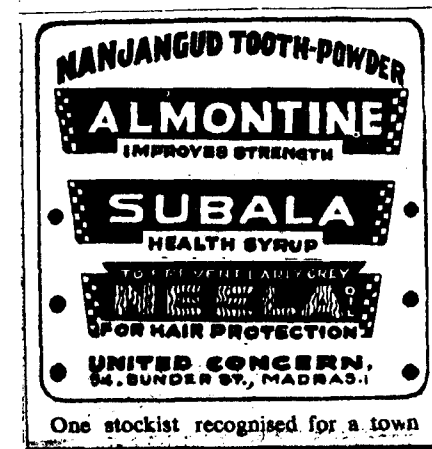
BOOK REVIEW

SEARCHLIGHT ON COUNCIL DEBATES

This collection of Sir A. L. Mudaliar's speeches entitled 'Searchlight on Council Debates' is an altogether impressive volume and one that has long been needed. It was an important event in the history of the Council, when a new Opposition party was formed on July 1953 under the leadership of Dr. A. L. Mudaliar. Rajaji (who was then Chief Minister) had welcomed the role of the Opposition party and observed: "Dr. Mudaliar will be a tower of strength to any administration, to any council, to any legislature, to any university, or to any organization doing public service in any form—I am sure the business of the Council hereafter will be even better than before". Indeed, the versatile Doctor possesses not merely debating skill, but also that rarer thing, political wisdom. And his well-turned speeches reflect several revealing side-lights (rather than 'Searchlight' as the editors of this volume would have it) on the various problems debated in the Council.

Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar's speeches (whether on the State budgets and the Governor's addresses or on bills and resolutions) are packed with facts and carefully weighed conclusions. And in economic affairs, he has epitomised the philosophy of *Festina Lente*. To cite an instance, his comment on the Kaldorian innovations in our fiscal structure was particularly forthright: "A Hungarian refugee (Dr. N. Kaldor of Cambridge) who has adopted English citizenship, comes to this country for a stay of six to eight weeks and tells us how we should manage our affairs and

SEARCHLIGHT ON COUNCIL DEBATES. (Speeches of Sir A. L. Mudaliar in the Madras Legislative Council) Orient Longmans, 492 pages. Rs. 15.



society. What is his knowledge of Hindu society? The expenditure and wealth taxes are the creation of that man". And Dr. Mudaliar has also strongly opposed governmental measures relating to the Madras Rent Control Act: "The general impression is that the landlords are left at the mercy of the Rent Controller for very many purposes and the cordial relationship that ought to exist between the landlord and the tenant will not prevail. In my opinion, questions like protection of tenancy rights have nothing to do with the requisition of buildings for Government purposes".

Dr. Mudaliar has always high-lighted the importance of the English language. And he has endorsed the view of Dr. Pope (the translator of the 'Kural' who in Dr. Mudaliar's words "has done more for the Tamil language than most of the Tamilians themselves") that "if you love your Tamil language, you must read an international language to appreciate the beauties, sentiments and relative values of your own literature". Dr. Mudaliar has cogently argued in several of his speeches that English offers the maximum advantages as an international medium of communication and a world medium of the cultural heritage of mankind.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Mudaliar's recent speeches (possibly owing to lack of time) have not been included in this collection. Indeed, it was a pleasant experience to find that the scholarly Vice-Chancellor had released a chime of witty remarks which still tinkle in our minds. When the Revenue Minister, Mr. Manickavelu, explained that the recent piece of legislation (fixation of ceiling on land) was a "white revolution" and not a red revolution, Dr. Mudaliar had flashed the retort: "I wholeheartedly associate myself with him in saying that this is a white revolution for it is obvious that he has bled the landowners white till there is no red colour in them; he is entitled to call this a white revolution".

It used to be the fashion among our politicians and journalists to attack the British Government for its supposed interference in the affairs of the universities in India. And a Radhakrishnan was singled out for his courage to "preach sedition" in the guise of an "academic sermon" at the risk of defying a Chancellor like Lord Hailey. Such compliments were meant to convey that there were very few Radhakrishnans to confront the innuendo

able Haileys of the day. But what of Free India's universities? Sir A. L. Mudaliar who has been the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University since the forties, made the following observations in his Dadhabhai Naoroji Memorial Fellowship lectures: "This attitude of interference has been very prominent and felt by universities since the attainment of independence by our country. I have been considerably distressed with the number of communications that have been sent to universities on diverse topics by secretaries or under-secretaries at the Centre or the State level. It may not have been realized that a university has a structure of its own, that there are authorities in the university who have not only definite responsibilities and duties to discharge, but are zealous to maintain freedom to exercise their discretion in the discharge of their duties". And in the Madras Legislative Council, the distinguished Vice-Chancellor had uttered a note of warning that the Government were "undermining the whole fabric of the university's autonomy and laying the foundations for the university's functions becoming the departmentalized activities of the Government, whichever government might be in power".

The total effect, in its delightful combination of well-mannered urbanity and Victorian graciousness, is that of a liberal statesman who is passionately concerned with the preservation of the intellectual traditions and the deeper values of academic freedom and parliamentary democracy in an era of rapidly disappearing landmarks. And this book ought to be read by our legislators and publicists who are interested in the study of Indian affairs.

A. RANGANATHAN.

FUNCTION OF PARTY....

(Continued from previous page)

difficult task is not an impossible one. If civil government is to last and function effectively it must be actuated by such political ideas. Otherwise the entire nation will get into the public payroll and bring on bankruptcy and chaos. If our public men hesitate to speak the truth as they privately utter it out of deference to the boss or fear of the mob they assist, perhaps unwittingly, the collapse of public order. If for some reason we do not educate ourselves, our weakness would multiply till our political society resigns itself to the care of a more or less efficient regime which would economize on elections, legislatures, and the law courts. That would be a pity and I believe it is the duty of an Indian political scientist to help avert such an event.

ELECTION SYMBOL OF THE SWATANTRA PARTY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Supreme Court, the High Court and the rest of the judiciary in the country, the Union and State Public Service Commissions, the Auditor-General and the Election Commission and its agencies in the States, are all independent authorities and are not subject to the sovereign executive authority in charge of the administration of the country. They can serve their constitutional purpose only if this independence is kept in mind. These several authorities may for certain purposes of day-to-day administration be attached to the Law or Home or Finance Ministries of the Union and the States, but that fact does not reduce them to a position of subordination to those ministries or departments. This independence of certain institutions necessary to carry on the affairs of the country in accordance with justice and high principles within the ambit of parliamentary democracy must be ever kept in mind in spite of the temptations and misunderstandings that may arise now and then.

It was a pity therefore that in a recent parliamentary debate the question of a symbol to be reserved for the national Swatantra Party was sought to be disposed of by the Law Minister, instead of leaving the question to be carefully considered by the Election Commission which would, if necessary, come to government for such new rules or amendments of the law as it may find necessary for the proper discharge of its duties under the law and constitution.

The guidance that has been translated into the present rules for recognising and giving symbols to any political party claiming to be a national party has no application to the case of a new party that has come into existence after the last general elections. Any rule based on the percentage of votes secured by a party at a previous general election cannot be applied

to such a party because it had not been in existence at the last general elections. It would be absurd to apply the percentage rule and exclude all new parties from becoming a national party at any time. It would be equally absurd to declare that as there is no provision in the present rules covering a newly formed party, such a party cannot come into existence or claim a suitable symbol of their choice.

The Swatantra party is in the same position as the Congress party was when it first entered the forum. The character of the party

Gigantism

In the fables of the Nehru family there is a story that Pandit Motilal Nehru was anxious to acquire the first Rolls Royce car advertised in London. Subsequent to the event, hundreds of Maharajahs had their bookings according to golden designs. The myth that Pandit Motilal Nehru had his clothes washed in Paris used to be a popular belief until his illustrious son Jawaharlal in his *Autobiography* revealed it as an exaggeration. Nevertheless, that conception of gigantism and elegance prevailed for years among the elite, even leaders of the Bar in Calcutta envying such claims of fashionable and luxurious living. Instincts are transmissible and spectacularism could be a trait. Why Sri Nehru should be passionately concerned about deriving power from atomic reactors when hydel propositions have not been run to the point of exhaustion, it is difficult to divine; but then he has got his sanction for Rs. 52 crores for the hugest project in Asia which the United Kingdom dare not emulate.

P.J.

and its principles entitle it to be a national party apart from any percentage figure which in the nature of things it is precluded from presenting when it enters the field for the first time. A party that stands in opposition to the Congress party's main planks of socialism and statism, a party that stands for freedom of occupation and for the other fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution as it originally stood when it was adopted in 1950, and is opposed to the expanding system of state regulation in all fields, a party that stands for minimum power for government and maximum freedom for the citizen cannot be denied national status on any ground artificially framed by the ruling party.

It would be impossible for the Election Commission to deny the Swatantra party the same conveniences which have been and will be accorded to the Congress party at national elections. And if the Election Commission finds any *lacuna* in the rules, it is for that authority to take steps to get the *lacuna* properly and justly filled in. Even now there are over a hundred members in the Lok Sabha and the State legislatures who represent a potential of a few million voters under any reasonable estimate. Fundamentally, any party that has come up to oppose the ruling party on its most important principles of governance must be given the recognition and status of a national party so that the issues may be fairly put before the electorate and parliamentary democracy may be helped to take its even course. The White Star on blue background must be given national recognition as the symbol of the Swatantra party and the electorate must be given an equal chance to vote either for permit-and-licence government or for freedom of economic life. The White Star cannot be blacked out by any rules which were framed without anticipating the rise of a new party to challenge it on fundamentals. It is to meet unanticipated contingencies that rule-making powers are provided for in the laws.

THE POST - BHAVNAGAR PICTURE

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The country is now confronted with the Congress image as fashioned at Bhavnagar. Except for a few new, incidental touches, it is just the old one. Following repetition of slogans, the Congress has re-pledged itself to Socialism *via* Nehruism. Before, however, ushering in Socialism with a vengeance, the Congress and its governments will concentrate on bringing about national unity. During the Bhavnagar session itself, the Prime Minister made a move to pacify the Sikhs, though not actually to placate them. Master Tara Singh was released and Sardar Fateh Singh saved and it was hoped that Akali kirpans would be sheathed. But on the question of Punjabi Suba neither the Government nor the Akalis were in a mood to compromise. There are hints of a long and yet more vigorous struggle and while Master Tara Singh may have at the end no Punjabi Suba, Punjab meanwhile will have no peace, let alone unity among its citizens. Nor are the chances for unity in the Congress itself brighter. Even on the simple question of Cabinet expansion in Uttar Pradesh, the party continues to be divided, despite Dr. Sampurnanand's stay, at the capital as the Prime Minister's guest and his talks with Mr. Nehru and Mr. Pant and also despite Mr. C. B. Gupta's plaintive admission that "the Congress would lose heavily in the general elections if Congressmen were not united". Perhaps the position in Andhra Pradesh is no better even in the wake of Mr. Nehru's letter to Mr. Brahmananda Reddi. It is not for us to ask why Mr. Sanjiva Reddy was kept out of the unity efforts in U.P. as well as in Andhra but it is rather queer that the Congress President should have been reduced to a mere ornament within a week of his thundering at Bhavnagar.

There is at the capital much shrugging of shoulders over his prescription of ten-year limit for

office-holding at higher levels. There is perhaps no more ticklish, if also no more intriguing, issue in our politics. It was certainly very bold of Mr. Sanjiva Reddy to have stood for a change from dreary sameness while he would have been more realistic and purposeful if he had not slightly spoiled the effect of his own suggestion or plea by simultaneously thinking in terms of exceptions. It is the theory of indispensability that has wrought more havoc on the political scene than could be readily apprehended, and so long as people do not get rid of, or wriggle themselves out of, the exception-phobia, nothing will materialise. Things will continue the same, for there is hardly anybody in our ranks who does not either fancy that he is in his own way indispensable or love to take advantage of the snag in the argument. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy is not so new to politics (though he is new to Delhi) as not to learn from past experience. He cannot expect to succeed as a crusader for another generation or at least another set of dignitaries, where no less a man than Mr. Nehru himself failed when he decried 'a second term' in unequivocal terms—and failed for the same reason that he had kept himself out of it, though with the best of intentions. It became so easy for those whom he had in view to reject his prescription or decline his invitation by naively suggesting that *all*, himself not excluded, might make room for new ones. Awkward silence ensued and in the end everyone remained where he was, with a strange persistence. History threatens to repeat itself for the Casabiancas that once stood on burning decks, now cling to their cosy places, with the same resoluteness. Unless Mr. Nehru personally sets an example or otherwise means business—there is no escape from self-imposed life-sentences in office.

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh is now an unfettered man. On Friday (the

Pongal Day) he was sixty-five and out of office, not really because he had not desired to continue as Chairman of the University Grants Commission but because the Education Ministry (in consultation with the Law Ministry) made it impossible for him to continue even as a member by resorting to or relying on, too rigid (and according to Mr. Deshmukh too 'wrong-headed') an application of technicalities. His exit is a loss not only to the University Grants Commission but to the world of higher education. It is said that the right time to felicitate one in high office is not when he takes it up but lays it down. And now is the time when a public tribute is due to Mr. Deshmukh for the meritorious services he rendered to the Government and the country as Chairman of the University Grants Commission. He cannot be easily replaced. The place has now fallen to a comparative stranger to the all-India scene, Dr. V. S. Krishna who, as a Vice-Chancellor, had risen equal to his opportunities, notwithstanding the handicap of having functioned against the resplendent background of the Ramalinga Reddy-Radhakrishnan primacy at the Andhra University. Not many know that in the quest for Mr. Deshmukh's successor, the Education Ministry turned to its neighbour, the Ministry of Cultural Relations and Scientific Research and offered it to Mr. Humayun Kabir. At one time Mr. Kabir would have grasped it but he would not even look at it now, under the sway—or suffocation—of higher political ambitions. Perhaps, with a sense of humour, he asked why his immediate colleague, Dr. K. L. Shrimali would not himself take up the U.G.C., with the full knowledge that the suggestion would be as readily turned down. Nobody need make a mistake about it: Ministers cannot afford to cease to be Ministers except when they must. Mr. Deshmukh, however, can afford to be indifferent to office, at his age—and find the fulfilment of a highly cultivated life amidst the Sanskrit classics in his library and the rose buds in his garden.

SIDELIGHTS

(Continued from page 4)

foreign creditors and deficit financing have already reached staggering proportions. The devilishness of deficit financing is not properly comprehended by people in general, or else any government indulging in it would have been resentfully thrown out. Deficit financing means the printing of currency notes to be put into circulation to create artificial purchasing power when the Government incurs spending beyond its resources. When an individual spends beyond his means he runs into bankruptcy and is ruined. In an identical situation a government saves itself from ruin by ruining its subjects. For deficit financing, by putting printed notes into currency without additional goods or services to support them, enhances the price of the goods and reduces the value of money. Reduced money value means that people are robbed of a share of the wealth in their possession as effectively as if a robber had burgled them, and with reduced resources they have to pay more for what they need. It is a double deprivation, and it is just the sort of punishment for the people inexorably inevitable from the Third Plan with its crazy spending programme isolated from accurately calculated resources in corresponding measure.

There is something ludicrous in the attempt of the Congress to promote national integration with the appointment of a committee. It reminds me of the days when Andhra Kesari Prakasam was running the English daily newspaper *Swarajya*. He was a sad man for getting into hot water. Existence in those days was to him a continuous series of crises and reverses. But nothing daunted him. He would never accept defeat. When things went more than normally wrong, he would get jaunty and blithely announce to us "The problem is solved. I have just found the right fellow for us". We knew at once that some wily imposter had wangled

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
BUS PERMITS

Sir,—Before publishing the petition by Sri T. Hussain Khan Saheb, (*Swarajya*, Jan. 7), the correctness of the averments could have been checked up. It is unfortunate that in most respects, the petition is erroneous.

Firstly, the Minister in charge of the private sector road transport wherein come bus permits, is Sri V. Ramiah; Sri R. Venkataraman is the Minister for public sector or nationalised road transport.

Secondly, Madras was the first State to lay down and enforce clear-cut rules for preferences and priorities in the matter of issue of bus permits. They have what is called the 'marking' system, under which marks are allotted for workshop facilities of the applicant, his experience, fleet strength, whether he is of a co-operative society, etc. And the routes have been categorised as short, medium and long, and newcomers in the field are given first priority for short routes, etc. From the point of view of the general public, and also of entrepreneurs, the Madras Government has been working exemplarily in the matter of issue of bus permits in particular, as they have been exemplarily generally in respect of roads and road transport. The private sector road transport industry in Madras State is the envy of the rest of India; and the head of this department of Government is among our best officers, in the matter of efficiency and integrity and rectitude. S. GOVINDASWAMI.

STERLING QUALITIES

Sir,—The publication of the correspondence between Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, Dr. K. L. Shrimali and Dr. Humayun Kabir has brought to the public gaze some of the sterling qualities of Dr. Deshmukh—qualities which are very

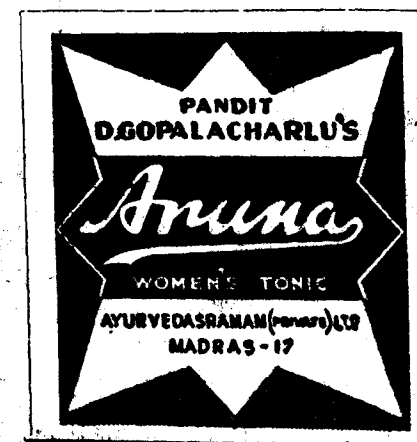
a job out of him with fantastic promises of miraculous achievements to come. And, sure as anything, very soon a stranger would come on the scene with higher pay than any of us old-timers, and after playing havoc for a while with the office finances, disappear suddenly leaving things much worse than when he came. Srimathi Indira Gandhi, the chairman of the national integration committee, deserves kinder treatment than to be dragged into futile enterprises to pull the Congress chestnuts out of the fire. SAKA.

much on the wane today. One is that he has stuck to his post so far, "not attracted away by the more glittering prizes which politics offers". Secondly, he has saved to the public exchequer a substantial sum of Rs. 1,32,000 by voluntarily surrendering his pay and allowances, when other non-officials placed like him were drawing their pay in addition to pension. Thirdly, he has not been very keen to continue as Chairman, even though the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who initially offered him the Chairmanship of the U.G.C. desired that he should serve the full term of six years, and even after that "for as long as you would continue".

One finds it very difficult to get the cross-purposes of this high level correspondence which only indicates that something else is brewing inside the kettle. Will anyone ever wish this sort of thing to happen to any official or non-official, least of all to a personality like Dr. Deshmukh who combines in himself learning, scholarship, erudition, integrity and experience? Bangalore. R. VENKATARAMAN.

ECONOMY DRIVE

Sir,—A building for accommodating a canteen and dining hall for the benefit of the workers of the carriage works, Southern Railway, Perambur, was built at a cost of about a lakh of rupees. Though the building was completed around January '59, the canteen is yet to be opened! When there is tall talk of staff amenities and careful spending of public money by responsible men at the helms of affairs, this sort of blocking up of capital is surely undesirable. One of the main gates is already broken by a patriotic lorry driver! Perhaps no Minister is available to conduct the sacred ceremony of opening it. SIRUS.



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RIDING ON THE TIGER'S BACK

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Mr. Kennedy's address has been broadcast over all the world. It is a great statement attempting to express a desire to make friends and co-exist with the Communist States, but at the same time mixing enough bellicosity in it to prevent friendliness being mistaken for weakness. Let us hope that the new President will succeed in fields where his good and brave predecessor failed, not for want of will or popular support, but by reasons of the follies of the human machinery which every President must inherit in the bureaucracy that operates within democracy.

We would do well to pick and digest the general truths embodied in the great address with which the new U.S. President has begun his term of office. He pledges his administration to a determined "unwillingness to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed". Here is wisdom and energetic resolve in a direction which we would do well to ponder over; for there is much in it to apply in our own case. There is a process which our Congress party has started and is determined to pursue which inevitably means the "undoing of those human rights" which the nation wrote down in clear terms in the Constitution adopted after the withdrawal of the British, individual rights which, to quote President Kennedy again, "come not from the generosity of the State but from the hand of God".

We too, every individual that counts, would be doing well if we resolved "to pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend or oppose any foe" in order to assure the survival of these fundamental rights. Otherwise the end is certain; these God-given rights will wither away until we shall all believe that we have a right only to what is permitted by the State out of its grace. Indeed, the process has already gone so far that most people even now believe that trade and economic life are impossible without ubiquitous State-control—a superstition that has been left behind by the unnatural years of the last war, belied by the past experience of hundreds of years.

Freedom or Regimentation?

To the striking examples of Germany, France, Italy and other members of the European economic community must be added yet another "miracle"—the great leap forward of Japan, whose real national income rose by 18 per cent in 1960, and the Japanese people kept their freedom too.

It is clear that Statism must go. It is for the collective wisdom of the Indian people to decide whether to take the road of progress through freedom or toil along the soulless path of regimentation.

PROF. B. R. SHENOY.

The curse of State-control which takes the deceptive shape of large favours to particular beneficiaries, makes those persons anti-social and selfish beings, worse than any profit-making traders working against competition. The few favoured beneficiaries are protected against rival energy, rival integrity, rival initiative and become the enemies of all the others of their class. They ride on the government tiger and for the time being feel high and mighty. But alas, the whole class to which each of them belongs including himself, will soon "end up inside", to repeat Mr. Kennedy's warning. Mr. Kennedy gives this warning to people relying on Communist support but like all other truths, it has more general application than the particular case. Those industrialists and businessmen who are happy in the enjoyment of the advantage gained from the favours shown to them in a general scheme of regimentation should realise what a hungry beast they are riding on. It will not take long for them to come to a point when they do not ride on top. When the elections are over and if they help to keep the tiger going, they will see how easy it is to slip into the inside of the animal.

It is worth it to resolve to pay any present price, bear any burden and meet any hardship for the sake of helping to preserve liberty for all time, for oneself and for others.

Current Comments

Asked at the recent monthly Press conference about the steps to be taken in pursuance of the Congress resolution on the vacation of the Chinese aggression, Mr. Nehru said, "the Bhavnagar resolution had laid down clearly the opinion of the Congress in regard to incursion and aggression and said that it had to be vacated. That was the Government of India's position also. What steps we should take to that end, where and when, depended on various factors. Government, least of all the Indian Government, do not act in an adventurous way or in an excited way. The main thing is that we should make clear what we stand for. We then seek remedy by all the ways open to us". For emptiness this answer beats all record. It is a clear provocation for future aggression wherever the Chinese think it would be good for them. There is no doubt the former friends of the Prime Minister in China have sized us up and know they may do anything with impunity. The public flogging of the personal assistant to our Ambassador in Peking is a challenge issuing out of this confidence. Our Ambassador is still in Peking and our non-alignment has been re-affirmed. No, there will be no adventure in connection with such incidents or in order to recover big chunks of territory rudely occupied by the Chinese or recorded in their treaties with Burma. All adventurism shall be reserved for operations against our own people, confiscation and collectivisation in the name of socialism and co-operation. These adventurist programmes are easier than any operation to protect national honour or national frontiers.

The Prime Minister is adamant in his tactics of stampeding people into assent whether in the Congress or in Parliament. He brushes aside criticism as if he

were infallible on all themes ranging from the international situation to scientific innovation. He spoke in the language of poetic excitement at Trombay and later during his press conference at New Delhi he claimed to have "made it clear" that India's position on the border dispute was right. He did not disclose how he is going to restore what belongs to India while his confidant Mr. Krishna Menon, in his own discreet diplomatic language, charged China with being "stupid". The attitude is incomprehensible but there is no doubt that the main business of 1961 is going to be the farming out of Congress tickets for the general election on the best terms available. As for the remarks of Opposition parties, he had already said that he would not take any notice of "the pronouncements or the denouncements or the announcements" of the Swatantra Party leader. Gandhiji once wrote: "In a system where only hands are counted and not heads, where votes are only reckoned and not weighed, the intelligentsia cannot be expected to display much enthusiasm".

To despise enlightened opinion and cultivate mob votes by romantic versions about planning and productivity is to foster a tendency amongst people that would prove the very negation of fruitful democracy. Very timidly, President Sanjiva Reddi asked at Bhavnagar whether some form of indirect elections could not be a wise reform but he quickly turned his back against his opinion in order to pay a tribute to the Prime Minister as the supreme guide irrespective of any restriction for tenure of office, compulsory or voluntary. He alone should be the hero in the strife, the rest dumb driven cattle.

The vast amount of official literature produced and put out at New Delhi is amazing. In the in-

fatuation for holding jubilees of events, the Central Advisory Board of Education held a seminar at which a bulky volume containing the proceedings of twenty-five earlier meetings together with records of forgotten speeches was circulated. A glance would show that even specialists would prefer not to read so much of obsolete stuff. The Minister of Education argued round and round the problem of finding funds but the debate ended where it started. Mr. C. Subramaniam presided over the thirty-fifth All-India Educational Conference at Cawnpore and aired his opinion that the situation called for "an endeavour to utilise available resources to the best advantage instead of adopting a complaining attitude regarding scarcity of resources". He gave it out that universities must confine their work within "the limits of the Plan". When the Plan itself is continually announced as being "tentative" the restrictive advice looked odd but *Link* throws light on it in a paragraph beginning with the sentence, "The background to this was, obviously, his feud with the doyen of India's Vice Chancellors, Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar".

Not being in the company of cricket fans, all that we could understand about the Indo-Pakistan Test matches is that contests end in draws; but from the exposition of high authorities and the decision to appoint "a high-power sports committee" it seems that it is a cesspool of intrigues calling for attention. The expression "playing cricket" has come to mean maintaining gentlemanly relations under a code of honour but here is a sentence from a cricketer giving his statement: "..... If ill-will, bitterness and heart-burning that usually result from unsatisfactory umpiring decisions is to be avoided, Test matches between our two countries should be supervised by umpires either from England or Australia". Certainly not from China, considering tension with India and implicit partiality towards Pakistan!

P.J.

January 28, 1961

SWARAJYA

3

THIS PRISON - HOUSE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

And Jacob said, Swear to me this day; and Esau swore unto him and sold his birthright unto Jacob. Genesis 25.

The Plan is no longer a means to an end, but has become an end in itself—a god who must be fed with sacrifices. To appease this blood-thirsty god, the nation is burdened with a Himalayan load of taxation and of debt. Our jute and tea exports held the fort for balancing the usual irreducible imports. But even the export of jute has now fallen. The proposed debt position is one that demands an enormous increase of new exports if we have to pay as we shall have promised. If we do not find the exports, the obligations must eat into our freedom. It is not possible to evade the inexorable natural law that governs such matters.

The Plan was conceived for the sake of prestige and welfare but now, at the altar of this god prestige and welfare are themselves to be sacrificed.

Happiness consists very greatly in the every day freedom that people enjoy. Otherwise the American slaves that were treated humanely and fed and clothed had no reason to ask for freedom. The whole of life in India has been converted by our present rulers into an endless series of applications for one permit or another; and these permits are not like police or municipal licences, given to every one who is entitled to it and pays the fee, but are favours, making the chosen few into monopolists in some field or other at the cost of the freedom of every one else. The few profit by it in an easy way but it is deprivation for many others who are refused the permits.

The notion to which the ruling party still holds on, that some kind of collectivisation will increase our food production and make us self-sufficient is unqualified folly.

There is no scheme for mechanisation which might have been a plausible argument for this expectation. Mere pooling is sure to create negative factors rather than increase production. What is many people's business is nobody's care. If Khrushchov bitterly complained about faked figures in his collective farming reports, what may we not expect in India where falsification of figures is an established art? Plural responsibility is bound to result in failure in agriculture as in other matters.

This permit-licence-administration must be replaced if we want this country of ours which has become a cramped prison-house to be restored to its former condition of freedom, where every one will have fair play and where honest and diligent men have not to cringe before arrogant and ignorant officials or seek the favour of go-betweens for reaching ministers. This permit-licence administration will go only if the voters cast off fear and hypnosis and vote against the Congress at the next elections, to bring into existence a sane and just government which aims at the true welfare of the people and does not run after will-o'-the-wisps.

The people's morality has been almost irretrievably ruined. No one is ashamed of asking for or giving a bribe for one's vote. The Congress is responsible for this fatal disease which like tuberculosis of the lungs has found a permanent lodging in the electorate's mind. Gigantic collection of funds from those who can be intimidated has been started twelve months before election time. The Union Minister of Food has been earmarked for making a success of the collection programme. He is now as much a Minister of Election Funds as of Food, perhaps more; for the latter depends on other people's efforts but the for-

mer entirely depends on his own energy, experience and special talent. His aptitude for it is well known and he takes to it as a kind of *swa-dharma*. The immorality of subscribing to the political funds of the ruling party has now been covered and protected by legislation. *The Indian Liberator* has re-published the figures in one instance with reference to 1957 collections. One capitalist paid twenty lakhs and thirty thousand rupees to the Congress party in that year!

With such gigantic funds to be acquired at the end of one period of office and spent for continuing in office for another term of five years, what chance is there for democracy? The people are so poor that the day's hunger serves as a handle for buying up the soul. It is exactly the case of Esau in the Biblical tale. So may God help us! May be He will and the evil forces of money and power of office may yet be defeated. An inspiration of courage may come about and then all will be different. Men may be entertained and put in vehicles and taken to the booth but voting may be independent and this permit-licence-system may be terminated and freedom of life re-established. God willing, money must be shown its place and the false confidence of the present ruling clique based on money power must be shamed into defeat. The people may yet see the folly of selling their inheritance for a mess of pottage and refuse to do what Esau did who for one meal of bread and a pottage of lentils sold his birthright.

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SIDELIGHTS ::

President Eisenhower retired from office sorely disappointed, and with a sense of failure. This subjective reaction may be traced to the collapse of his disarmament efforts and the insulting and humiliating treatment suffered by him at the hands of Khrushchov. The Russian leader emerged at Paris, and later at the United Nations in New York, as a formidable international figure, violent, ill-mannered and boorish, offensive, belligerent and partly comical, yet commanding attention for his hold on the mightiest concentration of military striking power in the world. War or peace now depends more on Khrushchov than on any other single factor, but being a shrewd man, he may not rush into military adventures that might provoke retaliatory action in so powerful a foe as the United States. His strategy seems to be, for the present, the same as that of the late Dulles, but in reverse: Exasperate the West and push it to the very brink of endurance, but stop short of war, exploiting the tempers roused meanwhile to create an impression of Russian mightiness to exhilarate Soviet citizens and satellites and overawe the rest. The quiet dignity with which President Eisenhower met Khrushchov's taunts and jibes enhanced his prestige, won for him the sympathy of the world, and made him greatly loved and respected everywhere.

Today when he leaves the White House his countrymen do not regard him as one who had proved inadequate for the great office of President. It is realised that he did not come off well in the U-2 affair, that he bungled and mismanaged, and American credit went down in consequence. But his personal qualities are so great that there can never be any question of public discontent over what he did or failed to do. President Eisenhower is undoubtedly the most popular President that

the United States has ever had. His high rectitude, easy accessibility, deep moral purpose, sense of duty, love of peace and undoubted courage have elevated him to the pedestal of a legendary hero. He is greatly beloved for his human qualities. His most charming trait is a complete absence of pose. Everybody knows that in no situation will he impose on the public with a put-on front, a make-believe different from the reality. He retires to private life with lustre undiminished, as a great American, a big man, a gentleman and an exemplar of the decencies of life.

The new President, John Kennedy, is just a name to the nation with no clear knowledge of the man. His victory at the polls has been laid to the power of money and a splendid organisation. With opportunity he has blossomed in a short time into a leader of remarkable capacity. An office like that of the American President, any high office of great power in fact in the modern world, can be managed well only with the aid of able assistants. The gift of choosing assistance properly is a valuable gift contributing most to the success of any vast undertaking. Some very richly endowed men are known to have come to grief when called to high office solely on account of their incapacity to choose their colleagues wisely. An ill-chosen colleague is a dangerous liability hastening the downfall of his leader. Mr. Kennedy has revealed consummate insight in his choice of secretaries and advisers, and already the celebrated repositories of research and learning in the land have been denuded to provide personnel for his administration. It is reported that he has engaged a staff to discover and hunt up talent for the manifold tasks of the Presidential office. This is an excellent augury. It means that the highest quality of talent available in the

whole country will be drawn into service for meeting the complex challenges confronting the United States in the present difficult world situation.

Authority all the world over evades talent as it is not submissive to authoritarian pressure. Rulers surround themselves with yesmen in their distaste for dissent and contradiction, and nations suffer and governments go to the dogs with the consequential enthronement of second-rate men in seats of first-rate importance. Mr. Kennedy has won praise all round with his devoted pursuit of knowledgeable men of competence in preference to time-honoured scions of pampered influential families for discharging the functions of the administration. When talent comes into its own, meritorious achievement is bound to follow. Though a note of excessive caution traceable to inexperience under the weight of a gigantic burden can be seen in the new President, there is also evidence of a powerful potential, in character and leadership, for successfully completing in time what President Eisenhower had left half-done.

The Queen is deservedly one of the most popular world figures today. Her simplicity and graciousness have captivated the imagination of people in many countries. She would have anyhow received in India a magnificent welcome worthy of her. Delhi bureaucracy spoiled everything by stepping in to impede spontaneous popular greeting with its own fatal regimentation touch. The Prime Minister spoiled it still further with derisive comment on the 'fuss' that had been made. Who if not he is responsible as the source and inspiration of the now belatedly condemned fuss till now laboriously organised in honour of the Royal visitors? Having recklessly incurred a huge expenditure, it does not seem to be quite the gracious thing for the P.M. to lament during the Royal visit that there are other and better ways of spending the

... (Continued on page 13)

INDO-BRITISH RELATIONS: THE ROSES AND THE THORNS

By P. KODANDA RAO

The Republic Day celebration on January 26, 1961 is unique in that Queen Elizabeth II of Britain and Head of the Commonwealth will witness it in Delhi by the side of President Rajendra Prasad of India. Her reception in all the places in India which she will visit cannot be more elaborate and enthusiastic if she were the Empress of India. Or, is it because she is not the Empress? The latter explanation is perhaps the truer. Genuine respect and affection have taken the place of formal and unfelt loyalty. Her visit is yet another high watermark in British diplomacy and statesmanship. It sets the seal on the reconciliation between India and Britain and on their friendship and co-operation. The British Empire in India is dead. Long live the Commonwealth.

On this occasion more than on any other the story of the long and chequered connection between Britain and India springs to review. It spread over a period of about three and a half centuries, from the first voyage of the East India Company in 1601 to Indian independence in August 1947. Now that India is free and need not be on the defensive and stress her virtues and Britain's faults, it is possible to take a more dispassionate and non-partisan view of British work in India. Some British historians had suggested that the British Empire in India was an unpremeditated accident and grew almost unconsciously in response to immediate and changing circumstances. This view has been contested by no less an authority than Sir Rustum Masani in his latest book, *Britain in India*, which is conspicuous for its breadth of view and objectivity of interpretation. He said that the East India Company, launched with the blessing of Queen Elizabeth I of Britain in 1601, contained within itself the seeds of the British Empire in the East. In 1688 King Charles II gave the Company full sovereign rights over Bombay, with the right to coin money in England also. Sir Thomas Roe, the British Ambassador at the court of the Moghul Emperor, Akbar, had earlier advised the Company to be content with factories for trade and not build forts for war. But a few years later Sir Josiah Child, Governor of the Company, rejected the advice and embarked on empire-building. In one of his letters, quoted by Sir Rustum, Child

undertook to lay the sure foundation of "English dominion in India for all time to come". When the cost of empire-building cut too deep into profits, the British Government, which took over control of the Company in 1784, restrained its territorial ambitions, but Lord Wellesley openly ignored it and declared that it was his conscientious conviction that no greater blessing could be conferred on Indians than the extension of the British authority, influence and power.

Two mutually incompatible strands ran through British policy in India, represented by factory and fort, trade and conquest, trusteeship and exploitation, and fluctuated between the two in emphasis. Lord Granville said in 1804 that British policy in India had three purposes; the declaration of the British sovereignty in India, the welfare of its people and the interests of Britain. He emphasised the trusteeship aspect. About this time British statesmen in India contemplated the end of British rule when its mission was fulfilled in the self-government of India. Lord Wellesley said that India should be considered as "a sacred trust". Sir Thomas Munroe said: "It ought indubitably be our aim to raise the minds of the Indian people and to take care that, whenever our connection with India

Dictatorship or Democracy?

Say what they will, I cannot believe that as a people we no longer have the energy, the self-reliance and the courage to run our government and to manage our own affairs; that our business leaders as a class are so corrupt that they can no longer be trusted; that in this country (U.S.A.) success no longer represents merit and sacrifice, but unscrupulous adventure or survival under the law of the jungle. But if all this be true and necessitate an all-powerful government to guard and guide us, in the name of commonsense, how long will that government itself remain pure?

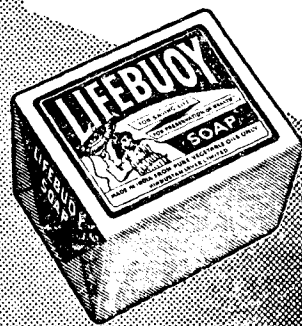
OGDEN L. MILLS.

must cease, it did not appear that the only fruit of our dominion there had been to leave the people more abject and less able to govern themselves than we found them". Lord Hastings, who became Governor-General in 1813, said that it would be "treason to British sentiment to imagine that it could ever be the principle of this Government to perpetuate ignorance in order to secure paltry and dishonest advantages over the blindness of the multitude", and hoped that the time would come soon when Britain, on sound principle, would relinquish her dominion in India and that she could boast that she had used it for the enlightenment of the Indian people. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, was foremost among the British statesmen who wished that the British Empire would end in self-government for India and took active steps to that end. When he was asked about the purpose of some printed books in Marathi with him, he said that it was to educate the natives, and added that it was also the high road back to Europe for the British. Queen Victoria's Proclamation in 1858 marked the zenith of trusteeship when it said with reference to the people of India: "In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward". Lord Morley and Mr. Montagu in their time took steps to advance India towards self-government, which was finally consummated by Lord Attlee in 1947.

The British rulers were not all inspired by the same noble mission. Some of them were bent on exploiting India, humiliating Indians, and bringing them under perpetual subjection to Britain. Wielding unchecked power over their helpless subjects, they were rapacious and tyrannical and were condemned not only by Indians but also by the more decent Britishers. For instance, Lord Clive, who plundered on a colossal scale, was surprised at his own moderation! After the defeat of the Nawab of Murshidabad he said: "Consider the situation in which the victory at Plassey had placed me! A great prince was dependent on my pleasure; an opulent city lay at my mercy. ... I walked through vaults ... filled with gold and jewels. ... I stand astonished at my own moderation". General Dyer, the hero of the Jallianwala massacre, avowed that his purpose was to teach the Indians a lesson and offered to repeat the massacre without compunction. Lord Canning, the Governor-General at the time of the Mutiny, wrote to Queen Victoria that he felt ashamed of his countrymen who, instead of setting a better example, were bent on rabid

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and indiscriminate vindictiveness. And as late as 1942 Sir Winston Churchill, as the Prime Minister of Britain, opposed self-government for India for the reason that he had not become the King's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of his Empire.

Indian leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Sir Phirozeshah Mehta and Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who remembered the chaos in the first half of the nineteenth century from which British rule had rescued India, established law and order and unified her people by efficient administration, by the promotion of modern education and by the use of the English language, were great admirers of British rule; they went so far as to hold that it was the result of divine dispensation for India's good. They were not, however, blind to the evil aspect of that rule. Dadabhai Naoroji characterised it as "un-British" in some respects, and wished that British rule replaced it, as it would be a "blessing to India and a glory to England, a result worthy of the foremost and most humane nation on the face of the earth." Gokhale, another great admirer of British rule at its best, was not oblivious of its worst. He said that it was stunting and dwarfing Indians and perpetuating their status as drawers of water and hewers of wood in their own country, and wished that India were free immediately, if that were possible. He sadly recalled that it was easy in India to create disorder, it was her portion for centuries; he gratefully acknowledged that British rule had restored law and order, the basis for any progress. Even Lokamanya Tilak, who in his early political career, was bitterly opposed to British rule, acknowledged in his later years the good that it had done to India, and went so far as to say that he wanted British people, British institutions, British liberty and empire and proclaimed that no other rulers than the liberty-loving British would have encouraged self-government for India. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who in 1929, insisted that India should attain Swaraj outside the British Commonwealth, has since independence chosen to stay in it and to acknowledge the British sovereign as its head and to give her a place of honour alongside the Indian President on Republic Day! India can afford now to remember Wellesley, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Montagu and Attlee, and forgive, if not forget, Clive, Dyer and Churchill; to remember the roses and overlook the thorns of British rule, and say: the Empire is dead; long live the Commonwealth and welcome to its Head.

January 28, 1961

SWARAJYA

7

THE ECONOMIC SPECTRUM

MENACE OF THE THIRD PLAN

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The Third Plan increased to Rs. 12,000 crores seems to be Government's defence against the large volume of criticism that the draft Plan for Rs. 11,250 crores would add inflation and taxes beyond the capacity of the people. There is however more than this; first, that the Plan, before it is actually tested by the resources available, is excellent propaganda for the elections coming next year; and second, that the Government, far from resisting inflation, is making it the instrument of its planning.

It is the policy of the States to pile up projects so that they can ride on the expectations raised in different areas and parties. The Centre has found a new way to oblige the States by a new distinction made between financial and physical targets based on the experience that in the past, except the States of Madras and Bombay, the others have been able to spend only about half the Plan provision. This implies, first, that the people will be fooled; and second, that an unnecessary inflationary suggestion will be created. The consequences of the increase in Central expenditure are even worse, because the largest part of the Plan, depending on foreign resources, has no prospect of being implemented, in view of the shrinking foreign exchange and aid on the one hand and the inadequacy of transport and coal, on the other.

Inflation as an instrument of planning carries the gravest menace. Some indication of this new policy has become available, first from the refusal of the Government recently to remove sugar control, only on the ground that the consequent fall in prices will touch the producers. Secondly, when it has been established that removal of boundaries for movement of food reduces prices, the zonal system is being continued, that in the M.P. being further reinforced by the condition that

movement of food can take place only on permits.

Inflation has served the extravagance of Government by swelling revenues which are for the greatest part based on incomes and salaries, which have risen as the value of money has fallen. The gain is from the fact that payments which the Government has to make, in the largest part, in salaries and pensions lag behind the rise in prices, giving the Government the margin to spawn new schemes. Any fall in the value of money which reduces taxes and loans in equal if not greater proportion, will not be offset in the expenditure, which is inelastic. To the extent that taxation is progressive, the fall in income will be attritive for that reason. In fact, the whole scheme of planning will collapse, like a house of cards, if there is any serious measure of deflation. The Government therefore has a vested interest in inflation, whatever may be said about holding the price line to soothe the vast majority whose incomes are eroded by inflation.

The Planning Minister justified the increase as satisfying "priorities", without realising how little the priorities are related to results, as disclosed in returns of income in the budgets on the one hand and the removal of deficiencies on the other. The increase of 130 crores on the provision of 1,500 crores already provided for Government industrialisation, marches alongside the fact that no income is shown in the Central budget for an investment of 666.91 crores in the seven years

What are Alexander, Caesar, and Pompey to Diogenes, Heraclitus, and Socrates? For, these contemplated the nature of things, and the material therein, with minds as lofty as their pursuits. As to the others, of how few things they were tyrants! Of how many slaves!

MARCUS AURELIUS.

preceding 1959-60 and in the budgets of the States only an income of 40 lakhs is shown for an investment of 88.52 crores. In addition, the debt services of the Centre have increased by 20 crores, suggesting that an investment of 500 crores does not even pay the moderate interest of 4 per cent and less. On Railways, for which the Third Plan provides 1,220 crores, which the Minister considers inadequate, the investment of 733.74 crores for the seven years preceding 1959-60 was able to show only a loss of 32 lakhs. On river valley projects and irrigation, an investment of 848 crores in seven years could increase the revenue only by 4.39 crores, less than 1/2 per cent. On agriculture on which the provision, inclusive of community projects, is of 1,025 crores, which every one considers inadequate, the simple fact is missed that for all the expenditure made, the production actually decreased for four years following 1953, till the monsoons took a hand to increase the production.

All the priorities in the Plan are misconceived because they miss the simple fact that the economy carries unemployment calculated by Prof. Mahalanobis to add up to 45 millions, who live on the labour of about twice as many who are employed. Even of those employed, the Second Agriculture Labour Inquiry Committee's report discloses, the proportion of landless agricultural labourers has increased from 50 in 1950-51 to 57 in 1956-57, that the jobless days have increased from 90 to 128, and that the wage rate has fallen from 109 nP. to 96 nP. for men, from 68 nP. to 59 nP. for women and from 70 nP. to 53 nP. for children, the percentage of whose employment has increased. Not merely on ethical but on economic grounds, the Third Plan should be based on the Second Agricultural Labour Inquiry Committee's report, because unless the submerged third of the population can work and earn, everything else will mean a farce and fraud to those who pause to think of facts and figures.

An Epic Episode



Bata

LIONEL FIELDEN'S BOOK

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Lionel Fielden, who spent five years in India and built the A.I.R. from scratch, wrote to me this last Christmas day a characteristically sweet letter from his present quiet Italian home and sent along with it a copy of his book, *The Natural Bent*.

I immediately began reading the book from somewhere in the middle to near the end and again from the beginning to the end. I began marking passages but soon I had to stop marking because it was so much packed, sardine-box-wise, with wit and wisdom and Shakespearian sadness, that marking could not keep pace with it.

It is an extraordinarily frank and gripping story of real life covering a wide range of experience in peace and war and rehabilitation. The passages below will show how readable the book is. I consider it one of the best books produced in this century. It is the life history of a sensitive soul. Its beautiful modern English prose holds words and matter as closely integrated as seeds and packing in a pomegranate fruit. It has the depth and humour of eighteenth century English fiction, although it is a narrative of actual life.

History shows clearly that education by itself never produced outstanding men.

The silly man had no sense of voice production and thought that shouting meant strength.

Almost over-night I changed. My cowardice fell away like the albatross. From that moment, began in me a pathological hatred of all Little Men in Authority.

I am often surprised by the apparent desire of many human beings to have authority over others.

I was a complete fool at History. Those biased national accounts of events have never held my attention.

Nothing succeeds better than blowing your own trumpet.

* *THE NATURAL BENT* by Lionel Fielden: Audre Deretsch, 12-14 Cur-lis-le Street, Soho Square, London-W. 25 sh.

I was at a stage of life when all rebellion seems glamorous.

The danger in all mass entertainment is that learning will be cast into the mire and trodden down under the heels of a swinish multitude! (Quoting Burke)

All causes seem good when they are new and untried. And all in the end except individual creation are spoiled by human mediocrity.

No organization should ever be run by more than a dozen people at most. Proliferate your staff and you are done for. (Quoting from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*).

Plays in broadcasting—I cannot take. These disembodied voices make me physically sick. (Quoting Aldous Huxley)

We made the mistake of thinking of radio as a new religion, when it was merely a new channel for the same water.

The B.B.C. was growing rapidly and, as in all cases of growth, became less flexible in the process.

This was an almighty mistake; domination by the mediocre had begun.

Put the administrator above the creator and you make a hell.

The mad nonsense started by socialists, their delusion about the degradation of domestic drudgery is a fake and a sham.

No country in the world has equalled England in poetry and although Englishmen may often laugh it off, there is a deep poetical strain in the English character.

Human beings are plodding stupidly towards the impossible moment, when every Tom, Dick and Harry is healthy, wealthy and wise, separated by propaganda into warring nations. Why do I have anything to do with broadcasting?

That is why I would rather die than submit to Communism or Socialism or any other ism which seeks in a dotty dream of non-existent equality to have a merry ghastly get-together of all. Human beings are only tolerable as individuals.

"Every village must have the radio" says the Duce. So a village set has been evolved by competition among the manufacturers. The result is much better than the German State-made "peoples' set".

The Controllers appointed by Reith were men who had never distinguished themselves in the pro-

gramme field; their ignorance was an accepted joke.

The temptation to exchange argumentative Britons for admiring submissive Indians was great.

I believe profoundly that if you ask the Almighty to run this business and take you through all the troubles and perplexities and irritations, and believe as you ask, then you'll quite likely have something otherwise impossible. (From a letter from Mr. J. Reith to Lionel Fielden).

We very seldom have the courage to do what we want.

Whether we are sociological or political or scientific or artistic or agricultural, we have to take up the pattern of human life, of progress or regress, discovery and research at the point where it exists on the loom when we sit down to it. We can alter the pattern only slowly; the carpet goes on growing much the same even through revolutions. We cannot change what is already done.

Few people, even today, realize to what monstrous lengths our huge advertisement concerns can go in their struggle against truth.

I still rage against advertising and wonder why it is allowed, tax-free, to stain men's minds and the countryside with its vulgar lies.

To dazzle people with unnecessary luxuries in the name of art or entertainment is harmful.

Don't let anyone make this mistake of thinking that Attlee or Mountbatten or England made a great and noble gesture of renunciation. We got out of India because we ruled it so ineffectively that we were forced out and also of course because we had neither the troops nor the money after the 1939 war to hold it by force.

By 1937 I had become, as Indian officials were apt to do, an intolerant little dictator. Although I got some doubtless salutary checks from above, I was a king of my growing dangle-hill. I took greater pleasure in flattery and less in contradiction. I began to like Yes-men.

Pioneering is always fun, and seems worthwhile. Organizations once formed are inevitably weary and the motive of action is lost.

Confidence breeds power, the want of it breeds impotence. (Quoting from Samuel Butler).

Nobody is so bellicose as the gentleman behind the comfortable table and distant desk.

Jinnah had presented the British Government with the perfect instrument of Divide and Rule.

Woolton was never criticised. In his memoirs he says this was due to the fact that he had lunch at the Ritz with Lord Kemsley. As far as I know it was due to the fact that the Ministry of Food paid the press some £ 10,000 a week for food advertisements and no paper would risk this lovely advertising revenue by criticism.

Our happiness lies in our everyday freedom more than our politicians seem to realize. "Ah, but you see we believe that to govern perfectly, it is necessary to avoid governing too much"! (Cheng in *Lost Horizon*). These words must be printed in large type and hung up in the House

of Commons for all the members to read and re-read.

The Public Relations Officer is everybody's fool. He collects dirt from above and execration at the vile filtered mixture from below.

I was a pacifist escaping from pacifism in Khaki. The struggle to stick to pacifist beliefs is a much harder struggle than the donning of Khaki and the acceptance of orders. The Commission appeared more intent on hanging people than on making a peaceful world.

I extracted the various permits like so many teeth. After many interviews and the filling in of countless forms, the doors of the English prison were open.

Once when I asked him how at his age he could be so active, he replied: No tea, no coffee, no alcohol, no tobacco.

But from the moment that money was inherited, it turned into an anxiety.

The Pakistanis could be admired but not loved; the Indians could be loved but not admired. Perhaps my thoughts were conditioned by ill-health.

But one is always tempted to offend those whom one loves, the others matter so much less.

Governments today are driven to equate a cut-throat national prosperity with human happiness.

No half century in history can show a more hideous display of massacre, torture, regimentation, stupidity and confusion than the first half of the twentieth century.

There are about a few passages here and there in this book devoted to homo-sexuality. I found fault with Lionel Fielden for introducing this unsavoury and irrelevant stuff in an otherwise splendidly instructive book. He answers in a letter which it is good to reproduce:

"Very many thanks for your second letter about the book. I am so very glad that you are in love with my grandmother!! Believe me, if you had known her, you would have been! If ever I come to India again I will bring you her photographs; you will see what a lovely creature she was. And so serene! Nothing worried her. She was a darling.

I had to advertise my homosexuality for two very valid reasons. One is that the laws against it in England are barbaric, and lead only to black-

mail, and they must be altered; the other is that my life would have been completely different if I had married. It was my lonely state which set me off on my travels. I don't like autobiographers who keep their sex and money secret, because those things do very much influence life.

I value your letters, of course, more than any I had had; but it is remarkable that I have had some 500 letters from unknown readers saying that they find the book an encouragement and a help and an entertainment. So I must thank my stars, mustn't I, if I have managed to please 500".

MEN AND MATTERS

Mr. K. V. Rajagopalan who retired sometime ago after many years' distinguished service in the Government of India's Legal Department and under the Madras Government as Secretary to Government, Law Department, has collected in this little volume his occasional essays written in moments of leisure during a busy official career. The first part is made up of reviews and studies, some published, others written for his own satisfaction as a literary discipline. Mr. Rajagopalan had a brilliant academic career; his speciality was mathematics but he has retained his keen interest in literature and these notices represent his authentic reactions to the books that attracted him.

The next section consists of constitutional and legal essays. As an expert legal draftsman and as one who did valuable work as Secretary to the Hindu Land Committee he speaks with authority on the subjects he discusses and the student of constitutional questions will find many valuable insights here.

The last section embodies his reminiscences of school and college life and his years in the Madras Secretariat. They are light and informal in tone, but bear the impress of his personality, his zest, his critical acumen and his pawky humour which occasionally sharpens into satirical outspokenness. Above all, it brings out abundantly his capacity for warm friendship and for a divination of real worth. The two papers on Mr. K. Santhanam and on the late Sir B. Narsing Rao are particularly noteworthy.

N. RAGHUNATHAN.

IN AND OUT OF THE LAW: By K. V. Rajagopalan (P. Varadachary & Co., 8, Linghi Chetti St., Madras-1).

"ALPHA OF THE PLOUGH"

By SRIVATSA

Love of reading is sometimes induced by an author who, in a rigorous and searching classification, would not be admitted to the first order of writers, which contains the Shakespeares, the Miltons and the Coethes. This author may not be sublime or grand, he may not bulk largely in histories and manuals of literature. Nevertheless, his influence may be quite considerable through the very nature of his merits. In the modern idiom he is often vulgarised into a "populariser". While he is more than that, it is his distinction that he does introduce many to the delights of reading and literature.

A. G. Gardiner was widely read in India some fifteen to twenty years ago. It is doubtful whether he is today. The loss is undoubtedly that of today. It is not that he has been superseded. This fate is not likely to befall him. But his temper, his tone, does not seem to appeal much to a generation caught in a turmoil the beginning of which he himself lived to see. As a well-known editor in Fleet Street, the wars weighed heavily on his pen, as they were bound to. But as "Alpha of the Plough", the pseudonym under which he wrote so many delightful essays, he lived in fear and anxiety, but not of it. Most of these articles demonstrate dissociation from current passions to a degree which, though not that of Jane Austen who wrote in the Napoleonic era without a word of war, is remarkable. "Alpha of the Plough" might, for all that his essays tell us, have lived in the heyday of the Victorian peace, and not that of the Georgian turmoil. I stress this point, for it is this that is the clue not only to his general air of delectableness but also to the fact that he has guided many to the delights of English literature. Many a middle-aged man in India today should be thankful that some twenty years ago he came across "Pebbles of The Shore". That book, in its desultory, cursory fashion, yet showed the way to the infinite riches of Shakespeare's tongue.

It was the editor, the leader-writer in Gardiner that led him to write the sketches of the pillars of society, of certain men of importance. The little politics of a bygone age are not very interesting today, and when Gardiner goes into ecstasies over Sir William Harcourt or his son, Mr. Lewis Harcourt, the gain to humanity is little. These paeans of praise were a pious duty to the leaders of his political party, the

Liberals. Even when he deals with the Asquiths and the Lloyd Georges, those who swayed nations, his touch is uncertain. At the most, these essays could have only the value of contemporary opinion, not always unprejudiced. The Indian reader in 1960 may not find his account here.

It is different when Gardiner deals with men of letters and such other more valuable personalities. The root of the matter in him is sound, it is literary, it is observant, and it is not acrid or indignant. For what might be called sheer bravura of affection, the essay on Chesterton is not likely to be surpassed in its compass. It was written before certain zealots of Chesterton's new faith got hold of him and attempted to use his reputation as a stick with which to beat their own opponents. Here, in Gardiner's essay, is the lovable man, the delightful and bountiful author. The last paragraph with which the sketch draws to a ringing conclusion deserves to be included in every modern anthology. With Hilaire Belloc, Gardiner's sympathies were more "imperfect". There was certainly a certain hardness, a rigidity in that omniscient writer that repelled many. But Gardiner's love of letters was stronger than his other sentiments, and if Belloc's perpetual irony repelled him, he was more than attracted to his transcendent literary gifts. Love of literature naturally led Gardiner to love of cricket, for the spirit underlying both forms of human endeavour is the same. A whole library has been written about this game, and yet it is doubtful whether there has been anything done better than his essay on Prince Ranjit-

Deficit Financing Means Inflation

Most electioneering promises, if implemented, involve increased government spending. More government spending necessitates higher revenues which must be obtained from the people. The administration will have to raise the taxes or incur budget deficits. Deficit financing means inflation.—DR. SENHOLZ, Professor of Economics, Pennsylvania.

singhi. Those few pages deserve to be regarded as the testament of cricket in India.

Gardiner was a biographer in miniature of his epoch. But he wrote for later ages in his essays. Their casualness, seeming lack of art, disguises their art. For, like Montaigne of old, he talks on paper. Like the Great Cham, on whom he wrote a loving essay, he loved to have his talk out, but in print. He showered his genius on what appeared to be trifles, and they shone like flowers. There is no profound philosophy in these books, but sound, humane commonsense. If, at times, he preaches, it is with a twinkling eye and a quizzical mouth, as if aware of the absurdity of a mere human laying down the law. He might be called a latter-day Lamb without, it is true, that weightiness which Elia could command in the midst of his apparent levity.

This is valuable enough, for the author who puts his reader at his ease and talks to him familiarly, is rare. But those who were fortunate enough to have been introduced to Gardiner at an impressionable age must be grateful to him for his abiding love of poetry, of all literature. This gleams through all his pages like a beacon light. The poets obviously mean everything to him, and his own speech is theirs. There are occasions when he looks at the world and its doings purely as a bookman. Dr. Johnson is known to everybody, but the familiar spirit of the Boston breakfast table, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, is caviare to the multitude. But he cannot be ignored without loss to spirit and humour. Many Indian readers must have been introduced to this delightful warbler through Gardiner, who plainly delighted in him. When Gardiner loved an author, he could communicate his enthusiasm to his own readers. This is his principal gift to those who are sundered from him by distance and time. I sometimes think that it is Gardiner who should be prescribed for study in our colleges as the best possible introduction to English literature. There is in him no pedantry, no acridity, no violence. There is a gentle, but discerning and humorous outlook on silly man and his doings. His books used to be published in the "Wayfarer's Library" of Dent and Co. It is satisfactory they have appeared again. One of the earlier volumes contains as a frontispiece a sketch of a man, walking along, pipe in mouth, with a book in his hand. That is the epitome of all Gardiner's literary virtues, geniality and ease. These attributes are far from common in the angry and embittered literature of today.

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AN ILL WIND IN CONGRESS CAMP

Old Congressmen, grown hoary in the practice of their faith and accustomed to regard the annual session as a kind of pilgrimage where sins are cleansed and doubts stilled, had a shock in store for them this year. For, through the massed ranks of worshippers confidently awaiting the usual soporific sermon, an iconoclastic wind had blown, fanned and directed by no less a person than the high-priest himself. "There are many among us," said the President, "who having once got into power stick on to it.... If people who had been in the administration for ten years voluntarily relinquished office and made available their experience to the organization, there would be an equitable distribution of talent between the Government and the organisation".

Truly this is self-criticism with a vengeance; and it opens up fascinating vistas of speculation. What if the rank and file, not to speak of younger leaders, take the hint and insist upon the advice being carried out? Treasury benches in all the capitals would undergo a drastic face-lift. Gone would be the days when suffering septuagenarians wheezed out their asthmatic answers to the gentlemen of the opposition. Instead verve and vigour would radiate from the seats of power.

The Katjus, the Pants, the Roys, the Rams and the Sinhas, precariously perched on the brink of an ever-receding retirement, would find themselves gently but firmly pushed into the pasture where now only Dr. Sampurnanand browses in solitary splendour. True, the Chalihas, the Chavans, the Jattis, the Kairons, and the Sukkadias would probably slip through the dragnet for the time being, but one must not ask for everything at once.

Secretariats slumbering in the shade of senility would undergo a drastic shake-up as the U.P. Secretariat is already reported to have done. Almost certainly, the pace of governmental activity would accelerate and schemes, once taken up, would be seen through to an expeditious end. The country, long accustomed to exhortations, sermons and homilies, would see some purposeful action at last.

The angry young men of the opposition, with the visual proof of the possibility of peaceful change before them, would moderate the virulence of their attack and settle down to more constructive criticism. The revolution on which so many of them now pin their hopes would be postponed *sine die*. After all, it is the dammed-up

stream that produces the most destructive floods; remove the log jam, establish the flow again and you will probably escape a major catastrophe.

Concurrently with the speed-up in governmental activity, a rise in the tempo of the social life of the capital could be expected. Imperial Delhi might yet see a rebirth of its splendours in the capital of Republican India. The ancient city that has seen so much and forgotten so little, and now lies subdued under the dead weight of vetoes and prohibition, might witness a flowering of style, culture and good living

such as would make the eyes of foreign emissaries pop in wonder. Where now only incense burns and candles, we may yet live to see some fireworks.

It comes as a letdown after this daydreaming to realise that there is about as much likelihood of all this coming to pass as there is of Col. Mobutu becoming a convert to the doctrine of non-violence. The old men in the seats of power are firm and unanimous in the resolve not to heed any but the ultimate summons. High priests may come and go—in fact, there is a new one used up every year—they, the indestructible old men, have every intention, God and the electorate willing, of going on for ever.

A. K. SEN.



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SIDELIGHTS

(Continued from page 4)

money! As it is, we have not only spent the money but defeated its purpose by a stroke of careless garrulity doing nobody any good.

When will the upholders of the Socialist pattern learn to outgrow the snobbery of receiving great dignitaries with pomp, pageantry and wasteful extravagance as though these alone indicate cordiality of welcome? Honour itself is vulgarised in these caricatures equating it with show, fireworks and squandering of money in utterly destructive ways.

Congress bosses in the States responsible and eager for the collection of party funds to be spent lavishly at the general elections in the name of the party as distinguished from the individual candidates in order to evade the provisions of Dr. Ambedkar's Act, are not likely to allow municipal bodies to open theatres for cinema shows. That would take one breed of milch cow away from their hold. The talk of socialisation will be kept up but nothing will be done to reduce the opportunities for favoured businessmen making money in which the party will share with the help of the powers enjoyed as holders of office during the elections. The Sivaganga chairman's request that his municipal council should be permitted to build a theatre was turned down. Why should a municipal body be under obligation to get the Government's approval for this? Centralization is the curse of present day policies.

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CAPITAL COMMENTS

OLD PICTURE IN A NEW SETTING

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: It is the Elizabethan week in Delhi—a week of Royal radiance under Republican skies, nevertheless a week of parties and parades, and of pomp and pageantry, within a Socialist setting. Such a time as this when old ties and new tastes are being reconciled in one stupendous effort not to do anything niggardly and not to seem to have gone the extreme or extravagant length, is indeed a testing time. And Delhi is standing the test as best it could, to show the way to the rest of the country. At this hour memories crowd in, with a peculiar flavour of their own.

British Royal visits to India began in the Victorian reign; the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII) came here in

1875. Later, in 1911 the King and Queen of England (King George V and Queen Mary) came to India. They had been to India earlier in 1905 as the Prince and Princess of Wales. The second visit was "a matter of high state" as they came for the Coronation Durbar at Delhi, to which the Capital was transferred from Calcutta. They came by the *Medina*, welcomed all the way—at Gibraltar, Suez, Perin, Aden and Bombay—while "the Union Jack seemed to make a girdle of colour about the earth".

It was on December 7 (1911) that Their Majesties made a state entry into "the ancient Moghul capital". The city was then one of camps sprung up almost in a night, covering 25 square miles.

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On the 12th it presented "a scene in which the long-descended pageantries of both East and West were mingled". Here is a vivid description from the pen of Hector Bolitho:

On the day of the crowning, the Queen wore her coronation dress of gold and green and her purple and ermine mantle; the King was in a uniform heavy with gold. There was the thunder of artillery, and emeralds and diamonds flashed in the sunlight.

The King and Queen carried with them, as they returned home, "a new conception of the Imperial role and of the importance of elaborate display and pageantry in impressing the Oriental mind" so much so that, when their eldest son, Edward,

the Prince of Wales, was to visit India ten years later, the King lectured to him sternly about the way in which he was to conduct himself, without relying on the technique which he was supposed to have evolved in carrying out his Commonwealth missions.

"You must not forget" (said the father to the son) "that India is entirely different from Canada, New Zealand, or Australia. What went down well with the white people in those three dominions will not go down at all in India. You are to do exactly as *they* tell you; *they* know best" (meaning thereby the men on the spot).

It was another story that the Prince had to pass through streets with innumerable placards making it plain that there was, in the

conditions of the day, "no welcome to the Prince".

It is in an entirely different setting that Queen Elizabeth II, with her consort, H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, arrived in India or came straight to Delhi by air, on the morning of Saturday (January 21, 1961), quite long after India ceased to be "the brightest diadem in the British crown" but while India yet remained within the Commonwealth of which Britain is still the head. There was no question any longer of "the Viceregal ritual, stiff as cloth of gold", but the 'Moghuls' were still there, though in more homely garments and benefit of the old splendour! And one could wonder, looking at the multitude and its frenzy, whether "the Oriental mind", with its bias or weakness for "the outward trappings and the visible emblems of royalty", has altogether ceased to function. Whether it was a certain sentiment for the British throne or a peculiar fascination for a popular queen, or mere traditional hospitality to an august visitor, the people in Delhi and round about, even under the restraining influence of Republican leadership, offered to Queen Elizabeth a tumultuous welcome that will perhaps remain ever green in her memory.

It is now assumed that there will not be another Congress session before the next general elections for which alone Congressmen have necessarily to reserve all their energies. The top-ranking ones among them are said to be busy visualising their own individual future in the setting-to-be. Some of them are credited with having very clear ideas—Mr. Dhebar, for instance. He will get back to Gujarat which has now consumed his Saurashtra and again function as Chief Minister in an enlarged domain. Mr. Dhebar's successor to the Congress gadi, Mr. Sanjiva Reddi, will not lag behind. He also, they say, very much likes to locate himself in a scheme of things where he can have the last word. It is hardly surprising that

January 28, 1961

SWARAJYA

his own Andhra, having got tired of Delhi and his new 'assignment'. Even if the Centre can provide for him and indeed draw him into the Cabinet, he would rather love to play the nabob in his own 'Dominions'. In order to fight his way back, he is likely to bid goodbye to the capital before his term expires.

This is quite plausible within the terms of the new thinking in Congress circles, with the premium frantically put on an electoral victory. Some are of the opinion that Mr. Nehru himself should lay down his office a few months earlier and take up the Presidentship to ensure success for the Congress in the general elections. Others hold that Dr. Rajendra Prasad should exchange one Presidentship for the other, for the sake of the Congress—and its survival as a recruiting agency to office-holders. All this, however, seems nearer an idle fancy.

Mr. Nehru is, or feels he is, so tied up with global problems as not to be able to think of ceasing to be a Prime Minister even temporarily, though the course recommended for his adoption may mean untold strength to the Congress in its hour of trial. As for Dr. Rajendra Prasad, it is freely said that, for one thing, he is still very much office-minded and for another, he has ceased to be really Congress-minded.

There seems to be thus no chance of the Congress being led to the polls by anyone at the very top whose name and prestige could pull the Congress out of the present ruts. Nothing was more significant at the latest Press conference held by the Prime Minister than his utter reluctance to be drawn into any discussion on the Congress President's prescription of a limit to tenure in office. He has his own ideas—as much as others have theirs.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR MUSLIMS AND SWATANTRA PARTY

Sir,—The leaders hold on to their leadership as a vested interest, as our present Congress leaders are doing. There are some, even in this year of jet planes and atom bombs, who prohibit their followers from going to secular schools and learning Tamil or English! They should learn only Arabic! It is by shutting out the culture and civilization of the outer world that they maintain their hold upon their 'flock'.

Don't be surprised at this example! It happened just last month at Tenkasi. The local Muslim leaders there called a meeting of their devout followers and proposed that it is un-Islamic to allow women to go to cinemas. The practice should be forbidden and anyone found violating the prohibition should be excommunicated and punished in other ways. The resolution was passed and enforced for sometime, till another local man of influence who does not pretend to be a leader intervened to set things right again. He did not argue. He merely proposed that men too should not be allowed to go to cinemas, as it will be equally un-Islamic. The absurdity was seen, and the previous resolution was cancelled. All praise to the courageous young man!

This kind of exclusiveness is ruining many communities but I shall speak

here only for Muslims. One does not cease to be a Muslim by shedding a local garb. What about sending girls to school, and treating them as other Indian women are treated, to light, to society, to learning, to an active participation in public and social life? Many Muslims agree with me that this is long overdue. But they are in the grip of customs and the local leaders who trade upon them, and they dare not break this old bond.

I proposed to the Muslims at a meeting at Tirunelveli to join the Swatantra party. The principles of individual initiative, true democracy, *dharma*, and holding wealth as a trust, are essentially Islamic, as indeed they are the essence of any other religion. Reading a report of this in the press, a meeting of the Muslim League, I heard, was held at Kadayannallur and the leaders asked the Muslims to be only in the Muslim League.

I am a member of many local institutions. It has not prevented me from participating in a political party. So can all other Muslims and they should. It is their duty to take part in the political and economic affairs of the land. They cannot afford to be exclusive. It will mean slow extinction.

S. (SHENCOTTAR) HAMEED

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CAESAR'S WIFE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A story is going round about Congress Party collections. Apart from big contributions, what may be called relatively small scale collections at one hundred rupees a bus permit work's out to about five lakhs of rupees. But a more-loyal-than-the-king agent entrusted with this levy-collection scheme began collecting at rupees thousand a permit! It was not realised at once but very soon seen by those above this agent that it would take the collections to a total of fifty lakhs for the party chest from this single section of contributions in Madras State alone! This, at first, frightened those who were organising it and a reference was made to the boss who promised to look into this mistake and subsequently confirmed the thousand rupee arrangement.

This is an instance of how party work is going on. Of course, this is all report. But report makes reputation and public standards and Caesar's wife should be above suspicion. Should this deterioration of public life not be stemmed? And how can this be done except by a resolute one-pointed determination to oust this party from office? The meaning of democracy takes some time and trouble and experience to be realised by a people who have lived long under a different system of governance. Without the actual experience of a change of regime after a general election, democracy is apt to be superimposed by ideas long associated with

authority and governance in this country. Easily, such a people fall into the notion of a hereditary or family sovereignty and look upon rule and regime as unchangeable. To make a people who have lived under entirely different conditions for centuries wherein authority had been always associated with dynastic notions and with physical power at the command of the rulers, to realise that authority in democracy is only exercised for a period and is changeable at the will of the people requires actual demonstration and perhaps more than one demonstration. That the right to continue in charge of the administration follows from the free choice of the people and not from power acquired during a period of office and that the nature of authority under democracy is transitory and not permanent are truths yet to be realised by the people of India. By force of habit the people are apt to revert to hereditary or feudal ideas and to make gods of those who exercise authority and who in fact depend on votes. A superstitious fear is associated with any attempt to oust present authority.

How shall we teach men and women in India to understand the true meaning of democracy except by changing authority during a general election? How shall we get those who have been intoxicated and misled by long enjoyed power to see the transient nature of their authority and realise that the source of that au-

thority is not power and influence to be acquired during one period of office but the will of the people and their judgment on performance? For a realisation of these truths, academic explanation is not adequate. What is wanted is actual experience.

It may be asked, must we vote against the Congress simply to make people realise that it is possible under democracy to change rulers. Had performance been satisfactory, perhaps not. But there is a great deal else, and much sound reason, why it is good that the Congress should be displaced at the next general election. Illusion at both ends will continue with increased persistence, and the nature of democracy will continue unrealised if this does not take place. This is a reason, which is supported by a number of other considerations and grounds for a change of regime, not the least of which are the evils of a corrupt administration together with a regimented economy to which the present ruling party has committed itself. The bare-faced collection of party funds using the power that has fallen into the party's hands under a system of regimented economy in order to continue in office is not an excusable misbehaviour. What can be more immoral than these extortions to be used to resist and defeat those who seek to release the victims and thereby to keep the tyranny going for another long and emasculating period?

Current Comments

The January 26 celebrations in the city brought out very patently the exploitation programme of the Congress Party. Processions of bullock carts with impressed 'peasants' on it and decorated and illuminated with tube lights and cycle volunteers holding big tricolour flags marked the evening of Republic Day celebrations in the city. The same must have been done in other places. There is plenty of money to spend on such stunts and vote-catching nets for "educating" the illiterate. But what is most objectionable is that the national occasion was used for party purposes with the very special trick of confusing the national flag with the party emblem. The flags were all or mostly plain tricolour without any chakra in it so that the greatest common feature of the national and party symbols was utilised to make people believe that the 26th January celebrations were just a Congress party triumphal festival. It is time the minds of just and democratic statesmen dwell on this important ambiguity and steps taken to remove it. Not only is State-power used to collect funds for the party chest, but the very symbols of national life are exploited to confuse and deceive.

Just before Queen Elizabeth's arrival the Prime Minister was asked at a Press conference if preparations of welcome were not on an extravagant scale, but even if it is slightly extravagant the people of India would not grudge it. Once the term "loyalty" is drained of its content of political allegiance, warm friendship and consistent loyalty in human relations are the same. And the people of India are so well disposed that they would not stand for a niggardly reception. Nor should we imagine that in material calculation all the money spent is devoted to tinsel demonstrations.

For instance, new structures for accommodation are added in different places for the Royal party; roads that had lain neglected and for long pitted with manholes have been repaired. The welcome tendered is genuine and incidental improvements will serve as permanent assets. The roads through which august visitors pass are repeatedly developed into better shape so that it would be perfectly equitable if all the adjacent edifices are put to a surtax for unearned enhancement of value.

The Secretary-General of the UNO has asked India to send a battalion of Indian combatants to the Congo for assistance in operations to enforce UN directives. If in last September the Secretary-General had made the requisition, most of the slashing criticisms emanating from India would have been in muffled tones. India on the other hand had sent medical units, signalling staff, and other ancillary aid, but no combatant contribution. There cannot be the slightest notion about sending fighting forces. The reason advanced is that affairs in the Congo have gone at variance with India's policy and directives. Meanwhile, soldiers from other countries like Morocco, UAR, and even Ghana are pulling out. Apart from India's main policy-objections, the fact is that we never were enthusiastic about foreign expeditions for Indian soldiers, and if in two wars they were shipped, it was against our protests. During the Korean war when we belonged to the company of 16 nations that had declared war the Prime Minister made it plain that the Indian army was meant for the purpose of defending India and therefore sent two medical units in token of alignment against the aggressor. Moreover we require troops

to man the line drawn by foreign occupation-troops whose expulsion is our first responsibility. By the criterion of weapons that range today from nuclear warheads to Ishpore rifles, the difference is so steep that we are virtually an unarmed nation.

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh on vacating office as Chairman of the University Grants Commission has announced that he is not putting up any more cases of alleged nepotism or corruption. A test-case he had submitted pertained to the appointment of a Cabinet Minister's juvenile kinsman who before the completion of 30 years was given a job by a firm on a fabulous salary unattainable without official prop. The issue was passed on to the former Chief Justice S. R. Das who apparently gave the verdict on his own account to the effect that the complaint lacked substance. There were many like instances, it was explained, where young men started on fabulous salaries. If a charge of bigamy is triable, it would hardly be a valid defence to say that the names of other bigamists could be cited. Delhi reports say that two Cabinet Ministers were dead set against Mr. Deshmukh's indictment in his Madras speech because they construed his position as Chairman subject to the Government Servants' Conduct Rules. When Mr. S. R. Das was appointed Chancellor of Shantiniketan, Rector Rajendra Prasad had raised the question whether selection was not his individual prerogative but it is an open secret that the Attorney-General held that he was bound by the advice of the Union Cabinet in all matters from A to Z. In the light of that advice, Mr. Das, too, comes under official discipline.

The fact is that there are a number of offices prescribed in the Constitution as being above executive control, let alone pressures. Functionaries like the Auditor-General, the Election Commissioner, members of the judiciary, are allotted indepen-

dent status in the Constitution. As for autonomous corporations, their position is so fluid that private mandates do prevail in preferments. Between theory and practice there is a wide gulf. Ring down the curtain, the farce is nothing worth!

The Prime Minister proclaimed on Republic Day that the "hump" of the agricultural problem had been passed and that unprecedented harvests had been registered for 1960. It is said that statistics could be made to prove anything, but if we are in command of bumper stocks, how is it that the market price does not respond? There is much however in propaganda through the method of sheer reiteration of unproven claims. For reasons best known to himself, the Prime Minister thought it was time to administer to the country another "shock treatment" by saying that he thought of retirement. But after startling the party into a three-day spasm of agony, he gave out the assurance that he would remain in office shepherding the flock.

New year appraisals of the cold war situation are not optimistic. The people everywhere are sick of the cold war but they are far from confident that any end to it is in sight. Russia has no doubt that she has scored heavily in the cold war strategies of 1960. She feels the West has been kept on the defensive on a number of important issues. Moscow enters 1961 in a triumphant mood. *New York Times* reports from Western capitals too substantially confirm this Moscow feeling. The Allies feel "sorely pressed by the Soviet initiatives". There are storm clouds in every quarter. In Washington there is no feeling that the United States is gaining the lead. A general feeling prevails in all allied capitals that for several reasons the West is handicapped in meeting the Soviet challenge. The West Germans think that the cold war struggle is

"still pretty much of a stand-off". The Italians believe "the West has lost ground to the East". In Communist-influenced areas in Afro-Asia, of course Moscow is deemed to be on top. In areas not dominated by Communist influence, the people feel disturbed by Moscow's attempts to involve them in the cold war which hitherto had been outside of them and dissatisfaction with Khrushchov's rowdy tactics.

About the most urgent international problem of disarmament, the Western view is not optimistic. The New Year will, according to it, present no marked difference.

The recent election results of municipal committees held all over Punjab show what has happened to the Congress position. Much more than double the number of seats secured by the Congress have gone against Congress and gone to independent candidates in spite of the Congress Party being in power both in the State and at the Centre. Out of 405 seats, Independents secured 248, and the Jan Sangh 50. The Congress secured 106 seats. The Communists secured a solitary seat. "Independents swamped the polls in Sunday's elections to 52 municipal committees". This is how the staff correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* at Chandigarh sums it up.

—P.J.

Electioneering Promises

Most electioneering promises, if implemented, involve increased government spending for favoured pressure groups. But more government spending necessitates higher revenues which must be obtained from the people. If the new administration tries to keep its campaign promises, it will have to raise the taxes or incur budget deficits which means inflation.—PROF. H. J. SENNHOLZ in *The Freeman*.

ALONGSIDE THE RANI OF JHANSI

The Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur announced her joining the Swatantra Party the same week as the British Queen and her consort visited that historic place and were the Maharani's guests. The Maharani has by this brave act dispelled by one stroke the fog of fear and lackeyism that blurs the vision and confounds the understanding of many sections of the Indian public who ought to know democracy better than tremble before the Congress Party as if it were a Czarist rule threatening to ruin any one that dared to differ or take any constitutional step to challenge its authority. Maharani Gayatri Devi takes honoured place alongside the Rani of Jhansi for bravery in the present days of authoritarianism. Here is a woman of India that represents the courage that the poet-sage put into Sita who spurned the threats of Ravana even when she was a prisoner in his garden.

The shooting of the tiger by the Queen's consort has figured largely in the papers. But all men who have the future of India in their hearts, the future of freedom and democracy, the future of Indian manhood, should cherish this great gesture of Gayatri Maharani as a great and inspiring example. I write not as a Swatantra Party man, but as a citizen who values courage and conscience. Be it any government or any party, if an Indian woman placed in the unfortunate position of the ex-princes and ex-princesses of India, displayed the courage to stand up to the rule of the party in power, and shame the industrialists, merchants, professors, soldiers and many others who are trembling and hesitating to follow their own convictions and who instead of bidding for their own freedom, contribute to the power of tyranny, it is meet that we should bow in admiration and homage to this great lady who has set such a bright and worthy example. God bless her.

SIDELIGHTS ::

Sri Sukumar Sen, Chairman of the Dandakaranya Development Authority, revealed at a recent press conference that out of 58 tractors supplied by the Defence Ministry, not one was in working order. Earlier at the time of the 1960 budget session of Parliament, when questions were asked about these tractors, Sri M. C. Khanna, Rehabilitation Minister, declared that 16 of the tractors were defective, but could be set right with minor repairs. The discrepancy between the statement made then and the position disclosed now needs explanation. It is a grave offence to mislead Parliament with false information, and whoever is responsible for it should be punished and taught a lesson.

Apart from deceptive statements, it is the Defence Ministry that stands roundly condemned, for it was in the Ordnance factories of the Defence Ministry that the condemned tractors were produced. It transpires that the tractors were manufactured with the collaboration of a Japanese firm, but this firm had no direct, first-hand experience of tractor-manufacture. Sometime back, when reference was made in the Lok Sabha to Japanese tractors supplied to the army, the Defence Minister angrily retorted that he would chastise those (drivers and the like) guilty of divulging military secrets! Our Defence Minister is a perfectionist in the guarding of alleged military secrets of no particular consequence for national defence. But in the discharge of his main function, the guarding of the country from foreign aggression, his record is bleak indeed as testified to by the 12,000 and odd square miles of Indian territory still in Chinese occupation. He is blessed by a Prime Minister so mentally constituted that he is able to speak of all this loss of territory as equal to having a controversy with China!

Ever since the days of the jeep scandal, the Defence Minister has

been showing a positive genius for doing business with firms and parties knowing precious little of the particular business on hand. If our Ordnance factories have turned out tractors which had to be taken off the road the moment they were put on it, the consequential train of probabilities is frightening. We might be having in the crucial times of emergency when our Defence forces are being put to the test, aircraft that will not fly and guns that will not fire. Sri Sukumar Sen's disclosure gives an alarming indication of the danger to the country implied in the present reckless manufacturing adventures of the public sector of industry in the Defence Ministry under the stewardship of Sri V. K. Krishna Menon.

In answer to a question by Dr. A. Srinivasan in the Madras Legislative Council the other day, the State Finance Minister Sri C. Subramaniam declared that five heads of departments had been re-employed on retirement last year. Questioned further if any principle was observed in such cases of re-employment the Minister said that the Government exercised their own judgment, but if the questioner thought it was all a matter of ministerial whims and fancies, "perhaps it is so". *The Times of India* severely indicts this answer editorially saying "it can hardly be called an honest answer". Its lack of honesty is no doubt patent, but more than that, an even more remarkable trait that it reveals is arrogance. If the Minister was administering, not the affairs of a State but some private property of his own, he could not be less concerned about the need for responsibility in management and proper standards of behaviour. When the Prime Minister prefers a favourite to the nation's safety, it is this same arrogant concept of the country being a private affair of his own, (which he can play ducks and drakes with) that is exhibited.

Minor deities in the Congress pantheon imitate the P.M. and give exhibitions of offensiveness to the limit of their respective capacities, while the members of the legislature, barring one or two honourable exceptions, blandly look on, not even giving a sign of being dealt with cavalierly and with scant consideration!

Another example of Government officials disposing of State policy just as though they were handling domestic affairs or their own private purses, comes from Madhya Pradesh. The Tribal Welfare Department there has decided to upgrade the status of sweepers by offering a special bonus of Rs. 90 in addition to the normal wage to every Caste Hindu who turns sweeper. Some two lakhs of rupees are to be spent this way. A more irresponsible and lunatic method of spending public money cannot be imagined. Mahatma Gandhi voluntarily chose the sweeper's calling as his own to indicate his esteem for a form of derided work which is nevertheless of great social value. He thereby enhanced its prestige, gave it a status which it never had before, and endeared himself to its traditional practitioners. It is not upgrading but downgrading a profession to treat it as something calling for special inducements to make the desired sort of people join it. And what is this nonsense, while inveighing against Casteism, of equating high status for a profession with the participation of Caste Hindus in it? Ordinary sweepers have no reason to be gratified if new entrants from the so-called higher castes are to be paid more for doing the same work as they with nothing of the efficiency that comes from long practice. It is a perversion of justice to pay the inexperienced amateur double the wage of the practised professional. This manner of establishing egalitarianism is fantastic, disruptive and silly, but it is a specimen and symbol of much of the planning going on in the Nehru regime.

SAKA

THE A B C OF THE SITUATION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru used to tell me that he knew the crowd mentality better than I or any of our other colleagues did. This is probably true—not in the sense that he knows what the people want but in the cruder sense of knowing what would please them. Now, is he aware of what the people all over India, the poor and the rich, the peasant and the trader, the privileged as well as those not blessed by good fortune, want today? They want a good, honest, impartial administration which they do not have today.

It is not an exaggeration to say that as a result of a misunderstanding of the proper distribution of authority and classification of functions in parliamentary democracy and of consequent ministerial and party interventions, the official machine, as a whole as well as in all its several parts, has got deteriorated and compares very badly with what we had under the British pre-independence regime. It is taken for granted that officials must be 'loyal' to the ruling party in their day-to-day functions. And this means not only 'a conspiracy of mutual inefficiency', as Lionel Fielden puts it in his recent most readable story of his wandering life, but also a conspiracy of helping the ruling party at the cost of justice and impartiality.

Not only do the people suffer; not only does democracy deteriorate as a result of this habitual false loyalty—but the official cadre has lost the very sense of standards. Young and brilliant men selected on merit and entering their careers are made to feel that grit is not wanted, that independence of thinking is not to be indulged in, and they must play the game of loyalty to party. Their psychology and natural urges are mis-educated by what they are surrounded by. Fine material, not inferior to any available material anywhere in the world, is ruined. These young men of ours could be as good as and even better than the old British ICS young men. But, alas! their minds are ruined by the daily intervention of political pressures and by what they see their 'seniors' doing (and thereby benefiting) around them. This political interference with the Administration must stop. This is A in my alphabetical list.

My next grievance is the blackmail that is indulged in shamelessly on behalf of the party chest of the ruling clique. The power that officials and

ministers and deputy ministers and the ruling party's committee bosses hold and daily put into action over every citizen that makes or hopes to make a good business of any avocation or trade, is utilized for the purpose of collection of 'donations' for election and pre-election preparatory purposes. This immoral and, as the election approaches, feverish use of powers given to ministers and their 'loyal' officials in the Welfare-State economy has been objected to openly, and a challenge issued to the Congress Party to make it illegal for incorporated companies to make contributions to political parties. All the parties in Parliament voted for the prohibition but the Congress Party issued its whip to its members and saved an adverse decision and shamelessly resolved to keep the blackmail going. This is B in my list.

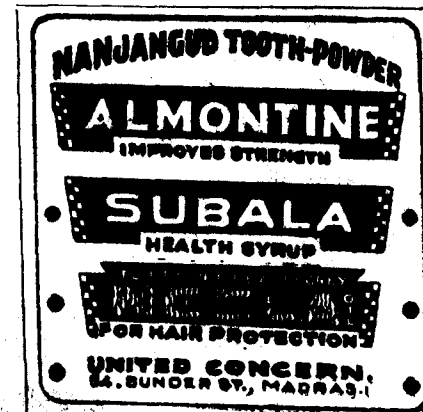
When Government crosses the limits of the minimal field of governance belonging to it by universal history and tradition and enters on the vast new area of regulating and controlling all trade, all production, all transport and every economic activity of individuals, as in the Communist States, we have a new situation in parliamentary democracy. When this enlargement of the functions of the State and its officials has taken place, we have to devise new measures to facilitate freedom of choice when legislators and administrators are to be periodically chartered to function on the people's behalf.

The liberty of the voters has to be protected in spite of the economic stranglehold. If new measures are not taken, nothing is easier than for a Welfare-State administration to perpetuate itself and to get repeatedly elected to office. The constitutional provisions which were enough for guaranteeing freedom of election in the old days are not enough when the regulatory entanglements of a Welfare-State economy have come into being. In order that the once-in-five-years general election may be a fairly democratic election and not a make-believe, an *interregnum* is absolutely essential, and the ruling party must submit to a decent interval of caretaker governance through the presumably neutral authority of the President of the Union and his agents, the Governors of the States. The ruling party, whichever it is at the time, must submit to this *interregnum*. Otherwise there is a fatal flaw in the checks and balances

required for free democracy. This is an essential screw and nut in the mechanism. The ruling party refuses to accept this. It insists on running elections with all the advantages accruing to it incidentally as a Welfare-State authority in position. They probably feel they cannot return to power otherwise. They plead that there is no provision for an interregnum in the Constitution. But that does not prevent their voluntarily stepping down and creating a constitutional convention. This is C in my list.

D is the Debt position. How are you going to repay the debts you are placing on the shoulders of the nation? Are you ready with a plan for this, as essential as the plan for spending and borrowing? Place it before the people so that those who can compute and judge may see where they stand. But if you are not prepared with such a plan beyond the vague hope that prosperity will come, and will enable us to repay, I hold that it is a bankrupt's mentality and the rake's progress must be halted.

The world is moving forward all around us even as we are busy industrializing our nation. They are making more things and cheaper things. What are the commodities which we plan to make in surplus and export in order to repay principal and interest, over and above what we supply to our own people in order to make them happier than they now are? A borrower if he is a prudent borrower must plan and have in his mind his repayment schedule. What we hope to make in better quality and cheaper, so as to induce foreign buyers to accept them, must be listed and shown to balance the borrowings. Otherwise it is not business-like borrowing. The figures of the loans are astronomical and as far as can be seen the plans of repayment are nil. We cannot hope to make anything cheaper or better such as can be exported and sold to our industrial-nation creditors. If we hope to



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make ships or locomotives or automobiles good enough to be sold abroad, let us know.

The borrowings are in reality based not on real credit but on the political situation in the context of the cold war. And this is dangerous, to put it briefly. It will be found in course of time, probably sooner than expected, to be an untenable position.

Some people ask us not to be led by copy-book maxims but to borrow bravely. A copy-book maxim reversed is also as poor a guide as the original maxim. Neither a borrower nor lender be, said Polonius. This may be a mere copy-book maxim. But

"borrow without plans to repay and as much as you can" is certainly not a good rule.

Persons engaged in business do borrow and benefit by it. But 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 partnerships 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.

We may not lose independence by reason of bankruptcy in the colonial sense, but what about ever so many things else—what about honour and prestige? We are not a war-ravaged country like Germany or Britain, morally entitled to release from debts and to aid for rehabilitation. We had at the end of the war a very sizeable balance in our favour held by Britain. Is Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru aware that many people who ought to know better are saying to one another that international loans are always written off and are not intended to be repaid? We cannot ask for a write-off without paying for it in some serious way, loss of national honour and international status. Let us wisely borrow, by all means, but let us see also how we hope to repay and let the calculations be made fairly reasonably.

—(Courtesy: *The Hindustan Times*).



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AID TO HANDLOOMS

In reply to an enquiry Sri M. Somappa writes to Rajaji as follows:

There are 28.6 lakh handlooms in the country. Of these, 12 lakhs are within the co-operative fold which works out to about 40 per cent. Co-operative societies are not in a position to provide work to all the looms within their fold, owing to inadequacy of finance and marketing difficulties. They are able to provide work only to 50 per cent of the looms. The rest 50 per cent are idle in so far as their work with co-operatives is concerned. When co-operative societies do not provide with work, the looms rendered idle (50 per cent) either carry on independently or under master weavers, while continuing to remain as members of the society. Hence the 40 per cent looms in the co-operatives account only for 20 per cent of the total cloth production.

Thus 80 per cent of the Handloom production competes with mill production in the Indian market without any subsidy or assistance direct or indirect from the State. That is why Rajaji wants dhooties and sarees to be reserved for the handlooms, a plea unanimously supported by the State legislatures and the Governments of Madras and Andhra.

February 4, 1961

SWARAJYA

THE IMBROGLIO OF EDUCATION

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The more Government spends on Education, there is less of it. During the week, many authorities have unburdened themselves of their disappointment. The Working Group of the Universities Commission has deplored the fall in the standards of English, "one of the assets of the country, politically, socially, intellectually and economically". To have it as a medium of education, it said, "is a responsibility of the universities, which they cannot share with Government or anyone else". The Madras Education Minister has admitted that the introduction of the Tamil medium in individual colleges had to be brought about by fee remissions, stipends, library grants, hostel amenities and scholarships in the form of encouragement, to be paid ultimately by the tax payer. He also admitted that the much lauded midday meal scheme is becoming subject to misuse. The Union Education Minister admitted that unless the community became "a parturient in this big adventure (compulsory education) the programme could not be put through".

All this loud thinking arises from a consciousness of the failure of many policies in Education. The indiscipline among students and the frustration among teachers is another symptom of the same failure. The growth in the number of educated unemployed suggests wastage instead of advantage arising from education. While there may be many reasons for the pathological condition of education, there is one cause which has escaped attention, though it is of basic importance. That cause is Statism, the tendency of the government to appropriate to itself what others are willing and able to do better. Ministers of government and their servile secretariats have superseded, in the matter of policy, the wisdom and experience of educationists and in the matter of management, the interest and generosity of the public

disposed to serve the country. The appetite for such encroachment has grown from what it has fed upon, with the result that even those in the educational field have lost the sense of leadership, abdicating to Government their very power of thinking.

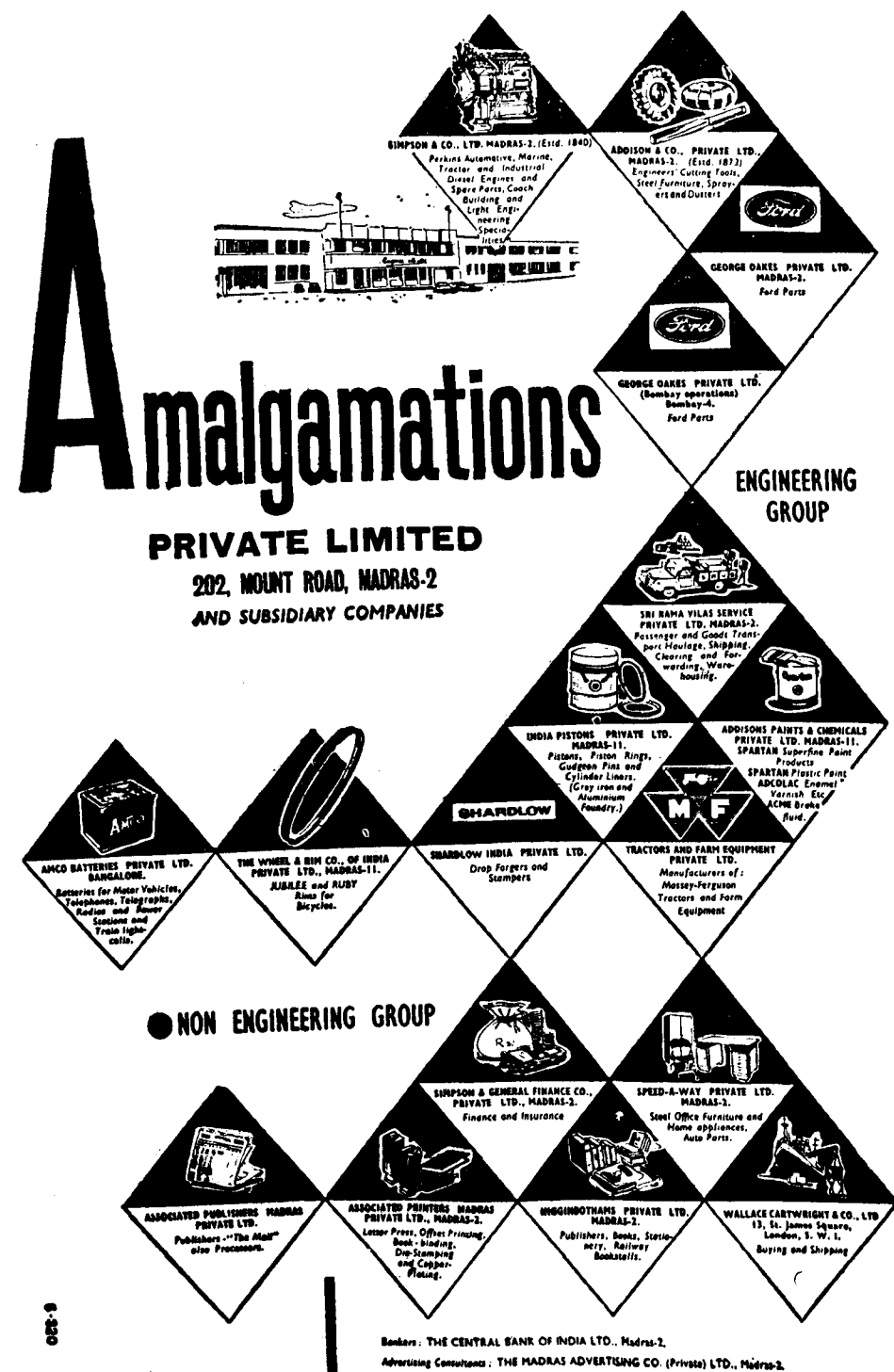
In the matter of policy, the Governments have laid down the curriculum, the method and medium of instruction. All three have changed so frequently that the only persons to benefit have been book writers and printers in whom the Congress are frequently interested, one Minister in Madras having himself been a publisher. On the other hand, the cost of books which frequently changed has nearly offset the reduction and remission of fees allowed to the students. In respect of methods of instruction, though the Third Plan admits that "progress of basic education will largely depend on steps taken to remove the shortcomings of existing basic institutions", the Plan provides for training 80 per cent of the teachers in basic methods, still subject of experiment. Otherwise the methods are so poor that the percentage of students who fail to acquire literacy is now rising above the previous figure of 51 per cent, more particularly in areas under compulsion. When more than half the money spent on primary education is thus wasted, the best form of compulsion would be that no student once enrolled leaves school until he acquires literacy. The high degree of failures in high school and university examinations, also indicates, on the one hand, failure of the methods of teaching, and on the other, waste of funds and

A high standard of living should be matched by a high standard of feeling and thinking, and the gap between material and moral growth is still far too wide for comfort. Until money and responsibility go hand in hand, affluence and licence will. MARYA MANNES, in a B.B.C. talk.

human material. In respect of the medium of instruction, the regional languages with their long alphabets and poor vocabularies are taxing students to the point that the rich ones among them attend English medium schools so as to ensure their success in the public service examinations. Even though this has occasioned a reaction in favour of English, the harm cannot be undone on any large scale. These mistakes are due partly to the arrogance of the government that it knows all about education and partly to its political intention of dominating teachers, students and parents.

The political intention is more active in the policy of discrimination of private institutions. No new school is recognised without an endowment in addition to the buildings. Teachers are encouraged to indiscipline by being allowed to draw their salaries, independently of the management. Fees are varied and remitted according to the political policies of the governments. In spite of this, private schools have survived and are overfull because publicly maintained schools are so unsatisfactory and unattractive. In the Delhi Corporation, it was found that private schools with one third the aid of publicly maintained schools were able to produce results which were three times better. Some States have realised the mistake of nationalising schools and are even offering them back to private agencies.

The simple fact is that the public pays for all the mistakes of the government. The Second Plan provided 273 crores for education and the third provides 500 crores. The expenditure of all the States on education has risen from 60.30 crores in 1951-52 to 158.33 crores in 1959-60. For all this expenditure, a good part of which could have been saved by utilising private agencies; the education of children has never before shown worse results. Government should leave Education to educational experts, formed into Commissions, if necessary, with full power over the content of Education and the use of funds.



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CAPITAL COMMENTS

THE UNTIRING, UN-RETIRING, PRIME MINISTER

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: It is a sad, if not a sickening, spectacle to find any big public man swallowing his words, a trifle too often. The spectacle becomes quite alarming when he is one of the pre-eminence of our Prime Minister. The unfortunate tendency—all the more unfortunate as it is growing—on the part of Mr. Nehru, of seeking to wriggle himself, rather awkwardly, out of his statements or to explain them away as casual thoughts or mere reflections, far from enhancing his reputation, tends to lower it. If it develops into a habit, and too, if the habit persists, a time will come when people will read or hear some of the things he says, or permits himself to say, with just a sense of amusement, and not with the consideration that a Prime Minister's words generally command. There are already a good many in the country who do not, or have learnt not to, take him too seriously when he says something either in visible anger or what passes for a philosophic mood. Few go to the extent of questioning his sincerity while almost everyone doubts his sense of purpose. That it should be so is not to his advantage, much less to his credit. But it is so.

When the news recently appeared in the papers about his "possible resignation or retirement from the Prime Ministership", several thought that it was too bad—or too good—to be true. Within a few days of the publication of the item came his assurance that there was no need for any speculation about it as there was indeed no such thought in his mind "at present or in the foreseeable future". The speculation arose out of an interview he had himself given to a correspondent of the London Left-wing newspaper, the *Daily Herald*. According to Mr. Anthony Carthew

told him that he was "tired of public life", and he believed "it would be best for himself, and for India, if he retired". Mr. Nehru also added that while he had been thinking about it for some time, "now he would really like to go".

It is difficult to believe that this report was the invention of the London correspondent. Nor did Mr. Nehru seek to hold him responsible for any concoction. He was only "sorry that some casual remarks about the future", of course his own, "led to this misunderstanding". If Mr. Nehru was not strangely obsessed with the idea of resigning or retiring, there was really no occasion for him to have dealt with this personal question to the extent of enabling Mr. Anthony Carthew to add categorically that "the Congress Party did not agree with him but he (Mr. Nehru) could be very determined". Now we have it from Mr. Nehru that Mr. Anthony Carthew did not get him right as all that he said was that the idea of retiring from the Prime Ministership one day had "often" come to him and was always present in some "corner" of his mind. This sounds like the laboured explanation of a cornered man than the refutation on the part of one with a clear mind. At any rate it seems that Mr. Nehru was not very clear when he told Mr. Carthew what had been passing in his own mind or that Mr. Carthew was so dense as not to have understood him properly.

Mr. Nehru is known to be very careful when he talks to foreign correspondents, especially when he grants interviews individually. One wonders if he could get much time to philosophise, and why, when he had no thought in his mind of resigning or retiring, he should have touched this subject at all.

but interested in the immediate present, whether in regard to nations or big individuals, and not in remote events or possibilities, and it is extraordinary that Mr. Carthew should have misfired by his inability to distinguish fancies from facts.

It is none too easy to interview Mr. Nehru to his satisfaction. A chain of thoughts is not to him what a chain of reasoning is to the other. Never is the border line clear between his thoughts and his reflections. The task of reporting him correctly becomes much more difficult because of his faculty of saying sometimes something without meaning it. Even if he means one thing today, it does not mean that he will apply the same meaning to it tomorrow. So, whatever he might have said or meant when he talked to the *Daily Herald* correspondent, on the oft-recurring idea of his possible resignation or retirement, there need be, and can be, no further speculation about it. Mr. Nehru will rather stay; rather he will very much stay. His colleagues will breathe a sigh of relief that he has not made things difficult for them; they will doubtless emulate his example. These estimable leaders, having exhorted the people on the Republic Day to re-dedicate themselves to the service of the nation, have, it seems, re-dedicated their own selves to office.

Five years ago Mr. Nehru sternly lectured about the inadvisability of a second-term in the case of tired men (on the assumption that some were tired at all); five weeks ago Mr. Sanjiva Reddi seriously spoke of a ten-year tenure to men in high office. They had no attraction for the recipe. On the other hand they felt repelled by it. Today, luckily for them, the sky is clear. These men in high office have an excellent team-spirit: they move concertedly in at least so far as sticking to office is concerned. Of the present political climate within the context of office, Mr. Ranga-swami of *The Hindu* gives a cor-

PROGRESS THROUGH BANKRUPTCY

There is a conflict, very real, very serious, age-old and inevitable—namely, the conflict within each of us as to the role he expects Government to play in his own life and in his relations with his fellows—whether it shall be an agency to protect him and all others in their life and liberty and pursuit of happiness, or whether through coercive force it shall direct and dominate his life and theirs There comes a time in the life of every civilization when the lamp of freedom burns low. Now, the pendulum is on a swing towards the Mother-Father State. As always, this trend is based on the loftiest of motives. The declared aim is to improve the lot of the individual—a consummation devoutly desired by all men of goodwill. Ultimately, however, when super-governmentalism is carried to its final stages, the aim of making life better for the individual is sacrificed, and the end result is first to rob him of his substance through inflation, and finally to deprive him of his freedom. The constant spread of government, and the sapping demands of its voracious tax-appetite, accompanied by a dollar shrinkage to about

one-third its value in one generation—this is painfully apparent to all who will see. No matter where on the globe it may be located, the constant tendency of government is to grow; to expand its functions; to absorb the prerogatives of subordinate units of government, using up the tax resources to its ever-increasing demand for revenue; and to take away more and more of the substance of those very individuals whose lot it is supposed to be improving. ... Usually with slowness, but sometimes rapidly, they go through the steps from Jeffersonian simplicity to the apotheosis of Statism—the stages that promise utopia but lead to ruin. It is advocated and pushed on by those who want the State to do something special for them or their economic group or their area or for the public generally. And the ultimate irony of it all is that the proponents and opponents of what we may call progress through bankruptcy are often the same people. This is the real conflict—the battle between commonsense and greed, between wisdom and folly that always goes on in the aspiring but weary human heart.

RALPH BRADFORD in *The Freeman*.

INDIA AND AUSTRALIA

In a letter to Mr. P. J. Shroff, a prominent member of the Swatantra Party and a contributor to SWARAJYA, Mr. R. G. Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia, writes:

After we met in Melbourne you wrote to me putting some questions we had not had time to develop at supper.

You raised first the fostering of still greater understanding and goodwill between India and Australia. There is already a great fund of goodwill deriving from existing activities, among which I would list the visits of leaders of the community in the fields of politics, of administration, of art, of music, of the press, of the universities and other academic institutions, the reciprocal provision of technical and academic training and the growing mutual study of the culture and institutions of the other country. Much is being done to good effect, but I am sure that you will be able to confirm from your own experience that in both our countries still more can be done.

Secondly, you asked if I favoured the establishment of some kind of constitution for the Commonwealth. It is my belief that conventions are better than written rules for an orga-

nisation with such composite membership as the Commonwealth. An attempt to formulate a constitution might itself impose strains which are absorbed in the present less formal position.

Finally, you asked my views on the membership of the Commonwealth of Asian countries such as India and Pakistan. Our relations within the Commonwealth with India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Malaya have taught us that the friendship we seek is not only desirable and possible but fruitful and distinctive. We have enriched our own national cultural outlook as well as our economic and political understanding by co-operating with those countries. Many Australians in widely various activities have found their work facilitated through the ease of relations among members of the one "club". In foreign affairs the opportunities for close contact with the thinking of Asian Commonwealth Governments not only at the meetings of Prime Ministers but also in day to day diplomacy are of inestimable value to Australia and my observations suggest that these relations are of equal value to the Asian members of the Commonwealth.

EASTERN ECONOMIST ANNUAL NUMBER

This exquisitely produced Annual Number is mainly "concerned with an analysis of the American genius for technology, sales, and economic and social equality". Mr. E. P. W. da Costa, who has drawn from the "Resources for the Future, Inc.", and the "Paley Report", succeeds in projecting his study "to fill the gap between the Indian Union in 2000 A.D. and the United States forty years from now". And the entire perspective of Indo-American relations is set in a background which is political, cultural and social as well as economic in its implications.

It would be accurate to describe America as a middle class nation in the tradition of Locke. In this connection, it would be interesting to recall an illuminating comment made by Prof. Hanskohn: "What Karl Marx regarded as the central issue of modern European history, the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the aristocracy and the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, has hardly had a counterpart in American reality. This astounding absence of classes and of class warfare in the heart-land of modern capitalism had been noticed also in 1890 (the period of many labour troubles) by a French observer and explained by him as part of the American system of individualism". It is remarkable that even today, despite the impact of technology on American society, the professional, technical and managerial employees who constitute the salaried middle class of America can neither be labelled as "capitalists" nor "proletarians", neither "exploiter" nor "exploited". Indeed, it is a combination of this social background and the American approach to liberty (rooted in the British tradition) in the land of unlimited economic opportunity which set the pace for the unique frontier movement. But the Indian situation is different. And the *Eastern Economist* has explained it clearly: "Excessive competition in the economic sphere is decried as lacking decorum and the business community as a consequence has not enjoyed anything like the same approbation which it enjoys in the United States.... The fear of 'profits' and the charge that the profits are the result of exploitation are widespread and thus, both

THE EASTERN ECONOMIST 1961 Annual Number. Edited by E. P. W. da Costa, 255 pages, Rs. 10. Published by The Eastern Economist Ltd., United Commercial Bank Building, Parliament Street, New Delhi.

Indian production and Indian consumption are held back by the unwillingness to let economic forces yield the highest rewards to those who are their best practitioners". However, as argued by the *Eastern Economist* "the rate of growth in the Indian economy is anticipated to be much faster because she can now 'skip' certain processes in technological growth in view of the latest technological growth". And the *Eastern Economist* has rightly drawn our attention to the 'Canadian compromise' of "finding a middle way between the 'loose' federation of the United States and the 'strong' federation of the Indian Union".

Although a major part of this Annual Number is devoted to an analysis of Indo-American relations, the Editor has not forgotten to include (which is an annual feature of great merit) a brilliant review of the Indian economy in the preceding year. And the final section is concerned with the question: "To what extent have the cultural systems of India and the United States intersected? Prof. Commager in one of his Göttesman lectures on 'American Nationalism' at the University of Uppsala in Sweden set out the thesis that "America could be romantic and democratic, romantic and equalitarian, romantic and progressive". If, then,

A Warning from History

If inflation is not arrested in time, the people will lose faith in the capacity of democracy to achieve planned development. The way will then be clear for a Communist take-over from within, assisted by world Communism which is now poised on our northern boundaries for just such an opportunity. The Roman Empire fell before the onslaught of barbarians largely because the people themselves were no longer interested in its continuance in consequence of the complete erosion of its economic, social and political fabric by continuous and uncontrollable inflation and the resulting corruption. That is also what happened in China. Let not history repeat itself in India.

N. DANDEKAR.

the American concept of the nation as is understood, was born of a romantic tradition, America's interest in India was part of American romanticism drawn from Coleridge, Schilling and oriental writings, especially Indian philosophy. And the leader of this movement was Emerson whose immediate influence was felt in the writings of Whitman (His 'Leaves of Grass' has been described as a blending of the Gita and the *New York Herald*) and Thoreau, although it could be traced in some of the plays of Eugene O'Neill and in a few poems of Carl Sandburg. Again, just as the Greeks had appealed to the Western sense of history, the concept of Indian freedom had captured the romantic imagination of the American people. And the way in which America had responded to the Indian struggle for freedom has touched the heart of every sensitive Indian. If the American Declaration of Independence and the preamble of the Indian Constitution (which has been reproduced in the *Eastern Economist*) are juxtaposed, there is a surprising similarity of ideals and aspirations. Indeed, the nation which could organize the Boston tea party could easily grasp the significance of the Mahatma's Salt Satyagraha.

The age of strained relationships (or the cold war in Indo-American relations as termed by the *Eastern Economist*) is slowly disappearing. The new era of friendship is just dawning. This reviewer wonders whether the *Eastern Economist* is sarcastic in arguing that "one can be at peace with the Communist world generally and yet have an acute cause of discomfort, as we currently have from the presence of the People's Republic of China on Indian soil". It is a truly dialectical essay in political euphemism.

It is possible that India may move towards a more fruitful combination of her own past with dynamic, technological and liberal elements from the democratic West, which in turn might lead to a new synthesis between East and West. Indeed, a combination of such factors as the general ethos of Indian civilization and modern India's democratic heritage as a result of the Western impact, leads us on to hope for a continuous dialogue between India and America based on a deeper consciousness of shared values and links such as individual liberty, and economic and intellectual co-operation in a wider context than at present.

Mr. da Costa is to be congratulated on this work. And this excellent publication should be of great value to students of economic and international affairs.

A. RANGANATHAN.

HAPPY-ENDING FEATURE FILM



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THE CONGRESS RELIGION OF GROWTHMANSHIP

"Unlike Mr. Asoka Mehta of the P.S.P. who would like Mr. Nehru to retire before the General Elections next year, to ease the path of the P.S.P., the Swatantra Party is minterested in the issue because it has the confidence, with the people's support, to fight to a standstill Mr. Nehru's disastrous economic and international policies and to restore the fundamental rights of the citizen as embodied in the original Constitution," said Mr. Masani, M.P. General Secretary of the Swatantra Party, while hoisting the National Flag at Bandra on Republic Day.

According to Mr. M. R. Masani, the widespread disillusionment and cynicism among the people eleven years after the establishment of the Republic was a matter for concern. Two factors were responsible. First, the absence of an adequate 'public philosophy' to hold the nation together. The governmental leaders had turned their backs on Mahatma Gandhi's teachings and were preaching the religion of growthmanship which by reason of its crass materialism could not satisfy the Indian people. The other factor was the gulf bet-

ween profession and practice noticed by the people—talk of unity accompanied by the picture of groupism in the Congress Party, the preaching of austerity and the practice of grab by the ruling party. While the grant of titles was forbidden by the Constitution, the newspapers showed how the Constitution was being flouted. The five-year plans for raising living standards were in fact cutting into the real income of the people by excessive taxation of necessities and deliberate inflation of currency. Talk of increased production is accompanied by the introduction of the Maharashtra land ceilings bill which would adversely affect the production of cane and sugar.

While professedly non-aligned, the Nehru Government was condoning Chinese Communist aggression on Indian soil. An instance of appeasement of international Communism was that while the Dalai Lama had been denied

the right to agitate in India for the restoration of Tibetan freedom, the Nepali Congress had been allowed only two days back to hold a Convention in Patna.

Answering the question asked by some cynical people how the Swatantra Party could be trusted not to get corrupted by power in the same manner as the Congress Party, Mr. Masani said he made no claim to superior virtue for members of his party. Unlike all other parties in India however the Swatantra Party recognised this danger and hence believed in limited government. They were opposed to economic power being combined with political power. They would restore the economic power usurped by the Nehru government. They agreed with Gandhiji that "that government is the best which governs least".

In democracy the people always had the option of changing the government and no party would get corrupted if there was a change of government every few years. That was the beauty of our democratic Constitution.

PRISONERS OF AN IDEOLOGY

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

According to the Bhavnagar resolution of the Congress the public sector is "increasingly to expand and play a dominant role". Mr. Nehru in his speech at this session reiterated his theory that heavy industry must come first and in its wake would follow a large number of light industries. It is useless to quote Bernard Baruch, practical economist and adviser of successive Presidents of the U.S.A., who thinks that light industries must precede heavy industries, for Mr. Nehru has made up his mind on preconceived ideology and not on the facts of economic history, and we have yet to see the man on the horizon who can change Mr. Nehru—except of course Mr. Nehru. As against the various obstacles and impediments placed in the way of private enterprise which include the heavy and all-embracing taxation, licences for capital formation, imports, etc., private individuals or corporations cannot set up these light industries so necessary for the performances of heavy industry. It is the public sector that will have to take this sector industry also. Then what part is left to the private sector? Then, why should not Congress governmental policy straightaway say it is for the nationalization, or if they prefer it, the socialization of industry, and be done

with all hesitancy and halting once for all? Why should the Bhavnagar resolution, after saying that the public sector will increasingly expand and play a dominant role go on to say that the "public and private sectors should function in union as parts of a single mechanism and that there should be no conflict between the two sectors and that only through the successful and efficient functioning of these two sectors the industrial programmes can be successfully implemented?"

Nothing, not the spiralling of prices, the growing burden of foreign loans and taxes, direct and indirect, the slow rise in national income and standard of living—nothing will convince Mr. Nehru and his party of the futility and folly of their economic policies. They are the prisoners of an ideology, the victims of a new-found political fashion. They respect only one argument—the argument of the force of a majority. But the urgency of the need for finding remedies for the evils of poverty, illiteracy and low expectancy of life requires a party with a more promising policy and programme. The industrial policy resolution of the Bhavnagar Congress is another argument for the people seeking the aid of a political party with a more positive, definite and decisive creed.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

DOZEN YEARS OF BAD RULE

Sir,—Inaugurating the State level conference of Planning Forums at Children's Theatre recently, Minister Sri C. Subramaniam said: "It is necessary to get foreign assistance in the initial stages. But mere foreign assistance cannot give the necessary strength to our system. It is, therefore, necessary to have a certain amount of saving and investment capacity created in the country". Economists like Prof. Shenoy are pointing out that we would have to pay to the tune of Rs. 100 crores per annum by way of interest alone on debt, and that that should be paid in terms of goods and services. The Minister has not touched on this subject. He ought to have explained what his Government's programmes are for producing the goods and services that will attract the markets of our creditor countries. It is clear that even for paying the interest on the loans that we have already borrowed the Government would have to resort to further taxation. And coming to taxation, has it not already reached the saturation point? Can our people bear the burden of still more taxation any longer? Did the first and second Five-Year Plans alleviate, at least to some extent, the sufferings of the common man and raise his standard of living? Now it is pointed out by economic experts of international fame that the purchasing power of the Indian people has gone down and that the rise in prices in India during the last five years is of the order of 33 per cent. With every budget the prices of goods are increasing in geometrical progression which hit the common man most. Even this he may be

THE UNTIRING....

(Continued from page 9)

rect picture though with a mordant touch:

The general feeling is that in this country the question of retirement must be left to individuals and few would ask others to quit office, lest those who make the suggestion are themselves asked to set an example. It is a blessing to them that Mr. Nehru who alone could have made them uneasy, has clarified his own position. Not lacking in stamina and made of tough fibre, they too will stick to their places. They have before them an inspiring example—that of Mr. Nehru, the untiring, un-retiring, Prime Minister.

expected to bear if he can hope that his sons and grandsons at least will enjoy the benefit of his privation and lead a decent and prosperous life. But, that is not going to happen as a major portion of the public funds is spent on non-developmental schemes. Are the Minister and his colleagues justified in asking the people to further tighten their belts when the middle and low income groups find their earnings hardly sufficient to make both ends meet? When the economic situation of the country is like this, as a result of increasing prices, diminishing foreign exchange resources and deficit financing on a large scale, further taxation and resort to foreign loans with no commensurate benefits for the large bulk of the population will only create chaos in our nation's economy. Do our leaders expect the creditor countries to write off the loans simply because they have become too huge for us to repay? When one considers that this is the condition obtaining after the completion of two Five-Year Plans, it is no wonder that the future seems fraught with grave possibilities. The common man may or may not understand the economic theories propounded by the various parties, but he is intelligent enough to understand that the policies pursued hitherto by the ruling party has not given him and the country a better and more decent standard of living but on the other hand landed him in poverty, misery and what is more, in uncertainty of his own future. This is not the time to preach to people to starve, but make an honest effort to raise their standard of living. In this the record of the dozen years of the Congress regime is not at all encouraging.

K. VEDAMURTHY.

PIGMY PARADE

Sir,—The remarks of Sri K. S. V. Rajan and the quotation under the caption, "Peace-maker" (SWARAJYA, Jan. 14) are very appropriate.

Peace is the gift of greatness. But there is a dreadful dearth of really great men in India now. Most of the contemporary celebrities are non-entities, who have been pumped up to prominence in a vacuum. This poses the vital question whether the foundation for the future greatness of the nation is being well and truly laid. "Nothing—not all the knowledge in the world—educates", says Dr. Living-

stone, "like the vision of greatness". The present pigny-parade is a poor substitute for the real thing and is immensely harmful.

The first necessity of the times is "the examples of people....who have resolved to seek—not greater wealth, but simpler pleasure; not higher fortune but deeper felicity; making the first of possessions, self-possession". This is from Ruskin's "Unto the last", which powerfully influenced Mahatma Gandhi.

S. N. DE.

FREE LESSONS IN HINDI

Sir,—Kindly refer to the letter of N. S. Padmavathi published in the "Letters to the Editor" column of your weekly dated 12-11-1960 under the caption "Free Instruction in Hindi in Madras".

The information conveyed in this letter is not correct. The total number of operators in the Trunk and Special Service Exchanges is 216. Out of this only 47 operators are on the rolls of the Hindi Class. These operators have got shift duty and those on night shift do not attend the classes held in the day time. Also those on weekly off do not attend the classes. The average attendance in the Hindi Class thus comes to about 20 per day only. These factors have been taken into account while relieving operators for the Hindi Classes. The operators have fixed hours of duty and no operator is required to do extra hours on account of relief of other operators for Hindi Class. Relief for Hindi Class is arranged by suitable staggering of staff.

G. SUBRAMANIAN,
Divisional Engineer (Admn).
Madras Telephones.

CLAMOUR FOR MORE

Sir,—Our Government appears to be going along with the formulation of the Third Five-Year Plan without due attention to the financial conditions abroad, for example the dollar shortage in U.S.A.

Whereas the Finance Ministry and the Planning Commission consider it impossible to raise resources in excess of Rs. 7,500 crores for the public sector, which amount will be treated as the financial target, the National Development Council has fixed the physical target at Rs. 8,000 crores. This is contrary to the usual practice of arriving at the total of the details at a lower figure so as to allow a margin for the inevitable over-estimates.

Of course no State or department of the Centre appears to be satisfied with the allocation of funds for it and there

are cries for more from every one of them. This is understandable for the reason that whoever cries hardest gets earlier attention. It is however a pity that the Prime Minister also should add his voice to this chorus of discontent. He is reported to have recently stressed that the money needed for the development of Mangalore and Tuticorin ports should be found. The resulting echo from the Railway Minister will follow that money should be found for the rail link between Hassan and Mangalore.

K. V. IYER.

INDIA'S GIFT TO FRANCE

Sir,—I read in the papers the news that five stone sculptures of the Buddha from Sarnath will shortly be exchanged for twelve ivory pieces from the Musee Guimet, Paris.

If this news is true I protest both as a Buddhist and an Indian citizen anxious to keep within India all her artistic wealth.

Who was responsible for this decision? Is it the Minister for Cultural Affairs and Scientific Research who in his recent dash to America and Europe decided that these ivory pieces are "objects of great artistic value unearthed by French archaeologists in Afghanistan?" If it is not he, who is it? Whoever it is he (or they) must be brought before the bar of public opinion.

It is time that Ministers learnt that works of art which belong to the nation are not their personal property to be exchanged according to their whims. It is also time that some of these Ministers who take philosophy, the whole realm of culture, and science in their stride were trimmed to size.

At no time have cultural standards touched so low an ebb as they have today. Bharata Natya is now on a par with cabaret and as such is exhibited in the Government-run luxury hotel. Bronzes and other antiques are freely sold in hotel corridors and on pavements and allowed to be taken out of the country. Most of these are stolen from ancient temples and sometimes actually hacked away from statuary. No other Government would allow such things.

While on this subject, I should also like to comment on that hideous warren called Rabindra Bhavan that is going up on Ferozeshah Road, New Delhi. A building to house academies of art, music, and letters should have been a glorious edifice shimmering with light and air. Architecture has achieved such wonders in the use of glass and reinforced concrete—fine steel wire mesh, glass/plastic fibres—that even shop-owners in other parts of the world put up buildings compared with which

Rabindra Bhavan when completed would be a grim monstrosity. But perhaps we needed something like it as a commentary on the public taste encouraged by the present Government.

J. VIJAYATUNGA.

"STOP THE SPENDERS"

Sir,—President Eisenhower, in a recent speech at Philadelphia, prescribed four "don'ts" for a Government in power. He said: (1) Don't "use the taxing power to weaken or tyrannize the private economy"; (2) Don't "resort to the borrowing power to escape the sacrifices that go with responsibility"; (3) Don't "delude the people into taking the deceptively easy road of deficit spending, unbalanced budgets, or inflationary fiscal policies"; (4) Don't "use the power of appropriation falsely to offer the people something for nothing".

"Deficit spending", he said in the same speech, is "the way of the political coward".

B. SHIVA RAO.

SPENDING BORROWED MONEY

Sir,—The party in power has appealed to the people to observe austerity and economy. It was reported that at least Rs. 20 lakhs should have been spent for laying the township for the Bhavnagar session of the Congress, and it is anybody's guess as to the extent of expenditure involved in conducting that session.

Even though each session of the Congress erects a township, such as Satyamurthi Nagar at the Avadi session; Abhyankar Nagar at the Nagpur session; Sadashiva Nagar at the Bangalore session, and this year Sardar Nagar, the expenditure incurred has been a sheer waste of money, as the townships are demolished soon after the sessions.

Now in connection with the Queen's visit, lakhs of rupees are being spent—Rs. 50,000 for the renovation of the circuit house and other expenses at Agra; Rs. 30,000 for laying a new one-mile road in the Nandi hills and Rs. 2 lakhs for renovating the Cubbon House and Mahatma Gandhi Nilaya there, and furnishing them in typical British style. All buildings and places are getting face lifts so much that, I am afraid, the original simplicity and charm would be lost, and the Queen and her husband might even wonder whether they are staying in an Indian setting! As you have appropriately said in *Sidelights* (SWARAJYA, January 28) "When will the upholders of the Socialist pattern learn to outgrow the

snobbery of receiving great dignitaries with pomp, pageantry and wasteful expenditure as though these alone indicate cordiality of welcome?"

India, a press report says, has so far received Rs. 2,727 crores as loans and grants from foreign countries, and is specialising in spending rather than earning money. Savings would accrue only if one spends one's own money, and one is sure to run into debts, if one starts spending borrowed money or procures things on credit.

R. VENKATARAMAN.

APPEASEMENT THROUGH MINISTERSHIP

Sir,—Four more Ministers to be included in the Andhra Cabinet to end the rift" says a Press report. After having miserably failed to bring a reconciliation between the factions in the Pradesh Congress, the High Command seems to have evaded the responsibility through this kind of appeasement. The colossal expenditure that will be incurred on these four posts and their establishment can only be realized by the tax-payer from whose hard-earned contribution to the Nation's wealth such wastage is going to be meted out. Should a petty quarrel among the members of a party in power cost so much to the tax-payer who has nothing to do with it?

If dissensions in the Congress augur a Ministership and pave the way for a few years of enjoyment at somebody's expense, who will not like to be a dissident? No sir, I forget, they are all leading us to a socialistic pattern of society!

VASANTH KUMAR PARIGI.

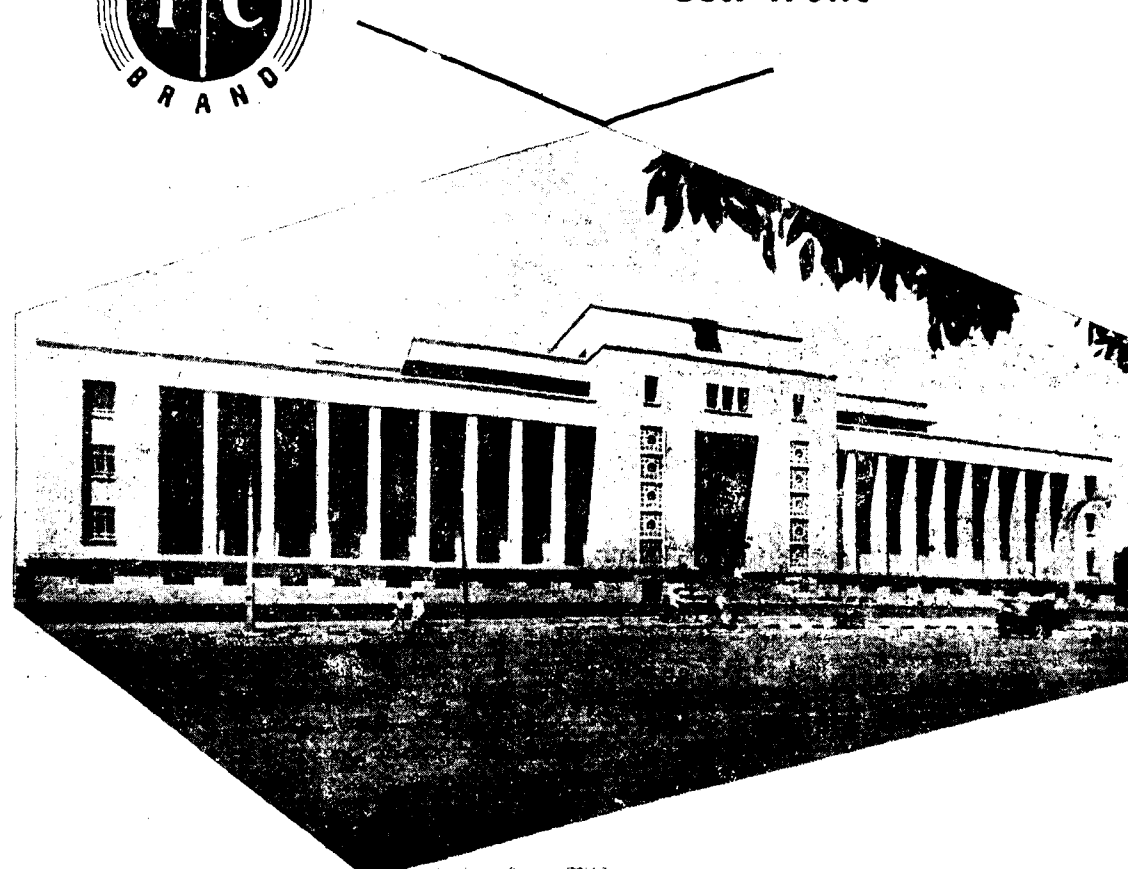
REAL CONGRESS AIM

Sir,—After the first general elections Ministers of States and the Centre who were rejected by the people at the polls were given employment as Governors of various States. But after the Congress party in power declared that the socialistic pattern was their policy and after the second general elections, not only those who were defeated at the polls got employment, but also those elected representatives in the various States who were not able to get a seat in the Ministry were accommodated in various State-controlled corporations. The real aim of the Congress Government is not public welfare but providing greater employment and benefit to the rank and file of their organisation. Unless public opinion turns against these misdeeds at the next poll the country will go to ruin and the Congress party and its men alone will thrive at the expense of the electorate.

S. RANGASWAMY.



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PAID PROPAGANDISTS TO TELL LIES

The Congress President said at Bhopal last week that prompt, appropriate and immediate action should be taken against those Congressmen who indulged in public criticism of their own partymen. If the Congress had not been the ruling party in the country, a threat like this from the President of the organisation might not be objected to. As it is, some Congress leaders hold high positions in the Government, and all members of the party, in addition to being such members, are also citizens of the country. It is now well known that standards of rectitude in the Congress administration are not very high. Corruption is rampant. A citizen's duty, when he becomes aware of corruption, is to give it no quarter and try to rid the administration of it. Here is Sri Sanjiva Reddi, the Congress President, asking the members of his party to forget their duty as citizens, and when they come across cases of corruption and the like, not to denounce them publicly. His conception of party discipline is tantamount to abandonment of the public duty of exposing and fighting corruption in the administration.

A party leader conscious of good and creditable work will not go about demanding from his colleagues secretive indulgence removed from press and platform publicity, especially on the eve of the elections. He will plead that the truth be proclaimed from a thousand platforms. The platforms are, as a matter of fact, being got ready. At about the same time when the Congress President, oppressed evidently at having much

to hide, was indulging in minatory tactics under cover of discipline to prevent inconvenient public disclosures, the Chief Minister of Madras was declaring in a district town in the South that full time propagandists for Congress service were being employed, and from that particular district alone, a sum of Rs. 7 lakhs had been collected for the purpose. Now, what sort of propaganda is likely to emanate from these full-time paid workers of the Congress Party? They are not likely to have more freedom of expression than the unpaid party members. They will be expected to earn their income by carefully excluding from publicity whatever is discreditable and whatever it is in the Congress

interest to hide, in conformity with the President's conception of disciplinary duty. When falsehood takes the form of suppression of truth for the preservation of party credit, party morality will certainly not shrink from inventive adventurism in pursuit of the same patriotic purpose.

The Congress President's threat of discipline against party members divulging administrative secrets which it is in the interest of the Congress to hide, sums up more forcefully than Rajaji, with all his brilliance of exposition can, why the Congress should be sent out of office. It is a party which cannot afford to have the truth told about it. It is interested in preventing the truth being told with disciplinary terrors. It cannot afford to have its members devoted to the citizen's primary duty of fighting governmental injustice, malpractice and corruption. For the sake of the party, these evils should not be even publicly mentioned by party loyalists. And, for the coming elections, Congress propaganda is being hatched, with the aid of full-time paid workers, not on the basis of what is, but what would be advantageous to the Congress to hand-out, for gaining credit and getting votes. To tell lies to people and deceive them, an army of paid agents is being got ready, and the expenses of this vast network are being collected with the help of the power which belongs to the Congress as the government, a government with enormous economic powers over the lives of the people depriving them of the substance of freedom.

**Long Term Planning,
A Misnomer**

I wonder if economists or students of political science have considered whether planning ahead for any distance of time is possible under a democratic system where governments are constantly changing as popular opinion changes. It is, of course, possible to plan ahead under a strict and ruthless authoritarian system; but even when such a system has ultimate purposes which might be described as democratic, I doubt if you could call it a democratic system.—SIR MAURICE GWYER, a former Chief Justice of India, in a letter to Prof. C. S. Krishnamurthy.

SIDELIGHTS ::

Sri S. Parthasarathi, Publisher of *The Hindu*, and son of the late Kasturi Srinivasan, was a very dear friend to me. I had not met him too frequently—not more than a dozen times in all. But consanguinity is not everything. With some persons one feels a sense of closeness despite the separation of time and distance. There is in fact nothing more terrible than the aloofness of some incompatibles thrown together under the same roof in constant, life-long companionship. Being lovable is the whole secret of making and keeping friendships, and Parthasarathi was lovable without even being aware of it. His infinite goodness made it appear at one time that he was too soft for the hard realities of this work-a-day world, but when confronted with emergencies, his calibre shone and revealed him a chip of the old parental bloc. His filial adoration for his distinguished father was like religion to him. He told me once that he was so moved by my own expression of grief when his father passed away that he framed it and kept it always in front of him on his desk. Of unbounded compassion, he acquired strength and philosophy in practical experience of the responsibilities of his great heritage, and had he not been cut off in the prime of life he would have made his mark on the newspaper with which he was connected with his soul and the impress of his personality.

According to a report in *The Hindu*, the Prime Minister told a meeting of the Andhra Congress Legislature Party at Hyderabad last Saturday that "it was improper for Congressmen to criticise openly their comrades". This sort of ukase amounts to special pleading for spreading the mantle of protection over Congressmen in office when they indulge in misdeemeanours and shady transactions. Misapplied comradely feeling for saving from public expo-

sure power-wielders abusing their positions can only result in consolidation of official corruption and governmental malpractices. Dr. Deshmukh recently brought to public notice the conduct of a Union Minister whom he charged with a whole series of inferential lapses on the ground that his son, a raw youth without much experience, was appointed to a post with a fabulous salary by a foreign firm. For his pains Sri Deshmukh had to quit the chairmanship of the University Grants Commission, though at the time of appointment he had been given the assurance of the Ministry concerned that his tenure of office would be extended for a further term if he so desired.

It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Nehru that corruption is a criminal offence and collusion with Congress Party bosses to save those committing such offences from the consequences of public exposure, is not permitted to law-abiding citizens. From the Prime Minister's Operation Secrecy, a good few deserving chastisement for wrong-doing might escape. That is but a minor and personal aspect of an issue of graver public importance. What is to become of the administration if members of the ruling party are to be enjoined by their top leaders not to resort to any public forum when they come across legally punishable offences committed by their party colleagues adorning administrative posts? The implications of the Prime Minister's Hyderabad directive are clear: Public morality is to be sacrificed for party prestige. And with conspiratorial connivance members of the ruling party should save the corrupt elements in government from publicity and consequential punishment. It is thus clear that from the Congress Party, people can expect no overt action to deal with administrative grievances and oppression. Can the terribly urgent need for a

party of the Opposition like the Swatantra Party to put an end to Congress rule be put more forcefully and convincingly?

Excellent advice was given by Mr. Nehru in the same town at another meeting. He said that reservations for higher and responsible posts would lower standards and affect work, the yardstick should be only merit. Admirable! But who is responsible for the present deplorable official policy of relegating merit to a position of comparative unimportance not only in recruitment to Government appointments but also in promotions? Our Prime Minister is in the habit of initiating exceedingly objectionable and even disastrous policies, and then condemning them from public platforms as though he were not the head of the Government responsible but a leader of the Opposition that had been protesting against such policies from their very inception! He divides the country linguistically, and then passionately decries linguism. He has a two-thirds nominated executive in his own Congress Party and cavils angrily against the entire system of nomination. "I can get on with anybody in my executive", he boasts, after having had to get rid of Sri Tandon and Sri Dhebar in the Congress *gadi*, and reduced the office itself into a frightening liability from which every independent leader flies in distaste. He has silently allowed China to occupy 12,000 and odd square miles of the country, and yet proclaims spiritedly that aggression would not be tolerated on even a mile of Indian territory! A wag, mathematically inclined, has asked the Prime Minister how many thousand square miles make a mile in his calculations!

Hortative outbursts contradicting executive policies have given to the Nehru leadership a stamp of indecisiveness and unreliability. There is less and less satisfaction with his conduct of public affairs. His wobblings and prevarications entitle him to be called "Mr. Facing Both Ways". —SAXA.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

TALE OF TWO PRESIDENTSHIPS

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Since Dr. Rajendra Prasad himself had set ball rolling, public discussions have been intermittently going on at the Capital, and perhaps at various other places too, on "The Powers of the Indian Union President". Dr. Rajendra Prasad made absolutely clear in his recent address to the Law Institute that was in a purely academic spirit that he had suggested the subject for study and probe. That he is particular as the present—indeed not only—incumbent of the office could have raised it at all, acquired unusual significance. But he fair to him, the idea of citing authoritative opinion on the subject of the Union President's powers had not occurred to him suddenly. It had, to borrow the phraseology of the Prime Minister in respect of his idea of retirement, come to him often and as present in some corner of his mind. It is of some significance, however seemingly incidental, that Dr. Rajendra Prasad's biographer, Mr. Kewal L. Panjabi C.S. (Retd.) laid special emphasis on the fact that the omission of "a specific provision in the Constitution that the President shall always act on the advice of his Ministers" has led to "considerable difference of opinion among experts and jurists". He cites the opinion of Mr. Patanjali Sastri, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, among those who hold that "under the Constitution the President is free to reject the advice of his Ministers because no limitation can be put upon the President's powers except by a specific provision in the Constitution". Indeed, it was known that Mr. Patanjali Sastri had held such an opinion when he was the Chief Justice. But what is not equally known is the fact that Mr. Sastri was the only one to have given that interpretation while the other seven Judges of the Supreme Court expressed a contrary view,

when the President, as early as in 1953, invited the eight Judges of the Supreme Court in two batches, for informal talks over tea. If during these seven years or more, no occasion has arisen for the clarification of the constitutional position, it is because—to quote Mr. Panjabi whose sources of information are doubtless unfailing, "the personal relations between the President and the Prime Minister have been cordial". Nevertheless, on his own initiative, the President has suggested a purposeful study of the subject. The latest to have discussed it (at a public meeting here on the first day of the current month), the Dean of the Faculty of Law, Delhi University, having duly emphasised that "the Union President is certainly no figure-head" and "can encourage, counsel and warn", expressed the hope that

the convention under which in England the King acts always on the advice of his Ministers will be established in this country also and that the President, not so much on account of the written word in the Constitution but as the result of this very healthy convention, will become a constitutional President in all matters.

He (Prof. L. R. Sivasubramaniam), referring to the President's choice of the Prime Minister, made also the following observation:

Where the majority is clear and manifest, the President has no choice; but where no party has a clear majority, the President will have ample play for his talents to bring together the parties and give charge of the office of Prime Minister to one who may form a stable Ministry.

One thing is certain: these discussions will continue, till at least the next Presidential election.

It seems that a question like the one under discussion about the Union President should also have been raised—and thrashed out—in respect of the august President

of the Indian National Congress. And never could it have been more appropriate than it can be now when the Congress has completed 75 years and embarked on country-wide celebrations of what is undoubtedly an important landmark in its career. To judge an organisation of the standing and importance of the Congress by its rank and file may not be correct or fair. But it would neither be incorrect nor unfair to judge it by its leadership at the top. What powers the Congress President has, whether he exercises them or not, not many know. However, from the role that is nowadays played by him, the conclusion is inescapable that he is no more than a figure-head. Time was when Congress Presidents could claim the right to parley with the British Viceroy on equal terms. Today they should consider it a privilege to take orders from the Prime Minister. Since Mr. U. N. Dhebar came on the scene, new "conventions" militating against old prestige seem to have come into vogue—for instance, getting Presidential Addresses formally passed by the Prime Minister! It is very revealing that what was once regarded by the biggest in the land as the highest prize that they could ever win, is today received glumly as a kind of unkind penalty, so much so that the recipient would feel like breaking coconuts in Tirupati if he could help being trapped into what has come to be a gilded cage. Since Mr. Purushottam Das Tandon, now elevated to the ranks of Bharat Ratna, was pulled out, Congress Presidents have been expected to behave like 'good boys' and not to make, or ask for, trouble. It may suit some recipients personally to lead an apologetic existence. What their real role as Congress President is, or should be—that is a question that may well engage the attention of students of political theory and lovers of democratic institutions.

In Uttar Pradesh the question was raised by the Leader of the

(Continued on page 18)

SMALL INDUSTRIES IN THE UNITED STATES

By DENNIS KUX

The word "bigness" is frequently used to sum up the U.S. economy. Such a view, however, overlooks the vital role which small industry plays in American economic life. Small business in the United States as in India is very important. Statistical data support this belief. The total value of all manufactures in the United States in 1955 was Rs. 62,504.77 crores. Of this total over 20.43 per cent or Rs. 12,774.65 crores was produced by small scale industries. Small scale industries in addition provided employment for 4,181,000 of a total of 16,344,000 industrial employees. Approximately 25.58 per cent of all industrial workers in the United States were thus employed in the small scale sector. Small industries numbered nearly 90.09 per cent of all industrial establishments; thus 255,000 out of 283,047 factories in the United States fell into the category of small industry. These figures underline the fact that small scale industry plays a most important role in the American economy.

The types of goods which small industries produce listed in terms of importance are: Food processing, (Rs. 2,293.3 crores); Clothing manufacture, (Rs. 1,330.4 crores); Machinery, except electrical, (Rs. 1,244.5 crores); Fabricated metal products, (Rs. 1,149.5 crores); Printing and publishing, (Rs. 1,145.7 crores); Lumber and wood products, (Rs. 938.1 crores); Stone, clay, and glassware, (Rs. 505.4 crores); Furniture and fixtures, (Rs. 416.1 crores); Primary metal industries, (Rs. 371.9 crores); Paper, pulp, and their products, (Rs. 323.0 crores). The varied nature of these products shows that small industry has developed successfully in a number of widely different fields. It is interesting to consider the economic rationale for the success of small industries in several of these.

First, the food processing industry. The key consideration here is the characteristic of the raw material, food crops. These are available over large farm areas and cannot usually be cheaply or easily shipped to central points. The most economically sensible solution is thus to establish many small-scale processing plants decentralised over a large area near the production centre. Small industry is an ideal solution.

The clothing manufacturing industry, popularly known in America as the

garment industry, reveals another consideration. The consumer, the American woman, likes to have a highly stylised and specialised product. Just as Indian ladies desire saris with many different designs, American women are similarly interested in many varieties of dresses. It would probably be more efficient from a production standpoint to mass-produce dresses. Large units could not however effectively meet consumer demand since it would be difficult to alter the production patterns a sufficient number of times. Flexible small-scale units have thus developed to meet the needs of the consumer. The industry has been established with a large number of small producing units, each making a slightly different product.

The case of machinery, other than electrical, and of fabricated metal products illustrates another situation, one which is relevant for India. This is that many small scale industries serve as feeders or auxiliaries to large-scale industries. The small-scale industries growing at Guindy illustrate this type of development.

Small scale units possess greater flexibility than larger plants and can more easily adapt their production lines. A fully integrated manufacturing plant has sometimes been found to become too large to operate efficiently. Big plants therefore often find it preferable to buy certain items from small industry despite the economics of mass production. An illustration of this is seen in the fact that General Electric in 1952 spent 60 per cent of its prime contracts on jet engines on sub-contractors in the field of small industry. Westinghouse Electric channelled more than 40 per cent of its defence contracts to sub-contractors who were small-scale industrialists.

Turn the looking-glass of business history around and one soon realises that every big business of today began once as a very small concern. The small business of today may well become the big business of tomorrow. Small industry plays a role in industrial growth not unlike that of the growing buds on trees and other plant life. Many new industries are developed by small industrialists and gradually expand as the market for the product expands. Much of the pioneering work in the field of electronics in America in recent years was begun by fairly small firms. The automobile industry also grew from modest beginnings half

February 11, 1961

a century ago. A specific example that comes to mind is the Ford Motor Company, which grew from a very small firm to become one of the largest enterprises in the world.

How do small businesses differ from large types of enterprises? The United States Chamber of Commerce, considering this problem in a 1958 report found that the problems of all small businesses were related largely to three matters—management, finding finance and taxation. The Chamber concluded that these were basically the same problems that all businesses faced. The use of proper management techniques is a problem in enterprise of all sizes, not just small business. Finding sufficient capital to initiate or expand business can also be a difficulty for large industry. Taxation restricts the profit incentive for all concerns. Large business may at times be better equipped to overcome these problems since its pool of management talent, its capital structure and security on which to borrow, and its ability to pay taxes may be greater than a small scale operation; nonetheless, the problems remain basic.

United States Government programmes to assist small scale industry are linked closely to overcoming the difficulties mentioned above, management, finance, and taxation. There is a special independent government agency called the Small Business Administration, which implements government policies toward small business. It has its headquarters in Washington and field offices in 41 cities throughout the United States.

The Small Business Administration first provides technical assistance. It helps the small businessman by publishing useful pamphlets and periodicals especially designed for his use. A sampling of titles includes U.S. Government Research Reports, Technical Reports, Newsletter, Patent Abstract Series and Supplement, Developing and Selling New Products, and Technical and Management Aids to Small Business. The Small Business Administration in addition makes grants of money to institutions and universities to finance research which will assist business development.

Financial assistance, given under a comprehensive Small Business Administration loan programme, forms a second part of the programme. Approximately Rs. 140 crores was lent to nearly 5,000 businesses between 1953 and 1957. Rs. 85 crores was lent in conjunction with banks and other leading institutions while 40 crores was lent

SWARAJYA

7

by the Administration alone. Loans are generally medium or long-term. Interest charges are based on the rate generally prevailing at the time. There are, in addition, special loan plans to help small businesses in the event of floods, severe rainfall, drought, as well as theft or fire losses. The Administration also has a programme to lend money for certain projects which assist small concerns in pooling resources to purchase or produce raw materials in bulk. Finally, the Small Business Administration will make loans to small investment companies and to State and local development corporations.

The financial problem of the small businessman in the U.S. is basically not unlike that of the small scale industrialist in India. Banks are not eager to undertake long-term commitments, because the small industrialist has limited security to offer. Banks further shy away because loans to small industries may involve an amount of administrative work that is not commensurate with the profitability of the loan. The Small Business Administration helps in overcoming this financial handicap in

much the same manner as the National Small Industries Corporation and the State Small Industries bodies in India.

The U.S. Government has also made a number of modifications of the tax laws to benefit the small businessmen. These modifications have lowered the effective tax rate on small business and thus given it an advantage over larger enterprises. The rationale for such measures is similar to the concept which underlies the progressive income tax. Such a tax in which the incidence rises in proportion to the taxable income is of course known in India through the slab system on the tax scales.

The United States Government has been particularly interested in observing the progress made by the Indian small scale industrialist. Our interest was expressed in tangible form this year through a \$10 million loan granted by the Development Loan Fund to the National Small Scale Industries Corporation. This money will help finance the foreign exchange costs of the NSSIC programme to sell machinery on hire purchase.



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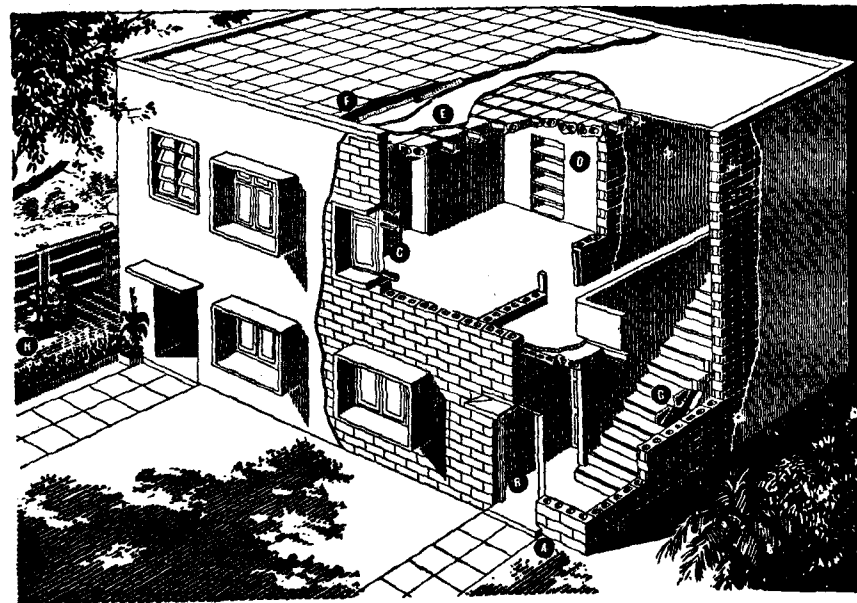
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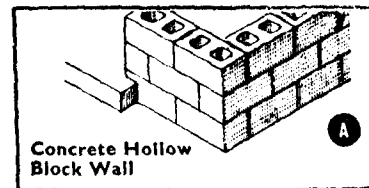
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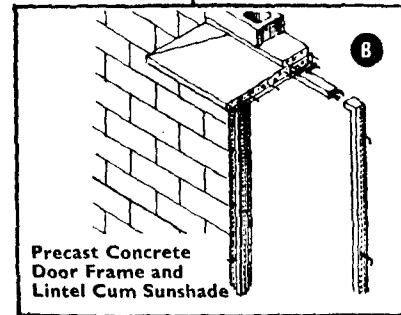
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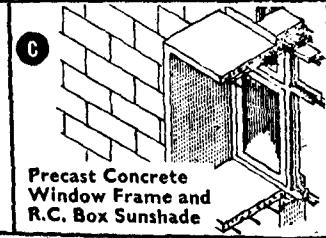
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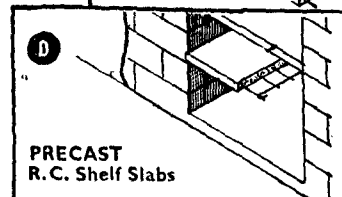
Concrete Hollow Block Wall



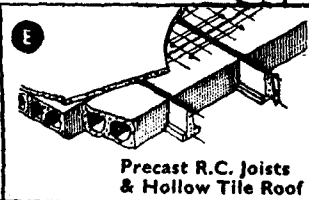
Precast Concrete Door Frame and Lintel Cum Sunshade



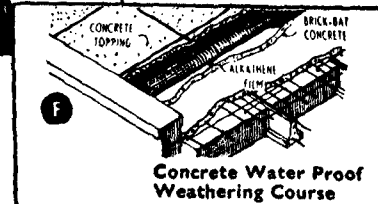
Precast Concrete Window Frame and R.C. Box Sunshade



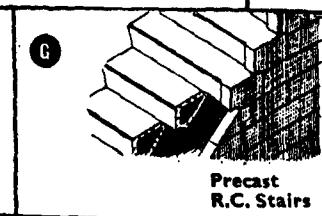
PRECAST R.C. Shelf Slabs



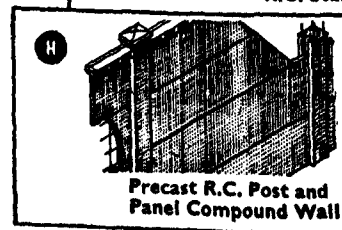
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FOURTH TEST MATCH

By **SRIVATSA**

When a craft or skill becomes "popular", is taken over by the common multitude, it is liable to decay. Much of the uninformed criticism of "slow" play in the fourth Test between India and Pakistan that was recently played at Madras is due to the unfortunate fact that cricket has become our national game. Old standards and concepts which looked at cricket not so much from the point of view of the spectator as from that of the actual player himself, who after all is more important, are being abandoned, and in their place are being put hysteria and the desire to be cheaply "entertained" or "amused". Judged by these degenerate standards, the Test match was discreditable. Only seventeen wickets fell in five days, and only one innings apiece could be completed. These are facts which enrage the multitude. But if the impertinence of the so-called "common man", who has much to answer for at the bar of history, is ignored, as it should be, and the match considered in the light of more real and vital facts, there could be little doubt that it was fully worthwhile to have been watched.

It is a popular misconception that every cricket match should "end in a decision". Test matches are, undoubtedly, trials of skill, and it is clearly an advantage should one of the two teams emerge victorious. But if, due to various reasons, this is not possible, there is nothing scandalous. What counts in a match, Test as well as any other, is less the element of combat between two groups of eleven players each than a conflict of skill, individual and collective. The eminent cricketers of Australia and the West Indies are able to impose a "decision" one upon the other, but it so happens that the cricketers of India and Pakistan, who are obviously much less eminent and skilled, are unable to do so. It is not the fault of the latter players that their two teams are evenly matched. Under the circumstances, while they must be expected to strive to gain a victory, it is unfair to blame them for attempting to save a match which they cannot win.

The last nine Tests between India and Pakistan have all been drawn. Far from this fact being discreditable to the players, they should be congratulated on their realism and on their successful efforts to avoid being de-

feated. It is often forgotten that the task, one might even say the duty, of a cricket team, once it is clear that it cannot win, is to save the match. Much irrelevance has been talked about what has been called "prestige" directing the course of Tests between India and Pakistan. The plain fact is that, apart from questions of "prestige", it is the bounden duty of the two teams to avoid defeat, provided always they cannot win. This they have been doing, and it is only perverted criticism that would reproach them.

The real aesthetics of cricket have suffered much from the game having become "popular". This game differs from most others in implicitly denying cheap excitement and such other sources of "entertainment" to the spectator. It is the most literary, the most philosophical of all. But when the populace invades it, it becomes reduced to the barbarities of the Roman circus. It is not true that, if a match does not "end in a decision" it is unworthy. Such a game has much to offer to those who are sympathetic and perceptive. There are to be admired the virtues of defensive play, the unfolding struggle between bat and ball, the vicissitudes of this contest and, perhaps most interesting, the interplay of individual character and the task in hand. These should be sufficiently interesting, and they make nonsense of the clamour against "slow batting". It is not true that, in the first place, defensive batting has never been seen before. One may recall Scotton, the old England batsman, who made slow play a fine art. In the second place, even slow play has many rewards to offer to the educated spectator. The clamour for "bright batsmanship" proceeds on the ridiculous assumption that the bowler, so far from being himself an integral part of the game, merely exists as the hewer of wood and drawer of water for the batsman. A batsman may be "dull" not only because he has no strokes or, if he has, is not minded to use them but also because good bowling may reduce him to "dullness". To blame the batsman under such circumstances is to deny the bowler the reward of his efforts. It is a matter of cricket history that everywhere in the world bowling has become more skilled and resourceful, while batsmanship has by and large made no great advance. This is a phase in the evolution of the game when the ball largely

dictates terms. It is to this fact that "slow batsmanship" is to be attributed. This might "bore" the average spectator, but the literate one will not complain.

Specifically in the fourth Test, it was easy to see why Indian batsmanship should have been so slow and laboured. It was governed by the poverty of Indian bowling. Except for Hanif Mohammed and perhaps Saeed Ahmed also, the Pakistan batsmanship was far from distinguished. Yet such was the ineptitude of the Indian bowlers that Pakistan was allowed to raise a huge score. What should the Indian batsmen in their turn have done, confronted as they were with a total of 448? They would have been untrue to themselves if they had attempted to imperil their wickets in order to score quickly. At the end of the second day, it became clear that India could not win. Their task, therefore, was to draw the match. This they did. To criticize them for having been dull is to miss the whole point.

India's draw was largely the work of Borde and Umrigar. The initial innings of Contractor had been deceptively easy. It was when Habeeb Ahsan had bowled Manjrekar with a ball that seemed to indicate untold difficulties for the Indian batsman that the battle was really joined. Mahmood Hussain had his teeth drawn by the docile wicket, and one could scarcely recognise in Fazal Mahmood the great bowler of old. Inthekab Alam was given only a few overs, though his leg-breaks seemed more purposeful than those of the hapless B. P. Gupte. The brunt was borne by Ahsan and Nasimul Ghani. It could not be believed that the latter presented many grave problems. But the efforts of Ahsan were superhuman. Though over two hundred runs were scored off him, he was not mastered for any long spells. The Test was a contest between him on the one hand and Borde and Umrigar, on the other. This was a sufficiently absorbing spectacle.

It is therefore idle to condemn the Test match as pointless. If any lessons are to be drawn from it, the principal one is that the ineptitude of the Indian bowling is positively frightening. Another is that, because the bowling is so unworthy, the batting, governed by that melancholy fact, must continue to be studied and laboured. It may appear paradoxical, but the truth is that, if Indian batsmanship is to become attractive, Indian bowling should be considerably improved.

BOOK REVIEW:

STRANGER AT HOME

Dom Moraes is, in many ways, a rare person indeed. It was given to no other Indian, and few Englishmen in fact, to win the cherished Hawthornden prize while still in the teens. He literally woke up to find himself famous one fine morning. *Gone Away* with its suggestive and outspoken title, is a book off the beaten track. Not unlike the author's own wanderings in India, of which it is an intensely personal record. It is uniformly interesting, often amusing, at times evocative and occasionally irritating.

GONE AWAY (An Indian Journal):
By Dom Moraes (William Heinemann Ltd., London, Price 18 shillings).

The main thing to remember about Moraes is that he was only born and bred in India, but does not really belong here. He does not feel at home anywhere in this country. Coming of an entirely English-speaking family (of Goans in Bombay), he knows hardly any Indian language. The Oxford tradition (running to three generations from his grandfather downwards) had gone deeper into his blood than any obviously Indian influence. The pubs of England are closer to his habits of life than any Indian clubs or coffee houses could be. His visit to India (in August to November 1959) was no home-coming of a student from abroad. It was by no means a return of the native. Actually, it was more in the

nature of an odd journey of a stranger in his own house, an exile in his land of birth.

The first place that stares him in the face on his flight from London (where he evidently loses himself like many youthful English poets) is Bombay which seems to him "the worst place in the world". In spite of its dust and heat, its overcrowding and slums, he cannot help feeling affected by it in some ambivalent manner. "Bombay at night, away from the sea, is curiously exciting. The darkness is bluish and smells of cooking food, excrement, flesh, mustard oil, all mixed up. Every street is fronted with lighted shops and white-clad men wander hand in hand across the road, twittering and whistling. Cars have to nose slowly through this indolent float of people, their horns snorting in the humid air". His flair for description is undoubted, though not always poetic.

So is his predilection for places rather than for people. Among the few persons he meets in Bombay is Marilyn Silverstone, but he has no use for her other than to get some ideas on his uncommercial travels. He does spend some time with Dr. Mulk Raj Anand and a couple of other writers and artists, but for the real thrill of it he goes about scouring the slums of Greater Bombay with illicit stills that sprout like pimples on the dry face of the city. He has a sensitive nose for all the smells and knows exactly where the brew tastes like liquid rubber or rusty juice of rotten fruit.

By the time he reaches Delhi, no dread of Prohibition there for him, the author decides, in the company of his friend Ved Mehta, that there might be at least a few interesting men here. Mr. Nehru, for instance, and of course, the Dalai Lama. His interview with the Prime Minister leaves on the reader the fading picture of an aging leader fast losing grip, an idealist whose vision is getting blurred. Somehow, Mr. Nehru has been too much of an extrovert, sharing every one of his moods and thoughts with the rest of his countrymen to leave anything worthwhile for the young poet to draw from his drooping eyelids or twitching fingers playing with the silver paper-cutter. The Dalai Lama had obviously taken an immediate liking for the author and his "poetries", and pats him often on the knee, but the latter derives more secret pleasure from the thought that the entourage, so finicky about touching 'the Presence', had been fooled than from anything memorable said or done by the God-King.

It is not surprising that the author, though more particular about meeting young writers in Delhi, was interested enough in slightly older writers like Khushwant Singh and Nirad C. Chaudhuri. The former's realism and love for the Punjabi villages come in for special praise, but one would like to know if the cultivated Sikh prefers just now to live in a Punjabi village or in the more fashionable quarter of New Delhi. It is difficult to imagine what useful purpose is served by quoting this opinion (a third party's) on Chaudhuri: "He's an eccentric, you know. He has the most extraordinary fund of information. He knows the date of the founding of Prague, and what porridge John Keats had, and things like that". One who reads his books would seem to think that he knows a thing or two more about the world. The encounter itself was even less fair to Chaudhuri. "..... a naked figure is asleep on a sheet. Ved bends and shakes it impatiently. 'Hai mai, brother, get up and call your master'. The figure springs up, wraps the sheet round itself to form a waist cloth, and says with dignity, 'I am Mr. Chaudhuri'". It is rather a novel fact to learn that any civilised adult in India sleeps naked in the open! Mr. Chaudhuri's lapse, apparently, was to take his visitors seriously and discuss English life and literature with them.

COMMERCE 1960 ANNUAL

The publication of this lavishly produced 'Golden Jubilee Number' constitutes an important landmark in Indian financial journalism. Mr. Rayan has not only dealt with the contribution of *Commerce* to Indian financial journalism during the last fifty years, but has also given us an objective assessment of the journalistic record of other financial weeklies like *Capital* (*Capital*, started by Shirley Tremeearne, had inaugurated the era of financial journalism in India), *Indian Finance*, *The Eastern Economist* and *The Economic Weekly*.

The major section of this issue is devoted to feature articles, which deal, rather discursively, with different aspects of the Indian economy. In his article on "Reflections on Economic Progress", Mr. V. V. Giri has highlighted the role of the private sector in our economy. He has correctly observed that the private sector is "useful in meeting squarely the basic necessities of the people and providing them with the fundamental rights adumbrated in

COMMERCE 1960 ANNUAL. Edited by S. V. Rayan, Bombay. Rs. 10.

Few things or men prove fit to be taken seriously by Moraes. Almost everything is amusing to his searching and quizzical eyes. In the Rana's palace he discovers bears in the drawing room, wolf-cubs in the garden and nude Nepalese girls (sic) in the bed! A dignitary's beautiful wife in warm clothing in Sikkim looks like a tent. Not a living soul is spared in this exciting orgy of engaging irreverence, with the possible exception of his father and the dying poet Devkota. The moments spent with the latter are recaptured with genuine feeling and great power.

Authentic in quite a different way are the pages dealing with the perambulations in the red light area of the 'spider city' of Calcutta. The author's preoccupation with alcohol (a wide variety and unlimited quantities of it) had come in for some adverse comment from a seasoned critic. But whisky or gin is obviously as much part of him as the opium potion in De Quincey's constitution, tea in Dr. Johnson's, and wine in Chesterton's. There need be no anxiety on the quantity of spirituous liquors he is able to imbibe, as per his own assurance. However, the hope is but natural that he should be able to imbibe the Indian spirit and understand Indian character to a similar degree.

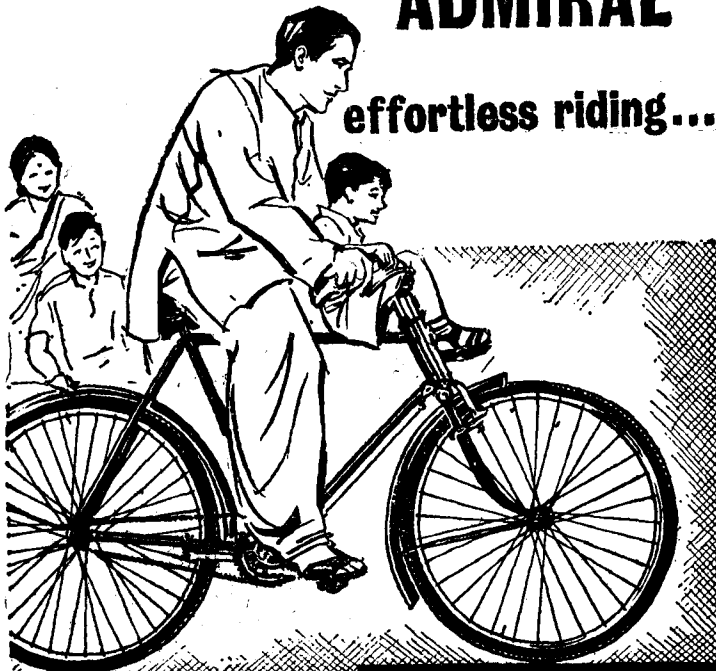
D. ANJANEYULU.

statistical tables to prove that "the average man has not yet felt the impact of this improvement (in economic development) in his daily life". Dr. Das has rightly stressed that "the time has therefore come for Government to give up some of its pet ideologies and get down to a need-oriented production and spreading the gains of economic development among the masses in as short a time as possible". And this is possible only if the Government authorities get rid "of the delusion that has been created by the catchword 'Socialist pattern of society' and tackle the problems of unemployment and poverty in a much more forthright manner than it has done so far".

Mr. A. D. Shroff has made a realistic assessment of the prospects of foreign aid. And he has drawn our attention to the dilemma which is faced by the country: "We must either increase exports to such a substantial figure that the resources released enable us to import all the essentials or we should be prepared to cut down our programme of further expansion". Prof. Bauer has refuted some widely canvassed ideas concerning the economic development of underdeveloped countries and has arrived at the startlingly original conclusion that interdependence between developed and undeveloped countries is very different from economic dependence in the sense of reliance on external assistance such as reliance on Government-to-Government foreign aid. And in an interesting article on "Administrators in Independent India", Mr. C. C. Desai has suggested that an administrator "could readily hand a beautiful (verbal) bouquet to each one of his friends and colleagues as opportunities offer themselves" since the English language is "like an extensive enchanting garden of rich, resplendent roses of breath-taking beauty and of the finest fragrance". It is surprising that an I.C.S. officer of Mr. Desai's cali-

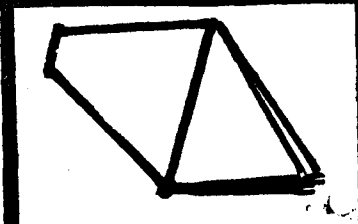
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bre (who must have been schooled in the British administrative tradition of understatement) should have made this flowery suggestion.

This issue also contains the usual annual review of the prospects of coal, cotton, textiles, jute, sugar, planting, food and agriculture, trade and insurance, banking and money and the

trend of markets in stock exchanges, bullion, cotton, oilseeds, tea, metals, hides and skins. And the Editor has frankly indicated that "whatever be the political undertones or overtones of individual financial papers, the fact remains that financial journalism has on the whole stood for a reasonable amount of freedom to private enterprise as

much in the interests of sustaining democracy as in those of drawing out its potentialities for public good". This statement sums up the finest traditions of Indian financial journalism. And this admirably edited journal can be warmly recommended to every serious student of current economic affairs.

A. RANGANATHAN.

EDUCATIONAL RED HERRINGS

By Prof. M. RUTHNASWAMY

As if already existing hurdles in the educational course were not enough, educational authorities draw red herrings across it to distract and dissipate effort from the main task of the educational business. That main work is the rapid promotion of primary education so as to achieve at least 75 per cent literacy in the next 10 years. This literacy is required not only in the interests of culture but for the economic progress of the country. Literacy is required to increase agricultural and industrial efficiency and productivity. Russia and China, whose sole political aim is increased economic productivity, realise the urgency of total literacy; the former has achieved it in 40 years and the latter is on the quick march to achieve it. The need for total literacy is no less urgent in India. But our Governments and the educational authorities they foster allow their attention and energy and their financial resources to be diverted to other directions. Basic education has been one of them and it has received new strength from a resolution of a recent meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education, under the leadership of the Minister of Education of the Government of India which recommended that "adequate measures should be taken to ensure that during the course of the Third Plan

all training institutions for primary teachers should become basic training institutions and that all teaching in primary schools should be orientated towards the basic pattern". Apart from the longer period required for basic education, the cost of basic teaching and training schools would carve out a big slice from the money available for primary education. While primary education in the 3 R's is an urgently needed necessity, basic education is a relative luxury. But the luxury is allowed to divert energy and money from the necessary.

Basic education is an old red herring. As if it were not enough to delay primary education towards literacy, the Central Advisory Board has found another and is trailing it across the educational path. And that is pre-primary education. It is required "to promote the total development of the child" and the resolution on the subject of the Central Advisory Board of Education recommended "that the Central and State Governments should allocate resources in their plans to enable a comprehensive programme in this field to be developed and implemented in a co-ordinated way". At a time when primary education has not succeeded in including more than half the primary school-age population it is academic star-gazing to think of pre-primary or nursery education. Nursery or pre-primary schools came into existence in Europe and America about the beginning of this century when primary education in the 3 R's had proceeded to the point of making people there mainly and wholly literate. At a time when literacy in India has reached only the 25 per cent stage it is premature to think of pre-primary education. It is difficult to persuade parents to spare their children for instruction in reading and writing at the age of six. To ask them to send their children from the age of 4-6 is to fly in the face of the impossible. As if not to be outdone by his Advisory Board, the Minister of Education has brought in some red herrings of his own. He proposes evening classes not only for technical courses but for arts and science courses of the university grade. At a time when neither the people nor the Government are able to provide employment for the graduates produced by our day colleges it is adding to the distressing number of the unemployed and unemployable to produce more of them through evening classes. He has also suggested correspondence courses

for university students. How a university man who ought to know that the *differentia* of university education is education in and through social life of students and teachers can suggest correspondence courses for university studies beats imagination. According to the Minister, education seems to be not for life but for statistics.

RETURN TO KINGSHIP?

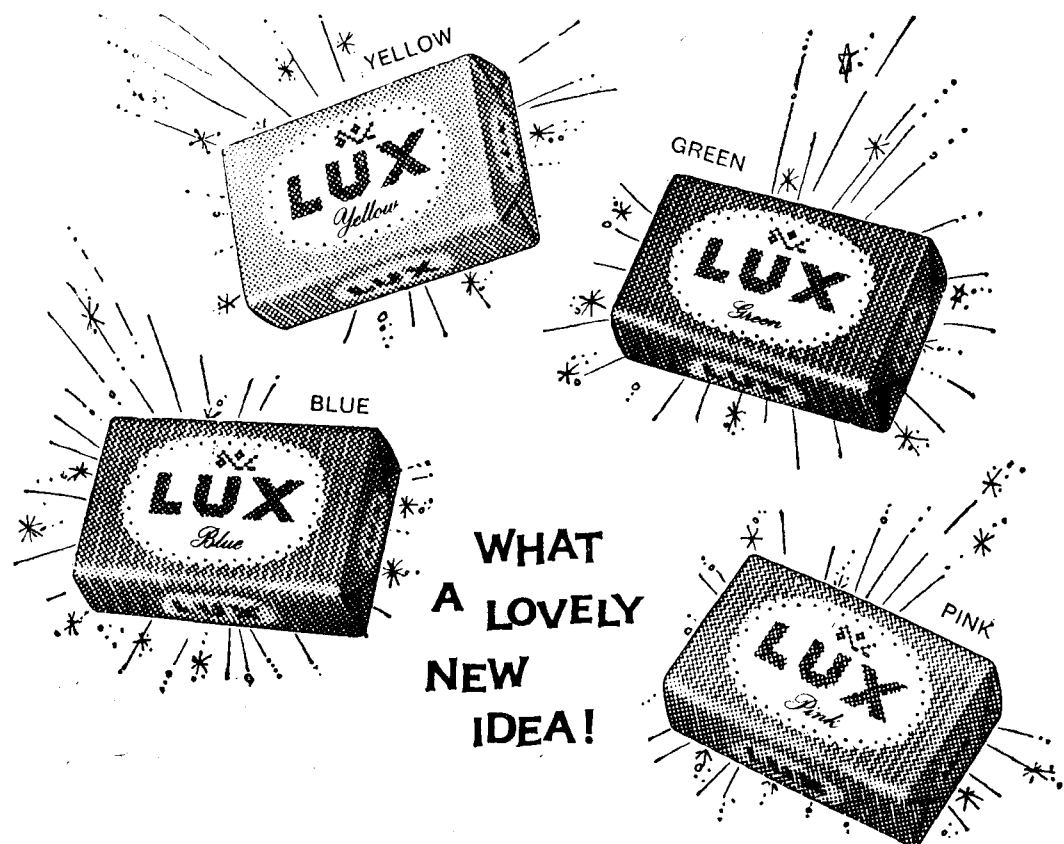
George Houston, President of the Baldwin Locomotive works, said in a recent address at the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia:

"If the business activity of the country is made up of several hundred thousand individual enterprises, each subject to the judgment and decisions of its own individual management, the composite judgment is likely, generally, to be in the right direction. Many of those going in the wrong direction will be sufficiently responsive to environment and circumstance to change their course in time so that the composite progress will be forward. If, however, these hundreds of thousands of individual enterprises are set within a rigid frame of government direction, based upon an economic plan of national scope, progress will be in the right direction only so long

TALE OF TWO

(Continued from page 5)

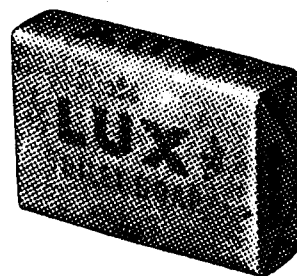
Opposition in a letter to the Governor, if the Chief Minister could propose himself for nomination to the Vidhan Parishad. It was described by the complainant as a constitutional impropriety. If any such were to emanate from the Chief Minister, how could he help taking an impersonal view of the matter! One could sympathise with Mr. C. B. Gupta in his awkward predicament. In West Bengal the uncharitable comment was heard that Dr. B. C. Roy declared a public holiday in his own honour on his emergence into a Bharat Ratna! Maybe as a 'popular Minister', Dr. Roy could not help respecting public sentiment. Perhaps we cannot ask for too much of sense of humour in the face of such challenges to our equanimity.



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as the individuals who conceive and direct the plan are right. When wrong, the result will be catastrophic and utterly destructive.

"Where are we to find the super-intellec-tuals qualified to do our thinking for us or the administrators to direct upon such a scale and with such a responsibility? By what justification

are we entitled to replace the composite understanding and judgment of the people as a whole by the understanding and judgment of a very few? Does human experience justify us in organizing our society in such manner as to require such human infallibility? Are we to turn back to the theory of the divine

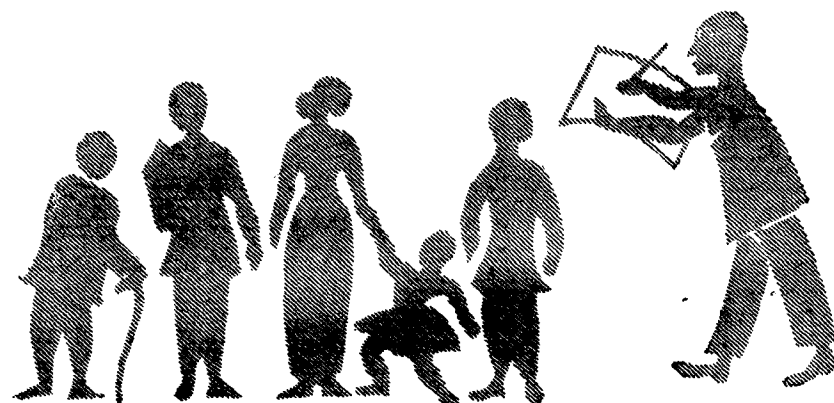
right of kings—that the economic planners can do no wrong? If so, I fear we will suffer as did the nations of an earlier age under the domination of such kings".

These words are of interest as an earnest plea for the reasonable freedom of individual enterprise in business.

—S. RANGAN.

CENSUS 1961

10 February—5 March



Between these dates every person will be counted in our country, in cities or in the remote villages, in the hills or in forests, at sea or on shore.

The counting will start on 10 February and end at sunrise on 1 March. To make doubly sure that every one has been included in the Census, there will be a revisional count between 1 and 5 March. Make sure that the entire family is counted, from the oldest to the youngest.

The enumerator has a heavy responsibility. Please help him in his task.

All census information will be strictly confidential and fully protected.

Issued by Government of India

DA6/603

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR A PARTY OF YESSING ROBOTS

Sir,—It is only in Communist and near Communist countries that the personality cult is developed and a whole country made to revolve round one single personality. That was why one heard the question "After Stalin what" and in a few more years will hear "After Khrushchov what". In our own country if, after Independence democracy had been properly nurtured the question "After Nehru what" would not have arisen; but alas, democracy has been reduced to a farce. While Russia annihilated all opposition through violence we are achieving the same end systematically through psychological force. Congress which once was the party of intellectual India has today been reduced to a party of yessing robots. Pertinent questions of national importance posed even by the doyen of Indian politics, Rajaji, are evaded on the plea that Rajaji is "too respectable" for political controversies! The same questions when asked by others are brushed aside on the count that the questioners are just small fry, "a motley crowd with motley ideas". In the pre-Independence days did his respect for Mahatma Gandhi preclude Pundit Nehru from condemning several of the Mahatma's actions? Newspapers nowadays for the most part contain only Government hand-outs and ministerial speeches and opposition views are just blacked out. It is through such tactics that personality cult has been developed in our country making one person and his views unassailable, resulting in the question being posed "After Nehru what". The question can only be answered by creating a strong and healthy opposition which is the greatest bulwark of democracy where no one leader, however great, is indispensable for the country.

I. SHANKER RAO.

DISCRIMINATION OR HARASSMENT?

Sir,—Early in June, 1960 my aged and ailing wife got a severe heart attack; I immediately called in my family doctor who, after examining the patient gave me to understand that my wife's illness was due to ill-ventilated bed rooms. On 20-6-60 I wrote to the Health Officer, of the Bangalore City Corporation, and he, after personally examining my premises, in Albert Road, Bangalore, gave me an assurance that two ventilators were a

necessity. I then forwarded a petition to the Assistant Engineer.

On 10th August last year, I was asked by the Corporation Commissioner to get my neighbour's permission; on 29th August 1960, I wrote to this official that the owner of 5, Alexandra Street, had opened out 26 ventilators in his out houses and it is not known why he is hesitating to grant me permission to open out only two ventilators on medical grounds.

As a loyal Indian citizen I strongly object to the Corporation authorities treating me differently.

L. VIEGAS,
Indian State Railways (Retired).
Bangalore.

SUPERANNUATION

Sir,—Our Government have been inclined to surround the Judges of our Supreme Court and of the High Courts with a kind of halo and treat them as super-men whose wisdom can always be relied upon. It is therefore comforting to note that they are also human like the rest of us and motivated by almost the same appetites. Recently the Chief Judge of the Supreme Court pleaded the cause of the Chief Judges of all these courts by stating that the Constitution-makers had "gone grievously wrong" in regard to fixing the retirement age of Judges. When he bemoaned the lot of the nine Chief Judges who have to retire this year under the age rule, it is a pity he did not plead the cause of the puisne Judges also, for they cannot be considered to be less efficient or less deserving than the Chiefs.

He added that most of them are "not only willing but also able to discharge their onerous duties enthusiastically". This grievancing is unedifying. How is it different from the cries of the thousands of the other servants of the Government who are compulsorily retired on attaining a certain age? Like the quest that Lord Buddha is said to have laid on a bereaved mother to discover the household where someone near and dear had not died, where is the servant who has the good sense to recognise that he is past the full measure of work, that it amounts to cheating to accept full pay for a smaller measure and retires contentedly? Does not almost every one plead not only the ability to render the usual (1) amount of work but also the evils of

forced idleness and the need for adding to one's resources to meet the needs of an expanding household? Do we not read of aged persons in high places falling ill off and on or continuously for a long time and still sticking to their jobs?

Referring to the retirement of Dr. Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, *The Economist* (London) remarked that the Archbishop will have the pleasure of reading his obituary notices and asked how many of the politicians (he was of course referring to England) are prepared to follow his example.

K. V. IYER.

WELFARE OR ILLFARE STATE?

Sir,—Our Prime Minister is a firm believer in the Co-operative movement and has a closed mind against those who hold contrary views.

Rajaji at one time called the Public Works department Enemy Number One. I must add the Co-operative department to that. It is a travesty of truth to call it 'Co-operative' if it lacks in sincerity of purpose, honesty of conviction and human sympathy. A writer has rightly stated that "It is common knowledge that the Co-operative movement in India (even though supervised by officialdom from A to Z) has been a dismal failure. There is hardly one co-operative society in a hundred in which money has not been misappropriated. Still to the Prime Minister the Co-operative movement has been spectacularly successful". He has stated a fact which none can deny.

In this unfortunate department, two of my relations were senior co-operative inspectors—a big name with little or no substance. One was retired in July 1957. He has not drawn his pension till this month though three years have elapsed and all his reminders to settle his pension are of no avail. Another retired from this world without being subject to the injustice and iniquity of the department but his widowed wife's petition to the department to get what was due to her deceased husband has been of no avail.

It does no good to any body if the Ministers sing in chorus with the Prime Minister or travel incognito in trains, but they must cast their vigilant eyes in all directions and act with understanding, determination, efficiency and sympathy in removing the popular discontent and distress which otherwise will pave the way for an illfare state.

R. S. V. RAO.

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PAKISTAN SHOWS THE WAY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Pakistan has begun to show us the way in a striking manner. The following news item has appeared in the press:

"The Pakistan Cabinet at its meeting today took a major step to take the country towards a free economy by deciding to lift controls on a large number of items with immediate effect. The Industries Minister, Mr. A. K. Khan, told newsmen that in pursuance of Government's policy that more production could take place only in a free economy the Government had lifted controls on 29 commodities out of 44. These include building material like iron and steel, cement, plates and sheet glasses, sanitary and water supply fittings and building hardware and caustic soda and medicines. Among the 15 items still under price and distribution control were tea, sewing machines, edible oils and bidi leaves. The Pakistan Government last week lifted control on price and distribution of cotton yarns and cloth".

Japan and West Germany had shown the true way to progress. But those good examples had no effect on our omniscient Congress Party. Now neighbour Pakistan has decided firmly to take the path of decontrol and to release the energy of her people. Sunshine will take the place of darkness. Pakistan has been providentially charged, so to say, to teach us a lesson and lead us out of the wrong path into which we have strayed.

There is no doubt soon the effects will be seen by those who have the mind to see. The withdrawing of the baneful restraints placed on the energy and enterprise of producers and distribu-

tors, the release of the creative spirit of the people, will result in a leap towards prosperity and progress which will proceed with accelerated pace, as it did in West Germany and Japan.

If our economy continues to be in the grip of the Congress Party and if sycophant officials who have become more socialist than their socialist masters continue to harass, impede and hamper those who are really eager to add to national wealth, Pakistan will soon be in a position to shame us and demonstrate what can be achieved by the releasing of national energy.

Democracy means much more than popular government and majority rule, much more than a system of political techniques to flatter or deceive powerful blocs of voters. The true democracy, living and growing and inspiring, puts its faith in the people—faith that the people will not simply elect men who will represent their views ably and faithfully, but also elect men who will exercise their conscientious judgment—faith that the people who will not condemn those whose devotion to principle leads them to unpopular courses, but will reward courage, respect honour and ultimately recognize right.

PRESIDENT
JOHN F. KENNEDY.

Wealth is not produced by letting the monster of envy play with our policies and destroying the seed that must multiply, viz., capital. Wealth is not produced by suffocating and choking but by freedom to breathe and grow. Are we to wait till Pakistan following the path of Swatantra shames us into wisdom? The cliches of socialism will not help us. Those cliches should be thrown into the dust-heap of modern falsehood. The balanced generalities of our Prime Minister will not help us either. Like other empty things there is more sound in them than guidance. Can there be anything more absurd than one of our ex-ambassadors using bitter language against West Germany for not aiding us and our 'Plan' with more loans? This is patent and dishonourable blackmail. Are we decent borrowers or are we just exploiting the cold war and taking up the role of rowdy beggars? Beggars we are, but let us at least behave like decent beggars.

Let us do some fundamental thinking. Let us not go on destroying the value of our money, and the nation along with it, by "our endless round of perpetual-motion schemes — something-for-nothing-economic-witchcraft". As the inflation rate is proceeding up and up and our interest and establishment charges are increasing, as we "roll with exceeding smoothness down-hill, making paper money and spending it", will it take very long to get to the bottom? Let us recover good sense before it is too late.

THE KILLING FROST OF STATISM

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Congress Party is using the word 'co-operation' as if it were an abracadabra or *mantram*. It is easy enough to exploit any phrase or name carrying good or great, past or present, associations. Co-operation is not a charm or incantation to alter the laws of nature. It consists in an ordering of things that will eliminate conflict between opposing interests in any creative effort and thereby help production without loss of efficiency. The conflict between consumer and producer is eliminated by a co-operative organization into which consumer and producer jointly enter. The conflict of interests between those who invest capital and organize labour in order to produce any commodities and of those who are to buy and consume the articles so produced, is eliminated or greatly reduced if the two interests are combined in a co-operative organisation. This can happen in a variety of activities where the two parties, the producer and the consumer, can be brought together; that is to say, where the consumers can be induced to become also the producers and not act as mere critics or auditors.

Where this is not possible or not done, but 'co-operation' is brought about among consumers only or among producers only, so as to pool the energies of production, or to eliminate harmful competition among consumers, it is not co-operation in the real sense but only joint action. In this latter variety of so-called 'co-operation' we eliminate competition and to that extent it acts as a dis-incentive rather than as an incentive for good standards. We do not eliminate the conflict of opposing interests. It is a protective measure taken by one party against the other party, that is to say, if it is a combine of producers, it is a move against consumers, and vice versa. It may be a way of

augmenting investment by the pooling together of resources or of energy and in that way be beneficial. But where this pooling does not materially add to the potential of production, it only acts as a dis-incentive. Where, for instance, all the importers of timber combine and import and sell timber it is not a co-operative organization in the real sense. It is just a union of timber merchants. On the other hand where builders of houses combine and buy a timber estate and import wood and saw it and distribute it among themselves, it is a co-operative organization which eliminates the conflict between the buying and the selling interests. In the one case the combine eliminates the conflict and competition among timber merchants and increases the chances of their making profit without any special effort at economy or improvement of quality. It reduces the capacity of the consumers of timber to demand better quality or lower prices. Grouping together of the same interests is mere collectivisation, not co-operation. Apart from the advantage obtained against the consuming interests by the elimination of internal competition (e.g., the petroleum companies' combine), the grouping eliminates emulation in producing better quality, in economizing and in paying attention to the details involved in all productive work.

What then is the intelligent principle behind so-called co-operative farming? Mechanisation of labour and reduction of farming expense may be aimed at, where there is a possibility for such things. Obviously there is no room for it in the foodgrains private sector except in certain show units. The ceiling laws proposed now will further reduce the scope for mechanisation. As against it there is the great problem of reduction in personal interest which is so important in farming operations running through the annual cycle of

seasons. Farming is one of those activities which depend to such a great extent on personal interest and attention, that too many persons entitled to be engaged on the same unit does not mean addition of strength, but means conflict and consequent reduction of net-result. A joint stock company of peasants even though it may be called by the name of 'co-operative society' is not an improvement on the traditional pattern of agriculture in our country. Indeed even Hindu joint families of peasants voluntarily break up so as to discourage idleness and parasitism and in order that land under cultivation may be better attended to.

The talk of the Congress Party and their supporters of co-operation is mere abracadabra. It seeks to exploit the simplicity of our rural electorate whose one all-pervading need is money, loans on easy terms which may be expected to be written off! The people are deluded into becoming debtors to State or quasi-State organisations, who in turn are made to convert their assets into bad debts to be written off when things are forgotten and the slate cleaned up. The net result is loss to the public exchequer and encouragement of waste and fraud. The agricultural community in India in their enlightened organisations are therefore totally opposed to the "co-operative farming" which is the Congress Party's election slogan.

If the farmers are enabled to get their wants supplied on better terms under any system of real co-operation which does not reduce or tamper with the individual peasant's interest, attention and incentive, it would be a very good thing. On the contrary, the present activities which are likely to continue, do not help the farmers. Illegal monopolies are created in the fertilizer trade leading to pernicious black-marketing. Policies which are good in themselves become bad on account of the partisan character of the execution of those policies under the pressure of the party system and the eagerness of the

PLAN SQUEEZE ON AGRICULTURE

By Prof. B. R. SHENOY

The Indian economy remains, dominantly, an agricultural-peasant economy. About 50 per cent of Indian national income is drawn from agriculture and about 70 per cent of the population lives on it. Quite naturally, the state of agriculture sets the tone of the national economy; aggregate national income fluctuates with agricultural production.

Agriculture stands neglected in our Plans, though all three of them pay lip-sympathies to it. Facts indicate more than neglect. Agriculture is squeezed for the benefit of the industrial and other sectors.

The public sector appropriated well over 50 per cent of national savings in the First Plan, about 60 per cent in the Second and will absorb 67 per cent in the Third. This is out of all proportion to the contribution of the public sector to the national income, which was a mere 4-1/2 per cent in 1957-58.

If the minor sector of the economy appropriated the bulk of savings, the bulk of the economy must manage with the minor part of savings. Under the Third Plan, 33 per cent of savings must be shared by the industrial, the tertiary and the agricultural sectors, which together account for about 90 per cent of Indian national income.

cliques formed under it to improve their own fortunes and increase their own power.

There is a great upsurge of patriotic interest in production all round, in agriculture as well as in industrial effort but this is being choked and killed. If only the ruling party gave up its ill-conceived plans to confiscate the larger landholdings and undermine the traditional confidence in land and agriculture, be it in large or in small farms, and if it also released the economy from Statism, agriculture and industry would both thrive. India would show what her people could achieve when the permit and licence economy is done away with and full freedom restored to individual ambition and human effort, without the bane of unfair monopolies created by Statism. Freedom will bring about united effort. Statism is a killing frost.

As, in an integrated economy, pressures get shifted to weaker sectors, agriculture has been starved of credit and capital. This is evidenced by the interest rates and wage-rates ruling in the agricultural sector. The findings of Professor Rene Dumont, of the National Agronomical Institute, Paris, provide evidence on interest rates. His investigations in West Bengal have revealed that public organisations—principally co-operatives and *taccavi* loans—provided 3 per cent of agricultural credit, and relations and friends 15 per cent. The rest, 82 per cent, was drawn from traders, shop-keepers and money lenders. Interest rates on secured loans varied between 19 and 75 per cent a year; on unsecured loans, the rates were more fantastic, cases of 800 per cent a year not being unknown.

Institutional arrangements and legislation, though they were not conceived as part of any "squeeze", have effectively cordoned off and isolated the market for credit to farmers.

To "protect" the farmer against usury and to prevent his being dispossessed of land, legislation narrowly circumscribes the activities of money-lenders and restricts the transfer of land to non-agriculturists. This has, on the one hand, barricaded the flow of savings into agriculture and, on the other, paralysed the credit-worthiness of farmers by freezing their almost only mortgageable asset. Consequently, loans to farmers have assumed ingenious techniques. They take the form of forward purchases of crops or sales of goods on credit. Where formal money-lending is legally permissible, the sums entered in the loan documents are inflated above the sum actually lent. These devices permit working into the agreements any level of interest rates, circumventing usury laws—through adjusting the contracted sale-prices of crops, the prices of the goods sold and the sums stated to have been lent. When loan agreements are oral, such circumvention presents little difficulty.

The prohibitive costs of credit have affected the tempo of agricultural activity, as finance of operations on borrowed funds has shrunk to crops and lands, which can bear these costs. For most of the rest, cases of finance from relations and friends apart, scratching the surface with a pinch of fertilisers, leaving the rest to the gods of weather, has become a painful necessity. This seems to explain why, despite water

scarcity, only about 65 per cent of available water in the major and minor irrigation-works is actually utilised. The farmers are without funds to pay for the water and to lay feeder channels to farms.

Constricted activity has affected adversely agricultural wage rates, through reducing the aggregate demand for labour, the number of agricultural workers affected being 72 million. This is revealed in the reports of two officially conducted agricultural labour enquiries, one in 1950-51 and the second in 1956-57. In 1950-51, the All-India average daily wages of men agricultural workers was Rs. 1.09. In 1956-57, it fell to Rs. 0.96. Simultaneously, wages of women fell from 68 nP to 59 nP and of children from 70 nP to 53 nP.

Constricted activity has also affected adversely agricultural employment. In 1950-51, men workers were wholly unemployed for 90 days. In 1956-57, unemployment rose by 42 per cent to 128 days. In 1950-51 agricultural wages were generally higher than non-agricultural wages. This order got reversed in 1956-57.

Lesser wage rates and more unemployment reduced the incomes of agricultural-worker families from Rs. 447 in 1950-51 to Rs. 385 in 1956-57 and per capita incomes from Rs. 104 to Rs. 88. Simultaneously, with the rise in the cost of living, per capita expenditures of agricultural workers rose from Rs. 109 to Rs. 141. The opposite movements of incomes and expenditures increased the indebtedness of families in debt from Rs. 105 in 1950-51 to Rs. 138 in 1956-57. The impact of "planning" and socialism has, thus, been the heaviest on agricultural workers, the poorest parts of the community.

Agricultural progress, while attending to the creature comforts of the people, will provide a broad-based and assured demand for industrial production. Further progress, too, may be broad-based and certain, if heavy industries follow the expansion of light industries, as internal demand for the output of heavy industries grows. The transformation of the economy would be, then, natural and rapid, being devoid of tears and wastages. To bestow undue emphasis on mammoth river valley projects, steel plants, heavy engineering and electrical industries, at the expense of agriculture and leaving the people hungry and ill-clad, besides being *asuric* may cause the whole edifice to come crashing to the ground, since it would rest on insecure foundations.

(From an article in the *Indian News and Feature Alliance*).

SIDELIGHTS ::

The Government of India have deposed the Maharaja of Bastar and given some reasons for the act. It is stated, in the Government list of reasons, that the Maharaja was behaving in an erratic and irresponsible manner, that he was squandering his resources, that he had embarked on an active campaign of spreading disaffection and that he had declared his intention of forming a Chamber of Princes.

It was to the credit of Sardar Vallabhai Patel that he made the Princes of India renounce their special privileges. It was the Sardar's genius, aided by Shri V. P. Menon's remarkable flair for masterly diplomacy and quick executive action, that was responsible for this most difficult feat of post-Independence statesmanship in India. The Princes feared the Sardar, but they also respected and trusted him. They were sure of a fair deal from him and no going back from the letter and spirit of contractual agreements. They looked upon him as a protector who would zealously guard their dignity and interests. So they desisted from pettifogging bargaining and laid their cards on the table in a grand gesture of patriotic renunciation. The Princes did themselves great honour by the manner in which they surrendered their ancient and traditional prerogatives to further the sacred cause of national integration. They were all placed on what was called a privy purse which simply amounted to a pension for past services.

The Princes had been unquestioned lords in their respective domains. They gave up all that for the status of a private citizen. But they at least expected that that status would in honour be conceded to them and never taken away. It may be assessed that after the integration of the Princely States with the rest of the country was completed, the Princes became private citizens of the nation on a par with similar citi-

zens in other countries like the United Kingdom and the United States, entitled to the same rights, liberties, and constitutional duties, privileges and immunities.

It is misleading to think of them now as rulers of States subject to the special restraints that were accepted as part of Paramountcy when British power was paramount in the land. The rulership has disappeared along with the paramountcy. There is nothing of what may be called a State in the possession of the Princes now. In its place they have got each a pension and property of various kinds like houses, farms, gardens and industrial concerns or shares. The enjoyment of this property does not depend on the favour of the Government. It belongs to the Princes in the same way in which the various kinds of property held by private citizens belong to them, protected by the same laws and subject to the same safeguards. Decency should forbid any unholy hands being laid on the pensions allotted to them. Yet the Pradesh Congress bosses like hungry wolves are wanting to take these away. The idea is that these ex-rulers should be less than ordinary citizens.

Can the Government pounce upon any citizen of the country, dispossess him of his title to property and arbitrarily transfer it to his brother? What if the Maharaja of Bastar wanted to form a Chamber of Princes? It is his undoubted right to exercise if he so chooses, specifically included in the citizen's constitutional right of association. The right to spread a feeling of opposition or want of affection against the ruling party is part of the concept of democratic government itself, based as it is on the temporariness of party regimes and the termination of one government to make way for another when discontent and disaffection have ripened. Disposition of individual owners of property is a prerogative that be-

longs to the courts, and in ignoring this fact the Congress Government has acted in the feudal spirit of Paramountcy of India's imperial rulers before the advent of Independence. For this alone the Government deserves to be condemned and impeached.

The President of the Swatantra Party has protested against the outrage committed by the Government in usurping the jurisdiction of the courts to penalise a citizen for politics not to its taste. Says Professor Ranga:

By arresting the Maharaja of Bastar, the Government has made the worst possible use of the Preventive Detention Act. It is yet too early to visualise the possible long term consequences of this rash act of the Government. What is worse is the assumption by the Government of arbitrary rights over such questions as succession, marriage and dignities associated with a family, forgetting the vital fact that with the integration of the States, the justification for the 'Paramountcy' arrogated by British imperialism has gone. It is the courts alone which can decide such vital points concerning the intimate relations between members of a family and I wonder when and how the ex-Princes have delegated to the Government their family rights over properties and dignities. It is neither right nor wise for party governments to forget or ignore the civic rights of these ex-Princes merely because they dare enter political parties which are opposed to the ruling party.

"I feel that although the country has won freedom, we are increasingly losing individual liberty. It appears there will be very little of commerce, business, agriculture and industry left in this country outside Government services. In a country which greatly valued freedom of the individual, people are getting more and more dependent on the Government. It appears as if the country will be one of Government servants only", said Governor Sri Sri Prakasa in his speech at Banares on Friday last week. In the class of Government servants must be added contractors, legislators, and go-betweens engaged to secure favours from Ministers and officials. —S.A.K.

HARIJANS UNDER THE PLANS

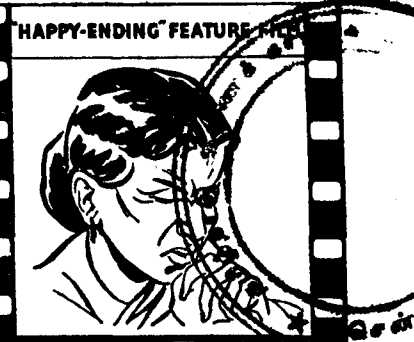
By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The Conference of Harijan Legislators at Hyderabad is a storm signal for the Congress, which the Prime Minister met, more in anger than in sorrow. While he was justifiably angry that Congress Ministers and legislators should meet under a caste banner, he was indignant that this was not at least under the party banner. Whatever democratic principles were offended, the prospects of the Congress Party were definitely threatened by the homogeneity of Harijan legislators, expressed by one Union Minister, Jagjivan Ram and a State Minister Rachiah, in respect of the failure of Government programmes for Harijans. On the defensive from the start, the Prime Minister started on the democratic principle of equality of opportunities, adding that Harijans may think "on what they would do rather than asking Government to do this and that". With fidelity to His Master's Voice, Sri Jagjivan Ram agreed that it did not matter if Harijans were not given reservations and scholarships "but conditions should be created for equality of opportunities". Rachiah, Mysore Minister, who presided, less trained in echoes of His Master's Voice, declared that Harijans who formed 20 per cent of the population received only 2 per cent of the budget outlay, that Article 39 of the Constitution was ignored in respect of "equal wage for equal work", and Article 23 in respect of traffic in human beings and forced labour, as there was not "even an assured or continuous wage for the agricultural labourer".

At the 1951 Census, Harijans numbered 55.3 millions and they have probably increased more than other communities. They are the most amenable of voters, voting in a larger percentage than all other communities. In view of their importance in the next elections, the Congress will have to consider what it has done for them during the last thirteen

years. The Plan expenditure on Scheduled Classes was 5.9 crores in the First Plan and 12.3 crores in the first three years of the Second Plan, which works out at Rs. 3.5 per head for 8 years or a little more than 44 nP yearly. Even of this expenditure, very little has reached the Harijans after the white collared staff has been paid for their salaries and conveniences in the so-called welfare schemes. The result has been disclosed in the Second Agricultural Labour Inquiry, that while the number of labourers of whom the Harijans form the majority has increased, their jobless days have risen from 90 to 128 and their wages have fallen for men from 109 nP to 98 nP, for women from 68 to 58 nP and for children from 70 to 53 nP. Whatever good planning may have done to other sections of the population, it has made the position of Harijans worse. There is no hope of a change for the better for at least three reasons. The first of these is the land reform legislation which has abolished the zamindars and is now mutilating the larger landholders by the application of ceilings. The small self-cultivating owners who are being established cannot afford the labour of Harijans in their field or houses. Secondly, the bans on cattle slaughter in many provinces are depriving the tanners, who form an appreciable section of the Harijans, of fresh skins for which the skins of naturally dying cattle, if recovered, are substitutes of poor quality. Thirdly, the Third Plan for heavy industries and schemes employing largely educated and urban workers, not only fail to provide employment to landless labourers but place on them the burden of taxation and inflation.

Whatever has been done so far is academic and in favour of a microscopic section of Harijans. Among the measures taken, the first is the Untouchability Act of 1955, assuring Harijans the right to use public and public-aided



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places and institutions. If any Harijans have gained any relief from courts, they have lost much more outside because of their dependent position in respect of employment, customary rights and general helplessness. Harijans are treated as they are, partly on account of their living habits, but largely on account of their poverty. In respect of living habits, the Government have not provided even small amounts for septic and leach pits, which can obviate the handling and carrying on heads, of night-soil. In respect of poverty, the observation of George Meredith, that in social relationships, money is the best test, our only general test, explains the disdain in which Harijans are

held. Even the representation given to Harijans in the services does not change their money status very much, because among their colleagues, the Harijans are still poor as they lack private means and have too many dependents to support. The representation in the Legislatures is better, though subject to payments of supporters and relations. Scholarship grants (2.23 crores in 1958-59) just balance the loss of wages of the children concerned, being in many instances useless for higher employment, as Harijans represent the largest proportion of those who fail to acquire literacy and pass examinations. The housing programme of the Second Plan, even if implemented, fa-

vours only a microscopic minority with what is generally barrack accommodation. The whole programme for Harijans is misconceived because it fails to face the basic problem of the class, which Sri Rachiiah stated was "an assured or continuous wage". Except the Swatantra Party in its Statement of Policy, no other party has so far supported the creation of employment opportunities in labour intensive projects for Harijans.

The reason for the default may be that the cost is considered prohibitive. It has not been realised that an increase of expenditure of 250 crores on roads, reservoirs, afforestation, reclamation and public buildings can employ at Rs. 250 per annum two million workers for five years. An equal sum, if given as one-fourth subsidy on expenditure on rural housing, can employ 10 million workers every year. In addition, according to the multiplier theory of Keynes, government expenditure generates four times as much private expenditure, increasing employment accordingly. The question is, is the Government sufficiently solicitous of Harijans to make a provision of 500 crores in the Third Plan to employ up to 20 million workers on minimum wages? This expenditure can dispense with expenditure on welfare schemes because Harijans, who have minimum wages for themselves and their family, will be able to take care of their own education, health and housing. The expenditure will be for the benefit of more than Harijans because the purchasing power generated by employing those in enforced idleness will enhance the income of industry, trade and professions, not to speak of government revenues. In fact, planning should have started on this foundation of the interests of the common people so that the superstructure could emerge naturally from the basic purchasing power.

The Government is not likely to amend the Third Plan, for which reason, it is possible to prospect a landslide of Harijan voters, away from the Congress. Once

NEBULOUS LAW

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Prime Minister Harold Macmillan has announced in Parliament that a Royal Commission of inquiry into the British Press will be shortly held to "examine the economic and financial factors affecting the production and sale of newspapers, magazines and other periodicals in the United Kingdom". Casualties in Fleet Street have not only startled members of the profession but they have awakened a sense of alarm in the community itself; and in India it is doubtful if the findings of the Rajadhyaksha Commission do not call for revision. Two great newspapers in London were suddenly wound up on October 17 after the closure of a Sunday newspaper in Manchester. The *News Chronicle* and the *Star* which had a circulation of more than one million copies catering to a large section of readers suddenly confronted nearly three thousand workers (including three hundred journalists) with the curt notice that their services would not be required any more by the proprietors, namely, the Cadbury Kings who had for long their investment in the chocolate trade. A sub-editor who was taking his proofs gave the following testimony:

"At 4-29 p.m. on October 17th I was preparing material for the next day's early edition; at 4-30 p.m. I was a dead duck!"

The *Daily Mail* which carries the front-page caption "For the Queen and Commonwealth" be-

the idea is sold to them that they have suffered so far from planning and that the directive principle of the Constitution for full employment and minimum wages, which can give them both economic and social independence, is ignored, they will constitute the biggest menace to the Congress at the elections. That may well be the nemesis for the Congress for talking Socialism and practising monopolies for itself and its supporters.

came the owner, and the reason given by the new management was to the effect that the sudden change-over would mean the capture of the defunct papers' readers before they could dream of changing their allegiance. On the previous day the *Empire News* had ceased publication giving a toss both to subscribers and journalists, an incident on which the *Observer* commented as follows under the headline "Poison in the Cocoa":

"The Cadburys have a reputation as good business-men, philanthropists and staunch liberals. However difficult their predicament, why, as a businessman, did Mr. Cadbury ignore all offers except one? Why, as a philanthropist, did he allow himself to treat his staff in a way which has made them feel betrayed? Why, as a Liberal, did he sell out to the truest and bluest Tory of all who came forward with offers?"

The cry of "Murder in Fleet Street" did not perturb Mr. Cadbury and he declared that he was not interested, except for the receipt of two million pounds. An Australian syndicate had offered Mr. Lawrence Cadbury a sum of two-and-a-half millions to control the machine, but he turned away his face. Meanwhile there have been closures of a few periodicals in Britain and also amalgamations of established papers. It would seem that Canadian plutocrats have a big say in regulating British journalism and Americanising the language. The *Daily Mail* with Lord Northcliffe's foresight had put up pulp-and-newsprint factories in Newfoundland. Apart from the decline of Liberals and the intrigues of "monopoly capitalism", the vital fact is the cost of newsprint and transmission in the maintenance of papers. The theory that the screen and television are diverting advertising revenue to a fatal extent is an exaggeration, since the newspaper media are still there with pulling power. Competition breeds efficiency so that no one can dictate terms to the reader. By tradition the Gov-

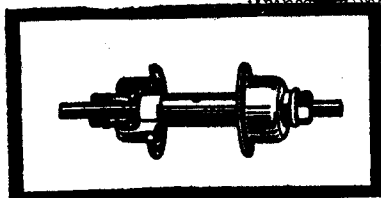
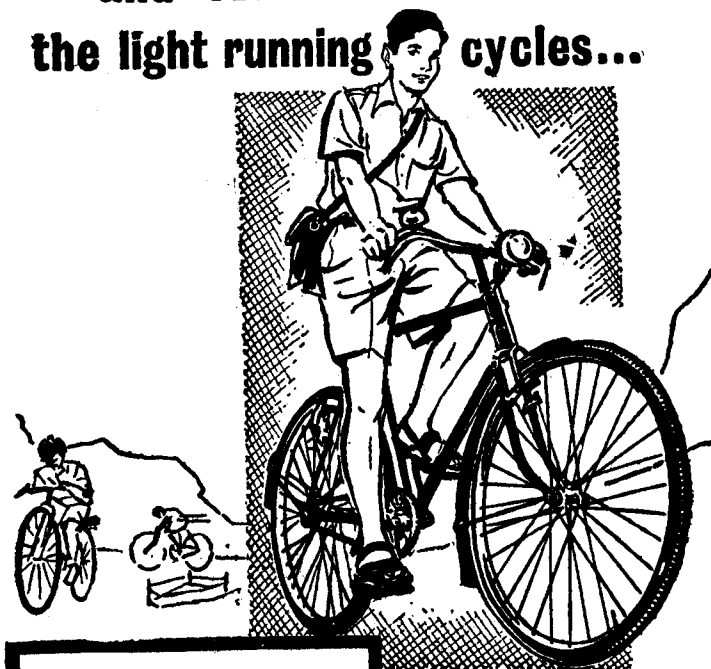
ernments of democratic countries do not join the scramble for space in newspapers, but it is doubtful if the same can be said in Indian conditions or in lands known for "guided democracy". In Indonesia three hundred journalists were thrown out of their jobs when the Government as in the U.A.R. and Pakistan (symptoms are showing in Ceylon) made papers into official organs. Efforts at moulding one-party opinion have not been absent in India, though we must acknowledge that overt bludgeoning is not quite visible. Thomas Jefferson once said that if he ever had the choice between democracy and a free press, he would choose the latter, but in view of the fact that they go together, the anti-thesis is not real. We require both to sustain each other; or there is the peril of manufactured opinion and perpetual domination. In a recent speech, Defence Minister Krishna Menon declared that while the Press indulged in "anti-Government" activities in India, the Congress Party was flourishing and popular, but it is exactly the kind of paradox that makes people wonder if things could not be made better for the ventilation of free opinion. Even now we do not have in India an established Code or a Press Council as foreshadowed by the previous Commission and a further investigation into altered conditions cannot be deemed out-of-place when even in England the authorities are perturbed about certain pernicious tendencies. Uncertainties have been on the increase, but with the stride of expanding literacy in the country there is a market which should be shielded from partisanship which, on soaking the people, is likely to erupt in subtle forms of dictatorship.

Citizen's Responsibilities

In a democracy, every citizen regardless of his interest in politics, "holds office"; every one of us is in a position of responsibility; and, in the final analysis, the kind of government we get depends upon how we fulfil those responsibilities.—PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY.

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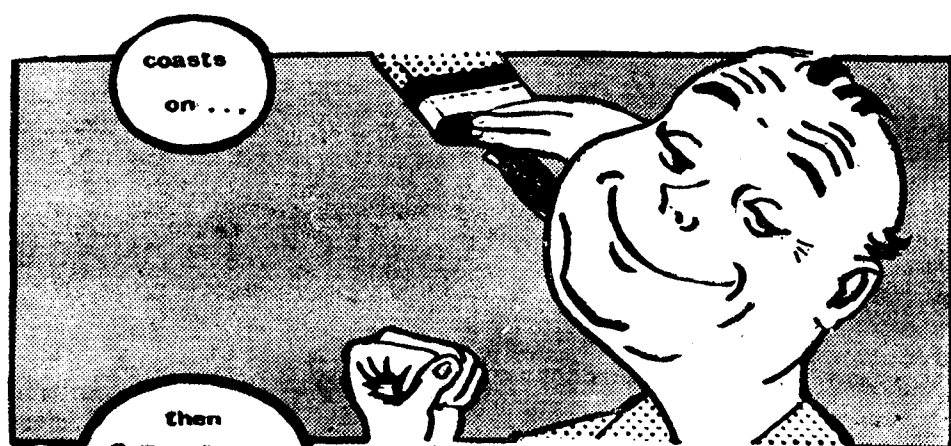
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G. K. CHESTERTON

By SRIVATSA

A writer like Gilbert Chesterton is almost impossible today. There are, it is true, many rebels against the current fashion which takes the form of brutality for the sake of brutality, or a tired depression, or putative heartiness and cleverness. A rebel, however, is an incomplete person; he is so angry with what he is destroying that he often has no perception for other aspects of life and thought. Indignation is no safe guide. If, as it has sometimes happened, the writer takes refuge in irony, the irony of protest often degenerates into a snigger. No one can read Lytton Strachey, for example, without being disagreeably impressed by the vision of a man sticking out his tongue against his betters.

Chesterton was certainly unorthodox, though he happened to be defending orthodoxy. But he was never a rebel in this rather common sense. He was rather a force of nature that had invaded letters, exuding geniality, laughter and emitting, it must also be confessed, perpetual noise. No one can read Chesterton for some time without being deafened. He was always writing at the top of his voice, as it were. He might plead in extenuation of this that he had, as he conceived it, very important truths to proclaim and that he was so eager to proclaim them. It was high spirits, both mental and physical, bubbling over in sheer happiness. Such a frame of mind cannot be conceived in an epoch cowering in the shadow of the hydrogen bomb.

Chesterton's main weapon was the paradox. Some earnest souls rather object to it; it seems to them to be indecent. But the fact is that the paradox only attempts to draw attention by inverting truth by placing it on its head, as it were. This is a method capable of misuse, and it will have to be conceded that Chesterton often tended to employ it too often, sometimes to achieve only paltry effects. But this failing might be fairly attributed, again, to his vivacious mind and quick imagination which, eager to make their impression, do not pause to consider their weapons too closely. He was often tempted to choose what came nearest to his hand. He was prodigal of his gifts and loved to shower them. If, in this largesse, there were some dross, that should be cheerfully endured.

At its best, however, the paradox was a glittering and also deadly weapon. Chesterton could never be ignored with impunity. He was not, and he was

engaged in fifty controversies at the same time, perhaps the most notable of these being those with Bernard Shaw and Wells. These were foemen worthy of his steel, and he set out to combat with them in pure intellectual jousts. In fact, he could never resist an argument and it seemed as if he rushed about the country seeking controversialists.

This unorthodox weapon as well as the "apostolic blows and knocks", as Samuel Butler (he of the Restoration) called them, Chesterton laid at the disposal of orthodoxy and old times. Neither of these is superficially attractive, but it was left to Chesterton to make them as plausible as if they were some wild revolutionary ideals to follow which men would be prepared to give up their lives. It was curious that such a lover of the past should have wielded a vigorous, sometimes rather hard and metallic, style. Burke too appealed to precedent, and Carlyle loved to invoke the bygone centuries. But their methods were different. Burke was majestic, ceremonious, processional. Carlyle, who preached the virtues of silence in thirty loud octavo volumes, almost bodily thrust his reader into the past where Jocelyn de Brakelonde played the Boswell to his Abbot. But Chesterton utilised what might be called the characteristic modern style, pellucid, hard hitting, making no concession to attractiveness of form, in achieving the same effects.

Chesterton was a voluminous writer. (It was he who sanctioned the gibe against himself that he could give up his seat in the omnibus to two ladies). Excessive length is often a drawback, but not in Chesterton, who had so many things to say. There was never the suggestion that he had outwritten himself. He had so many irons in the fire. As a "little Englander", he was concerned to inculcate real patriotism that would not count national greatness in terms of areas marked red on the world map. He had to protest against the encroaching power of the State, the insidious march of bureaucracy. He had his history of England to rewrite, exposing the robber barons and resuscitating Cobbett. He had to pour the vials of his wrath on the devoted head of Prussianism. That strangely little read book of his, with a rather misleading title, "The Crimes of England", contains in quintessence his flaming views on this question. He had his own theory of the universe to promulgate. Full to overflowing with

missions, he could not write too often or too quickly. What is surprising is that he was seldom cheap or common; always what he had to say attracted attention, not always because how he said it.

Chesterton had a mission, a duty to perform. It was to recover for the world lost in the cruelties and inanities of "modern life" the pieties and the quiet happiness of the past, the "Merry England" of Chaucer. It was inevitable that he should have been led to the Roman Catholic Church in his attempt to redress the balance. Perhaps the influence of his lifelong friend, Hilaire Belloc, whose unyielding and rather obstinate mind, however, contrasts with his own, also weighed with him. He has since his death been rather taken up by some overzealous friends of the Church, and he appears to be in danger of being made the "lion" of a clique

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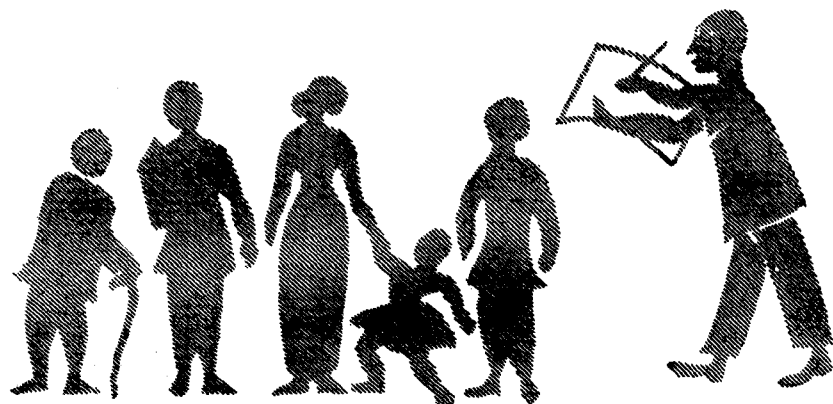
when they perhaps think that they are canonising him. This apart, this genial author who, it might almost be said, was a philosopher despite himself or, at least, a laughing philosopher, has much of interest to say to Indian readers. His Father Brown detected in terms of souls and intuitions and, consequently, makes a welcome change from the Sherlock Holmeses, the

Hercule Poirots, the Lord Peter Wimseys. His understanding of the East was not very profound or unbiased, and his frequent sallies against it will be read with amusement both as born of ignorance and of an eagerness to exalt the ideals of the West in an unnecessary competition. Nevertheless, there is much to admire in his exposure of the modern State's overweening ambitions

and in his emphasis on the value of the simple things of life. He is always enthusiastic, and he can convey his enthusiasm to others. His poems read as if they were all marching songs, with a brass band playing invisibly. His style radiates animation and verve. Such an author deserves close study today, despite his mannerisms and prejudices.

CENSUS 1961

10 February—5 March



Between these dates every person will be counted in our country, in cities or in the remote villages, in the hills or in forests, at sea or on shore.

The counting will start on 10 February and end at sunrise on 1 March. To make doubly sure that every one has been included in the Census, there will be a revisional count between 1 and 5 March. Make sure that the entire family is counted, from the oldest to the youngest.

The enumerator has a heavy responsibility. Please help him in his task.

All census information will be strictly confidential and fully protected.

Issued by Government of India

DA60/643

CAPITAL COMMENTS

BURIAL, NOT OF HATCHETS BUT OF REPUTATIONS

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Whether the Congress High Command bargained for it or not, it was least prepared for what proved to be nothing less than a mutiny in its (U.P.) regiment. Mr. Chandra Bhan Gupta was but the ostensible, if immediate, target of the open and unmistakably contemptuous defiance of Dr. Sampurnanand and his men. They were no believers in the burial of any hatchets but only of certain reputations. They made their dislike of their new Chief an excuse for showing, or exhibiting, their disapproval of the manner in which he was foisted on them. They would neither forgive nor forget the mightier men behind him.

Perhaps, things would not have taken this ugly turn if the Congress Legislature Party in the State was allowed to make its own democratic choice instead of being asked to submit to the dictation from above. The Prime Minister hoped that by his personal intervention he could avert the ministerial crisis in his home-State and also put a stop to further bickerings among his party men. His hope, as the world knows, has been completely blasted. There is no denying nor mistaking the fact that, truth to tell, Mr. Gupta's discomfiture is largely Mr. Nehru's, for Mr. Gupta is Mr. Nehru's candidate or nominee. And alongside of him, to share the discomfiture there is Mr. Gobind Ballabh Pant who is supposed to be in over-all charge of U.P. affairs. His hurried visit to Lucknow for making the election of Mr. Gupta as leader of the Congress Legislature Party unanimous may well be recalled. There he made it a "prestige" issue though the Prime Minister later at his Press conference at the Capital, did not seem to like it that way. What came to be ultimately involved was the prestige not only of the Prime Minister

and the Union Home Minister but of the entire High Command, if not of the Congress itself. That prestige today lies buried five fathoms deep in the Gomti as Exhibit Number One of Congress humiliation, after the brazen-faced boycott by the Sampurnanandites of the Governor's Address. The High Command felt at once stunned and curled up.

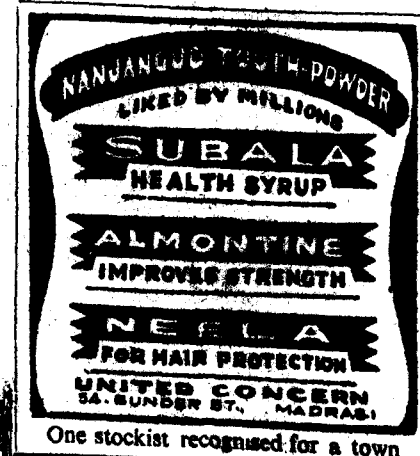
Perhaps, there was no longer any question of its burying its devoted head in the sands, ostrich-like. The latest warning to its complacency had to be heeded, unlike the previous ones. It was of course none too easy to take disciplinary action against ever so many, without, to a considerable extent, imperilling the position of the Congress in the next elections while, by not proceeding against them at all or by taking only a lenient view, it would leave the situation much worse than it found it to be, and also look very small—or yet smaller—in the world's eye. Really speaking, it must be done, irrespective of the numbers or personalities involved, lest the infection should spread. But the High Command is divided, now as always.

One can quite imagine Mr. Nehru once again exclaiming that he would rather lose a hundred elections than tolerate this or that. All this is, however, familiar to the High Command's ear. It has maturer minds, more calculating men who would rather seek to save their face by indignantly demanding some explanation or an apology from the men guilty of defiance and then generously condoning. For, unlike Mr. Nehru who at least says it, they would rather not lose, or like to lose, even one election. They will first call for—and make sure of—a cease-fire in the battle between Lucknow and Varanasi and then see how best the position could be retrieved without, as the

Telugu adage goes, either breaking the stick or killing the snake.

That such strategy will lead the Congress anywhere nearer an outright electoral victory in U.P. is extremely unlikely. Whether the anti-ministerialists, inside the Congress Party in U.P. are hounded out or not, there is no prospect of a really united party fighting the elections. For, the groups inside the Congress, very nearly all over the country have come to stay. They will be very much there, of course, so long as the Congress itself stays in Office and power. As 'S.M.' (which are the tell-tale initials of the Editor of the *Hindustan Times*) interestingly observes in his latest review of 'National Affairs' within the immediate context of the open mutiny in God's chosen State: "Let Congressmen not ask for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for them".

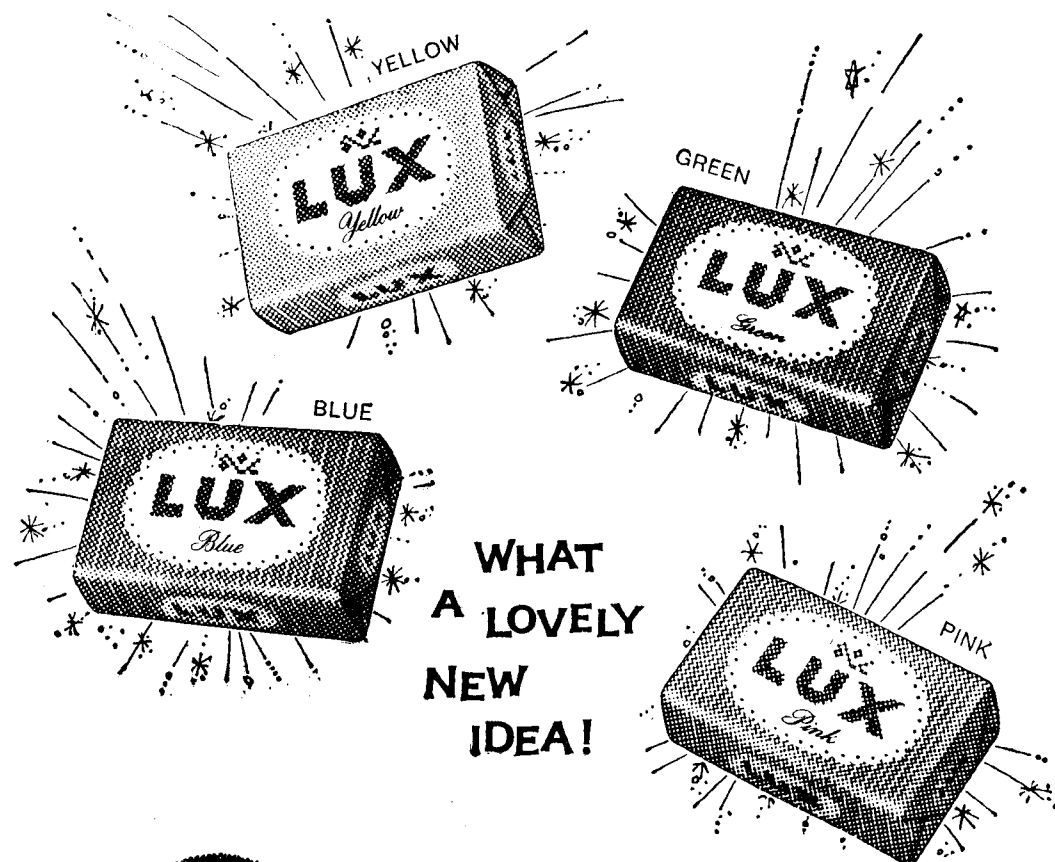
Bihar which, among the States, had the distinction of having a leader with a record for the longest Chief Ministership,—Dr. S. K. Sinha—has now in his place Mr. B. N. Jha who scored a larger number of votes than his rival, Mr. M. P. Sinha, at the party meeting convened by the Congress President. At a subsequent meeting which was not meant to be a behind-the-scenes affair, he was formally elected with an unanimity that was thus artfully improvised to convince the world of the solidarity of the Congress in Bihar. But before the Congress President went to Bihar, it was reported in the papers that he called on the President of India to consult him about the election of



Bihar's Chief Minister. Whatever Dr. Rajendra Prasad's interest in Bihar or attachment to the Congress was, after his installation as the President of the Indian Union, it could hardly be expected of him to take a hand in Congress affairs as such. Yet his advice was sought—and perhaps also given.

It would be, of course, futile to turn to the Congress front itself for any healthy conventions. In Andhra Pradesh, Mr. M. Pallam-
raju takes up the Presidentship of the A.P.C.C. and lingers as a Minister. Here in Delhi, Mr. Sadiq Ali works as a General Secretary of the Congress and simultane-

ously sits in the Rajya Sabha. And Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, while functioning as the President of the Congress, retains his membership of the Andhra Legislative Assembly—without perhaps discarding the small salary attached to the membership. Nothing succeeds like success—or serves as service!



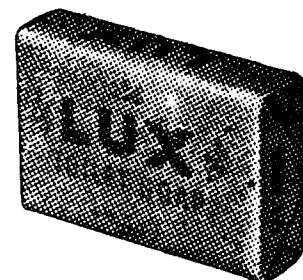
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A HINDUSTAN LEVER PRODUCT

ILL - GOTTEN MONEY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

However brazen the face that the Congress Party and its great bosses put on, the public in India are not going to consider as something respectable or allowed by convention the blackmail that the party is levying on the industrial, the commercial, the transport, the film and all other communities who have money and have also good reasons to fear the displeasure of the ruling party. The Prime Minister whose voice is long and loud and covers the ample columns of the newspapers on every possible subject coming up for notice, is completely silent on the great scandal of the times, viz., his Ministers and his political lieutenants collecting in units of 25,000, 50,000 and lakhs for his party election chest, taking every advantage of being in office and yielding to the temptation to reap the maximum harvest of blackmail. It is true there has been a breakdown of moral values in the wake of the two world wars. But there is still a great deal of talk on *sheela* and *dharma* in India and there is no lack of V.I.P.'s. giving moral advice to the people of this country and even to other nations. There is the platform in Rajghat on the Jumna river on which wreaths are periodically and on special occasions laid which symbolises not power but the *dharma* that Gandhiji preached and thought he had left to responsible leaders after him to continue preaching. This nation-wide blackmail and the net of terror on which its success is based, are black contradictions of all that Gandhiji aimed at, *Satya*, *ahimsa* and *abhaya*.

It is not a tide of the masses or the spirit of the times that is making this black chapter of our history, but individual men of power. The masses still seem inclined to be honest, but alas, they are not left alone. The people are brave, but alas, they are caught in the barbed entanglements of the State which does not

any individual in any occupation. How can family and business face the ruin that a permit-and-licence regime can at any moment bring down on them?

The writing is on the wall. Such brazen immorality, nature cannot tolerate. Power and money have an intrinsic factor that breeds rivalry and self-destruction.

The Congress has only two alternatives before it, to survive by wisely reducing its power and avoiding the evils of ill-gotten wealth, or to be swallowed up in the corruptions and rivalries that result from an excess of power and pelf. Not party discipline or hush-hush, but a removal of the causes that breed rivalries and corruptions can alone cure the ruling party's diseases that are forced on the public attention day in and day out now.

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THE CONGRESS JUBILEE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The 75th anniversary of the Indian National Congress is being celebrated all over the country by Congress Ministers and their supporters as if it were a Jubilee of their party. There is plenty of money in the party chest. In fact there is a glut and the problem is how to spend it all.

Seventy-five years back, that is in 1885, some eminent men of India started the Indian National Congress and kept the organization going as a national centre of agitation for the improvement of India's political status. The agitation culminated in a demand for colonial status for India on equal rank with Australia, Canada, etc. In the first decade of the twentieth century an extremist wing developed in the organization demanding complete independence. This resulted in the exclusion of that section from the or-

ganization which thereafter was in the possession of the moderate party. After some years there was a compromise (in 1917) which brought the extremist section again into the Congress. In 1920 the organization adopted the Gandhian movement of non-co-operation and civil disobedience and in 1929 it formally adopted the creed of Swaraj. The goal of the organization was achieved in 1947 and the British Government handed over their authority to the Congress as far as India was concerned, the Moslem League being the transferee of power as far as Pakistan was concerned. The Congress converted itself thereafter into a political party-organization. It ceased to be a national organization and became a party organization.

Many Congressmen formed other political parties ranged in

Parliament against the Congress Party. Mahatma Gandhi attempted during his last days to distinguish and isolate the old National Congress from the new political scene and from party politics. But his advice was not accepted as the party desired to exploit the National organization's history for party purposes.

Now, the Jubilee being celebrated as a seventy-fifth anniversary is not a Jubilee of the present Congress Party, but of the common National organization which has ceased to be. It is a Jubilee, if at all, of an organization common to all political parties in India. It should not be utilised as an occasion for furthering the Congress Party's chances in the coming elections. But this is exactly what is being done. It should have been made an occasion for all parties coming together in common jubilation over India's present free status rather than being exploited for the election purposes of a particular party.

The State tricolour is displayed in banners and flags and other decorations in connection with this festival. The State is different from the political party to which for a period the governance of the State is entrusted. The Congress Party's flag is unfortunately ambiguous. It is the same tricolour as what was adopted for the State. The Charka and the Chakra, where they are displayed, are ambiguous too. This double ambiguity helps the Congress Party's attempts to confuse the public. An atmosphere of national loyalty is being raised round the claims of the Congress Party to continue to govern the country. The latest of political parties in India, the Swatantra Party, is as much entitled to share in the 75th anniversary jubilee of the Indian National Congress as the party in office which has improperly made it into a party festival. The temptation was no doubt great in view of the coming elections and the anxiety of the ruling party to continue in possession in spite of widespread dissatisfaction. But the temptation should have in decency been avoided.

A Council of Trades and Agriculture

The Upper Houses in the States as well as that in Delhi have become mere dumping grounds for the exercise of political patronage in the hands of the majority party. These Houses were constituted and justified on other grounds which now are forgotten. What the country needs as a set-off against the unavoidable defects arising out of universal adult suffrage is a Council of Trades, Industries and Professions wherein every producing and servicing activity is properly and adequately represented, so that policies initiated in the Lower House by interested groups may be examined satisfactorily by men of experience in the working of the various branches of production and other national services. There should be a mechanism to prevent erroneous policy issuing out of a majority vote based on inexperience. Whatever is hastily sought to be done in the hope of improving national life or conceived for the benefit of particular interests holding power under the present system of voting must be exposed to the fire of analysis and critical examination in a House containing experienced representatives of agriculture and industrial production in all branches and of those who are concerned in the field of transport and distribution. We would then have provided for correlation and well-integrated legislation instead of hasty and ill-considered policies harmfully affecting the vital productive activities of the people. Such a House-of-Trades-and-Agriculture is one of the essential factors in the legislative organization of a State which seeks to be a Welfare State. Otherwise it would be the handing over of the national household to a foolish crowd. —C.R.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PALAI CENTRAL BANK

Sir,—May I bring the following to the notice of the authorities who now look after the affairs of the Palai Central Bank Ltd. for immediate attention?

On hearing from the Official Liquidator for the Palai Central Bank at Ernakulam people have remitted money at the Madras Branch wherefrom they availed of loan against gold ornaments. They were given to understand that the ornaments would be delivered only when the Official Liquidator visits Madras. Whenever the Madras Branch Manager or his staff is contacted for information as to when the Official Liquidator will arrive, the reply that he is already on tour and is expected "shortly" is given. Sometimes they tell that he is expected "within this week". Many have remitted money in the Madras Branch for the redemption of ornaments and are awaiting the release of the jewels for three months.

It is very unfortunate that the Official Liquidator has not made his appearance here. People in their anxiety to get their jewels back either borrowed or somehow managed to get money and remit it to the Bank hoping that the jewels will be released early.

It is but fair that the Official Liquidator visits Madras very soon and releases the jewels.

Madras. MRS. SAROJINI SAMBASIVAN.

GOVERNMENT HOLIDAYS

Sir,—The Madras Government has reduced the number of Government holidays from 26 to 15, as recommended by its Pay Commission based on its own instructions. This award has reduced the customary Hindu holidays

from 16 to 5. The following important Hindu holidays have been cancelled: Mahasivarathri, Avani Avittam, Sri Jayanthi, Mahalaya Amavasai, Vinayaka Chaturthi, Vaikunta Ekadasi. Pongal holidays have been reduced from 3 to 2, Dasara holidays from 3 to 1, and Deepavali holidays from 2 to 1. Madras with its 15 holidays stands lowest among the States—Assam 21, West Bengal 23, Bihar 26, Orissa 23, Maharashtra 27, Gujarat 22, etc. None of the 6 holidays specified above are intended for revelling or rejoicing, but are dedicated to fasting, religious ceremonies and worshipping God at home or in the temples. These holidays have been in vogue for over a century during the British regime, which always respected the religious feelings of the people unlike the present secular regime, which flouts them. It will be impossible for Government servants to perform these religious functions and attend office. The drastic cut in the Hindu holidays is bound to cause deep and smouldering rancour and discontent and apathy among Government servants which would detract from their efficiency and integrity and Government would lose much more than it would gain by the cut.

The Government would be well advised to reconsider its decision and restore the century-old customary holidays.

Salem. L. R. VENKATRAMANI.

COMPANY CONTRIBUTIONS

Sir,—In spite of the unanimous demand from all other political parties in the Parliament, the Congress Government has refused to accept the healthy suggestion to ban contributions by companies to political parties. Congress also appears to have launched a vigorous campaign to collect funds from companies for the forthcoming elections.

At this juncture, shareholders of various companies should call upon the managements to desist from making contributions towards political funds. Alternatively, if the management feels that in the interest of the shareholders they must abide by the threats or requests from the ruling party, an equal amount should also be donated towards the funds of the Swatantra Party which alone is capable of best safeguarding the interest of the small shareholders of companies. This has been amply proved by the stand which the Swatantra Party has taken on the question of Maharashtra Land Ceilings Bill.

Bombay. DR. R. C. COOPER.

Journalism Fellowship

The Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University, U.S.A., is again giving a Fellowship this year to an Indian journalist who has the following qualifications: (1) a minimum of three years' experience as a working journalist; (2) the written consent of his employer for leave of absence for the college year, namely September 1961 to June 1962; (3) fluency in English, both speaking and writing and (4) a maximum age of 40 years.

Since 1955 the Asia Foundation in the U.S.A. has co-operated with the Nieman Foundation in offering Associate Fellowships to journalists from Asian countries. All departments of Harvard University will be open to the Fellows who may select their own studies and pursue them through courses or in more informal ways. A selected candidate will receive an allowance of \$ 100 a week during the 43 weeks he will reside at the University, in addition to a round trip air tourist fare and some additional allowances for incidental expenses. As Associates, the Asian Fellows will have all the privileges that are granted to regular Fellows.

The University offers no courses in journalism, but Nieman Fellows will be encouraged to study subjects that will form the background of public affairs, such as history, government, economics and foreign policy, or work in such special fields as science and labour.

Applications for the Associate Fellowship, which will commence in September this year, should be sent to the Chairman, Nieman Committee for India, c/o the Indian International Centre, 16, Hailey Road, New Delhi-1. Application forms may be obtained from the office of the Committee at the above address and must reach the office not later than 31st March, 1961.

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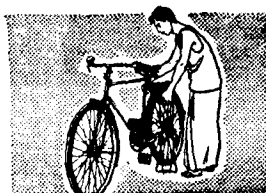
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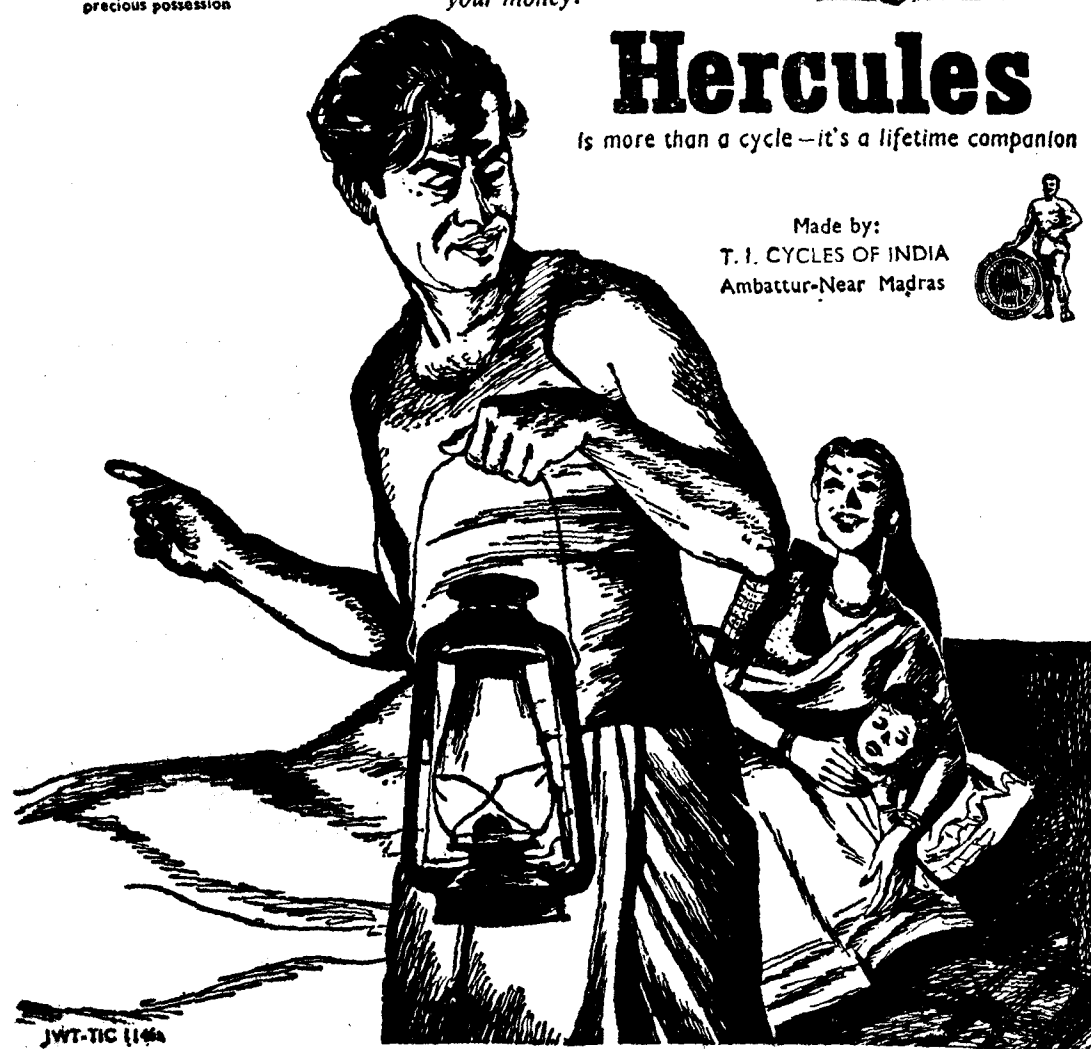
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THE WORM TURNS!

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Like Hitler's shouting against the conspiracies of 'international Jewry', it has become the habit of Congress leaders and their supporters to talk and frighten people about the Princes and feudalism. Recently there has been much propaganda in certain journals about the Swatantra Party cleverly and successfully organizing the 'feudal' and 'princely' elements. This obsession about the ex-Princes and the ex-zamindars and the nightmare made out of a combination of the Swatantra Party with these terrible ghosts, is exactly the post-Independence Congress counterpart of pure Hitlerian madness.

Who are these Princes and zamindars? Men who have been deprived of all their previous possessions, all but the barest minimum which sheer justice demanded should be left to them. They are men who have been deprived not only of their material possessions but even of their prestige and natural influence being subjected to continuous acts of humiliation through the officials, both high and petty in rank.

Now even the worm turns when tyranny is taken beyond limits of toleration. The Princes and the zamindars have been not only reduced to the status of ordinary citizens and deprived of all feudal or princely power and authority and humiliated as never to be able to regain any of their traditional influence even among those who had always received the kindest and most benevolent treatment from them and help of all kinds, but it is sought through

official tyrannies to degrade them to a status lower than that of the ordinary citizen. While a citizen is entitled to side any political party, these so-called ex-feudal and ex-princely elements are expected to keep clear of all opposition to the ruling clique. They are most welcome to the ruling party and can get nominated to Parliament and sent on diplomatic assignments provided they side the ruling party. But the slightest attempt to help an opposition is treated as treason and rebellion, and the Congress Party and its minions are ready with their trumpets to sound the alarm. "The worm turns! What right has it to turn? It is dangerous, it is conspiracy, it is Swatantra Party's intrigue!" Nothing can be more absurd or silly.

And if there were not people ready to be misled by such shouts, it could be completely ignored as nonsense. But anything passes, as it did in Germany during the days of Hitler. The situation is terribly analogous. Tyranny knows no bounds. Here are 'Princes' and 'Zamindars' with their territorial possessions all gone, their properties taken away with compensation ridiculously under-assessed and even that not yet paid in many cases, people who are trying to live bravely under every kind of humiliation, exiles among their own people, who seek to live honourably and to exercise a tithe of the normal citizen's rights, and this is looked upon as dangerous rebellion. Any one may vote any way he likes, may associate himself with others for exer-

cising his fundamental rights, may take part in any political activity, but not these "ex-princes" or "ex-zamindars". Why may they not? One is entitled to ask this. The only answer is that the power-mad ruling party and their sycophants think that it would endanger the continuance of their own unpopular rule.

The neo-feudalism of the Congress Party with its complete control over the industrialists and the merchants and distributors and all their moneys is a worse kind of feudalism and a worse type of maharajism than any that prevailed before the abolition of the Indian States and the zamindaris. It is not the State but the Congress Party that enjoys this control over industrialists and the merchants and others and enjoys the fruits thereof. Hitler was power-mad and anti-Semitism was his weapon of hatred and deception. The Congress Party is equally power-mad and anti-feudalism and anti-princes are its weapons of hatred and deception.

Let us not be misled by this witch-hunting clique into injustice and tyranny. Let there be decency in politics, so long as we pay at least lip-homage to the Constitution. Any one may join the Swatantra Party, be he prince or zamindar or wage-earning labourer if he wants fundamental rights to be preserved and if he does not want the country to go totalitarian.

Then there is the cheap word 'reactionary'. If to oppose the Congress and the Communist parties

is reaction, the Swatantra Party is reactionary in that sense. If to fight for the fundamental rights as recorded in the Constituent Assembly in 1950 is reactionary, the Swatantra Party is reactionary. If to cause those solemn guarantees to be eroded is reform, the Congress is doing reform. If to bring any political party into being to oppose the ruling party instead of pushing it in the same direction which it is going, is reactionary, I am a reactionary. If supplying an essential element that is wanting now in the parliamentary struc-

ture is reaction, I am guilty of reaction. These cheap words reactionary, feudal, retrograde and the like are words that come up where reason is not available in order to fool the unwary and frighten timid folk from doing the right thing. What we should be frightened about is not words that may be flung against wisdom and warning, but of the totalitarian mind of the present ruling party and of the disastrous effects of giving it another period of office which it proposes to secure by the power of money and the gullibility of people.

REDISCOVERY

Mr. S. R. Dennison, Professor of Economics, University of Belfast, writing in *Lloyd's Bank Review* (January 1961) points out that the rediscovery of the virtues of competition in industry has been one of the most remarkable features of post-war Western Europe. Dealing with legislation intended to curb what are called "restrictive practices" which enable corporations to eliminate competition, he says that the present trend against such monopolistic agreements is a corollary of the reaction against war-time government controls. The experience of government controls has generated a dislike of even comparable controls practised by private industry. The experience of nationalisation and the realisation that the creation of monolithic monopolies brings more problems and fewer benefits than had been expected have contributed to the conviction that greater economic progress

and rising standards of living will issue if the economy is not impeded by monopolistic arrangements, whether of the State or of private industry. Competition is at the root of freedom despite all academic arguments to the contrary and when the State takes up anything it is done always on the basis of a monopoly.

The prejudice against capital arises out of blind ignorance of the national laws of production of wealth. No wealth can be produced without investment of capital, any more than can a crop be raised without seed grain. The anger against profits is nothing but envy. Class conflict nurtured by short-sighted and envious persons is as ridiculous as it is vicious. Capital and those who save wealth and make it serve society are not monsters. They are instruments that serve society. —C.R.

SOCIALISM CREATES TYRANTS

Private ownership of the means of production is not in the sole interest of the owner but is in the interest of every one. The owner is, if it may be so put, an agent for society and is owner in the interest of society for the good management of the means of production. Private property is no privilege enjoyed by any particular class. It is a natural institution, the advantages of which are open

to everyone and which facilitates orderly production and division of labour. It assures the most economic employment of resources.

The efficient entrepreneur produces what the people want and he does it in the most efficient manner. His wealth consists mainly of capital employed in the production of goods for the people.

Any one defending individual freedom, private property and en-

terprise is wrongly considered an advocate of the special interests of the 'bourgeois' class. This is an utterly fallacious attitude. Those who object to the great differences between the wealthy and the poor overlook the character of the wealthy man's wealth. His wealth does not consist of idle luxuries, but of factories, machines and equipment that produce for the people, give employment and yield good wages for workers.

The businessman caters for the consumers. His power is derived from the sovereignty of the consumer. His ability to manage the factors of production wisely and well earns for him the consumer's support. This is not privilege. He is the prudent and careful servant of the consumer. His privilege depends on his ability to serve the boss of the economy, the consumer.

Socialism, whether of the Marxist, Fabian, Nazi, or Fascist (or Congress) brand does not promote equality. It creates tremendous inequalities. It gives rise to a new class of political and economic administrators and partymen whose powers are unlimited, absolute and tyrannical. It generates favouritism and injustice and corruption. Omniscient rulers and an omnipotent State are no good substitute for the people's freedom. Blinded and misguided by Socialist propaganda, the voters promote a social order that will enslave and impoverish them.

(Adapted from an article by H. F. Sennholz in *Freeman*, January 1961).

BEACH-COMBER

I suppose we all have our own ways of how to relax—how to escape from the ordinary day-to-day worries. My solution is a very simple one. I like to wander along a beach, head bent and eyes staring at the pebbles, looking for things—beach-combing in fact; but I don't approve of the dictionary's definition of a beach-comber—"A drunken loafer about the wharfs in Pacific sea-ports". Oh no, my beach-comber is an innocent sort of fellow just relaxing and looking for things.—JAMES LANGHAM speaking in a BBC talk.

OTHER HUMILIATIONS

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

The other day the Union Minister of Education, speaking of the need for displacing English as the medium of instruction at universities, adduced as his only argument the humiliation of using a foreign language as the language of education at any stage. If that were the only humiliation to which he is subjected, his argument would have some force. But seeing that there are other and greater humiliations to which he voluntarily subjects himself, one does not detect any force in the argument he has used against English. There is the humiliation—to keep to the subject of languages—of there not being one single language which could be accepted as the national language of India. He would advance Hindi as the national language of India. That would be stoutly objected to by the millions (nearly 100 million) in the South who speak the Dravidian languages of Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada. There are the masses that follow the separated organizations of the Dravida Kazhagam and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam who would shout the cries of Hindi Imperialism and Dravida Nad, if the politicians of the North try to impose Hindi as the language of government and higher education for all India. Northern insistence on Hindi as the national language of India would once more lead to the tragic cry of Partition.

The Union Minister of Education asks where else in the world is a foreign language the language of education. Apart from the fact that Latin continued to be the language of university education till the end of the 18th century—Newman in his *Idea of a University* speaks of lectures or poetry being delivered in Latin at Oxford in his own time—till the languages of Europe were ready for being used as the language of university education. Scotsmen in Scottish universities, Welshmen in Welsh universities, Irishmen in Irish universities (even after the independence of Eire), French Canadians in Canadian universities still continue to use English as the language of university education.

Also as a corollary of the cultural life and activity of these several languages of India equal in history, prestige and culture to one another and most of them superior to Hindi in all these respects, there is the linguistic division of India. This prevents India from having a single national language. That is humiliation No. II for Mr. Shrimali. He would get over this humiliation by

making one of the languages the national language of India—a remedy more dangerous than the disease. And the humiliation of the linguistic division of India was intensified by the manner in which it was brought about, every one of these new linguistic States obtained at the point of the pistol of mass disorder and violence—after brave initial refusals. And Mr. Shrimali is living and working under a Constitution built of stones quarried from a number of foreign countries and raised on the plinth of the Government of India Act of 1935—made in England.

And then there is the humiliation of the division of the people into castes—another obstacle to the political and social unity of India. There is the humiliation of having a number of scheduled castes and tribes—betokening the existence of several levels of civilization and culture.

And then there are the humiliations which Mr. Shrimali's own Government have either brought on India or done little or nothing to reduce—the 75 per cent illiteracy, the 15 million unemployed or under-employed, the food-scarcity which forces us to buy food from outside to the extent of Rs. 100 crores a year, the backwardness of our road-system, of housing, especially rural housing, of village sanitation and drainage, and the crowning humiliation of all—the occupation of 12,000 square miles of Indian territory by the Chinese.

Seeing that Mr. Shrimali has borne all these other humiliations with stoic fortitude and philosophic detachment, he would be well advised to put up with the humiliation of English as the language of university education. And it is not such a great humiliation after all. It is forced on us by stern facts—the fact of there being no Indian language equal to it at present as the language of university education, the fact of its having been used as such by students and teachers for more than a century, the fact of books and journals worthy of a university library being in that language and in no Indian language. English is not being urged as the language of primary or secondary education. It is not advanced as the language of religion, of love, of the home. It is to be used for a strictly limited, narrow, utilitarian purpose—as the language of higher education and Government and administration—as a tool for a special job. How can a member of a Government which imports foreign tools for a variety of purposes object

When Doctors Are Diseased

The problem is more serious than Sri Deshmukh thought. For it is not Ministers alone whose sons and sons-in-law are booked by business houses. Secretaries, Joint Secretaries and even Directors have their wards anxiously sought by these business houses. Of course if you put a small man in a big job, in course of time he acquires experience enough to more or less deserve the big job. But these young favourites are not chosen for their potential for self-improvement. They are chosen because they are the near and dear ones of high-ups. And it makes excellent investment for these business houses to have a liaison with important families, just in case.....

It will be easy to condemn business houses for corrupting politicians and civilians, but it will be more useful to understand why they do it. The reason is obvious. Today it is the Government which decides whether you can start an industry, and, if so, what, and where, and how much. The Government will decide whether you will have any loan, and what quota of steel or anything you need. Also whether you will have a power connection or a telephone and if so how much and how soon. In this situation the Government, i.e., Congress can make it impossible for you to run an industry or business—if it is so minded. It is quite within the power of this corrupt Government to make one millionaire a billionaire, and another millionaire a bankrupt. Is it really any surprise, then, that business houses should try to cultivate politicians and civilians?

This is not something which can be stopped by legislation. Obviously there can't be a law forbidding Ministers' or Secretaries' sons seeking employment with business houses. Nor can the law lay down what salaries a business-man will pay to whom. The obvious remedy lies in freeing the business world from official shackles. A truly democratic society is a pluralistic society with power distributed in a number of centres like the government, universities, trade bodies, religious orders, etc. We accuse the Government of progressively destroying democracy by concentrating all power in its own hands. This is what makes for corruption, inefficiency and general discontent.

—The Organiser.

to English as the tool of higher education and administration? And if humiliation there is, it is a gnat that he is straining at after swallowing half a dozen camels in the form of these other humiliations.

SIDELIGHTS ::

According to a report in *The Mail* (Feb. 14) Sri Kamaraj Nadar, the Madras Chief Minister told a public meeting at Tirunelveli that the Swatantra Party was "entertaining people who were dismissed from Government service on corruption and other charges". "Yet that party," he said, "is charging the Congress Party with flaws and corruption. It should set its house in order before attempting to poke its nose into other parties' affairs". Who are these corrupt people, formerly in Government service and later dismissed, now being entertained by the Swatantra Party as so categorically alleged by the Chief Minister? One searches for them in vain. There is not even one such to be found. There was indeed an office-bearer of the Swatantra Party who had been previously suspended from Government service. But he was subsequently honourably acquitted by the High Court of the charges levelled against him and the Government paid him back-pay for the period for which he had been held in suspension. Moreover he is no longer there in the Swatantra Party. He resigned at the end of the very first party convention. The Chief Minister has made a sweeping accusation against former Government employees now in the Swatantra Party, all men of unblemished integrity and most distinguished administrative records. This is not decent political controversy.

At almost the same time when Sri Kamaraj was demanding that the Swatantra Party should set its own house in order, before charging the Congress with corruption, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, was speaking out at Bhubaneswar in Orissa a few home truths about the Congress. He said.

"Power corrupts and nothing corrupts so absolutely as democratic power. An autocratic monarch is only a monarch. He is not the people. But a government of the people, by a party which has won a large ma-

jority, tends to regard itself as liberated from the restraints of any opposition. The size of a party after a long tenure of uninterrupted power, generates over-confidence, sloth, insensitivity to criticism, and often ugly fights within the party for the plums of office. Such happenings will cease if there is a strong opposition which is capable of wielding the reins of power and give a good account of itself. If there is a single opposition party instead of a welter of groups, it will be alert to expose the weaknesses of the Government and its policies".

Sri Kamaraj's doctrine that a party of the opposition should be flawless (it should set its own house in order) before it could criticise the Government lacks the support of eminent men even in his own party like Dr. Radhakrishnan. Also it makes no sense. Corruption comes with power, and parties of the Opposition, having no power at their disposal, are automatically placed beyond reach of the temptations and delinquencies that belong to power. It is the harm of the corruption which power carries with it that places the ruling party within the right of criticism of every citizen in the land, and no graduation on the lines prescribed by the Madras Chief Minister is necessary. The immunity from criticism on the grounds mentioned by him, even if they had not been based on false facts, is laughable. That the Chief Minister of a State could be so deficient in a sense of propriety is one of the gravest portents of evil unfolded by the development of our time.

Reviewing a book on the British general election of 1959, an American university professor concludes that the British Labour Party is more conservative than the Conservative Party itself. Despite the rhetorical attachment to Socialism, he says, the working classes always assumed the traditional values of British society, including attachment to tradition itself. He asks: "What has happened to the vaunted em-

piricism of Englishmen? We are faced with a paradox, a picture of a political party which seems determined to commit suicide. Why do Labour Party activists cling obstinately to old slogans when the supposedly more rigid and dogmatic Germans have dropped their Socialist baggage with hardly a murmur?"

The paradox is in India also: Why do the Congress Party keep this Socialist baggage round their necks? Its value as a tempting carrot before the poverty-ridden electorate is far too transitory and doubtful to be of any real significance. A little enlightenment (and enlightenment cannot be long put off) will enable the poor to realise that wealth cannot be produced but by capital, and it is suicidal to level down the little wealth that there is to the point of destroying capital and reducing employment. The poor in India desperately need the rich for keeping up the supply of capital. To liquidate the rich relying on the State to produce wealth would be relying on a thoroughly broken reed. If intermediaries are a nuisance and a waste, the Government is the worst intermediary of all. To remove intermediaries whom you can control and substitute the State as the one and only intermediary would be to ensure that a substantial part of the capital go down the drain. The Government official is the most inefficient and the most costly as well as the most arbitrary of all managers. The enlightenment is sure to come soon and the Congress Party's Socialist baggage is suicidal weight when crossing the waters.

The latest revelation about the standard of efficiency of Government management is in the context of what has happened to the Madhya Pradesh wheat and rice stocks. The Central Government, we are told, will bear a part of the loss which the M.P. Government will incur in the disposal of these stocks which have proved difficult to sell out. Whichever Government bears or shares the loss, it is the nation's loss. It is

(Continued on page 11)

THE PRESIDENT SOUNDS THE RETREAT

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The speech of the President inaugurating the last budget session before the general election, not only lacked the exhilaration on which the Congress Party must ride but was apologetic, with only hope and cautious optimism for the future. While strains and stresses were stated, no remedies or rectification were indicated, as if Providence should do what the Government cannot even think of doing.

The Chinese occupation of 12,000 square miles and claims for 50,000 more square miles, which they are not disposed to discuss on any basis or evidence except their own, was "left to the Chinese being persuaded, sooner than later, to accept our view". Not only is there no hope for this miracle from the present attitude of the Chinese, but in the meanwhile, the army has to be maintained over 2,000 miles of frontier, subject to constant aggressions. There are three courses open. The first of them is reference to arbitrators chosen from neutral nations. If China refuses, she exposes the weakness of her position. The second is breaking diplomatic relations, which the Chinese may not like specially at a time when they are trying to enter the U.N. and thirdly, armed action, which may not be possible without aid from other countries, now less likely to be available. If the Government is serious about vacating aggression and not merely placating Communism, it should take the first two courses in turn.

The President found pleasure in the emergence of many sovereign republics in Africa, particularly as they are following our policy of non-alignment. There are two factual inaccuracies in this; first, the new African States are already aligned, Ghana, Guinea, U.A.R. and the Congo of Lumumba with the communists, while the others are waiting to

see which side is offering more. Secondly, our policy of non-alignment is inconsistent with our blind backing of Communist countries and our constant criticism of the others. The President himself betrayed this bias by blaming Belgium for supplying arms to the constituted government, recognised by the U.N., ignoring the supply of arms ferried for Communist countries by U.A.R., to the rebels against the constituted government. Almost the only success of our foreign policy the President could disclose was the exchange of innumerable visits with heads of other countries, which however good for those concerned, are a strain on the poor tax-payers of this country.

While the President had nothing to say about the bloody doings in Assam and Jabalpur and the costly wranglings for power between different sections of the Congress in nearly all States, he thought fit to ask the world to disarm. At the moment, we are defending our entire land frontier against aggression, for which we are buying and borrowing arms from other countries. Wars begin in the minds of men and though the tradition of this country is for peace, our representatives are the most aggressive in the U.N., particularly in support of the Communists. If we wish to be neutral, let us mind our own business like Switzerland and be silent in the affairs of others. There will then be at least disarmament of the ill-will we have been creating by taking sides.

The President took credit for the increase in farm production. If this was real and not merely statistical, there should have been evidence in the prices, which in fact are not falling. In any case, the increase is a gift of the monsoons because in the four years following 1954-55, there was a continuous decline in net cereal production, in spite of the vast

sums spent by Government on agriculture and irrigation.

Similarly, the increase in industrial production is illusory because cement, steel, coal, tyres are so short that they command almost double their proper price in the black-markets where only they are available. If certain consumer goods have increased in production, under the protected market of the country, they are selling at twice the world prices and involving us in foreign exchange for components, which in many cases in the name of industrialisation are merely assembled together in India, by favoured licencees. State enterprises in industry, which have absorbed many times the capital available to private industries, have so far not contributed anything to the Central budget while the increase in investment does not even return the interest of 4 per cent paid by Government on the loans required. At the same time, railway transport is so much tied up with State enterprises, that wagons are not available for coal to sustain existing enterprises and to move finished articles in common demand.

The President took credit for the increase in the national income in 1959-60, ignoring that this is largely due to agriculture, which between 1948-49 and 1958-59 increased by 43.7 per cent, commerce and transport by 20.1 per cent and other services by 23 per cent, while the share of factory establishments actually decreased by 1.1 per cent. The agricultural increase is a gift of the monsoons and may be merely statistical judged by the fact that prices have not fallen. Two other distressing factors, which Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao recently emphasised were that the increase in commodities was only 56.5 per cent, which fails to balance not only the rest, which is increase in services, but also the staggering increase in population. We have been creating more employment, on one hand, and more consumers on the other, without equivalent production. The se-

cond distressing fact is that though the national individual income may be Rs. 291.5, the income of 43 million landless labourers, mostly Harijans, is only Rs. 99.4, having fallen from Rs. 104 in 1950-51. The Ninth National Sample Survey discloses that 60 millions live on 5 annas or less a day, 40 millions on 4 annas and less and 20 millions on 2 annas and less. As the significance of these figures soaks in the people who have been subject of taxation and inflation for the Plans of the Government, the

Congress, in spite of all the money it can collect for the elections, will find itself on the March Out. Its Retreat is sounded because in trying to mend little things that may have gone wrong, it has upset much that was good for the people and the country.



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A NATIONAL BIRD

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The peacock has been chosen as the 'national bird' of India. It may serve as a starting point for negotiations with the Shah of Iran for the restoration of the Peacock Throne. The pea-hen is the most unimpressive bird going, but it is the peacock that is being honoured; vain, screechy, strutting, the female of the species getting the bird in rivalry. Roman banners flaunted the Imperial Eagle, a voracious bird of prey; the Tsars of Russia respected it as an emblem, hence the expression 'spread-eagle imperialism', and America too adopted the Eagle for her ensigns. The kite had a definite place in Indian mythology, but Saraswathi was more fastidious in her selection of the peacock beside the swan. England is of course proud of the Swan-of-Avon though Baconians dispute the vaunted authenticity of the claim.

The Indian bustard had come under the starter's orders in the race, something of a fatty degenerate in the species, too immobile in habits to suit the dynamism of the planning era when we cherish the slogan *Aram Haram Hai*, so that the other fellow may put his shoulder to the wheel. In nominating his form of transport Ganapathy cried, 'Rats', fearless of any molestation by any Eagle or Garuda. His beautiful grotesqueness made him a learned denizen of the earth with no vision of the space-era.

We are strenuously celebrating the anniversary of National Birds not to be confused with National Birds like Pegasus of ancient times who increased his horse-power for speed by investing in a couple of wings to improve quick disposal of business during aerial surveys. The ostrich was not in the running as India's symbol though in Rajputana we have vast quantities of sand to bury their heads, a phenomenon that excited the walrus and the carpenter as they moved to the study of oysters, on digestion bent. Falcons

used to be favoured in Moghul courts but there is nothing of romance about their exploits. Detectives are described by writers as being astute like hawks, a notion popularised by the profile of Sherlock Holmes lecturing the fat-headed Dr. Watson on clue-work. In reality, the hawk is one of the duds known in ornithology, sleepy, gawky.

As a bird-watcher, Mr. Malcolm Macdonald conceded no eminence to the hawk anywhere near the Indian crow that fascinated his eyes. So intelligent is the Indian crow, when it comes to an eye for the main chance, that as national bird sitting on the fence the *caw-caw* performer deserves a second round of inspection in comparison with the Peacock, who moves in this era of equality indifferent to the regard for prettier model amongst his wives in the peafowl kingdom. The Peacock, like the monkey, is a privileged creature, sheltered from the shikari. Any shooting might involve riots, and Kipling sang with no little devotion to monkeys now on export to the Land of the Free. More than one Tommy had suffered because of ignorance of the sanctity of monkeys.

Lynch law is however dying out. Why the parrot did not get better hearing in the court-room of the Selection Board is a mystery in an age when parrotry could fetch election-tickets. In proportion to the bodily build, the Peacock has a tiny head whereas the capital-end of the parrot's system looks a trifle on the bulge. The whole issue calls for reconsideration by the connoisseurs who, after long debate and close study of the winged creation, plumped for the Peacock, a snob-bird denied by Nature the distinction of a mate eligible for appearance at debutant functions in public. Every peacock is entitled to a divorce by verdict of the jury on inspection of the pair after honeymoon. I submit the Peacock is

not an apt expression of the image that Mother India could justly claim. The Persian poet Saadi wrote a couplet saying that the Peacock, proud of his plumes, is still ashamed of his ugly feet. The national insect of India will probably be voted as the mosquito, but there is no need to be in a beastly hurry about it as we are 'waging war' against its ravages by appeals for the eradication of the evil, indeed its eschewal during the Third Plan itself.

Prize Essays on Controls

The Forum of Free Enterprise has announced the results of its fourth essay competition for students on 'Controls in a Planned Economy'.

Mr. K. S. Varghese of St. Berchmans' College, Changanacherry, Kerala State, has been awarded the first prize of Rs. 250. Mr. G. Ranga Rao of Delhi School of Economics wins the second prize of Rs. 150. Mr. S. Joseph of St. Joseph's College, Tiruchirapalli, gets the third prize of Rs. 100.

Consolation prizes of Rs. 25 each are awarded to Mr. T. P. Sharma of Jabalpur, Mr. N. Krishnamurthi of Madras, Mr. N. V. Subbarao of Bapatla, Mr. Om Prakash of Jabalpur, Miss S. B. Kulkarni of Bombay and Mr. T. S. T. Busrai of Surati.

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7. On Feb. 1, 1961 were you: (a) Employed () if so, monthly total income Rs. ----- (b) Full time () student () (c) Unemployed () if so, how long? ---Yrs---mths. (d) Retired ()

8. Nature of employment: a. Teaching in School () b. Private Sector () c. Self employment () d. Technical in Industry () e. Non-technical () 10. Any Research Assignment? Yes () / No () 11. Where employed? a. Public Sector () b. Private Sector () c. Self employment () 12. How employed? a. Permanent () b. Temporary () c. On contract () d. Research Scholar etc. () e. Otherwise ()

Date _____ Signature _____

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Issued by Government of India

February 25, 1961

SWARAJYA

PRIORITY FOR FOOD FOR THE POOR

By A. V. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR

Though we do not have accurate statistics about unemployment, under-employment and people without any means of subsistence at all, it is gathered from figures in various official compilations, that these categories number roughly about forty millions. The proportion, among these, of persons who are absolutely destitute on account of want of work or any private means and starve themselves to emaciation is not inconsiderable. The concrete existence of this section is proved by the large number of beggars and pavement-dwellers in all cities and towns and by the misery-laden countenances of patient and uncomplaining persons of all ages with only skin and bone who constitute a familiar sight in our villages. All these are citizens of our motherland, entitled to be enrolled in the National Register.

In their enthusiasm for large scale planning and a Welfare State on the model of some Western countries our rulers, who have spent over Rs. 7000 crores during the two Plans have clean forgotten to spend a pie directly for providing work or food, to the weakest and destitute sections of our people. This is a tragic anomaly. Our State must become a civilized one before shining as a Welfare State. In modern ideology no State can be called civilized, if it does not arrange food and clothing, if not shelter, to all its citizens.

The responsibility of society and of the State as the effective instrument of its will, to feed all its citizens including the poorest is not a new one but has been recognised from time immemorial both in the East and the West. Our own Constitution has recognised this. Section 39(a) states: "The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing that the citizens, men and women, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood". Has this aim been kept in view and a beginning made to fulfil it? By spending crores and crores on certain projects and schemes, employment has been given to some, but what about the many who have no work and means of livelihood either? How long will it take for these to get work under present schemes? Or is it at all possible for all to get employment in any conceivable future? Are they to shift for themselves and beg or starve? In any State, and much more so in a Welfare State, should not priority be given to keep body and soul together of the poorest sections of the people?

Why should not our Government follow Western countries in this vital

matter? In them, no citizen is allowed to starve for want of means of subsistence? This aim has been secured, in England for instance, by a body of social security legislation, such as the poor laws, unemployment pensions and insurance schemes, Health Insurance schemes, old age pensions, etc. In spite of our spectacular advancement in certain industries, our basic economic condition today is similar to that of England in about 1840. J. R. Green in his *Short History of the English People* says that at about that time "a tenth of the people were in fact paupers with poor relief at £ 7,000,000 a year". By the poor law of 1834 the responsibility for finding work for the poor or giving them relief was entrusted to 643 parish unions under the general supervision of a Poor Law Commission and the Local Government Board. Though there were certain defects in the working of this Law, no one was allowed to starve.

What is our Government's record in this matter? It has not given thought to this problem at all in its real nature, though the talk of helping the poor has been all along there. In justice to it, it has to be stated that other political parties also have not paid thought to this problem. It is stated that the country has enormously progressed. Of what use is this progress to the millions who are today starving? We have the spectacle of this increased wealth, produced during the past ten years, assuming it to be real, being shared by the secure sections of the community such as the usual beneficiaries of public expenditure and Government services of all categories, quasi-public services, other tertiary services and organised workers, who together do not form even 5 per cent of the population, while nothing has been spent to help the poor with work or food on an organised basis.

On the other hand, our Governments have taken up a programme of help to certain backward communities in a most irrational manner. While it is legitimate to spend any amount on common amenities to backward classes, such as providing roads, schools, hospitals, etc. it is not quite legitimate to give *ad hoc* cash grants for some purpose or other to selected individuals on the sole ground of their caste. In a cheri where 300 families live, what social justice or economic benefit can it if ten persons are given Rs. 500 each for some purpose or other? Does the community as such receive any benefit out of these? When in the same

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cheri other Harijans may be starving for want of food, some favoured persons are given cash grants. A large army of Government servants has been created to administer these grants. The defects in the working of this system are too well known to need mention.

Food for sustenance is more urgent than other matters. When millions of poor people belonging to all castes exist in a state of starvation or semi-starvation, a considerable proportion of which is on the streets begging, is it not the duty of society and the State to see that they are provided with work or food? The problem is much bigger than that of solving beggary, which also has to be done. That in this age of freedom there should be beggary in our country on a sufficiently large scale is no credit to the nation. Its abolition and the provision of food to all who have not the means to it, though they are willing to work, must be the first

charge on the revenues of the country. If the Government formulate a national country-wide scheme, it can also tap private charity, which has not entirely dried up, and also the resources of mutts, temples and other religious organisations for this purpose without alienating public opinion. To talk pompously of universal primary education, co-operative farming, family planning and a hundred other schemes, without providing the elementary need of food to millions who starve for no fault of theirs, is a colossal folly that is possible only in our country. It is time we realise the shame and moral bankruptcy underlying it and organise work and relief without further delay.

It may be asked whether the magnitude of the task is not too great and beyond the financial capacity of the country. The answer is an emphatic No. While the old, sick and the disabled have to be fed without any return, the

bulk of the poor have to be given suitable work, which will give a return, and this will be considerable in course of time. If necessary a special tax earmarked for the maintenance of the poor and disabled, can be levied without objection being raised from any quarter. The whole problem should be examined by a competent Commission which can be asked to work out the details.

In the meanwhile, the community projects can be made to run workhouses in two or three central places in each block area. A completely new orientation should be given to their work, which has not been much of a success in the view of impartial observers. In their main object of enthusing rural population to become conscious of its needs and self-reliant, the community projects have failed. Their work has been done by paid Government servants, to whom large funds were given for spending and they have spent them somehow. The actual works of public utility in rural areas have been of poor quality and not commensurate with the moneys spent on them. As for the sick and the disabled, who are unfit to work, village panchayats in the new set-up may be charged with the responsibility of maintaining them with the aid of special assistance and local charity.

Let the State in India follow Western countries in this, make a beginning and divert a moiety of our Third Plan expenditure for providing work or food to the poorest sections in the country and old age pensions at least. The poor who are willing to work have a claim on the society and the State, which after thirteen years of freedom and progress, cannot shirk this elementary responsibility and go on merrily spending on grandiose schemes.

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THE SWARAJYA, MADRAS-10

February 25, 1961

SIDELIGHTS....

(Continued from page 4)

here that the advantage of free economy and trusting the traditional distributors comes in as far more advantageous than the State tinkering with what is not its function.

Indian newspapers have announced without any excitement that the Chinese have completed their occupation of the Ladakh area, 12000 square miles, and that their further claims are 500 sq. miles in the middle sector, and 32,500 sq. miles in the eastern sector, besides 5000 sq. miles in the region west of the Karakorum pass, totalling in all 50,000 sq. miles. As things show up, it may be expected that the Chinese will take what they claim because to quote from the President's address to Parliament, "we firmly adhere to a peaceful policy for resolving the problems of aggression on Indian territory and the Government of India is giving continuous and careful attention to the opening up of areas by better communications and development".

Louis Fischer writing in *New Leader* says:

"More drastic measures are needed to meet the continuing challenge of China. The situation requires India and Pakistan to combine their armed forces for mutual defence against China India and Pakistan are one by geography, economy and race, and the case consequently for joint defence in the face of China's bellicosity is unanswerable. An inspection of the map reveals that the Chinese conquest of additional Indian territory would imperil the survival of Pakistan. Equally a Chinese invasion of Pakistan would put India in jeopardy".

The Nehru Government does not see sense in these ideas although Marshal Ayub Khan did. China is in her own way encircling India. Her latest move in the game is that she does not accept Kashmir's accession to India. Bandung and Panch Sheela have shifted far away from present day Sino-Indian politics.

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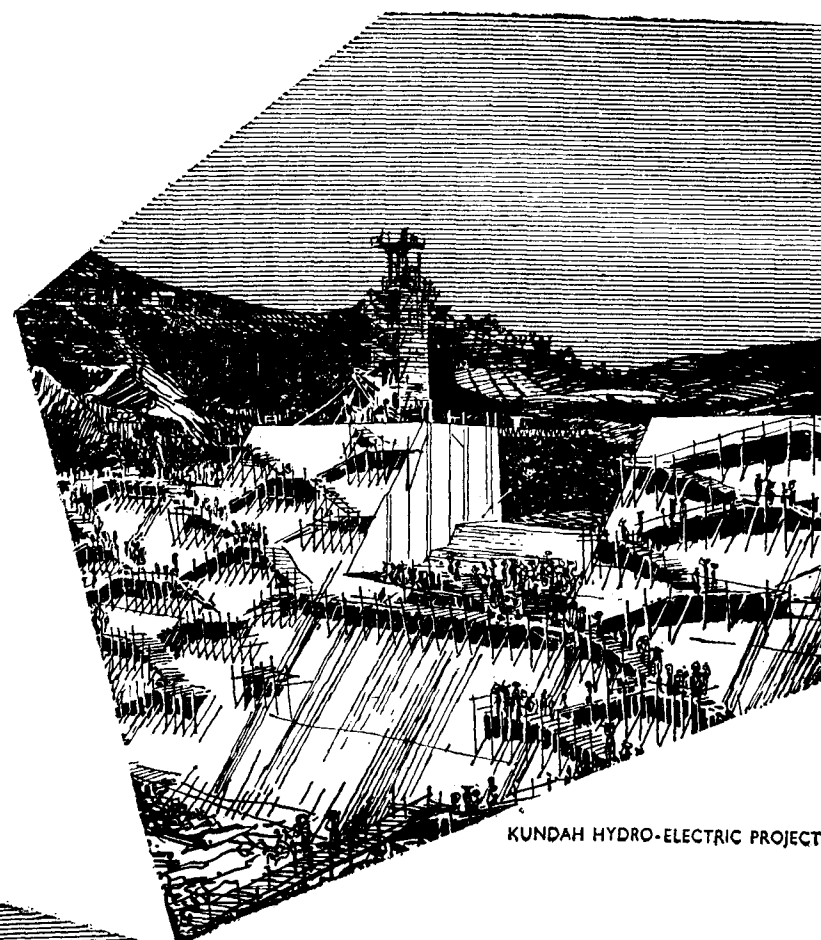
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THE PRESIDENT AND PARLIAMENT

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Precisely three months after it had begun its Winter session and, eighteen days after it had adjourned *sine die*, the Indian Parliament embarked on its budget session, having been opened by the President. What makes such an occasion doubly important is an address delivered by him, as "a public declaration of Government policy and intentions for the (coming) session". There was such an address while in the address itself there was little to awaken public interest and less to rouse popular enthusiasm. It was too formal and tepid or too conventional and colourless. That it was reduced to a mere ceremonial was the complaint of a Congress member. It was to Mr. Santhanam's credit to have said so, though he himself suffered at no time from excess of emotion.

The question arises if it is unavoidable that the President's address should be flat. That any speech delivered by one in his position, in person, should lack what alone makes it distinctive, namely the personal touch, is really unfortunate. There should be limits even to its limitations. The President's address, the Prime Minister himself said once in Parliament, was like the King's (or now the Queen's) speech—i.e. composed by the Government and only read by him. That does not, however, mean anything except that the policy outlined is that of the Government. In this context it is worth recalling what Mr. Herbert Morrison says in his well-known book, *Government and Parliament*:

Of course, She (the Queen) cannot upset the policy for that would be unconstitutional, though She can raise questions about it.

One wonders—God knows—if our President exercises that privilege at all. And there is something more. To quote Mr. Morrison further:

Certainly, the Sovereign can, and often does, make suggestions for

revision of wording, either because it is thought to be better for delivery or to make a sentence more appropriate or attractive.

Again, there is no knowing if our President is given to making his own suggestions, in respect of the draft. Perhaps he attaches no special importance to this aspect of the address since he insists on delivering it in Hindi, though as a concession to those who are ignorant of it, he reads the English text as well. (Presumably, the address is first done in English though later rendered into Hindi while it is first read in Hindi though as a translation! It is interesting to see behind the President's address, the race between Queen's English and President's Hindi!)

What the public however feel is that the addresses to Parliament that come from his lips bear no trace of any impress of his own personality. It should not mean that the President of a Republic does not have or exercise or ask for the privileges of even a constitutional head of the State as in the United Kingdom. Incidentally, like the British Sovereign, the President of the Republic of India speaks of "My Ministers" and "Our people". But how much more Republican it sounds when the American President speaks of "my fellow-citizens"! This is not to attach any exaggerated importance to mere form. But it really colours the whole text and governs its temper or accounts for its tone.

The latest address, so far as it relates to the internal situation, bears the impress of a Government who are eminently satisfied with their performances. And there seems little more that one need ask of them after the comforting assurance about their efforts and schemes to "shorten the time between their decisions on policies and the implementation thereof". One need therefore be hardly impatient about things

like co-operative farming; everything will come in, to quote the President's phrase in another context, "sooner than later"—of which later. Perhaps, one need not also wait for long for "the peaceful liberation of Goa". We are reminded that in that part of India "a decadent colonialism still survives". It is so decadent that it should automatically collapse any day, without any effort on the part of the Government of India.

The President makes a reference to the refineries and also to the use of atomic energy for industrial purposes but somehow there is not a word to the plan (to Dr. H. J. Bhabha's) "to build one or two (or even four) nuclear power stations in India"—a plan which, while not having been mentioned in the printed Third Plan either, is supposed to have been "drawn up and informally accepted". The Prime Minister is reported to have explained it to Mr. Richard Fry of the *Manchester Guardian* who, in the last of a series of articles on his Indian impressions, has this to say:

Yet the costing sounds suspiciously like that of our own atomic knights which went so badly wrong. Looking at the Indian scene one cannot help wondering if the time is ripe to spend large sums of scarce capital, and precious engineering resources, on so uncertain a project. Problems of priority, of political ideology, and of national pride combine to make Indian planning more complex than the simple fight against poverty might imply.

When the Prime Minister takes Parliament into confidence about the Bhabha plan is his own secret.

The President, in surveying the world situation, has a lot to say about China, Congo and Laos, and about the inevitability, and India's own policy, of peaceful co-existence. Chinese intransigence having been proved, thanks to the admirable work done by the Indian officials in their talks with the Chinese on the border dispute or "controversy", the hope is expressed (the Government's hope) that "sooner than later" China will see light and do the right thing. The President also

(Continued on the next page)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR FALSE ANSWERS IN PARLIAMENT

Sir,—I have read with interest your comments in *Sidelights* in your issue of 4th February where you say "it is a grave offence to mislead Parliament with false information".

I know several instances in which false information has been given and where the Government has been cornered by persistent questioning and even though irregularities have been proved the Government has been reluctant to admit its mistakes. Under the Nehru regime truth is slowly being pushed into the background. Here are some examples. There were repeated questions in both Houses about the Ambassador in Saudi Arabia, his continuance in the same place in different capacities such as Consul, Consul-General and Ambassador for 10 years contrary to the normal practice of transfer every three years, his neglect

The President and Parliament

(Continued from the previous page) emphasises India's deep concern over the situation developing in Congo and in Laos. And one finds that in the debate on the President's address the members of Parliament are invariably excited over the developments abroad and not the situation at home.

For, one incessantly hears of China, China, China, otherwise Congo, and for a change, Laos, and of little pertaining to the general situation in India, which is, in a way a great tribute to our Prime Minister. Apparently our M.P's are more international-minded than we thought they were. If, however, even within the context of China's aggression, anyone ever dares to ask for any re-examination of our foreign policy, he will at once be told that he does not know what he is talking about—and be put in his place! At home, the seeds are sown for "the rapid socialist society": abroad, whatever is wrong with anything, or anywhere, there is about our policy a sense of finality as much as of such perfection as there can be in an imperfect world. So, let us all say 'thanks' to the President for his address to Parliament, and through it, to "our people".

of his primary duty of looking after the convenience of pilgrims going to Haj, his indifference to matters of trade and his wasteful expenditure on show-room, parties, etc. Repeated questioning resulted in the Prime Minister saying that two Members of Parliament (both Congress) going to Haj were asked to act as an unofficial delegation and report to the Prime Minister on all these matters. Later, when the Prime Minister was asked to place their report on the table of the House the answer was that the document is in the nature of a confidential one and it would not be in the public interest to place it on the table of the House!

Another instance is in connection with the Sindhu Resettlement Corporation, formed largely for managing the affairs of the refugees and their early rehabilitation at Kandla. The Directors, all Congressmen, seem to be negligent in their duties and the Managing Director was convicted and sentenced to a term of 5 years rigorous imprisonment and a fine for misusing his office to obtain licences for personal profits. I do not know whether the fault lay with the Managing Director or his office but the Court's judgment is there and in appeal it seems the sentence was enhanced. While Government has denied that there was an enquiry into the affairs of the Corporation by Government, the answer admitting that the Managing Director was sentenced without giving any details was given in a subsequent question when this was pointed out. These are all cases where I have been able to make the Government more or less admit that the information originally given was wrong. I do not know in how many cases false answers have been given to Members like me who ask questions on inconvenient subjects.

DAHAYABHAI VALLABHBHAI PATEL.

THIRD CLASS TRAVEL

Sir,—Although it is satisfactory that no increase in passenger or freight rates has been proposed in the Railway budget for 1961-62, third class passengers from whom the Railways get more than 90 per cent of their earnings, will no doubt be disappointed to find that no mention has been made in the budget about the measures to be undertaken by the Railways to check over-crowding, except the statement that "the problem of over-crowding is being tackled resolutely within the available resources".

Even during the last budget speech, the Railway Minister said that he was glad to be able to say that over-crowding had been appreciably checked. To a certain extent this is true, because new trains have been introduced in some sections. But almost all the Express and Mail trains in the South carry more than twice the number of passengers for which accommodation exists in the particular train.

It is stated in the current Budget speech that the allocation of Rs. 15 crores provided for Railway users' amenities in the Second Plan is expected to be fully utilised. No doubt in the last few years, they have provided many amenities, but the first and foremost expectation of any passenger is to get sufficient sitting accommodation.

N. V. R. SWAMY.

COST OF LIVING

Sir,—The cost of living index for January 61 for the working class in Madras City as recently reported in the newspapers recorded a fall of 18 points.

This fall in reality is far from facts in as much as the prices of rice, pulses, oils and vegetables did not come down but soared up. Why should such a misleading cost of living index be prepared by the administration is anybody's guess—possibly to substantiate the statements of Ministers who now and then make public utterances that the prices of foodstuffs are in the downward trend. Our Ministers are not tired of shouting from the house tops that steps are being taken to arrest the exorbitant rise in prices of foodstuffs and essential consumer commodities. Such utterances have only encouraged the sky-rocketing of food prices and the ruling party's incapacity to do anything concrete in this direction is exhibited.

Will the administration at least refrain from giving for publication such made-to-order cost of living indices and help the workers to get the legitimate dearness allowance from their managements? S. D. RAMASWAMY.

ORGANIZED FARCE

Sir,—There is an old story in Tamil which describes a trick employed by a young couple to drive away an unwanted guest who was as cunning and adamant as the husband and wife.

The husband pretended to beat the wife; the wife also made a pretence of weeping aloud. The guest watching the unhappy scene also made a farce of walking out of the house.

Soon, not long after the guest was out of sight, the husband remarked, "How cleverly I acted the drama". The

AMERICA'S BEST YEAR IN HISTORY

"The year (1960) began with most business men and economists optimistic about the prospects for a year of rising business activity and earnings.

"The fact that the year fell far short of expectations misled many of them into believing that conditions now are worse than they actually are".

Dr. Emerson P. Schmidt, director of economic research for the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, ranks 1960 as the nation's best year in history in "terms of total output, employment and income", even though, he adds, the "gains were far from universal" and "soft spots" were clearly evident.

In matching 1960 against other years, Dr. Schmidt says:

"If the present consensus on the outlook turns out to be correct, we will be able to say that in gross national product and other major measures, 1959 was better than 1958; 1960 was better than 1959, and 1961 will be better than 1960—a rather good overall performance of year-by-year improvements since 1958".

Edward N. Cole, Vice-President and General Manager of General Motors Corp., participating in a

survey made by the First National Bank of Chicago, describes the present status of the national economy as "riding on a level plateau, with key strengths balancing out weaknesses in some sectors".

He adds that while inventory adjustments have slowed some activities, particularly in manufacturing, most other areas of the economy have continued to move forward. He continues:

"While we recognize that this period of economic adjustment probably will continue into next year, the current level of business certainly forms a basis for predicting that 1961 will be a very satisfactory year".

Carroll M. Shanks, president of the Prudential Insurance Co. of America, foresees a 1961 rise of \$10,000,000,000 in gross national product to a total of \$514,000,000,000. Consumer spending, he adds, is expected to top 1960 by \$9,000,000,000, reaching a record \$337,000,000,000 in 1961. The gain in government spending—Federal, state and local—is placed at \$7,500,000,000, which will boost the 1961 total to \$107,500,000,000.

P. G. KRISHNAYYA'S SERVICE.

constituted, will, it is hoped, take steps to set right these defects and thus give the listeners of this place a good hearing for which they will be grateful to it. K. T. APPU.

UNDERMINING DEMOCRACY

Sir,—The detention of the Maharaja of Bastar by the Madhya Pradesh Government on the 11th instant under the Preventive Detention Act which has by now become notorious by misuse, on the heels of the categorical statement of the Deputy Home Minister in the Vidhan Sabha on the previous day that there was no bar to the Maharaja's entry into Bastar and that no orders for his arrest have been passed raises far reaching issues which affect every citizen of the country.

The very fact that the Government dare not prosecute him in a Court of Law and their oft repeated statement that Law and Order in Bastar was under control will only go to show that

the charges mentioned in the Home Ministry's communique have no basis in fact. It is another edition of the Madhya Pradesh Government's story.

Every intelligent follower of the Bastar tragedy knows by now that the Maharaja is made to suffer for his political activities in the recent past. As long as he was on the Congress side with the eleven Vidhan Sabha seats of Bastar district, he was a paragon of virtue in the Congress eyes. But when he started opposing openly the party in power, and when the prospects of his joining the Swatantra party became bright, the Congressmen started a campaign of vilification against him and cried for his blood. The Central Government by depriving him of his titles and means of livelihood have made themselves liable to the charge of victimising their political opponents. Democracy itself is being undermined by their action. V. S. SRIKUMAR.

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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

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MADRAS, MARCH, 4, 1961

Price 15 nP.

MORAL BANKRUPTCY By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Here is a party that sits in office and spends all the time at its disposal this year in selling or promising or indirectly binding itself to sell to individuals, favours and monopolies large or small according to capacity, under the deceptive name of a controlled economy.

Controls are bad and cause more real harm to the economy than any good that is innocently calculated to issue therefrom. But when they are used just for the purpose of favouring some and disfavouring others according as they favour the ruling clique or oppose it, they become unadulterated evil.

The wide world knows how what I have said above is true. Everyone wants this permit-and-licence-raj should go and our economy freed from this post-war pestilence. I have undertaken a herculean task. Not only are the Augean stables heavily laden with evil, but the very victims that suffer are afraid to rise in revolt lest they meet immediate and fatal victimisation. They are not confident that my mission will succeed and dread to be in a losing battle. May God give them the courage that comes only from His grace, the courage which enabled all the battles of history to end in victory for the right cause against seemingly heavy odds.

The Congress party hopes to win with its three weapons, (1) astronomical sums of money collected from industrial, transport and other bosses at the point of the dagger, (2) the electoral advan-

tage that helps a party in office in a land unused to real democracy, and whose tradition is to bow before official authority and (3) the opportunity a party in power has to win when its multiple opponents vote so to say, against one another.

Taking the last first, I hope and believe that the folly of being divided into mutually counter-acting groups, giving a chance to the Congress to get away with it through a gap in the triangle will be realised in time. The fallacy of egalitarian socialism based on envy and ignorance of the mechanism of wealth-production, I trust will also be realised, and the socialism of the Congress rejected by every party. It is not socialism but just a cover for selling monopolies and favours. Much more honesty than is available in the Congress party is required to give a proper foundation for any policy of controlled economy to do good. The most expedient policy is free competition among producers and distributors so that the public at large, the consumers, may be the arbiters and not the monopoly-and-favours-selling clique in office.

As for the advantages accruing from being in office and having the power to victimise, the sooner the unfortunate sufferers throw off fear and make a bid for liberty, the better. One more victory for the Congress party would mean undiluted and unqualified arrogance and tyranny with no hope in the future for freedom. We must expose victimisations to public

gaze, which would turn the tables on the Congress party at the elections and help to put an end to this barbarity which is inconsistent with the freedoms guaranteed in all democratic governments. Victimisation is not so profitable a game when the elections are near; and the Congress bosses know this.

Lastly, money power. Let me share with the public my faith that God will not allow this black-mailed accumulation of money-power to win. This world is not a place to live in, if indeed money alone could win parliamentary elections. Let money flow. Ill-gotten money had better get disbursed as soon as possible. It will not help but will soon breed its jealousies and quarrels. The people will vote against the ruling party for its bad administration. The falsehood of its promises is felt by all. Whoever takes the voters to the booth, whatever be the conveyance supplied and whatever be the scale of entertainments and the bribery, I feel there will be a tempestuous vote against the ruling clique. The money collected will be spent to no purpose.

The Congress party's total dependence on ill-gotten money and on its ministers holding office during the elections, and its anxiety to keep opposition parties apart, conclusively prove its moral bankruptcy. People will rise in revolt and refuse to give it a further lease of authority.

I may be all wrong in my beliefs. But I cling to a faith that is founded on *Satyameva jayate* and Divine rule. Let us trust that Power and fight the battle for freedom, for *swatantra* in life and occupation.

A friend writes to me from Italy, one who was in India for a long time during an acute phase of our struggle for freedom; he writes to say that he 'imagines I am a humanitarian who does not believe in the stupidity of egalitarianism'. He is quite right. The egalitarian socialism of the Congress is a fallacy and a fraud, a mere election-carrot for the donkey the Congress takes the electorate to be. We must kick the rider down from our back, rider and carrot. The mechanism of wealth-production is something quite different from the socialism of the Congress, which ignores the incentive, the capital, the frugal management and the output of work needed for increase of wealth.

The Congress brand of socialism makes the rich richer through the monopolies and privileges the party sells to them. It makes the poor poorer by reason of the rising prices resulting from the inflation brought about by its improvident plan expenditure and deficit financing. The Congress brand of socialism does not reduce but makes greater the difference between rich and poor; and this, both materially and spiritually, through the class conflict it generates.

The creed of the Congress resting in officials and their apathy in preference to private producers and distributors is ruinous to workers and ruinous to all concerned. The loss and ruin are already there but covered by foreign aid and loans and the mystification of Government accounts. The gigantic parasitism on foreign aid is a demonstration of the dependence we have involved ourselves in by our foolish and un-Gandhian ambitions after Independence. The situation judged even from the mere mate-

rial angle is one of deplorable dependence making a ludicrous show on the background of non-alignment.

THE COMING BUDGET

In spite of the general expectation that in the pre-election period, the Congress party is not likely to lay new taxes on the voters, an *Indian Express* report from New Delhi dated Feb. 26, says:

"The Finance Minister himself had often stated that in an under-developed country like India most of the additional revenue would have to come from indirect taxes."

that is, from the poor people who buy consumption goods, and who are even now living a 'marginal' life.

"The draft outline of the Third Plan says: 'Indirect taxation is in certain situations a way of diverting to the public sector the undue profits that will have otherwise accrued most to middlemen and traders'."

This is sheer nonsense. It will add to prices to be paid by consumers. Life in a continental land cannot get on without middlemen and traders. It is nonsense to think otherwise. At best it is a vain and harassing attempt to extinguish trade.

Public Purse

In a private enterprise the people who make the decisions are the people who take the risks; if the decisions are right the enterprise flourishes and if they are wrong it fails. In a public enterprise every decision is made ultimately by the public, i.e., by a committee of several million people all of whom are able to criticise, but very few of them knowing anything of the matter in hand. Temporary expediency is more important as a guide to policy than basic soundness. Mistakes, even failures, are relatively un-important, for the public purse is bottomless.—*From No Miracles Among Friends* by HENEAGE OGILVIE.

"Therefore Mr. Morarji is likely to pick out some commodities for fresh and additional excise duties."

This was anticipated in these columns and as already forecast, it will make the poor poorer and the rich richer. It will give a windfall profit to the favourites who have stocked the commodities and push up prices all round. It will raise tender levels for contracts taken in the public sector and raise costs in the private sector. What seems to come as increased revenue will go as increased costs all round, proving once again the age-old truth that something cannot be made out of nothing, even if Governments undertake the task. C.R.

RESERVE BANK GOVERNOR'S WARNING

The Governor of the Reserve Bank, Mr. H. V. R. Iengar uttered a warning that it is not in the country's interest that 'political parties should intrude into the business of co-operation' and he proceeds to give evidence of such intrusion. It cannot be outside the Bank Governor's knowledge that the ruling party is everywhere trying to capture all co-operative as well as village administrative organizations so as to make them powerful instruments for the success of the Congress party at the next general elections. His warning is therefore intended for the ears of the ruling party unless indeed politics is defined as opposition to the Congress, and that support to the Congress is not politics but co-operation commendable. One may expect the Reserve Bank Governor's warning will be misapplied and serve only to make the Congress party's work easier by applying the warning only to the non-Congress elements. Jefferson said almost as if in a prophetic mood that the concentration of all powers in the same hands is the definition of despotism, whether exercised by many voices or by one. He was speaking of political power. We now see the power of despotism encircling all economic activity and all the occupations of citizens. —C.R.

SIDELIGHTS ::

It pains one to see the efforts made to push Khadi through Government compulsion on to the peons and others without reference to their own feelings. Khadi is aristocratic stuff, the cotton being spun by our women in their homes and woven all by hand in cottages. It has been the symbol of patriotism and emotional aristocracy. It should not be degraded to the status of compulsory menial wear but remain as the external mark of nobility and a patriotic understanding of what national welfare demands. Unfortunately, Khadi, and in particular the Gandhi cap, have by various short-sighted steps taken by the Congress governments with a view to speedy clearance of stock against an unwilling body of consumers, been made into waiters' and messenger boys' uniforms. These ill-paid Government servants and others do not know and cannot afford to keep the Khadi in good and decent condition. The spectacle of ill-paid peons and others of that class wearing untidy and dirty Khadi is painful to those who were concerned in the great movement which Gandhi initiated for the revival of the spinning wheel as an integral part of the movement for independence. Gandhi's India grew round the Charkha and clothed itself in Khadi. It is a pity to bring Khadi down from its true and noble status to that of menial wear, simply because it is easier to force things on the ill-paid and last class loyal servants of Government, than to induce the bigger folk to give up the snobbery of imitating American visitors and copying their dress and manners.

The Ex-Premier of Great Britain Mr. (now Lord) Attlee has done great honour to the organisers of the Azad Memorial lectures by going over to Delhi to deliver this year's address. He has made a special appreciative reference to the scheme of World Law elaborately worked out by

Mr. Grenville Clark and Prof. Sohn. Their book was reviewed by Rajaji in SWARAJYA sometime ago. Every one must agree with Lord Attlee that the United Nations Organisation should not be allowed to fade out through want of authority and effective power like the old League of Nations but should be strengthened to become an administrative organ for the disposal of all international issues in accordance with established Law. All the nations of the world must be enrolled in the U.N. and no one kept out for Cold War reasons. It is only universal and non-partisan representation that can furnish the required foundation for the authority of this World Tribunal and World Executive which the U.N. should be developed into. The task entrusted to the World Tribunal will of course be hard, and there will be tribal discontent and disobedience, as in Congo. We say 'tribal', for every nation that does not accept Law acts no better than a tribe such as we regretfully see in Congo. And as for the Great Powers, if they act in contravention of international law, how are they better than the tribes in Congo that cut a sorry figure today in international news? World peace can issue only out of World Law and this can be an effective entity only if the world organisation is enlarged and strengthened on the broadest basis and released from the cold war incubus.

Pakistan is meeting China and making certain settlements. India is alarmed and angry. But is India to be surprised at this consequence of Sri Nehru's summary rejection of the hand of friendship extended by Marshal Ayub Khan suggesting a common defence organisation? That rejection was a grave mistake and consequences flow from it according to the immutable laws of nature. Whatever the difficulties envisaged in the setting up of a com-

mon defence organisation for India and Pakistan against a common danger, it was due to the Marshal's great and wise gesture that it should have been warmly received and earnestly examined round a table of ministers and officials and thereafter subjected to joint scrutiny and further amplification. Instead of this, it was, so to say, pooh-poohed; summarily. It was no less than an insult, the manner in which a great and historic gesture was dealt with. When you do not grasp the hand of friendship extended by an opponent, the results are bound to be bad. The opponent's enemy is always a potential ally. India failed to remember and act on this natural law. The consequence is that Pakistan follows that law and we are disturbed at the inevitable sequence of our thoughtless procedure. It is not even now too late although it has become far more difficult. China's attitude has become intolerable and such as can no longer be contained by the ideological sympathy of our Prime Minister or coped with by mere words uttered in the Lok Sabha to an admiring audience. We must overcome pride and prejudice for the sake of the safety and integrity of our borders and deal with every difficulty and arrive at an understanding with Pakistan. It is not without reason or thought that Mr. Louis Fischer, India's old friend, has stressed the need for this policy in his serial contributions to the *New Leader* (Jan. 16). It is what Rajaji has been advising for a long time. It is what Gandhiji wanted to be done when he met Jinnah as soon as he was released from his last incarceration in the Aga Khan palace. When a thing is not done when it should have been done, it later becomes difficult. But even so, it should be done or it will become yet more difficult as time passes.

The Prime Minister gave expression to a chain of poetic thought and superciliously disposed of Prof. Ranga's criticisms in the debate on the President's

address. Poetry cannot dispose of intolerable inflation, or explain away ill-planned borrowing and bankruptcy. Vain is the attempt to cover up the patent defeat of the Prime Minister at the hands of his erstwhile and dear co-ideologist turned enemy, Communist China. With stark defeat staring all round, in external as well as domestic affairs, it is natural that Sri Jawaharlal Nehru took refuge in poetic imagery. China has confounded India with her encirclement strategy. External affairs have gone bad and initiative has slipped completely out of Sri Nehru's hands. He is hiding his defeat in a cloud of drift and poetry. The task of statesmanship has been made very difficult by a series of lapses on the Prime Minister's part. The problem is how to form a united and strong front against Communist China. Vanity and superciliousness cannot pay any dividend in this game, whatever it may do to save face in the Lok Sabha.

The States have been absorbed and assimilated out of all recognition. Yet paramountcy is sought to be retained. One can understand Dalhousie's paramount power pulling ruling princes and princesses down and setting up substitutes. But it is an odd procedure for Congress successors of Lord Dalhousie to seek to pull down rulers who have already become ex-rulers. It is nothing but an attack on citizenship rights. We can understand a Director of Industries being dismissed or transferred. But we cannot understand how a retired Director of Industries can be 'dismissed'. It is just a breach of contract to repudiate the obligation to pay pension and nothing else. It is lawlessness, not paramountcy.

Mr. Setalvad has done yeoman service through his address to the Afro-Asian Legal Committee on February 22 at Tokyo. He has forcefully, and without those qualifications which usually balance and neutralise the principle, pointed out how the nuclear Powers have been acting in

thorough disregard of international morality and the rights of non-nuclear nations. Whether for military defence purposes or for the development of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, he said, no nation is entitled to explode test bombs and foul the air and the waters of the world, no more than any industrialist is entitled to commit a nuisance by poisoning the air of his neighbours in the research and development of his own industry. Rajaji has been urging for a long time (in the columns of SWARAJYA) what the Attorney-General of India has so rightly and with all the force of an eminent lawyer's language said in this connection. It is a very welcome positive move that the Afro-Asian Legal Committee has been activated into taking and it is hoped that it will not die down with a good address delivered and published.

The Chairman of the Cotton Mills Federation objects to the growth of 'power-looms'. Every manufacturer wants the State to make things easy for him by preventing competition. This is the absurd post-war mentality of control and regulation. The powerloom man does not ask for any grant or subsidy from the taxpayer or even a loan from the quasi-government Investment Corporation. Why should he be prevented from setting up his loom? Why should he be forced to go in for shares in textile factories rather than run his own little factory? On the other hand both these power-looms and these large cotton mills hit the cottage handloom weavers who are a national concern, for they are a large section of the population forming a sizeable fraction of it. They are being badly hit by the mills but the Cotton Mills Federation is not concerned about it.

The handloom weavers are far too many to be neglected. They have survived in spite of all bad weather. They make excellent cloth which the people want and buy and wear. Their occupation is part of all-India national life. The attempt to help them through co-operative organisations does not

meet the case fully. Two-thirds of the weavers remain unabsorbed in the co-operative organisations, not for apathy on the weavers' part but for want of capital in the co-operative societies. Their case truly calls for a market reservation. There can be no decent talk of Socialism if their production is not protected by certain traditional types of cloth being reserved for them.

I told Sri Anantarama Dikshitar the other day that this constant teaching of the epics has made people religious, and faith in God, devotion, *bhakti*, are in consequence now universal. Sri Rajaji turned to me and said "You are like the barber in the story. It is quite a well-known story and you should be knowing it".

I confessed ignorance of the story and entreated him to tell it to me. Here is the story that Rajaji told:

There was once a king who when having a shave fell to talking with the barber on affairs of state and questioned him about the condition of people in the country. The barber said: "Oh King! There is joy everywhere. People are happy, contented and prosperous. There is scarcely a man or woman in the kingdom who does not own a bar of gold."

That evening the King rated his Minister soundly. "You have not told me the truth", he said. "You always speak of the oppressive, over-heavy taxation and the grumbling and discontented peasantry. I have now learned the truth from a man of the people."

The Minister asked for twenty-four hours in which to make his enquiries. He was a man of insight. He judged that if one like the barber had a treasure in his possession he would never trust it out of his sight. The likeliest way of his holding it would be to carry it along, wherever he went, in his bag of professional tools. So the Minister had the bag rifled, and there, sure enough, was a nugget of gold.

Next day, when the King had his shave, the barber was all

(Continued on page 13)

TWO TYPES OF PLANNING

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

Professor John Kenneth Galbraith, the author of the popular economic treatises *American Capital* and *The Affluent Society*, is named as the next Ambassador to India by the new Kennedy Administration among whose intimate advisers the professor occupies a leading place. Whether he comes to India as American envoy or is retained in Washington, he is sure to have considerable influence on the policies of the Democratic administration of Mr. Kennedy.

Mr. Kennedy's election slogan of "New Frontiers" is to be found in the economic context in *The Affluent Society* published in 1957. It went through ten printings in the course of one year and became a best seller. For, it has wide horizons and charts a new course for the development of American civilisation as a whole both in its home policies and in global affairs as the outstanding leader of the free world. The phrase "new frontiers" refers to this trail of new policies that the Professor suggests. President Kennedy seems to have accepted the chart in an imaginative manner and is engaged in translating it into the detail of work-a-day policies and programmes.

Professor Galbraith has visited India twice on the invitation of the Government and has made valuable suggestions regarding Indian economic development through the Five-Year Plans. In the latest report, he has expressed views that chime happily with the mood in which the Plans are sought to be pushed through in despite of orthodox cautions of finance and economic theory in favour of stability.

A perusal of *The Affluent Society* makes it clear that the influence of the Professor is likely to reinforce the present grandiose and reckless ways of Indian Plans. Throughout the book, Professor Galbraith pokes critical (and at times sardonic) fun at the precautions and inhibitions of current economic theory and tradition of free economy, allowing State interference only in favour of social security. The ideas that he who does not work should not eat, that we cannot have something for nothing, that everyone should have the due reward of his own legitimate work, that the State should not rob Paul to pay Peter, that the unfortunate are entitled only to maintenance and not equality with the successful, etc. are all jettisoned by this dour Professor of Scots-Canadian extraction in

a style iridescent with flashes of dry humour and irony that keeps the reader chuckling all the time. He reviews classical economic theories in a learned manner but with an attitude of Olympian contempt for its "selfishness and callousness".

In his latest report on Indian Plans, he has supported the present policy of maximum borrowing from abroad reckless of the capacity of the State to service the loans and to repay them in course of time. He offers the comfort that if we stick to orthodox financial canons, we may have the satisfaction of having maintained "fiscal respectability" but will lose the present golden opportunity of effecting economic expansion through large scale foreign aid. He adds that even if India is unable to repay in time as stipulated, there is no great danger, for presumably Eugene Black of the World Bank is not likely to play the role of Warren Hastings and Robert Clive and seize the sovereignty of the country for default of loan obligations!

The Professor is also not allergic to Government controls of the economy such as the fixation of prices and wages to control inflation. He is sceptical about the value of fiscal and monetary methods of controlling inflation and directing the economy in times of depression.

He is also not daunted by the dangers of deficit financing. He has made a study of the great American Depression of 1929 in his book *The Great Crash* and sees the value of deficit financing in restarting the wheels of commerce and production. He is influenced by Keynesianism that recommends public spending to create or sustain effective aggregate demand in order to contain depression and to overcome it gradually with the revival of industry. He recommends measures like the provision of low-interest loans to industry to stimulate long term revival.

In fact Galbraith develops Keynesianism from a temporary remedy for a temporary crisis into a permanent policy of correcting the "social balance", as he calls it. He calls upon public agencies—central, state and municipal—to step up their provision of quality services in schools, hospitals, research, local police, cultural amenities, etc. This is to invest in *human beings* that will come to create a large permanent demand that will act as a flywheel of free enterprise.

He calls upon American and the other affluent societies to use their wealth for building up the progress of poorer countries as a long term permanent policy on the scale of the old Marshall Plan.

From the Indian point of view, the Professor's overall views are likely to be gratifying to the makers of our present economic policies. What may be called *Mahalanobism* will be encouraged by this advocate of "new frontiers". He will reinforce the present lop-sided Soviet type of planning. He has no allergy to Statism, and himself advocates a large new accession to the sphere of State action.

Without being a Socialist in the strict Marxist sense, his influence will tend towards a canonisation of Marxism. His advice will be taken with avidity because it flatters us by putting the

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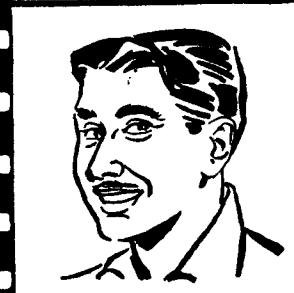
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But there is a different type of planning that is favoured by a different group of experts who set more store by freedom and democracy. The most typical of this group is Von Mises whose great book *Human Action* is the *locus classicus* on the economics of freedom. It runs athwart the entire trends of the "New Frontiers Galbraithism" of *The Affluent Society*. His disciple, Professor Hayek, has startled the economic world by his book written during the war (1944) to counteract the all-powerful trends towards Statism then running high in Britain. The book was called *The Road to Serfdom*. Today he has issued a new work of impressive dimensions and quality called *The Constitution of Liberty*. Hayek goes beyond the strict liberalism of *laissez faire* in the present book and acknowledges the value and necessity for State action beyond the limited ancient levels of defence, justice and the rule of law. But he urges that a choice of alternatives should always be left to the citizen. The State should not close all doors except its own in any line—economics, education, research, agriculture, housing, insurance and social security.

This work may be used to balance and check the extreme position of Galbraith in the light of Indian conditions.

Professor Hayek refers explicitly to India and offers a critical comment on her present plans. He also expresses disapproval of the ideas of limiting land-holdings and setting ceilings on incomes that are in the air today in India.

He refers to India's Plans with their Soviet type emphasis on heavy industries to which the highest priority and the lion's share is allotted. He says that this is the wrong type of planning for under-developed countries.

"..... if large scale industrialisation is to be the most rapid way of increasing average income, there must be an agricultural surplus available so that an industrial population can be fed. If unlimited amounts of capital were available and if the mere availability of capital could speedily change the knowledge and attitudes of an agricultural population, it might be sensible for such countries to impose a planned reconstruction of their economies on the model of the most advanced capitalist countries. This however is clearly not within the range of actual possibilities. It would seem indeed that if such countries as India and China are to effect a rapid rise in the stand-

ard of living, only a small portion of such capital as becomes available should be devoted to the creation of elaborate industrial equipment and perhaps none of it to the kind of highly automatised, "capital-intensive plants" that are characteristic of countries where the value of labour is very high and that these countries should aim at spreading such capital as widely and thinly as possible among those uses that will directly increase the production of food. (e.g., fertilisers and agricultural implements).

"The unpredictable developments that may be produced by the application of advanced technological knowledge to economics extremely poor in capital are likely to be speeded up if opportunity for free development is provided than if a pattern is imposed which is borrowed from societies in which the proportion between labour and capital is altogether different from what it will be in the newer economies in the foreseeable future. However strong a case there may exist in such countries for the government's taking the initiative in providing examples and spending freely in spreading knowledge and education, it seems to me that the case against overall planning and direction of all economic activity is even stronger there than in most advanced countries. I say this on both economic and cultural grounds. Only free growth is likely to enable such countries to develop a viable civilisation of their own, capable of making a distinct contribution to the needs of mankind."—(*The Constitution of Liberty* by F. A. Hayek).

These views are remarkably close to those of the opposition parties in India—the Swatantra and Jana Sangh who advocate a kind of planning that lays primary stress on agriculture and consumer goods leaving heavy industries to grow later through free private enterprise. Messrs. C. Rajagopalachari and Masani have been earnestly expounding this type of planning both before and after the foundation of their party.

We have to ask again: To which gods shall we offer our oblations? To those adopted by Nehru and buttressed by Mahalanobis and Galbraith, or those recommended by Hayek and Rajaji and Masani?

If we value growth through freedom and stability without loosening the cementing ties of the social order through inflation and erosion into property rights, it is clear that the latter should be our choice.

AMERICAN EXAMPLE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

In his last message on the State of the Union to Congress (January 12) Mr. Eisenhower summed up the progress of the United States during his stewardship. It is now the fashion to say that he represented old-world thinking and that his youthful successor would face problems with a fresh outlook, but if his Inaugural Address is closely studied, many marks of continuity could be discerned. Eisenhower as a soldier knew of the horrors of war but he never would lower his guard against danger, trusting fair words. Kennedy is likewise pledged to be on the alert keeping mutual security pacts intact although he might modify the location of bases on reassessment of missile potency. As regards aid to under-developed countries, the Democrats are committed to established policy.

In Mr. Eisenhower's farewell message, there is reference to the internal economy of the United States in the following words:

There has been a firm policy of reducing Government competition with private enterprise. This has resulted in the discontinuance of some 2,000 commercial and industrial installations and in addition the curtailment of approximately 550 industrial installations operated directly by Government agencies.

I have culled this brief passage to indicate the gist of U.S. policy from which the Kennedy Administration is not likely to depart because of the retrograde effects bound to occur if the Government of a country barges into the sphere of private enterprise and initiative which incidentally follow from the "dignity of the individual".

In our mimicry of spectacular nationalism to run abreast of the Communist thesis, India has been striking a different path and flaunting lordly scorn at incertives. In Britain itself the majority of Labour Socialists regard the early concept of State-ownership as obsolete. In the creed of

revolt during the Fabian formation of the Leftist movement against feudal monopolism, there was a clause called Point Four prescribing the course of national purchase of all productive agencies in the hope of effecting superior efficiency and equal distribution. That stage stands outmoded, though efforts like the conversion of the Bank of England into a State-institution had been devised in the first flush of Labour enthusiasm. There are now fewer exponents of that process. Indeed the National Coal Board has developed bureaucratic control that attracts Socialist politicians who are blamed for desertion of the body-of-doctrine by the Leftists. People realise that higher production depends on factors unconnected with the expansion of what we in India preciously call the "Public Sector".

Mr. Eisenhower takes pride that during his term of office he purposefully reduced Government competition with private enterprise. The fatuity of saying that one is but "complementary" to the other and that, in the economy of trade, there could be no suicidal competition has not been advanced.

If within ten years of 1776 when the United States won the War of Independence, the heroes had launched on a programme of economic advancement on the lines being attempted in India, crippling personal initiative and promoting parasitical growths and sheltering rackets, the results might have been disastrous. What stimulated enterprise was the certainty of minimum control by Central Authority which confined itself to problems of security and justice in terms of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution which minimised interference. The citizens felt free to explore methods of joint enterprise and individual research which gave its reward to inventors who worked hard for fair profit. Had there been in their nascent

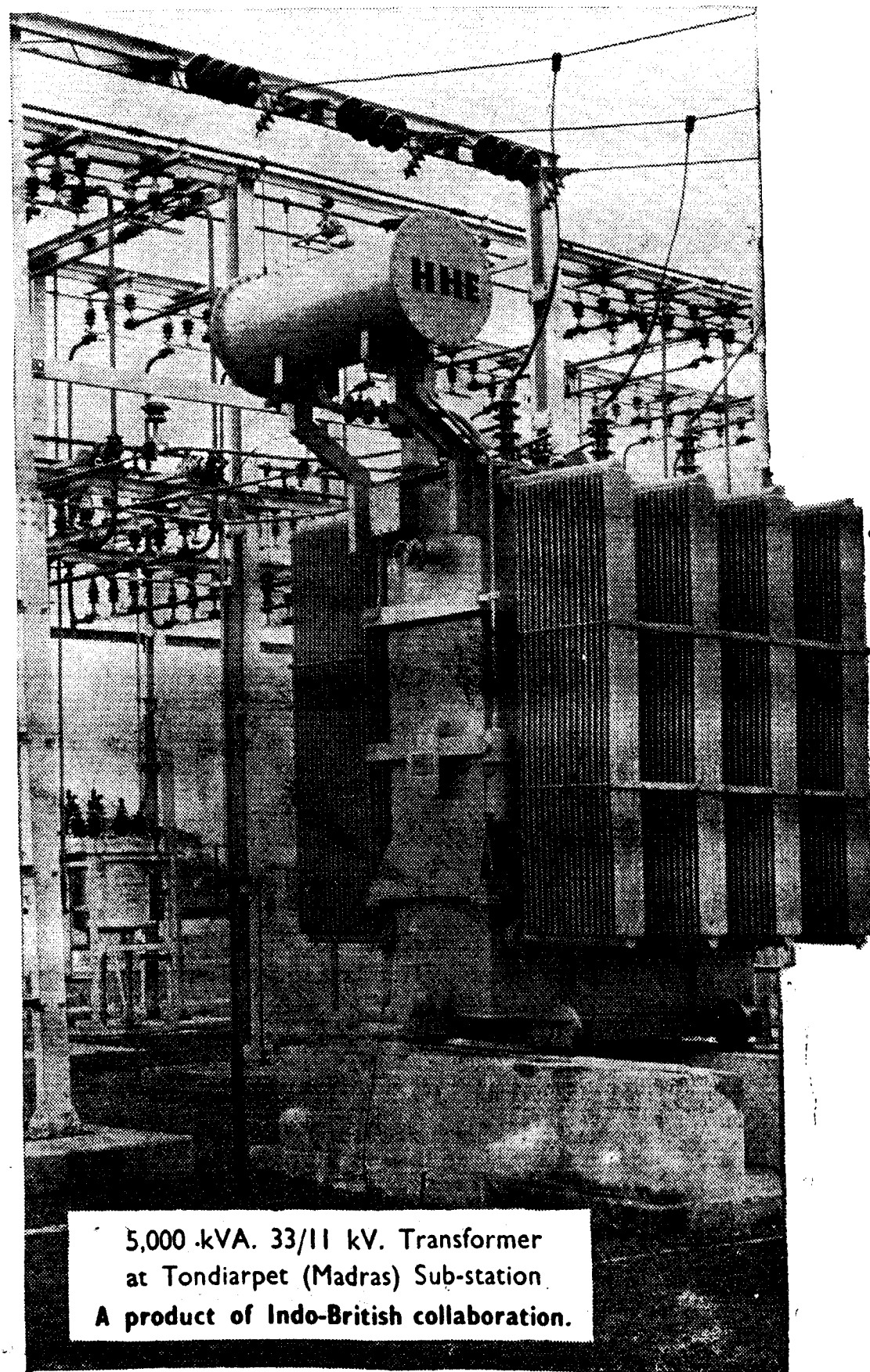
economy a brood of touts in Washington to regulate enterprise and aggressively claim the right of industrial expansion and agricultural control, it would have meant a condition of stagnation. The vogue of financing parties in 1776 would have been the beginning of the end. The State did not adopt any belief in the superior wisdom of its officials and the capacity of Government to function as entrepreneurs relying on the Exchequer and the Public Debt to float ventures outlined by sharpers and contact-men.

In India we are striking the contrary route of fomenting Government competition with private initiative in matters ranging from heavy industries to the so-called Fair Price Shops. The whole atmosphere of State trading in diverse forms is debilitating to all except those who are in the official racket, and who, through all the agencies of Government publicity, claim success and proclaim that the age of private enterprise belongs to the primitive past, with temporary concessions to sufferers that "mixed economy" is also capable of adaptation. Planning pundits scorn the "selfish rich" and talk of vested interests, little knowing that a New Class (in the language of Djalas) is being created at the expense of the democratic principles upon which the Congress leaders plume themselves.

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THE TAX SYSTEM IN INDIA

By K. V. IYER

Under the current system of taxation in India, which, by the way, is merely a collection of all the varieties of taxes obtaining in every other part of the world, there has been a complaint that some persons have been required to pay taxes in excess of their income and certain businessmen have suggested that there should be a ceiling of 80 per cent of income placed on total direct taxes. Against this suggestion, the National Council of Applied Economic Research has argued that "such ceiling would prevent the tax system from checking *indefinite accumulation*".

The first question is whether indefinite accumulation is possible. If one will cast his eyes round in India one will readily see the truth of Avvai's saying "Aridum, medidum, maduvum-polam selvam" meaning that wealth will run away like a river, rise up into small mounds and form depressions. That means that fortune fluctuates; sons and grandsons of rich people turn out poor in time and *vice versa* apart from the break-up of fortunes by partition, etc. Even our rich Rajas have frequently fallen into financial difficulties and into creditors' hands, save perhaps the Nizam of Hyderabad who is

reputed to be rich beyond the dreams of avarice. Thus to talk of indefinite accumulation is absurd.

Next arises the problem whether excess of income over expenditure or of expenditure over income is good for national economy. Old Vishnu Samra, the author of *Panchatantra Tales* makes a merchant ponder and observe that "one should earn, look after what he earns, increase the same and spend it on himself and worthy purposes". Is this theory of personal economy antiquated?

"Neither a lender nor a borrower be" says the proverb. But to walk the mid-path is difficult. Can the ordinary individual follow the ways of the Government and forget for the nonce the problem of repayment? Consider for example, the Government servants the majority of whom are of small means. How do the Government deal with them? Perfectly aware that their income is not too much, they give them advances of salary for Deepavali, Sankranti or Christmas with the requirement that the same should be repaid in ten or twelve instalments, which cuts into the money available for their monthly expenses. On top of this, the employee is compelled to subscribe to a provident fund whereby his net income is further reduced. As if this were not sufficiently bad, he is permitted to take advances from the fund on fairly flimsy grounds towards which he has to pay back monthly. He is thus left in a condition of non-intermittent want. Is it any wonder that he agitates again and again for increases in the rates of his emoluments?

On the other hand, keeping expenditure within income and the habit of saving, however little to commence with, infuses a spirit of independence in every person. This is the personal habit which the chit funds so ubiquitous in the South have encouraged. A person joins a fund, undertakes to pay regularly every month a rupee, five rupees or ten, bends his will to this purpose and continues to do so with the result that at the end of the stipulated number of months he has a small amount capital at his disposal for investment in some other way and as a margin for a rainy day.

Can savings at any time become too large or do harm to any one? Further, money gone from private hands into public coffers is not always seen to be put to better use. The policy of the authorities merely tends to add to the envy which is inherent in every human being more or less.

SUGAR FACTORY FARMS IN MAHARASHTRA

By A. RANGANATHAN

In order to understand the nature of the proposed Land Ceilings Bill of the Government of Maharashtra, it is necessary to know something about the controversial resolution which was adopted by the Indian National Congress during its 64th session at Nagpur in 1959. "The future agrarian pattern" says the resolution, "should be that of co-operative joint farming in which the land shall be pooled for joint cultivation, the farmers continuing to retain their rights and getting a share from the common produce in proportion to their land". It is an innocuous resolution at first sight; but upon serious reflection its dangerous implications are obvious. The dangerous consequences flow from the fact that when the original boundaries of individually owned farms have been altered, the property rights of the concerned owners would be reduced to a mere scrap of paper. In a brilliant speech, Mr. Masani had clearly pointed out that the Nagpur approach is a carbon copy of the Soviet system since it is "an insidious attempt to bring in collective farming by the backdoor". In this connection Mr. Aneurin Bevan's warning, fully quoted by Mr. Masani, is apposite to the Indian situation: "India cannot afford to make the mistake that Russia has committed because she does not possess empty space which could be called upon to make up for the failures and mistakes in agriculture as in Russia. India has to bring about an economic revolution in harmony with the needs of the countryside. The application of the principles of collectivization, mechanization and centralized control has proved a failure in the field of agriculture in the Soviet Union. The whole countryside in Russia seethed with discontent". Again, Mr. Masani drew the attention of the nation to Mr. Gomulka's experience in Poland who remarked that targets and voluntary co-operation cannot go together. And Rajaji had observed with his characteristic insight into the nature of political reality that the idea of imposing ceilings on land was "equivalent to the status of slavery wherein the relationship between men is settled by legislation and not by contract".

The proposed Land Ceilings Bill of the Government of Maharashtra seeks "to impose maximum limit (or ceiling) on the holding of agricultural land in the State". And the Draft Bill does not

propose to exempt the highly efficient and mechanized farms attached to the sugar factories in Maharashtra. Even the authorities of the Planning Commission have stated, *inter alia* that "there would appear to be an advantage in exempting the following categories of farms from the operation of ceiling which may be proposed:

Sugar cane farms operated by sugar factories; and

Efficiently managed farms which consist of compact blocks on which heavy investments or permanent structural improvements have been made and whose break-up is likely to lead to fall in production".

The Godavari Sugar Mills have issued an extremely well produced brochure on the proposed piece of legislation and its consequences. And the author of this brochure has stated that "the land acquired from factory farms will vest in the Government and will not go back to the landlords, lessors or the landless". This is surprising since the achievements of these farms are remarkable, even if judged by international standards. These Maharashtra farms (which are about to be dislocated to satisfy an ideological obsession) can compare favourably with the world's best record, sugar per acre in the case of Maharashtra State being 0.38 tons (0.46 tons in the case of Godavari Sugar Mills), as against 0.27 and 0.40 tons in countries like Hawaii and Java respectively.

The professed object of the Bill is "for distributing the surplus to the persons in need of land for their livelihood as a measure of social justice". It is well to remember, however, that the area occupied by the sugar factories (0.94 lac acres out of 464 lacs acres, amounting to 0.20 per cent) is negligible. It passes one's understanding as to how this supposed object of social justice could be achieved. Again, the area per share-holder works out to 4.50 acres, (21,000 share holders of the factories which own 94,000 acres) and is below the exemption limit which is fixed between 16 and 156 acres. And there ought to be no distinction between the members of Co-operative Societies and those of Joint Stock Companies on grounds of equity.

In a carefully drafted memorandum to Mr. Y. B. Chavan, Chief Minister of

Maharashtra (memorandum dated 21 Dec. 1960), the authorities of the Deccan Sugar Factories Association had stated that "by 1959-60 due to the pioneering efforts and the great sacrifices of the promoters of sugar companies, over 304000 acres had been brought under sugar cane cultivation". This is an impressive record, considering the fact that even as late as 1937, only about 77,000 acres were under sugar cane cultivation in the entire state of Bombay. And they have made it clear that the proposed ceiling "would effectively apply the brake to the steady progress that has been made by the sugar industry in the Maharashtra State, a contingency that should be prevented at all costs".

The issue involved is something more than opposing the mere imposition of a governmental measure; it is the preservation of these farms which have been built up over a period of four decades. And, if these economically prosperous farms are submerged in this flood of collectivization (the flood-gates were opened at Nagpur), it would mean the end of a liberal democracy based on the Gandhian pattern. "No Society" wrote Mahatma Gandhi, "can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom". One wonders whether the sponsors of this piece of legislation have ever paused to reflect on the Gandhian ideal that "self-government means a continuous effort to be independent of government control whether it is the foreign government or national". Indeed it is necessary to remind ourselves of Mahatma Gandhi's historic observation regarding the individual and his relation to the State: "I look upon an increase in the power of the State with the greatest fear, because although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which is the root of all progress".

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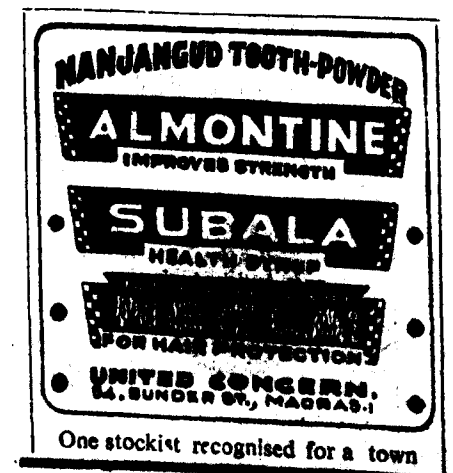
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CAPITAL COMMENTS

SELF-HYPNOSIS AS ANSWER TO CRITICISM

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Both the Houses of Parliament rendered thanks to the President for his Address while, intervening in the debate in the Rajya Sabha and winding it up in the Lok Sabha, the Prime Minister spoke at considerable length, taking a line entirely, and peculiarly, his own. The border is now well protected so much so that the possibility of any further Chinese incursions into the Indian territory may be ruled out—and then the Defence ordnance factories are well equipped and are doing a wonderful job. What more is wanted? As for the internal picture, one has but to look at the advance on the agricultural, industrial and other fronts. Again, what more is wanted? He thus apparently found no reason, much less any justification, for the furore raised over either the border question or the general situation in the country.

To be fair to him, he himself had said at some stage that the health of the nation was not sound. And yet he would not let others say it with a view to undermining the prestige of the Government. He would not, he told Parliament, go to Peking or reopen any negotiations with the Chinese unless they first vacated the Indian territory that they had occupied. But he would not cease sponsoring China's admission to the U.N. And when he was asked to give an assurance not to plead

for China any longer, he promptly gave an assurance all right but only a contrary one!

It is not every Member of Parliament, not every Prime Minister either, that could take up, much less effortlessly, such contradictory positions and get away unaffected. And when the Leader of the Swatantra Party had the temerity to question him in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Nehru lost no time in losing his patience. The Ranga-Nehru duels are no uncommon feature of contemporary polemics in India. It is no small thing in these days of regimentation that there is at least one man in the Lok Sabha who simply refuses to be brow-beaten into silence or stampeded into surrender by the thunderbolts that Mr. Nehru so readily hurls at him, the more readily because of his allergy to anything savouring of Swatantra. When Ranga went on sniping at the Government in his forthright speech on the President's Address, the Prime Minister challenged him to be precise, and not merely be insinuating, so that he might answer specific charges and have his say. That was indeed unexceptionable, whether the speaker was Mr. Ranga or someone else. But one listened to Mr. Nehru in vain. There was no 'specific' answer to any of the questions raised: there was only a flamboyant panegyric on the overall performance of his Government.

SIDELIGHTS

(Continued from page 4)

lamentation. "This is a wretched country", he wailed. "We have burglar raj. Nobody, no property, is safe. People are miserable, and famine and discontent stalk the land".

Finishing the story Rajaji said: "Like the barber you too see in the world around the reflection of your own particular condition of the moment".

SAKA.

Mr. Nehru rightly took a serious view of the disturbances in Jabalpur and expressed the sentiment that they seemed to go against "the soul and spirit of the Indian people". Yet, when Mr. Frank Anthony, in reference to the communal riots in Madhya Pradesh and the earlier language riots in Assam, raised the question (which was specific enough) whether there was "any semblance of effi-

ciency and impartiality on the part of the police in any emergency affecting the minorities", no reply was given or attempted. And there was the more serious observation made by Mr. Jaipal Singh: "I am firmly of the view", he said on the floor of the House, "that our defence position in the realm of security is not safe in the hands of the present Minister (of Defence)". Could any statement be more specific—or emphatic? But the Prime Minister was unmoved.

Whatever be the issue, whether it is party opinion or Parliamentary opinion or public opinion, Mr. Nehru is not known to bother too much if it is at variance with his own, unless the day dawns when he finds that there is no alternative to bowing to the storm. So, having listened to the speeches in both the Houses, which were all critical from one point of view or another, he seemed to have just treated it all as conventional, and to persuade himself that, after all, he alone could do the right assessment. The situation on the border has "stabilised"; elsewhere in the country it is just a matter of "spectacular" success. For the rest of it, let the world be once again put wise: "The armchair critics did not realise what was happening around them, but every foreign critic who had visited India had been astounded by them (the changes in the country)". There can be a remedy for national myopia but none for an individual's self-hypnosis. It is not what the country thinks that matters at all but only what the Prime Minister feels about it!

Having received Presidential instructions in Delhi not to hustle himself and precipitate matters till the Parliamentary Board discussed the issue of the Congress-Ganatantra Parishad alliance, the (Congress) Chief Minister of Orissa, Mr. Hare Krushna Mahatab, in league with (or under pressure from) the P.C.C. chief Mr. B. Patnaik, put up the Ministerial shutters and left it to the

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High Command to re-adjust itself to a *fait accompli*. It is always open to it to pass a strongly-worded—or long-winded—resolution and release it for public consumption. In U.P. the anti-Ministerialists inside the Congress Party have not yet rushed with an apology to the Governor nor

do they seem to be in any desperate hurry about it. In Andhra Pradesh, the situation, in regard to the Ministerial dispute, has, so to say, "stabilised". In Kerala, if there are strains and stresses on the alliance-front, Mr. Dhebar will take stock of the situation and make a report to the Work-

ing Committee or the Parliamentary Board. If worse happens, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy will personally handle the situation. If it is the worst that will happen, the Prime Minister himself will intervene. Nothing can be nearer perfection (inside the Congress). Three cheers to the Congress!



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THE QUEEN'S VISIT

Discussing the President's address this year, Sri Surendra Mahanty charged the Government with extravagant expenditure over the reception to the British Queen. He may not be right in his surmise that 25 crores was spent by Government. But the arrangements were certainly done on a liberal scale. It was a unique occasion and a wave of enthusiasm shared both by Government and people loosened the purse-strings all round. Commercial houses erected welcome arches and illuminated their offices. There was no inclination to stint expenditure. On the contrary, people vied with one another in demonstrating their affection. People moved from the countryside and spent money to reach the metropolitan centres which were visited by the Queen. And no one was sorry after the event. The people were charmed by the Queen's simple and gracious manner everywhere. It was almost like a reconquest of India, not mere political re-annexation but a conquest of India's heart.

There is a psychology behind the immense popular welcome which it may be worth while to understand. Had the royal visit been made in the early years of the decade after Independence, there would no doubt have been a big enough welcome. The graceful way in which the British relinquished authority and retired under the leadership of the Labour Government would have found sincere recognition and appreciation. But it would not have been so markedly enthusiastic as the reception in 1961 has been. The people of India have had reason to appreciate monarchy and British administration as a result of many years painful experience of party government in India. Mass psychology works in a sure and simple way. The crowd is not to be guided by sophisticated reasoning. They have seen enough to feel a glow of pleasure at seeing a Queen of England who embodied all the

charm, all the innocence and all the grace of a sovereign in her own right as contradistinguished from party bosses and party rulers and all their arrogance and littlenesses. The people of India are more prone to such nostalgia than people of other countries. They have had good rajahs and

rulers who always tried to give to the people good and just though old-fashioned government. If the Mysore Maharajah moves out anywhere even today in the old Mysore territory, one can see the people's homage flowing in abundance towards the ex-ruler. That he is Governor now is nowhere in the picture. It is as Maharajah that they love and revere him. C.R.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CONGRESS DIGGING DEMOCRACY'S GRAVE

Sir,—While opening the Orissa legislature's new buildings in Bhubaneswar Dr. Radhakrishnan made some significant remarks which are worth the attention of Congressmen. His remarks are a challenge as well as a warning to Congressmen. He has clearly underlined the necessity for an opposition party and he has also subtly welcomed the emergence of the Swatantra Party.

Dr. Radhakrishnan said: "Power corrupts and nothing corrupts so absolutely as democratic power. An autocratic monarch is only a monarch. He is not the people. But a Government of the people, by a party which has won a large majority, tends to regard itself as liberated from the restraints of any opposition. The size of a party, a long tenure of uninterrupted power, generate over-confidence, sloth, insensitivity to criticism, and often ugly fights within the party for the plums of office. Such happenings will cease if there is a strong opposition which is capable of wielding the reins of power and give a good account of itself... Sooner or later two parties will emerge, one with more emphasis on continuity and slow change, the other on progress and rapid change".

In the name of parliamentary democracy Congressmen all over the country are digging the grave for democracy. They pay scant regard for the ideals of parliamentary democracy. On the other hand, they are hampering the growth of other positive political parties which can stand well up to the ideals of parliamentary democracy. These Congressmen should give their thought and attention to the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan. V. RAMAKRISHNAM.

WHITHER, WELFARE?

Sir,—We hear a good deal of idle talk about our Welfare State. But

often one wonders whether it is for the welfare of only those at the top. To take a striking example of everyday occurrence in Government offices, in the matter of forwarding applications to higher posts in other offices, the intending candidate is not allowed to exercise his choice; he cannot apply for a post which he thinks is quite suited to his temperament and for which he has aptitude and is well qualified. His employer only can make the choice and he can, without any compunction, return the application to the candidate ostensibly in the interests of public service. It looks as though the individual has no right except the right permitted by the head of the department out of his grace. This is the type of Welfare State that is sought to be imposed. Whither welfare?

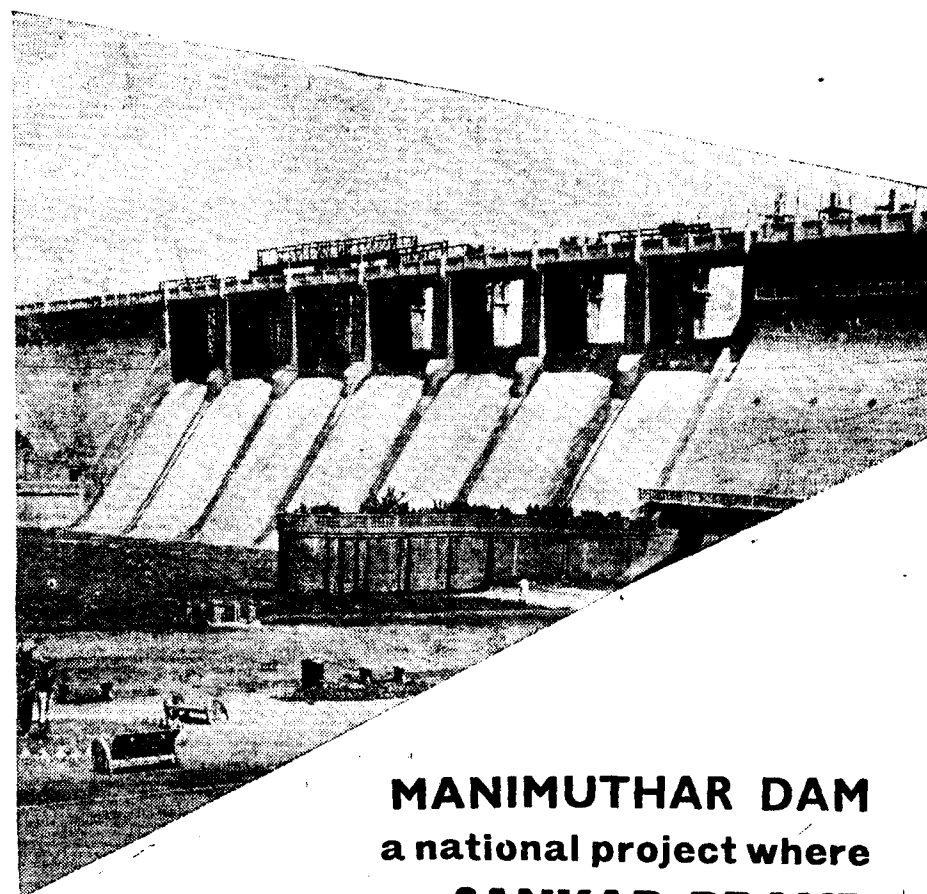
A SUFFERER.

CONSCIENCE AND CONDUCT

Sir,—To those who accuse Sri C. Rajagopalachariar of political "volte face", may I make a present of the following creed of a great American Statesman of the nineteenth century, Daniel Webster

"Inconsistencies of opinion arising from changes of circumstances are often justifiable. But there is one sort of inconsistency that is culpable: it is the inconsistency between a man's conviction and his vote, between his conscience and his conduct. No man shall ever charge me with an inconsistency of that kind".

I think a vindication of Rajaji's present politics cannot be better worded in such a short compass. I am sure that even his worst critic cannot accuse him of inconsistency between his conviction and expression of political opinion. JAGANNATHADAS GOVINDAS.



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A BUDGET OF POOR ENDS

It is a pity that while the Finance Minister knows all the means and few of the ends of budgeting for a continent, the public, including Press and Parliament, does not know the one from the other. The budget is a masterpiece in electioneering because while the industrialists, who must give money for the elections, have no burden of direct taxation and some little relief, the people, who must give their votes, have the taxes they will have to pay not only disguised and distributed but also distorted in the spree of spending arising from the budgeted expenditure.

The Finance Minister had a heaven-sent opportunity for increasing indirect taxation. In the first place the public has been so accustomed to rising prices, that the incidence of the new taxes, which is small comparatively will not be felt acutely by many. Secondly, the broad-basing the Finance Minister has done, which has even emboldened him to claim that he is sparing the poorer classes, produces a psychology in which each one thinks that he is better than the others. What is missed by the public is that the price level is indivisible and individual increases communicate with each other so that through inflation all pay for the preferences of some. Thirdly, as new employment creates demand and new investment, the supplies, both those who work and own feel that they have been favoured, even if they may be paying more.

Unfortunately, the employment and investment the budget will create will be largely illusory and

infructuous. On the expenditure side of the revenue budget of 1,023 crores, 282 crores on defence, 8 crores on debt services, 30 crores on collection costs, 58 crores on administrative services, do not on the face of them represent production. The grants and Union excise duties to States of 286 crores as also the social and development services of 173 crores of the Centre largely represent expenditure which has so far been ineffective and has only disordered the economy because while qualifications for better employment and treatment have been created, the means of satisfying the first with employment opportunities and the second with food and shelter, which are basic to health, have been neglected by the policies of Government. In fact, higher education is creating a growing class of unemployed who have no work for their qualifications, while they will not look at work which they would have done, without them. If only the increased expenditure was diverted to creating employment opportunities even at the lowest level, employment opportunities at higher levels would naturally arise. In the alternative if infructuous expenditure is not incurred, the savings of the people themselves would be diverted in investment carrying more employment opportunities of a productive nature. This applies even more strongly to the capital budget of 1,262 crores, which being largely in State enterprises employing a small proportion of the population in clerical and technical posts, squeezes the rest of the popula-

tion of the investment and employment, which is the due share of the taxes and loans paid by them. If on the principle the Finance Minister himself enunciated that Government should confine itself to what the people are unable and unwilling to do, the money and the credit of the country is first turned over to private enterprise, not only would there be more employment opportunities from investment pointed more precisely to the needs of the people, but fewer taxes, which by itself will establish the optimum cycle of production and consumption. This also applies to foreign loans, not half of the offer of which could be spent in the Second Plan, not only because government schemes were hesitant but also because they were inapposite. The country expects that its representatives in Parliament will press the simple economics involved in this, so that the people do not continue to be sacrificed for schemes which may give power to government but create poverty for the people who pay for them.

In fact, this should be obvious to any one who studies the budget with care. The Finance Minister claimed that the agricultural and industrial production had risen phenomenally, while admitting that during 1960, wholesale prices for industrial goods went up by 10 per cent and the food prices rose from 117 to 127 of the index. It should be clear to the meanest intellect that these price increases are a question mark on both the quantity and variety of the increases claimed. Except the few people who are making money

out of the mistakes of Government, the others who contribute taxes and loans have to pay more and buy less because of Government assuming the function of being the producer, supplier and dictator of the economy. This is the basic fact, which the budget conceals, while it is asking the common people to pay 25 per cent more taxes than they did in 1950-51 and 500 per cent more loans, both Indian and foreign for the mirage of development. Congress hopes to win the election on such illusions, with the help of the small minority it may benefit but it will lose its own soul and the country by not trusting the people to grow in their own independence.

FARCICAL JOBBERY

Symptoms of disruption amongst members of the ruling party have been rampant since 1959 when secret intrigues could no longer be concealed in the course of graft-ridden routine. Tension in Western India was solved by the division of the State into Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat, although both the Prime Minister and Mr. Morarji Desai had opposed the proposition as unthinkable. The riotous quarrel in Assam had a linguistic origin; the upsurge in Kerala put an end to the Communist regime; the tug of war in the U.P. was between two parties in political rivalry; the tussle in Bihar had also an intra-party complexion; and in Orissa the President has taken over on the report of the Governor. To quote New Delhi:

"The President today (February 23rd) issued an order superseding the legislature in Orissa and assuming the functions of the State Government. The Union Government approved the proclamation this afternoon".

Incidentally it gives an answer to the query whether the President is bound by the decisions of the Union Cabinet since it is pointed out that the President's order had been approved by the Union Government giving it validity.

The dispute in Orissa has not been the result of open casteism as in Bihar since two incompatible forces appeared on the surface, namely the interests of the coastal folk and the claims of feudal tradition. In Andhra it is a clear struggle for the loaves and fishes of office *plus* the grand tangle for Congress tickets. The keynote of grabbing while there is still time and procuring tickets however prevailed in the flagrant solution of the Mysore problem in a unique manner.

In 1960 the Prime Minister on hearing of the strife between the official wing and the organisational wing of the State Congress, paid a visit to Bangalore and listened to the reading of a charge-sheet containing 29 points of indictment. At that time, the Congo problem had started pre-occupying the Prime Minister's mind, and he swept aside all complaints as being of a frivolous nature in the crisis of world disarmament and the liquidation of Afro-Asian colonialism. In short, nothing came of it. Nevertheless manoeuvres moved, at a hot pace, neither side yielding. There never had been the slightest grievance that the Cabinet of ten full-fledged Ministers was being overworked or that they required additional personnel to cope with difficulties. On the other hand, the cry for austerity implies readiness to take on more work. In fact even a retrenchment of a couple of Ministers would not have caused a collapse of the administration.

It was in these circumstances of a different character involving the issue of confidence in the constitutional sense, that the Mysore problem had to be faced on the arrival of the Congress President. After a few hours of a huddle in a hospital-ward where the President of the M.P.C.C. received the Chief Minister and the Congress President,* it was announced that the "rift" had been "healed". How? By the creation of four more pucca Ministers as if their recruitment had anything to do with the cause of virulent dissensions over 18 months. The cost of maintaining them for the remaining period

reaching upto election-time is foisted on the tax-payer, a procedure that had no relevancy to the story of tension in Mysore. Congress authorities must be growing uncommonly thick-skinned in the perpetration of sheer jobbery. In Orissa the Governor reported on an impossible situation but in Mysore the Vani Vilas Hospital Pact was made and sealed without anything done in parallel order. For unblushing jobbery, Mysore takes the cake.

STOP THIS ROT

It is most important that we should understand this whole business about inflation. It is our business, as members of the public, to tell the Government to stop the rot. All this is particularly important at this juncture because we are on the threshold of the Third Plan and the public is in for "another fast one" being pulled on them. In that Plan something like Rs. 6,000 crores is the "investment outlay" proposed in the public sector; and the total outlay contemplated in the public sector is Rs. 7,000 crores, the difference being described as "current outlay"! Obviously, some Rs. 2,000 crores are designed to go down the drain anyhow. And deficit financing is put down at the trifling figure of Rs. 550 crores, which frankly I cannot believe. I think there is a camouflage going on there. If the Plan is to be of the size contemplated, there can be no doubt that deficit financing will also be of a comparable magnitude, much larger than in the Second Plan. If we persist with such an unwise policy of utterly unproductive, useless expenditure, not even yielding any asset, much less any return, it is anybody's guess where we shall end.

It is high time that we realised that economic ideologies divorced from commonsense realities promote calamities, not progress. The sooner these false ideologies are replaced by a commonsense approach to problems of development, the better it will be for the nation. But that can only be done by mobilising the public opinion of the common man.

—N. DANDEKER.

CONGRESS STATISM OR GANDHIAN SWATANTRA?

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Statism is the common characteristic of Communism, Fascism, Nazism, and the Socialism of the Indian National Congress. Indeed it is the working point in all these forms of authoritarian national policy, whichever group takes the reins of authority in the name of the people. All of them hope to achieve their goal of governance by State control of all activities, the freedom that is left to individuals being reduced to the barest unavoidable minimum. The expressed goal of all these types of authoritarian rule is popular welfare and the even distribution of the material things of life. The goal attracts popular support and that gives them power. Ideas of what is happiness may differ somewhat among them but there is broad agreement among them all to lay emphasis on material possessions as the only means of happiness. All these schools of Statism agree on this that the authority of the State and the force of its executive arm can alone maintain the discipline necessary for maximum production of wealth and compel the sacrifices necessary for its even distribution.

Opposed to these schools of compulsion is the way of freedom and maximum provision for individual enterprise and incentive which Gandhiji advocated and which the Swatantra Party stands for. The profit motive is the impulse at the base of production and competition is the check on its unhealthy dominance. The inner policeman replaces the compulsion of the State and the authority entrusted to State officials, religion and conscience being the source of discipline, not secular sanctions. The drive for individual profit is checked by competition and the discipline of spirit by which ownership is transferred into trusteeship.

The objectors to this entrustment of the discipline of the indi-

vidual to conscience and religion apprehend that this inner sanction may not work. But on the other hand authority vested in the officials of the State cannot be expected to steer clear of the temptations that always beset authority and there is the universally accepted fact that efficiency of public management is inferior to management with personal interest. Since production is the primary requisite and basic element of national economy, what is necessary and most contributory for this must take precedence over what may possibly be better for even distribution. Realism calls for a balance between good and evil, and from this follows priority to the essentials of production rather than to the equality of distribution at the expense of production. The individual's incentive is at the base of all production. In production under public management the wages and salaries take the place of the profit-interest in private enterprise. This too is personal interest but is far inferior as an efficient productive incentive.

Of all these types of Statism, Socialism may perhaps be described as one that avoids expressed and explicit dependence on compulsion. But this is a difference only in appearance. It must fall back on State-compulsion in actual practice. Otherwise it fails to be a school of governance. It becomes just semantic jugglery by creating a confusion between goal and means. Social justice and general welfare are aims, not means, and they are also the aims of a free economy.

To throw away the natural check on error and wrong-doing, namely competition, and to rely on the integrity, diligence, and loyalty of officials controlled by some minority group acting in the name of the people is to abandon the sure way and taking a very doubtful path. The path of State

regulation has been amply demonstrated to be a failure. There is no guarantee, to put it most mildly, that the objective will be attained. On the other hand the losses involved are certain, the greatest among them being the loss of individual freedom with all its far-reaching consequences in the material as well as spiritual field.

Minimum government and maximum freedom for the individual, decentralised responsibility instead of centralised planning and concentration of authority, and a moral revolution instead of legislative compulsion, the inner law taking the place of the external policeman, leading to the gradual transformation of personal ownership into trusteeship for the community, without detriment to the fundamental principle, the dynamics of wealth, namely the personal interest of the man who works and sacrifices and risks what he has lawfully earned and acquired in order to obtain an increase of wealth—this is the Gandhian pattern of economic and political life which is reiterated by the Swatantra Party and for which it has raised the standard of revolt against the Statism of the Congress Party. Individual power is a cow. It is not to be cut up and made into beef; it should be kept alive and fed. It will give abundant milk, the milk of national prosperity, and multiply itself even as a cow does.

SWARAJYA

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THE SWARAJYA, MADRAS-10

SIDELIGHTS ::

Rajeshwar Dayal whose recall had often been suggested by observant leaders has now concluded his assignment in the Congo. Since the *presence* of the UNO in the Congo is predicated as essential as much by President Kennedy as by Prime Minister Nehru, the Secretary-General has been armed with a new resolution of the Security Council which still calls for elucidation. The last known order of Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal was "Shoot to Kill", and it was given just at the time when the majority of the Casablanca Powers were pulling out their troops. The resolution of the Security Council wants Mr. Dag to see that troops in the Congo are disarmed but if arms are not surrendered, soldiers on duty are permitted to use force, "if necessary in the last resort". Neither the Secretary-General nor his Deputy could answer for any mishap in the use of force under the eye of Moscow which demands the prompt sacking of the Secretary-General and the trifurcation of his job.

Rajeshwar Dayal had been retained on the spot not because of his increasing utility in the conflict but as a matter of prestige. Now that he is withdrawn and an Italian diplomat is installed in his chair, a competent officer becomes available for some foreign assignment at a time when Mr. Nehru is worried about the shortage of personnel to function as his senior envoys abroad. It was significant that in his address to the Editors Conference he confessed that he could identify one or two members of the old guard, the majority being strangers in his eyes. The reason is that apart from his routine of addressing faceless mass-meetings, he has few opportunities of coming into contact with the new generation. Ambassador Chagla is one to retire shortly and they want a distinguished Indian known to Mr. Nehru to keep Mr. Kennedy in

full *rapport*, against unfriendly propaganda. In London he is badly in need of a High Commissioner competent to control vast establishments and regulate commitments in the United Kingdom, Ireland and Spain which come within Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit's portfolio. After his ordeal in Leopoldville, Mr. Dayal is entitled to recognition far above the High Commissionership in Pakistan which he had held before he got orders to proceed to the Congo to overcome chaos. He himself was no Kasavubu-fan but now a stage has come when quarrelsome mob-leaders in the Congo appear to be planning for a common defiance of foreign tutelage.

A soldier respects the orders of his Government, and the UNO flag does not exist for him, let alone commands to kill and be killed. As for Dag's request for 3000 Indian troops, foreign expeditions have always been distasteful to India although there is nothing in the Constitution to prevent the President, as Commander-in-Chief of the fighting forces, from signing orders to campaign far from home by land, sea and air. Prime Minister Nehru bowed down with responsibility talks of the matter being "considered" by him on receipt of interpretations from the Secretary-General. There is no cause for alarm from that quarter of the globe pointing to family farewells.

The Congo question seems to have dwarfed the crisis in Laos where India wants the reconvening of the International Supervisory Commission (of which India is chairman) but on the failure of the Geneva co-chairman to think alike, the future Government of Laos must shape itself without our masterly umpireship. Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia won't hear of interference which leaves the international backers of Communism still poised for the tactics of intrusion. The situation in many

fronts is deadlocked, and the world will have to live in expectancy until the UNO reassembles in New York, with the Soviet delegation headed by Mr. Khrushchov. The *Time* Magazine in a review of the Congo makes the following remark about India's earnest contribution to check the forces of disruptionism in the Congo: "Rajeshwar Dayal, the U.N. Deputy in the Congo, seemed to be all too willing to close his eyes to outrages by Lumumbaish bully boys while taking every opportunity to denounce anti-Lumumba regimes".

There was an incident in the Lok Sabha to indicate disorderly thinking behind the blue-print of the Third Plan and its implementation. Minister S. K. Dey in charge of Community Development and Block Extension declared that the project of the Farmers' Bank had been quashed by the Government of India as "undesirable" whereupon Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh, Union Minister of Agriculture, roundly contradicted his colleague saying that the All India Farmers' Bank was an economic *must* for raising agricultural output and that he had already registered the creation of such a bank, he himself figuring as a Director. There was a hot exchange of words between the Ministers, Mr. Nehru raising his eye brows but on account of the quixotic instruction refraining from his role of "intervening" in debates. Pressed hard by hostile factionalism, Dr. Deshmukh retreated to the wall and announced that he had acted in his personal capacity which apparently could be different from official capacity on some impalpable distinction in logic. Minister S. K. Patil appeared on the arena and said that the whole business pertained to his portfolio so that the Speaker could call for the next subject. The fact of the matter is that the latest phrase "pragmatic approach" covers a lot of jumbled experimentation by Ministers. Things seem to resemble the cor

(Continued on next page)

THE CENTRAL BUDGET

By S. NARAYANASWAMY

Sri Morarji Desai has passed a new milestone in India's fiscal history by presenting a thousand crore budget. That perhaps explains his anxiety to have it balanced, as there may be no special virtue in obtaining Parliament's sanction to spend Rs. 1,023.52 crores without offering to find the money for such impressive spending. He therefore decided to throw a closely woven drag-net over a large area of consumption. Customs duties were enhanced or levied over a colourful range of 41 articles while excises were enhanced or levied over a spread of 32 commodities and manufactured goods to secure the major part of the amount required to balance the budget, which was a little over Rs. 60 crores.

SIDELIGHTS

(Continued from previous page)

dition of the Children of Israel in the days of the Judges when "every man did what was good in his own sight".

Lord Attlee's two addresses in New Delhi relate to the working of Democracy, and deductions from the content of sovereignty by States participating in the United States Organisation. They are the views of a commonsense observer and do not indulge in any stylish envisagement of the future in the manner of Professor Toynbee. As for the functioning of Democracy he defined it as a way of life which means much more than an institutional arrangement based on popular suffrage. Further he enjoined upon his hearers the wisdom of give and take which again cannot be prescribed in doctrinal form. The quality of Democracy is not determined by the existence of Monarchy or Presidentship when he describes the indispensability of an Opposition as "Exhibit A of Democracy". The capture of votes through election campaigns is a natural feature, but not the stampeding of constituencies previously corrupted by those adventitiously in power and panicky about diminution in their totalitarian sway.

SAKA.

What time furious conjectures filled the air and knowledgeable people expressed their conviction that with a General Election coming along, the political astuteness of Mr. Desai would prevail over the exigencies of Third Plan finance, the Union Finance Minister was trying to secure the sentimental satisfaction of balancing a thousand crore budget.

The instrument of indirect taxation was more convenient to handle, as there is always a pleasant anonymity about such levies—and the burden of collecting them is thrown on the merchant class and not on tax officers as in direct taxes. The odium for the consequential increase in prices is generally transferred to the commercial class, as the consuming public deal with them direct and pay the excises through them, without pausing to analyse how much is the pre-excite price and how much the excise itself. Copper, zinc, betel-nut, iron and steel manufactures, newsprint, spirits and wines, machinery, electrical goods and appliances, constitute a cross section of goods selected for import duty levies or increases. Tea, tobacco, superior kerosene, diesel oil, rayon yarn, paints, processed cloth, glass ware, refrigerators, wireless receivers are among items that will suffer new or aggravated excises.

Reliefs given were in export duty on tea, our largest foreign exchange earner. It was a sensible relief in a period of acute foreign exchange shortage, though for this purpose it was not necessary to restrain internal tea consumption by an added excise, with sizeable increase in our tea crop year after year.

The direct tax imposts were few. The increase in the surcharge on earned personal incomes over Rs. 1 lakh from 5 per cent to 10 per cent of the basic tax, purports to be in pursuance of social policy. At the corporate tax level, the percentage of development rebate has been sliced from 25 to 20. The additions to revenue from the consequential accretions may not be impressive, but are handy exhibits in defence evidence, when the leftist fire eaters shout about the budget pampering the rich and corporate sectors. The reduction in the bonus issue tax from 30 per cent to 12-1/2 per cent is certainly some relief to bonus-issue-intending Companies, but its total abolition as an irrational and inequitable tax is overdue. It was introduced by riding a coach-and-four over the clear and closely-reasoned

recommendation of the John Mathai Commission. The partial retention of this unjust impost will help Mr. Desai to say the corporate sector has not been allowed to run with the bit between its teeth. Concessions made to foreign companies in inter-corporate investment and on royalties paid to them are small and will make little dent on revenue but are nevertheless welcome. The tax holiday under Section 15 C to new hotels catering to tourist traffic is an incentive provider, while the concession to small-income-group house-building by a reduction in rental value by Rs. 600 is a gesture to be welcomed.

Indirect taxes account for Rs. 57.87 crores out of Rs. 60.87 crores expected to accrue from all the new levies and taxes less reliefs.

The budget speech breathes optimism in its survey of industrial and farm output, and makes out that we are in a basically sound position. The references to credit expansion, banking and foodgrain storage are intended to assuage the growing feeling of economic insecurity. The decline in our foreign exchange reserve and our critical balance of payments position certainly provide dismal material for contemplation.

What is most significant about the budget is that the large array of indirect levies, grudgingly increased as the Finance Minister hopes they appear, are bound to make for a rise in living costs. The imposts are not by any means on luxury items only—only an insignificant number can be called luxuries.

The whole idea of the Plan is to increase living standards. You cannot obviously increase living standards by powerful restraints on consumption, in a country that continues to suffer at the end of two Plans from under-consumption. You cannot again obviously ask the citizen to tighten his belt when he has wound it twice round his waist.

Mr. Desai says the tax proposals "will no doubt impose additional burdens on the people, though my aim has been to minimise its incidence on the weaker sections of the community".

There has been such disconcerting addition to the "weaker sections of the community" as a result of powerful doses of inflation and the systematic erosion of the content of the rupee that "the weaker sections of the community" constitute the overwhelming number in India.

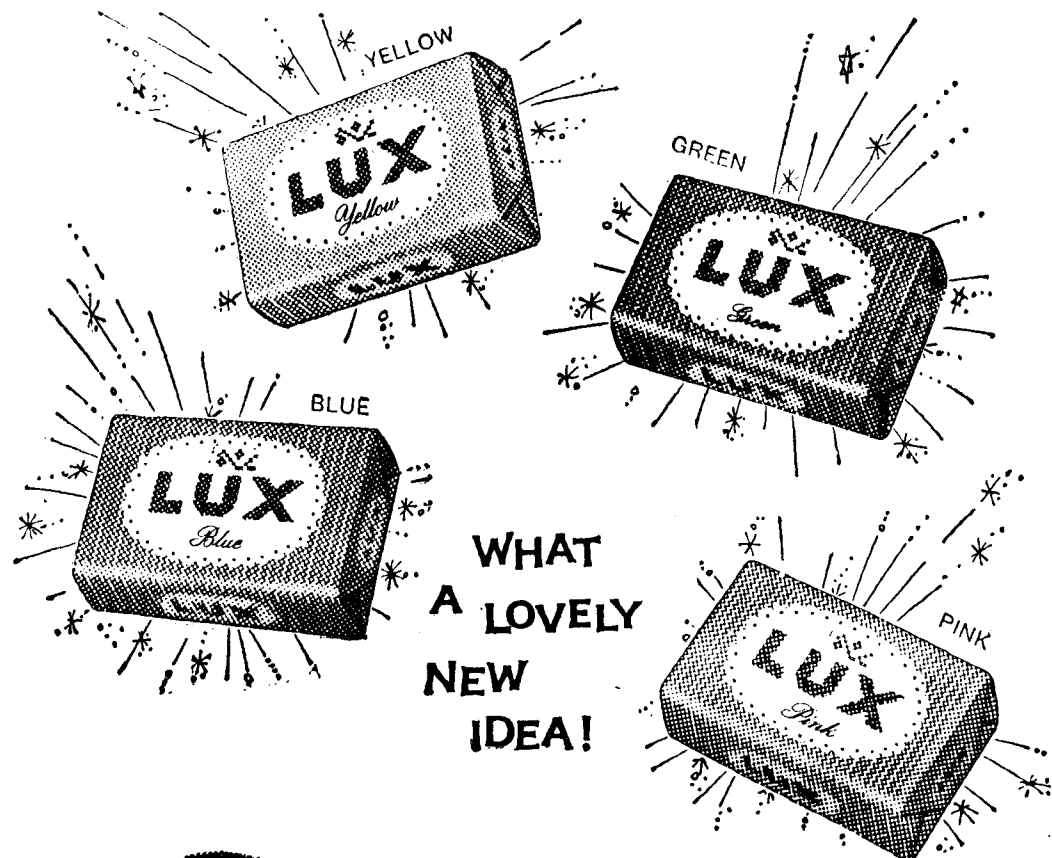
If the Union Finance Minister aimed at "minimising the incidence on the

weaker section", he could have avoided doing the exact opposite, through levies that underwrite an all-round increase in living costs, which is the antithesis of increase in living standards. Industrialists are secretly but seriously concerned over the repercussions not only of the higher cost of material, raw or semi-processed, but of the higher liv-

ing costs, which will generate wage clamours.

It is erroneous to claim that deficit financing is a sinister alternative. A sixty crore sacrifice in Plan effort for 1961-62 would have been the correct alternative to this circus ring of excises and customs levies. This innocuous looking document is not by any means

a poor man's budget—nor that of a rich man. In fact it is foolish to hold out that their interests are not identical in a developing economy and treat them as belligerents in an economic battlefield. The budget is an awkward and laboured effort at orthodoxy in accounting—and like orthodoxy everywhere is truly expensive.



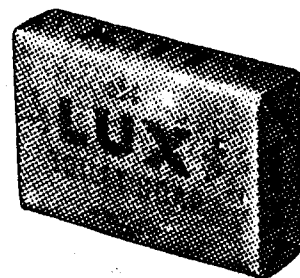
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IS THE CONGRESS DOOMED?

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The strength of a party is in its natural cohesion, which implies devotion on the one hand and discipline on the other. Deputy Minister Krishnappa stated recently at Bangalore that the position has been reached "that if a person has not aligned himself with one group or the other, he is no Congressman at all". Hanumanthaiya, ex-Chief Minister, went one step further and explained that "the members of the High Command themselves are group leaders and it does not look so because 90 per cent of the decisions were taken by one man". In the four States, Madras, Maharashtra, Bengal and Gujarat, where there is no open revolt within the party, the Chief Ministers are as totalitarian as the Prime Minister. The question which arises is whether democracy has failed and we can have stable government only by nursing dictators who maintain the facade of democracy through legislators who feed on the public but not on each other. All the attempts of the High Command to patch differences in Andhra, Assam, U.P., Bihar, Orissa and Kerala have failed and it can be safely assumed that the dissidents who will not be selected by the Election Committees will stand independently or join other parties. As they are nearly equal in numbers and leadership, it can be reckoned that the Congress strength will be nearly halved. The damage may be more because the dissidents will have proved that members of the Congress are actuated by personal and not patriotic motives, that whoever get elected must support a dictator or fall into groups and that democracy which is being carried down to panchayats will tend similarly to divide the whole country. This internal threat is so serious that it is understood that the Prime Minister is reconsidering his stand on the Parliamentary system of government, as the Presidential system saves the party

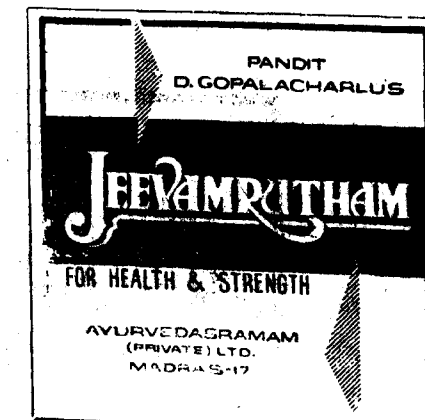
system from spoils arising from the combination of executive and legislative functions. If he saves the Congress this way, he may also save democracy.

The second threat to the Congress is from vested interests which had so far supported it. In Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, the ex-rulers who completely command their territories are leaving the Congress, even though the fate of Bastar was meant to be a warning to them. Those in industry and trade, who naturally back the winning side, are disposed to wonder about the prospects of the Congress to which they submitted only because their survival was dependent on licences and other favours. The larger landowners, even those under the ceilings, are afraid that as in China, they may be absorbed in co-operatives as the process of satisfying the landless continues, as it must inevitably do for political purposes.

The third threat is from different communities. The Hindus are naturally affronted that their values have been discarded and that, in any case, many of them are being punished because of their caste. The Muslims, already stirred by the Muslim League, may regard what happened at Jubbalpur as a turning point. Christians are too conscious that the discrimination against the Palai Bank, which has affected them both as depositors and debtors is a mark of interrogation even on the Congress Ministry they had elected. The castes subsisting on the liquor and toddy supplies know that only they have lost their occupations, that the police may allow others in their place for the bigger and more widespread business of illicit liquor. The age-old grievances of the Harijans have been sharpened because the expenditure of Government on its plans has increased prices and reduced employment and wages for them.

Against this rising tide, the strategy of the Congress is, to

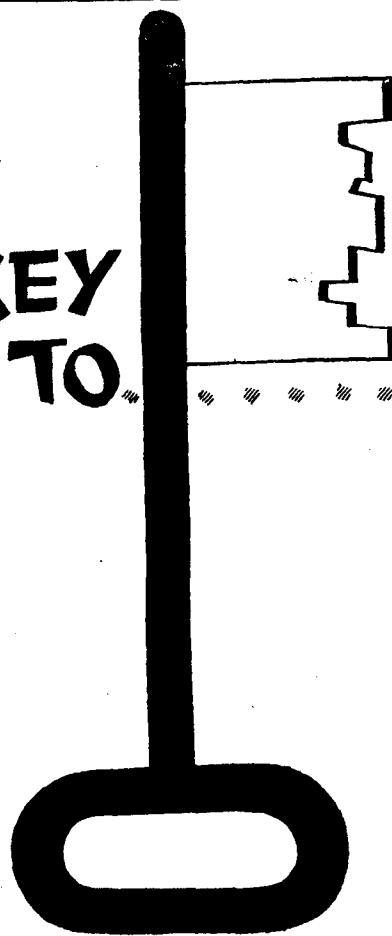
make inflation do service for them, as is disclosed from the deficit budgets which most States have proposed. Secondly, an outsize Third Plan, offering much to places and parties, which have little prospect of fulfilment as foreign exchange is not available even to maintain the industries already established, not to speak of paying interest on existing loans. Thirdly, the Congress expects gratitude for favours done to pressure groups. This involves a miscalculation because gratitude is not only a rare human quality but because unionised labour will continue its Communist leanings, while employers, (licencees, larger landowners, and officials) would rather be with parties which will allow them to keep their gains than with the Congress which is committed to the Socialist pattern. Fourthly, the Congress hopes to exploit its economic domination, through controls, State enterprises and restrictions to make all private enterprises pay and serve its electoral aims. For instance, in the Madras State, Rs. 1,000 is being collected from every bus permit holder in addition to transport and propaganda which many will supply for the elections. We may also expect a spate of licences in trade, industry and State-regulated private enterprises to those with political potentials. The Congress depends for its success on the division of votes between the numerous candidates who will oppose it. Since representation in the legislature is the best paid employment for those without qualifications, we may expect that the



number of candidates will be even more than before. Electoral alliances are not possible between certain parties, while the independent candidates will only be tested at the elections. This may be good for the Congress but is not good for the country or for democracy. Only if representation

in the legislature is separated from the spoils system, arising from the combination of executive and legislative functions will the many candidates who wish to serve themselves make way for the few candidates who wish to serve the country. Whatever the current thinking of the Prime Minister

may be on this subject, the Congress Party may prefer that many self-seeking candidates are attracted so that its own candidates may win, when others destroy each other. The Congress may not be doomed, but the country is. The question is what will overtake democracy.



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PLAYING THE GAME

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The gist of President Kennedy's book "Profiles in Courage", now a best-seller, is not merely to illustrate the qualities of fearless persistence in politics but to stress the need of compromise in collective relations. Democracy, he warns, means much more than popular government and majority-rule. If the domination of "brute-majority" were the criterion of democracy, it drifts into the condition of Fascism.

The origin of the world Nazi was in Germany National Socialism to achieve in a sense what might be called the Socialist pattern of society, and there was no hint of absolutism in the sublime concept. Nevertheless, propaganda imports ironic meanings. In World War I, Germans were dubbed Huns and at the end of World War II the victorious allies undertook a fatuous campaign called "de-Nazification" which went flat, especially amongst adults who were indifferent to being schooled anew.

According to the Kennedy thesis, a man is entitled to live and die by his convictions, but in inter-State dealings, the spirit of compromise distinguishes democracy and he sets store by many of the conclusions found in Lord Morley's *Compromise*. That political philosopher commends the doctrine of give-and-take, and in British politics there is an unwritten code of sportsmanship which our majority-mongers are unable to absorb. Morley wrote that very often political decisions would consist of a choice between two blunders, so that prudence lay not in individual obstinacy but in the potentialities of friendly alignment. Mr. Kennedy quoting the classics defines the basis of democracy as "agreement amongst dissimilar people".

At the last meeting of the Congress High Command, a committee was appointed to find out how

the Congress had lost some seats so that precautions should be taken to procure a sweeping victory at the polls, or as a Congress leader said, "cent per cent success". The idea of an effective Opposition or a healthy Opposition appears resented so that the surmise is just perpetuation of power and the extinction of adverse comment. Cromwell once cried: "For God's sake, gentlemen, consider whether you might not be mistaken". The formularies of political worship, however, constitute the negation of democracy even as disdain of criticism marks the advent of totalitarianism and the expectation of invertebrate docility among the people.

Apart from Mr. Kennedy's reasoning, a recent example in the British House of Commons could be cited against the clamour for office. It was the occasion for election of the Speaker after the Tory return to power. It is remarkable that though Socialists and Labourites have held office more than once, the Speaker had never been a member of the party because the Chair was not deemed a party-prize. I am afraid that given such fresh conditions of a start in the Delhi Parliament, there would be nothing short of a dog-fight upon the presumption that the Speakership carried political leverage. The late Mr. Mavankar refused to disassociate himself from his party on the ground that Congress membership would be valuable for his return in the next elections. He thought the ticket was important unlike Vitalbhai Patel, the first Indian Speaker, who announced on his election that he ceased to belong to any party. In Britain there has never been a Labour Speaker though Labour Ministers functioned. The Labour Party on the other hand behaved with commendable restraint and generosity when they refused to turn out Mr. Speaker Clifton-Brown in

1945, and put in a nominee of their own. Last September, the new House had to elect a Speaker, as the old incumbent left for Australia as Governor-General. Mr. Harold Macmillan discouraged a scramble for the office on the majority-test and conceded a turn for the thin ranks of the Opposition. Sir Frank Soskice (Socialist) was suggested and while the certainty was that all Conservatives would support that Socialist candidate, the eminent Counsel himself demurred. Then there was a controversy. The name of Sir Harry Hylton-Foster was put up, the first chance having been refused from the Opposition side. In view of the sporting spirit shown, Mr. Gaitskell announced that purely a negative vote would be out of order, and that in any event he would not divide the House on the issue. The majority-tenet was shelved. One sensible suggestion emerged from the controversy (it came from Mr. Gaitskell), namely, that in future, Speakers should try to resign in the middle instead of at the end of a Parliament.

In India, on the other hand, the sole aim of the ruling party seems to be the ignoring of the Opposition, the assumption of omniscience and the wiping out of Opposition parties. According to President Kennedy's application of the democratic doctrine, this attitude is the very reverse of "agreement amongst dissimilar people". Lack of the sporting spirit and the hypnotics of intolerance constitute the very negation of democracy.

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IMRE NAGY AND PATRICE LUMUMBA

By T. P. RAMANATHAN

During the national uprising in Hungary against Soviet neo-colonialism in October 1956, Imre Nagy, the Prime Minister of Hungary, cabled the United Nations that Hungary wished to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty which bound her to Soviet Russia and become neutral. As it became obvious to Soviet Russia that the Hungarian people would not accept a Communist government regardless of concessions, the Russian military poured back in Hungary. Nagy remonstrated with the Soviet Ambassador in Budapest, protested to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and asked him to invoke the aid of the Great Powers to protect neutral Hungary and to bring her case before the U.N. Assembly. Soviet troops, planes, and tanks launched heavy attacks on nationalist strongholds throughout the country. The Nagy Government was ordered by the Soviets to capitulate and a new puppet government under Janos Kadar was set up. Nagy escaped to the Yugoslav Embassy where he took refuge. The U.N. Secretary-General asked Janos Kadar, the Hungarian puppet of the Soviet to admit U.N. observers to report on Soviet intervention in Hungary and Kadar, at the instance of Soviet Russia, rejected the U.N. request. The Soviet troops, he said, were in Hungary at the "Government's request" and the nation's difficulties were purely domestic. Meanwhile, the Soviets picked up all the Hungarian revolutionaries they could lay hands on and deported them to their notorious slave labour camps in their own country. When the news of deportation began to spread, the youths of Hungary began to flee the country. More than 1,00,000 Hungarians crossed the border, seeking refuge in Austria. The doors of nations all over the world were thrown open to these refugees. Janos Kadar swore to fellow-Communist Tito of Yugoslavia that Nagy's safety would be ensured upon departure from the Yugoslav diplomatic sanctuary, but when Nagy left the Yugoslav Embassy for his home, the Soviets arrested him, betraying the sworn word of Kadar. The betrayal of Nagy reached its logical climax at 11 p.m. on June 16, 1958 when the puppet Kadar Government announced that the Hungarian leader Imre Nagy had been executed.

What had transpired in those twenty months from November 1956 to June 1958? Why had betrayal been compounded? Why did a Soviet government so sensitive and alert to the

advantage of world propaganda permit an action which sickened the entire civilized world and revealed once more the unchanging face of Communist inhumanity? The execution of Nagy is for Communism both the closing of a chapter of history and the evidence of a gigantic failure.

Today, the murder of the Congolese Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, had stirred the world and Soviet Russia had been alert and quick to demand the dismissal of the U.N. Secretary General for alleged failure of U.N. operations in Congo. It also demanded immediate withdrawal of the U.N. forces from Congo. Murder anywhere in the world is a shocking and heinous crime and there can be no two opinions on this. There is a close resemblance between what the Soviets did in Hungary in 1956 and what the Belgians are currently doing in Congo. The Soviets committed the murder of Nagy, the former Prime Minister of Hungary through their puppet Janos Kadar, after torturing him for 20 months. In the same way, the Belgians finished off the Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba through their puppet Moise Tshombe. Many countries which now condemned the murder of Lumumba had refrained from branding Soviet Russia for its heinous crime against Nagy for fear that they might become victims of Soviet wrath. Even Mr. Nehru did not denounce the cold-blooded murder of Imre Nagy by the Russians, as he did of Lumumba. If the Soviet puppet Janos Kadar could be considered head of the legal government of Hungary and be seated in the U.N. Assembly, what was wrong in accepting Kasavubu as head of the legal government of Congo to be seated in the U.N. Assembly? If Janos Kadar could speak for the Hungarians after imprisoning the lawful Prime Minister Imre Nagy, what was wrong if Kasavubu spoke for the Congolese after imprisoning Patrice Lumumba? If the puppet Janos Kadar could tell the U.N. that the national uprising in Hungary was a domestic affair, and hence the U.N. should not interfere, what was wrong if a similar thing was said by Kasavubu that the present Congolese troubles were internal ones and the U.N. had no business to interfere? If the Soviets could be allowed to remain in Hungary against the wishes of the Hungarians, are not the Belgians entitled now to a similar right? If the U.N. could be asked to take action to stop further murders in Congo, why

BOOK REVIEW:

A BRAHMIN IN FRANCE

The image of India in English fiction seems to emerge, of late, a little more clearly than in the past. For one thing, India has come to stay as a serious theme in the novels in English by Indian, as well as Western, writers. Among many of the foreign observers of the Indian scene at any rate, the exotic and the outlandish, not to say the frivolous, still continue to engage the creative imagination, though we are far from the romantic days of Kipling and Rider Haggard. A more balanced picture of contemporary India is provided by some of the Indian fiction-writers, each from his or her own angle. From R. K. Narayan's gentle, ironic outlines of South Indian life to the aggressively loud-coloured brush strokes on the proletariat by Mulk Raj Anand there is a fairly impressive variety in locale, workmanship and point of view. Khushwant Singh depicts the struggle of the Punjab in the aftermath of partition with stark realism. Prawer Jhabwala turns her polished satire on the new rich of Delhi, whom she knows so well. Kamala Markandeya looks at the social or economic problem essentially from a woman's angle and one at least of her works is obviously autobiographical. Quite different from all these in style and technique, as well as theme and outlook, is Raja Rao, who is possibly closer, in a way, to R. K. Narayan than to the others. More than two decades after his brilliant 'Kanthapura' (an Indian novel in a very real sense in the English Language), he has now come out with a more ambitious work in *The Serpent and the Rope*. If it is, undoubtedly, more subtle and thoughtful than its predecessor, it is also, perhaps, generally more heavy and in parts too recalcitrant for a novel.

One might, however, state, with little exaggeration, that this marks another step in the evolution of an Indian form (apart from the content) in fiction. The title itself is borrowed from a fami-

* *THE SERPENT AND THE ROPE*:
By Raja Rao (John Murray, London,
414 pages, Price 20 Shillings).

was the same U.N. not allowed to enter Hungary and prevent the further massacre of innocent Hungarian revolutionaries by the Soviets? The International Commission which is being suggested to be set up for investigating the murder of Lumumba may also be armed with powers to investigate the callous execution of Imre Nagy and the persons responsible for both the crimes must be tried.

liar idea in the Indian metaphysical tradition, of the world as an illusion and a reality (*The Raju Sarpa Nyaya*, in which the rope is mistaken for the serpent in the dark). Very often, the author succeeds in capturing the Indian atmosphere and conveying the nuances of his native idiom in a language, to which he was not born. The Indian spirit is infused into a language, not yet officially accepted as Indian.

The story of the novel is fairly simple. One might even say there is not much of a story in it, so called. A Brahmin youth by name Ramaswami (Rama, as he is referred to, in most places) from Mysore goes up for higher studies in the history to France, where he specialises in the Albigensian heresy (of Cathars in the south of France). At the age of 21, he marries a French woman by name Madeleine Roussellin, a lecturer in history, five years older than himself. They live happily together for some years, in the course of which he returns to India twice—once for the obsequies of his father (he lost his mother in childhood), and a second time for the marriage of his step-sister Saroja. When he rejoins his wife, an ardent adherent to the Indian way of life, he finds her losing herself more and more in the quicksands of Yoga and Buddhist contemplation. Her asceticism (with fasts and other forms of mortification of the flesh) soon grows to the stage of a denial of normal family relations, when there is no alternative to a separation from each other. He derives some consolation from the company of Catherine (Madeleine's plain and home-spun cousin, trained as a notary) and her Russian husband Georges (a professor of theology) and their infant child Vera. The fitful, but inspiring, association with Savitri, the daughter of a jagirdar from U.P., a Cambridge student of English literature, who ultimately marries Pratap Singh (scion of a zamindari family with a job in the Political Service) lights up his life from time to time. Not much happens on the physical plane. The struggle is in the mind, the adventure in spirit.

While Madeleine, who worships her husband, on this side of idolatry, finds it comparatively easy to proceed to a point of no return in reconciling her native tenets of Roman Catholicism with the new-found principles of Buddhism, Rama seems, for a time, to hang in thin air, faced with the difficulty of finding a personal solution to a spiritual problem. The main thing about him, however, is that he is a Brahmin,

whether he be in Bangalore or Benaras, the Latin quarter in Paris or in their villa at Aix-en-Provence. He notes in his diary: "No, not a God, but a Guru is what I need. 'Oh Lord, My Guru, My Lord,' I cried, in the middle of this dreadful winter night. The winds of April had arisen, the trees of the Luxembourg were crying till you could hear them like the triple oceans of the Goddess at Cape Comorin. 'Lord, Lord My Guru, come to me, tell me, give me thy touch, vouchsafe,' I cried, 'the vision of Truth, Lord, my Lord.'"

In spite of the rapture and purity of their first love, there seemed always a widening gulf between the Indian husband and the French wife, which turns out to be unbridgeable in the end. We are told that Madeleine is afraid of crossing the bridge. The man, on his side, is obviously not prepared to cross over to the other side. He is an Indian, a Brahmin, an individual entity, which cannot easily forget itself and merge with the rest. The character of Madeleine is drawn with a delicate accuracy of line. Savitri, the smoking, drinking, emancipated co-ed of Cambridge, ready to make do with an affluent but obtuse Political Service husband, has rare and surprising moments of ecstatic surrender in the honoured tradition of Indian womanhood. Rama's relations with his widowed step-mother (his father's third and only surviving wife) are homely and cordial, though far too idealised. There is no trace of bitterness or suspicion in his attitude to the step-sisters; only a benignant sympathy, rather too good to be true, compared to the actual position that obtains in Hindu society.

The story is possibly autobiographical, not only in method, but largely in substance. The symbolism is uplifting and confusing by turns. The frequent switching over from fact to symbol and from symbol to fact is apt to leave the reader almost helpless at many places. There is a marked sincerity about the personal musings on free India, post-war France, England at the Queen's coronation, and a hundred other things in the world, that come up in the pages of the novel. One is not sure if the looseness of construction, obvious at every stage, is deliberate, or a weakness that could not be helped. But, it is clear that the author's strong point is description, rather than narration. It is essentially a poet's novel. Some of the passages are evocative. Poetic touches alternate with spells of metaphysical speculation. At times the lyrical may drift into the obscure and the philosophic into the merely vague. But the sentiment is that of an authentic inquirer and the style that of a seasoned virtuoso. D. ANJANAPULU,

A NEW ONE ON ENGLISH

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

Speaking at a function organized to celebrate the release of a book—these releases threaten to be a popular stunt in the literary world of India—the Madras Minister of Education is reported—I hope he was not truthfully reported for the sake of his intellectual reputation and he has a reputation to lose—to have put the blame for the absence “of a few original books in technical sciences or on even arts subjects on the foreign language which was pushing us down”. It seems “we are more concerned with learning the language than in learning new ideas”. Can the Minister not have heard of the “plant physiology” of Jagadish Chandra Bose, the History of Hindu Chemistry by Prafulla Chandra Roy, or of the “Molecular Diffraction of Light” by Sir C. V. Raman or the treatise on Obstetric Medicine by Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar? Has he not heard of the *Gitanjali* in English of Rabindranath Tagore (translated by himself) or of *Hind Swaraj* of Mahatma Gandhi, of

the *Golden Threshold* by Sarojini Naidu? And as for books for university students, has he not heard of the historical works of Jadunath Sarkar, Nilakanta Sastri and P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar and of the economic treatises of Vakil and Jathar and of the books on engineering produced by Indian engineers? He knows them, but in the stress of political argument he forgot them. For it was in political argument that he was indulging when he said that “a foreign language was pushing us down”.

It is political argument, not educational argument. For all educational experience has taught us the intellectual advantages of the youth of a country having to learn a foreign language. European peoples have recognized the value of foreign languages even after their own languages had begun to be used as media of instruction. “A classical education (in Latin and Greek)” says an English report on modern languages, “means scholarship with its

passion for accuracy, discipline of taste, training in form and order”. It is among men trained at schools and university in these languages, says this report, are to be found “some of the best historians, the best critics, the best professors of English literature, and above all men in every walk of life with the widest outlooks, the most balanced judgment, the finest taste”. The educational value of the study of a foreign language at every stage of education except the lowest has been recognized not only by educationists, but by men of affairs. Lord Bryce, Professor of Law, Minister, Ambassador insisted on one foreign language being included in any curriculum of education. For the effort in learning a foreign language strengthens the sinews of the intellect, the very struggle, the hard work, the concentration helps to discipline the mind which the comparatively greater ease of learning one's mother tongue will not furnish. And the more foreign a language it is the better. English which differs so much from Tamil and other Indian languages in its system of grammar, syntax, history, is just the foreign language for India. And to get the best out of such an instrument, it had better be used as the medium of daily conversation and instruction in school and college. That Tamil will be pushed out by the place thus given to English is sheer superstitious fear.

If the record of English-educated producers of useful books and of creative artists has been such as has been indicated, what is the record of those that have been educated with Tamil as the medium of instruction? For nearly 50 years now, i.e. for two generations, Tamil has been used as the medium of instruction in high schools. Its use at this stage was urged as not only making learning easy at that stage but that it would give the mind the strength and the ability to grasp learning at the higher stage with rapidity and energy. It is true that at the higher stage they were taught in English. But the presumption has been that having learnt to read and write English and passed the high school examination in that subject with at least 40 per cent marks—for the majority of those admitted to university courses were students with that percentage of marks in English—they were able to follow instruction in English, and take in what was taught them with the greater quickness and comprehension that instruction in the mother tongue in the high school was supposed to have given them. It is now recognized among educationists that the

(Continued on next page)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR AT WHOSE COST?

Sir,—The Mysore Ministerial crisis which was brewing for nearly a year has been “solved” by adding four Ministers from the dissident group to the ten already holding office. The Congress President, the Mysore P.C.C. President and the hapless Chief Minister are stated to be “extremely happy” at this “wise” solution of the crisis. For four years after the 1957 elections ten Ministers were enough to form the Cabinet. In the last year before the 1962 elections, work at the Ministerial level has grown to such an extent that the sudden addition of four Ministers has become necessary! At a conservative estimate, each Minister (with his paraphernalia) costs the State not less than a lakh of rupees per annum. So, in the name of austerity, the poor Mysore taxpayer is asked to pay another four lakhs so that the Mysore Congress Party may not go to pieces before the next elections. What touching solicitude for the welfare of the common people!

We are informed by the Prime Minister that the British pattern of democracy has been incorporated into the Indian Constitution and that the President corresponds to the British

Crown. Should not, then, the position of the Chief Minister of a State correspond to that of the British Prime Minister? Will it be possible to imagine, in England, the Chairman of the Conservative Party passing a resolution asking Mr. Macmillan to resign or take a vote of confidence in the House of Commons? Or forcing Mr. Macmillan, in the alternative, to “expand” his Cabinet by offering Ministerships (with no work) to men in whom he has no confidence? What a farce and mockery is this Indian version of democracy!

Bangalore.

V. T. SREENIVASAN.

THE MID-DAY MEAL FOR SCHOOLS

Sir,—With the appreciation of Nehru and the praise of Education Minister Shrinani the example of Madras in providing free mid-day meals to all children in elementary schools has come to be the model for other States to follow. But the originator of this idea is being forgotten. It is time his name is made public.

Way back in 1920, Inspector Dr. Swaminathan introduced to headmaster P. Venkatachala Iyengar of the Hindu Theological High School, Sowcarpet, Madras, a young college graduate as just suitable to handle V and VI form English. The novice proved able, efficient, enthusiastic, energetic and popular. His sociability was infectious and he strove for opportunities to serve his pupils even outside the classroom.

One day he found a dozen pupils in the prayer hall and the school playground during the mid-day recess and asked them why they had not gone home for lunch. They all confessed there would be none in their homes. His heart went out for them. Instantly he called the waterman Rangan, gave him money and asked him to buy rice and condiments, prepare some “*orai*” or “*odanam*” each day of the week in the water shed and feed the twelve pupils at the lunch interval.

It later took shape as the Deena Bandhu Sangham of the school. That English teacher later came to be known as Acharya Ratna, Kulapathi Gurukula Dharma Acharya K. Rangaswamy Iyengar. He is happily with us serving the Lady Sivaswamy Iyer Girls High School as Secretary. He is the father of the mid-day meal for school boys idea.

As an institution, the Corporation of

Madras was the pioneer in the provision of this facility since the early days of compulsory primary education, to attract poor children to the otherwise unpatronised elementary schools. But as a venture confined to a single school springing from the instinct of charity as a social obligation, it was the Hindu Theological High School that gave the idea of the free mid-day meals for poor pupils.

Palladam.

A. T. KRISHNAMACHARI.

TEACH US TO SWEAT

Sir,—Could Morarjibhai first teach the Government, Central and State Ministers how to “sweat and sacrifice”? “Austerity”, “Sacrifice” and “Sweat” are demanded of us. I am bewildered and would like to know the meaning of these words from the “horse's” mouth. We have large teams of Ministers and Deputy Ministers, running into many scores, and they are no more “cabinets” but “Assemblies” and where there be one minister there are ten of them. Is this called “sweating”? By the Ministers or the tax payers? Each minister has his teams of secretaries, joint secretaries, additional secretaries, deputy secretaries, assistant secretaries and under-secretaries with their armies of personal assistants, stenographers, clerks, peons etc. Each department and each officer has his fleet of government transports of every cate-

Exhibit ‘A’ of Democracy

The existence of the Opposition is essential for democracy. I spent seventeen of my thirty three years in Parliament in the Opposition. I was very lucky because when I succeeded to the leadership of the Opposition, for the first time, a salary was given to me. At that time many people did not understand why I was given a salary for opposing the Government. People were almost surprised to see me invited to Government dinners. In legal terms, the leader of the opposition is Exhibit ‘A’ of democracy. Opposition, free discussion, free talk—these are the very essence of our Parliamentary system.

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gory. Is this "sacrifice"? The Ministers and often the secretaries also are on the move throughout the State or the length and breadth of the country, lecturing, attending conferences, meetings, opening or inaugurating something or other and seldom or never in their offices grinding their way with files. Is this sweating? They are all the time surrounded by the vigilant police, admirers, followers and flatterers. Surely this must mean a lot of sacrifice! Sacrifice by whom? They have all free transports and every kind of allowances to keep their body and soul together, not to speak of foreign travels. All this must mean quite an amount of sweat. Every reshuffle of cabinets means bigger and better cabinets, and everybody has to sweat until the fervour and fever of it subsides. What

about the yearly Congress sessions? Sweat and sacrifice can be counted only by lakhs by the party and the Government. Don't forget the yearly Republic Day celebrations, parades and illuminations and cultural activities. These involve no end of sweat and sacrifice. Of course, this is nothing compared to the daily influx of foreign dignitaries who come to admire our five year plans and mammoth projects and for entertaining whom we sweat and sacrifice to an extent we are worn to thin shadows. Our Auditor General can also give us quite a few instances of reckless, extravagant, senseless and criminal out-pouring of precious sweat. The way our P.W.D.'s sweat in a similar way they must be completely dehydrated. God bless them for their sacrifices!

We have ever increasing taxations by the Centre and the States and our Corporations do not lag behind. They lay on the taxation heavily and thickly by both hands. Our Corporators also must have their salaries, allowances, telephones, free transports and foreign travels and all together faithfully exercise four-square Morarjibhai's exhortations to "sweat and sacrifice". No wonder, there is no other nation on earth so full of martyrs, heroes, political sufferers and sacrificers, sadhus and saints.

There was a man who had just a loin cloth on, lived in a hut, lived on date and curds, had a staff in his hands, sandals on his feet and steel rimmed spectacles. He did not "sweat" or "sacrifice" in any of the above ways. He just shed his blood. He is just a memory. We try to remember him once a year and soothe our conscience by creating sky high fabulous marble statues all over the country "sweating and sacrificing" many lakhs of rupees.

Who sweats and sacrifices? Every form of taxation is shifted ultimately on the shoulders of the common man whose cost of living has reached impossible heights already. His daily life is one continuous sweating and sacrifice. Whom does Morarjibhai call upon to further sweat and sacrifice?

Nagpur.

DR. I. E. J. DAVID.

MAKING ENGLISH SCAPEGOAT OF CONGRESS FOLLIES

Sir,—Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Education, Madras, declared at a meeting of an educational society that the dearth of suitable text-books in technical subjects for college classes and the comparatively poor quality of the students sent out of technical institutions are due to English being the medium of instruction in colleges.

I presume the Minister was put to the necessity of advancing fictitious charges against English, because he was unable to marshal any tenable arguments in favour of his pet idea of changing the medium of instruction to Tamil in the colleges of Madras State.

Instead of gracefully acknowledging our debt to English language for the undoubted advance we have made in the field of science, technology and to a limited extent in humanities, he has sought to attribute the deficiency of technical text-books by Indian authors, to English being the medium of instruction in colleges. Not content with this, he has unjustly laid upon English the

all in the quality of alumni that has occurred during the last few years, conveniently forgetting his own part and that of the party to which he belongs, in bringing about the present leplorable state.

By monkeying with the educational system according to their whims andancies, the Congress Party have wrought terrible damage to the real interest of this country. The poor quality of the present day technical graduates is partly the result of half-baked and ill thought-out experiments of the Congress politicians in the field of education and partly due to merit being placed at a discount in the matter of admissions to technical institutions in Madras State. Instead of admitting his own mistakes and trying to correct them, the Minister has attempted to make English the scape-goat for his party's follies.

V. S. SRKUMAR.

MAKING DEMOCRACY MORE MEANINGFUL

Sir,—Sir David Low writing to an American friend observes: "We may be all born equal, but it becomes more and more obvious that when the votes of a lazy bonthead who takes no interest in his country and of a diligent sage who does, count as equal, we have a weakness". How much more true is this observation in the case of our country where the vote of an illiterate and ignorant man and the vote of the highest literate are counted as equal!

But it is too late in the day to make any attempt to deprive the illiterate man of his vote—it would create such a political furore—though every thinking man deplores the premature conferment of adult franchise in India teeming with millions of illiterate people.

But I feel that a way out of this muddle could indeed be found. I would suggest that the more literate voters be given more than one vote accord-

ing to their intellectual attainments. Here is my plan:

Illiterate man or woman	1 vote
Semi-literate man or woman who can read and write	2 votes
Voters with middle school education	3 "
Voters with matriculation qualification	4 "
Graduate (Academic or Tech.) voters	5 "
Voters who are M.As.	6 "
Voters who pay income-tax but are not highly educated and are engaged in business	3 "

The above system of franchise will mitigate to a great extent the mischief that the adult franchise has caused to the proper functioning of democracy in India. This will enable more literate and intelligent voters to participate in the elections and send better candidates to the legislatures.

While the illiterate adult can protest against the deprivation of his franchise, he cannot with any show of reasonableness (and he will excite no sympathy) complain if he and the literate voter are treated differentially according to their intellectual attainments.

I would pray that all people who deplore the premature grant of adult franchise in India would make an earnest attempt to agitate for the adoption of the above suggestion, and amend the constitution accordingly.

M. S. V. CHARI.

PHYSICIAN, HEAL THYSELF!

Sir,—Partly in justification of the excise duties proposed over a vast range of commodities in the Budget and partly perhaps, as information to the much harassed and seldom-remembered consumers, the Government spokesmen from Delhi have worked out the effects of these taxes on prices of individual articles. For instance, it is said that the price of packed tea should rise only by one nP while freshly-ground coffee should cost no more than 14 nP more per Kilogram. Vegetable product, similarly, should not move up by more than 3 nP per Kg. There should be no price increase in matches, or for that matter in kerosene, particularly the variety used by the common man. The implication is that where prices actually move higher than these margins, the trading community is to be blamed, as indulging in profiteering at the expense of the common man, not the Government.

Such calculations show how faulty is the knowledge of officialdom about

market behaviour. Price increases and duty increases can never be correlated with mathematical accuracy. Excise duties are levied at the producing centres, at the factory levels, but price increases take place all along the line, from the sole agents, distributors, wholesalers, down to the retailers. The distribution chain has many links and price rises can and do take place at many places and at different levels. The inconveniences in rounding off fractions, the ease of calculations, the turnover tax additions, and similar considerations enter into the price structure, so much so the ultimate prices that the consumer pays bear no relation to the excise duty increase. It is not always profiteering as is so often facetiously assumed. The Finance Minister should have taken cognisance of such effects before deciding on the levy of excise duties or assessing their incidence.

Before preaching to the merchants ethical codes, the Government themselves should set up high codes of conduct in their behaviour. The conversion of annas and pies to decimal coinage a couple of years ago was the occasion for profiteering by the Government Transport which promptly revised the fares in a manner convenient to the Department and to the disadvantage of the passenger. Recently in the postal department, the change-over to metric system has resulted in the upward adjustment of postal rates for postal articles. Consumers and the public figured nowhere in the picture when these changes were introduced, and the Government departments with an eye only to revenue ignored all consideration of fairness or ethics. Now when prices of a large number of articles are tending to rise under the impact of the cruel levy of excise duties, owing to the faulty policies of the Government, commercial morality is being preached and the business community is sought to be made a scapegoat!

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Nature of Democracy

The great danger today is that people tend to leave things to other people to do. Democracy is the most demanding of all forms of Governments. Once you begin to leave it to somebody else, you are half way towards autocracy and totalitarianism. LORD ATTLEE.

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SCANDALOUS PRACTICE

Imagine the treasurer of the Tory Party being given a licence to demand from British commercial firms at home and abroad, not to mention the members of the farming community, that they shell out subscriptions for the party's fight in future elections; also imagine that this enterprising pursuer is also by coincidence the Chancellor of the Exchequer enjoying authority to collect funds to strengthen the Conservative war-chest so that the right party could be returned again for the benefit of the nation.

We have to imagine such a situation, because in terms of reason, not to mention British democratic tradition, any such practice would be unthinkable. Public indignation would be so great that even the poorest farmer in the Isle of Man would defy the carpet-baggers soliciting contributions for party-finance.

After the defeat of the Opposition in the Indian Parliament last year on the issue of squeezing business-firms, the ruling party has reason to be gleeful of the advantages which the Congress Parliamentary Board wrested for waging electioneering campaigns. The ruling party alone fought for the bandit-privilege exercised with insidious secrecy in the matter of approaching victims over-awed by the credentials of Congress volunteer's carrying khadi-bags to mobilize the sinews of war. The Prime Minister soaring far above sordid affairs like filthy lucre, remained profoundly silent, and it was left to Mr. Lal

Bahadur Shastri blatantly to say that in the past they had been accustomed to the promiscuous collection of cash, and that it would be better if critics belonging to the Opposition did not throw stones from glass-houses.

Democracy, said Lord Attlee, is a way of life rather than the enforcement of mechanical rules. He was asked about party-funds in the United Kingdom and he replied that individual sympathisers were free to contribute on their own. The Congress project is, however, on the principle of the whip being applied in humble language (as becomes Gandhiji's disciples) but under the influence of intimidation. Out of dread in a licence-ridden economy, the Managing Directors hand over the cheque, a species of tactics, that in England would provoke a political riot. The same routine of eschewing thuggery to accumulate party funds is characteristic of American democracy.

Mr. Sherman Adams, the Personal Assistant of President Eisenhower, was charged with having received the hospitality of a multimillionaire named Bernard Goldfine. Sleuths also reported the gift of mink-garments to the Personal Assistant of the President. Within three days of the agitation, Sherman Adams had to quit the White House just because of the democratic way of life which they honour. That there might be underhand evasions of the code of decency does not negative the principle involved. When the Labour Party first came to power,

the Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald was so elated that he fancied himself the idol of duchesses. In his ambition to figure as a man of consequence, he was the recipient of a Daimler car from a wealthy Baronet. The story was abroad and the Prime Minister had to answer for it.

In our infant democracy where people have not yet emerged from their fear of officialdom and their reverence for the Khadi Cap, donations to local agents would be taken as normal safeguard against persecution and discriminatory pressures. The trade unions in Britain and the United States would, if similarly approached, horsewhip the touts even if they were authorised by the party in power. Of course, during Presidential elections, admirers organise dinners, may be \$100 per plate. A guest cannot put away more than \$3 worth of victuals, but that tradition should not be quoted against the legislation of throttling business-firms to fork out currency-notes for party purposes.

The Trusteeship of the Labour Party in England is regarded as a key-role, and at their Scarborough meetings there is a fight for the honour, not because they could levy *chouth* like old Maharashtra chieftains. We seem to have reconciled ourselves to a venal system of veiled blackmail as if we were living far back in time under the scourge of Pindaris and Rohillas. The big stick is being waved against businessmen not only for the surrender of cash but also the

WORSE THAN WAR IN CONGO

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Pakistan is not so much in the picture as India in outlining the future of the Congo, a subject which the United States cannot ignore if only for the reason that millions of American citizens of African descent and features, form a substantial minority of the population. It was not surprising that in the U.N.O. discussion about the Lumumba tragedy, a large contingent of American Negroes demonstrated from the public gallery and created a commotion interrupting Adlai Stevenson's sympathetic speech. Pent-up emotions have a way of exploding through the laws of affinity.

I remember a scene in the old League of Nations when Haile Selassie tried to address the House as a refugee from Abyssinia, then invaded by Mussolini. Without apparent organisation Italian correspondents in the gallery started booing at the exiled Emperor naming him as a savage and a cannibal. The poor exile was dumbfounded and for years he was a fugitive in London until by the fluke of fortune he became a rare example of an ex-king being restored to his throne. Between Mr. Nehru and President Kennedy there is common ground that the U.N.O. presence should be preserved in the Congo to avert civil war and foster the status of sovereignty initiated under U.N. auspices. Prime Minister Nehru says he never approved of certain decisions of the U.N.O. in regard to the launching of parliamentary government in the Congo and the continuance of Belgians in the liberated country. Furthermore,

pledge of votes. This is not what Earl Attlee meant, or decent people would concede, as the democratic way of life. Morarji Desai is a straight-laced man of personal integrity, but Congress peishkars roaming all over the country for funds could impress the gullible about the significance of the Finance Minister being also the Treasurer of the Congress.

while Mr. Kennedy favours recognition of Kasavubu as chief of the State, Mr. Nehru is not very much pro-Kasavubu and Mr. Krishna Menon maintained at the time of Congo's seating in the U.N.O. that the choice should have been held in suspense, a contention that now loses value after Lumumba's murder. The clamour of the Soviet Union that the Secretary-General should be dismissed as an abettor and muddler, is not welcomed by the Prime Minister, and though Moscow has de-recognised Dag (including his deputy Dayal), Mr. Nehru is not in favour of the trifurcation of the job. As long as the Security Council is at sixes and sevens and the power of the veto remains, directives at the top are bound to be uncertain.

It is all very well to authorise the Secretary-General "to use force if necessary, in the last resort", but the Executive Officer of the U.N.O. is also warned that the use of arms must be confined to "self-defence". Since the purpose is the disarming of Congolese troops and the prevention of gun-running by alien traffickers, much good cannot come out of mere passive intervention. A substantial section of Congolese politicians object to the prospect of foreign tutelage as the negation of freedom. And it is well-known that in any "Operation Round-up", people would rather bury their arms than surrender them to foreigners. In all these manoeuvres to stop civil war and instal parliamentary government, actualities in the Congo facing human beings, do not appear in perspective.

For instance, there is a campaign just started in England under the slogan "Must They Die?" supported by eminent men and women to save and do something to arrest the descent of terrible famine conditions in the strife-torn country of millions. Political confusion has precipitated a scourge amongst the in-

nocent masses, and before long the wave of horror set in motion by the arrival of authentic reports and photographs must take a mounting turn and dwarf the drama of tribal fighting. The appeal for aid gives a brief narrative of the tragedy, a small paragraph of which may be here quoted:

"Then we heard—perhaps for the first time in our lives—of the Balubas and their death march from the massacres in Kasai province. We read reports of children with arms and legs no thicker than a man's thumb, who starved to death at Christmas; of unfed babies in overcrowded hospitals; of walking skeletons on the roads and bodies swelling with hunger oedema. U.N. reports came through of more than 100 people dying daily of sheer starvation".

It is in this distress which is apparently being played down in the prosecution of our foreign policy that Prime Minister Nehru is brooding on the question how he should answer the Secretary-General's awkward request for 3,000 combatant soldiers to translate decisions and match deed with word free from nullifying restrictions.

Although the Indian Constitution does not ban (as in the case of Japan) the dispatch of foreign expeditions, we could very well adhere to our pronouncement at the outbreak of the Korean war that India's fighting forces are meant for the defence of India. In fact while giving advice I feel we should lend support to the following plan projected by Ghana:

UNITED NATIONS, Feb. 19.—Ghana has suggested to U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld that a new U.N. Command should be set up in the Congo, entirely composed of Africans, to take over responsibility for public order, while all Congolese army troops should be disarmed.

If this plea is vigorously implemented, and Africans take over the regulation of African affairs, other countries could without worsening quarrels, bestow some time and energy to relieve the terrors of famine that have overtaken the Congo.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SWATANTRA PARTY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Leave to live by no man's leave, underneath the Law.

KIPLING.

This is what the Swatantra fights for. Leave to live by no man's leave underneath the Law—for liberty and the rule of law. What is the present state of things and who is responsible for it? For everything by way of individual contribution to national life a licence is required; and for every licence many trips to Delhi and many a go-between to get it done; and he will not do it for nothing. And after many secret manoeuvres, when the licence is got, the licensee becomes a monopolist and an ardent supporter of the party that maintains his precious advantage over his fellows. What a sad state of things in a developing economy! This was not the case in 1900 or any other time under foreign rule. Men were free though the country was not free. Today, the country is free but citizens, traders, industrialists and others live under licence and work under choking regulations.

The Congress Party is responsible for this state of things—this continuance of an indefinite and permanent state of emergency and its annoying controls and regulations.

The Swatantra Party wants this state of things to go. It will not go unless the Congress Party is defeated at the polls and a government comes into power which believes in freedom, which has faith in the people, and which thinks more of what the nation wants and less about the continued predominance of its party position.

We want a government that does not seek to centralise all power. Concentration of all powers in the same hands means despotism whether exercised by many voices or by one as great

Jefferson said. Concentration of power in the same hands and exercised by a political party leads to corruption, parasitism, sale of privileges, injustice, and a scramble for positions in the party and general fall of moral standards. All this we have seen. If a fresh mandate is secured for this regime for another period of five years, woe unto integrity, unto liberty and democracy.

The Swatantra Party's battle is not a battle for patronage of power. It is a battle for the more orderly division of functions between State and citizen, between the instruments of production and the organ of regulations. The liberty of the citizen should be subject to the State's over-all supervision,

All for Power

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

FRANK CHODOROV.

so that liberty may not become licence. On the other hand the authority and powers of the State should be controlled by the fundamental rights of citizens. These fundamental rights are on a higher level than the laws made by the legislatures and so it is they are embodied in the Constitution and not in an Act of Parliament.

The rule of law loses its essential quality if it is to be respected in some cases and ignored in other cases in accordance with the shouts of the crowd. Its essential character is its invariability. There is no rule of law if it varies from man to man or group to group. When once the rule of law, respect for liberty, freedom of contract and right to earn and acquire are allowed to be eaten into, the corrosion proceeds from one point to another. The first interference leads to a sliding place whereon the downward course of liberty is all too easy.

There is in the air a great urge to produce to expand and to progress. Men are eager for enterprise; but governmental regulation with its brood of touts, to use Pothan Joseph's apt language, descends on production and enterprise like a killing frost and gives no chance for progress. Freedom of contract and the right to work, acquire and own property without any uncertainty form the basis of the rule of law, without which freedom of person loses all meaning and reality. Ownership should be respected and evolved by conscience and enlightenment into trusteeship. This would be progress, real social welfare and liberty all combined. If certainty and the rule of law disappear, there will be no incentive, no dynamic force for production. The Swatantra Party's battle is not for any particular class but for the essential conditions for progress without loss of liberty. Any plan of production on the foundation of Statism is bound to end in authoritarianism as we have already seen in our own country even though the trappings of democracy are retained.

STRATEGY FOR AMENDING THE BUDGET

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Though the rise in prices has created some climate against the budget proposals, no one prospects any change, not only because of the overwhelming majority of the Government but also because of the capacity of the Finance Minister to get his own way. He has also ranged certain forces on his side, first the Industrialists, who for all the fuss they are making, are quite happy that the Customs duty on capital machinery confirms their monopoly, while the inflation which is being generated will, at least for the time being, swell their profits. At the same time, the Industries Minister has explained that all the foreign exchange required for raw materials and components will be obtained, as if it was capital investment. Secondly, the Government have put out statistics to show that the duties imposed are minimal and such rise as has occurred is transient, due to profiteering. Thirdly, as the food prices are said to decline because of the abundance of grain, the Finance Minister may even argue that the fall must be broken by inflationary tendencies in other articles. Fourthly, there are many who expect advantage from increased expenditure of the Government. The Finance Minister may therefore be on a wicket which cannot be easily taken by merely attacking his taxes and loans.

The question is if an attack can be mounted against the use to be made of these taxes, that is, against the grants for the various Ministries which the Finance Minister will move? If these are shown to be misconceived and wasteful, the proposals for taxation will collapse from being unnecessary. This requires, first, a common front of the Opposition parties, perhaps fellow-travellers being excluded, second, a detailed study not only of the grants but of the results they have achieved so far. Unless this is organised, legislators may fall over each

other, without bringing out their common objections to the extravagance of the Government evident in the rise of its expenditure under the Revenue budget alone, from 457 crores to 840 crores, by 80 per cent, during the five years of the Second Plan.

The largest part of Government expenditure is on State Enterprises. On Industries, this expenditure has been in the total of 505.58 crores, on which the percentage of profit expected in 1961-62 is only 0.51 per cent. Even this is a misleading average because investment of nearly 350 crores, including steel factories, show no profit, while the State Trading Corporation which has been exploiting its monopoly, particularly in cement in which it collects a surcharge of about 5 crores, shows 9 per cent and national coal, which is exploiting the shortage created by the Government themselves by banning private mining, claims 6.5 per cent. Of the remaining four companies which will make profits, Hind Machine Tools expect 5 per cent, Tel. Industries 2.5 per cent, Hind Cables 2 per cent and Fertilisers 1.7 per cent, which is shocking compared with the return on industrial securities exceeding 6 per cent, which do not enjoy the monopoly of these State industries. The legislators should press that all new projects in the Plan should initially be offered to private enterprise, consistently with the Finance Minister's own assurance that Government will not undertake whatever the people are willing and able to do, and second, that all existing State enterprises may be gradually denationalised so that the loans and taxes of the people do not continue to be engaged in infructuous managements.

Other State Enterprises present a worse picture. For all the expenditure of the first and second Plans, Railways, Civil Aviation, Irrigation at the Centre and Elec-

tricity, Transport and Industries in the States are contributing less to the budget than they did in 1951-52. Considering that this decline has coincided with an unprecedented increase in investment, with a general increase in rates and third with inflation, which has boosted every income, the Finance Minister must be challenged to justify the dedication of Government to State enterprise.

In respect of Agriculture, on which 1,400 crores have been spent, the Finance Minister should be challenged to explain, why when in 1954, according to the Economic Survey to the Budget itself a net cereal production of 50.99 million tons was excessive to the point that export was allowed and imports were in the total of only 0.8 million tons and the price index was only 67, now with the spectacular increase claimed it is necessary to import 5 million tons and the price index is about 105. Either the increase claimed is false or the production has fallen in spite of the expenditure.

In respect of Social Services, every one is aware that schools are without teachers and hospitals are without doctors and in spite of the steep rise in costs, neither patients nor students are cured or educated. The stress on numbers more than on quality is too childish to be becoming of Government.

The country spends a great deal on its legislators. It is true that those in the Opposition are subject to a feeling of frustration from the overwhelming majority of the Congress. Nonetheless if they can face the Government with the logic of statistics, it may be possible to stop the Government from deceiving itself and the people that more taxes mean more development, when in fact the more is taken from the people, the less is available for the development of which they are themselves capable. It may not be possible to defeat the Finance Minister but the public should see him as he is, and may be, he will see himself as the public sees him.

MY FRIEND RAMA RAO

By K. ISWARA DUTT

*And Balram that Great Hunter—the Wild Ass
Stamps o'er his Head, and he lies fast asleep.*

EDWARD FITZGERALD (*Omar Khayyam*).

My friend Kotamraju Rama Rao had all the qualities of a great hunter: he was direct, dynamic and daring; he loved the big game; he was wont to stake his all in its pursuit, without fear and without regret. Call it fate or destiny, something seemed to stamp over the man all on a sudden, and today "he lies fast asleep", having done with this world which was none too kind to him. He was not too old to die; he was hardly 65. He died on his way from Patna to Lucknow, literally by the railway track while (it may be recalled) in 1947, his elder brother, Punnaiah, had collapsed by the roadside in Bombay. We, poor mortals, can only marvel at the mystery of life and the inscrutability of Providence.

Here were two men from Chhara in Andhra Pradesh, who, each in his own way, made Fleet Street history. As Editor, for long years, of the *Sind Observer*, Punnaiah was a considerable figure in Sind; he so much dominated the public and civic life of Karachi that a part of the city was once called Punnaiah Nagar. It was the shock of the Partition (and all that it meant to him individually) that hastened the end of the man who represented a great editorial tradition. Rama Rao was so much unlike his brother, in the matter of striking roots somewhere.

Having begun his journalistic career in Karachi in 1919-20, he just let himself be wafted by winds with all their uncertainty. Perhaps there was none in our annals, but for one glaring exception, whose journalistic career had the same cyclonic sweep as Rama Rao's. Not that he loved to move about, nor that he asked for too many changes, but somehow the planetary conjunction over his head refused to register anything like a stand-still. Things would

not simply happen that way. Under his gaze, even mere rippling brooks would become roaring torrents, as a kind of tribute to his dauntless spirit and his power of survival.

Rama Rao once gave me a chart, quite descriptive of his amazing record in our journalism—with names of the various papers he worked on (and for) as well as of those he edited, the duration of the periods of service, the intervals of unemployment, and of his resignations (which a Cabinet Minister might envy) and dismissals (which should make a trade union leader blush). And how he had taken them all in his stride, made an exciting story.

It was as the first Editor of *National Herald*, Lucknow, that he rose to fame. The temper of the times suited a man of his own temperament best. Journalism then meant storming the citadels of power; leader-writing was ceaseless firing. And Rama Rao knew what it was to shout and to snarl, whether through headlines or editorial declamations. There was nothing half-hearted in the howl he raised against Hallet. Journalistically, he compelled attention; politically, he invited trouble. To him it was all part of the game—the big game that appealed to his primitive instincts.

Party journalism found him so combative—and he made it so controversial—that there was little time for him, nor was he in a mood, to pause or reflect, in the interests, either of balanced judgment or of qualitative writing. Over something in the day he would lose his temper and then send for the steno to 'fire off' the editorial. If the piece did justice to his feelings, it also accounted

NEGATIVE

The all-out interference of the ruling Party in the life of the people including trade, transport, industry and agriculture, closely approaching the totalitarian way of governance, compels the opposition to follow a policy of total resistance to this, which gives to it the appearance superficially described as 'negative'. The most positive policy for any party or group of people determined to oppose the totalitarian policy of the Congress Party is the democratic negative of it. There can be nothing more definite or concrete than freedom of occupation, sacredness of contract and property, and freedom and security for individual energy. The freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution of 1950 must be restored in full. To give this the derogatory name of 'negative' is to walk into the totalitarian trap. The reign of controls, the policy of selling monopolies to the favoured and other connected consequences of totalitarianist rule are all very 'positive' no doubt, but they are positively injurious to the nation. Opposition to foreign rule was Swaraj. Opposition to the totalitarian stranglehold over individual life is Swatantra; and the Swatantra party is dedicated to this.

The nation will progress and prosper by virtue of its inherent vitality. What is wanted is that the removal of the adverse force of foreign rule should be followed up by the elimination of the incubus of state restrictions which are worse than the foreign rule from which we have been emancipated.

C.R.

March 18, 1961

for some of his failings. His whole interest lay in plunging into the day's task with quite a terrific intensity. It was this amiable excess that had not often got him into scrapes in a profession where the editorial path was so much beset by pitfalls.

Rama Rao was a fearless editor, but it is more as a tireless journalist that he will be best remembered. For, whether he worked on a paper or not, his interest was not confined to any single one. He ran his eye through every paper that came his way as if he was in charge of it and was personally responsible for its lapses or limitations. It is only a professional who could understand it best if he had ever happened to collect

a newspaper back from Rama Rao after he had gone through it with his meticulous eye and the notorious blue (or red) pencil. It would just give one the creeps.

Rama Rao knew so much of the journalistic technique, and he had such passion for technical perfection, that it was difficult to stand up to him while, of course, for anyone on his own staff, it was not safe either to stand within striking distance. No editor could boast of having flung more ink-bottles into the air or got more subs by the neck. Northcliffe would have been delighted to see Rama Rao in action. And yet, for all his volcanic rage over grammatical lapses or idiomatic errors or wrong usage of words or dull

headlines, there were few so forgiving, so large-hearted, and so compassionate.

Rama Rao who started life as a tutor in the Pachappa's College, Madras, had a passion for teaching—and no journalist of our day in this country could claim half his credit in his endeavours to teach the journalistic aspirants, train them and, as the phrase goes, lick them into shape. And those who knew how to endure his momentary explosions, always stood to gain. He was untiring in canvassing for those who swore by him. He loved to refer to them as 'my boys'; he indeed tried to hawk them on his shoulders and distribute them in the newspaper offices where there was some appreciation of his methods. There was none in our ranks who could be more readily described as a Walking School of Journalism.

Some of us had a feeling that, by being too much obsessed with 'log-books' and 'style-sheets', he was missing the higher things in journalism like cultivated craftsmanship and editorial personality. Yet he could thunder for a cause. He was in his element when he flung himself into the day's campaign as its hot gossamer. There was in him something reminiscent of Garvin's flamboyance and Stead's crusading fervour and, in what he said or permitted himself to say, there were "no half tones, no subtle nuances or delicate reticences". He could even be reckless in shocking proprieties. The joy of battle was the breath of his nostrils, and it was both a tragedy and his glory that he walked the pavements of Fleet Street with bleeding feet.

In life too, as in journalism, Rama Rao's was a chequered journey. It was an irony that when the hour struck for his emergence into a Parliamentarian, he found himself, not in the Lok Sabha where he would have been a challenging figure but into the other House where the emphasis was on suavity and sedateness. An orator since his undergraduate days, he swept the elders off their feet by his eloquence which, in him as a

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writing man by profession, was unsuspected. Unluckily, his term was far too brief and the party which had sent him there, little realised the importance of brilliant talent so long as it could rely for its survival on mere strength of numbers.

And such assignments as he had to take up later as a wage-earner, hardly suited his peculiar gifts and difficult temperament. Want of adequate opportunities and loss of peace of mind accounted for much of the unhappiness that affected his health and undermined his system. And one had only to see him, in what were his last years, to be convinced of his reluctant surrender to fatalism that began to corrode a spirit which had already been subdued by life's grim realities. A lion-hearted fighter, whether it was adversity or ill-health, he fought till the inevitable end, with a courage and a resoluteness that one could not but admire. And till his last breath remained the gusto which so much distinguished his journalism.

There was something rare in Rama Rao as a man and rarer still as a friend. A Brahmo by faith, he was yet no theist. He loved good food but hated to bother about apparel. His tongue often betrayed him into indiscretions while in his heart there was never any bitterness. In regard to his own comfort he was known to stint but never was he known to have turned out one who needed his help. Rama Rao had an amazing capacity to neglect himself. He was extremely forgetful; he could venture into the streets without carrying a purse; he could throw away half the papers on which he scribbled notes before the moment arrived for their use; he could write a letter to one and address it to someone else!

It is my proud privilege to have known him not only for perhaps the longest number of years but with an unequalled intimacy. We were boyhood friends and our

SWARAJYA

friendship extended beyond half a century. It began in my hometown Rajahmundry where in 1909 he came for his early studies. As my father's pupil, his was the lifelong gratification that English grammar was literally whipped into him. If in those far-off years Rama Rao became a part of my household, he later earned the right to be a kind of guardian angel. He made my home his own and there was no place on earth which he would more readily frequent, standing on no ceremonies, inviting himself to a meal whenever he liked, and, just like him, dictating the menu earlier on the phone! He was the only friend who could take liberties with my books and scatter them pell-mell, fully conscious of the violence he was thereby doing to my feelings. He had a way of spreading himself in the most unconventional way, shouting at the top of his voice his unorthodox opinions, or reeling off verses from the *Mahabharat* for which he had a real passion.

He was so warm-hearted and high-spirited, and so vital and lovable, a being. There are many who will mourn the loss of a distinguished journalist and a dear friend. My loss is much more personal; it is far too deep for tears. My own little world is, alas, terribly shrunk.

A Delusion

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

BERTRAND RUSSELL in *Sceptical Essays*.

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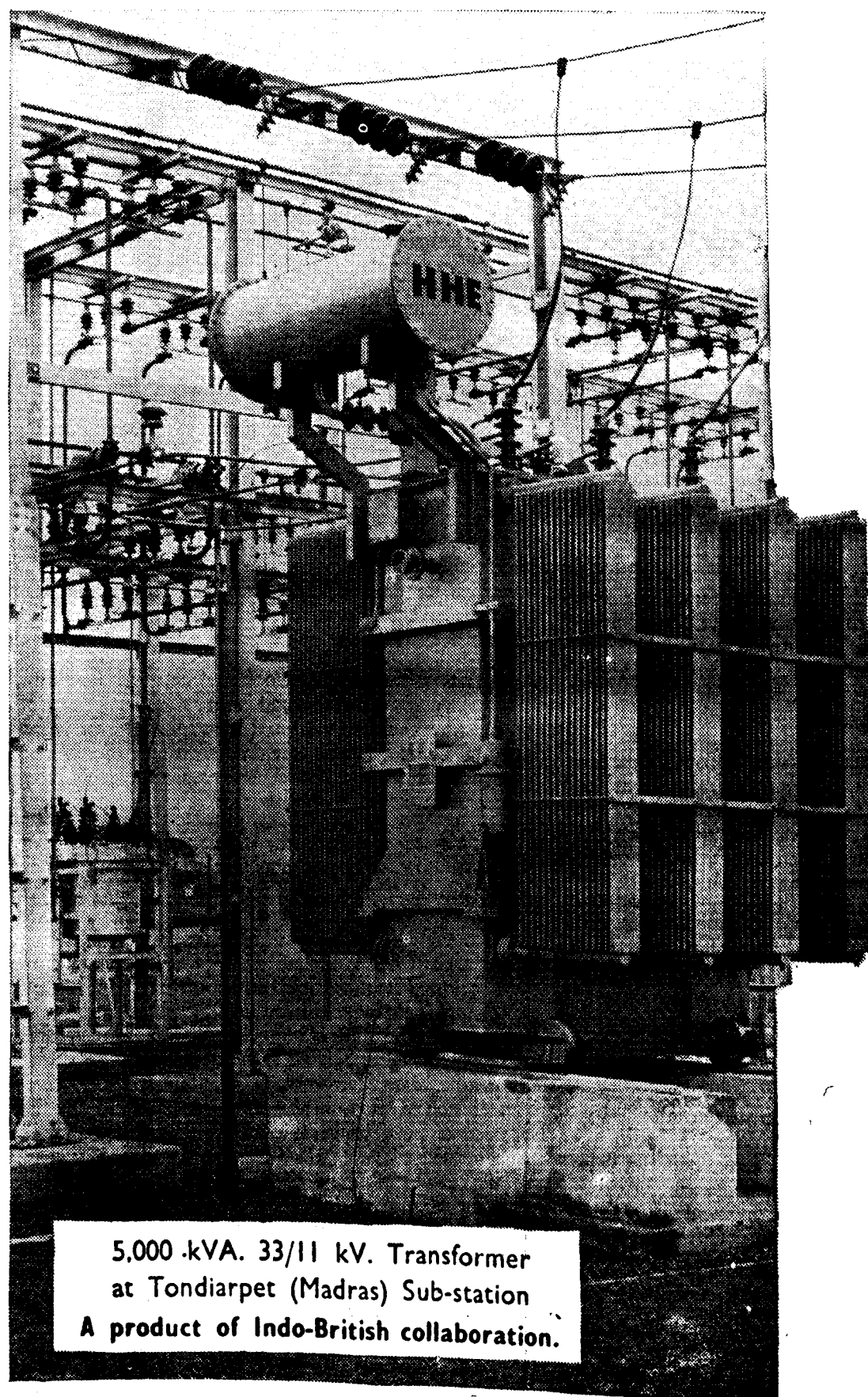
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FOOD-PRODUCTION AND THE SECOND PLAN

By K. N. SRIVATSAN

It is now claimed in official circles that the target of food-grains production set for the period of the Second Five Year Plan has been achieved and it is forecast that the year 1960-61 will witness an unprecedented harvest of 76 million tons of food-grains. Let us see whether these claims are justified. To sum up the progress in the field of agriculture during the Second Plan, it will be convenient to compare it with the situation in the last year of the First Plan i.e., 1955-56. During the 14 years of Congress rule, there stand out only two years, 1954-55 and 1955-56, during which the import of food grains was at its minimum, the

import being 0.5 and 0.3 million tons respectively. Thus it is clear that India was more or less self-sufficient in food-grains in the last year of the First Plan. Leaving aside the first two years of the Second Plan when the monsoons were unfavourable for agriculture, whatever progress has been achieved during the plan must have been achieved during the last three years of the plan. The following table gives the quantities of food-grains produced in India, food-imports and the total food supply in India during the last three years of the second plan along with percentage increase of food production and food supply over those in 1955-56:

Table 1: Food supply in India.

Year	Food production in India		Total food supply	
	Quantity (in m. tons)	Percentage increase over that in 1955-56	Quantity (in m. tons)	Percentage increase over that in 1955-56
1955-56	65.8	—	66.1	—
1958-59	75.5	15	79.0	20
1959-60	71.8	9	74.8	13
1960-61	76.0	16	79.0	20

The above table clearly shows that the increase in food-production (over that in 1955-56) was never less than 9 per cent during each of the last three years of the second plan and it was in fact as large as 15 per cent in 1958-59 and would be 16 per cent in 1960-61. Taking the rate of increase of population as 2 per cent given in the latest

Economic Survey (issued along with the budget of 1961-62), it should be obvious that the increase in food-production was, at no stage, less than the increase in population during the last three years. This should, naturally result in large surplus of food-grains (both indigenous and imported) which has been worked out in the following table:

Table 2:

Year	Percentage increase in population since 1955-56	Production of food-grains (as % of food supply in the year 1955-56)	Surplus food production (in million tons)	Total surplus including imports (in m. tons)
1958-59	6	114.2	5.4	8.9
1959-60	8	103.6	0.4	3.4
1960-61	10	115.0	3.3	6.3

Million tons.
Average total annual surplus 6.2
Total surplus during 1958-61 18.6

Thus, we would have on the average, about 6 million tons of annual surplus food during the last three years, after meeting the additional requirements due to the increase in population at the rate of consumption of food, prevalent in 1955-56 during which India was

self-sufficient in food-grains. The latest Economic Survey of the Finance Minister mentions that Government has at present a stock 2.8 million tons of food-grains including 1 million tons of rice. If we subtract this stock from the total surplus food-supply i.e. 18.6 million tons, we get 15.8 million tons of total net surplus during 1958-61. What has happened to this huge surplus? Why

was not a part of this surplus used to build up the needed buffer stock of 5 million tons? How is it that we go on importing food-grains inspite of surplus food-production in India during the last three years? These are really very inconvenient queries. "Experts" have, of course, some 'arguments' to meet these queries. Let us analyse them.

It is sometimes stated that the surplus food produced is held back by farmers and traders in the expectation of high prices. Can this be true? Is it possible for farmers and traders to go on hoarding the surplus food-grains year after year for three years, thus only reducing the chances of getting, even fair prices in the face of heavy imports? No, certainly not. It is also stated that people in India might be consuming more food per person during the second half of the second plan period than what they did in 1955-56 thus leaving no surplus at all. This is only a hunch, not supported by any facts or figures. In fact, contrary may be the situation. The per capita real income in India during 1958-59 did not register increase of more than 7 per cent over that during 1955-56 and the latest data on prices of food show that the whole-sale price index for cereals rose by 40 per cent between 1955 and 1960 and the consumer price index for food also rose by 25 per cent between 1955 and 1959. Thus when the increase in the price of food grains is much more than the increase in real income no sensible person can expect a spectacular increase in consumption of food per head liquidating all the surplus food (including imports). There is another hunch that the imported food contains mostly wheat and no "coarse" grains and this might have been necessary because of possible gravitation of a section of population towards rice and wheat. Here again no facts or figures can be cited in support. The situation given in the hunch appears improbable, if we study the latest data on production of wheat and rice during the years 1958-59 to 1960-61 compared to that in 1955-56.

Table 3:

Percentage increase in production of wheat and rice (Base year 1955-56).

Year	Wheat	Rice
1958-59	13.3	10.9
1959-60	12.9	8.1
1961-62	Not available	14.2

When the "coarse-grain" eating people in the rice zones did not seem to gravitate towards rice whose production did not increase as much as wheat production, it seems improbable that "coarse-grain" eaters in wheat zones

would have plumped for wheat with such rapidity that more than 14 million tons of wheat had to be imported during the second plan period.

Then, what really has happened to the huge surplus (both indigenous and imported) food amounting 18.6 million tons during the last three years of the second plan? How to account for the paradox of having surplus food production and simultaneously heavy imports of food grains? But there is no paradox at all if only one particular point is taken into account. The aim of this note is to state that point.

When it is stated that so much of steel was produced or so much of textiles was manufactured during a period, then this statement is a factual one based on complete accounting of the commodity in question. But when it is stated that 75.5 million tons of food-grains were produced during the year 1958-59, it is not a factual statement in the sense that food-grains were not counted to the last ton as is done in the case of steel. The data on food-grain-production in India are actually, at best, intelligent estimates based on a sample survey of crop-cutting in a few sample plots spread over the country. First a couple of plots less than an acre in a sample revenue village is studied and the yield rate of these plots is applied to thousands of acres without considering the soil-type, irrigation if any, application of manure if

any, etc. in the process of estimation of yield over the total area. Whatever figure of agricultural production for all-India we thus estimate is after all a figure, not a fact; the actual food-production may be anything. If two such sample surveys on two series of sample plots are carried, the two resulting figures of production for All-India need not agree. This, in fact, happened according to Dr. P.S. Lokanathan who, addressing the Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics recently pointed out that there are wide variations in the two sets of figures of food production, one official given by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the other by the National Sample Survey Organisation, e.g. paddy production during 1958-59 in Orissa increased by 18 per cent over that in 1957-58 according to the Ministry while the corresponding N.S.S. figure is 52.2 per cent. The conclusion is that the rise in agricultural production claimed during the second plan may, in fact, be nothing more than a statistical make-believe, based on sample surveys which surely are no substitutes for total accounting. The only firm indicators of food-production in India are data on the ruling market prices of food grains, on the import of food and on the stocks of grains. These data do not show any marked improvement in agriculture during the second plan such as is claimed by the Government to produce more votes next year.

WORLD OF BUSINESS

The International Finance Corporation of Washington has programmed to invest U.S. \$ 210,000 in KSB Pumps Private Ltd., of Bombay, India to help finance the construction and operation of a plant at Pimpri, near Poona, for the manufacture of special-purpose pumps. Principal shareholder is Klein, Schanzlin & Becker AG (KSB) of Frankfurt, Germany. This firm was formed in 1871 and is today a leading manufacturer of a wide range of pumps, compressors, and valves. Other shareholders are: The Industrial and Prudential Investment Co., Ltd., of Bombay; The New India Development Corporation Private Ltd.; and a private investor. KSB will be responsible for construction of the plant, and for the Indian company's management and technical direction. Production is planned at about 800 pumps annually, and is expected to begin in 1962. Total cost of the project is estimated at \$ 630,000 in U.S. dollars and dollar equipment.

The IFC investment of \$ 210,000 is in unsecured dollar notes bearing 7 per cent payable in dollars, and maturing between 1966 and 1971. IFC will also be entitled to receive additional interest in rupees related to profits.

A repeat order for 150 Ashok Leyland Comet ECP02/IR 203 wheel-base passenger chassis valued at over Rs. 50,00,000 has been placed by the Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation on Ashok Leyland Ltd.

Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation are steady buyers of Ashok Leyland Comet vehicles and ever since the Corporation was formed late in 1956, they have placed in service or have ordered over 600 Comet buses.

Indian foreign trade in January showed a deficit of Rs. 26.88 crores as against Rs. 5.59 crores in December, 1960. Exports fell down in January to Rs. 53.84 crores when compared to exports in December amounting to Rs. 69.21 crores. Imports again shot up to Rs. 83.42 crores in January as against Rs. 75.55 crores in December 1960. Totals of foreign trade for the first ten months from April 1, 1960 to January 31, 1961 are: Exports Rs. 527.24 crores as against Rs. 531.22 crores during the corresponding ten months of 1959-60. Re-exports were Rs. 9.18 crores as against Rs. 6.51 crores and Imports Rs. 839.38 crores as against Rs. 781.16 crores, leaving a deficit of trade balance of Rs. 302.96 crores as against a deficit of Rs. 243.43 in 1959-60.

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HILAIRE BELLOC

By SRIVATSA

An aggressive author who has no literary gifts to sustain him seldom lasts long. Violence of thought and language may recommend a writer to his age, but posterity loses interest in him except, perhaps, as a curiosity. Carlyle spoke and wrote strongly. At his best he was like an inspired prophet of the Hebrews; at his worst he was like a tub-thumping orator. While his portentous volumes on Frederick the Great have sunk beneath their own dead weight, the prophetic inspiration of "Past and Present" keeps it alive. To take another example, the controversy over the letters of Phalaris was conducted with remarkable, even breathtaking, acrimony. The controversialists gave no quarter to their opponents and expected none for themselves. Yet, only one book of all that controversy is read today, Swift's "Battle of the Books".

Before the two world wars and the nuclear bombs made violence the breath of our life, when the English-speaking world still basked in the glow of Victorianism, Hilaire Belloc supplied minoritiness to English letters. Part Frenchman, he cherished violent prejudices and expressed them vehemently. He could not abide Jews, he could not tolerate Freemasons, for Socialists he had scorn, for parliamentary politics he had an obscure hatred, of financiers he had open scorn. The list could be lengthened. It seems inconceivable that one individual could hate so much. One would think that this accumulation of hatred must have corroded his soul. If, on the contrary, Belloc is still read today, that is due to the instinctive genius which this very individual author undoubtedly possessed.

Belloc wrote much. He could affect to be omniscient. (He was undoubtedly a scholar in many fields. But, as readers of A. G. Gardiner's sketch of him will recall, even Homer could nod). There are no subtle nuances in his writings; all is bare, direct, not unoften brutal. Sometimes, his disapprobation of so many men and things cultivated irony as its medium. This was only another form of the detestation he felt of those who stood against the light. He had little use for the presumption that, because a politician's policies are wrong, he need not also be a bad man, a villain, a scoundrel. His hatred was often insensate. One might sometimes wonder whether, as with Swift, his loathing would not cross the limit. But Belloc never descended to the story of the Houbynynms. He had his faith to sustain him. His Roman Catholicism, like that of his great friend, Gilbert Chesterton, was strongly held. It was the clue to the man. He disliked Germans mainly because they were and are Protestants, he hated Dreyfus because he was a Jew. But the positive side of the man is that classic, "The Path to Rome".

While it is impossible not to feel passionately about Belloc, one way or the other, it is still not difficult to retrieve him purely as a man of letters. He has much that is rewarding here. He wrote many memorable books, but "The Path to Rome" must be considered the best of them. The spur of religion acting on him, he gives a free rein to the gentler among his thoughts and feelings, and the result is a wholly delectable book of travel. "The Cruise

of the Nona" showed him equally at home on water.

The ironic novels will be read with delight, though the insistence on political corruption and the misdeeds of financiers may be rather wearisome. "But Soft, We Are Observed" (a book which was illustrated by Chesterton) deals very harshly indeed with the wretched politicians, but our withers are unwrung. Misdeeds of Ministers are not precisely unfamiliar, and it only remains to savour the irony of it all. "Emmanuel Burden" is to be regarded less as an exposure of the pretence and fraud of politics and the manoeuvres of captains of commerce and industry than as an essay in sarcastic writing. Mr. Burden, a worthy merchant, climbs to dizzy heights and is courted on all sides. His ascent is recorded with the author's tongue in his cheek. It is true that there are occasions when Belloc's sarcastic forbearance seems unable to hold itself any longer and becomes likely to burst into the *saevo indignatio* of Swift. But, fortunately, the author recovers in time, and the deceptively respectful narrative continues apace.

Belloc carried the war into the enemy's camp also with the twanging the lyre.

"Prince, if you meet a man in the bus,
Who makes a great display
Of Dr. Haeckel, argue thus;
The wind has blown them away".

Thus is the whole breed of scientists, who interfere with Belloc's conception of religion, silenced. The verse he and his group (which included Gilbert Chesterton, the latter's brother, Cecil, and E. C. Bentley) used with considerable effect in their frequent controversies. His "Cautionary Verses" are rather an application of his ironic novels to his present purpose. They are biting, perhaps sometimes unjust, but always readable.

The magnitude of Belloc's genius (which I have attempted rather feebly to sketch) may be judged from the fact that he overcame his crippling hatreds. The hatred of yesterday is rather a pale thing today, but is likely to interfere with appreciation by its irrelevance and obtrusiveness. In Belloc's favour it is valid to argue that the objects of his hatred are perennial; they are still with us. Nevertheless, opponents of democracy will not go to his books (he gave expression to some interesting political concepts like the corporate State). He is enjoyed purely as a writer. Here his strength, his vivacity stand him in good stead.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

PILLAR OF STATE AND COLUMN OF CONGRESS

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The angry passions over the incidents in Karachi, the tender feelings at the time of the Queen's farewell, the psychological irritations over Mr. Morarji Desai's budget—all have yielded place to a sense of anguish as life has finally ebbed out of Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant. Nothing else was so characteristic of the man as his very resistance to death in what threatened to be a vain struggle. One knew that the end was nearing and yet no one seemed to be able to bear the shock with a fortitude equal to its intensity and impact. For, it would be exceedingly hard to be reconciled to Delhi without Mr. Pant or to the State without that pillar of strength.

The blow falls at its heaviest on his own Uttar Pradesh where he strode like a Colossus over the Kumaon hills and the Gangetic plains, with a Maharashtrian profile. For in him the Kumaon hardness was allied to mental resources, essentially reminiscent of the Peshwas of the land of his forbears. On the public stage he first came into prominence as the ablest member of the U.P. Legislative Council, next only to Chintamani, and later as a member of the Central Assembly with an eloquence, not inferior in quality to Bhulabhai Desai's or in fervour to Satyamurti's. His courage, no less physical than moral, in receiving lathi blows in a boycott demonstration in Lucknow on the occasion of the visit of the Simon Commission, marked him out as a hero by the side of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru while since then he had been the victim of a grievous malady.

Mr. Pant's hegemony in Uttar Pradesh as its Chief Minister whenever the Congress was in office from 1936 to 1947 and from then onwards till 1954, is now a part of its history. There was no

of coercion in his domination: it stemmed out of his unflinching persuasiveness. He would not throw men out like a pugilist; he would move them like pawns on the chessboard. There was nothing of the dictator in him; he was essentially a diplomat. Here in Delhi, in charge of 'Home' and by the side of Mr. Nehru he was so much in his element, whether it was a matter of tiding over difficult situations or one of handling inconvenient men. And such was his genius for state-craft that people preferred to walk gently into his 'parlour', knowing that they were bound to be found there ultimately! It was he who had given the Nehru Government in the last few years an unknown stability and to Mr. Nehru himself an equally unknown strength. Great as is the loss to the nation and greater the individual loss to Mr. Nehru, it is to the Congress that the loss is the greatest, for there is none left there now who could so adroitly and half so surely manage its affairs, from the point of view of its organisational implications as well as its intricacies. Not since the death of Sardar Patel has the Congress been more grievously affected. And there is even more than what appears on the surface, for Mr. Pant's control of the Congress *within the context of the Nehru leadership*, was much more real than Sardar Patel's could possibly have been. Today if the nation is poorer by the passing of Mr. Pant, the Prime Minister is a much lonelier man.

The Home Office has fallen to Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri with a sense of inevitability. What was taken as an interim step had in it a more enduring element. For, there is none in the Congress to whom Mr. Nehru could have so readily turned for guarding the home-front. There are men with equal experience in the party;

perhaps abler ones too, but none who come anywhere near Mr. Shastri in evoking a wider measure of acceptability in the ranks or striking a surer chord in the bosom of its leader. On the Congress front, his name has become a synonym for reliability. And today Mr. Nehru knows that he needs, particularly nearer him, one or two men in whom he could at once confide and on whom he could instinctively lean. It is thus that the unobtrusive Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri happens to be behind the footlights on the Nehru stage.

It is not unlikely that there will be ere long a Cabinet re-shuffle. Commerce and Industry will need a new chief in succession to Mr. Shastri. It seems that Mr. Nityanand Kanungo is ruled out for one reason and Mr. Manubhai Shah for another—for it is not always that acceptability and ability go together. There is already a proposal to combine the Ministries of Education and of Scientific Research and Cultural Relations as in the days of the Maulana Saheb. It will mean Cabinet rank to the one who will hold them together. It is perhaps premature to talk of other changes at other levels, but one thing is certain: things are beginning to change. Incidentally it may mean changes for the better as well as for the worse, but it is all in the process. In either case, the Prime Minister will have acted more on his own. That seems to be inevitable in the post-Pant phase of the Nehru era.

Political atmosphere in Delhi was electric when for a second time the veteran founder-leader of the Swatantra Party made a public appearance and exhorted the citizens to throw the Congress out of office. A packed audience listened to him with rapt attention and there was none that was not thrilled by the fervour with which Rajaji made the exit of Congressmen from the citadels of power as much a moral issue as a political one. It was exhilarating

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

MOBILIZE AND ACT OR PERISH

Sir,—The middle-class is said to be the back-bone of democracy but ironically enough, in this country, it is this class which, alas! by its own lapses, has become the worst victim of the present pseudo-democratic administration and is practically facing extinction. If it wants to save itself from the catastrophe, it should bestir and mobilize itself into a non-political forum. By remaining non-political, the forum can absorb in its fold the multitude of professional men and women who form the bulk of the middle class for whom active politics is taboo as well as those who are allergic to politics, while at the same time it can resist political exploitation and become a powerful force to be reckoned with in the formulation of national policies and in the governance of the country generally. Further, if all the middle-class people in the country rally under one non-political banner, they will become a unifying force breaking all the parochial, lingual and communal barriers assiduously erected by unscrupulous and power-mad politicians which are eating into the very vitals of the nation.

This appears to be the only means whereby the middle-class in this country can survive and any further inaction on its part to unite and mobilize will be not only suicidal but fatal to democracy.

to find his remarkable clarity and remorseless logic as unabated as ever. The occasion was particularly memorable as it marked a new phase in Indian politics, for, after considerable deliberation, the Swatantra Party decided to contest the by-election in Delhi (for the seat in the Lok Sabha vacated by Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani on her migration to Uttar Pradesh in ministerial robes), as a prelude to the coming major conflict at the polls in the General Elections. The Swatantra choice fell on Mrs. Manmohini Sehgal while the Congress rather waywardly picked up Rana Jung Bahadur, a non-Congress M.L.A. in the former Delhi State whom the local press described as "journalist, publicist, fellow-traveller". His appearance on the scene as the nominee of a group rather than of a united party, at a time when

From the unmistakable totalitarian trend of the ruling Congress Party, it is clear that another lease to it will ring the knell to democracy in this country. With the next general elections hardly a year ahead, the middle-class intelligentsia must now address itself urgently to the task of explaining to the vast illiterate and ignorant masses the true historical background of the country's independence, how Congressmen are holding them hypnotised by grossly exaggerated and palpably false claims, how seemingly beneficial schemes like Block Developments are but fraudulent and cunning devices being implemented at enormous waste of public funds squeezed out of an overtaxed and groaning nation for the purpose of strengthening the Party hierarchy and how every vote cast and every pie donated in favour of any party that holds egalitarian or state socialism as its ideal will only mean one more sure knot round the neck of individual freedom and liberty. It must address itself urgently to the task of explaining to all classes of labour that they are being pampered as potential instruments in the class war that has been set afoot only to be converted ultimately into a huge slave force to be driven by the party bosses who will assume control of the governance of the country as in Russia and China. It

the High Command was distracted by Mr. Pant's critical illness and Mr. Nehru by pre-occupations, has become so controversial even inside the party as to leave the High Command exceedingly rattled and helplessly committed.

The by-election has aroused interest in the city as it provides for the first time an opportunity for the new Swatantra Party to measure its strength with the Congress and too, at the very capital where the assertion of, or resistance to, authority, acquires an immediate as well as unusual significance. It should hearten Mrs. Sehgal to read the forecast in a Delhi weekly that by its "most inappropriate choice of candidate", the Congress has "every chance of losing the by-election". Her opponent, however, is as tough as colourful and he can be

must ensure that only persons of undoubted integrity, character and ability with deep respect for human rights and Dharma are returned through the polls.

Only thus can democracy be saved in this country and this is the urgent task that is facing the middle-class intelligentsia. The task, no doubt, is stupendous but given the will and co-operative effort statewide, it is not impossible to achieve. The writing on the wall is clear enough for the middle-class to read. It reads "Mobilize and Act or Perish". P. S. KRISHNASWAMY.

MIDDAY MEALS SCHEME

Sir,—The teachers get circulars from the high-ups of the Department to strain their nerves to make the "Scheme" and the new drama "Dress giving function" a success. Of course, the teachers obey, taking it all as a part of their duty, and the efforts of these ill-paid ill-respected and poor teachers earn a good name to the man at the top who tries to get himself "wire pulled" to the centre. The efforts of the teachers are not even recognised, much less rewarded.

The teachers cannot discharge their normal and primary duty of "instruction" in the class room; They are, so to say, driven out in the street, with a bowl in hand, to get donations, (either in kind or in cash) while the little hungry (for the acquisition of knowledge)

expected to make things lively before they will meet at "Philippi". Nobody is to blame if now, as a Congress candidate, the bonnie Rana Jang Bahadur excites the amusement of the electorate. In 1952 when he stood for the Delhi Assembly as an Independent he hit the headlines by carrying in one hand a lantern in broad daylight while ringing a bell with the other. He left no voter in doubt as to what he meant. The bell was to rouse the people from their political slumber—well, as for the lantern, it was needed even in daylight to see if there were any traces of democracy in the Congress regime! Now, it seems, Rana Jang Bahadur has seen light. On the High Command wisdom, in having absorbed him into its own bosom which is so catholic and capacious, it is not for non-Congress-men to comment.

children are left to the mercy of their "little democracy".

This is, what is actually taking place in this part of the country. Can anything be done to prevent such a practice? V. NATESAN.

COERCION IN SALE OF PRIZE BONDS

Sir,—Employees of the local bodies such as teachers, doctors, P.W.D. men and others are coerced to buy prize bonds beyond their capacity by the concerned heads of the institution or office, who in their turn are threatened by their superiors with dire consequences, if they fail to push up the sales and reach the target fixed.

As such, heads of the institutions are in a dilemma. Either way they have to incur the displeasure. It is the displeasure of the employees if they are forced to buy the bonds; it is the displeasure of the officials if they fail to push up the sales.

Employees are thus placed in a dilemma. Not being very vocal they suffer in silence. VANCHI.

WELFARE STATE INDEED!

Sir,—Sri S. K. Patil made the alarming disclosure in the Rajya Sabha that the country had to lose a crore and thirty lakhs over the export of Indian sugar. One might feel flabbergasted by the news for no nation or individual willingly suffer loss through exports which are made generally only for profit. But here we are told, in unagitated tones by Sri Patil that while the inland price of sugar is Rs. 700 per ton the export price is only Rs. 400 per ton!

The utter callousness of such an export policy leaves one almost stunned. Can there be a worse kind of political insanity than to incur loss over exports and ask the people—don't forget this—of a welfare state to bear? Could not the government have released the surplus sugar for the inland market at this lower export-price and ask the people to bear the loss? But the Government are, it seems afraid to bring down the inland prices and anxious to keep it up at any cost. Surely this seems to be an odd way of holding the price-line! X.Y.Z.

UNITARY GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

Sir,—The internal dissensions arising out of groupism, linguism and casteism have gained volume only after we attained Independence. The pre-Inde-

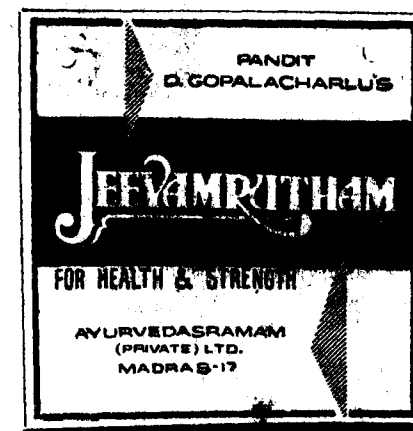
pendence idealism of selfless work, political honesty and sacrifice which Congressmen were famous for, has largely disappeared and what now attracts people to a political career are the power, influence and patronage that go along with it. The great scramble we see around us for becoming Ministers and members of the legislature is mainly for wielding influence and patronage. Any means to get elected to legislature are good enough and the easiest way of catching votes is to fan group, caste and linguistic rivalries and abuse political opponents in the vilest terms. The honourable and arduous way of doing selfless service to the people and gaining their approbation before going to them for votes do not appeal to the present day politicians.

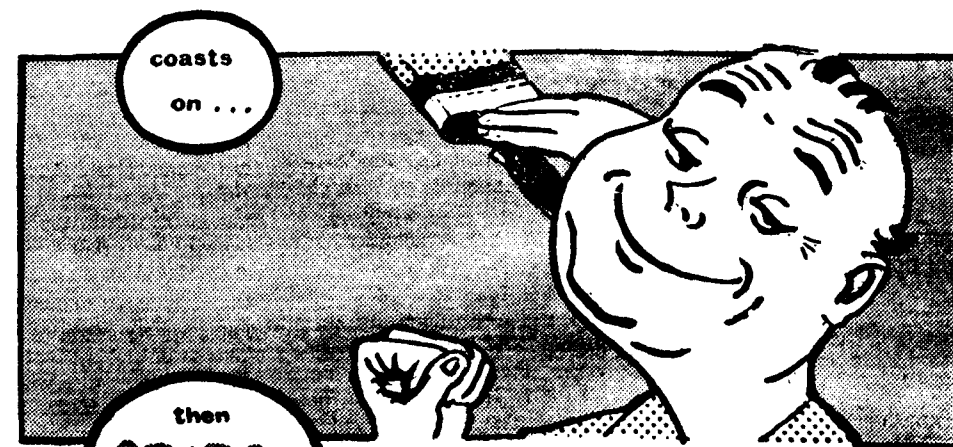
So long as we are not able to subordinate self-interest to local interest and local interest to national interest we do not possess the basic qualities for a democratic form of Government. We have a tendency to cite British examples when discussing our form of Government. But we forget one fundamental that is to be found in British character and that is he completely effaces himself when his interest clashes with national interest. The Ministers in that country do not tour constantly and expatiate on the work done by them. Party propaganda is limited to a short period before the election and once that is over, it is stopped till the next election comes. They do not enlarge the number of ministers in the cabinet, just to find berth to persons who would otherwise give trouble. Also, their day to day actions are not regulated keeping always in the forefront how they will react in the next election.

So long as the existing fissiparous tendencies exist we should have that form of Government which will, not only curb these undesirable qualities, but also generate and reinforce a spirit of unity and nationhood. The perpetual concern about vote catching must disappear and calm atmosphere created to solve dispassionately all our diverse problems. To achieve the above objects a Presidential form of Government as in the United States would suit us better as there would then be only one election once in five years. Democracy is alien to hero worship and indispensability of a person to a particular office and they are especially so in our infant democracy. It will therefore be desirable to strictly limit the tenure of office as President to one term only, however eminent the person may be. O. R. NARAYANASWAMY AIYAR. Madras.

SAFETY IN RAILWAY TRAVEL

Sir,—The provision of alarm chains in trains in an amenity meant to be used in emergencies. The passengers who travel by train naturally presume that the system is in full working order and that a running train could be brought to a halt by pulling it, should a necessity for doing so arise. The stern warning that for improper use, a heavy penalty, recently raised to a Draconian level of Rs. 250, will be levied is a deterrent against its misuse. That, despite such warnings sometimes the alarm chains are pulled by miscreants, and that in certain areas instances of such misuse are too many, cannot possibly justify blocking off such alarm systems by the Railways. Yet that is what precisely appears to have happened in the North-eastern Railway where, the Railway, especially in the Patna-Buxar section, have conveniently blocked off the alarm system, as the most convenient way of avoiding nuisance of their frequent misuse. As a result, even in genuine cases, as in the case of the falling of the veteran journalist K. Rama Rao of *National Herald*, from the running train, resulting in his death, the train could not be brought to a halt by pulling the alarm chain because it was blocked. Thereby the chance of rendering immediate aid and possibly saving a life has been lost. This is a tragedy that will be deplored. But this raises the whole issue of safety in trains, and if the alarm systems are blocked, the travelling public are exposed to risks of several kinds extending from robbery to lack of medical care in an emergency. What is essentially a law and order problem should be tackled as such, and not by the irresponsible and sneaky way of withdrawing this useful and necessary amenity. The Railway Ministry owes it to the travelling public to make amends for such lapses in the safety measures in running trains. Madras-33. PINAKI.



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BAD DAYS AHEAD

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Indirect taxation whether it be an excise or customs duty, or a raising of transport charges through anyone of several methods, tends to a rise in prices all round. This results in increased cost of living and of all industrial production, small scale or large scale. Ignorance or, worse still, limited knowledge, on the part of those in authority is disastrous. Power carries with it responsibility but this is difficult to be borne satisfactorily when supported by 'a little knowledge' which the proverb truly says is dangerous.

If a 'superior' quality of any popularly demanded commodity is made costlier than hitherto by the levy of an additional tax, a part of the consumption naturally shifts to a lower quality and the latter follows the law of supply and demand, and immediately and in anticipation also goes up in price. The pattern of consumption is a closely integrated and complex thing. Any interference at one point alters the figure all over. One therefore with knowledge of the economy of trade and consumption must expect a rise of prices all round when new levies are put on fifty odd items in order to raise 60 crores of additional revenue. Commercial circles believe that this is an underestimate of the likely receipts.

Probably an example from a tangible aspect of urban life may make it easier for the Finance Minister and other members of Parliament to appreciate the point. If an additional tax be

levied on terraced and two-storey houses it will raise the rents not only of such houses, but will push up the rents for tiled and one-storey houses also. It will not be an unreasonable consequence of the new levy or something to be surprised or angry about.

Any Minister with well-equipped advisers to help him to appreciate and anticipate trends and consequences of new imposts should not be surprised at what has happened after the budget announcements. But our Finance Minister is surprised and angry and talks of preventive detention! The authors of repressive laws framed to meet emergencies did not conceive such laws as available for regulating and checking prices of commodities and services that rise in natural response to budget proposals. A police mentality cannot understand the complicated workings of trade and business in a non-Communist country. Long before the budget announcements were made on the floor of the house, indirect taxes on commodities and services had been anticipated as a result of the so-called 'Plan', and a rise in prices was forecast which would worsen the life of the poorer sections. One who sets fire to the verandah roof cannot object to or be angry with the fire when it spreads to the whole building. Let the Finance Minister understand that what he has done will result in many more things yet. All costs including cost of the Administration and the costs of industrial and agricultural pro-

duction including the wage bill all over the country will go up, perhaps not so immediately as the shooting up of market prices, but all the same surely and steadily. Neither economic laws nor an entire community can be put under preventive detention however 'firm', that is, presumptuous and ignorant, administration may be!

Some 'concessions' have been made. These have been commented on by the Press. Members of Parliament as well as the Finance Minister may easily see that these so-called concessions make no material change in the situation.

It is unfortunate that the permanent civil service has got into the habit of adjusting its advice to ministerial errors and perversities and, instead of being a check and a safeguard against the dominance of politics over administrative prudence, augments and accentuates error.

The two greatest afflictions the people suffer from today are high prices and an administration that at all levels sacrifices fairplay and justice on the altar of the ruling party's politics. Coercion cannot set right what has followed the budget announcement of new taxes.

The farmer's life will be hit badly as a result, direct and indirect, of the new levies. He stands at the bottom to bear the total brunt of all the rise in prices. The cry will be to sit heavily on the prices of food stuffs on the ground that they must remain where they stand whatever

ELECTION COSTS

A recently published book in America gives data and interesting conclusions about money spent in electioneering campaigns in that country. For a much richer people than us, the estimated total of a hundred crores is really not staggering on the background of the money spent by candidates and government in poverty-stricken India.

To the question 'Does money win elections?' the study reported in this book gives the following answer: Money has more influence on party nomination than on the outcome of electoral contests. The giving of money for electoral campaigns is felt by the rich people of that country as a mark of civil virtue. A few take out insurance by donating to both parties and to competing candidates.

Another conclusion of this American study of electioneering may not apply to India—that he who pays the piper does not always call the tune. May be this 'not always' means more often than not, it does.

It seems in America millions of people contribute, not just a few "fat cats". Altogether we are told about three million persons donated money to a party or candidate in the 1952 elections.

We have a very important conclusion brought out in this study about election laws. "Unrealistic limits on the amount of spending and giving encourage a cynical dishonesty; and financial management

may have happened at other levels affecting the lives of cultivators in one way or another, the idea being that the price of foodstuffs at the base of the life pattern will detrimentally affect all prices. The country cannot prosper or be happy with the peasants, the weavers and other artisans repressed and consigned to suffer all the weight of administrative mismanagement. It would be foolish for the business community to be happy over their escape from any new direct levies. They will have to prepare for difficult days as a result of these indirect taxes.

is manipulated to fit impossible statutory requirements". This has been also referred to by many observers in India. The current Congress Party collections bear no relation to the limits prescribed in the People's Representation Act. The party probably plans suitable manipulation 'to fit the statutory requirements'.

In a poor country such as India is, it is inexcusable waste to follow the pattern of Western electioneering. Among all the things that rightly cry for nationalisation elections stand first. If voting is a public duty and democracy should be based on direct universal suffrage in this continental terrain, the procedure of the ballot-box should be reversed.

WHO IS REACTIONARY?

The Communist leader Sri Bhupesh Gupta has declared that his party will not seek any electoral alliance with the Swatantra Party. Every one knows that the Swatantra Party has never looked upon an alliance with the Communists as possible or desirable. This declaration of Sri Bhupesh Gupta is therefore superfluous.

He describes the Swatantra Party as reactionary. A certificate from the Communist Party to this effect is a great compliment. The Prime Minister of India and his party may look upon approbation from the Communists as a proof of worthiness. But the Swatantra Party looks upon Communist opposition as a guarantee of our sailing in the right direction. The Congress and the Communist parties both turn their sails to totalitarian enslavement of the people. It is an Oxford boat-race between them, and the Congress administration is proceeding fast to their goal. The Swatantra Party opposes this and the word 'reactionary' coming from the Communist leader is a recognition of our opposition to Communist policy, whether it is directed by the Congress or directly by the Communists. Condemnation by Communist leaders is a reliable mariner's

compass in the reverse to those who stand for freedom. The philosophy of the Communist Party and the way of life it seeks to impose on the people are the most reactionary of all world conceptions. It seeks to subordinate human personality to the will of a minority group in possession of the instruments of violence. Modern civilization's goal is freedom and full scope for the development of human personality and not its enslavement. Communist policy is the opposite of human civilization. Men may use the same word with varying imports. "Reactionary" and "retrograde" used by the Communists indicate opposition to the way they want us to go. What is reactionary to the Communist mind is freedom in the view of progressive humans. What is retrograde to the Communists means advance in the language of freedom-loving people. Vice versa, what is progress to the Communist Party is advance towards tyranny in the opinion of liberty loving people. The Congress is going that way and is receiving approbation from the Communists. Thinking people should beware of this policy conspiracy between Congress and Communism camouflaged by seeming conflict.

HOW COMMUNIST IS THE CONGRESS?

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The question how Communist the Congress is important, not only to the country but to the rank and file of the Party. The origin of a party frequently obscures its subsequent development, the more so if it says one thing and does another. There is also the position that a party may pursue its own ends but adopt the means of another.

There are few of the means of the Communists the Congress has not adopted. The first is the liquidation of the larger landowners, so that the rural population is rendered leaderless on the one hand, and predatory like the Government, on the other. One result of this is the reduction of employment opportunities for rural labour which worked in bigger holdings and houses. Some part of this labour drifts to towns for employment in state enterprises, the rest remains in villages. To satisfy its claims and also to arrest the inevitable decline of production, the next step is to increase the size of the reduced holdings, through co-operatives, for which legal provision has been made in the land legislation of all States. The process is the more inevitable when, as in China and India, the masses rendered idle form a proportion which cannot be otherwise absorbed.

The confiscatory policy in respect of land has inevitably to be carried to other sectors, first Industry, next Trade and third occupations. In Industry, the Government already commands a third of the corporate sector. Since this is working at a loss, the competing private sector is subjected first to controls, which raise prices on the one hand, and make profits to the licencees, favourable to Government on the other. The next step is taxation, which not only supports the enterprises of the government but also creates inflation, which increases the return of the taxes. In Trade, Government is a participant, first through

the licences necessary for import and export, and second through the State Trading Corporation, which despite its acknowledged failure, is being expanded. The control over professions is not only from absorbing the best talent in the ever increasing administration but also from expanding government ownership and control over schools, hospitals and other institutions.

The third means of communist origin is indirect taxation, the whole population being made to pay through prices, the finance required by government.

The fourth means is conditioning of public opinion through a controlled Press, radio and cinema. Newspapers, with a very few exceptions are so dependent on government for advertisements, licences and other favours that their faint criticism obscures the real grievances. The radio and cinema news features are concentrated and pointed to increasing the importance of the government. In a less direct way than the communists, the Congress achieves the same propaganda for itself. Its success is so complete that it has ceased to care for public opinion, flaunting Party interests as if they are the interests of the country, like the sessions and conferences it holds, the expansions of ministries it allows and the appointments of politicians it makes to sinecures. The confusion is so complete that people think Congress and Government are synonymous.

The fifth means is the supersession of the parliamentary forms of government by Party organisations. All legislation is decided at party meetings, the legislatures meeting only for formal sanction. Ministries are not made by the party legislators but by the party members of State organisations, even one Chief Minister who was not a legislator, having been twice defeated, being forced by the High Command agreeing with Party organisation. A possible

evolution may be, as in Russia, that election to the Party organisation will be more important than election to the legislature.

The sixth means is alignment with other communist countries. The whole of our foreign policy for the last ten years has been that of a communist satellite, using the pretext of neutrality, to lead the attack on all countries opposed to the communists. This loyalty implied the betrayal of Tibet and the loss of 12,000 square miles of our land to China. It explains the deficit in foreign exchange that Russia incurs in its trade with us.

The conversion of the Congress to communism is largely due to the ambitions of the Prime Minister and of the Defence Minister. Abroad, they wanted to acquire limelight, at home, they wanted to bull-doze the masses for plans on communist patterns. The Prime Minister, because of his personal qualities and political education, could not go the whole communist way. The question is if he may not do so. The country is set for economic, administrative and even political collapse. The temptation will be strong to give up half measures.

The foundations for communism have been already laid by the First and Fourth amendments to the Constitution which allow the government to acquire any property, enterprise or occupation, with compensation which will be determined by it and not by the Courts. There are external and internal threats to the government, which can furnish the excuse for overriding constitutional safeguards. The Communist Party has declared its willingness to make common cause with the Congress.

The hope for a free way of life therefore depends on the coming together of all sections which believe in it. The strategy for this is basically from dividing the people into those who are for and those who are against communism. This means, in the first place, that Congress itself should be divided, because apart from those who have made good for themselves from the

SIDELIGHTS ::

The choice of University staff is ordinarily to be left to the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate, but the reported appointment of Mr. Goldberg as Professor of English in Madras University calls for some comment. This gentleman is a graduate of Melbourne University in Australia and holds a B.Litt. degree of Oxford, and testimonials given him by his tutors at Oxford at his graduation. He seems to have little experience of post-graduate teaching and does not seem to have held any significant post-graduate teaching post in his native country. He has no publications to his credit either. We learn that he is to be paid Rs. 3,500 per month in Madras, the sum to be met by the Madras University, the University Grants Commission and the British Council. Was the board of post-graduate studies in English consulted before the Madras University filed an application for his services with the British Council? Why was not the post advertised in India? Why should this appointment go to an Australian

of the party, the vast majority believes in individual freedom to advance oneself and others, subject to common justice and natural compassion. A test, increasingly pressed, against the Congress to prove that it is not communist, may provide a golden bridge for the many who may like to leave the Congress before the elections. The Finance Minister, aware of this contingency, has offered a budget that favours some vested interests but he has overlooked that indirect taxation, which will hurt all, is greater evidence of communism. If he and some other ministers are opposed to communism, they should show this by opposing all policies and schemes based on it. There would be a landslide even in the party in their favour because all men are born free and are always ready to throw away the chains forged on them.

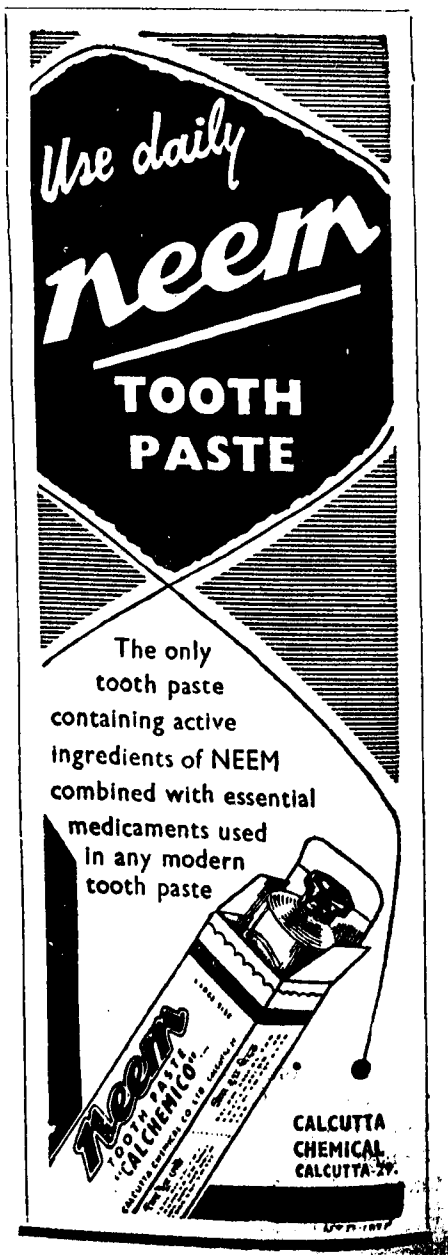
whose attainments and experience seem so unimpressive? If it be thought that English could be taught at the post-graduate level only by Englishmen why should not the best be secured? Few knowledgeable persons will agree that there aren't Indians of outstanding qualifications and experience available. They are apparently not wanted for some mysterious reasons. The proposed appointment is an insult not only to an exceptionally fine body of Indians experienced in post-graduate teaching but also to Indian self-respect. The U.G.C. which is dispensing the Indian tax payers' money should reject proposals for extravagant expenditure beyond normal schedules without some convincing justification. The Madras University is more than a hundred years old. Although there are some scandals about the way its examinations are conducted, it should develop a proper respect for its own post-graduate degrees and the richly experienced Indian teachers of post-graduate subjects, and not set a premium on foreign degrees and their holders. The proposed appointment would produce incalculably grave reactions.

Sri Morarji Desai has only derision for Art. 21 of the Swatantra Party's Statement of Principles, conceding freedom to its members on all matters excepting the twenty-one cardinal principles of the party manifesto. "Members of the Swatantra Party were Swatantra in everything" Sri Desai remarked in his speech in the budget debate in the Lok Sabha. The newspaper report has it that these remarks of the Finance Minister were greeted with "laughter from all sections of the House". The Congress brain-washing has left no chance for freedom to be appreciated.

It is easy to rail and raise a laugh when the House is packed with your own partisans and fel-

low-travellers. If the only way to fulfil the "Plan" is going bankrupt over loans from foreign governments and shooting up the prices of commodities which the poor must use, then it follows the Plan, right or wrong, must be given up. No time need be wasted on examining its merits. We must change the planners.

It is a tragedy that the way of freedom demonstrated by great and brave nations to be the right way is just laughing matter with our present legislators and they tacitly accept as right permit-and-licence raj with the consequent rule of favouritism and corruption of the bureaucracy. SAKA.



OPERATION ROUND - UP

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Since the movement of India's fighting forces to the Congo was slated to begin on March 15, a considerable number of these crack troops must have already reached the Congo. Although President Kennedy and Prime Minister Nehru are both for the U.N.O. presence, there is a vital difference in the premises of authority. Mr. Kennedy holds that President Kasavubu is rightly seated in the U.N.O. as the legal spokesman and chief of the State in the World Assembly. India is not equally enthusiastic, and in a speech the real organiser of the military expedition, Mr. Krishna Menon, asserts that the legal constitutionality of the Kasavubu regime is "minimal". If the minimal authority qualifies the regime for U.N.O. recognition free from the Russian veto, the conundrum about minimal credentials becomes incongruous. If the law stipulates that the small causes court could entertain suits up to the value of Rs. 2,000, a claim for Rs. 1,999 would be in order although the odd rupee might suggest the notion of minimalism which would not, however, make for a valid objection. Cables from the U.N.O. strongly suggest that India would welcome the Congolese Chief of State being "cut down to size" especially if the various tribal leaders combine on the idea of a federation different from the unitary constitution framed and bestowed by the Belgian Parliament as their instrument of evacuation.

On this issue we may expect friction in the U.N.O. debate since India is supposed to handle the lever of the U.N.O. machine from behind the scenes playing the key-role and drafting formulas for open discussion.

Whilst there are critics in India who wonder if Indian troops are not put on a wrong mission when her fighting forces are unable to guard her own frontiers, Mr. Kri-

shna Menon has pointed out the restrictions under which our crack-troops are being sent; mainly the purpose is to enforce U.N.O. authority and disarm mercenaries and Congolese soldiers. Although the pay and perquisites of our jawans will be found from non-Indian sources, they cannot be categorised as mercenaries in view of the campaign's purpose. In the task of making "Congolese Bandits" surrender their fire-arms the Indian boys will have to use force, of course, only "if necessary and as the last resort", the legitimacy of which will be judged by Major-General Raja in command. In spite of the best of intentions, it is a ticklish undertaking because one of the most stubborn experiences in trials of strength is that the people of a country do not surrender their arms without a grim struggle. The last thing our Pathans and tribesmen would give up is their rifles which they cherish next only to the Holy Koran. As they are not highly literate, their latter treasure is not in constant possession, but they venerate their shooting equipment. Like Komatis burying their treasure during a flight, the owners of rifles would rather keep their rifles in hide-outs than deposit them at the feet of any task force even if deputed by the U.N.O.

Next to the oldest profession in the world, the most attractive in the history of mankind consists of gun-running, smuggling of slaves and the sale of contraband gold. There is not only enormous profits in the traffic, but immense adventure in the vocation. Not only history in the Old hemisphere but romance in North and South America revolves on the production and distribution of unauthorised weapons. And after all who is to designate any police and pay for the fight against such piratical exploits? Congolese leaders meeting in old Madagascar have pro-

claimed their resolve to fight U.N.O. battalions as violators of Congo's sovereignty.

As regards arms-running against the cordon of sentries, it may appear strange at this time of day to recall that a war had been fought between Britain and the United States to settle the issue of secret equipment by the passing of undeclared weapons. In 1812, President Madison was compelled to send an ultimatum to Britain and launch hostilities. The charge was that Great Britain was supplying arms and powder-kegs to the enemies of Independent America to cripple progress and freedom. Two parties appeared in Washington after the elections of 1811. It is today, in the vista-vision of the past, an ugly episode, the passing of arms as merchandise from Great Britain to harass the liberated colony. The trade however was mighty lucrative. In private parleys Madison had to agree to a declaration of war as the condition precedent for his renomination. Napoleon too was an arms-smuggler in the Mexican pitch, and even today excavators come across buried fowling pieces with old European markings. Nor are such discoveries rare in India's own North Eastern regions after the hurried retreat of Japanese invaders in World War II.

Madison did not want to be known as one of the "submission men". Harry Clay, Calhoun, and William Crawford combined in their resistance to Britain's presumption. Daniel Webster denounced the "Incompetent Executive" and ultimately Madison had to adopt the subterfuge of holding a private session of Congress and telling them of the insidious methods of Britain's traffic in weapons against the Customs Line of the Republic.

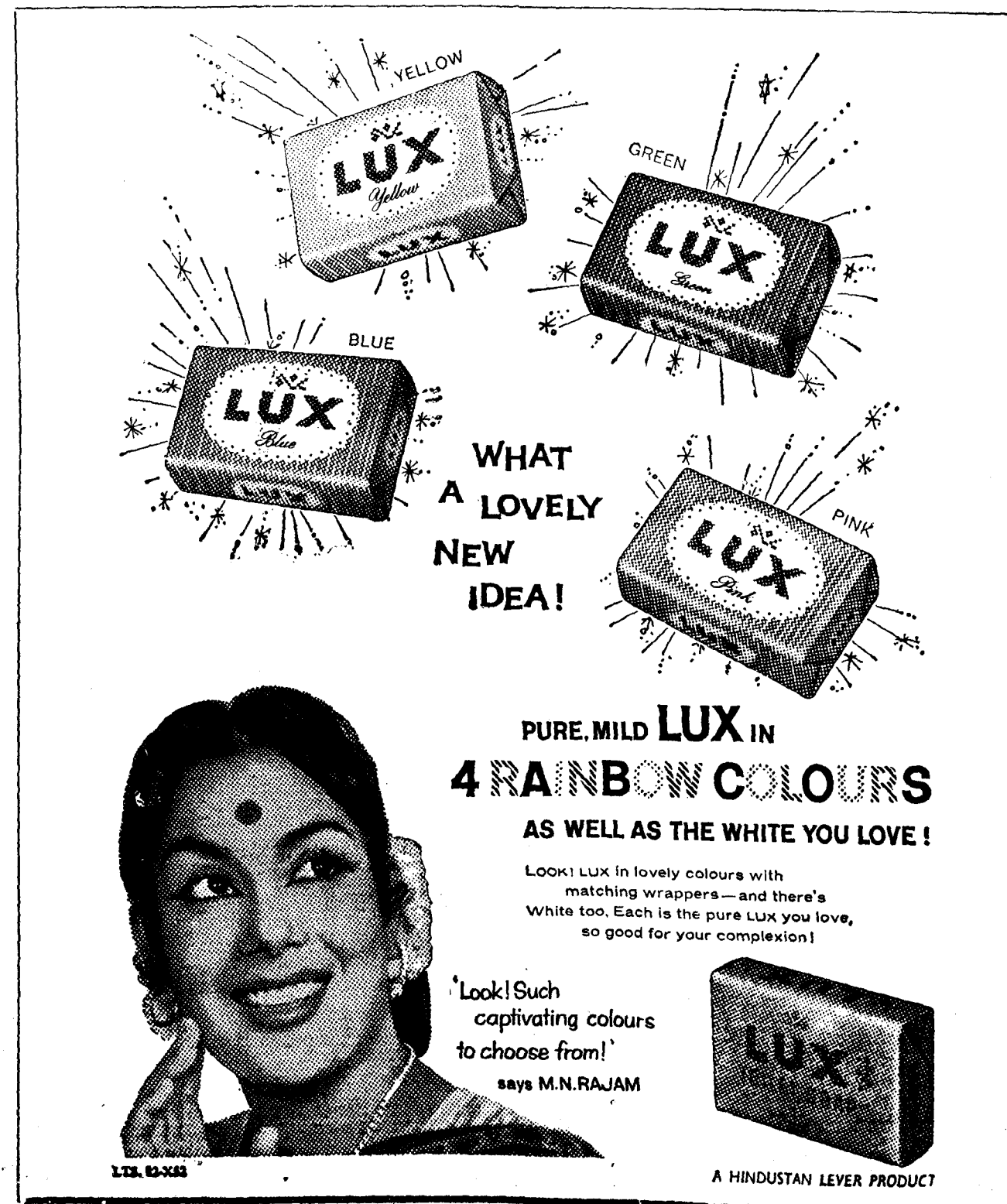
The campaign lasted a couple of years, and when the Treaty of Ghent was signed, Britain had to register a climb-down, and the enemies of Madison began mock-

ingly to refer to the clash as "Madison's war".

Contemporary observers have noticed that time had made a note of the fact that the last thing that even primitives hand over in rout and defeat are their weapons of hunt-

ing and fighting. Against this psychological background, the assignment taken on by the Indian defence forces in far-off Congo to disarm the sixty tribes of that country is an undertaking which in many respects might prove harder than open warfare in the

fields of Flanders where Indian soldiers had distinguished themselves in World War I. Any disharmony therefore in premises and directives at the U.N.O. Headquarters, should be meticulously avoided to avert operations at cross-purposes.



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BUILDING DEMOCRACY

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

Democracy is both born and made. The American and French Revolutions have set the pattern for most modern democratic constitutions. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, the American Declaration of Independence, the British Bill of Rights, Tom Paine's Rights of Man, have all shaped thought and moulded modern democratic institutions and governmental procedures. These crystallisations of Rights have been the product of generations of thinking, struggle and sacrifice from the days of the Magna Carta.

In India, local self-government and the reality of group life in town and country has absorbed through the centuries the humane philosophy of tolerance and compromise and mutual understanding. As Havell points out, there has been no need for bloody civil wars to establish Rights in public life in India. Rights and duties have been built into the framework of daily life, private and public, in peaceful evolution.

We have adopted the framework of liberty, equality and fraternity, adding the word justice (presumably as an after thought to stand for *dharma*) from European political tradition for the foundation and structure of our new democratic life under the aegis of freedom. Our Constitution and democratic life are thus evolved out of a long period of struggle and experience.

We are now confronted with the supreme task of making it come alive, of infusing flesh and blood into it. It must be seen by the people as a whole as touching life at all points. The fundamental rights should come alive to the hearts and minds of men everywhere as a precious heirloom and condition of decent life for all.

We must therefore 'educate our masters,' the vast majority of whom are illiterate. The voters should know exactly what to expect of democracy as a form of government and what not to expect of it, if it is to give the best results.

My own experience in the last General Elections as a candidate for the Lok Sabha brought home vividly to me that it is not merely the ignorant voter that needs to be informed of the nature of democracy but candidates and leaders of parties as well. The bulk of the educated people too have the vaguest, most inadequate and even dangerous notions of the way in which democracy functions or can be made to function.

Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan and others see the evils of the electoral process amongst an ignorant electorate so keenly that they wish to jettison the party system altogether. They want candidates to offer themselves as independent persons willing to do their best for the State making efficient use of the best knowledge available in society for policy-making in economic and social matters. This would clear the air if it were practicable. But it is not likely that Mr. Narayan and his friends will succeed in getting their views accepted. We have therefore to proceed on the assumption that we have to mould and mend the party system and educate the voter, the party politician and others interested and the general body of the public as a whole so that a healthy climate favourable to democracy will come to prevail.

One of the first things to be impressed upon the voter (not alone of the illiterate masses but of the educated middle and upper classes) is the value of the vote, its sacredness or decisive importance. The voter has a feeling of impotence and frustration. He cannot be brought to see that his individual vote counts and may count decisively. Many voters do not budge unless a conveyance is provided though this is illegal. But this is a rule more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

Labour leaders, particularly Communist workers, succeed in lining up their voters and taking them in serried ranks to the polling booths.

It is within my knowledge that in the last elections in some localities the street boss wanted three hundred rupees for himself and two or three rupees for each voter under his influence. One servant said that he got seven rupees for voting for a particular candidate.

A contractor who had made money in the war spent over Rs. 50,000 for his election, much of it camouflaged as gifts to associations, temples, churches, Ram mandirs, gymnasiums and some of course were straight cash bribes to bosses and voters. Dinner and drinking parties at the last moment have been known to change the dominant inclination of the majority of voters in many places.

Congress and Communist parties have plenty of money to spend and set a bad example.

The atmosphere can only change slowly. New leaders who adopt demo-

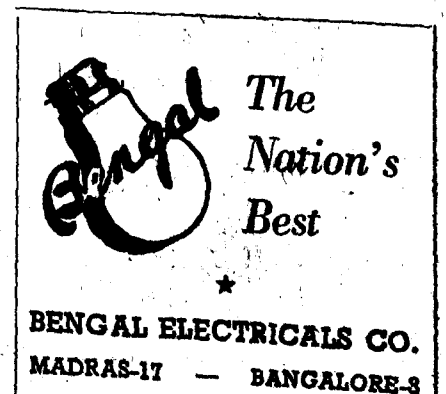
cracy as a religion are needed to effect a change. It must become shameful and an offence against morals to offer and to take money for votes.

The present writer also came up against a widespread cynicism among the common run of voters as to the virtue of democracy. What does it matter who comes to power? They are all the same—smooth spoken flatterers of the people during elections but selfish opportunists thereafter.

Constructive work among voters throughout the year, irrespective of election prospects, is necessary to win their confidence as human beings. But constructive work for building a democracy may consist largely of running a discussion club and a voters forum cutting across party lines. This will familiarise the voters with the basic ideas, conventions and institutions of democracy. This work has not proceeded far in our country. The tendency is to take slogans as substitutes for thought. The intellectual has, with notable exceptions, failed to pull his weight in the making of democracy today in our midst. The university man in particular has much to answer for.

If these voting forums, one for each polling booth area, come to function, they will bridge to a great extent the gulf between the voter and centres of power. It will reinstitute the *face-to-face, primary community* as the living cell of the democratic body politic and re-introduce human relations in which insincerity and opportunism cannot flourish so easily.

Another consequence of running voters' clubs is the opportunity it gives for different classes in the same locality to come together on a footing of social equality. Except in mass meetings in the open air, it is too often the case that only particular classes flock to particular places to hear particular (kinds of) leaders. We rarely find labourer, clerk, artisan, businessman, official, professional man—all foregather-



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ing together in the same hall to hear a political speaker! Class tells in every transaction of life.

Democracy is ultimately a form of government which rules through discussion. The habit of discussing public questions should be spread widely and bred into working attitudes in the masses of the people. The newspaper has already become an indispensable part of the routine purchases of even the artisan and rickshaw-puller today, though the ryot is yet slow to form the habit.

But what is the stuff that we propose to present to the voters' forums and to the individual voter, candidate and politician? There are a certain number of basic ideas about the working of democracy that should form part of the living furniture of the common

man's mind. They form the unconscious major premise in the light of which he judges all current questions, and if they are wrong, inadequate or corrupt, democracy will suffer distortion.

The first of such notions is that democracy has come into existence to afford a powerful check on the arbitrary exercise of power by the body of men occupying governmental places at any time. The dicta that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely, that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and that freedom must be re-conquered everyday should sink into the popular mind and breed in it a ready disposition to oppose the power-holders at the slightest sign of their exceeding their limits.

Democracy has been the end result of centuries of bitter experience of op-

pression by tyrants and even well-intentioned persons who had their own notions of what is good for the people, even if the people do not agree with the benefits proposed for them. Today the popularity of the Welfare State idea (a product of much loose thinking) has bred a disposition to look to the State for every comfort from the cradle to the grave as a free gift.

This has led to the vogue of Socialism with its extreme centralisation of all power, economic and political.

The voter should be made to realise that these are false ideals and impossible to fulfil. What should be expected of Government is social overheads—roads, schools, research institutions, regulations that prevent monopoly and maintain fair competition etc. to stimulate and channelise the activity of citizens in pursuit of their own happiness.

Another wrong notion that is prevalent is the supremacy of majority rule. Majority rule is only a convenient convention. To apply majority rule mechanically relying even upon a 51 per cent majority is to betray the spirit of democracy.

Majority rule should not transcend certain limits of national consciousness or sense of community. Hindi-wallas should note this precept. (I am a Hindi-walla myself but not at the cost of breaking up the unity of the national mind).

The voter should be told the distinction between party and government so that he should be able to detect instantly the undemocratic corruption of using governmental influence for party purposes. The administration should not be regarded by party bosses as a *kamadhenu*, a giver of unlimited gifts to their dependents. Also, crime should not be condoned with a view to winning bloc votes at the elections. There have been too many instances of this notorious evil in our day.

Officialdom should not be regarded as the servant of party bosses. The right relation between the popular representative and permanent executive should be known to the voter and candidate.

Above all, democracy should subserve national unity or fraternity, which it will do only if men are judged for appointments and other opportunities for gainful work strictly on their merit and qualification for the task in hand. Unless this habit is learnt by all, we shall never transcend tribalism but will go the way of the Congo.

A great deal of conscious effort is necessary on the part of many ranks of people, intellectuals and others, to guide our infant democracy in the right way.

COMMAND VERSUS DECENTRALISED ECONOMY

In the course of the general discussion on the Budget Shri M. R. Masani delivered on March 15, 1961 a powerful attack on the Government policies, salient extracts from which are given below.

Neither the Communists nor the P.S.P. are Opposition parties. They are mere satellites of the ruling party. They are mere pressure groups who want to press the ruling party slightly one way or another, but the combined effort of both is to push the ruling party, in effect, further and faster down the slippery slope of State Capitalism and socialism.

There is only one party which provides an alternative way of life, and that party provides an alternative way of life because it rejects lock, stock and barrel, the entire pattern of development on which the present Government is set. We reject it because we say there is a fundamental choice before the country. Either we accept a State-directed or command economy, where decisions as to what is produced and at what price it is sold are imposed from the top on the common people of this country, which is basically the Communist pattern,—we reject that—or we go in for real economic democracy which consists of the process of leaving the people of India the freedom of choice to decide what shall be produced and what shall not be produced.

An Economic Ballot

It is a common grievance that in a parliamentary democracy the people only vote once in five years, and then after that they are helpless. There is some force in that contention. What is the way that we supplement parliamentary democracy? I say that we can supplement it only by economic democracy where every day the men and women of India go to the market place and cast an economic ballot. They decide what they want to buy, at what price, and what they do not want to buy. Every time that an hon. Member or a citizen of this country, or his wife, or even his child, goes to a shop, he or she casts a ballot by deciding that he or she wants this kind of soap and not that, this kind of brush and not that, this shoe and not that, this cloth and not that. Every time he does that, he exercises a freedom of choice. If he does not want to buy, he exercises a negative freedom of choice by saying that he does not want to buy. Out of all these votes that are cast every day in the bazaars of India, we get a collective ballot, a General Elec-

tion taking place every day in this country. Out of this consumers' preference, by the laws of competition, by checking State or any other kind of monopoly, comes the consumer's right to determine the pattern of production in this country. Out of the combined preferences of the people of India, the industrialists, those who want to make a profit, come to know what it will pay them to make and what it will not pay them.

The Choice Before the Country

This is the broad philosophic choice before the country. On this choice, the Socialist and Communist parties and the present Government are all in one camp. Against that command economy, we put before the country the concept of decentralised economic power that Gandhiji had at heart when he said that if he had his way the Reserve Bank of India's vaults should be opened and the gold that was there should be distributed among the people in all the villages of India. That is how economic power is divided; a little particle is given to every man, woman and child in the country. That is the real choice before the country.

Having posed a real challenge to the Budget, of which, as I have said, we do not accept any part of the philosophy, I think it is right to say that it is mischievous in three ways. First of all, these additional levies undoubtedly contribute a blow to the lower middle classes and the common people of this country. This is ill-deserved, after all the burdens that have been cast on them in the last decade. The *Hindu* of Madras has estimated that already a rise of about 5 per cent in urban cost of living has occurred as a result of this Budget. And we may take it that that will be the nature or measure of the rise as a result of this Budget.

Secondly, apart from the burden on the common man, these excise duties will injure the process of industrialisation and aggravate unemployment. Already, as a result of the excise duty on power looms, I believe that anything up to 15,000 men are in danger of being displaced in the artificial silk and other textile industries. As a result of the excise duty on metal sheets and circles of copper and zinc, 5,000 people are already unemployed today in Jagadhri in the Punjab. And they have

come in deputation, both the manufacturers and the workers, appealing to the Finance Minister not to destroy that industry. That is only a small industry. They are not capitalists; they are small workers, men whom Gandhiji would have liked to see come up. Those are the ones that feel the pressure of the excise duties. In Mirzapur also the small scale industry has been mortally hit already by these excise duties. The excise duty on diesel, which is a great triumph on which the Railway Board lobby should be congratulated, will restrict transport of goods and people. Finally, the additional duty on newspaper is going to affect adversely the newspaper industry, a necessity for the minds of our people.

In these ways, along with the reduction in the development rebate, the import duty on capital equipment and the surtax on earned incomes, economic development will be impeded by this Budget. If the House does not wish to take my word for it, it knows Professor V. K. R. V. Rao, a Leftist and a supporter of Government's policy. Let me quote from a newspaper of 3rd March his comments on the Government's proposals:

There is a danger that the wide array of tax on intermediate and capital goods might affect both the pace of internal development as well as the build up of export capacity. He thought that the vast majority of the new excise duties would result in a rise of the cost of living and the consequent threat of an inflationary spiral.

And that brings me to the third mischief of this Budget. At a time when even the leaders of Government themselves agree, that nothing must be done to aggravate inflation, this is almost a deliberate act setting in motion further inflationary tendencies.

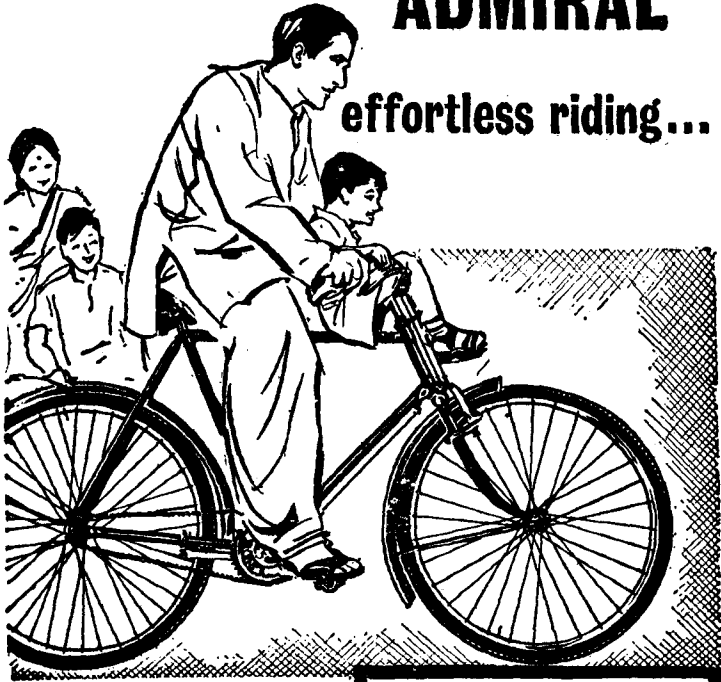
Deliberate Inflation

The *Economic Review* itself supplies the material. During the Second Plan, it points out, the real income of the Indian people rose by 19 per cent. But the money supply rose by 35 per cent. If this is not deliberate inflation of currency, I do not know what is.

The hon. Finance Minister last year said that inflation was not caused by the monetary policy of Government but by the rise in food prices. That alibi which may have existed then has gone. The *Economic Review*, on page 9, points out that since 1958, the food prices, if anything, have declined. And so, it cannot be claimed that the inflation that took place in the last year is due to a rise in food prices. It is

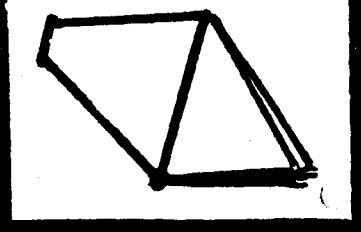
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due to the monetary and financial policies of Government and the nature of the Plans on which they are launching.

The Survey also goes on to point out that at the end of 1959, the index of wholesale prices was 117.9 while at the end of 1960 it is 124.3, an average increase of 6.5 per cent; and that during the Second Plan there has been a rise of 25 per cent in wholesale prices. The rupee has depreciated to that extent. Let the Finance Minister admit that it is the monetary policies of Government that are responsible for this inflation. Government professes, on the one hand, to be against inflation; but their practices, on the other, do not coincide with their professions.

In this context, what can the Chief Ministers' Committee do to hold the price line, when the Union Government goes out of its way to make a dent in the price line? What kind of realism is it to say that the Chief Ministers of States should meet once in three months to hold the price line? This is to throw dust in the eyes of the people. Government expenditure will go up with one hand as much as government's revenues go up with the other. What you get at an inflated rupee will not be any more than what you could have got without the inflation and without new taxation. What you get with one hand is spent with the other.

The result of inflation is disincentives to investment, savings and production, also to exports which the *Economic Review* calls "the central plank of public policy". For the past five years, our exports are stagnant because our things cost very much more than world levels because of the high cost structure caused by Government policies. We shall now be even less able to compete in the world markets than we were in the last five years.

Additional Taxation Not Necessary

Having made out this case, people will say: 'All right, we agree that you have made out a case. But what can be done? Somehow the money must be found. Where is the money to come from?' I challenge that very assumption. This assumption that the money has to be found is a complete fallacy. We do not for a moment agree that additional taxation of any kind at all is necessary. It is true direct taxation has reached saturation point. If you want to tax more, then it is the common man or the poor people that are going to suffer, not only this year, but in the years to come if the policies of Government and the present government in office were to continue. I do not accept this point that additional

taxation is necessary. I claim that by cutting down civil expenditure and by not indulging in development plans of a Utopian nature, of an unrealistic nature, we can prune our Budget so that the existing taxation, high as it is, would suffice.

Parasitic Expenditure

Let us start with non-developmental expenditure. This has been rising at an alarming rate. The Estimates Committee of the House has pointed out that a large part of the additional taxation levied during the Second Plan on the ground that it was to go to the Plan has, in fact, been diverted to non-Plan expenditure. Here are the figures. The cost of the Administrative Services has gone up in the last decade by Rs. 37 crores. Every year it has gone up. In 1951-52, the General Administration cost Rs. 10 crores. In 1960-61, it is Rs. 19 crores; Rs. 9 crores extra. Audit cost Rs. 4 crores ten years ago; today it costs Rs. 8.5 crores. Union Police, that is Central expenditure on Police, was Rs. 3.8 crores ten years ago; today it is Rs. 19 crores. External Affairs was Rs. 4 crores ten years ago and today it is Rs. 11 crores. In this way, Rs. 37 more crores have been added to what may be called parasitic expenditure consisting of a large army of under-paid and under-worked clerks. Parkinson's Law has nothing to show before the process to which this country is being subjected.

At a time when our frontiers are threatened by Communist China, I would be the last person to grudge a single rupee that is being directed to the defence of the country from that aggression. But how is one to justify the purchase of a secondhand aircraft carrier at a cost which comes, I believe, to somewhere about Rs. 30 crores including the planes that are to be found on it. But who is going to attack the country from the oceans here? We are facing a threat across the Himalayas and, instead of directing the money that we spend on defence to fighting that enemy, we go and buy this big toy for fighting a non-existent enemy. Who is going to invade us from the sea? We are making the same mistake that the Moghuls did in the reverse order. They built a huge land army and neglected the navy, and the British were able to land on the coasts and established settlements all round India and from these they moved in. Now, we are concerned with the attack by a land power on the North and, instead of concentrating on that, we neglect our defence there and we spend money on a navy which we do not need at the present moment.

Not only has this process gone on for ten years but there is every indication that they propose to carry on this kind of thing.

The Rake's Progress

According to a paper that was placed before the last meeting of the National Development Council prepared by the Planning body, these are the estimates in the States of non-developmental expenditure and developmental expenditure. The developmental expenditure in 1961-62 is Rs. 420.4 crores and in 1965-66 it is estimated to be Rs. 471.6 crores—that is, an increase of Rs. 51.2 crores. There is an increase in all the States in the next five years during the Third Plan period of Rs. 51.2 crores. That is to say, Rs. 51.2 crores is going to be the additional amount to be spent by all the States on development. Now, let us see the figures of non-developmental expenditure produced by the Planning Commission. Rs. 375.9 crores is the non-development expenditure in 1961-62 compared to Rs. 463.7 crores in 1965-66. There is an increase of Rs. 87.8 crores in non-development expenditure. So, in the next five years, the States will spend on development Rs. 51 crores more while on non-development expenditure they will spend Rs. 87.8 crores more—on purely civil administration expenditure. So, the Rake's Progress in which the government are indulging over the last ten years is to continue for the next ten years.

Now, let me turn to developmental expenditure. Vast developmental projects have been undertaken, at expenditure that often goes beyond estimates, and the returns are miserably low—0.51 per cent return. If any businessman produced such results, he would be driven out of the market and go insolvent. An ECAFE survey, which makes a survey of the whole region on behalf of the U.N. organisation, complains that in India the development of the private sector has been restrained by the diversion of available external and domestic resources to the State sector—the point being, that money that could have been invested by the people to get a higher return has been conscripted for mobilisation in State projects which are of an unremunerative kind. I will not repeat the argument. The fourth steel plant should never have formed part of the Plan. It accounts for no less than Rs. 235 crores. The additional tax this year is Rs. 60 crores. In other words, if this white elephant was not being imposed on this country, the burden of the additional taxation this year, the next year, the year after that and the year after that could be

removed from the shoulders of the common people of this country. It is because of such megalomania that the common people are being mulcted today and there is this burden of additional taxation.

I shall take another example—the nuclear energy power stations. For atomic energy and nuclear power station, Rs. 11.48 crores has been budgeted for 1961-62. This expenditure has no relation to the realities of our present day. Twenty years from now, perhaps, the world will have atomic energy for industrial use. But today, the difference between the price of thermal power and hydro-electric power and this power is so vast that to think in terms of the mobilisation of nuclear power for industries is purely Utopian. Here again, for the sake of glory and looking modern in the eyes of the world, we do such things. We are following Russia and other great Powers such as America which can afford this luxury. But what has happened in the Soviet Union, whose Deputy Prime Minister was in our country a few days ago—Mr. Kosygin? He is reported to have said:

Russia is having second thoughts about the economics of nuclear power and that, but for the fact that its third nuclear power station had already been launched, it would perhaps have abandoned it.

He would not agree with the view that nuclear power stations would be warranted where industrial areas are far away from coal belts, justifying his objection by the case of Russia where coal had to be hauled over much longer distances than India.

I hope that, having followed Soviet Russia in one direction, we shall now have second thoughts quickly before more money is wasted.

This Budget is nothing but a concomitant of the Plan, and I can sympathise with the Finance Minister since he is a prisoner of policies which cannot be justified on their own merits.

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THE GRINDING OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO NOTHINGNESS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Swatantra Party is convinced that progress does not require the confiscation of freedom or of the fundamental rights which are essential for freedom. We have oddly enough to wage a battle for freedom under Swaraj! It is not a situation for which there is any parallel in history—especially, our effort to build up a new party and give battle to the Congress which has seized all economic power and is in effective possession of all State authority and is bent on using it to the utmost extent for party purposes. As was said in America in 1789, "we are in a wilderness without a single footstep to guide us". We have, however, one precedent and a not very distant one for relying on the justice of our cause and on Divine help, the precedent of Gandhiji's non-violent battle against the powerful British Government which ended in complete victory.

To quote what Graham Hutton has said about the nations of Europe, modifying it to apply to our own condition, it took a century of painful advance up to 1947 to achieve democratic self-government, but within a decade of it, that achievement is in retreat threatened by a monstrous regiment of State functionaries. State authority controls and regiments all individual activities for which there is no parallel in our past history. This establishment of omnipotent, omni-competent State authority is more dangerous to personal freedom than anything done by autocrats in the history of India. Centralised State authority controls all the activities and enterprises of men, through its farthest extremities in local bureaucracy. The individual man and woman as producer and consumer, as citizen and unit of a family is swamped beneath the rules and regulations of centralized autho-

city. Therewith comes a narrowing of the bounds of personal development just when they should have been widened, a stereotyping of behaviour when new potentialities should have led to wider variations, and a banality which is vulgarity and materialism. Freedom is being whittled away by the extension of the economic ways and means of the State, inflation being the worst of all the instruments which subvert personal freedom. State expenditure and increasing taxation have become intolerably and inefficiently burdensome. Inflation has been adopted as a policy on the basis of a myth that there can be no economic growth without inflation.

Too much and too rapid State action means too much State spending. Too much and too fast State spending means a rapid multiplication of controls, restrictions on production and consumption, plus higher taxes. The levying of excessive taxes on individuals and companies means a building up of costs all round. This leads inevitably to bigger supply of money and credit than of the things on which it can be spent, which is inflation. Roman and other histories have proved beyond doubt that this inflation must lead to national downfall and disaster. Graham Hutton's book on *Inflation and Society*, a copy of which is available in the library of the Delhi Parliament deserves to be more attentively and widely read by members of Parliament. Those who would rather have a mixture of amusement with tragedy may draw the same lessons as to the limits of reasonable taxation from Northcote Parkinson's book, *The Law and the Profits*. In the grinding of the individual to nothingness, the most effective instrument is the steam-roller of taxation.

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CAPITAL COMMENTS

CONGRESS PARTY AND ITS LEADERS ON TRIAL

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: In much of an otherwise black month as the budget month turned out to be, with the patriarchal Pantji gone for ever and the Prime Minister gone abroad for about a fortnight, the Parliamentary scene became quite bleak. For all the rhetorical fusillade that Mr. Morarji Desai's rabbits out of the Congress hat (not the old Gandhi cap) accounted for, there was little animation in either House. The general feeling was one of something missing. Though he had never suffered from any kind of inferiority complex, Mr. Morarji Desai, as Acting Leader of the House (Lok Sabha) rather seemed to leave on one the impression that he was on trial while, despite his popularity, the Acting Home Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, was no less uneasy. Even Mr. Krishna Menon seemed to be rather anxious not to be drawn into an unnecessary controversy in the Prime Minister's absence. Caution became the watchword of all the Cabinet Ministers and there was a marked tendency on every one's part not to disturb, or deviate from, the even tenor of noiseless ways. And till the Prime Minister's return there is no question of taking decisions at higher levels in any matter, whether it is one of holding mid-term elections in Orissa, or of expanding the Ministry in Andhra. Everything could wait.

In the Press, there is no end to the speculation about a reshuffled Cabinet. Mr. Morarji Desai's friends—he has his own—are busy making a strong case for him as Home Minister, since the one next only to Mr. Nehru in rank has all along held the Home Office. Of course, the Prime Minister showed due deference to Mr. Desai when he nominated him as the Leader of the House (Lok Sabha); at the same time he

showed no disposition to assign 'Home' to him, at the expense of Finance. For one thing, it is but right that, as the author of the budget, Mr. Desai should be left to face the music himself, rather than that any other should be put to that strain for no fault of his; for another, it is but equally right that the person who has, right through, enjoyed the Prime Minister's confidence more than Mr. Desai could claim to have done, should finally step into Mr. Pant's shoes, incidentally with their heavy imprint on the U.P. soil. It is Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri who has been nearer Home, and it is Mr. Shastri who will, in all probability, be privileged to guard the Home-front.

Short of the shift from Finance to Home, Mr. Desai by virtue of his personal position in the party, will hold his own. It is almost certain that Mr. Desai will be the successor to Mr. Pant, as the Deputy Leader of the Congress Legislature Party, though, on grounds of seniority, Mr. Jagjivan Ram has been perhaps pressing his claims variously. Should Mr. Nehru himself propose Mr. Desai's name, as he may well do, no other name is likely to be sprung upon the party. This should not, however, mislead Mr. Morarji Desai into thinking that his hold on the Congress Party inside Parliament or outside, is reminiscent of, much less comparable to, Sardar Patel's or Maulana Azad's or Mr. Pant's. He has some good qualities and some fine gifts but he is not known either to command a following as Patel did or cultivate one as Pant did. His sway is still largely confined to Gujarat or a part of Western India. He is still a long way off from dominating the political scene as an all-India leader who is widely acceptable, in spite of his tall claim in the Lok Sabha the other day that he belonged

not to a part, but to the whole of India.

To what extent Congress leadership will be as decisive as it has been, will largely depend on the post-Election set-up. With the General Election not too far off, a sense of concern for its survival has begun to creep into Congress ranks. In Uttar Pradesh frantic efforts are being made to present a facade of unity, whether out of fear of further displeasing the Prime Minister who is already annoyed, or out of sentiment for Pantji's last wishes. There is no intention of taking any risk in Orissa though the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee who had forced Mr. Mahatab to wind up the Coalition Ministry, is known to feel that immediate elections in the State will be to the advantage of the Congress. Nor is the High Command much inclined to let Mr. Patnaik force Mr. Mahatab into the background. They will 'wait and see' whether the rainy season will create problems of its own, what the Election Commission will advise and how Congressmen will meanwhile get prepared for the contest or show-down.

Congress history in Andhra Pradesh is supposed to have entered on a new phase, in the wake of a much-publicised agreement between the two warring groups, led by Mr. Alluri Satyanarayana Raju and Mr. K. Brah-

EVILS OF CONTROL

'Control gives rise to fraud, suppression of truth, intensification of black market and 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. (From the paper on Mahatma Gandhi by Prof. W. H. Morris Jones of the Durham University).

mananda Reddi. Both for its own sake and in fairness to the Opposition, it is much better that a united Congress party, rather than a divided one, should enter the lists and have it out. One can only hope that the agreement will endure and there will be no recrudescence of internecine strife or further exhibition of fist-shaking. If it is true that the Sanjivayya Ministry could ensure its survival only on the basis of a commitment about ministerial expansion which implied the absorption into its bosom of open rebels or doubtful adherents, it savours of rank opportunism and amounts to an imposture. Such expansions of peace-purchasing character are at no time excusable. On the eve of the General Elections, they are something of a fraud on the electorate. It is not fair to Mr. Sanjivayya that he should be intimidated into kicking 'dissidents' upstairs, so that the Congress in Andhra may claim to have opened its eyes and closed its ranks. It remains to be seen whether the Prime Minister will bless, or rule out, the proposed ministerial expansion in Andhra Pradesh as part of political manipulation and as means to party survival. It would be hazardous to make a guess.

Men and Machines

Several large manufacturers have quietly written off their experiments in automation and reinstalled the old-fashioned human being.

In actuality, the machine, more often than not, suffers by comparison with the human brain. Its memory, for example, is much inferior to human memory. The machine has total recall—it never "forgets" anything, unless instructed to do so but it literally has nothing more. The richness of associations in the human memory escapes the machine entirely.—*New York Times, Feb. 19, 1961.*

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CONGRESS MISRULE IN BIHAR

The following are excerpts from the Presidential Speech of Shri K. M. Munshi at the Bihar State Convention of the Swatantra Party on March, 11, 1961.

In the last thirteen years of Congress rule, in spite of pious resolutions, the country has been disintegrating. Linguism, casteism and communalism are rampant throughout the country fostered by the Congress bosses in the States. You know this too well to your cost. In fact, these policies have destroyed the sense of India being one and indivisible and placed our national solidarity in danger.

There is no other way out of this dangerous drift than to balance the despotic power of the Congress by a two-party system. If we do not do so, whatever little is left of the freedom given to us by the Constitution would soon be destroyed.

The Congress has been responsible for inflicting a grievous wrong on the country. It has largely destroyed the Fundamental Rights conferred upon the citizens by the Constitution—particularly the right to property and the freedom to carry on business. By various amendments to the Constitution, both the rights are placed at the mercy of the State, thus destroying the economic basis of democratic life.

By totalitarian planning, it has extended the scope of Governmental control over the whole economic order. Enormous power has been placed in the hands of the bureaucracy to stifle individual enterprise. No one can carry on economic activity without a permit or licence from Government. In effect, it has been destroying all individual initiative on which the economic prosperity of our country depends.

The Congress rule has placed in the hands of ministers and officers such far-reaching power over the earnings of the citizen that corruption has grown beyond all proportions. In addition, in the name of the Plan, which is highly unrealistic, the Congress Party has been taxing the people almost beyond endurance. Today, even bare necessities of life, like tea, coffee, betel-nuts and match-boxes are taxed, grinding down the poor in the country.

In substance, through totalitarian planning, the ruling party has extended its despotic power over many spheres of life. The policies of the Government have been most oppressive towards the agriculturist. It is trying to reduce him to complete subservience. His right to own the land he cultivates has been placed at the mercy of the State, by an inequitable law, ceilings have been enforced on his holding and

priving him of the prospects of improving his economic status. Through Co-operative Farming, the present owner of the agricultural land is going to be converted to be a mere wage earner, working at the directions of the officers or the nominees of the ruling party.

The agriculturist is also denied the fruits of his labour. Very often, he does not get even a return for the crop he grows—the equivalent of the cost of cultivation. The agricultural labour is denied minimum wages. On Government's own figures, the agricultural indebtedness has increased during the last ten years. The common man has been seriously affected. His food, his housing, his clothing have all become costlier year after year. In addition, he is being ground down by indirect taxation.

All this is the result of this one party rule in the country. That party

is not inspired by a sense of mission. Its only objective is to retain power at any cost. Though torn by internal rivalries, it uses its power, patronage and means of propaganda to perpetuate its rule.

Democracy in India can exist only if there are two parties functioning in the country, both working under the Constitution. Without such a two-party system, the country is being taken to chaos.

Our duty, therefore, is to plan: We have to fight for restoring our Constitutional rights, guaranteed to us by the Constitution of 1950. In order to carry the fight to a success, we must build up a party which would safeguard and secure our freedom. It is to build such a party that we are all working.

Bihar, as you know very well, has been, for years, in the throes of disintegration. An ineffective and corrupt Government is sapping the very foundations of its life. It is for you to decide how long you will give a charter to this kind of misrule in Bihar. This is the only opportunity; if you miss it, it will never come again.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

HOW PRIZE BONDS ARE SOLD

Sir,—Permit me to bring to your notice the following:

I am the Karnam of Rajakkoor group of villages in Madurai taluk.

Deputy Tahsildar Ibrahim came to my village last week in connection with the sale of prize bonds. He demanded that I should purchase bonds for Rs. 500. I expressed my inability to purchase for such a huge sum and offered to buy for Rs. 100. Thereupon the Deputy Tahsildar went away, angrily saying that he would deal with me later.

On March 9 when I had been to Madurai in connection with loan applications, this Deputy Tahsildar Ibrahim accosted me before the Loan Tahsildar's house and abused me and insulted me in the public street for having refused to buy the prize bonds for Rs. 500.

Since a superior officer behaved like this, I felt that it was no longer possible to continue in service with dignity and honour and hence I have tendered my resignation of my post as Karnam.

This is how the prize bonds are sold.
V. K. THANGAVELU.

FORCED LABOUR?

Sir,—We write to bring to the attention of the public the

the fact that we, the members of the staff of one college—the National College, Trichy—are being repeatedly drafted for honorary work by the Trichy municipal authority, although it has been represented to them that this involves serious dislocation of the college work. For nearly three weeks we have been doing work in connection with the census and this has meant our letting off a number of classes at a time when students require special attention, because the university examinations are impending. Now we are required to do, for about a month, work in connection with the preparation of electoral rolls. The order of appointment is peremptory.

The college works for six days in the week, Sunday being the only holiday. An instruction class is announced for a Sunday. The work, which is to go on during the working days, will extend for a fortnight after the college closes for the summer vacation. This involves for a number of members belonging to other places a good deal of expenditure for board and lodging. We have heard of forced labour being a characteristic of totalitarian countries. Whither goes our democracy?

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