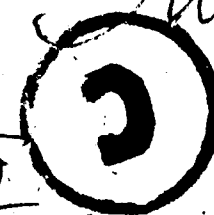


959

SWARAJYA..

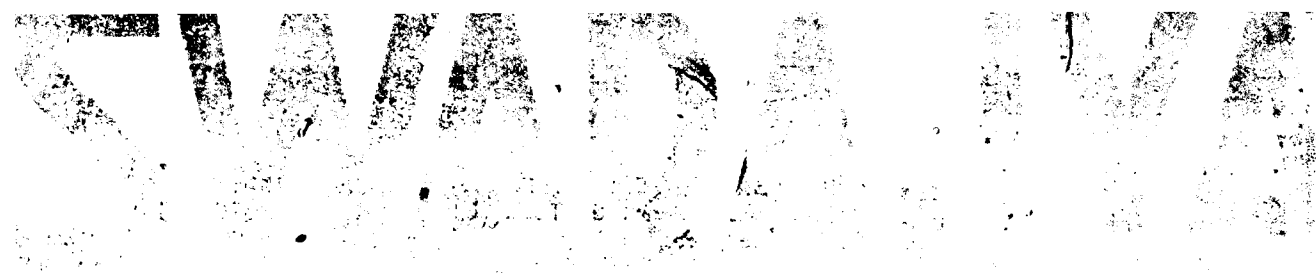
VOL - VI



NO - 20

NOV - 1961

3L ✓
M2, WSSST.
r.c.b.
143694



Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU

Editor : POTHIAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 20

MADRAS, NOVEMBER 18, 1961

Price 15 c.P

THE BOLSHEVIK COMPLEX

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

It is the stock in trade of those who wish to uphold the present regime of permit-licence favouritisms to attack the Swatantra Party saying that it stands for the anarchy of *laissez faire*. This cheap way of meeting the opponent's argument is deliberately calculated to deceive an ignorant and untrained electorate. It is not intended to satisfy those who are capable of reasoned thinking.

A free government is what the people feel and think to be so. Their subjective reaction is the natural and competent judgment on this point. If the people in practice allow a certain degree of authority over them not consistent with ideas of perfect freedom, the rulers ought to thank them for it, and not endeavour to hold from that fact that the whole position has been altered, and that having gone so far, by analogy they must hereafter have nothing whatsoever but by the rulers' pleasure.

The Swatantra Party stands not for abstract and metaphysical or geometric freedom, but for that liberty which Edmund Burke expounded in the following memorable words addressed to the sheriffs of Bristol, his constituency:

"Government is a practical thing, made for the happiness of mankind, and not to furnish out a spectacle of uniformity to gratify the schemes of visionary politicians. The extreme of liberty (which is its abstract perfection, but its practical perfection) lies nowhere

point which relates either to our duties or satisfactions in life, is destructive both to virtue and enjoyment. Liberty must be limited in order to be possessed. The degree of restraint it is impossible in any case to settle precisely. But it ought to be the constant aim of every wise public counsel to find out by cautious experiment, and rational cool endeavours, with *how little, not how much* of this restraint, the community can subsist. Liberty is a good to be improved, and not an evil to be lessened. It is not only a private blessing of the first order, but the *vital spring and energy of the State itself, which has just so much life and vigour as there is liberty in it.*"

This is exactly what Gandhiji said too—as little of government interference as possible and maximum freedom for the people.

'Integration' is not uniformity, produced by the legislative and administrative compulsions of the Congress Party's regime. It is deeper and something that will have to be achieved by far greater wisdom, tolerance and love than the Congress Party has proved itself capable of.

We have been given recently yet another glimpse into Sri Nehru's mind. He is convinced that school text-books should be prepared by Government. This nationalization of school books, if undertaken and accomplished,

would be almost a biological weapon of attack on the nation. The idea is to 'catch them young' and indoctrinate the children. Uniformity is the weapon of dictatorship. It facilitates control and totalitarian aims. Variety is a thorn in the dictator's flesh. He finds it troublesome. So he does everything to steam-roll all things into uniformity. We must be warned against this in time; later, it will be too late.

Very promptly and rightly the *Indian Express* wrote protesting that this nationalization of children's text-books would be a dangerous innovation. The present school books are bad and are, of course, also a source of commercial exploitation. But the remedy is not nationalization. The people who will be selected to produce books under the orders of government will do no better than those who now produce them.

The point, however, which is more important than anything else is that it is a significant indication of how Sri Nehru's mind works in all matters. It is a symptom of the totalitarian mentality and bolshevik complex that has seized the Congress Party under Sri Nehru's leadership.

During Sri Nehru's visit to America, President Kennedy felt it necessary to assure his people that Sri Nehru was one who was "committed to individual liberty." This was a gesture of great friendliness on the part of Mr. Kennedy. It was necessary for Mr. Kennedy to give this assurance in order to

save unpleasantness marking Sri Nehru's tour. But Sri Nehru holds that the kind of scope which the individual will have in State socialism is individual liberty. His craving for bigness, for uniformity, and for power, and his faith in bolshevik compulsion as a means to prosperity and happiness, is contrary not only to all that Gandhiji felt should guide India's progress but are opposed to the beliefs of even some younger men like Jaya Prakash Narayan who have been ardent admirers of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, who have sacrificed and worked not a little to attain our present political status, and who cannot be said to belong to a past century but can be classed among the moderns to whom Sri Nehru loves to belong.

It is a fallacy in constant use with those who would level all things, and confound right with wrong, to insist upon the inconveniences which are attached to every choice, without taking into consideration the different weight and consequence of those inconveniences.

A system unfavourable to freedom may be so framed, as considerably to exalt the grandeur of the State; and men may find, in the pride and splendour of that prosperity, some sort of consolation for the loss of their solid privileges. Indeed the increase of the powers of the State has often been urged by artful men, as a pretext for some abridgment of the public liberty.

BURKE

SRI GANESH RAM'S
TASTE
777 BRAND
SRI GANESH RAM'S
SAMBAR & RASAM
(2 Separate Powders)
MADRAS CURRY-POWDER
(Garra Masala)
PICKLES PAPPADS APPALAMS
Prepared by:
M/s. R. S. N. IYER & R. S. G. IYER
Proprietors of:
SRI GANESH RAM & CO., MADRAS-1
Await our CHAKRAM BRAND PICKLES
Prepared to Suit Western Taste

PLANNING—PROPER AND IMPROPER

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

It is not often that Mr. K. Santhanam speaks without the book, and having left journalism long ago and mellowed by office, he should no more be addicted to adjectives in criticising the attitude of Swatantra Party to planning. Several statements of policy of the Swatantra Party have been before the public now for sometime. In all of them and, as well as in speeches of its leaders, the position of the party in regard to planning has been made clear. It is opposed to the all-comprehensive, indiscriminate, all-out planning without priorities defined and hierarchically graded and faithfully discussed, without decisive preference of foundations to superstructure, necessities to luxuries, the useful to the decorative and without regard to the financial resources of the country. The Swatantra Party is for proper planning, it is opposed to improper planning.

An expressive phrase was used by the Prime Minister in the course of his recent tour in the Madras State. A pacifist, he made use of a military metaphor when he spoke of his Government's waging a thousand-front war against poverty, disease, and backwardness. In that phrase he laid his finger on the fatal defect of Congress planning. For the history of war shows that an army is sure to lose a war when it wages battles on more than one or two fronts at a time. Concentration of attack on the weakest front of an enemy is the principle that won victory for the Germans at first and later for the Allies in the last two world wars. The spread of an army on the whole front or a number of fronts may be magnificent—but it is not war. General Eisenhower's miles-long invasion of Germany against the advice of Churchill and Montgomery to concentrate on the north-western front delayed the entry of the Allies into Berlin—whence our tears ever since. The choice of this military metaphor was rather unfortunate for the Prime Minister's defence of Congress plans and planning. But with or without this military or any other metaphor to support it, the Congress system of planning suffers from a dangerous organizational flaw. It is exactly because Congress planning aims at too many things, big and small, first and later things, at the same time, 'all-together', that it has failed to achieve anything substantial for the progress of the country, despite the huge sums of money spent—nearly Rs. 10,000 crores so far. In spite of all these plans and

planning of 10 years, we find the rate of economic growth is but 3 per cent a year—as the Prime Minister himself mournfully had to acknowledge recently in public.

It is true Congress planning provides for strengthening the foundations, attending to necessities and first things (by promotion of literacy, building of roads, construction and reconstruction of rural houses, increase of health facilities, promotion of small industries, repair and maintenance of minor irrigation works). But, at the same time, it provides for building the superstructure, increase of luxuries, and promotion of secondary needs (like basic education, more railways, costly and undermanned hospitals, universities, medical and engineering colleges, State steel factories, production of atomic energy). The result is obvious. The bigger things like large-scale steel industries, atomic energy production, impressive irrigation and river valley projects, sky-soaring secretariats, get the bulk of the Plan-money and the smaller things, the necessities, the foundations get what is left—that is, get starved. Thus in the Third Plan, while the development of industries gets Rs. 2,000 crores, the development of agriculture gets only Rs. 1,025 crores, large-scale industries get Rs. 1,500 crores, village and small industries get only Rs. 250 crores, railways get Rs. 1,220 crores, while roads get Rs. 268 crores. Out of Rs. 300 crores for educational development, only Rs. 180 crores are allotted for primary education. Of the 300 crores allotted to health services only 80 crores are for water-supply and sanitation, the bulk of it (to judge from past practice) to be taken up by urban water-schemes and sanitation and drainage. And so it is all along the line. More money and attention and energy are spent on big things, on superstructure, luxuries than on the foundations, the necessities, the primary needs.

The Swatantra's plans, on the other hand, aim at switching development away from this direction. They would aim at the strengthening of the foundations, prefer necessities to luxuries, first things to come first. Thus Swatantra governments would spend the bulk of the money allotted to education on primary schools and promotion of literacy, so that total literacy may be attained in 15 years instead of in the 75 years which the Congress plans of increase will require. Of the money allotted to transport and communica-

tions, it will spend at least Rs. 500 crores in the next 5 years on the building of village roads, so that Indian agriculture can get the roads it needs for its prosperity in 10 years instead of in the 100 years that the Congress plan of roads development will require. On rural housing it will aim at the reconstruction of 500,000 village houses per year, so that rural housing will be put on a decent level in less than the 500 years which the Congress programme of rural house construction will require. Much greater emphasis and financial provision will be made for the development of village and small industries to provide gainful employment for the millions rather than for the thousands that the large-scale industries of Congress preference will provide. Not that the Swatantra Party is opposed to the development of large-scale industries. It would leave them to private enterprise, confident that the private enterprise which built our textile, cement and sugar and Tata's industries will build more industries as and when demand requires them. A large number of junior technical schools and institutions are required to train the millions of unskilled workers into skilled workers, and to improve the skills of the thousands of skilled workers in preference to the costly engineering colleges which will provide industrial training for only a few hundreds.

All these preferences and priorities of the Swatantra Party stem from the view that they will ensure the rapid increase of the prosperity of the country. Thus,

if the peasants and agricultural and industrial workers know to read and write, they would acquire modern, especially scientific, knowledge and new improved methods and techniques of production. That is how Russia built up its productivity and China has begun doing it from the same starting point as India. And on girl's education the Swatantra Party will spend at least double the amount allotted to it in the Congress Third Plan so as to accelerate the rate of social and economic progress and will ensure a great improvement on the disgraceful record of the Congress in regard to this matter. Village roads connecting farms and villages with the nearest market town or trunk-road will raise farming from the subsistence level, at which it is now, to the market economy and greater productivity level to which it ought to raise, for the farmer would have the incentive of getting a good price for his produce instead of being cheated of it by the middle-man. Rural housing and elementary rural sanitation and drainage and rural water-supply will improve the health and strength and, therefore, increase the productivity of the villages. And cottage and small industries will find employment for the millions of village India. These rural amenities will ensure the prosperity of the 300 millions of rural India. Will not the income of these 300 millions increase year by year, and thus increase the rate of economic growth of India at a much higher rate than 3 per cent a year which we in common with the Prime Minister deplore? Who

OUR NEW RULERS

"VIGNESWARA"

(N. RAGHUNATHAN)

Second series of the *Sotto Voce* papers from *Swatantra*. The first series published as a book with the title *Sotto Voce* received universal praise for its fearlessness, its brilliance of style and prophetic political insight. *Our New Rulers* is of equally absorbing interest. It has a new Preface on Congress and Civil Liberties.

Pages 412

Ordinary Edition Rs. 5/-
Library Edition Rs. 6/-

Postage Extra

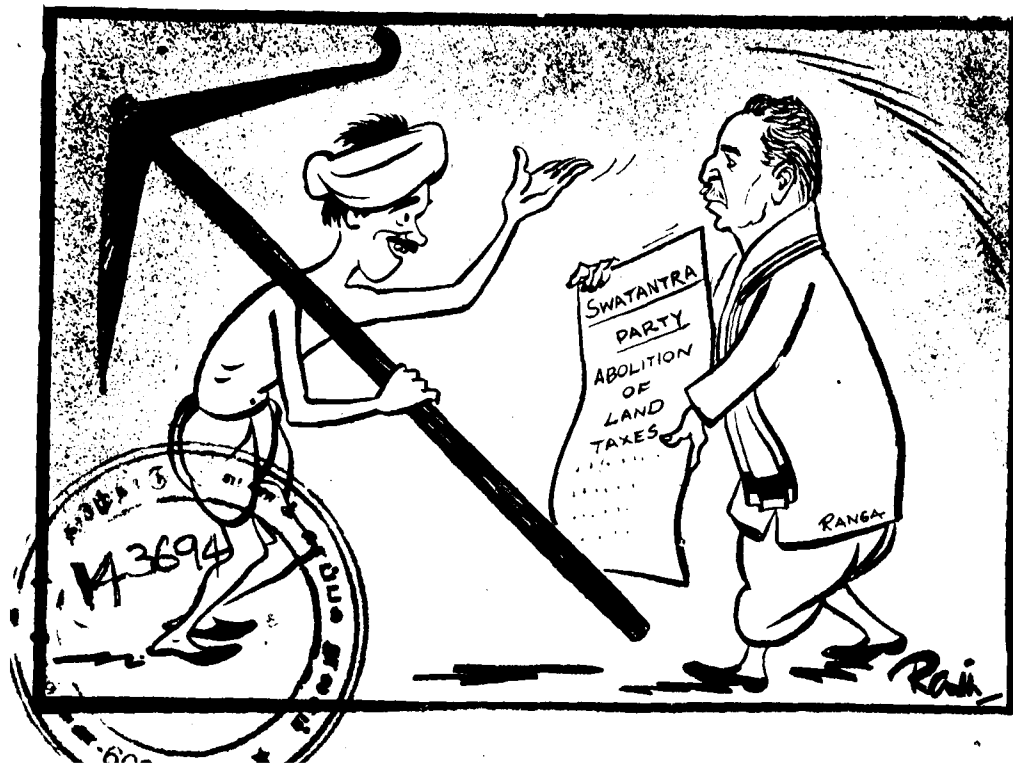
Copies available at Higginbothams, Head and Branch offices and book-stalls, as well as from the Publishers:

B. G. PAUL & CO.
4, Francis Joseph Street, Madras-1

knows that if the income of these 300 millions were doubled, the investment in productive capital would rise far beyond the 5 per cent per year which is the present rate? Do not all these priorities and preferences in policy and programme constitute plans and planning? Does Mr. Santhanam, with his fellow-critics, like Parasara of the *Indian Express* think that the essence of a plan is that it must be megalomaniac?

A word must be said in conclusion in defence of the Swatantra Party's

plan to abolish the Planning Commission. The work of the Planning Commission is done and finished with the formulation of the Third Five Year Plan. We have in their three Reports all the things that need to be done. Governments have only got to go and do them—one after the other, first things first. For choosing their priorities a small cabinet committee at the Centre and in the States would be enough. There is no more work for the Planning Commission, especially as it costs Rs. 75 lakhs a year. It has done its work, though its work could have been done for one-tenth of the Rs. 10 crores it has cost the country in the last 15 years. It is now time for it to do the "happy dispatch" as patriotic Japanese used to do when they were no longer of use to the country.



CURRENT EVENTS :

Having promised Master Tara Singh that a high-power tribunal would be appointed before his departure, the Prime Minister has kept his word by nominating Mr. S. R. Das, Mr. M. C. Chagla and Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar to go into the question whether any discrimination against the Sikh community existed so that the Government of India could rectify lapses of invidious treatment. There is no mention of the Punjabi Suba or even a regional re-drawing of the administrative map. Master Tara Singh suspects a trap in the procedure, since what he has in mind is the Panthic identity of the Sikhs even at the risk of the Akali Dal being accused of potential disloyalty to the Union of India and the indictment made by Chief Minister Kairon, now in power, of Master Tara Singh and the Working Committee having secret contacts with Pakistan conspirators. Injustice in the administrative set-up can be remedied by domestic rulings. If another high-power committee were asked to examine the complaints of Adivasis, they could be trusted to recommend reforms involving no vestige of separateness or autonomy as in the NEFA region.

It is true that in the wake of the States Reorganization Commission's Report, there has been recarving of units in the country as in the instances of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Tamil Nad with modified frontiers; the emergence of two States by the split-up between Maharashtra and Mahagujarat, severance of Nagaland, etc. The Centre initially opposed such re-distribution, but eventually succumbed to various pressures. Any re-alignment of boundaries now is held as our abomination so much so that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru proclaimed at Madurai that he would rather have civil war than any further implementation of the linguistic concept advanced by the Fazal Ali Commission on terms of reference supplied by the Nehru

Government itself. In old legend there is a saying that when the Greeks bring gifts, it is safer to shun the offers than to accept. Master Tara Singh has registered a recoil saying that the Akali Dal is not bound by the findings of the high-power committee about whose composition he was not aware although at the time of breaking his fast the two final intermediaries, namely, the Maharajah of Patiala and Sardar H. S. Malik, had whispered certain assurances at his bedside.

Anyway, he has discovered that in the Government communicate there is not a word construable as giving any specific opening for the Punjabi Suba claim or any form of linguistic sequestration for the security of Sikhs as a whole despite the political schisms created by vested interests within the community, ready to exercise severe police-powers against the dissidents. The explanation that Master Tara Singh is unreliable and is again upto his tricks is not likely to appeal to the Akali Dal still wedded to the conception of what is mockingly called 'Sikhistan'. The simplicity of Master Tara Singh's mind was clear when he advanced proposals that impartial umpires familiar with the Punjab, like Sir Evan Jenkins, should be asked to give a verdict on the issue whether the demarcation of a Punjabi Suba would be fair or in contradiction to the thesis promoted by the States Reorganization Commission. The portrayal of Master Tara Singh as a dodger and disintegrationist is in a way pathetic. The Hindus in the Punjab are as much entitled to submit their complaints as the Sikhs whose list of grievances including the project of a Punjabi Suba will not appear, as such, before the high-power Commission whose normal attitude will be to play down disruptive trends in the country.

In the result it may prove that what Pandit Nehru commends as

a great concession, is not what Master Tara Singh and his associates have had in mind during the agitation. Unless the implementation of the S.R.C. is disowned root-and-branch and the tendency of linguistic regionalism is reversed by painful readjustments, the theoretic basis of Master Tara Singh's demand might survive. Mr. Shastri has said "that both the communities of the Punjab would be given equal opportunities by the Commission, and that the Sikhs as well as the Hindus could submit their grievances". Decentralization need not be disruption in the country and what may seem an obsession with Master Tara Singh might be a festering sense of insecurity and injustice when pressures in reorganization have succeeded so far in half-a-dozen cases in other parts of the country.

In his press interview before flying to Washington, Ambassador Galbraith remarked that the object of the Prime Minister's visit to America was that he could discuss matters pertaining to all subjects cropping up in the absence of an agenda with President Kennedy in a "relaxed" atmosphere. The conversations will consist of "four rounds" and in estimating the relations between India and America, the Ambassador held that in respect of friendship they were never so good as now. To speak in lighter vein, never was a previous Ambassador conferred as many as three doctorates from three Indian Universities in six months as Professor John Kenneth Galbraith. Not that his predecessors were undeserving; there were top-men approved by the White House like William Phillips, Col. Johnson, Henry O'Grady, Loy Henderson, Chester Bowles, Sherman Cooper, George Allen, etc. But Mr. Galbraith is a man with a mission and an exponent of Harvard calibre with direct access to President Kennedy. Jawaharlal on arrival at Newport was in fine stride, but before the first round of parleys with Mr. Kennedy he had a press-interview at which four American correspondents com-

THREE DAYS BEFORE HIS DEATH

Gandhiji wrote on January 27, 1948 the article given below. Three days after he wrote it he was assassinated and the article was published in HARIJAN on Feb. 1, 1948. In it he gives in outline a sketch of what he wanted the Congress to be transformed into. It was his desire at the time of his death that the Congress should not seek power but serve the people in various constructive ways, and to play the role in elections as only an unofficial organization to help the voters' lists being properly prepared without errors or omissions. He wanted that without seeking power for itself or allying itself with any political party, it should assist the vast population of India to realize their rights in democracy and exercise them without being corrupted or intimidated. How very far from this desired goal of Gandhiji's is the present Congress! It is not only seeking power but seeking it greedily, and as for corruption and intimidation, what would you have said about the Congress election fund?

Indian National Congress which is the oldest national political organi-

zation and which has after many battles fought her non-violent way to freedom cannot be allowed to die. It can only die with the nation. A living organism ever grows or it dies. It has won political freedom but it has yet to win economic freedom, social and moral freedom. These freedoms are harder than the political, if only because they are constructive, less exciting and not spectacular. All-embracing constructive work evokes the energy of all the units of the millions. The Congress has got the preliminary and necessary part of her freedom. The hardest has yet to come. In its difficult ascent to democracy, it has inevitably created rotten boroughs leading to corruption and creation of institutions popular and democratic only in name. How to get out of the weedy and unwieldy growth?

The Congress must do away with its special register of members, at no time exceeding one crore—not even then easily identifiable. It had an unknown register of millions who could never be counted. Its register should now be co-extensive with all the men and women on the voters' rolls in the country. The Congress business should be to see that no faked name gets in and no legitimate name is left out. On its own register it will have a body of servants of the nation who

would be workers doing the work allotted to them from time to time.

Unfortunately for the country they will be drawn chiefly, for the time being, from the city dwellers most of whom would be required to work for and in the villages of India. The ranks must be filled in increasing numbers from villagers.

These servants will be expected to operate upon and serve the voters, registered according to law, in their own surroundings. Many persons and parties will woo them. The very best will win. Thus and in no other way can the Congress regain its fast ebbing unique position in the country. But yesterday the Congress was unwittingly the Servant of the Nation, it was Khudai Khidmatgar—God's Servant. Let it now proclaim to itself and the world that it is only God's Servant—nothing more, nothing less. If it engages in the ungainly skirmish for power it will find one fine morning that it is no more. Thank God, it is now no longer in sole possession of the field.

I have only opened to view the distant scene. If I have the time and health, I hope to discuss in these columns what the Servants of the Nation can do to raise themselves in the estimation of their masters, the whole of the adult population—male and female.

27-1-48
N.D. (New Delhi)

M. K. GANDHI

CURRENT EVENTS ...
plained of the tactics and pronouncements of Mr. Krishna Menon which reduced the guilt of Russia's breach of the moratorium into parity with America's stupendous efforts to overtake Russia in the space-age as also the exploits of rocketeering and thermonuclear explosions. Naturally our Prime Minister refrained from letting down his Defence Minister. He drily remarked that he did not gather the impression gained by his American questioners, but he diplomatically glided on to the blameless proposition that all tests must cease since they are "evil"; and that though India has spiralled to the missile-age with competence to produce atomic weapons, she would never indulge in the manufacture of stock-piles.

Military approach, Mr. Nehru said, India would never adopt, though other countries might dis-

claim military intentions in forming 'defence alliances' of the kind which might have been serviceable in preventing the 'invasion' of Indian territory by the Chinese. Apparently the P.M. scrupulously avoided the simple direct term 'aggression' after the manner of the communists who uphold the Macmahon Line without defining it, and at the same time amiably proposing a settlement of our northern border by peaceful negotiations. The Prime Minister mollified most of his critics by admitting that despite the Belgrade appeal and the UNO appeal to desist, Russia had been merrily going on with megaton fireworks, disregarding the voice of even uncommitted nations. The *New York Times* has greeted him as "a friend of this country and the representative of a great democracy." Fear of Indo-American strain will vanish with the temperamental

moods of the American people, and there is not even a suggestion of dollar-aid being jeopardized by individual eccentricities. In this conciliatory climate, it is a pity that partisans of the Defence Minister in the North Bombay constituency are assiduously trumpeting the story that the "American Lobby" inspired by die-hard senior officials of the State Department are behind the campaign of Acharya Kripalani to establish that the Defence Minister should not be taken as the true spokesman of India and that the reality of communist pantomime at the polls should be unmasked. P.J.

The following was the polling at the East Fife by-election:

Conservative	.. 15,948 votes
Labour	.. 8,882 votes
Liberal	.. 8,786 votes

—Reuter, Nov. 8.

Where on
earth is

Mogadiscio?

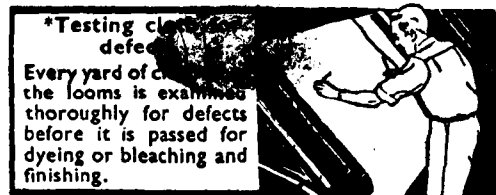
Frankly, till somebody in Mogadiscio ordered BINNY's cloth, we too didn't know that it was the capital of Somalia in East Africa.

Today BINNY's cloth is imported by 50 countries—superb fabrics made from cotton of the best quality and dyed with the fastest colours or so carefully bleached that the full strength of the cloth is preserved.

Rigid Quality Control* ensures maximum durability and perfect finish.

Quality Control:

Modern machines process yarn and cloth so fast that often defects, invisible to the naked eye, creep into the cloth. Quality Control is laboratory testing to eliminate defects at every stage of production. That's why BINNY'S fabrics stay smart so long.



BINNY'S manufacture nearly 90 million yards of cloth every year. Here are some of the varieties they make:

Shirtings . Khaki Drills . Bleached & Dyed Drills . Towels . Anticrease Suitings . Tussore Union Fabrics . Silk Sarees etc. etc.

BINNY—a great name in textiles

The Buckingham & Carnatic Company Limited
The Bangalore Woollen, Cotton & Silk Mills Company Limited
Subsidiaries of Binny & Co. (Madras) Ltd.

Buy your requirements of BINNY'S fabrics at controlled rates from authorised BINNY Stockists who display this sign board.



LAW FOR IMPROVIDENT LICENCE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

For some time an elaborate scheme for the control of the public sector in the State (or the dominion of officialdom in power) has been in the process of a 'leak-out', but the project is obviously taking shape, and New Delhi columnists anticipate a Bill in the Lok Sabha as soon as the Prime Minister returns from Washington.

Many shamefaced exposures have been registered in Parliament by committees relating to estimates and public expenditure, not to mention the discoveries of the Auditor-General who is being gradually clipped of his claws meant for the protection of the tax-payer.

The Prime Minister, by temperament, chafes at controls, and every report on improvidence abroad is taken by him as something of a personal reflection, since he is in complete control of foreign policy and embassy administration. They are his preserve and he does not want amateur-fumblers in the sacred precincts.

The Auditor-General in the original concept was to function as a regulator of expenditure and as a restraint on extravagance and waywardness at the cost of the taxpayer; but the number of criticisms and complaints became so many that Pandit Nehru in his fret resorted to all sorts of devices to whitewash wasteful aberrations and dubious commitments impermissible under law and prudent management.

Further, the watch-dogs within Parliament have themselves been alert about economy and efficiency in the progress of large-scale investments and of discretion exercised by Planning agents. In the analysis of facts and figures in public sector ventures, ugly blots continually show themselves much to his irritation that sleeping dogs are not allowed to lie but roused to bark.

As regards peccadillos by staff abroad, parliamentary control, or conversely any claim of responsibility towards any elected House

on external affairs is not stipulated in the Indian Constitution. On the other hand, in the United States, at least two-thirds of the Senators should approve of the selection of foreign envoys recommended, in the first instance, by the White House. As a sensible people with superior experience of democratic practice, the President's choice is invariably ratified, but there is the technical right of the legislature to have its say in selection, patronage and approval of ambassadors abroad whose fads and freaks are under world-observation.

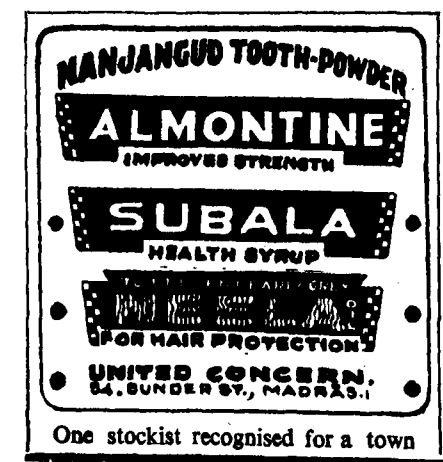
We have nothing of that kind except the pleasure of the Prime Minister who, because of his love of unchallenged discretion, prefers to be his own Foreign Minister, like Ramsay MacDonald in his time. Were it otherwise for the last 14 years, there would have been at least 14 ructions every year in respect of the conduct of personnel to whom he is indulgently loyal with family-devotion.

It is this absolutism that provides the greatest jauntiness for foreign delegations, prominently illustrated by the prerogatives exercised by Mr. Krishna Menon. Confidence that his profile in the U.N.O. is the face of the Prime Minister himself, the combative nominee is rid of all inhibitions of discipline and responsibility to the people at home, however much they may rave at his personal aberrations and communistic partisanship. Evil communications, wrote St. Paul, corrupt good manners.

Returning to the control of the public sector, the impending Code seems to be the outcome of proposals framed by the Menon Committee two years ago. As a businessman, Mr. Krishna Menon's talents are not outstanding as compared with the financial acumen of Harold Skimpole of *Bleak House*. If he were put in charge of a private concern like a soap-factory, it is certain that the plant

and the soap-stocks would be washed out in three months, turning every foot-fall into a collapse for the liquidator. In short, his greatness (which in its sphere must be concluded as unique) depends on other optimum-environments. He does not want the *hoi polloi* to have any peep into the innovations of defence production not merely on account of security reasons but because he considers Nosey Parkers from parliamentary backwoods as an infernal nuisance. Nor does he like the meticulous criteria of auditing, the more romantic course being personal decision and unilateral outlay according to the inspiration of the moment without any sordid interest in the transaction. He believes in a free hand and the new code of control by Parliament foreshadows the appointment of an emasculated committee compounded of ten Lok Sabha members and five Rajya Sabha Elders. Between them, all the powers of the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee are to be reduced to zero-influence. That close scrutiny could reveal untrustworthiness on the part of official tycoons put in charge of business was best proved by the aggressive researches of government-statistics by the late Feroze Gandhi, the like of whom the Lok Sabha will not see for many years,—integration or no integration.

A certain category of ventures operating in the public sector is to be exempted from this truncated plan of superintendence, to the relief of the Union Secretariat and



underlings. For the bureaucracy, freedom from pestilential enquiries started on the floor of the House (or perhaps in the first instance in the columns of newspapers), the new plan comes as a blessing and as an assurance of what theologians call "absolutions" and remission of sins.

Would it not be better to wait till the general elections, instead of rushing such a controversial measure through, in the lame-duck stage on the strength of the Nehru-majority in Parliament, which must, by present omens, negative any Select Committee process, since the Prime Minister

has no patience with dilatory filterings once he has made up his mind? In his imperious abundance of power, he has no time for a little slow going, completely lost to the difficulties, so to speak, of unscrambling eggs after the omlette-stage now urged by Planners as being immediately indispensable.



'With a boy like mine to look after, you have your hands full—full of washing, for instance, if you want to keep him clean and smart.

'Thank goodness I have SUNLIGHT. That rich lather gets his clothes so clean. Only a pure soap could wash like that—and with so little trouble.'

Mrs Kamala Wadhvani of Flat No. 54, Bhagat Singh Market, New Delhi, says: 'There's no soap like SUNLIGHT for washing.'

Sunlight

IS SO KIND TO CLOTHES



NUCLEAR TEST EXPLOSIONS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"We are against all tests, big or small, overground or underground," said the Belgrade Powers led by India. Meanwhile America and Russia are threatening each other, that each in retaliation is determined to foul the atmosphere of the world adding to the poison already accumulated. This is a strange kind of contest, a competition in injuring a third party.

Russia formally and unabashedly claims, "a full moral right" to carry out the same number of nuclear tests as have been made by the U.S., Britain and France. This is an arithmetical balance but it is far from being moral. For the tests are acts of poisoning not only U.S., Britain or France but the whole of mankind. It is not a competition in the making of wealth but a competition in speed and quantity in putting deadly poison into the food, drink and air on which life in the planet subsists. Man is entitled to explore into the mysteries of creation but he has no right—not even the Big Powers have it—to undo the work of nature and put the biological processes of evolution, out of which man, his mind and his civilization have grown and come into being, into deadly disorder.

The Great Powers who have secured this nuclear secret and developed a satanic, anti-God technique based on that secret, have by no law of God or of man obtained the right to destroy all the nations of the earth and their achievements through many millennia of evolution. Neither Russia nor America nor Britain nor France has acquired a right to do this. Russia actually claims it, while the others are too ashamed to claim it as a right though they, too, are doing it. This wicked competition at the expense of mankind must cease. If the U.N. is powerless to do anything in this respect, it had better be wound up as an expensive and worthless show. But it can bring this wickedness to an end. There is enough morality and reverence for life left yet.

their minds to be brave and to sacrifice, and to non-co-operate as Gandhi taught India to do to subdue the pride of Britain without the use of any weapons. I am 'shouting', as Jawaharlal Nehru would say. But I feel I should shout, because the Great Powers are deaf and the peoples of the world are sunk in hypnotic slumber. The power-hypnosis that has put the nations into mesmeric inaction must be overcome. I wish everybody shouted.

Immediately on arriving in Washington Sri Nehru "placed the blame squarely on Russia for resuming nuclear tests". This was a welcome difference from the previous slogan "we disapprove of all tests big or small, overground or underground". Further, Sri Nehru has now expressed his agreement with the American claim that the right of access to West Berlin must be guaranteed. This was also a welcome modification of the doubtful attitude shown previously in his statement in the Delhi Parliament.

Reading the numerous reports that have come from America, one can conclude that Sri Nehru's visit and the debates with American pressmen have resulted in a welcome change from nervous non-alignment to what may be called affirmative dual alignment. The change-over from negativism to a positive attitude is good. It is now an equal alignment with a bias towards the latest host-nation instead of the old irritating negative non-alignment with a bias towards U.S.S.R. Whatever else may or may not issue out of this visit, let us hope that America will not yield to the understandable but foolish public and Pentagon pressure to explode tests to counterpoise the Russian barbarity. I have indicated what America should do. It is good Sri Nehru pressed for abstention and put it with courtesy and proper humility. It is an issue too awful to be mixed up with other comparatively trifling matters or to be handled

in this matter and it is hoped America will abstain out of respect for him and India.

The position taken up by the Western Powers is that test explosions can be stopped only when an international treaty providing proper controls to check evasions and violations is reached. On the other side, the position now taken up by the Soviet Union is that a cessation of tests can be agreed to only when general and complete disarmament is reached. This was certainly not the Soviet position on former occasions. The idea is that conventional warfare may tilt the scales against Russia if her present rocket-and-nuclear advantage be given up. This may or may not be so, but the uninvolved world has a right to say that while conventional warfare is bad, it does not affect the atmosphere for the uninvolved peoples of the world. The injuries are confined to the belligerents. Nuclear tests affect the whole world, belligerent or not. The case is not merely a dispute between the West and America. The poisonous fall-out is a present attack on the uninvolved. The general disarmament problem should not therefore be linked to the problem of fall-out poisoning. The Western demand for fraud-proof controls is also an attitude calculated to delay, perhaps even to make it impossible to reach an agreement, with the result that uninvolved humanity must continue to be poisoned. The West's demand for a complete system of checks and controls is in the nature of things impossible to find. Trust and morality must come to the aid of agreed terms and the poisoning should be reduced to the minimum.

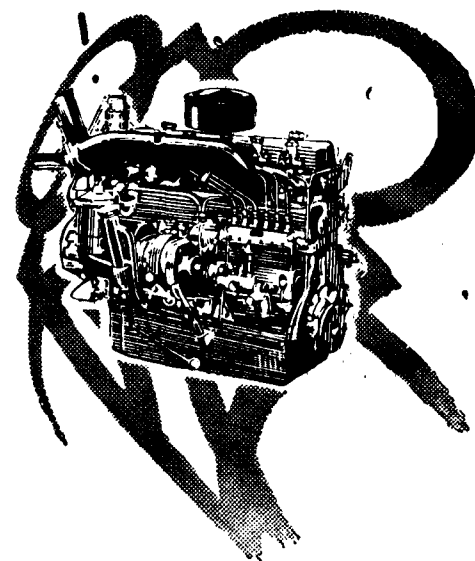
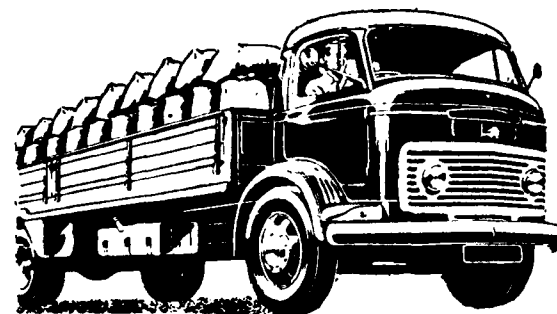
RAM MOHAN
TRAVEL SERVICE
THE FOREMOST NAME
In National and International
TRAVEL
FOR 32 YEARS

Kempegowda Rd., BANGALORE - 9

Perkins

For every power requirement

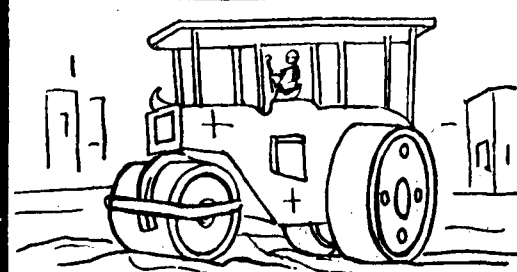
Commercial vehicles or Agricultural Tractors or Road Rollers—there's a Perkins 'P' Series Diesel Engine for every application.



Manufactured in India by:

Simpson & Co. Ltd
HEAD OFFICE & WORKS, MADRAS-2.

Branches: OOTACAMUND—BANGALORE—TIRUCHIRAPALLI—SECUNDERABAD (Dn.)



Dear Reader

Inquiries made of one or two major industrial concerns which have made contributions to the funds of both the Congress and Swatantra parties show that no contribution to the Congress Party has been returned to the donors by the All-India Congress Committee or its Treasurer, on the ground stated by the Prime Minister at Kanpur.

Indeed, one such donor is believed to have received, in answer to his letter, a reply from the Prime Minister in the course of which he seems to have raised no objection to industrial houses contributing to the funds of both the parties in the interests of building up a two-party system.

I believe, therefore, that no one need be scared by the much-publicised statement of the Prime Minister at Kanpur into not extending assistance to the Swatantra Party if one's own political sense directs such assistance to be given in order to save our democracy from becoming a rigid one-party dictatorship.

A leading P.S.P. member in Madras claimed in a speech in the Madras Assembly that the Plan was an all-party thing and not only the Congress Party's affair. He may nurse this illusion but everybody knows that the Plan is the chief plank of the Congress Party's election propaganda. The ruling party claims it as its own.

The P.S.P.'s manifesto has opposed Statism. The Plan is nothing but Statism given shape and form. The base of this Statist Plan is government to government loans from abroad. Statism and irredeemable foreign obligations form the synthetic architecture of the Third Plan and its predecessors and its contemplated successor-Plans also. The whole scheme is planned Statism and, if Congress wins, single-party planned-Statism—which is the long spelling of totalitarianism.

The P.S.P. member went on to make a descriptive reference to the Swatantra Party and said that it was a party of capitalists. It is refreshing to be told that myself, Sri Ranga, Sri Hegde, Sri Ramachandra Reddy, Saw Ganesan and others are capitalists. I wish we were, or at least had money to spare as capitalists can. Then we could have coped with the Birlas and the other Big Business units in all the industrial centres of India that make the Congress what it is and supply funds for it as budgeted at private meetings convened by the principal ministers holding office. The story that the Congress is the poor man's friend and the Swatantra Party is a rich man's party is the most amusing swadeshi fabrication of this atomic age. Big Business rides the Congress. It flourishes on the megalomaniac plans of the Congress, subsidized by foreign loans. The Congress is Big Business; the P.S.P. ought to take this from me if it does not know it already. Businessmen as a class are being taken to ruination by the Big Ones among them flourishing in alliance with the Congress Party. The small and middle-group producers and traders are the victims on the altar of the prosperity of a few. When will our businessmen realize that we must defend principles of freedom and not let the advantage of a few blind us to the general disadvantage which it works up to? When will they realize the fatal consequences of the inflation and taxation and moral bankruptcy that are mounting up over our heads?

All references to castes and sects will be omitted hereafter in applications, registers and forms for purposes of service, education and judicial proceedings. The governments of the States who are interested in these distinctions have agreed to the omission. But there is little doubt they have other ways of ascertaining particulars and discriminating against

Our contributors are respectfully requested not to exceed 900 words, in view of the size of SWARAJYA.

those whom they do not want. Indeed they have been well trained in this art. But all the same the omission of particulars in the forms for applications and registers is good, as it is always good that a sense of shame is felt for wrong things being done.

I do not feel inclined to object to the *Guardian* of Manchester entering the lists in the North Bombay election. The world is shrinking and Sri V. K. Krishna Menon deserves a hand being given in his aid from Britain.

But it is pretty presumptuous for the *Guardian* from a great distance to assume that the Jan Sangh is a 'communal' organization and on that basis to frame a charge of unholy alliance against Acharya Kripalani. England joined hands with Russia against Hitler during a crisis and this was certainly justifiable. The whole argument stemming from an analysis of the composition of Sri Kripalani's backing is irrelevant when from the several points of view of the parties concerned, Krishna Menon is unwanted.

The charge of communalism against the Jan Sangh is one which Indian journals have not dared to make. The Jan Sangh stands among other things for Hindu ideals being maintained. We cannot ignore the political importance of the culture of the vast majority of a country's

The Nation's Best

BENGAL ELECTRICALS CO.
MADRAS-17 — BANGALORE-3

population nor can people be barred from defending it by dubbing them as communal. The Jan Sangh does not ask for any oppression of the Muslims or Sikhs or others or for disregarding their lawful rights or their equal place in the Indian Union. The *Guardian* has assumed something that is very unsure ground in an unusual incursion in the internal democratic disputes in India. Sri Kripalani is wanted by all sections and the supposed defects of one of his supporting columns is really irrelevant, the more so when the defect is misconceived.

One may guess that there has been a scare among the Soviet

workers about radiation diseases and shortage of willing hands in the uranium mines. Otherwise there was no need now for the Soviet Government's official handout that all the workers in the "Uranium city" were in the enjoyment of excellent health and that radiation fear was a fabrication (no doubt, of the 'imperialist conspirators'). The danger of radio-active material cannot be exorcised away. Mr. Truman, too, asserted recently, with all the confidence of a non-scientist, that all fears of radio-activity were 'hoovey'. The atomic age has ushered in not only monstrous mass murder, but it has injected a growing and open disregard for truth among rulers and their hired scientists. Eight

hundred odd men of science have asserted solemnly that radio-active poison is not only not nonsense, but deadly dangerous—whatever the ex-President who ordered the great massacre of Nagasaki and Hiroshima might say to the contrary.

The deliberately caused confusion between the State and the party in power has been kept up in spite of its obvious unconstitutionality. The Prime Minister of India receives salutes and conducts rituals which properly belong to the non-party functionary and Head of the State—the President of the Union. The P.M. receives the salute of the Defence forces on the Red Fort on Independence Day, which should be the prerogative of only the Head of the State. The latest error in this direction is the ceremonial gone through on board Vikram—the reconditioned aircraft carrier which Britain has sold to us.

The appropriation by the chief of the party in power what belongs to the President of the Union is not a mere ritual error. It confuses democracy at its most sensitive point, viz., in respect of the armed forces. Our Congress friends might feel hurt at what I say in this respect, which may appear to be a petty objection. Let them for a moment exercise their imagination and consider what would happen if a communist government for a brief period imitated Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and received these salutes and guards of honour. The Communist Party can be returned in a majority for a brief period (which God forbid!) and then let us imagine what the consequences would be on public psychology if this confusion plus permits and licences were allowed. Parliamentary democracy gives rights, but they are to be guarded by the prescribed fences, if we want democracy not to become dictatorship, which in Eastern countries is in easy process of deterioration.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

P. M.'S AMERICAN VISIT AND AFTER

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Mr. Nehru's friends will now claim that his latest visit to America is a triumph of his foreign policy, while even his opponents will, however, join his friends in acknowledging that it was in any case a personal triumph.

It is exhilarating to us to find the Fairies that presided over his cradle, still guarding his footsteps as Angels of Grace and leading him mercifully along the road beset with pitfalls. It was perhaps the proudest moment of his life when on the eve of his 72nd birthday, Mr. Kennedy, while playing the generous host, placed his honoured guest in the line of two such illustrious predecessors of his as Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt. We should all be happy that, at 72, our beloved leader, is in complete possession of "exceptionally elastic arteries", for the active, if not also decisive, role he has still to play both at home and abroad.

When Mr. Nehru left for Washington, he was prepared for some heavy going. It called for all his courage and self-confidence to face the tough "guys" of the American Press and convince them of his bonafides as an incorruptible neutralist. He rose to the occasion—and from that moment he found roses, roses, roses, all the way. Mr. Kennedy took Mr. Nehru on trust, while, on his part, Mr. Nehru accepted Mr. Kennedy, without any reservations, as "a man of peace".

Their talks were cordial and exchanges frank. Such differences as there were, hinged on *methods*, not on *objectives*. They agreed to share a common responsibility for the peace of the world. There was the liveliest interest in the Nehru-Kennedy talks, if not on a global scale, at least in all the free countries. Whether in Soviet Russia and China and the satellite countries, the general attitude to the talks was one of cynical amuse-

ment or cold indifference or subdued enthusiasm, no one could tell. But in the rest of the world the hope was widely cherished that a healthier climate would be created for a peaceful solution of a world problem. That is no small gain.

There seems to be a feeling in some circles in India that in the after-excitement of the American visit or reception, and against the background of certain American reactions to our foreign policy, as handled in word or deed by our spokesman at the United Nations, Mr. Nehru will cold-shoulder, if not altogether drop, the highly controversial Mr. Krishna Menon. This can only be described as the merest loose thinking. Mr. Nehru will no more let Mr. Krishna Menon down as a result of any American pressure than Mr. Kennedy will, for instance, give up President Ayub Khan because of Indian irritation. Neither can afford to do it for the sake of the other, for each is, in his own way, tied up in the tangle of wider policies.

Once again a political storm is brewing on the West Coast. It seems that the uneasy partnership of the ministerial constituents is at an end. It is not perhaps surprising that the Muslim League should have been the first to opt out of the Alliance, for while the Congress has openly declared its new-fangled allergy to it, the PSP has also been putting pressure upon it to eschew politics. For good or bad, it is a more straightforward course that the League should be left to function or fight on its own rather than be drawn into an unholy agreement with either this or that party, out of sheer political expediency. The League's threatened withdrawal from the ministerial alliance means that the Congress and the PSP have to reckon alike with the communalists, on the one hand, and the communists

on the other. It is indeed a difficult situation; the situation will become yet more difficult if the communists and communalists will make a virtue out of opportunism and combine.

Kerala can have a stable ministry only if the Congress and the PSP stick to each other tenaciously. But the prospect is bleak; indeed, it threatens to be dark for, of late, the PSP Chief and his Congress colleagues have been openly quarrelling like the proverbial Kilkenny cats. If Mr. Thanu Pillai will not cease to be an impossible Chief and simultaneously the Congress Ministers will not cease to be difficult colleagues, Kerala will once again be the grave-yard of popular ministries and political reputations.

Swatantra Manifesto

A strong Swatantra Party is ... a force for social peace and a guarantee of the survival of democratic procedures.

The manifesto claims that it would stabilise prices. All parties say the same, but as opposed to the Congress and the socialist parties, the Swatantra Party's economic policy as a whole is such that this would be a practicable goal.

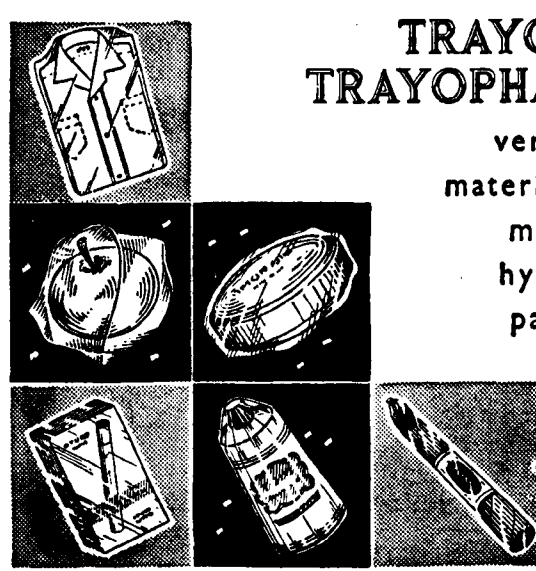
Likewise the claim to be able to reduce corruption has a solid basis in the party's general economic policy.

Altogether the manifesto makes an excellent impression. It is a responsible document, free from unworthy electioneering appeals, but expressing shrewdly what the ordinary Indian citizen feels about the torrent of change to which he has been subjected in the past ten years.

If the electoral machinery were what it is supposed to be, an automatic register of the public mind, there can be little doubt that men holding views of the general kind set forth in this document would be returned in a large majority.

The electoral machinery is far from the ideal. It is subject to many influences which prevent it from registering the real opinion of the public.

—Mysindia



TRAYONS

TRAYOPHANE

versatile
material for
modern
hygienic
packing

NOW

IN ROLLS FOR
HOUSEHOLD
MULTIPURPOSE
USE



AIDS FOR BETTER LIVING

RAYON TRADERS PRIVATE LIMITED

61, SEMBUDOSS STREET, MADRAS-1.

GRAMS: "CELYARN" PHONE: 21641.

BRANCHES:

Phone: 253. Grams: "CELYARN" 68/416, Main Road, Sevaper, SALEM.

Phone: 598. Grams: "CELYARN" 114/A, South Masi Street, MADURAI.

Phone: 3441. Grams: "RAYONS" United India Building, Arinasi Road, COIMBATORE.

RT-27-5A

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THIS UNITY FRAUD!

Sir,—Everyone can see that the communal trouble of the political variety has a kind of co-existence with the Congress. Congress leaders feel irritated because its continued existence impedes their enjoyment of power. The proceedings of the National Integration Conference fully bears evidence of it. After spectacular deliberations, whatever remedies that have been recommended by it, namely, cultural approach, emotional understanding and re-writing text-books, are but the old remedies which, however, had been systematically neglected!

Gandhiji had prescribed an 18-point constructive programme for the unification of the nation—which is more than mere political unity imposed by the rulers. It was meant to achieve an "unbreakable heart-unity". But nobody worked it. Everybody went in for 'pacts', such as when a riot broke out, and thus went to sleep, so to say. Gandhiji was "uninterested in a patchwork solution". His solution lay in working anew in the spirit of helping 'different cultures' in the country 'complementing one another'.

But Nehru has always been obsessed by 'political unity', giving cultural unity a secondary, even a remote importance.

Of course, a vastly complicated national problem can have no one-way solution. It is always a question of preference and priority. Gandhiji preferred heart unity, Nehru political unity. The latter, it might be recalled, started the fatal 'mass contact' movement in competition with Jinnah, with what result is too well known! Even before Pakistan was carved out and the Interim Government was functioning, I appealed to Nehru to seek a solution in the way of cultural approach to the problem of unity but he stated that he could do nothing "at this juncture to set up an institute of the kind you mention." He said that there must first be a stable government before anything could be thought of. He was putting the cart before the horse. He did not see that a stable government could only succeed unity.

After Partition the one 'constructive work' left to him was pact-making.

Calcutta-2 ATULANANDA CHAKRABARTI

MYSORE UNIVERSITY

Sir,—We are surprised at the inefficient way the affairs of the Mysore

University are being carried on. We need only give a few instances.

In the April 1961 Degree Examinations, there were quite many instances of students who were first declared successful, finding subsequently to their dismay that they had failed according to the 'marks cards'.

Not to speak of the inordinate delay in announcing results, which virtually closed the doors of admission for Mysore University students in other universities, the results were not announced in full but in parts, thereby causing further delay.

In the recent September examinations the paper on Sociology was distributed to only one local college (Maharaja's College) on 18-10-61, whereas the examination for the very same paper was held 11 days later (on 30-10-61) for other college centres owing to the belated declaration of holidays. How could all this organized confusion be explained?

Re-totalling of marks has proverbially been a matter of inexplicable delay. To put an end to this state of affairs in the University a thorough probe should be instituted.

Mysore

AGGRIEVED STUDENTS

A.I.R. BROADCASTS

Sir,—In communist countries as in Russia, it seems there is only one choice to radio-listeners—to listen-in or not, to the propaganda stuff that is broadcast, day and night, without intermission. Here in Bharat, that is India, 'free India' as some might proudly proclaim, the choice is no better than Hobson's. Even concerts arranged by AIR under the feature "Sangeetha Sammelan" at nights are disconcertingly

PANDIT D. GOPALACHARLU'S

JEEVAMRITHAM

FOR HEALTH & STRENGTH

AYURVEDASRAMAM (PRIVATE) LTD. MADRAS-17

interrupted by news-reels which are either dull or all about our Prime Minister's doings and performances, interspersed by a few inconsequential items. A free citizen of India has perforce to hear the news-reels and special broadcasts, blared all over South Indian stations of AIR and know how our Prime Minister goes about nobly begging for ever more and more loans from foreign countries or what our Defence Minister has to say to the NCC cadets.

Cannot the AIR authorities arrange concerts of an hour and a half duration and broadcast them without interruption in at least one or two powerful stations? Can't they have the news-reels after the regular news broadcast at 9 p.m.? And, again, what justification is there to virtually compel South Indians to listen to the Hindi news at 1.40 p.m., while there is always a choice when news in English or news in any other language is broadcast? Is it a case of Hindi "more equal" than other languages under the present Congress dispensation?

How one wishes that an informed electorate at least will learn to value the Swatantra Party's promise (in its manifesto) to make the AIR a corporation as in other truly free countries and get rid of the frightening incubus of nationalization!

Bangalore

J. JAYARAMAN

YET ANOTHER MONOPOLY FOR S.T.C.

Sir,—So the S.T.C. is entering export trade in G.N. oil!

If the government gives the monopoly of the G.N. oil export trade to this organization alone, it would mean monopoly of import trade of a link commodity, viz., copra. To add insult to injury special arrangements are to be made for the purchase of seeds at cheaper rates with the help of co-operatives, and maybe with the further assistance of the Forward Market Commission. This would mean that the S.T.C. can export G.N. oil at a comparatively lower loss, import link commodity on a monopolistic basis, and make huge profit at the cost of the general trade.

It is understood that the S.T.C. has been importing copra for distribution to the actual users. So far it has not been able to evolve any method of distribution, it is stated. One wonders what was being done with the copra so far imported.

Palghat

OBSERVER

HIGHLY IMPROPER

The bigger businessmen are open to intimidation in various ways, from the implicit threat of nationalization downwards. But it is perhaps not generally realized that small businessmen also are open to pressure of an indefinable but none the less effective character.

We know of an instance which occurred in Bangalore a week or two ago. It may appear ludicrous, but on reflection its grave implications become clear.

A certain quite small shop-keeper is a card-holding member of the Swatantra Party. One day a group of Congress leaders on their rounds for funds called at his shop demanding money. He explained the situation, showing his Swatantra Party card. They brushed all that aside, continued their demands, occupied his shop and obstructed his business, until he parted with a hundred rupees. When some time later a representative of his own party called, the poor man obtained only five rupees. (Recall the Prime Minister's sarcastic denunciation of Tatas, when they proposed to contribute to both the Congress and the Swatantra parties).

SWARAJYA welcomes comments and criticisms by readers on matters of general public interest. In view of the size of the journal, however, letters should not exceed 300 words.

—Editor

The reader may laugh, but how many people in the shopkeeper's place would have the strength of mind to stand firm on their rights? Legally, he could have called in the police to clear his premises of trespassers, but not many police officers could be relied on to take such action against well-known and fairly important Congress leaders, and in any case it would take some courage to try that method.

It is a small example of what has become a great public danger. Congressmen, with some honourable exceptions, are drunk with their power and their immunity from the ordinary processes of the law. Given reasonable discretion, they can do anything they choose, and a great many of them do choose to do outrageously improper and even illegal things.—Mysindia.

cup full of cheer

SPENCER'S TEAS

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

For you and your Family to be cheerful buy Spencer's Teas

SPENCER & CO. LTD.

MADRAS & BRANCHES

SPT-4-6A

"HAPPY-ENDING" FEATURE FILM






Coughing Relieved

My cough got so bad I could not bear it any more. But I did the right thing. I went straight to my medicine dealer for a bottle of PEPs Throat and Chest Tablets. As I sucked these delicious PEPs Tablets one by one, the relief was wonderful.

Very soon the healing vapours had helped to dispel germs. Now I always keep PEPs Throat and Chest Tablets handy.

PEPS

THROAT AND CHEST TABLETS

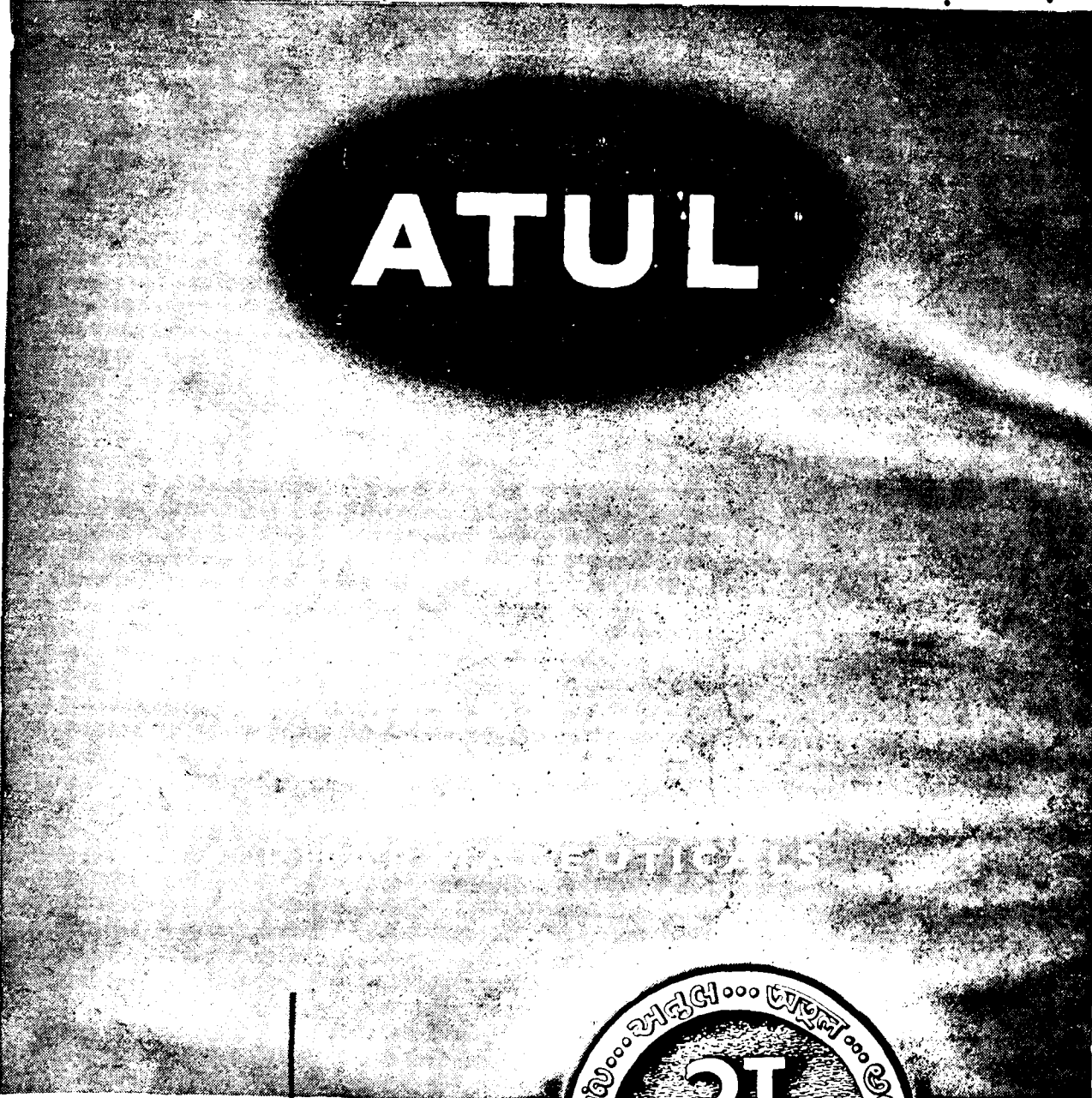
for COUGHS; BRONCHITIS, SORE THROATS and COLDS

FROM ALL MEDICINE DEALERS

C. B. PULFORD (INDIA) PRIVATE LTD.

Sole Agents:

Domin & Co., 66, Rynappa Naik St., Madras-2



ATUL



THE ATUL PRODUCTS LTD.

Atul, via. Bulsar,
Western Railway.

Printed by R. Ananthanarayanan & published by T. Sadasivam on behalf of M/s. Bharathan Publications Private Ltd., at the Kalki Press, Kilpauk, Madras-10. Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH.

(Founded by KILASA SUBBA RAU)

Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 21

MADRAS, NOVEMBER 25, 1961

Price 15 nP

LIMITS OF TAXATION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Like the attempts of scientists of old to devise a machine for perpetual motion, the plan to make India prosperous on the foundation of gigantic loans from abroad is an illusion. No prosperity can be achieved without our own hard work of all kinds, intellectual and physical. And this work cannot be obtained except through one or the other of two alternatives: either compulsion under the dictation of a powerful tyranny, or strong incentives based on human nature as established from time immemorial.

If we dislike and do not want tyrannous compulsion by dictators, there must be the incentive of adequate profit to the individual. The benefit derived from the work may be shared with the State, that is, with those who have not put in a share in that work, but what one gets for oneself and one's dependents must be such a dominant share as to keep up the motive for work in full strength. If the fraction to be given up to the State is so great as to cut too largely into the motive for work, it will affect production itself; and national prosperity will suffer instead of benefiting by the taxes levied.

This is a simple truth but it is not always kept in mind. The ambition to appear to have achieved big things leads to a confusion of the understanding and to the levy of taxation beyond the boundary line that wisdom would dic-

tate. Power enjoyed for long causes disorder of the reasoning mechanism in the human brain. The *Gita* in Chapter II verses 62 and 63, gives the sequence in detail. From contemplation of aims arises attachment, and from attachment desire. From desire issues anger when met with opposition; and from anger arises illusions and confusion of understanding, and consequent deterioration of the reasoning faculty itself. To what the *Gita* has comprehensively laid down, Kautilya's aphorism adds: Power verily puts the mind into disorder: *balam hi chittam vikaroti*.

The megalomaniac plans of Mr. Nehru have led among other things to crushing taxation. There may be no power left in the people to revolt, but production suffers automatically by a law of nature that does not obey the ambition of dictators, but follows its own course.

"The Congress Party, as now led, stands for a system where all real political and economic power and all responsibility is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a party in office. This has resulted in a tyrannical regulation of national life through controls, permits and licences, progressively denying opportunities to the people to participate in the country's economic development. It has meant heavy and oppressive taxes and higher and yet higher prices. It has

meant reckless and wasteful expenditure, spiralling inflation and black-markets. A reduction in even the miserable standard of subsistence of the people in order to make possible indulgence in wasteful projects marked by gigantism is inherent in the Planning of the party in power. It has sacrificed the immediate interests of the common man to near-communist Planning by subordinating his interests to spectacular long-term projects. It has, by its erroneous policy of putting citizens at the mercy of officials, ministers and party bosses, fostered widespread corruption resulting in the breakdown of moral values." (From the manifesto of the Swatantra Party).

The Swatantra Party, therefore, says in its manifesto:

The Party will enforce a drastic reduction in the present excessive burden of taxes which hampers production and employment, including inter alia the reorganization and reform of the Sales Tax so as to minimise harassment and bring it in harmony with the conditions of the small traders in our country. A reduction in indirect taxation will bring down the price of commodities in daily use by the people. Direct taxes will be so regulated as to release the creative genius of our people for productive purposes which will meet the country's needs and raise its level of prosperity. Through such

HOME DEFENCE FIRST

By POTHAN JOSEPH

policies alone would the real income and standard of life of the bulk of the peasantry and agricultural labour in the villages and the middle and working classes in the cities which have been stagnating throughout the past decade be enabled to rise. The energies of the Indian people cannot be harnessed in furtherance of the policy embodied in the current pattern of Planning which sanctifies misery in the name of progress and tries to build the uncertain prosperity of a distant future on the privations of today, a policy which has been borrowed from countries under totalitarian dictatorship.

It is no use imagining that what is being reported as being achieved in communist countries could be achieved in India without putting into motion all the tyrannies which in those countries have produced the alleged result.

If and when the nation finds that it has gone too far with these plans and suffered too great miseries in that behalf, the people will have to surrender to communism and to the compulsion and tyrannies of that order. Thus will International Communism achieve its purpose in South Asia including India.

If the better sense of our people detests this likely culmination and desires to avert it, there is sufficient indication now as to what action people should take at the time of the next elections, when a protest in an adequate measure must be lodged against this policy of over-taxation, reckless loans, and lowering of the value of the rupee. It is a fallacious argument to ask, "Can we dispense with all taxation, can we get on without any plan at all, can we put our economy right without any borrowing whatsoever?" No one asks for such extreme measures. What the Swatantra Party wants is sound moderation in all these matters. Folly cannot be justified by the fallacious argument that, as nations must tax themselves and must borrow in wise measure, they may discard all limits as is now being done.

On the day Prime Minister Nehru bade goodbye to his hosts at New York, Defence Minister Menon was also seen in the crowd, having just arrived to tell a bunch of reporters that he was on a routine-visit as Chairman of the Indian delegation to the World Assembly to keep procedure on the right rails. During his previous routine-visit to India from America, Mr. Krishna Menon was constantly aloft flying to various parts of the country, and one of the functions at which he figured to tone up the morale of armed forces was at Bombay to lead a send-off ceremony to the second battalion of the Sikh regiment, a scene depicted on the screen all over India in the week's documentaries of Congress schedule. He delivered a rousing speech to the Sikh soldiers bound for manning the truce-line in Gaza where, in the last Israelite clash with Nasser's forces, hostilities stopped dead by the UNO action with the usual interposal of a mixed team which, in the rotation of leadership, had fallen to the turn of an Indian Brigadier, just as in the Congo Brigadier Raja is reported to head the campaign forces from abroad to halt internal strife with the hope of eventually quitting the Congo in conditions of settled democratic administration.

The Defence Minister on the quay-side told the Sikhs that while in the past their ancestors might have figured in battles winning renown, they were in the Gaza assignment on the eve of an incomparably more glorious mission since they were going as the peace-ambassadors of India. In Gaza they could protect the frontier against inroads from either side. Did not the poet say that peace hath her victories more renowned than war? Milton did. The Sikhs are no doubt proud as a martial race and in their annals of struggle, they, like the Gurkhas, cherish memories of dashing deeds in the field of battle shouting "Sat Sri Akal". The five symbols

they carry including the sword are religious reminders to them of combat-readiness which is not in line with the physical stamina and alertness required for sentry-go duties along a truce-line fixed by the UNO experts as a cushion against mutual bumping.

Mr. Krishna Menon was of course on the sublime level in his exhortation, but that kind of envisagement does not quite fit in as the *summum bonum* of the life of a fighting battalion trained for soldiers' duties. Nevertheless by a strange quirk of the dual personality in the Defence Minister, he preaches war and peace at the same time, impressing juveniles in khaki with the notion that under his inspiring leadership Indian soldiers shone best in their historic tradition, especially in Korea, in the Kashmir truce-line, in Gaza and in the mediatory role of the International Control Commission in South East Asia (of which India is Chairman). There is nothing to show that we sent even a Red Cross outfit to relieve the sufferings of Tibetans, our next-door neighbour under the Chinese scourge of which India was well aware in 1954 before the leak in the Loka Sabha—after three years of deep reticence in the subtle prosecution of foreign policy. It is all very well to plume ourselves on our historic mission to avert war as if other countries were not interested in peace. Mr. Nehru tells Americans that "Khrushchov does not want war" straight from the horse's mouth. The members of the Sikh battalion, aware of the chronicles of courage on the part of their ancestors, cannot be taken to be very responsive to Sunday School sermons. Such a homily might have suited a team of doctors or nurses sailing abroad since it is their vocation to win glory by ministrations to the suffering. Conceivably, on the premise of patriotism, the Sikh lads would have been better placed in Ladakh and Aksai Chin region.

(Continued on page 8)

OLD POLICY IN NEW GUISE?

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

US Ambassador Galbraith told pressmen in New York that the relations between India and Pakistan were "fully discussed" by our Prime Minister and Mr. Kennedy. This is in strange contrast to the reports that were previously despatched to us by representatives of the Indian press. The advice of the United States, according to Mr. Galbraith, is just what the Swatantra Party has been saying all the time and to which the Prime Minister has been giving a deaf ear. Apart from this—the pith of the matter—one wonders why Indian newsmen completely blacked this out in their reports. It seems as if our press agencies hold the view that everything that is distasteful to the P.M. must be shut out or toned down.

Taking a broad view of the situation, it seems as if the US Government as well as the people have reverted to the policy of showing strength and a determination to negotiate from that position a policy which was tried to the brink by the late John Foster Dulles and which proved on the whole to be one that leads to world-danger, and not to successful negotiations at all, when practised against an enemy so obviously powerful, ambitious and self-conscious as at present Russia is. On the other hand, the unchangeable attitude of Sri Nehru was disclosed, in spite of all the veils of courtesy and apology put on, to be the prevention of war at any cost, even if the price paid be heavy and humiliating.

The American people are being quietly advised by their Government that they should be good to Sri Nehru who happens to be the only mediator available for the purpose of helping the policy of negotiating from strength by telling Russia in confidence that America is very strong. In effect, they in a sense bank on Sri Nehru's friendliness with Russia. They have not given up their suspicions about Sri Nehru being biased in favour of Russia but on the con-

trary desire to utilise his very bias for their policy of negotiating from a position of strength. They believe that Sri Nehru's evidence of American strength will impress Russia when other means have failed.

It is not very heartening to read the implication of Sri Nehru's exhortation in the UN Assembly, which is that the Powers should sit round a table and try to settle the problem of disarmament in general. This by-passes the importance of giving priority to nuclear disarmament. This is the Russian position and one not likely to save the world from the poisoning programme that is afoot.

Meanwhile it is distressing to find Mr. Arthur Dean, US delegate in the UN Assembly, slipping into the same position as that now taken by Mr. Khrushchov, viz., that the outlawing of nuclear weapons cannot be agreed to without first solving the problem of disarmament in general. If the American delegate correctly expressed the US Government's position it would mean the definite conventionalizing of nuclear weapons at the end of fifteen years of consideration. It means the total disregard of the life and health of the rest of the world, and reducing all considerations to the issues between the two battling nuclear blocs. It means the final acceptance of the law of the jungle that 'might is right' and international law does not exist. If the nuclear Powers must be given this 'right' to use nuclear weapons in 'self-defence', it means that the health and existence of the non-belligerent peoples of the earth do not count for anything in international law or in the UN's aims for peace—a conclusion so dangerous and wrong that the world will have seriously to consider whether the UN is of any value to the world.

To talk of co-existence as if Khrushchov's giant test explosion, in defiance of the appeal of the

Second Volume is Out

The second volume of *Satyam Eva Jayate* is now ready for sale. It completes the collection of Rajaji's articles written during the last five years and includes an alphabetical index for both volumes. The second volume deals mostly with the issues that are relevant for the coming general elections. The book in two volumes deserves to be read from cover to cover by the reading public and in particular by all those who are interested in the governance of the country. The price of each volume is Rs. six. Copies are available at Higginbothams in Madras and their principal stalls elsewhere, and at Kalki office, Madras and with Kalki and Swarajya agents at Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Nagpur, Poona, Bangalore City, Bangalore Cantt., Trivandrum, Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Tirunelveli, Tuticorin, Madurai, Trichinopoly, Pudukottah, Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Cuddalore, Chidambaram, Vellore, Salem, Coimbatore and Palghat. If sent by post Re. 1.50 extra for each volume.

whole world, did not happen at all is unconsciously calculated to strengthen Mr. Khrushchov's hold over Russia. Truth loses its character and meaning in a wrong juxtaposition. What Khrushchov has done is a gigantic crime which overshadows other issues at present and, if meekly surrendered to, will overshadow the world. Lord Home's reaction as interpreted by USSR papers more truly represents the right view. The Russian people must be made to see the enormity of Khrushchov's crime. What has been done to the dead body of the man who saved Russia from Hitler must be done to Khrushchov's defiance of world opinion.

CURRENT EVENTS ::

In his zest for the spectacular and in his scorn of "reactionary" practices in the country, the Prime Minister is all out for the cultivation of State-ownership even in the sphere of private enterprise which the people of India know as the source of national wealth under normal incentives. It is an ancient precept with us that the "King shall not engage himself in trade". The term "King" should not be technically construed in the tide of human progress, because the concept of the Ruler is displaced in democracy by the Parliamentary system which for lack of brakes is apt to be on the brink of totalitarianism under the personality-cult. The Prime Minister regards the warning in our traditional sense of administration, as primitive bunk and the entry of the State Trading Corporation is making snow-ball progress downhill. The State here should be understood in terms of substitution for the King. According to New Delhi reports "the entry of the State Trading Corporation into the sphere of ground-nut oil export is now certain". Yield this year is substantially higher than in 1960 and the margin of profit appears attractive to a deficit-ridden economy with myrmidons in office not accustomed to look beyond their nose in their Nosey-Parker activities. According to S.T.C.'s initiative Government agents will directly purchase ground-nut from the growers and "make its own arrangements for crushing it into

oil and then export it". Then comes the ingenious explanation that the Corporation "will not obtain the supplies from the crushers *as such*, partly out of a desire not to add to the existing speculation". A trial-balloon is offered, as "a token quantity of 10,000 tons for the S.T.C. to handle."

The invasion of the sphere of private trade which has been prospering on its own steam with natural fluctuations in the market foreshadows additional trouble. In the story of the wolf and the lamb, one charge was that the water was being muddied by the lamb. The original justification of the State Trading Corporation was that India had to deal with communistic countries which trade in bulk on behalf of their State governments; but the excuse has been blown up sky-high by the mere fact of the communistic countries maintaining transactions with "capitalistic" nations; but having created a department under the stranglehold of authority, the bureaucrats do not want to let it go out of their quota-permit clutches. They admit that they have made a hash of the coal business with bottleneck restrictions on output. The production of cement at scandalous prices resulted in a thirteen-rupee rise, which throttles the building trade and bears witness to the limits of official monopolism at the cost of the inarticulate masses. The Labour Government under Mr. Attlee when it came to power had something of the fetish of pseudo-socialistic productivity, but the British people knew when to drop an experiment like a hot potato. To placate textbook economists, the Colonial Office launched a stunt known as the East African Groundnut Corporation which was, officially, to raise tremendous crops at cheaper prices. After dabbling in the novelty for less than 5 years and studying the balance-sheet, the Labour Prime Minister himself cried halt to the innovation. The venture was quietly wound up and

November 25, 1961

the practical acumen of the British people restrained them from advertising the folly, and they in effect perceived the existence of sheer commonsense in the ancient dictum, without quoting it, that the King shall not engage himself in trade.

Conditions in the Congo discussed by Prime Minister Nehru and President Kennedy foreshadow the features of a civil war; at any rate of a prolonged period of instability requiring the "UNO presence"; and the task of intervention promoted by India with the best of intentions does not quite clarify the enforcement of the General Assembly's resolution on February 21 resting on the vagary that "force might be employed if necessary in the last resort" to tranquillize the situation and preserve the integrity of Congo against Katanga autonomists. Pandit Nehru sees obstructiveness on the part of certain Powers in the campaign against Tshombe, so much so that Prime Minister Adoula of Leopoldville has appealed to Afro-Asian nations for desultory aid in the absence of adequate troops and arms from UNO sources.

With the excitement of Sherlock Holmes catching a continental culprit red-handed, Prime Minister Nehru traces the strength of Tshombe to foreign support, poisoning the argument that manufacturers in Katanga could not have produced the jet aircraft he employs in the fight. He might have hired or purchased them from the world market. It is open to him to say that Indian Canberras strafing his ground-forces could not be of Indian manufacture, so that Mr. Menon's principle of blaming two sides equally irrespective of provocation comes into the picture. As to when and how the tribal conflicts in the Congo would permit the establishment of a democratic settlement free from the plague of "hirelings" and "mercenaries", it is not easy to prophesy with so many heads from uncertain countries stretching far out in the traffic of events. P.J.

November 25, 1961

SWARAJYA

WRITERS AND POLITICS

By *M. RUTHNASWAMY

A three-day International Literary Seminar was held last week in New Delhi as part of the Tagore Centenary celebrations. Writers of international fame like Aldous Huxley, beside Dr. Radhakrishnan, took part in it. These distinguished writers spoke mainly of the influence of modern technology on the life and thought of man. But even Indian writers like Mr. R. K. Narayan did not refer to the position and power of the writer in Indian politics. Mr. Narayan contented himself with dealing with the thesis that "the writer had to face the dictates of popular taste on the one side and, on the other, the dictates of vocal theorists who laid down the 'musts' and 'must-nots' of literature". Another Indian participant cryptically referred to the difficult position of the writer in the modern world. Mr. Humayun Kabir felt that machines need not make writers pessimistic about their future. The Russian representative would not refer to other interests than art and poetry, and was on safe ground in calling on the writers to promote world peace. Of the political influence of writers in India no word seems to have been said. This omission is regrettable, for the seminar was held to celebrate the work of a man who was not afraid to catch the bull of politics by the horns and deal with it as it should be dealt with.

Rabindranath Tagore did not live in the rarefied atmosphere of poetry all the time. He thought and acted and wrote as a man in a world of men. In his essays and addresses he dealt with the problems of the day. In the resurgent days of Indian nationalism, and as a leading citizen of a province which was the spearhead of the national movement, he could not avoid dealing with the burning problems of the day. He would criticise the British as well as his own countrymen. He was a nationalist but he detested, as no

other leading writer of his time did, the dangers of a bare-faced nationalism. Universal in his outlook and his ideas he could think of India only as an integral part of the world-community. And he was all for progress, even industrial progress, provided man would be master of the machine. And he had the courage of the true writer—he was not afraid of criticizing even Mahatma Gandhi's political method of civil disobedience.

Of Mahatma Gandhi's courage of criticism—criticising not only others but never sparing even himself—there is no need to stress here. Of the political influence of his writings he who runs may read. It was through his periodical writings in *Young India* and *Harijan* that he converted millions to his political theory and practice. The age-long curse of untouchability he exorcised with the *mantram* of his writings. His constructive work for Khaddar and village-reconstruction he advanced through his weekly articles. When we remember the influence of his political writings we are reminded of the revolutionary work of Voltaire, Rousseau, Sieyès and Karl Marx.

Are there any others to follow in his work? Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru who has the art has not the *motive* for critical writing, for he has become a mere party-leader. Mr. Rajagopalachari, for all the excellent political writing he does week by week, may be dubbed by some as partisan. But the courage of a lone critic "facing the fearful odds" of a party which is also the Government, and makes no bones about holding the two in solution, cannot be doubted. The rest of modern political criticism in India is swallowed up in the darkness of anonymity. Excellent editorials are written week by week in at least a dozen good periodicals, and feature articles signed and unsigned on the politics, economics, and other concerns of gov-

ernments and political parties appear in profusion. What effect have they on the political thought and action of the day?

On public opinion all this volume of writing must have some bearing. One cannot read a newspaper day by day and be unaffected by what one reads in it—especially as, for most newspaper readers, that is the only reading they do. I do not think anywhere else in the world a newspaper is read from front page to last page, the reader apparently wanting to get the full value for what he has paid. In private conversation one discovers the results of all this political writing. But what effect has all this on public conduct? Is the effect shown at election time? Does not the voting proceed according to considerations of caste, denomination, class, power? Have all this writing and reading made people proof against the pressure of ministers, the party in power, the money-influence?

As for the influence of all this writing on the policies and conduct of governments, they might as well have been done on another planet! When the writing is in favour of governments it is quoted by their spokesmen. If it is hostile or even critical it is written off as 'prejudice' or 'cussedness'. The minds of ministers are made up, especially as they have been made up by an ideology and they can always get on with the aid of a never-failing majority. The writers are allowed to do their worst and the governments make the most of their job.

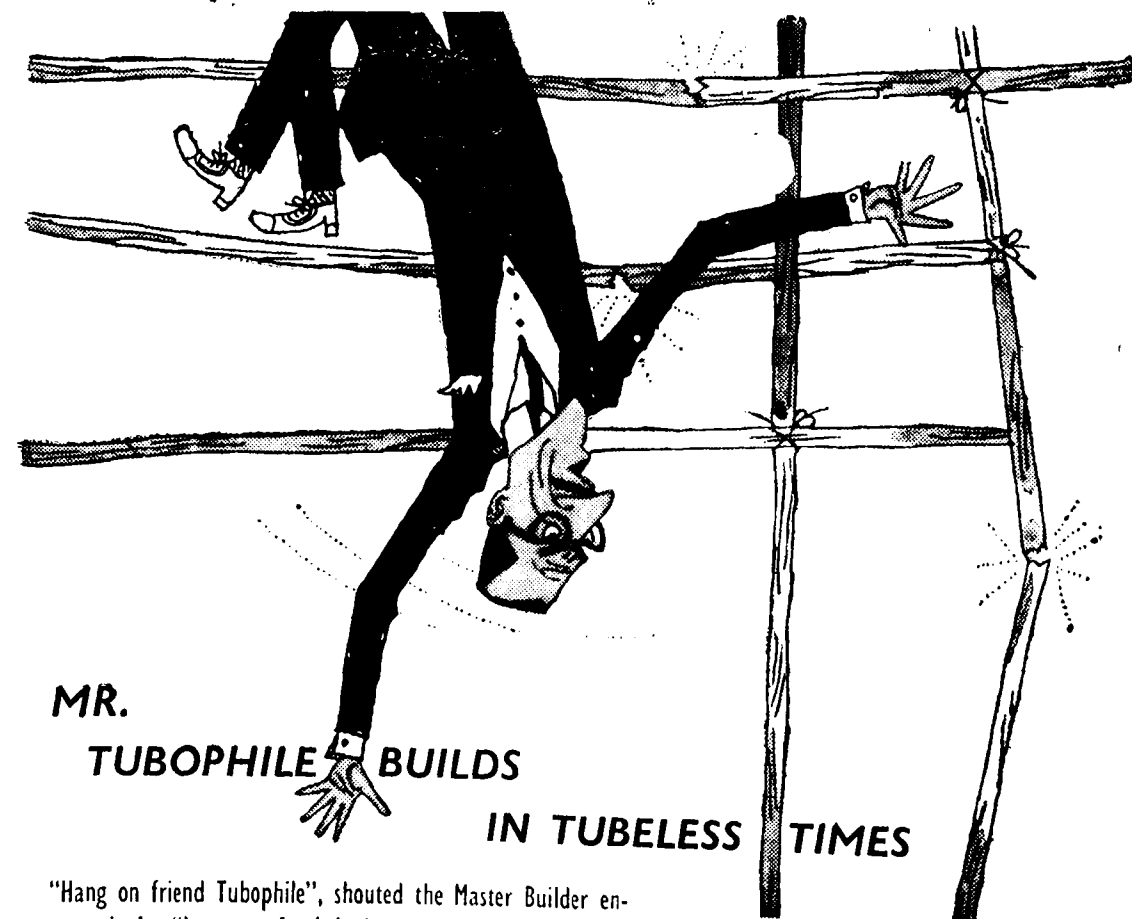
Is this attitude of governments likely to drive writers to frustration? It would be a betrayal of their vocation if they threw their hands up in despair and let the public business slide. Their business is to study, estimate, criticise. For, criticism is the salt of public life as of literature. It is the writers' vocation. If they are false to it, they will commit that *trahison des clercs* which has led to the disease and death of more than one civilized society.

NOW YOU CAN INDENT FOR

SRI GANESHRAJ'S
CHAKRAM
BRAND PICKLES
(To suit Western Tastes)
HOT - SOFT &
SWEET
In 3 Tastes (14 Varieties)
It's A 777 BRAND
Food Product

Prepared by:
M/s. R. S. N. IYER & R. S. G. IYER

Enquiries to:
SRI GANESHRAJ & CO., MADRAS-1
BARCOTINE the Chocolate Flavoured
Food Beverage for all.



"Hang on friend Tubophile", shouted the Master Builder encouragingly, "hang on, for help is on the way." "How dare you say 'hang on'", roared back Mr. Tubophile, now beginning to purple, "that's precisely what I am doing—hanging on—and that for dear life, from your rotten scaffoldings. By the sacred crocodiles of the Nile, never again will I undertake a building job in tubeless times. No future in it, except a chance to break your neck. Call yourself a Master Builder! The cheek of it when you haven't the wit to use safe and sound tubular steel scaffolding. Could have done the job in half the time and no risks attached. Lucky for you Master Builder, there are no Workers' Unions in your tubeless Egyptian times. Or you would have been for the high jump too. As for me, no more building without tubular steel scaffolding. Now get me down from here."

The Indian Tube Company (1953) Ltd.

A Tata-Stewarts & Lloyds Enterprise



re-39

INDIA AND THE GERMAN ISSUE

By PHIROZE J. SHROFF

On the issue of peace treaty with Germany, including the status of Berlin, our policy is not only weak-kneed but lacking in straight-forwardness. This will be evident from the answers given by Prime Minister Nehru in his recent television interview in New York. Mr. Nehru was asked why India did not call for self-determination for East Germany, as well as for Angola and Algeria. Mr. Nehru replied that he had no objection to self-determination being applied to East Germany, but the Soviet Union and the East German Government would not agree and that the situation could hardly be changed short of war.

The clear interpretation of this answer is that Mr. Nehru, in his magnanimity, has no objection to the principle of self-determination being applied to East Germany, but because Soviet Russia would not agree to this principle being applied to East Germany and was threatening to resort to violence and war, including the use of the 50-megaton bomb, Mr. Nehru was not prepared to insist that the principle of self-determination should be applied to East Germany. Mr. Nehru has no hesitation in invoking this principle in the case of Angola or Algeria even though the colonial Powers concerned may threaten violence or a repressive war. This double standard is hard to understand.

Mr. Nehru is reported to have said that Angola and the old colonial territories raised very different problems from that of East Germany. However, Mr. Nehru did not elucidate on what grounds the principle of self-determination, which is enshrined in the UN Charter, is to be applied to some countries and peoples and not to others. In keeping with our claim to neutrality in international affairs, it is the duty of the Prime Minister to tell the Russians that their objection to the application of the principle of self-determination to East Germany is unjustified, and that it amounts to a clear violation of a sacred principle as well as solemn agreements between the victorious Allies including the USSR on the question of the final peace treaty with Germany. When Mr. Nehru returned from one of his former visits to Russia, he said that he had left a part of his heart in that communist country. Is that the reason why our foreign policy has a double standard?

The neo-colonialism of Mr. Nehru's communist friends is in many respects

much worse than that of the old colonial Powers. The countries behind the Iron Curtain have been denied their basic freedoms. Free expression of thought is ruthlessly suppressed and personal liberty has been trampled under foot. East Germany is a police State and millions of Germans in the eastern sector have escaped to the west in their thirst for freedom and a better standard of life. This fact cannot be unknown to the framers of India's foreign policy on the German issue.

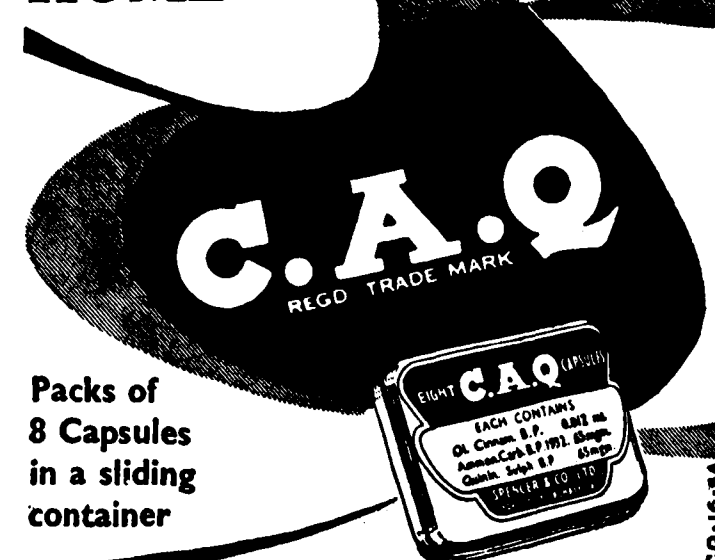
The Soviet Government declares that it is opposed to German re-unification because it fears the revival of German militarism. For a country which claims to be the strongest military Power in the world, and which has a stock-pile of nuclear weapons big enough to destroy the whole world, this is a very strange exhibition of fear. It is unbelievable that this simulated fear has actuated the framers of India's foreign policy. The Russians know very well that given a chance to self-determination, the East Germans will vote for re-

unification with West Germans, which will ensure them the enjoyment of basic freedoms and a much higher standard of life resulting from a free economy.

The liberation of the East Germans from the communist yoke would encourage other enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain to demand their freedom, too. This does not suit the books of the ruling party in Soviet Russia, because it knows very well that this would make the Russians think and embolden them to demand their liberation from their communist rulers. The ideological leaning of our top leadership has been responsible for the loss of 12,000 square miles of Indian territory to communist China. It is up to our Parliament and the people to see that this selfsame leaning does not bring us the opprobrium of the world that we are a country which has a double, and, therefore, a dishonest, standard in our foreign policy. Lip service to the principles of the U.N. Charter and genuflection before communist ideology will not only earn us a bad name in the comity of nations but will seriously hinder us in the enjoyment of our basic freedoms in our own country.

KEEP
HANDY
AT
HOME

CHILLS, COLDS
ACHES AND
FEVERS



Packs of
8 Capsules
in a sliding
container

SPENCER & CO. LTD.

MADRAS - BOMBAY - CALCUTTA DELHI AND BRANCHES

HOME DEFENCE FIRST

(Continued from page 2)

where the Chinese without leave are building roads, also perhaps in cleaning up Indian territory where the Chinese are in residential occupation without even a warning from the Prime Minister that as in the case of Goa other methods of a military nature are "not ruled out". The first task of a soldier is to fight for the defence of his country when violated; pride in overseas commissions on extra-territorial causes cannot be as readily kindled.

Frankly we have been following what in racing parlance would be called in-and-out tactics. When India figured as one of the sixteen nations branding North Korea as an aggressor, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru excused himself from the present Congo-policy saying that India's Defence-personnel was meant for the defence of India, and therefore he contributed two medical units in token of the fight against naked aggression. Such an attitude is in-

telligible if it were steady and constant.

The joint-communique introducing the Nehru-Kennedy Axis round which world-peace is anticipated to revolve speaks highly of the part played by the Indian detachments to the Congo to liquidate "white mercenaries" who supply aid and comfort to Katanga, but the President is under the handicap that if by any chance he sent an American unit of fighters in support of the Adoula regime, he would have to face two unpleasant repercussions. Firstly there would be the communist cry that "white hirelings" are putting their nose into the liberation movement in Africa; secondly, such an expedition might not be relished by the Negro population of the United States who are colour-sensitive. Mr. Kennedy therefore wished UN emissaries in the Congo all success little knowing how the burden of one-third of the fighting strength from abroad consists of Indian jawans against whom the

enemy spread uncharitable stories. Mr. Krishna Menon's counsel to the Sikh battalion cannot possibly apply to our boys in the field when they are provoked into retaliation. They may move forward in defence only, but we cannot, humanly speaking, condemn them for not abiding by the Gaza Code, or the rules of serene vigilance drawn up by the International Control Commission in South East Asia of which India is, hoity-toity, Chairman.

For performing watch and ward duties, there should be, slightly different canons of discipline. The business of the Defence forces of a country must be recognized in normal terms, namely, the defence of the country's frontiers against trespass, and no amount of high falutin' delivered to our youngmen, despatched abroad on foreign credit, would make the impression which Mr. Krishna Menon expects out of a display of eloquence as the parting message in the present circumstances of the case.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

NOT ENVIABLE ROLE

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: There is statistical record that "the thoughtful, reflective visage of Mr. Nehru" peered at Americans for days from more than 50 million television sets, that in some 1,750 daily newspapers and periodicals, and in movie theatres, his was the most likely picture and his voice must have become familiar to millions of younger Americans.

As Mr. Nehru later told the Mexican people, "there is no problem for the world more important today than the question of maintaining and conserving peace". And it is into this end that he has had talks with the Presidents of America and Mexico and other luminaries, with a sense of purpose and fervour that has not only created a profound impression but also achieved quite an appreciable success. Today there is a far more favourable climate than there was yesterday for a peaceful solution of the major world problems.

And yet it would be assuming a trifle too much to take it that peace (which is certainly not the same thing as the absence of war) is either in the offing or even that there is a large area of Indo-American agreement in the execution of foreign policy from their respective angles. Perhaps, there is warrant for the friendly caution given by Mr. George V. Allen, U.S. business leader and former American Ambassador in Delhi, that while the U.S. and India have doubtless much in common, "they must not take each for granted".

Indeed, the popular American enthusiasm for Mr. Nehru is not necessarily an expression of American appreciation of Indian policy. Political commentators at both the ends are guardedly pointing to the by no means thin line that separates the warmth at the White House from the weather in the State Department. The bonhomie aspect at the former is

very much outweighed by the business-like view of things at the latter.

It is not without significance that in his speech at the University of Washington, President Kennedy has since struck a new note while referring to neutrals:

We find some who call themselves neutrals who are friends and sympathetic to us, and others who call themselves neutrals who are unremittingly hostile to us.

Mr. Kennedy, it seems, feels gratified that Mr. Nehru does not go the communist way and does not, indeed, want communism to spread. But the hard-headed State officials and the realists among the American politicians would rather like to know what they can expect of Mr. Nehru in the grim battle for "the containment of communism", in the rigid sense of the term. And there they know they draw a blank and they cannot expect any help from "Mr. Nehru's India".

Between Washington's attitude to Moscow and Delhi's there is

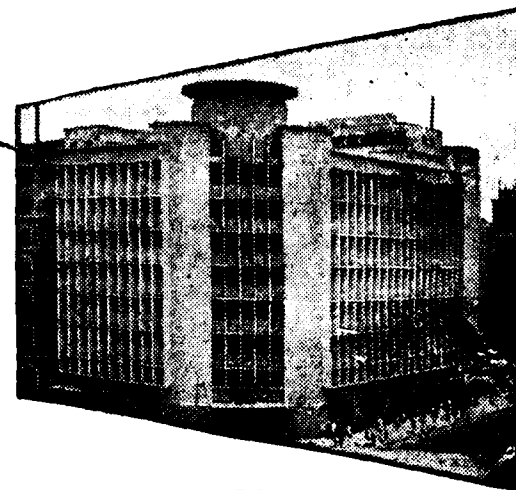
a world of difference. The fact that Mr. Nehru is come nearer to Mr. Kennedy *emotionally* does not at all mean that *politically* Mr. Nehru has drifted farther from Mr. Khrushchev. The only saving grace of the intriguing situation is that Mr. Kennedy does not—and wisely too—proceed on the assumption that those who are not wholly with him are partly against him. And this approach suits Mr. Nehru admirably and perhaps also does justice to his feelings.

The question of choosing between the two K's does not arise for Mr. Nehru. He would like to be a friend of both. It even seems that, as things are, he is their only common friend or the foremost among their all too few common friends. Indeed, the significance of Mr. Nehru today lies in the fact that he is best situated to play the role of a mediator between the two power blocs.

It is a difficult role, a very delicate one—and a most embarrassing one too. It means perpetual tight-rope dancing. The Prime Minister's lot is not an enviable one, though he may excel the rest in that art.

wired for permanence

with

PARAMITE
CABLES

OVER 17 MILES OF CABLE IN ILACO HOUSE
CALCUTTA
Contractors: S. K. Mitra & Co., Ltd.

The Indian Cable Company Ltd.
9, Mare Street, P. O. Box 514, Calcutta.

Representatives in India for BRITISH INSULATED CABLES LTD.
Branches: AHMEDABAD, BANGALORE, BOMBAY, COIMBATORE, JAMSHEDPUR,
KANPUR, MADRAS, RAIPUR, NEW DELHI, AND SECUNDERABAD

IC, 196

Of topical interest

NUCLEAR
EXPLOSIONS
AND
THEIR
EFFECTS

A treatise prepared by the
Defence Science Organisation of
the Government of India, present-
ing all available information on
the subject in a language which
can be easily understood by an
Ordinary reader.

"It is probably the most com-
plete compendium of information
on nuclear explosions which has
been brought together into a
relatively small volume"—
'The New Statesman' London.

Royal 8'vo. Pp. xvi + 340

Price Rs. 7.50

Postage Re. 1.00 (Registration extra 50 nP.)

Order from your bookseller or direct from

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Post Box No. 2011, Delhi-6

DA 61/505

IS PARTY SYSTEM SUITABLE FOR INDIA?

By B. R. KUMAR

The summoning by the Prime Minister of the recently held National Integration Conference at Delhi was an event of constitutional and political significance. It is therefore very regrettable that neither the public nor the press, nor even the members of the conference, seemed conscious of the fact—except Acharya Kripalani alone—and so the conference dispersed after passing some platitudinous resolutions, which in the very nature of things are irrelevant and ineffective. The Acharya was the only member who realized the significance of the occasion, when he dubbed the conference as that of the main 'sinners' who had met to face the ghastly consequences of their misdeeds for 14 years.

The real significance of the conference was that our rulers even at the highest level were willing to admit publicly—and that on the eve of the elections—that after 14 years of uninterrupted, unquestioned and absolute power, they have made a mess of things, such a mess that they were unable to set things right on the party level; and so for the first time condescended to take counsel with members of other political parties. When the Britisher left India in 1947, he handed over

power to the Congress, the successor in office, an efficient administration, an integrated political structure, a unified people. Within 14 years of its uninterrupted power, the Congress administration has lost some thousands of square miles of territory to China, lost Kashmir to Pakistan; and, internally, each State is almost at cold war with its neighbours, each State practically denies Indian citizenship to non-State Indians, and the Chief Ministers of some States are reported to have gone to the U.S.A. and other foreign countries, and negotiated loans even without the intermediacy of the Union Government! Our States have learnt to browbeat the Union Government into giving them financial doles and economic aids; our citizens have learnt to browbeat the State governments. And the students in Assam spearhead the riots against Bengalees and the students in Aligarh and Jubbalpore against other communities. Andhra was formed into a State as sequel to the fast of Potti Sreeramulu, and Master Tara Singh followed the example. Pandit Nehru may cut a great international figure, but at home he is unable, even after 14 years of undisputed power, to control the logic of events, and is forced to appeal to non-Congressmen to come to his help.

The disintegration of the country after the Britisher handed it over to us has proceeded apace during the era of Congress rule, and hence the first duty of the conference, if logic has any place in life, should have been to enquire whether there was any organic connection between the two; and if there was, whether it was possible to stop the rot without breaking the link. For, if there was no organic connection, then the fault lay elsewhere. When a man is chronically ill and all the prescriptions of the doctor fail to cure him, either the doctor is only a quack and is unable to diagnose the disease correctly or prescribe right drug, or the patient is organically affected and is past all recovery. The disintegration of India is either fundamentally due to the faults of Congress rule—in which case there is some hope for the country—or it is inherent in our very blood, in which case there is no hope.

The Congress thesis, of course, is that the fault lies not with it, but with the people, that the Congress rulers are "children of the Revolution", that they are the spiritual heirs of Gandhiji, that

they are the only well-knit and organized party of an all-India dimension, that their leader is a world figure of unparalleled renown. So they have laid all the blame on the people, that it is the people who are caste-ridden, parochial, communal, regional, religious fanatics, corrupt, venal, bigoted. And the resolutions of the conference show that those who attended it accepted the Congress thesis.

Now if the Congress thesis is correct, there is no hope for us. Our blood is organically defective, and all the cleverness and wisdom of our rulers is not going to save us. The early founders of the Congress did not think that the people were so bad. The people were not so even in 1947 when the Congress took over political power. In fact, it was on the strength of the people mainly that all the political structure of the Congress, which challenged the might of our British ruler, was built up, ending successfully in wresting power from Britain.

We should, therefore, seek some other cause for the disintegration. It lies in the new political institutions that we gave to ourselves when the Britisher left us—either in the whole or in some part of it. The disintegration is perhaps due to the instruments that our rulers selected for the exercise of their power.

The basic mistake of our Congress leaders consisted in choosing the party system of government as the instrument of democratic rule; fundamentally, our disintegration is due to this system. Unless this system is uprooted, any number of integration conferences will not save us from disintegration.

The end of all politics is good government, and it is the essence of all good government that it is *national* in action. That is why Aristotle divided governments into normal and abnormal—those that look to the welfare of all the people and those that look to the welfare of a part only. In England the party system of government is legally still an instrument of the total good—the government is of the King, the party being his instrument. Circumstances may arise when the King as the symbol of national unity may discard party government—as in fact he always does during times of crisis.

The Delhi Conference is an admission that the system of party government in our present circumstances is unsuitable. It should be discarded at once. If we do not do so willingly, as in France, circumstances will force it upon us as in Pakistan.

Are there any democratic alternatives? Yes—the Federal Government of Switzerland.

ELECTION IMPOUNDERABLES

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Chief Minister Chavan (of Maharashtra) has declared that the Congress will rout its opponents. In Mysore, where different candidates are engaged in the pastime of running down each other, the Chief Minister has expressed similar optimism. The question is whether the Congress like a frightened person is whistling in the dark or whether it is practising a sort of Coueism, making its self-confidence a means of influencing those who vote only for the winning side.

How an illiterate electorate—which is still new to elections—will act, it is difficult to assess. Past elections are not a guide because of the emergence, first, of new parties like the Swatantra, Jan Sangh and Muslim League, which are distinctive from the older parties which differed only in degree. Secondly, electoral rules have been changed, particularly that of voting in the same ballot-box for all parties, which will prevent stuffing of boxes subsequently with votes of the party which could influence the officials. Thirdly, human nature likes a change 'for its own sake' and the third general election may spring many surprises, quite different from the two earlier elections.

Apart from these mechanics of the elections, the balance-sheet in favour of the Congress is very complex. On the credit side, is, first, that fourteen years of power has enabled the Congress to become well known to most minds—even educated sections—as an inseparable part of the Government. The Congress itself has suggested, like King Louis XIV, that after it there can only be deluge, and *that* of the communists! Many educated persons even do not clearly understand the party system in a democracy and perhaps think that they should vote Congress if they are to have a stable government in the country. It is quite possible the uneducated, who have more understanding from what they *feel* than what they *think*, may restore democracy by rejecting the Congress.

Again, the Congress has the advantage both of money and power of a Government in office, and it has increased its domination on the economic life of the people. Not only the government employees it has multiplied but the millions of employers and employees, who are subject to its rules, regulations and favours will probably assume that they and the Congress hang together or will hang separately. They

have power and money to swell the strength of the Congress.

The Congress has also the exclusive command of the organs of publicity, not only its own but the greater part of the private ones which depend on government for their income and opportunities to make money. A recent instance is furnished by the way the manifesto of the Swatantra Party was dealt with by the newspapers who gave scanty space to it, even though its manifesto should have been more welcome even as news than the stale repetitions of the Congress manifesto which they printed in full!

The Congress has, however, to reckon with imponderables. In elections, masses act on feelings which are not susceptible to mechanical stresses. Almost everything in the Second Five Year Plan has roused the feeling of despair of the people, even of the small minority which has been benefited, against the Congress land legislation which creates State ownership. It has not only expropriated owners of land not cultivated by them, so that their own tenants will have more than they themselves, but has frustrated the tenants benefited, by the incidence of State ownership which includes larger payments of rent and premiums, inalienability which makes ownership meaningless for purposes of obtaining loans, and the prospect of co-operative farming which will consume even their existing rights of occupation. The only question is whether the villagers, both owners and tenants, will understand before the elections that, by setting them against each other, the Government is appropriating everything to itself. At the same time, the landless who had supported the Congress in the hope of obtaining land now stand deprived, on account of the inalienability of holdings, of obtaining land by their own efforts or favours of the owners.

In the towns, there is a spurious sense of prosperity from the constantly rising wages but many are realizing that prices are rising faster and there is no new employment for their un-earning dependents. Owners, too, who are making money on inflation, are becoming haunted by the ceilings on income which may leave them poorer than their very employees. In any case, all are tired of the corruption of government, and, while they look back to the past, are also disposed to look forward to a party which can restore good government.

No society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom. It is contrary to the very nature of man... Democracy is not a State in which people act like sheep. —GANDHIJI

Many people are feeling that the values which made life meaningful are being unnecessarily changed. Religious heads are alarmed at the power which pending legislation will assume on their day to day life and work. They are in a position to communicate their apprehensions to the millions of their followers.

The very scramble for election tickets, which Congress regards as part of its success story, has two consequences, first, the contestants will not accept decisions against them and will be indifferent, if they do not secretly oppose the interests of their successful rivals. Secondly, the scramble has left no doubt in the mind of the public that politics has become a profession, and Congress candidates are more disposed to serve themselves rather than the voters.

Can the Congress overcome this tide of imponderables? It relies mostly on the votes against it being divided even more than in previous elections. It hopes that the reputations built up for its leaders and policies will influence the voters. It has the advantage of money and power. It may win, but so may the people, if they acted (as well they might) from instincts too deep and true to their own interests.

SWARAJYA

(English Political Weekly)

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

India and Ceylon

One year ... Rs. 7.50
Six months ... Rs. 4.00

Foreign

One year ... Rs. 15.00
Six months ... Rs. 7.50

Subscription prepayable. No V.P.P. except for Ceylon Subscribers

—Manager—

THE SWARAJYA, MADRAS-10

CONSULT
RAM MOHAN
TRAVEL SERVICE
For All Bookings
Air - Sea - Rail
Kempegowda Rd., BANGALORE - 9
362, N. S. C. Bose Rd., MADRAS - I

PANDIT D. GOPALACHARLU'S
JEEVAMPITHAM
FOR HEALTH & STRENGTH
AVL RVEDASRAMAM (PRIVATE) LTD. MADRAS-17

Vanaspati is used in over 50 countries

VANASPATI-LIKE fats have been used the world over for several decades. In western countries these fats are known as margarine and shortening, and are very popular. Even the butter-rich countries consume more vanaspati-like fats than butter, as this table shows:

		Annual per head Consumption (lb)	
		Butter	Shortening and Margarine
Denmark		23.0	41.4
Netherlands		9.0	44.8
U. K.		18.5	19.9
U. S. A.		8.0	20.6
West Germany		17.2	27.1

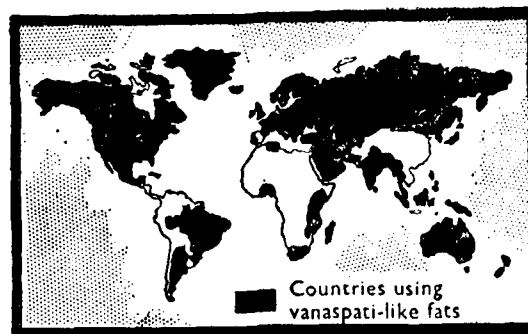
The world-wide popularity of vanaspati-like fats has its source in the industrial revolution. Industrialisation in Europe brought rapid rises in populations, higher standards of living, better diets, and a demand for more food-fats. Soon traditional fats—butter, lard and dripping—were in short supply.

This led to the search for less expensive yet equally nutritious food-fats. The search ended when the hydrogenation process was used to convert edible oil into semi-solid fat. Thereafter, hydrogenated fats have been produced in larger and larger quantities. They are known in various countries as shortening, margarine, vegetable ghee and vanaspati.

Today vanaspati-like fats are made by over 25 countries: the largest producers are the U.S.A., West Germany, the U.K., the U.S.S.R. and India.

Nutritious, low-cost fat

India's population and standard of living are rising; so also is her need for food-fats. But her traditional food-fats—ghee, and some vegetable oils—are expensive and in very short supply. Fortunately India has vast groundnut oil resources which are being tapped to produce large quantities of vanaspati. And we in India have been increasingly using this nutritious, low-cost cooking fat...just like millions the world over.



VANASPATI-LIKE FATS ARE USED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Albania Algeria Argentina Australasia Austria
Belgium Brazil British East Africa Bulgaria
Burma Canada Central African Federation
Czechoslovakia Denmark Ethiopia Finland
France E. & W. Germany Greece Hungary
India Iran Iraq Ireland Israel Italy Japan
Libya Malaya Mexico Morocco Netherlands
Nigeria Norway Pakistan Poland Portugal
Rumania Saudi Arabia Sweden Switzerland
Turkey Union of South Africa U.S.S.R.
U.A.R. U.K. U.S.A. Yemen Yugoslavia.

For more information, please write to:—

The Vanaspati Manufacturers' Association of India

India House, Fort Street, Bombay

Dear Reader

Congress leaders great and small may talk and confuse the voters about Dravidanad and many other irrelevant issues, but the fact remains that what people feel most heavily is the control which the Congress Party has secured for itself over everyone's life through the position it occupies now as the ruling party in a State governed by a regimented economy. This was not so before Congress came into power. It has enlarged the powers of the State and has appropriated to itself all that added power to make itself irremovable. This is the great and single issue before the electorate which should therefore decide now to concentrate on it, and refuse its support to the continuance of this danger to democracy. Dravidanad is not a real territorial or political issue. It is the form which the emotional revolt of the southern people has taken against being treated as a subject people in their own country by the people occupying a different region. It calls for good and just government rather than any territorial or political reorganizing. The augmentation of the powers of the Central Government at the expense of the jurisdiction exercised by the State governments and,

more important still, at the expense of the liberty of the citizens as conceived and defined in the original Constitution, has resulted in these emotional stresses and strains. If this root cause of the malady is tackled and the Central Government, and the party bosses that control it become less omnipotent and less of a daily annoyance to people following their own avocations, these problems of emotional disintegration will disappear, and national life will once again become smooth. Natural synthesis will find its healthy scope instead of being impeded as now by fissiparous forces.

The Madras ministers' repeated animadversions against Dravidanad serve the purpose of isolating the D.M.K. from other parties. But let the people not be misled by this red-herring strategy. The real issue is—Do we want Statism or shall we stand up solidly against it? The Congress has planned for centralized Statism, which is the stepping-stone to totalitarianism.

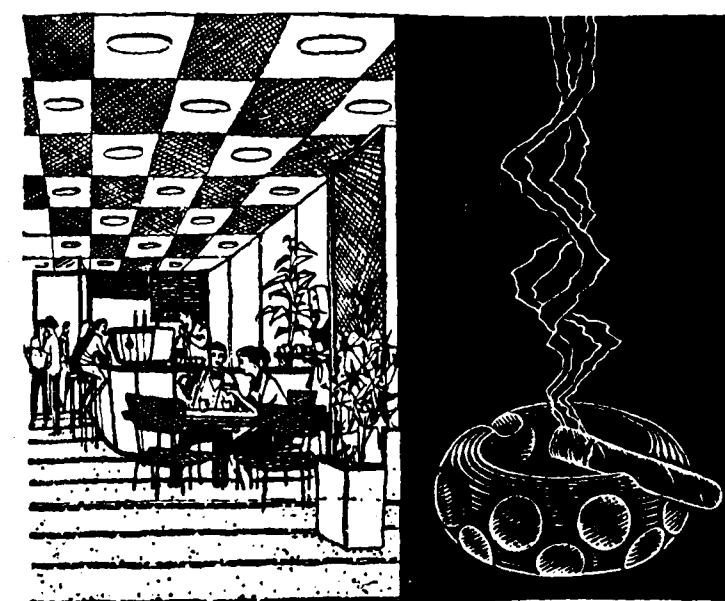
★

Collection from all indirect taxes must go up. So we are getting publicised advice and comments from outside experts to sup-

Our contributors are respectfully requested not to exceed 900 words, in view of the size of SWARAJYA.

port it. The latest observation of outsiders falling into this pattern and going into headlines in the Indian press is that railway passenger fares are very low in India as compared with what prevails in Western countries. May be this is so, but the railways are for the people and not people for the railways, and the people in India get less per capita income than any people in the West, and they have to travel longer distances in India than people of the same class in Western countries do, ours being so large a continent. Economic concentration has increased the need for constant moving about.

The regime to which we are submitting is an exceedingly hungry animal. All taxes and all prices to be paid for services rendered by the organized State, and all commodity prices, must go up to feed this hunger. There is no question of international equalization. It is a simple case of increase in the spending side of the Government's Plans. Every addition to the splendour of the Congress Government's show must be



A perfect pleasure
After a
Hearty Dinner
**spencer's
cigars**

SPENCER & CO. LTD
THROUGHOUT INDIA.

paid for in the shape of taxes, direct and indirect.

India cannot feel very happy at the growing isolation of Nepal from India. We cannot prevent the natural developments issuing out of our weakness in respect of China. Diseases must be tackled by attention to the root causes and not by getting excited over the symptoms.

It is amazing the easy way in which the body of the man who led Russia to victory and saved the nation from Hitler has been pulled out of the grave, and his picture and name erased from the

public tablets. No further demonstration is needed to establish the brain-washing technique that communism has developed. The happenings in Russia about Stalin prove the terrorism that can be established in party-totalitarianism. Nothing is too sacred for it. There is no length to which it will not go. Where would Russia have been today but for Stalin and the others who are now "expelled" and disgraced? Power has indeed dislocated the extraordinarily fine thinking machine of even Khrushchov. Providence has many ways of achieving its purpose.

C.R.

SOCIALISM TODAY

A SURVEY OF SOCIALISM TODAY

By Messrs A. D. Shroff, Morarji Vaidya and Prof. Gheevala
Forum of Free Enterprise
(Price not stated)

This slim little book is the latest venture of the Forum of Free Enterprise in pursuance of their policy of keeping the people acquainted with certain important basic ideas on current issues of economic policy and administration in the country. It consists of three essays on aspects of socialist planning in relation to the basic objectives of freedom and democracy.

The first essay by A. D. Shroff, the well-known Bombay businessman, deals with Socialist Planning versus Planning for Free Enterprise and prosperity. At the outset Mr. Shroff disposes of the myth sedulously fostered by the Congress and its comrades in the regular Communist Party of India that private enterprise in India is opposed to planning. He justly claims that it was the Bombay Plan sponsored by eight leading Indian industrialists in 1944 (with Mr. Shroff himself among them) that first provoked the country to a consideration of the potentialities of planned economic development as a means of quickening the process of economic change. But there is a radical difference between the Bombay Plan approach and that favoured by the Congress Party in power today. The Bombay Plan sponsors were concerned to maintain an atmosphere of freedom and democratic administration in the country. The Congress Party approach is destructive of individual freedom in this vital sphere. Mr. Shroff, like

the rest of those who cherish freedom, would have none of this totalitarianism in planning for prosperity in India. The chief defects he notices in current Indian planning are those which have cost Russia so dear: (1) excessive comprehensiveness in planning leading to disastrous breakdowns; (2) rigidity; (3) fixation of extravagant physical targets without prior assessment of resources; (4) bias towards heavy industry; (5) neglect of basic consumer needs or their drastic restriction; and (6) neglect of food production and agriculture. The consequences are writ large in the massive inflation that is overwhelming the country and that will ere long create the conditions of mass misery and discontent which in inter-war Germany bred Nazism. Our managerial resources are wholly inadequate to the burdens we seek to place on them. The bureaucracy may be efficient enough for secretarial functions but large-scale business management is outside its natural sphere. The employment of civil servants and the application of civil service procedures in business management will prove a costly futility. And in the process the basic objectives of better standards of living and of freedom will have vanished quite!

Mr. Vaidya, in the second essay in this book, deals with State enterprises and democracy. He points out how large a part organized semantic misappropriation plays in economic and political controversies today. Communist tyranny is labelled 'people's democracy' and State capitalism is called 'public ownership'. Factories in the public sector are theoretically owned

by the people at large but by virtue of their special conditions of organization and management they are almost totally exempt from public or parliamentary scrutiny and constitute a private empire of bureaucracy, a kind of *imperium in imperio* of the civil service and its political masters for the time being, the Congress with all it implies of corruption, inefficiency and worse. Take one aspect of its working in India. Ordnance factories are now engaged in manufacturing trucks, while installed and tested capacity in the private automobile units lies idle—and there is a shortage of ordnance in the face of Chinese menace. Mr. Vaidya lays down certain criteria for the assumption by the State of responsibilities of management and production in the industrial field, designed to take account of basic human values, protection of the consumer from the operation of monopoly, tyranny, efficiency of operation, freedom from political and ideological twists and predilections, and accountability to Parliament.

Prof. Gheevala, in the third and last essay in this symposium, discusses the question of whether socialism is outdated. Drawing attention to the dilemma facing socialist parties in industrially advanced countries like Great Britain, Prof. Gheevala exposes the collapse of the Marxist analysis in vital respects. The consequential rethinking is currently in progress in the socialist parties of the West but in India, the Left Book Club socialists now in power seem to be incapable of ridding their minds of the Marxist illusions which their comrades in the West have cast away. Nationalization is no longer put forward as the sole means of achieving the goals socialistically aimed at in the U.K., for example. Outworn Marxist dogma still dogs the footsteps of our pinchbeck Lenins and Stalins in India. Prof. Gheevala calls on these—we fear, in vain—to think afresh and to think ahead, free from the schizophrenic attachment to democracy as well as to its opposite, Marxian ideology.

In an appendix, there are extracts from Mahatma Gandhi and others on the ideals of social well-being. One fundamental pronouncement of Gandhiji, included herein, should, it seems to us, be made a matter of daily *parayana* and meditation by all those in authority in the country. That says, "self-government means a continuous effort to be independent of government control...Swaraj will be a sorry affair if people look up to government for the regulation of every detail of life. That government is best which governs the least."

S.R.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

NEHRU'S HALF-TRUTHS

Sir,—Half-truths of politicians can sometimes be worse than lies. Prime Minister Nehru is reported to have stated at a public meeting in Madras:

"I am told that co-operative farming is interference with individual liberty. Greater bosh I have never heard in my life. We must get out of this nonsensical talk, when it is well known that normally co-operation is one thing that every country goes in for improvement in agriculture. There is no future for agriculture in any country, except through co-operation."

In the above statement, Mr. Nehru, instead of trying to defend joint co-operative farming tried to confuse the public mind by insinuating that co-operation in agriculture and joint co-operative farming are one and the same thing. Nothing can be farther from truth. To call a joint co-operative farm a co-operative enterprise is a misnomer. While co-operation is an association of free autonomous units, a joint co-operative farm consists of members who have lost their economic autonomy. The aim of a co-operative should be to help and support its members in their individual business or enterprise, and not to replace their individual enterprises by a joint venture. In a co-operative farm, the identity of the farmer and his holding is completely lost.

No one in this country, not even the Swatantra Party leaders, with whom Prime Minister Nehru is very angry for their opposition to joint co-operative farming, has opposed "co-operation in agriculture". It is in fact Prime Minister Nehru's attempt to foist joint co-operative farming in the guise of "co-operation in farming", which has greatly hampered the cause of true co-operation in the country. It is well known that true co-operation helps farmers in improving their agriculture, but it is also equally well known that joint co-operative farming, such as Prime Minister Nehru wants to see established in this country, leads to lower production, loss of individual liberty, and ultimately to totalitarian rule.

B. P. SINGH

Sohna Agri. Farm, Dt. Basti.

MADRAS FINANCE MINISTER'S RUSE

Sir,—The Finance Minister of Madras, in his reply to the debate on

National Integration in the Madras State Assembly, like many of the ardent advocates of the now fashionable slogan, never cared to look into the root causes of the present creeping emotional disintegration.

Being in the thick of election propaganda, he could not resist the temptation of trying to prevent the D.M.K. and the Swatantra parties coming to an electoral understanding, lest it should jeopardise his party's chances. Hence

his challenge to the D.M.K. to make their demand for Dravidanad an election issue. But the D.M.K. is not likely to fall into the trap that he has set for them. It is to be hoped the D.M.K. leadership will curb its natural temptation to accept the Minister's challenge and make it clear that they are neither for obliging the Minister nor the party he represents. The D.M.K. leaders should tell the Minister bluntly that they are not in need of his unsolicited advice and it is for them to decide their strategy and programme of action.

Madras-1

V. S. SRIKUMAR



It's never too early to start saving for your children's future

YOUR GROWING DAUGHTER must be secured in a happy marriage...and your son should be given the finest education. It means saving—regularly, starting right now.

You can start saving from today through our Recurring Deposit Scheme, or Savings Accounts in the name of your 'minor' children, or our special Savings Certificates.

The nearest IOB Agent will be happy to give you full particulars.

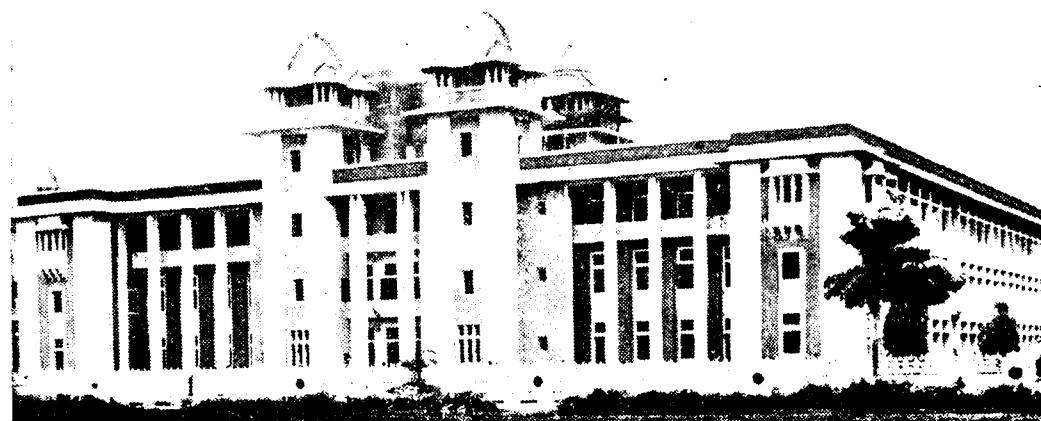
THE INDIAN OVERSEAS BANK LIMITED
Central Office: Madras

M. Ct. Muthiah
Chairman

C. P. Doraikannu
General Manager



Distinctive Achievement



A new landmark on the Marina, Madras, is the centenary building of the Madras University. We are proud that SANKAR BRAND cement has been exclusively used in the construction — a brand which passes all tests of soundness, strength and stability.

 **THE INDIA CEMENTS LTD. MADRAS-2**

Sold and Distributed by: The Cement Marketing Company of India Limited

Printed by R. Ananthanarayanan & published by T. Sadasivam on behalf of M/s. Bharathan Publications Private Ltd., at the Kalki Press, Kilpauk, Madras-10. Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)
Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 22

MADRAS, DECEMBER 2, 1961

Price 15 nP

RESPECT THE CONSTITUTION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Swatantra Party's most important stand is its determination to restore the Constitution to its original shape and to see to its being respected in spirit and letter.

The people gave unto themselves a government by this Constitution. But did they give all power to the government? The Constitution is a limiting as well as an empowering instrument, just as the American or Irish Constitution has been described to be, by the highest authorities in Constitutional law. The Constitution of India gave to the government to be constituted under it, not all powers but only *some* powers. It laid on the National and State governments a number of important prohibitions. These prohibitions are an integral part of the Constitution, nay, of democracy itself. They must be fully and loyally accepted and enforced, not merely paid lip-homage.

Part of the Constitution is mere exhortation, but the rest is law. And when there is a law it subjects the interpretation of it and the exercise of powers as well as the limitations and prohibitions under it to the scrutiny and final decision of courts. This third element in the Constitution which is the judiciary's supremacy in its field is as important as the other elements in the constitutional structure. The prohibitions and limitations of the powers granted to government are contained in

what has been called the 'articles' relating to fundamental rights. The seemingly absolute powers given to government are limited by these fundamental rights by which certain rights are given to every individual citizen of the Union. No more is the government sovereign than the citizen is. Each is bound by certain limitations. And these frontiers of power are to be adjudged by the courts wherever necessary and whenever called upon by a citizen or the government. This is democracy and not any other thing.

Party governments come into existence by the electoral machine. Not so the courts. Judges are to be appointed on the basis of qualifications, whereas the electoral device works entirely on a basis of the choice of the people under adult suffrage.

The appointment of judges on merit and the control of the procedure in this respect by the Supreme Court is a consequence of the constitutional implication of the importance of the judiciary. Any disregard of proprieties in that method, direct or indirect, would taint the distribution of sovereignty at the source. Any exercise of influence or the placing of any temptation that would detract from the full independence of the judicial machinery is an act of treason to the Constitution. Any administrative practice that would tend so to influ-

ence or tempt judges must be deemed to be inconsistent with the spirit and intent of the Constitution. The highest judges in America are appointed for life and placed beyond accounting to the electorate. The practice of extensions of tenure, and applications and offers of such extensions and other odd jobs carrying remuneration, such as prevails in India, is bad. The appointments of retired judges to salaried places of various kinds has made them less free than they were intended to be.

Democracy is not the committing of all decisions to a majority of the people. The judicial function is an essential part of democracy, although it is not to be subject to popular decision. It is not an exception to but is a part of democracy. As an American writer has said, a river is water but a river is also banks. And without banks there is no river. If, therefore, any high authority in the executive machinery of democracy should utter a 'note of warning' or seek to 'educate' judges into good conduct in the name of progress it would be treason to the Constitution. It is wrong for any minister to ask the judges to march with the times, to adjust their ideas to new social ideas and so forth—which means nothing else but to ask judges to accept the decisions of popular assemblies and to be untrue to the Constitution and to their oath of office. In a free country

try any one may advise any one else, but 'advise' from the supreme executive authority to the judges is an infringement of the Constitution.

The machinery of government is a delicate one in certain parts. The appointment of judges, their tenure of office and the laws governing their conduct and occupation after retirement, are of this delicate nature. Mischief done in this field is ruinous to the intent of the Constitution. So it is that judges of high rank should not be allowed to accept offices of profit, or prestige equivalent to profit, after retirement. For the same reason, the mechanics of judicial proceedings should be left to the judicial authority and should not be in the hands of the executive. It should be realized by lovers of democracy that if its leaders interfere with judicial authority, democracy defeats itself. The values upon which democracy is based demand the judicial check that forms part of the Constitution.

So also, the individual citizen's sovereignty in certain fields is an essential part of democracy. Otherwise democracy would result in a negation of its basic values. Whenever fundamental rights are assailed by Parliament and laws are obtained to modify and restrict these sovereignties which were inscribed in the Constitution, it is an anti-Constitutional act and deserves to be strenuously opposed. The fundamental rights were not declared in a hurry but were the outcome of considerable thought and discussion. Later, amendments have been thoughtlessly made to enable carrots to be hung before the electorate. These ought to be all scrapped. This is what the Swatantra Party seeks to achieve.

If one analyses the points raised by the Swatantra Party against the present regime and the programme chalked out by it as against that of the Congress Party, it will be seen that every one of the points raised amounts only to a reversion to the fundamental rights inscribed in the original Constitution of India. Well then, we ask, were the makers of

that Constitution a rich man's party or the enemies of the poor as now the Swatantra Party is mendaciously described by some people, who have derived a vested interest in the present Congress administration and, therefore, desire that it should be continued at all costs? No one can cast on the makers of the Constitution of the Union of India such a libellous accusation. The Swatantra Party wants a restoration of that part, viz., the right of every citizen freely to pursue an occupation or trade of his choice, and

A DANGEROUS SHORTCUT

By B. SHIVA RAO

At two seminars held in India in recent weeks (one in New Delhi and the other in Bombay) the proposal to resort to force for securing Goa's integration with India found enthusiastic encouragement. It is not a matter for surprise that several African representatives who had come to India for the seminars were wholeheartedly in favour of such a move. Sanguinary conflict has been a feature of most nationalist movements in Africa and the African races, frequently in self-defence, have had resort to arms.

What is a matter for surprise is Mr. Nehru's declaration at one of the seminars that armed intervention was not ruled out for Goa's release from Portuguese domination. He had somewhat earlier committed himself to the same broad position in a debate in Parliament. As is usual with our Prime Minister, he did not clarify his intention further and specify the circumstances under which the use of armed force would be justified or inevitable. Mr. Morarji Desai, following Mr. Nehru in the debate in New Delhi, offered an explanation more in line with India's traditional policy of non-violence, making an exception only for the sake of resisting aggression; but he was careful to add that his interpretation was personal and only the Prime Minister could speak for the Government as a whole.

to have and to hold what he has acquired without fear of expropriation. That those provisions of the fundamental law of the land have been discarded in substance by the present administration is demonstrated by the need it felt to obtain subsequent parliamentary amendments of the articles of the Constitution relating to those rights and freedoms. Indeed these amendments were mostly obtained after the courts definitely declared the invalidity of attempts on the part of the State to violate the rights.

No one in India who has given thought to the issue of Goa's freedom can blame the Government, so far, of impatience or impulsive action. The criticism, on the other hand, has been directed against the element of abundant, almost excessive, caution in the Government's policy. With India's independence, it was natural and right that the demand for the withdrawal of France and Portugal from the pockets of Indian territory over which they have exercised colonial rule should gather momentum. France has moved forward, though with reluctance and delay. Portugal, unfortunately, has been defiant and aggressive, defaulting even in the matter of sending information to the UN on conditions in her overseas territories—an obligation which she assumed when she signed the Charter and became a member of the world organization.

On merits, therefore, India's case for including Goa within her borders is unanswerable. Mr. Nehru's Government has earnestly explored every avenue of a fair settlement through negotiations, without evoking a response from Portugal other than a negative one. With the passage of years and the occupation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli (two other Portuguese pockets in Gujarat) the anomalous position of Goa becomes

nars, to which reference has been made earlier, have roused public expectations of an early move in regard to Goa, especially in the light of Mr. Nehru's veiled reference to armed intervention.

There is in such a situation an inclination to depart from the normal lines of thinking and action overlooking vital points. It has been our pride that the success of the Freedom movement in India was achieved through a steadfast adherence to the principle of non-violence. Gandhiji risked his personal influence and prestige on more than one occasion by the suspension of civil disobedience as a sequel to the outbreak of violence. He resisted all shortcuts to national freedom which seemed to him to be incompatible with Truth and non-violence. Because of the nature of the struggle and the manner of the final transfer of power, India has been able to claim success for the technique of non-violence.

The danger today is that the Government of India may be hustled into armed intervention in Goa by Portugal's perversity and the pressure of groups which make no secret of their intention to create an embarrassing situation on the Portuguese frontier. With the approach of the general elections the temptation to make an issue of Goa's future is becoming stronger every day and may prove irresistible in the coming weeks. It is not a coincidence that the most active champion of this movement is a worker with strong pro-communist leanings, Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali. Non-violence is not an article of faith with the communists and their supporters, though they may accept it on occasions to serve an ultimate purpose. There may be valid reasons for the communists to force the pace of events in Goa, so as to compel Mr. Nehru to validate his offer of armed intervention. Mr. Krishna Menon made a strong attack last week, before the current session of the UN General Assembly, on Portugal's reactionary policy in respect of her overseas territories, adding that India "has at no time abjured the use of force in international relations".

This line of thinking may make a strong appeal to several African countries which are inclined to charge India with being luke-warm and complacent about the liquidation of colonialism in Africa. For Mr. Krishna Menon there is a consideration of a personal nature; as the Congress candidate for north Bombay, he may find it difficult to resist the communists' pressure, especially as among the



'SATYAM EVA JAYATE

By
RAJAJI

In Two Volumes

A collection of Rajaji's articles in Swarajya and other journals on various topics from 1956 to 1961. The second volume includes an alphabetical index for both volumes.

Available at Higginbothams in Madras and their principal stalls elsewhere, and at Kalki office, Madras and with Kalki and Swarajya agents at Delhi, (M/s. Khanna Stores, 68, Baird Lane New Delhi; M/s. Central News Agency 23/90, Connaught Circus New Delhi-1. Phone 44782), Bombay, (R. Kannan 26/208, Meena Sadan, Sion-Matunga Road Bombay-22. Phone: 60011), Calcutta, (G. R. Ramaswamy 11, Govt. Place East, First Floor Calcutta-1. Phone: 23-5067) Nagpur, Poona, Bangalore City, Bangalore Cantt., Trivandrum, Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Tirunelveli, Tuticorin, Madurai, Trichinopoly, Pudukottah, Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Cuddalore, Chidambaram, Vellore, Salem, Coimbatore and Palghat.

Price: Rs. 6/- Each Volume

If sent by post Rs. 1.50 extra for each volume.

BHARATHAN PUBLICATIONS PRIVATE LTD.
KALKI BUILDINGS, KILPAUK, MADRAS-10

voters in that constituency there is an appreciable proportion keenly interested in terminating Portuguese control over Goa.

The issue is clear-cut—Should India abandon under any circumstances non-violence and act in violation of the Charter for absorbing Goa into the territory of the Union? For those who thus view the movement in regard to Goa, there can be but one answer. The sacrifice of principle for expediency will deprive India of such moral influence in international affairs as she may still possess.

December 2, 1961

CURRENT EVENTS :

The decision of the Macmillan Government to enact law for controlling the immigration of foreigners into Britain has excited controversy; and in New Delhi there is talk of retaliatory action on the ground that the actual administration of the Statute would prejudice the entry of Indian citizens, hundreds of whom are engaged in peaceful occupations abroad. It is assumed that in the actual working of the law the colour-bar is bound to operate; it is a fear not without foundation. Coming in the wake of the European Common Market decision of the Conservative Party which had to choose between Commonwealth solidarity and commercial prudence, the restrictive scope of new legislation on foreign arrivals is a source of alarm not merely to Indian citizens but to the subjects of a large number of nations in the Commonwealth tie-up, which has nominally expanded with the inclusion of African countries on equal level. During the War, Churchill thundered that he had not become the Prime Minister to preside over the liquidation of the Empire but the tide of events forced Attlee to convert the British Empire into a Commonwealth of free nations with the Crown as symbol. Change of opinion and the drift of economic interest foreshadow a new set-up in Europe with American interests projecting themselves into the creation of the Atlantic Community. Pride in the past compels the British

people to extend their talent for adaptation to the utmost, so that Commonwealth prestige could be saved without loss of face.

The Labour Party under Mr Gaitskell is in line with the European Common Market movement, the next chapter of which discloses (on the first page) the present plan of reduced immigration just when in terms of economic prosperity and full employment, England never had it so good and when for higher factory-production she has had to welcome coloured labour from distant places like Jamaica in order to supplement normal quota from some alien countries. That foreign employees form little colonies in shindland is a fact, and many features of incompatibility have resulted in race-riots on a small scale, so much so that some clergymen sponsoring refugees in England have asked whether England was intended to adopt *apartheid*. If Indian citizens are put under a handicap in the practice of professions and trade in Britain, the first impulse would be to contemplate reciprocity in India not only in respect of trade but also in the admission of foreign nationals, a problem agitating policy-makers in New Delhi. In the present flush of economic prosperity in Britain there may be a trace of aggressiveness in any measure of exclusion, but in the event of a recession which is not impossible, unemployment and the spread of doles become inevitable, with closed-shop reactions and its features of racialism. Foreigners become a drag, and such is human nature that the ferment of racism will possibly lead to sporadic disorder. India will probably be well-advised not to go by theories but to strike a balance-sheet of the advantages and disadvantages of reprisal. Let us not forget that the young Indians who migrate to Great Britain for study and employment manage to become independent through their own earn-

Our contributors are respectfully requested not to exceed 900 words, in view of the size of SWARAJYA.

ings without capital investments, and on the whole they give a good account of themselves in busy centres.

Nearly a fortnight ago whilst the Prime Minister was abroad promoting peace and cultivating goodwill, the Aid-India Club was recruiting fresh members; and by way of example a credit agreement was signed at New Delhi between India and the UK making nearly Rs. 7 crores instantly available to us "to meet the balance of payment difficulties". We happen to belong to the sterling area and wild proposals of quitting the 'monetary bloc of Britain' for not denouncing Portugal, should not be allowed to deflect judgment. The loan is repayable in 25 years, the first instalment falling due after 8 years; and not a shilling of the present accommodation carries any strings with it, since nothing is earmarked for any particular project. With vast development-programmes ahead we cannot depend on the exact supply of import-components, and if 'British presence' accompanies expenditure in India for loans repayable in 25 years and more, we can hardly treat it on parity with the complaint that under the British Immigration Bill Indian employees in England will be deliberately discriminated against as coloured vagrants. It is an exaggeration to say that in practical life Indian residents are categorized in the list of Africans or Jamaicans, although on first principles we should all believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. We shall not be well-advised in joining the stampede when our folk have not yet felt the impact of sheer hostility in an overcrowded labour market. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

P.J.

 **The Nation's Best**

BENGAL ELECTRICALS CO.
MADRAS-17 — BANGALORE-3

December 2, 1961

SWARAJYA

WON'T THEY REFLECT?

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Not a day passes but the newspapers give stories about groups, rifts and rivalries in the Congress high ranks. The state of things they portray makes one sad irrespective of one's likes and dislikes. That a party which was once so well knit and had displayed wonderful capacity for sacrifice should have so much deteriorated since the Moghul throne and Viceregal Lodge, and all the responsibilities of Government, have passed into its hands, is a matter for great grief and acute concern.

Can't—and if they can, won't—the leaders of the Congress put aside the confusion of mind brought about by too much power and think a little as to the causes that have brought about this disorder in their ranks? Government means power, and it is true that it is for using that power that a governing party takes charge. But like everything else in this world, too much of it leads to disease. The

healthy limits to which Government can go in the holding of power has been crossed. Too much power has been taken and the fruits of that excess are seen in the rivalries, rifts and group activities. The error of most rulers, be they princes or parties, is their greed for power and the excess to which they are misled by it. If power be limited and as much of freedom is left over for citizens to work out their individual talents and energies, the party ruling the country would be united and strong. But where the freedom of people is reduced and power is concentrated in government, the party is driven into greedy and ambitious groups, and intrigue occupies most of the time and skill that would otherwise be given to the welfare of the nation.

The Swatantra Party has rightly led the nation to think deeply on this fundamental of healthy democracy. Minimum government

is the best recipe for parliamentary democracy based on the party system. Maximum freedom left over for the creative energy of the people is the best recipe for dynamic and progressive production, and competition the best watch against exploitation, monopoly and shoddy work. Gandhiji by instinct realized and preached this. But when the Congress took over responsibility, it very soon discarded and forgot the teaching. The foreign regimes based as they were on tyranny and compulsion and one-party rule had set bad examples, which have further misled our inexperienced rulers. It takes but little time for a political party to become a rabble of competing careerists.

The Swatantra Party aims not only at ousting the Congress Party which has failed to properly serve the nation, but it seeks to establish the principle of minimum government which not only means maximum happiness for the people but also maximum good health for any party that is entrusted by the people with the authority to guide the affairs of the State.

INDIA'S FIRST AND FOREMOST CABLE COMPANY LEADS THE WAY WITH



MASS-IMPREGNATED NON-DRAINING

PAPER INSULATED POWER CABLES

For pressures up to 11,000 Volts.

The Indian Cable Company Ltd.

9, Mare Street, P. O. Box 514, Calcutta.

Representatives in India for BRITISH INSULATED CABLES LTD.
Branches—AHMEDABAD, BANGALORE, BOMBAY, COIMBATORE, JAMSHEDPUR,
KANPUR, MADRAS, NAGPUR, NEW DELHI AND SECUNDERABAD

IC 9AS



Bata

SELF - COMPLAISANT TOTALITARIANISM

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Expatriating on the scope of the general elections, Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri said at New Delhi (November 12):

India is passing through a transitional period and demands unstinted co-operation from everybody. If tomorrow we are defeated we shall give our full support to the party in power.

Congress has amassed sufficient money to win six general elections, provided we go by the estimate of expenditure permissible under the law for each candidate. The Congress Party in Parliament overrode objections raised by all other parties to the plan of subjecting business houses to the duty of contributing to election-funds and it is proceeding with the operation as another 'great adventure'. In commercial weeklies many readers must have noticed a cool advertisement towards the end of October. The Directors of the mammoth concern run by the Hukumchand combine have sought the automatic consent of the shareholders empowering them to spend a considerable amount for political purposes at their own discretion. The object obviously is to support the election-drive in terms of the following declaration of the Prime Minister early that month, when he accepted a large number of purses at Kanpur with an appearance of reluctant acceptance for the Congress campaign. Even when the proposition was being piloted in Parliament, Mr. Nehru leaned back as if the device were one of those 'petty things' which should not count in the atomic age, a diversionary comment which was amplified at the Kanpur function when he said:

I have heard some of these big people are donating money to all parties, including parties totally opposed to the Congress. I do not like this as it obviously constitutes some kind of an 'insurance' in the minds of these big moneyed people.

The transparent suggestion was loyalty in the matter of strengthening Congress funds without any ceiling for the general elections should be whole-hearted, thus indirectly censuring aid to Opposition parties with face turned away from calculations of filthy lucre. Collections are being vigorously pursued and here the Home Minister's philosophy is significant. Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri says that once the elections are over,—and he is confident of Congress power being perpetuated—the duty of all parties would be to marshal themselves behind the Congress authorities, the Opposition benches being figuratively empty, as on the occasion when Chancellor Adenauer took the oath of allegiance in the Bonn National Assembly, with the members of the Opposition absenting themselves in disapproval of totalitarian tendencies evinced in his fourth term of office. Recently a Congress minister aired party-aspirations when he expressed the hope that the Congress would remain in power for the next fifty years. When the Home Minister says that the Congress Party would cave in, if the Opposition score and maintain one-party authority, the Congress hierarchy would be bound to be in the picture. Conversely he implies that the parties recognized by the Election Commissioner

Articles published in SWARAJYA, unless specifically marked copyright, may be reproduced in journals, in whole or in part, with or without acknowledgment.

should; if they are patriotic, take the Congress whip which would eliminate division in the House and promote national solidarity with rubber-stamp precision. It recalls the Kipling-wise boast of Victorian imperialism in the lines:

*We don't want to fight,
But, by jingo if we do,
We've got the ships,
We've got the men,
We've got the money too!*

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri's attitude negatives the conception of democratic working behind our Constitution which is patterned on the Anglo-American design which sportingly recognizes the existence of an Opposition party with degrees of criticism in order to keep the party in power on safe rails, and indicating readiness to take over on the gross commission of folly or practice of corruption. Fourteen years of unbridled authority and whimsical planning (imitated from Soviet experiments) seem to have completely distorted the idea of democracy, and of national prudence retaining a sense of proportion. If Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri foresees a period of racketeering through party-hacks and the virtual extinction of Opposition, then he must be schooled anew in the rudi-

RAM MOHAN

WORLD TRAVEL SERVICE

With more than three hundred correspondents in India and foreign countries, Ram Mohan offers a world-wide Travel Service that includes air, steamship, rail and bus tickets, hotel and resort reservations, escorted and independent tours, sightseeing by motor-coach or private automobile, uniformed representatives to aid patrons while travelling abroad, assistance with passports and visas, accident and baggage insurance and, of course, the famous blue American Express Travellers Cheques.

RAM MOHAN & CO. PRIVATE LIMITED

Kempe Gowda Road,
BANGALORE - 9

362, N.S.C. Bose Road,
MADRAS - 1

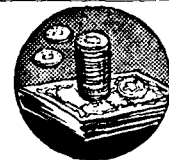
ments of responsible government. The country, now in the decay of corrupt practices and arbitrary administration, cannot afford to maintain growing elements of totalitarianism, especially after the creation of the "New Class" whose emergence is condemned

by Milovan Djilas in his country after spectacular Revolutionism and the loot entailed by the expansion of Statism and the sway of bureaucrats killing initiative and incentive.

In more than one State licences and bus-routes are changing

hands for replenishing lawless funds in the name of the Congress when safe roads do not exist at all, a scandalous crisis which a former Chief Minister was driven to describe as the nationalization of corruption.

WHAT THE PLAN MEANS TO YOU



Rise of Rs. 55
in per capita income



enough food for all



nearly 2 more yards
of cloth



free and compulsory
primary education



improved
health services



14 million more jobs



pure drinking water
for the villages



help implement the Plan
through hard work,
courage and enterprise for

**A Good Life
for Everyone**

SWATANTRA PARTY ELECTION MANIFESTO

The following is the full text of the Swatantra Party manifesto as modified and passed unanimously at the open session of the second National Convention of the party held in Agra, under the presidency of Acharya N.G. Ranga, on November 25 and 26, 1961:

Once or twice in a generation the call comes to a free people to make a momentous decision. Such a challenge to democracy will come in February 1962 when the people of India will have an opportunity to choose a new Parliament and a new Government and State Legislatures, which may more fully and faithfully reflect their needs and their aspirations and which may be capable of evoking the best that is in the people.

After fifteen years of national Independence, the Indian people experience a sense of deep disappointment. They feel the need for a clean and efficient administration. They feel that they are not free but are at the mercy of officials and partymen. Those who are engaged in productive and distributive activities wish to be released from the fetters of bureaucracy so that their dynamism may take the country forward faster and more happily than is now the case. They want to see an end to the growing Statism of the ruling party, the maladministration, the manoeuvres and intrigues of those in office, their indifference to grievances, the destruction of social bonds by thoughtless legislation, the neglect of the religious spirit which inspires selfless conduct, the deterioration of law and order in various parts of the country, and, above all, the added humiliation of Chinese occupation of part of our soil.

Need for an Opposition

Clean and efficient government, which the people need and deserve but which they do not today enjoy, requires not only a good party in office but a strong and vigilant Opposition. Any government, however good it is to start with, must inevitably become irresponsible and arbitrary, if it is not subjected to the criticism of an effective Opposition and its readiness to replace it. The degene-

ration of the Congress Government over the past fifteen years is largely the result of the absence of such an Opposition. Parties like the socialist parties and a fifth column like the Communist Party cannot provide such an Opposition.

Led by the veteran patriot, Rajaji, the Swatantra Party was organized to provide this missing component in the democratic framework of our national life. If the electorate gives it a mandate, the country will be equipped, for the first time, with an Opposition with a clear-cut alternative way of governance which can take over from the present ruling party whenever the people call upon it to do so. Every voter who realises the importance of such an Opposition and who does not want the all-embracing Statism of the Congress Party cannot but vote for the Swatantra Party candidate in every constituency where one is put up.

One of the significant principles of the Swatantra Party is that it will not seek to curb the freedom of its members, whether in the legislatures or outside, to give expression to their personal convictions in any matter not included in the party's Statement of Policy or manifesto. This would guarantee that national views will prevail and not those of the majority within the ruling party as is now happening under the Congress regime.

The Swatantra Party is a new party only two years old. It is severely limited in the way of material resources by reason of the lack of vision, suicidal short-term selfishness and surrender to intimidation on the part of the vast majority of those with means. It will, none the less, do its best within its capabilities to give a substantial part of the electorate an opportunity to exercise a choice

between the two distinct ways of life and governance represented by the Congress Party and the Swatantra Party.

Clear-cut alternative

The Congress Party claims special credit for all things done by the Government during these past fifteen years. Much of it is obviously what any government which collects taxes and has undertaken the duties of administration must do. Such achievements cannot be claimed as a special merit of the Congress Party.

The Congress Party as now led stands for a system where all real political and economic power and all responsibility is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a party in office. This has resulted in a tyrannical regulation of national life through controls, permits and licences, progressively denying opportunities to the people to participate in the country's economic development. It has meant heavy and oppressive taxes and higher and yet higher prices. It has meant reckless and wasteful expenditure, spiralling inflation and black-markets. A reduction in even the miserable standard of subsistence of the people in order to make possible indulgence in wasteful projects marked by gigantism is inherent in the Planning of the party in power. It has sacrificed the immediate interests of the common man to near-communist planning by subordinating his interests to spectacular long-term projects. It has, by its erroneous policy of putting citizens at the mercy of officials, ministers and party bosses, fostered widespread corruption resulting in the breakdown of moral values.

The Swatantra Party's way of governance, in contrast, is based on faith in the people leading to ordered progress. It keeps the individual citizen with his unquenchable impulse towards self-expression in the centre of the picture. All governance must subserve this end. The Swatantra Party stands for the principles Mahatma Gandhi always pleaded for, viz., that government is best

which governs the least, and the diffusion of power provides the best climate for the citizen's freedom, so that the people may grow to their full stature.

The Swatantra Party pledges itself, given the opportunity, to work for the following objectives and policies:

THE COMMON MAN

In pursuance of its fundamental policies, the Swatantra Party stands, first and foremost, for the common man; for providing him with food, clothing and shelter, as the primary obligation of government; for fuller employment, production of more foodgrains, more small irrigation works, more schools, and more small industries producing goods which the common man consumes.

Top priority will be given to the supply of clean drinking water in rural areas and to housing, not only in urban and suburban areas but also in the countryside.

The party recognizes the supreme importance of the development of roads, culverts and bridges and of road and inland water transport.

Mobile ambulance facilities will be organized so as to enable the rural population to obtain the services of well-equipped medical institutions without hardship or loss of time.

These objectives are within the easy reach of the country if funds now being spent on spectacular and gigantic projects unrelated to the immediate needs of the people, or in great part being wasted in their application to unproductive enterprises, are diverted to a programme of cheap clothing and the stimulation of small-scale modernized industries which provide gainful employment to a large body of labour at low capital cost, making it possible for all able-bodied persons in the country to find employment.

End Inflation

An honest rupee and stable prices are the best friends of the common man. Without them the common man is on the way to

ruin and the middle classes are doomed. The Congress Party has filched from the poor man the hard-earned rewards of his labour and enterprise by letting inflation loose on the country, resulting in a continuously steep rise in prices from year to year during the last five years. The Swatantra Party will reverse the ruinous policies that have brought this about.

Reduce taxation

The party will enforce a drastic reduction in the present excessive burden of taxes which hampers production and employment, including *inter alia* the reorganization and reform of the Sales Tax so as to minimise harassment and bring it in harmony with the conditions of the small traders in our country. A reduction in indirect taxation will bring down the price of commodities in daily use by the people. Direct taxes will be so regulated as to release the creative genius of our people for productive purposes which will meet the country's needs and raise its level of prosperity.

Through such policies alone would the real income and standard of life of the bulk of the peasantry and agricultural labour in the villages and the middle and working classes in the cities, which have been stagnating throughout the past decade, be enabled to rise. The energies of the Indian people cannot be harnessed in furtherance of the policy embodied in the current pattern of Planning which sanctifies misery in the name of progress and tries to build the uncertain prosperity of a distant future on the privations of today, a policy which has been borrowed from countries under totalitarian dictatorship.

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture will receive priority and be put on a sound basis, automatically leading to the emergence of a visible industrial sector.

The Swatantra Party is convinced that, in a predominantly agricultural country like ours, the people can advance only if the village economy is restored to its

self-generating vitality on the basis of peasant proprietorship. The party will respect the property rights of the peasants in their holdings, big or small, and thereby remove uncertainties and provide incentives.

Self-employed peasantry

The Party stands for the independent and self-employed farmer, who should be provided with facilities for the intensive cultivation of his land in the form of water, fertiliser, seed, tools, credit and improved techniques. The Swatantra Party is opposed to and will reverse, without creating fresh inequities, all expropriatory measures which among other things deprive the peasant population of sound rural leadership.

The Swatantra Party will initiate and support all reforms such as will bring about harmonious relations between owners and tenants and labour, and will oppose every move calculated to create uncertainty, apathy and conflict.

Against collective farming

The Swatantra Party stands for land reforms without expropriation in any form including that which is directly or indirectly involved in collective farming camouflaged as "joint co-operative farming" under official control. The party believes in every form of genuine co-operative effort such as service co-operatives, industrial co-operatives, consumer co-operatives and co-operative banks, but not as a means to collectivization of land.

The Swatantra Party will repeal such amendments to the Constitution as have enabled the Congress Party to expropriate land belonging to peasant proprietors on payment of grossly inadequate compensation, and will secure real compensation to those agriculturists who have been so expropriated under the guise of land reform.

The Swatantra Party stands for a fair deal to the farmer and holds that the peasants who under difficult conditions follow the avocation of producing food for the nation should not be taxed but

should be adequately rewarded for their service. It will

- abolish taxes on land except to the extent necessary for maintaining ownership records;
- take steps to support an adequate level of agricultural prices relative to the prices of industrial commodities required for rural life; and
- establish an insurance fund against natural calamities.

Agricultural labour

The Swatantra Party stands for an adequate wage to landless agricultural labour and for the protection of permanently employed labour in agriculture. The problem of landless labourers is, in substance, an aspect of the problem of rural unemployment and the party's policy of the establishment of small industrial units will help in opening avenues of employment and reduce the pressure on land.

Electrification

The Swatantra Party will

- give special attention to speedy electrification in rural areas;
- establish small-scale modernized industries in the countryside in order to divert surplus agricultural labour; and
- provide technical education and workshop services to help agricultural and other machinery being kept in good order.

The Swatantra Party will organize the farmers to improve the breed of cattle, to afford available land not acquired for agriculture and to reclaim waste land through the agency of enterprising farmers and concessional grants for limited periods, giving priority to the poor and backward agricultural classes.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE

The party will seek to ensure the widest possible distribution of industrial ownership through measures such as the establishment of investment societies and trusts

through which the small man may make his modest investment, and by facilitating the provision of employees' shares, so that a large body of employees may share in the ownership of the concerns for which they work. In these ways and through the stabilization of peasant proprietorship on the land, a democracy consisting of men interested in production of every kind would be helped to emerge.

Role of Government

The party is opposed to nationalization. The role of government in industry and trade should be that of a helper and regulator, but not a participant. The business of Government is governance, not business. There is a great deal that government can do in a developing country, through the development of roads and other forms of communications, transport and cheap electric power. Today, these functions of government are being neglected, while government needlessly enters the field of trade and manufacture of products, not all of which are of any significance to the life of the country.

Balanced development

The Swatantra Party stands for the balanced development of capital goods industries, organized consumer goods industries and rural industries that afford supplementary employment in the processing of the products of agriculture. While not opposed to the development of heavy and basic industries commensurate with the availability of resources, the party rejects the lop-sided priority given to heavy industry to the neglect of agriculture, cottage industries and organized and light industries producing consumer goods which help to make life happy for people with low-grade incomes.

The party holds that a great part of the process of industrialization must take place through decentralized distribution of industry so as to reduce regional disparities. It stands for the preservation of the freedom of the small and self-employed artisan, craftsman and trader. The party stands for nursing the spirit of industry

as distinguished from what is called industrialization. In these matters, the party follows Mahatma Gandhi and is opposed to the ruling party's imitation of Soviet policy.

The Swatantra Party stands for the encouragement of private enterprise, activated where necessary by loans and aids, and for widespread rural public works in order to create employment opportunities for the people everywhere so as to reduce the pressure on the land.

The Swatantra Party will rectify the confusion and corruption which have entered the economy on account of controls, permits, licences and quotas at the disposal of the ruling party and of the officials taking their cue from that party.

Trusteeship

The party believes that the free choice of the producer, the investor, the worker and the consumer must be given due place and importance. It believes in the incentives for higher production and expansion inherent in competitive enterprise, with adequate safeguards for the protection of labour and against unreasonable prices, profits and dividends in those cases where there is no competition or where competition is not adequate to secure the necessary corrective. Adhering to the principles of Trusteeship enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi, which is inherent in the Indian way of life from time immemorial, the party stands for a system of free peoples' enterprise restrained as well as enriched and reinforced by a sense of social obligation encouraged by State policies.

No monopoly

The party is opposed to monopoly and concentration of power whether in the State or in the free sector. It will promote anti-monopoly legislation wherever necessary and will end the monopoly at present enjoyed by governmental corporations such as the State Trading Corporation in certain fields of trade, the Life Insurance Corporation and State Transport Corporations and authorities.

The party believes in a dynamic, expanding mixed economy where State and free enterprise work side by side as natural allies in the service of the community and show results by competing on equal terms. As much competition as possible, as little regulation as necessary—should be the watchword.

The Swatantra Party will improve Government undertakings by organizing commercial management and adequate supervision under statutory boards independent of political interference.

Planning—*which type?*

The party will seek to restore the real and effective supremacy of Parliament and the people by abolishing the much boosted Planning Commission which has tended in effect to bring into being a non-responsible super-government and will free the administration at the Centre and the State governments from the extra-constitutional dictation of the Planning Commission.

The Swatantra Party rejects the current pattern of centralized and top-heavy planning of the Soviet type involving a series of targets that are not achieved and of restrictions which are intolerable and which are calculated to perpetuate the regime of the party in power. The Swatantra Party stands for planning carried out within the limits of the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, to develop the growth of conditions in which the people's enterprise will find full and unfettered scope. It believes that the appropriate organization for such planning of the affairs of the nation and for submitting the annual programme is the Cabinet responsible to Parliament and through it to the people; and that, while the Government may resort to such expert assistance as it desires, there should be no other body which in effect usurps the power of making policy affecting the life of the nation.

Exports

While the party recognizes without question the vital need for India to expand its exports, it

is opposed to the policy of compulsion in respect of exports of goods resulting in privation and distress in India. Exports can only be promoted by a policy of increased productivity and efficient production at low cost so that our goods can compete in the world's markets. This would be facilitated by the Swatantra Party's policies.

Foreign loans

The Congress Party's pattern of planning is based on extensive foreign aid that hangs on the slender thread of international peace which may snap any day. The Swatantra Party is totally opposed to the policy of huge foreign debts being incurred without any plan or prospect of adequate exports to enable India to discharge these obligations. The party will endeavour its best to halt this grievous programme without damage to the national reputation. The party will support and encourage the flow of foreign capital into private enterprises in India which would contribute to rapid industrial progress.

LABOUR

The Swatantra Party stands for a fair deal to labour, both industrial and agricultural. The party accepts the workers' right to organize themselves in order to improve their conditions of life and work. Strong and responsible trade unions managed by the workers themselves and not, as at present, playthings in the hands of political parties are an integral part of a democratic industrial order. The party stands for the workers' right to collective bargaining involving, where necessary, the right to withdraw their labour.

The Swatantra Party stands for closer association of the workers and the management of industries, so that a spirit of partnership may develop among all those engaged in production.

Progress sharing

The party stands for a good wage for a good day's work. Encouragement should be given to "progress sharing" through an increase in the earnings of employees alongside of an increase in

productivity without detriment to the overall aim of national prosperity through the reduction of costs.

CONSTITUTION AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The Swatantra Party stands for fully respecting the democratic implications of our Constitution, so that self-government becomes a spontaneous and continuous effort of the people. To that end, the Swatantra Party will

- (a) secure the full freedom of the press and promote autonomous non-official organizations for purposes of social welfare, rather than, in the name of welfare, impose official projects for strengthening Statism and the power of the party in office;
- (b) restore the Fundamental Rights as they were originally embodied in the Constitution;
- (c) restore to the States the constitutional powers, functions and jurisdictions given to them by the Constitution;
- (d) work for the democratization of the administration in the union territories; and
- (e) maintain intact the independence and the powers of the Judiciary as originally conceived in every respect.

The party stands for a reform of the electoral law which would reduce the influence of money power and thus secure a fair chance for the real views of the electorate to prevail. It should be the duty of the State to communicate to each voter the time and place at which he may cast his vote and his number in the electoral roll.

Public Services

More than anything else, the party will give the country a clear administration. It will ensure that there is no interference by politicians either of the ruling or any other party in the day-to-day administration.

In order to secure this, the party will urge that the Union President and the Governors of the States, who should be non-party men, should in their discretion be the appointing authorities of members of the Public Services Commission and that the protection of the members of the Public Services should be made a special responsibility of the President and the Governors.

The party will stop the wasteful expansion of the administrative machinery and reduce unproductive expenditure to the minimum. The extravagant construction of new buildings will be prohibited.

The party stands for a revision of the scales of pensions paid to retired low-grade government servants in line with the sharp rise in the cost of living.

In order to check corruption and the arbitrary infringement of the rights of citizens, the party will press for the establishment of an independent authority at the Centre and in the States like the Ombudsman in Scandinavian countries to investigate into the grievances of citizens and into administrative vagaries and give due redress.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DEFENCE

The Swatantra Party believes that, when the country's territorial integrity has been violated by Communist China, abstract concepts of co-existence and non-alignment have lost meaning and that our foreign policy needs to be reviewed and brought into closer relation to the realities of the international situation. The party stands pledged to a firm and vigilant policy in dealing with China and for active steps to end its aggression at the earliest possible moment.

The party will endeavour to rectify the unfortunate impression created in the world that India has a bias in favour of the Communist bloc.

The Swatantra Party stands pledged to regain for India its moral influence in the world so that it may work for peace, justice and freedom. The genius of India

is tranquillity in the sense that its mission is the conquest of fear by the strength of the spirit within.

Defence Services

The Swatantra Party stands

- (a) for removing all political influences which are at present responsible for weakening the morale of the Defence Services; and
- (b) for maintaining the Defence Services in an efficient condition and redressing the legitimate grievances of ex-Servicemen.

CULTURE, EDUCATION AND RELIGION

The Swatantra Party believes that India is a mixture of racial, religious and linguistic groups in the process of integration and that the needs of national solidarity require that the component States should do nothing to disturb the emerging pattern, but should help the process of synthesis.

Despite warnings, the Congress Party, in the face of opposition from outside as well as from the saner elements within its own ranks, has persisted in following policies which have resulted in disintegrating tendencies. Linguism, to which they have surrendered, has become a separatist force and a protective cover for the majority in power in the States to reduce all minorities to the position of permanent aliens and to retard and obstruct a natural synthesis. The Swatantra Party will take steps to halt this deterioration.

Minorities and Backward Classes

The Swatantra Party will more faithfully and effectively carry out the provisions in the Constitution for the protection of the rights and interests of all minorities and those who work under handicaps, such as Harijans, Adivasis and other Backward Classes.

The party will not look upon associations for the protection of the rights of any classes or communities as communal organizations to be discouraged or banned.

Education

In order to arrest disintegration, the Swatantra Party

- (a) will introduce in education a spiritual element alongside of the humanities and sciences in order to provide an adequate background of human values for the citizens of the future; and
- (b) will provide free scope to voluntary agencies to impart moral and religious education to the young without forcing any such instruction on sections not belonging to the same denomination as those agencies.

The party stands for

- (a) the autonomy of universities and other academic institutions;
- (b) the vindication of the fundamental right of every citizen to educate his children according to his choice in a free atmosphere untrammelled by official directives;
- (c) the rejection of measures like the nationalization of text-books calculated to indoctrinate the younger generation;
- (d) the establishment of central universities for maintaining common academic standards throughout the country; and
- (e) raising the status and remuneration of professors and teachers on a uniform basis, so that their movement from one region to another may not be impeded.

Media of mass communication

The party will resist all attempts at the establishment of a monopoly or official control and regulation over the various media of mass communication.

- (a) All India Radio, which is today a State monopoly, should be converted into an autonomous corporation like the Bri-

tish Broadcasting Corporation, and other radio networks should be allowed to enter into competition with it;

- (b) similarly, Information Films of India, which today are the handmaid of one party's propaganda, should be placed on an autonomous footing as an agency for the dissemination of news and knowledge; and
- (c) the party will do everything to sustain the press, which has so far preserved its independence with commendable tenacity, against all attempts, whether through official patronage or fear, to bring it under the influence of any party in office.

Religion

The Swatantra Party believes that, while every citizen should be free to choose his religious belief and be entitled to an unrestricted exercise of his right to religious freedom guaranteed by the Constitution, religion is of vital concern to the State, as it provides the dynamic forces for strengthening moral and spiritual values which furnish the motive and the sanction for right conduct more than any law or regulation of the State.

The Swatantra Party will, therefore, do everything possible to restore religion to its legitimate place in life and in particular

- (a) make incomes of and gifts to religious institutions and charities tax free;
- (b) secure for each religion the full benefit of its endowed and other properties without interference from Government;
- (c) ensure respect for all communities in regard to their religious practices; and
- (d) take steps to create a climate in which every

religion can contribute to the general welfare by strengthening the moral and spiritual stability of the respective communities.

Our people, who achieved a civilization of the highest type, moral and spiritual, many millennia before other nations reached a comparable state must continue to live a way of life wherein the individual freely gives to the community and is not reduced to the position of a cog in a lifeless machine for the sake of illusory progress in the material sense through State compulsion and under the direction of government officials.

CONCLUSION

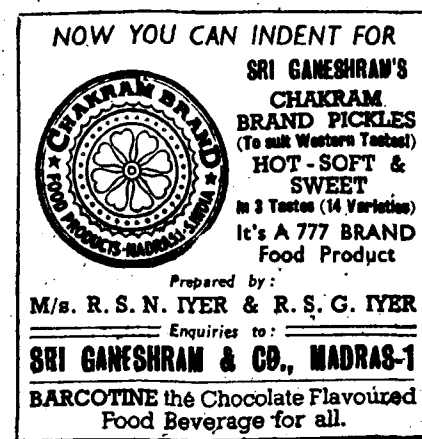
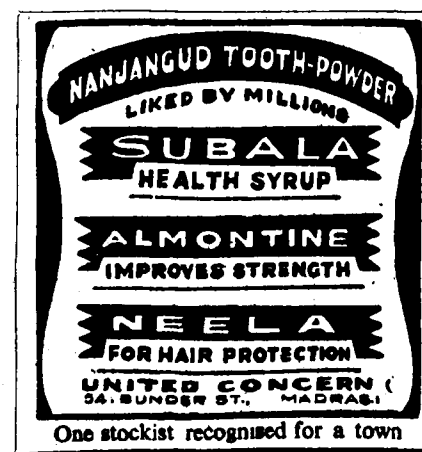
During the past few years, through the adoption of so-called socialist and Welfare State policies, the Congress Party has been acquiring a stranglehold over every aspect of the citizen's life. The ground is well prepared for the perpetuation of one-party rule as in communist countries.

When this danger to democracy became clear, the Swatantra Party was conceived and started in defence of freedom in the middle of 1959. It has not found its work easy, not only because it is hard to divert people from the traditional attachment to a party that carries the name and flag of the organization that fought foreign rule, but especially on account of the way in which the Congress Party and ministers have utilised their opportunities to strengthen the power of the party. The inclusion of every kind of social service in the activities of the administration and the enrolment of party-men in such services as well as in panchayats and co-operative societies have confused the understanding of common folk who have been thereby led to identify the ruling party with the State itself.

In spite of all handicaps, the justice of the cause it has taken up has enabled the Swatantra Party to make headway. The humiliations, harassments and injus-

tices resulting from the permit-licence-raj have opened the people's eyes. The drift towards totalitarianism has been made obvious to the dullest minds. The alignment of Congress policies with those of the communists and the indifference displayed about foreign aggression have awakened people to a sense of the danger ahead. The entanglement of the nation in unredeemable foreign obligations for financing megalomaniac plans has accentuated public apprehension.

The Swatantra Party hopes that the electorate will rise to the occasion and, guided by those who see the dangers implicit in the situation, will refuse to give a fresh lease of untrammelled power to the Congress Party, which would be tantamount to perpetuation of one-party rule, and will give their support to the Swatantra Party candidates wherever they offer themselves for election so that democracy may be safeguarded.



Dear Reader

I have spent two days in Rajasthan—I am writing this on Nov. 17 from Udaipur—and I have seen enough to convince me that the people want the Congress to go out of office. At Ratlam in Madhya Pradesh and at Banswara, Dungarpur and Udayapur I had the privilege of being listened to by audiences of magnificent size and representative quality. The receptions and the meetings leave no doubt in my mind that the people are fed up with the Congress administration and they desire a good government to replace it.

The attempts of the Congress bosses to create communal rivalries and to deprive the people of the leadership of intelligent and public-spirited persons have not succeeded so far. But malignant efforts are still being made in this direction. It is only God's grace that must prevent this mischief. Our people are easy prey to jealous ideas, and it is on these the Congress Party banks. The traditional leaders of the people and experienced political workers who have left the Congress in disgust, have taken up the responsibility of educating the people and telling them what to do. It is truly remarkable how quickly the Swatantra movement has spread and established itself in Rajputana. It has belied the calculations of all those who think arithmetically about the number of persons enrolled and the number of committees formed. The movement has spread like an angry fire.

I have visited almost all important centres in Rajasthan and addressed phenomenally large meetings everywhere. The gatherings at Jodhpur, Ajmer and Jaipur were the largest, the one at Jaipur on November 20 being estimated to have been attended by half a lakh of people. Nowhere did I find any popularity for the Congress regime—I am putting it at the mildest. The Swatantra movement has spread like wildfire and the

organizational work lags behind. This is not surprising. The members of the old ruling class who are doing this duty as the natural leaders of their people are of course being made the target of attacks by the Congress party-men and communists. This is an easy line for them to take. But the people, I have good reasons to think, are not deceived. They know that the assistance of their trusted old leaders to the Swatantra Party cannot be motivated by any ambition for power or restoration of former States—for that is an impossible goal. They cannot possibly imagine they can get back their estates or their lost

SWATANTRA MANIFESTO

"Croesus" writes in the current issue of the *Eastern Economist*:

If today a large section of the people of this country is discontented, despite Independence and what it has brought in its wake, it is because there seems to be a feeling that the ruling party has deviated from the admittedly sound moorings established by the Father of the Nation. No political party which discounts the values and priorities prescribed by Mahatma Gandhi, it is felt, can hope to carry with it the Indian public for long.... It is in discerning this in time and in forming a new party uncompromisingly opposed to such a policy that the genius of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari lies and, as is only to be expected, the Swatantra Party's election manifesto fully bears the impress of his genius.

... the Swatantra Party has not only indicated what it will do and what it will not do, but also how it proposes to implement its promises. A contemporary has described that a striking feature of the Swatantra manifesto is its "unequivocal enunciation of the means it would like to adopt to lead the country in prosperity through freedom."

What the party has made clear ... is to endeavour to show to the public the shortcomings of the approach of the party in power on a number of issues and to suggest a workable alternative such as would not offend the known traditional and spiritual values

authority. Their natural and proper desire to get for the people (who had been their original charge) a better government is distorted by the Congress Party into an attempt to get back power. Had they desired to get influential and powerful, in their own interests they should have joined the ruling party which, barring a few brave exceptions, the generality of them still follow. But of course like the story of the Swatantra Party being a rich man's party, this ungrateful libel against those who voluntarily acceded to Sardar Patel's appeal is an easy invention calculated to deceive ignorant people.

C.R.

that have always been prized by the people of this country ... (The manifesto) has gone a long way towards dispelling doubts in the minds of certain sections of the public, including labour and the middle classes. After going through the manifesto one cannot conscientiously hold that the Swatantra Party is out to exploit either the worker or the consumer. The party, says the manifesto categorically, stands for a fair deal to labour, both agricultural and industrial, and "for a good wage for a good day's work." Particularly impressive is the new concept of "Progress Sharing" through the increase in productivity without detriment to the overall aim of national prosperity through the reduction of costs.

Many businessmen consider the references to the question of safeguarding the Fundamental Rights as originally embodied in the Constitution as of the utmost importance. Considerable importance also seems to be attached by them to the promise made by the party "to ensure the widest possible distribution of industrial ownership" through such measures as establishment of investment societies and trusts and provision of employee's shares to enable the small man to invest.

... it is not only the leaders and the spokesmen of the Swatantra Party that want an effective Opposition but all lovers of parliamentary democracy generally.

THE LIMITS OF STATE ACTION

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

There is no controversy about the basic, historic functions of government which consist in defence and law and order. Foreign policy devoted to the maintenance of national independence in the jungle of power politics and bloc rivalry, the maintenance of an ever-improving system of rule by law, settling disputes justly, punishing fraud and force to the end of maintaining the necessary sphere of individual liberty to enable citizens to follow their avocations in tranquillity—all this is agreed ground.

Communism and welfare ideals have raised further complicated questions. The ethical appeal of social justice has obliterated all

earlier notions of healthy limitations to State power and action. A recent political writer has added the function of being the bearer of sympathy, and agent of social co-operation to the State, in addition to the time-honoured roles of soldier, policeman and judge. The State is now looked upon as the rescuer of the casualties of progress—the unprovided aged, unemployed and unemployable, the sick, and the backward in education and economic capacity.

It has graduated from this "Red Cross function" to the more questionable role of being the authorized redistributor of properties and incomes among classes of citizens in accordance with the notions of social justice pre-

December 2, 1961

vailing among holders of power. They come to have these notions with a shrewd eye on the electoral scene! It is significant that in Western welfare States, the poorest no longer claim the solicitude of the legislators since they have become a minority. It is the large industrial middle and lower middle classes that obtain "most-favoured-nation" treatment. It requires both wide acquaintance with the social consequences of recent legislation (and economic action under these impulses) and unusual social insight and imagination to realize the deleterious and crippling long-term consequences on the quality of life and the fitness of society for survival and progress.

But we are dominated by politicians who think only of short-period "election values"! Statesmen who think of generations ahead have become rare and can rarely get power, where they may be found. Idealist philosophy in the last generation described the function of the State as "the hindrance of hindrances", that is, the removal of obstacles to social co-operation so as to afford an area of greater freedom to individuals in their plans of life.

It regards the State as the agent of the common good and as such entitled to create and maintain the external conditions of the good life. The fundamental rights are among such conditions necessary to enable citizens to plan their own lives and fulfil their own aspirations so long as they do not impinge on other people's equal rights.

Laws are like the rules of the road that maximize the freedom of all in moving on the road by removing mutual interference.

The province of the State cannot be indicated with reference to spheres of life exclusively marked out for it, for there is no sphere of life into which the State may not have to enter. The criteria of State action lie on the contrary in the kind of action it is and its effect on life. The State is within its rights if by its action it removes a hindrance or obstacle to the good life and releases the energy of individuals.

Where uniformity is essential to the good life, as in matters of sanitary rules of public health, where unity of action is essential as in monetary affairs or road-making or universal compulsory education at the primary stage, or regulation of imports and exports regarded as necessary in the national interest, State action is called for and is justified. Regulation of the work of women and children in factories, of the conditions to be imposed on the manufacture and sales of explosives on

December 2, 1961

armament industry for State forces where secrecy is essential, are other examples of legitimate State activity. No doubt these regulations curtail individual freedom but the balance of advantage to society as a whole is greater than the loss involved to the individual. Green states the principle here as one where it is better for common good that the State should act and curtail the liberty of some than allow the dangers to the whole of society incidental to perfect liberty.

The State is thus the co-ordinator of social activities to the end that the overall good of society might be secured even at some risk to liberty. The only qualification limiting the action of the State lies in its method of securing uniformity through compulsion.

In non-social values such as pursuit of truth, religion and beauty in art, the State should not enter by laying down positive goals and requirements. This point of view stresses the unwisdom of socialism in economic life. Socialism supplants individual and group voluntary action, thereby removing the legitimate sphere of their natural deployment. This eliminates the educative factor from life and occupation.

Socialism begins by occupying the 'commanding heights' of the economy but soon ends by introducing a complete command economy! Even in economic life the State has a vast field of legitimate activity—such as maintaining the social and legal framework of law, and providing information and facilities for private enterprise encouraging investment in socially-urgent directions, such as food and housing, medicine and research. Even in civil service it is not desirable for the State to provide services (even when efficient), which the people can provide for themselves by voluntary action. That would be a deprivation of educative opportunity. Participation in public life from the village community through city associations and clubs to international participation in science, philosophy and art is the avenue whereby the democratic citizen is taken out of himself and lifted to a higher level. The State should be the guardian of such a moral world and not its rival and supplanter.

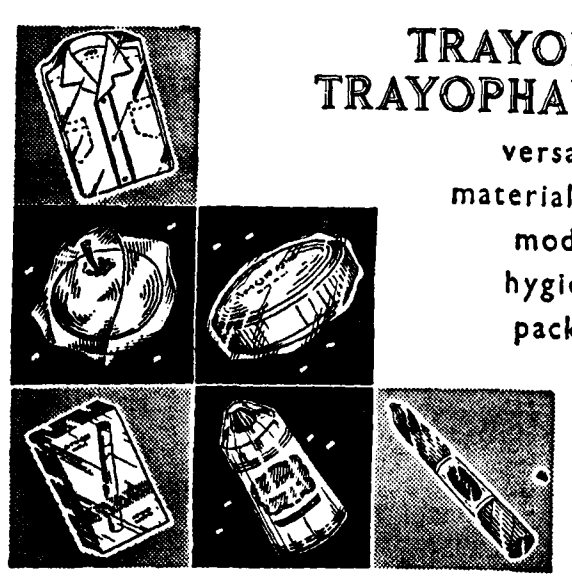
Rajaji is pioneering public thought into these questions of democratic principle and policy in regard to State action and individual liberty week after week. It is to be hoped that academic scholars will second his scintillating efforts in the public press and contribute to the preparation of the public mind for the responsibilities of democratic participation.



Where there's
LIFEBUOY
there's health!

Laugh for joy — with LIFEBUOY!

A bath with LIFEBUOY Soap leaves you a-tingle with that healthy feeling of freshness! LIFEBUOY's rich, protective lather washes away the germs in dirt — everyday dirt that you cannot avoid picking up. It's a healthy life with LIFEBUOY — for the whole family!



TRAYONS
TRAYOPHANE

versatile
material for
modern
hygienic
packing

NOW
IN ROLLS FOR
HOUSEHOLD
MULTIPURPOSE
USE

TRAYONS AIDS FOR BETTER LIVING

RAYON TRADERS PRIVATE LIMITED

61, SEMBUDOSS STREET, MADRAS-1.

GRAMS: "CELYARN" BRANCHES: PHONE: 21641.

Phone: 253. Grams: "CELYARN" 68/416, Main Road, Sevaper, SALEM.

Phone: 598. Grams: "CELYARN" 114/A, South Main Street, MADURAI.

Phone: 3441. Grams: "RAYONS" United India Building, Avinasi Road, COIMBATORE.

RT-27-5A

CAPITAL COMMENTS

P. M.'S MORALE-BOOSTER TO PARTYMEN

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The winter session of Parliament which is now on, is conspicuous for its valedictory atmosphere, each member of the Lok Sabha thinking more of the morrow than of the passing day. The Prime Minister's announcement of the dates for the general election was the readiest excuse for the present mood of listlessness. Between the AICC near Jantar Mantar (where there is queueing up for the party ticket) and the Central Hall in Parliament where there is terrific speculation about their individual prospects and collective fate, the Congress members who constitute the majority in the House have little time and less inclination to participate in the debates. The benches are comparatively empty. There was a day last week when at one stage the House had to adjourn for fifteen minutes for want of speakers. On another day, the proceedings were held up because of the absence of the minister who was to initiate them. And now comes the news of the possibility of closing the session much earlier than scheduled, because of governmental reluctance to proceed with official legislation. It seems that this will suit every single member, minister or non-official, in view of the electioneering which everyone given a ticket has to do, for his own political survival.

It is something to be thankful for, that at least during the ques-

tion-hour (invariably the liveliest in the day) one could look for some excitement, if not heat—thanks to the Chinese for their fresh incursions, to the Pakistanis for their infiltration into Assam and to the Portuguese for their reluctance to quit Goa (incidentally for improving the chances of the Congress in the coming elections). For the rest, there is the unfailing Mr. Krishna Menon. If he stepped out of the White House, presumably to convince his opponents that he was not really anti-American, he also slipped badly when he denied knowledge of any incursions on the part of the Chinese. And in respect of Goa, while the Union Minister for Defence, like the Prime Minister earlier as well as later, avowed that its liberation by force (if it came to that) could not be altogether ruled out, the Union Minister for Finance, Mr. Morarji Desai, was heard saying at a recent seminar that even 'police action' in Goa would go against the tenets of non-violence. Opposition members were not slow in seizing enough opportunities for giving a bad time to the Treasury Benches on either score—and there are several scores to be settled yet.

Despite the fact that the Prime Minister has forged new links with the United States while the old ones with Soviet Russia are so much intact, there is a general anxiety in India over her position in South East Asia. China continues to be a menace; Pakistan is as sore and unfriendly as ever; Indonesia is luke-warm; Nepal is keeping us guessing; the other smaller ones are no more than doubtful from our point of view. There are reasons to believe that it is against this background our Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of Japan held their talks—the one with his sense of idealism and the other with his sense of realism. Both Japan and India

SWARAJYA
(English Political Weekly)
PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

★

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

India and Ceylon	
One year	Rs. 7.50
Six months	Rs. 4.00
Foreign	
One year	Rs. 15.00
Six months	Rs. 7.50

Subscription prepayable No V.P.P. except for Ceylon Subscribers

—Manager—
THE SWARAJYA, MADRAS-10

are badly in need of a larger understanding between themselves for the general situation in Asia, particularly in view of the Chinese attitude to world problems, and Delhi is gratified that Mr. Ikeda and Mr. Nehru have had purposeful talks.

There is considerable enthusiasm here for Mrs. Kennedy's visit which is not without its psychological value. It is also significant that the Government of India is eager to have Mr. Adenauer here on a visit sometime in the near future so that Mr. Nehru may be possibly on firmer ground in resolving the bigger problems awaiting settlement if the world which is now shivering on the brink, may not roll down into the abyss.

There are still many who apprehend dangerous developments on the larger front and doubt if the elections will really take place in the coming February. Much of it may be wishful thinking, prompted or provoked by the unending astrological predictions about the dreadful implications of the planetary conjunction, now not too far-off. Mr. Nehru, however, is not only sure of the dates but also of a thumping victory for the Congress, while others think his optimistic declaration is just meant as a morale-booster for his partymen who individually know what they are up against.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

OUR DEFENCE MINISTER

Sir,—It is only in our country that certain inexplicable things can happen. While our Prime Minister announced in the Lok Sabha that the Chinese had made several incursions into our territory and that certain military steps have been taken to meet this challenge, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, is reported to have stated that he knew only what was in the newspapers and observed that it was unlikely that there could have been any new movements in the border areas. He was also reported to have stated that the region in question was at a height of 17,000 feet and 'you don't need armies there'. Perhaps one should understand that, unless the Chinese come to those places where our armies are stationed, no shot will be fired either by them or by us. It would be very interesting to know if any Defence Minister in any other part of the world, at any time, had made a statement similar in spirit to this one.

Is it not the primary function of any army to protect the frontiers of its country? If our borders are too high preventing the army from protecting them, their height should be reduced. Let us hope that this project will find a place in the Fourth Five Year Plan! Bangalore-2 YETI

NEW TALENTS, PLEASE!

Sir,—The various musical concerts arranged by the AIR during the recent Radio Sangeet Sammelan were mostly given by veterans in the field of music. The music season is to dawn soon in cities like Madras.

In the South there is no doubt there are quite a number of good top-ranking musicians who have risen to unequalled eminence. Whether in the Sabhas or in the AIR one could only hear these master-musicians. It is very rarely indeed young vidwans or new talents are introduced to Rasikas.

Promising young vidwans should be given opportunities more frequently than now and the front-rank musicians could take the lead by voluntarily foregoing half the number of their chances in favour of the rising young singers. It is only thus that young vidwans could receive encouragement and help in fostering and flowering of genius. Coimbatore Y. V. VISVESWAR

A CHALLENGE TO CONGRESS

Sir,—I wonder why Rajaji takes notice of the wild charge of congress-

men that the Swatantra Party consists of rich people. Does he not know that they are indulging in such mud-throwing, with a view to confusing the masses (who have the votes) and sway their minds with false charges in order to wipe out the party which has been gaining strength? It is all part of the Congress tactic of bagging the votes of innocent, unlettered people in the country-side.

If an open challenge is issued both to the Prime Minister and the Congress President to prove their bonafides that they stand for the poor, by making known the assets of those who seek Congress tickets, and how they had earned them since Independence, then the truth will be known. Let the party also abolish the reservations on communal basis and show preference to all (without any distinction) on the basis of their economic conditions only, before pointing the accusing finger at others.

Bangalore

RAMAMOORTHY

For **easier, faster, better** typing

NEW MODEL

...the Godrej Typewriter with advanced features

Write for coloured illustrated folder.

Our friendly sales representatives will be happy to demonstrate, without any obligation.

Brief Size **Rs. 760/-**

Built to last

Service after Sales guaranteed

Godrej the finest value in Typewriters

Offices or Stockists all over India

PANDIT D. GOPALACHARLU'S

JEVAMPUTHAM

FOR HEALTH & STRENGTH

AYURVEDASRAMAM (PRIVATE) LTD. MADRAS-17

ATUL

• DYES

• CHEMICALS

• PHARMACEUTICALS

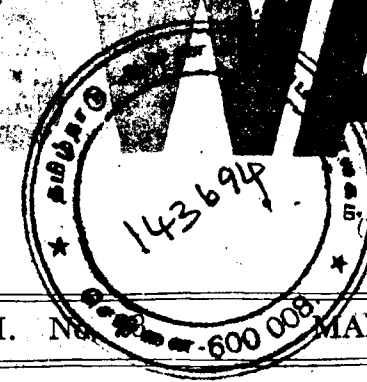


THE ATUL PRODUCTS LTD.

Atul, via. Bulsar,
Western Railway.

Printed by R. Ananthanarayanan & published by T. Sadasivam on behalf of M/s. Bharathan Publications Private Ltd. at the Kalki Press, Kilpauk, Madras - 10. Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH.

SWARAJYA



Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU
Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 600 MADRAS, DECEMBER 9, 1961

Price 15 nP

RAJAJI — LEADER AND TEACHER

By B. SANJIVA RAO

"We want men and women to be less selfish and more considerate about others; we want people to be honest and to value Truth and Goodness above money and so on. If we wish this and hope to achieve it in the short space of, say, one or two years or what is worse 'within my life time', there is to be a leader and a movement which he leads. If, on the other hand, we wish and hope to achieve this by the method of slow indoctrination of true values and shaping behaviour and conduct accordingly we can fix no time limit. The process is necessarily slow and we want Teachers who will teach and do their mission in a different way from the Leader of a movement".—C.R.

Rajaji is on the threshold of eighty-three today. He is, therefore, in a hurry to accomplish his mission of persuading his countrymen to establish a social order on the basis of *Dharma*. In all that he says and writes there is an echo of a very ancient teaching, of a voice that has never ceased to ring through the ages urging that men and women can never be happy unless they live in harmony with the universal order of things. Five thousand years ago, according to ancient tradition, there was a breakdown of *Dharma*, caste confusion, a great struggle between the forces of good and evil, and it was on the battlefield of Kurukshetra that the great teaching of the *Gita* was given and the great promise made that "whenver there is a decay of righteousness, and there is an exaltation of unrighteousness, then I myself come forth. For the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers, for the sake of firmly establishing righteousness, I am born from age to age". That promise is a poetic symbol of a great process that is taking place both on the material and mental planes. Whenever there is the injection of a poison into our body, there is a self-regulating action set

going by which the body seeks to throw out the poison. In this process the fate of the individual cell is of no concern. We do not usually realize that what is true of the physical plane applies equally to the mental and moral planes of existence. That every psychic or mental or emotional act creates its own opposite is accepted by psychologists. A crisis is an acute phase of the conflict between these pairs of opposites.

In our modern world the economic and political conflicts have to some extent obscured the fact that the crisis of today is a moral and spiritual crisis. We forget or tend to forget that history is merely the precipitate (on the physical plane) of events that have already taken place on the plane of ideas. After the two world wars moral and spiritual values have broken down. Technology and popular scientific thought have largely dissolved the metaphysical foundations of our beliefs in a moral order. The modern youth has lost its belief in the sanctity of human relationship and its respect for moral codes. "Why should I be faithful to a wife who was selected for me by my parents without my knowledge or consent?" was

the question once put to me by a pupil of mine, a very serious student of philosophy. This is typical of the mental climate that prevails among young people all over the world. They are struggling for a philosophy of life that will enable them to give them a more intelligible basis for what is right and wrong than that which tradition gives to them. This is a task too difficult even for the greatest among us, and it is no wonder that young and immature minds are finding the burden of having to establish a new basis for right action too heavy for their young minds.

The crisis is deepening. We are dangerously near the collapse of our world of values in which we have lived in comfort for thousands of years. We have to be in a hurry and achieve the task of creating honest and unselfish men and women who have the intelligence, the clarity of vision that will enable them to live wisely and tranquilly in a world of confusion. They must possess the capacity to distinguish those values which vary from age to age, from those which are timeless. Most of our young men blindly adopt the new Western outlook and have merely exchange

ed one set of values for another. But there are large numbers of young people all over the world who long for a new outlook, a new vision.

To help such people is the task of the mature and the wise among us. As the task has to be done immediately, there is the need for a leader. But he must also be a teacher. For the problem is essentially the confusion of mind that prevails among the most intellectual, the most gifted among us. Both Russia and America possess today the best equipped intellectuals and technicians and yet their leaders seem to be unable to perceive the most obvious of facts, that their search for deterrents that will bring security from external attack creates perpetual insecurity.

Alone amongst our leaders stands out Rajaji, a frail old man of 82, who has inherited the ancient wisdom of our Rishis and undergone the discipline of Western science, giving week after week grave warnings to all the nations of the world against the fate that awaits those who violate the laws of Nature and super-

Nature. One is reminded of Bhishma who gave to India the grand concept of *Dharma*, the concept of a relationship of perfect harmony and love between the individual and the world around him. With a clarity of vision almost amounting to the insight of genius, Rajaji goes into the heart of every problem, great and small, and illumines the truth that is hidden within. Rajaji is not only a leader, but also a teacher. Every issue of the *SWARAJYA* bears testimony to his extraordinary insight into not only political problems but into those subtle, imponderable elements of human nature that create social and political crises.

Today Rajaji is known to the world as the leader of the Swatantra Party. Many competent and sympathetic friends express grave doubts about the success of the mission that he has undertaken. It is worthwhile to remember that the main purpose of that mission is the rousing of the conscience of the public to the grave errors that are being committed by our rulers. Rajaji is particularly fitted for the task of educating the public mind. He not only exposes the blunders of the ruling party, but analyses with great subtlety the moral and psychological effects of the policies pursued by the Government. It is this education of the public mind that is being achieved week after week, and now day after day, that is far more important than mere success at the polls.

The intellectuals have lost their power. In the present democratic set up it is the vote of the ignorant that counts more than the wisdom of the man who *knows*. But in the psychic and spiritual world it is different. When Rajaji started his movement for halting the rapid destruction of freedom in this country, he was practically alone. Old, almost alone, with no power or wealth behind him he started on his great adventure of winning freedom for his countrymen. Arrayed against him is the vast army of the Congress led by old friends and comrades with

whom he had led the Freedom struggle in the past. How can he fight against his old friends? Why should he thus spend the few years that are left to him in this life? He is a sad, disillusioned, unhappy man. What can success mean to a man at the age of 82?

We are reminded of an ancient battle on the field of Kurukshetra where Arjuna is confronted with the vast hordes of the Kaurava armies led by great warriors belonging to his own kith and kin. He has chosen Sri Krishna, unarmed, as his charioteer—wisdom without power. Duryodhana has on the contrary preferred power, the might of numbers, of armed forces without wisdom. This is ever the way of the world, this the constant battle between the forces of good and evil. The battle is fought at different levels and on different scales. Rajaji has to face the present crisis without the support of wealth and numbers. Whatever influence he had through the prestige of the position that he occupied in the Councils of the Nation is no longer his. The only asset he possesses is his incorruptible integrity, his selfless devotion to what he feels to be right, his faith in the power of Truth.

Rajaji has accepted his role of leader and teacher and made himself the instrument of that Power that ceaselessly operates on all the levels of our existence; he is the servant of that "Law which moves to righteousness which none at last turn aside or stay. The heart of it is Love, the end of it is Peace and Consumption sweet." Rajaji is a Hindu by birth and conviction but a Hindu to whom there is no non-Hindu. He is an Indian to whom the world conveys the idea of the universal.

To one who is the Instrument of the Divine Will, success and failure have no meaning. For to that Will there is no variability, no shadow of turning. Rajaji needs no tribute or praise. His work is its own highest reward.

GANDHIJI'S DEFINITION OF TRUE DEMOCRACY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Swatantra Party's manifesto begins thus: "After fifteen years of national Independence, the Indian people experience a sense of deep disappointment". Can anyone deny this unless one is a deep-dyed partisan? "They feel the need for a clean and efficient administration," continues the manifesto. "They feel that they are not free but are at the mercy of officials and partymen." This truly reflects the universally felt disappointment in the country and is no exaggeration.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote:

"A nation that runs its affairs smoothly and effectively without much State interference is truly democratic; where such a condition is absent, the form of government is democratic only in name."

Can any one accepting the definition given by Gandhiji argue that the Congress Party has established democracy? On the contrary Gandhiji appears to have anticipated exactly what the Congress Party has done—the conversion of parliamentary democracy into dictatorship, not of the proletariat but of a single party which, even as a party, has gone through a lamentable moral deterioration.

The greatest evil of the present regime is the set-back given to freedom in the name of a 'Welfare State.' The means employed converts welfare into ill-fare. Sri Jawaharlal Nehru like the communists believes that this nation of ours cannot be made prosperous and happy unless compulsion is used by the State, the State being the political party of which he is the head. Far better would be a personal tyranny than the tyranny of a political party. There would be much less injustice, much less favouritism and corruption in the personal dictatorship of a single individual than in a regime where numerous unscrupulous partymen work out their greed, in relentless and brazen manner.

and yet higher prices. It has meant reckless and wasteful expenditure, spiralling inflation and black-markets. A reduction in even the present, miserable standard of subsistence of the people, in order to make possible indulgence in wasteful projects marked by gigantism is inherent in the Planning of the party in power. It has sacrificed the immediate interests of the common man to near-communist planning by subordinating his interests to spectacular long-term projects. It has, by its erroneous policy of putting citizens at the mercy of officials, ministers and party bosses, fostered widespread corruption resulting in the breakdown of moral values.

(Continued on next page)



The Guntur District Tobacco Growers and Barn Coal Consumers' Federation Limited

Head Office: ONGOLE

Notice under Section 412 of the Companies Act 1956

The members of the Guntur District Tobacco Growers and Barn Coal Consumers' Federation Ltd., Head Office Ongole are hereby informed that the approval of the Central Government has been applied for election of Sri Digumarty Venkatrayudu as Managing Director of the Federation Limited in place of Sri Kommalapati Veerayya as per resolution No. 2 dated 15-5-61 of the Board of Directors of the Federation Limited, the approval being required in pursuance of Sec. 269 the Companies Act 1956.

(S1.) Digumarty Venkatrayudu
Managing Director

10-10-61
Ongole

CURRENT EVENTS:

The issue of a White Paper on our relations with the Chinese should not be regarded as the showing of the white feather; but the situation bears the lesson that isolationism or non-alignment, or mere dependence on distant majorities where opinion has no immediate value and tends to take a rabble rousing complexion, cannot be a safeguard in national security. Without friends and allies, any single-handed action may recoil. During the war, there were raving demands to open "a second front" in Europe to bring Hitler to heel. The will to help is not the sole test to try conclusions.

Winston Churchill in a speech on April 28, 1943 said:

"What can we do to help Russia? There is nothing that we would not do. If the sacrifice of thousands of British lives would turn the scale, our fellow countrymen would not flinch."

Actually Stalin was swearing at the Allies that they were not taking the risk of an attack on the opposite flank, but the Grand Alliance (of 52 countries) against the enemy could really start only after America came in the open as a belligerent. The Prime Minister could not go beyond the asser-

GANDHIJI'S DEFINITION (contd) ...

The Swatantra Party's way of governance, in contrast, is based on faith in the people leading to ordered progress. It keeps the individual citizen with his unquenchable impulse towards self-expression in the centre of the picture. All governance must subserve this end. The Swatantra Party stands for the principles Gandhiji always pleaded for, viz., that government is best which governs the least, and the diffusion of power provides the best climate for the citizen's freedom, so that the people may grow to their full stature. The Congress Party's stand is the direct contrary of what the Father of the Nation always wanted.

tion of the will to win, but the incongruous part of Mr. Nehru's case in Parliament is the meretricious value he attaches to mopotonous protests and the exaggerated shrewdness of having no defence alliance.

In all wars, countries seek friends and make compromises to survive. The Russian Empire fell on March 16, 1942; and on April 6, the United States entered the war. The problem is why we do not seek friends when in the whole record of human history wars have been waged after breaking with aggressors and acquiring friends. What has provoked sentiment in Parliament is the persistence to maintain affections of friendship with a neighbour who has let us down and whose apologists are found in the country itself, within and without the Government camp. The Prime Minister speaks of strategic secrets when they are street-corner gossip in Peking. How can they take us seriously in a fusillade of White Papers!

The question whether our diplomacy would deliver the goods cannot be readily solved by parliamentary debate or amateur-pronouncements on the logistics of mountain-warfare but the strategy of Defence organization, and advancement of favourites could be better discussed in the North Bombay elections. That the process of choice through the Congress machinery has been dubious cannot be doubted, but angry partisanship will mar professions of Gandhian precept that the means should be clean in the pursuit of ends, a theme dear to the Prime Minister whose deeds are not now matching with words. Meanwhile the Defence Minister remains safe on his perch on the shoulders of the P.M., chuckling.

Mr. Dayabhai V. Patel (Swatantra Party) supported by Mr. H. N. Kunzru and other Independent members asked of the Defence Minister how the Prime

SWARAJYA
(English Political Weekly)
PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

★
SUBSCRIPTION RATES

India and Ceylon	
One year ...	Rs. 7.50
Six months ...	Rs. 4.00
Foreign	
One year ...	Rs. 15.00
Six months ...	Rs. 7.50

Subscription prepayable. No V.P.P. except for Ceylon Subscribers

—Manager—
THE SWARAJYA, MADRAS-10

Minister and the top-leaders of Congress were afforded the facility of I.A.F. planes for election tours. Mr. Patel complained that his party was unable to secure an I.A.F. plane for Mr. C. Rajagopalachari during his recent tour. Mr. Krishna Menon's reply was that for security reasons such discrimination was allowable under the Rules. The Prime Minister and his aides in enjoying such a privilege have an unfair advantage but since the machinery of Government is in the hands of the ruling party, Opposition has to suffer handicaps and voice protests in impotent rage. There is another sidelight on electioneering practices when an Orissa M.P. lodged the complaint that a Chief Minister could be proved to have maintained abroad large sums of foreign exchange regardless of the Reserve Bank embargo. The Prime Minister wrote to him that he did not "consider it worthwhile" to conduct any enquiry with the result that the complainant was rebuffed. How it is not worthwhile to conduct any enquiry is not at all obvious, while others have to face serious charges of violation against foreign exchange rules. Clearly such grievances, if dismissed, imply nothing short of connivance which in the context of party-affiliation becomes all the more invidious and reprehensible in the mobilization of resources.—P.J.

HAS SWATANTRA MASS SUPPORT?

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

One question which is frequently put to me is about the progress the Swatantra Party is making, particularly with the masses. My own election campaign has given me some knowledge of the response of the people. It is not merely that the people are interested in the Swatantra Party because it is new, but their interest may spring from their disappointment with older parties which have failed to materially alter their conditions of life. In this connection, the symbol of the party, the star, has a special significance, which I have sometimes tried to emphasize; and a good number of the electorate may vote for the star than for bullocks, huts, lamps, and the hammer and sickle, which have only a prosaic suggestion.

Disraeli once said that only one idea can be hammered into the thick skull of the voter. With rural voters, that idea, at the moment, is the abolition of land revenue proposed by the Swatantra Party. The only resistance to it is its feasibility. Many ask to know how the government can be run without this revenue. They cannot believe that it forms only 2.5 per cent of the total revenues of the country and that the cost of its collection is nearly equal to the realization. I had to graphically explain the calculations as made out from the figures in government's own publication, *India 1961*. Secondly, though 47 per cent of the population is of peasant proprietors who pay revenue and only 9 per cent of tenants who pay rent, more interest is shown in rent reduction. I had, therefore to explain that rent would be reduced equivalently with revenue. Precise illustration of the gain is an absolute winner because, though the proportion of revenue is inconsiderable to government, it exceeds the present net income of the majority of agriculturists. It is only human that a party which offers to double the income of 56 per cent of the population

should have overwhelming support. The offer of the party is historic, because revenue has symbolized the oppression of all past rulers of the country.

Taxation, inflation and corruption are painful facts in the lives of many voters but they cannot believe that the Swatantra Party can remove them, unless it is explained that all the three factors were but the by-products of the Five Year Plans, particularly of heavy industries, nationalization and staff-multiplying schemes. When the results of the Plans are related to their cost, the voters tend to welcome the Swatantra Party for the relief it promises from confining Planning only to what the people themselves are unwilling and unable to do. Of corruption at their own level, the voters are painfully aware but that at higher levels, particularly through nepotism, licences, tax evasions, requires to be fully explained.

Controls and restrictive legislation, even though they have cut into the fabric of life and livelihood of many voters, tend to be regarded as inevitable until it is explained how other countries have given up these war-time measures and have multiplied the income of the people. It is possible to establish that these represent the beginnings of communism, not only because of the leanings of the leaders but because they provide power for the Government, exactly as in communist countries. Ceilings on holdings, with their inevitable extension to ceilings on urban incomes, can also be traced to the communist pattern. Co-operative farming is in the same pattern and the Congress attempt to explain that it will be voluntary can be overcome by precise reference to the land reform legislation which, by making holdings inalienable except to co-operative societies, will drive impecunious cultivators to part with individual ownership.

Nationalization of religion implied as in the Mysore Religious Endowments Bill, which will become a general pattern, will place the management and finances of all religious and charitable institutions under the bureaucracy. The voters as such are not very interested in this but all temples, churches and mosques, whose independent existence is threatened are gravely disturbed and are, therefore, an army for propaganda against the Congress.

Among the positive improvements offered by the Swatantra Party, employment opportunities, from activating private enterprise by loans and subsidies, should be attractive to 13 per cent of the population of landless labourers, whose existing employment has been reduced by the self-serviced holdings imposed by land legislation. The landless labourers are, however, not easy to convince as they are subject to a fatalistic resignation. They respond better when informed that workers in free countries have four times the incomes of workers in communist countries. Factory workers are appreciating capital participation and "progress sharing" offered to them by the Swatantra Party, as their own leaders have been telling them that their real earnings have not increased, while the unemployment of the children and dependents is increasing.

The Swatantra Party has, therefore, plenty of mass appeal, if only the masses can be reached by word or letter. Broadcast distribution of hand-bills can make their minds tick, particularly in villages, where any message of hope spreads naturally.

RAM MOHAN
TRAVEL SERVICE
THE FOREMOST NAME
In National and International
TRAVEL
FOR 32 YEARS
Kamegowda Rd., BANGALORE - 9
362, N. S. C. Bose Rd., MADRAS - 1

SURF IN THE MODERN HOME...

'NEW IDEAS FOR YOUR HOME?'

asks secretary Mrs CHANDER MOHINI SAREEN of New Delhi



'WHEN YOU HAVE NEW IDEAS FOR YOUR HOME,' says Mrs Sareen of Amar Colony, New Delhi, 'you must try them out. I do—whether it is a new flower-arrangement or a modern washing powder.'

Mrs Sareen, who has four children and works as private secretary in a New Delhi office, has given SURF 'a good try'. She finds SURF's extra washing power washes clothes dazzling white. 'SURF is simply amazing,' she says.

'And what lather! Everything comes out so perfectly clean. I use SURF for all my family washing—sheets, trousers, shirts, frocks.' Why don't you try SURF?

Surf gives you the WHITEST WASH

Surf

WHITEST WASH

HINDUSTAN LEVER PRODUCT

SU. 20-X34

WHY ANGER?

By POTHAN JOSEPH

That the ruling party has captured the machinery of State-organization and keeps trading on the prestige of the Gandhian movement is probably the tragedy of the 'fifties and the 'sixties. And not in India alone has the disfigurement of lofty idealism proceeded. Extravaganza and exhibitionism have taken the place of sane progress designed in the godly concepts of Gandhiji slowly revealed towards the point of application in India as a world-example for nations to emulate. As to the course of events, probable under the continuance of Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, we have to be aware of things by the envisagement of contrasts he had contemplated. The end was so sudden. He, however, meant no mimicry of dialectic experimentation under which we are suffering, call it Stalinism or unseparated Marxism. The whole dynamism and directive of the Indian movement have been miscarried, and many, of the old dedication, ask one another if the struggle had been worthwhile. Hints on the transfer of power were there for a change of wind, featuring the Viceroy's House as a hospital and the President as the occupant of a lowly hut worth the attention of rulers from Whitehall to the White House. Krishna Menons were not there to oust Kripalanis for Kennedy-impacts by special leave. No doctrine of self-excruciation is involved. The parade of austerity and asceticism is there in full colour, plus the intensification of intrigue and corruption among the actors jumping into the wagon. "Swatantra" says that we are missing the route by this craze for spectacularism, sheer sponging, right and left, at the risk of long-term debilitation in national vitality, and the boast of wisdom on tap for strangers on the quest in a distracted world, all equal in status, but still under the blast of sophisticated science. Our diplomacy lies in claiming exception from the menace of

radio-active isotopes, though laboratories in most countries have got the full file on the subject despite the Menons and Merlins of the age.

With extreme civility, the Prime Minister says that C.R. is angry. Rajaji admits that he has been provoked to anger because of the unnecessary perversion in the progress of the nation and the promotion-technique of human enlightenment perceived by the Greatest Man vouchsafed by Providence to our country since the days of Buddha whose image is worshipped far away in China and even in Mexico while we are mewing over the Prime Minister's complaint that "the Chinese had established new checkpoints in the Ladakh area between the 1956 boundary and the 1960 boundary" (after the Chinese occupation). Our warning is stern.

Apparently this happened when Panditji was away in Washington. In the United Kingdom there is a class of "Angry Young Men" who are the first-generation-descendants of Conservative stock, sick of war-time involvements, but here we have the assertion of "Angry Old Men of India" like Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and Acharya Kripalani who had, in their time, shared the dream of Mahatma Gandhi to reconstruct a Tolstoyan world dissociated from violence and the pretence of world-government with the ladder kicked off in scorn. When C.R. says that the Constitution should be respected and when Acharya Kripalani contends that there should be no fraudulent misrepresentation of India's attitude, we have a group of leaders like Mr. Nehru and Mr. Krishna Menon wanting to outsmart sober politics so that in North Bombay there is an encounter between two individuals, one a cheap Moscow revolutionist and the other a Gandhian philosopher who does not talk tripe about clean methods and clean ends when messing up both, and also instructing the

Our contributors are respectfully requested not to exceed 900 words, in view of the size of SWARAJYA.

world that a war must end with neither side winning, apparently a teaching of Lord Buddha, maxims fortunately not aired during Jawaharlalji's visit to New York and the Mexican city, later followed by an insipid joint-communique from Cairo of the Neutralist Trio (Nasser, Nehru, Tito). That Chou En-lai was not invited for the occasion is not surprising since China has moved forward into the empty vacuum about which we complain. It is announced that "understanding with India has been violated."

Angry Old Men of India have reason to be enraged because all duplicity about Messianic steps under Planning schemes and slogans are abortive frauds. A one-crore expenditure is the part and programme of the Planning Commission endowed with supernal or supra-national wisdom to regulate the economy of this country which is beyond them. There are angry men, not all teenagers in India, who say that the present tamash constitutes a hardship for their future existence, which is exactly the protest against Marxian mimicry about things not in our ambit. There is wretched disappointment in consequence, despite the World's Fashion Parade in India; possibly the occasion is for a spell of psychiatric treatment for all the Blimps of the world who should now be sick of the moral disease of fooling with the future.

NOW YOU CAN INDENT FOR



**SRI GANESHAM'S
CHAKRAM
BRAND PICKLES**
(To suit Western Tastes)
**HOT - SOFT &
SWEET**
In 3 Tastes (14 Varieties)
It's A 777 BRAND
Food Product

Prepared by:

M/s. R. S. N. IYER & R. S. G. IYER

Enquiries to:

SRI GANESHAM & CO., MADRAS-1

BARCOTINE the Chocolate Flavoured
Food Beverage for all.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

RAJAJI ALONE CAN DO IT

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: There has been perhaps no more striking a phenomenon in Indian politics within recent years than the appearance of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari as India's "Grand Rebel". Today (December 9, 1961) he is three and eighty. It looks almost incredible that at his age he should have launched a countrywide campaign against the oldest and biggest political organization which is also the ruling party.

Age—though it has made him physically feeble—has neither dimmed his sharp intellect nor weakened his amazing ardour. If anything, ripe years have made him truly patriarchal and added to his authority as a mentor. He is fully conscious of having to face mighty men and mightier odds. His is, however, a deliberate, calculated step: his is also the faith that he is not so much obeying an impulse as answering a call.

For full forty years he had been a congressman, and even when on a few major issues he could not, on some occasions in the pre-Independence era, toe the line with the policy-makers—the Mahatma not excluded—he was rather reconciled to ploughing a lonely furrow. But never had it occurred to him to leave the Congress—and yet not leave it alone.

If at last, over a decade after the attainment of Independence, he decided to part company from old and valued colleagues, it was for two compelling reasons. He

was convinced that the Congress was committed to "ruinous" policies and he knew that he alone, more than any other single individual in the country, could, as the phrase goes, stop the rot. And so he dared, and has since not grudged the throe.

The Swatantra Party is, so to say, his answer to the Congress. He is today both its high-priest and hot gospeller, while as a pamphleteer or campaigner in its cause, there is none more outstanding.

Rajaji's speeches from the Swatantra platform and his articles in the press, particularly in this journal (whether one agrees with his views or not), set one athinking. They constitute the case against the Congress rule which, in his view, covers many a sin from corruption in administration to the eruption of communism in disguise. The Swatantra Party's clash with the Congress Government is not confined merely to the domestic sphere. Rajaji has grave apprehensions of the implications of certain aspects of India's foreign policy. His charge-sheet is not that of a political leader merely out to fight an election: it is the reading of a political philosopher, it is indeed the assessment of a political mentor.

In the exposition of his cause he is obsessed by his horror of class conflict and national regimentation. He tells us that the strong language he uses is but "the expression of my soul's revulsion at the improper and immoral use of party power".

His party having been summarily and vehemently disposed of by the Prime Minister in a few chosen, opprobrious epithets, he has retaliated by describing the Congress rule as 'licence-permit raj', and called Congress ministers "a gang of brokers". Whether one agrees with him or not, and irrespective of the measure of one's agreement or disagreement,

Articles published in SWARAJYA, unless specifically marked copyright, may be reproduced in journals, in whole or in part, with or without acknowledgment.

it would be fatuous to decry the new "challenge". The vast audiences that Rajaji has been drawing at Swatantra meetings should shatter Congress complacency.

Today the country is confronted with the unique spectacle of finding in the political arena its two most outstanding political leaders facing one another, each a foe-man worthy of the other's steel, and both shining resplendent as symbols—the one of the power of the State and the other of the freedom of the individual.

But tomorrow what will be the position like? If Mr. Nehru is to continue as the Prime Minister as well he may, and in all probability will, one would really, in the larger interests of the country, like to see the country's most profound and subtle political strategist, quietly taking his place in the Lok Sabha as the Leader of the Opposition, having already taken care to provide the country with an effective, responsible Opposition to the Congress in the legislatures and Parliament.

But there is—and can be—nothing like his own presence in the House. It does not make much difference if there are ten or twenty more on the Opposition benches without him, whereas if he were there it will make all the difference. It will make the rafters ring: it will make the occupants of the Treasury Benches quail; it will make even the Prime Minister sit up.

And one can always look up then for historic duels like those in the House of Commons when Gladstone and Disraeli were face to face—the one with the short sword smiting hard and the other with the cast-net entangling the combatant in and disposing him of, with astonishing ease. Parliament will cease to be the playground of a single man's prowess. The spell needs to be broken. Rajaji alone can do it.

GRAPES OF WRATH

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Fresh annexation of territory by the Chinese have had reactions in India that should surprise the forward party of Peking. The legend of Indian toleration goes the length of puzzling the world. When in 1950, Chinese pickets advanced without resistance, India observed the custom of lodging "energetic protests" which provoked the remark of the present Defence Minister, then busy in London as High Commissioner: "They appear to be very angry with us, but we must not be angry with them". The practice of incursions had begun long before its disclosure in the Lok Sabha. The problem of 'anger' is as old as the hills, and the Prime Minister at Madurai complained that the Founder-Leader of the Swatantra party was indulging in anger. He was himself really in a rage, the P.M.

In reply Mr. Rajagopalachari wrote an article with his own caption: "Why I am angry". He admitted that he was angry, but the anger was righteous indignation because of his conviction that the good purpose of the Congress national movement of Liberation in the last sixty years should have been miscarried into the ditch of a corrupt regime, and he has not minced words in his graphic description of the quota-licence malpractices with which the development of the country has been coupled. The eruption of anger seems to spread, and in spite of the invasion of the country which the Praja Socialist Party, Swatantra Party and Jana Sangh Party affirm as scandalous, the political platform of the Congress has not gone beyond the contention that we must not be angry with the aggressors.

Divinity Students who apply their mind to distinctions between Christianity and Buddhism hold that Lord Buddha had cultivated more dispassion than Jesus Christ, condemning anger as a defect. On the other hand, one of the most

notable episodes in the career of Jesus Christ was when he entered the temple of Jerusalem where he found people engaged in trade, selling and buying: he was so infuriated at the misuse of the holy precincts that he lost his temper and upset the tables exclaiming that it was an outrage. He flogged some with whips. His wrath is admitted history, and Buddhist commentators refer to it in the language of derogation. The Buddhistic injunction against anger must, probably, appeal to the Chinese; but it appears odd when we say at this time of day: "They appear to be very angry with us, but we must not be angry with them". The Chinese warriors are on our soil. We apologetically suggest that something naughty has happened in the nursery with the result that the Chinese are coolly on the war-path.

The Defence Minister cannot think of encroachments on India without balancing it with the Kashmir episode, and he says with relish that "if others seek to occupy Indian territory, force will again be used against them." He warns Portugal in the same terms: "My country has at no time abjured the use of force in international relations". When the Government says that we are neutralists and that we must not be angry with jungle-raiders for their drive towards Saranath, how are the people to judge about the custodians of our safety and security? In these quibbles about anger and forbearance Mr. Rajagopalachari contemplates the possibility of conciliation with Pakistan as against the menace of Chinese militarists now strolling into empty territory. The Swatantra leader says: "Our antipathy to military alliances should not lead us to futile loneliness. Pakistan's offer is worth serious consideration". It all looks unrealistic in philosophical terms when we keep cornering ourselves in double-standard bombast.

SATYAM EVA JAYATE

By

RAJAJI

In Two Volumes

A collection of Rajaji's articles in Swarajya and other journals on various topics from 1956 to 1961. The second volume includes an alphabetical index for both volumes.

Available at Higginbothams in Madras and their principal stalls elsewhere, and at Kalki office, Madras and with Kalki and Swarajya agents at Delhi, (M/s. Khanna Stores, 68, Baird Lane New Delhi; M/s. Central News Agency 23/90, Connaught Circus New Delhi-1. Phone: 44762), Bombay, (R. Kannan 26/208, Meena Sadan, Sion-Matunga Road Bombay-22. Phone: 60011), Calcutta, (G. R. Ramaswamy 11, Govt. Place East, First Floor Calcutta-1. Phone: 23-5067) Nagpur, Poona, Bangalore City, Bangalore Cantt., Trivandrum, Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Tirunelveli, Tuticorin, Madurai, Trichinopoly, Pudukottah, Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Cuddalore, Chidambaram, Vellore, Salem, Coimbatore and Palghat.

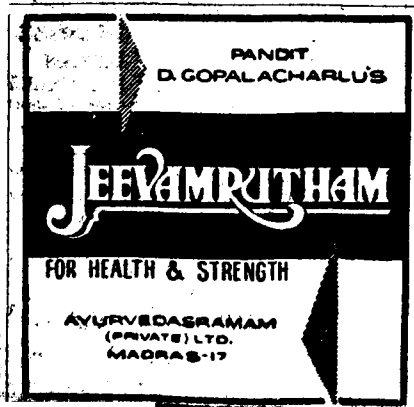
Price : Rs. 6/- Each Volume

If sent by post Rs. 1.50 extra for each volume.

BHARATHAN PUBLICATIONS PRIVATE LTD.
KALKI BUILDINGS, KILPAUK, MADRAS-10

Anger is a natural sentiment and if we demonstrate the spirit of self-abnegation when we are throttled with supineness, we shall have to pay the penalty. Friendly relations can offer the prospect of practical politics, but the safety and security of the country can hardly be continued to rest in the hands of philosophic guides who say that we must not be angry (only irritated) with gentlemen on the frontier when they exploit our incomprehensible submissiveness.

The Prime Minister has promised to place a statement on these depredations but unless we have the guts to define facts by the right names, we shall continue in a state of self-delusion.



The mighty roll of the drums seethes to the climax of a wild rhythm...and the dancing Wapis have danced their traditional Fish Dance, cleansing themselves of the anger of the Great Fish of the river.

BINNY's fabrics are shipped to this exciting land of New Guinea to help the people discover the wonderful new world of modern clothes.

BINNY's fabrics are exported to 49 other countries, too. Superb materials made only from cotton of the best quality and dyed with the fastest colours or so carefully bleached that the full strength of the cloth is preserved. Rigid Quality Control* ensures maximum durability and perfect finish.

Quality Control:
Modern machines process yarn and cloth so fast that often defects, invisible to the naked eye, creep into the cloth. Quality Control is laboratory testing to eliminate defects at every stage of production. That's why BINNY'S fabrics stay smart so long.

From palm leaves to TUSSORES

BINNY's manufacture nearly 90 million yards of cloth every year. Here are some of the varieties they make:
Shirting, Khaki Drills, Bleached & Dyed Drills, Towels, Anticrease Suitings, Tussore, Union Fabrics, Silk Saris etc. etc.

BINNY-
a great name in textiles

QUALITY FABRICS

WE STOCK: **QUALITY FABRICS**

THE BUCKINGHAM & CARNATIC COMPANY LIMITED
THE BANGALORE WOOLLEN, COTTON & SILK MILLS COMPANY LIMITED
Subsidiaries of BINNY & CO. (MADRAS) LTD.

Buy your requirements of BINNY'S fabrics at controlled rates from authorised BINNY Stockists who display this sign board

*Replacing broken warp yarn to strengthen cloth
Broken warp yarn is being replaced in the woven cloths, for a single missing thread can cause distortion of weaving pattern and reduce the cloth's strength.

Dear Reader

It was a delight to see the crowds that filled the grounds of the Swatantra Party's Convention at Agra. It was heartening to see the enthusiasm of the delegates that filled the hall where the manifesto was discussed and finalized. The Convention Pandal was large enough to accommodate a lakh of people sitting in Indian style and closely jammed as usual at such gatherings. And it was overfull on the evening of November 26th when leaders addressed the Convention, and a large number had to be led out to prevent casualties. The manifesto as well as the speeches were received with attention, marked by applause when important points were made. It was clear that the gathering realized the significance and the importance of the Swatantra revolt against the increasing threat of Congress Statism.

The merger of the Ganatantra Party of Orissa with Swatantra Party is an accomplished fact. It has received the welcome of the Convention and of all people who realize the need for a strong, well-knit Opposition party. The press has reacted most warmly to this

sensible move of the Orissa party.

The public announcement of General Natu Singh at the Convention that he has joined the Swatantra Party is not without significance. It shows that those whose particular concern has been the defence of India are dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, which can only be described as a depressing drift. That at this juncture the ruling party led by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru is still actively engaged in under-rating the aggression of the Chinese army, and has resolved to highlight its efforts to release Goa, demonstrates that the ruling party's desire to win the elections and hold on to power is stronger than any concern on its part to re-think its Chinese policy. This is most unfortunate. The Goa situation is bad no doubt, but it has been there all the time and it is a matter of far less importance than the evil intentions and the activities of the Chinese Government. All India is one as regards Goa, and any day it can be reduced to complete possession. But it is not so easy to solve the Chinese problem or half as dangerous as the communist aggression backed

as it is by the foolish communists in India, whatever they may pretend.

The entry of the fighting communities of Rajputana and Uttar Pradesh into the Swatantra Party is a noteworthy development. The Congress Party is busy talking about feudalism but no defunct feudalism of Rajasthan or of the abolished landlords of U.P. or elsewhere can match the new feudalism of the Congress. I can paint the picture in accurate detail and show how the dictatorship of the Congress Party is an exact replica of the old feudalism, but everyone knows it. The old feudalism protected the soul of India when it was in danger. But the new feudalism is killing India's soul and converting the nation into a flock of terrified sheep. The Swatantra movement is not only a protest against single party rule but a revolt of great spiritual importance.

The hereditary rulers and zamindars have irrevocably lost their old privileges and they have made no attempts to resist the deprivation. On the contrary, the rulers fell in line voluntarily when Indian Freedom and democracy demanded it. It is ungrateful on the part of the Congress Party and the Congress Government to harp on their former role when

A perfect pleasure
After a
Hearty Dinner

**spencer's
cigars**

SPENCER & CO. LTD
THROUGHOUT INDIA.

these—some of them—seek to help and strengthen the democratic step of forming an Opposition so as to balance the ruling party, and supplement and perfect the parliamentary pattern. The attempt to make a section of the people untouchables—of those who fulfilled a noble part during a critical period of Indian history and conserved Indian culture and maintained law and order—is not only ignoble and ungrateful but wholly contrary to the principles of democracy.

★ We had work in Agra until the afternoon of the 27th November. Then, after a day's rest in Delhi, I have been touring the Punjab. This region is humming with Swatantra. I have addressed huge, orderly and most colourful gatherings at Karnal, Panipat, Samalkha, Sonipet, Patiala, Sangrur, and Batinda. There were small places where, too, people had gathered to meet me and express their welcome. These two days have been very full and I have had to speak at ten places. It is cold here and it would have been difficult for me but for the great care and trouble taken by friends everywhere. The sturdy people of the Punjab have absorbed the Swatantra message. I have seen very good men here; the most remarkable among them, a veteran of the Poonch campaign, ex-Brigadier Pritham Singh (who presided at the meeting in Batinda) appeared to me a standing example of how good and brave men feel disgusted with the permit-licence raj of the Congress Party. I hope he will get into Parliament as a Swatantra member.

★ At Delhi, I met revered Sri M. S. Aney. It was most pleasing to hear his spontaneous and sincere words of appreciation of the parliamentary activities of the Swatantra Party M.Ps. In particular, he burst into praise of Sri M. R. Masani whom he placed as No. 1 in Parliament. I requested him to give me in writing his blessings for our General Secretary. Here is the revered veteran's message in his own hand:

Dr. M. S. Aney
M. P.
P. No. 32707
161, South Avenue
NEW-DELHI
Date 28.11.61

Those who have been in the Lok Sabha for the last five years know that Mr. Masani is one of the most well-informed and often active members of that House. His contributions to the discussion did not only bear the stamp of deep profound study but an originality of case presentation of the case very rarely seen in the members. I wish him success in the coming election. Vidarbha will feel proud if he consents to accept any parliamentary seat from Vidarbha.

M. S. Aney

(Those who have been in the Lok Sabha for the last five years know that Mr. Masani is one of the most well-informed and active members of that House. His contributions to the discussion did not only bear the stamp of profound study but an originality of presentation of the case very rarely seen in the members. I wish him success in the coming election. Vidarbha will feel proud if he consents to accept any parliamentary seat from Vidarbha.)

Revered M. S. Aney is not one who showers appreciations for courtesy. His praise and blessing are invaluable.

Master Tara Singh was condemned for breaking his fast by his extremist friends but he has been again elected to the chairmanship of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee. The extremist section had canvassed to get themselves represented in the Executive Committee and succeeded in getting in by two to five. The election of Master Tara Singh was unanimous.

C.R.

THE BOOKSELLER

By SRIVATSA

It was a surprise to Omar Khayyam that the vintner could bear to part, even for cash, with the precious goods that he exposed for sale. Likewise, the book lover wonders how the bookseller could have the heart to sell his precious goods. When he reads many eminent publishers of today treating of their craft as if it were commerce, unemotionally talking of books of poems as if they were so many bills of lading, he feels a revulsion. But there is a bookseller of a class to whom this stigma does not seem to attach. He is the old dealer in books. He obviously hates to part with them. He is learned, and though he knows with Dr. Johnson that he who lives to please must please to live, he realizes that any monetary recompense he may receive is poor reward.

Moreover, such a dealer is often a character. Order and method are total strangers to his bookshop. Books of all kinds and descriptions lie pell-mell on the floor. An exhalation of dust arises from them. His wares, it need hardly be said, are second-hand. The sale of absolutely new books is conducted on quite different principles. Frankly, it does the heart no good to see these exposed for sale with the same indifference that an ironmonger would show in offering for sale pots and pans. This kind of bookshop is impersonal and is often absolutely heartless. But old books permit some delightful humours—possibly even some endearing eccentricities. The essence of the delight is in making the transfer of the book for coins of the realm as unobtrusive as possible. The sympathetic buyer should creep away from the shop with the books which are now his by the inexorable laws of economy, but whose loss the dealer is clearly if quietly mourning. To make a parade of his purchases would be to sin against the light.

The old bookseller peers benevolently through his glasses at the buyer. He has no clear notion where any particular book may be lurking in his shop. But he invites the other to go through the heaps. He loves to make trial of the newcomer. Is he a charlatan, a Philistine? Or is he learned, and does he really love books? By way of essay, he draws him into conversation. The intending buyer is gently asked what particular kind of books he is interested in. If he should reply, say, English literature, the conversation is gently led to Thackeray and Dickens, Tennyson and Browning, and even Fielding

and Richardson. If the buyer should want *Vanity Fair*, it turns out that not only that "novel without a hero" but the other great things, *Pendennis*, *Newcomes*, *Esmond*, and *The Virginians* and also *The Roundabout Papers* are available in the shop. It is quite a different matter that the dealer does not know precisely in which particular part of the shop these books may be hiding. He knows for certain they are in the shop-shelves. Thackeray leads on to Dickens, to Trollope, to George Eliot, to the Brontës, and, to Wilkie Collins.

It is interesting that most old booksellers have no appetite for modern authors. It is true that, by the very nature of their trade, which is to sell second-hand books, they cannot offer many of these. But this is not the full explanation. By the very fact of their being old booksellers, they live in the past. An old copy of Mr. Priestley or Mr. Graham Greene may have accidentally penetrated into the shop. But one seldom or never finds the modern lions. The touch of modernity (not in the appearance or condition of the books, but in the author) is often provided by the ubiquitous "paper backs". But these are not to be regarded as real books, in the best sense of the term. For, say what one will, a proper book must put up a proper appearance, in fitting with its contents. That is why a kind of *apartheid*, justifiably in this instance, is practised with these upstarts. They are kept segregated and not allowed to soil books properly to be so called.

The old bookshop, then, is a preserve of the ancient genius of man. But one often finds it difficult to think highly of the quality of many of the books. Nothing is more ephemeral than the "cheap fiction" of the past. Even that of the not so distant past is today a drug, as George Borrow would say. What reader of today knows anything of Nat Gould or of Ethel M. Dell? Yet it is with the voluminous productions of these that many old shops are excessively cumbered. As one making one's way across the piles of volumes scattered on the ground comes across one of these, one pauses to consider. Such a book has delighted thousands in its day, and even if the very fact of its success, in the opinion of the highbrow, is an indication of literary worthlessness, may not some living spark be found in it today, in these enlightened days? One comes to the conclusion that the book is absolutely dead, and passes on. Yet there is an

asp of dissatisfaction. "What is at issue is not the penny remaindered copy of Omar Khayyam which Rossetti one day found and brought to fame. The point is that nobody can say that the favourite of other days is absolutely and irremediably worthless. These are palmy days of detective fiction. Yet Edgar Wallace, for all that he offends many canons of the now developed art, is still to be read with delight. But then the consolation is that art is long and life is short, and that one has to make a selection. So one passes on, more firmly this time.

Meanwhile, the presiding genius of the shop continues to peer benevolently. When, finally, the bargain is struck, he seems glad enough to receive the marks of the mint in exchange. Nevertheless, the buyer gets the impression that he is really loath to part with his goods.

WILL PEOPLE WAKE UP?

An esteemed correspondent writes:

The following is an extract of an advertisement published on page 3 of *US News & World Report* (d/29-2-1960):

"When small men begin to cast long shadows it is a sure sign that the sun is setting".

And too many very small men are casting deeply black shadows across America today.

• Small minded business men, more interested in making an easy dollar by manipulation than a harder dollar by producing values.

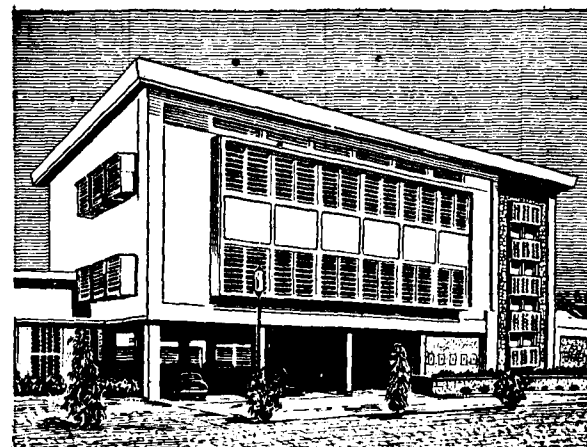
• Petty politicians who act as though they rule the people rather than serve them.

• Selfish labour leaders more interested in power than in America, even though their greed brings high cost, destructive inflation, deadly depression.

• Greedy people in many walks of life, who want their areas, their special interests supported by all tax payers, when they ought to be paying their own bills.

Long shadows like these will continue to grow until the entire country is in eclipse, unless the real people, who do their work and pay the taxes, wake up to their responsibility and opportunity. By voice and vote, they can take their country back again, and insist on honest values once more, greater public integrity, and hard work so that everyone will earn what he gets. And we had better do it before the sun sets.

Read "India" for "America" and "rupee" for "dollar", you cannot have a more apt or truer call for the times.



English Electric Co's Administrative Building, Madras



Concrete Road near Madurai



Prestressed concrete bridge on the Bombay-Cape Comorin Road at Aror

ACC AND Sankar BRAND CEMENTS... help lay a solid foundation for INDIA'S PROGRESS

Today India is building for the future...for prosperity...for plenty. With cement India is erecting structures as vast as her own aspirations...in the heart of an expanding metropolis...or within the bounds of a humble village...on the face of a majestic mountain...or on the fringe of the sea...vital new buildings and new projects providing 'concrete evidence' of India's achievements—evidence of what cement can do for an advancing country. And the Associated Cement Companies Ltd. and India Cements Ltd. help lay a solid foundation for India's progress by supplying quality cement in ever increasing quantities.



THE CEMENT MARKETING CO. OF INDIA LTD.
THE ASSOCIATED CEMENT COS. LTD.
THE INDIA CEMENTS LTD.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

THE PRICE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

Sir,—Of all the boosted policies of the Congress Government, the one most boosted is our foreign policy.

But what does our 'success' in this respect consist in exactly? It consists only in Pandit Nehru being feted and feasted in the chancelleries of the world, while the country and its nationals are really treated with contempt.

Our hobnobbing with the Chinese and the frenzied shouts of "Hindi-Cheeni Bhai-Bhai" are still fresh in our minds. But what has been the gain to the nation? A big kick upon the shin from which we are still smarting. Pakistan has chosen to heap one insult after another upon our nation and recently Col. Bhattacharya was savagely sentenced for alleged spying. When our Prime Minister visits Ceylon he is feted regally. But the lot of the Indian (mostly South Indian) settlers there has been no better than that of slaves. And now Britain is joining the European Common Market without caring two straws for India; and then, to add insult to injury, it is about to pass an Immigration Bill forbidding Indians to settle in England. Lastly, Goa and South Africa are the shining examples of our successful foreign policy!

Our foreign policy may have brought a lot of benefit to our Prime Minister and his henchmen, but it has brought only tears and insults for the nation.
Lucknow G. D. SHARMA

WHO ARE FASCISTS?

Sir,—Conservatism really reveals the fallacy of the utopian shortcuts to freedom and prosperity, and guards freedom from being trampled down and the quality of man from being threatened by the 'equality' of man. To condemn conservatism by calling it fascism is wholly misplaced. The characteristics of fascism are plebeian leadership, the appeal to the mob, the contempt for legality, the disregard for the rights of property, the insistence on creating an entirely new order of things. Congress policies today bear very close relationship to fascism and congressmen are the real fascists. Fascism is the taking of more power by the State to the detriment of the freedom of avocation and the sacredness of possessions. Sri Nehru in his characteristic indifference to facts has lost all capacity for self-examination and self-criticism. Once upon a time, writing in the *Modern Review*, he had himself confessed to his love of power

and his talents for histrionic display. He added he would even become a fascist if circumstances should warrant it.

The Prime Minister's criticism of the Swatantra Party that it is fascist in outlook is put a reflection of his own mind and make-up.

R. SETHURAMAN

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

Sir,—In the SWARAJYA (of the 25th Nov. 61) there was a very truthful letter concerning 'half-truths' in respect of co-operative societies and joint co-operative farming. The warning given by Sri B. P. Singh of Sohna Agricultural Farm, Basti district should be borne in mind by all. In this connection, I am reminded of the fable in which the King of Beasts, who had become weak, old and unpopular, adopted a ruse to continue its sway as the King of Beasts for ever!

The King of Beasts (according to the fable) engaged a few selfish agents to advertise that His Majesty was weak, old and was leading a pious and lonely life, and that he was keen to meet all his subjects and spend his evenings with one of his subjects 'over a cup of tea'. His subjects naturally took pity on him and paid a visit to the King one by one. The turn of Mr. Fox came, and on his arrival at the cave, he was met by a courteous Dwarapalaka who informed Mr. Fox that the King was eagerly awaiting his arrival. Mr. Fox looked suspiciously at the entrance of the cave and asked the Dwarapalaka to explain how it was that only the foot-prints of those who went in could be seen but not any of those who returned.

But how many are there like the shrewd fox among our people who are taken in by all that glitters as gold? The fate of those who join the joint co-operative farming is not any different from that of the victims of the lion's guile. When you join a co-operative society, you only pay the share amount and if you do not like the operation of the society, you can check it up and write off the share amount. But if you become a member of the joint co-operative farming society, you sign the death warrant of the farm and its ownership. The rules are so drawn up that you cannot leave the joint co-operative farming society, unless you write off your property. Whoever becomes a member of this society he cannot withdraw from it for the first three years

and after the three years' limit, only 10 per cent of the share amount of the new members enrolled during the year can be used to pay off the share amount of the member who wishes to withdraw from the society. Let us take as an example a society which fixes Rs. 10 only as share amount for a member of the joint co-operative farming. For facilitating the withdrawal of one member, it will necessitate the enrolment of ten new members during the year. Is it possible for every society to enrol every year ten new members to facilitate the withdrawal of one member? Even if one should succeed, the other members of the joint co-operative farming society can always make it impossible for the individual who has withdrawn, to cultivate his land and move freely to and from it.

Forewarned is forearmed. Beware of joint co-operative farming societies. It was through sheer ignorance and lack of guts that farmers in communist countries lost their lands and ushered in the New Class.

Coorg

MODERN FARMER

WHAT PRICE (FOR BURMA) TEAK!

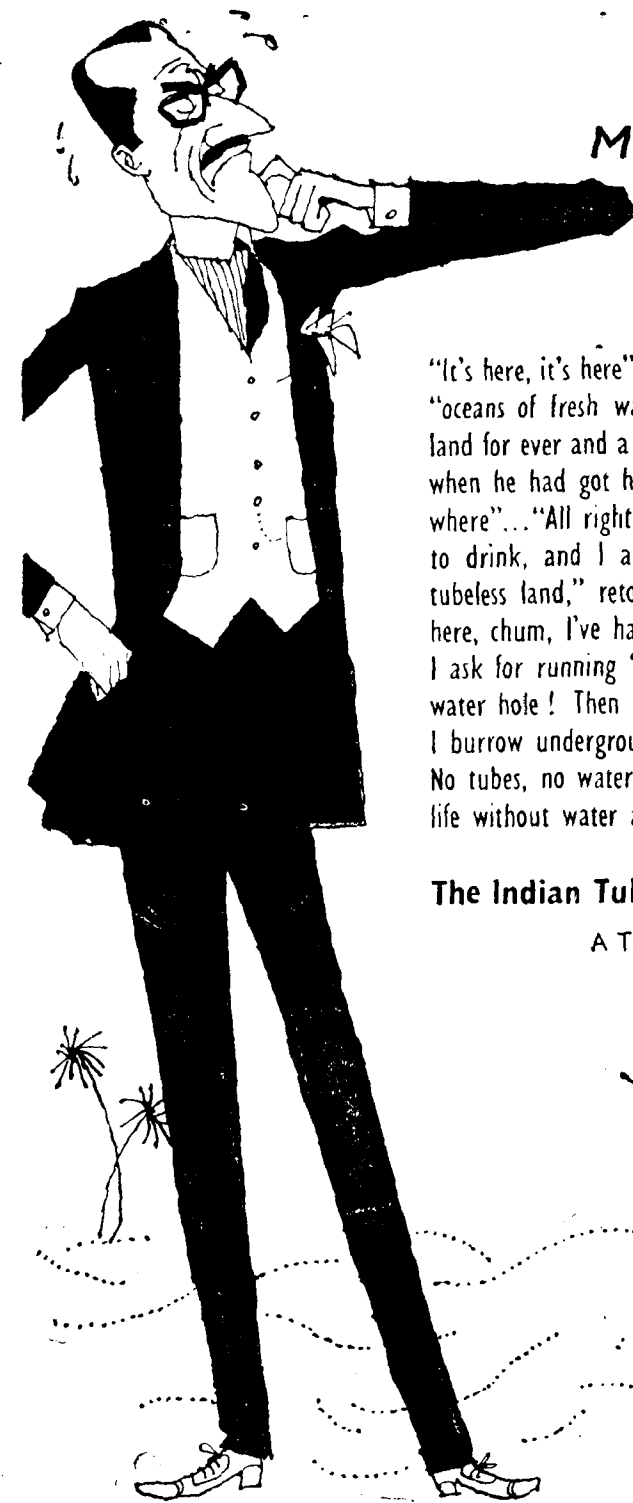
Sir,—It is shocking to read that "India has entered into an agreement with the Burmese Government for the purchase of 1,800 tons of Burmese teak valued at Rs. 150 lakhs", i.e., at over Rs. 8,300 per ton. What is the precious work in which it is proposed to use this teak where Malabar teak or Hyderabad teak at ever so much lower price will not serve nearly as well?

One wonders if this news-item is incorrect or is only a correct portrayal of extravagance or additional proof of sqandermania of the prodigal who spends lavishly out of borrowed money.
Madras K. V. IYER

THE CEMENT STORY

Sir,—In November 11th issue of SWARAJYA the fate of cement has been mildly stated so far as the increase in price is concerned. What about its distribution? It is almost distressing. To obtain a certificate from an officer of the P.W.D. is just as difficult as climbing Mount Everest. Having spent some money over the preliminaries, I could not give up the construction work.

It is stated that a man belonging to Kothamangalam (Kottayam), which is at one end of the State, was allotted about 700 bags of cement at Palghat, the other end of the State for a work at Kothamangalam. Does this not look odd, if there is nothing fishy about it?

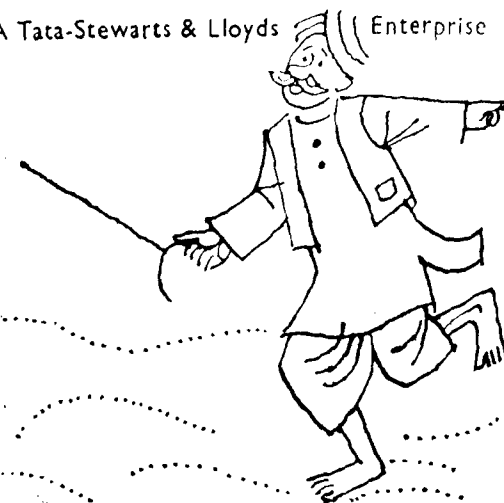


MR. TUBOPHILE GOES WATER DIVINING IN TUBELESS TIMES

"It's here, it's here", screamed the Water Diviner, all excitement, "oceans of fresh water underground...enough to cultivate this land for ever and a day. In fact", continued the Water Diviner, when he had got his breath back, "there's water, water everywhere"... "All right, all right, but meanwhile there's not a drop to drink, and I am dying of thirst in the middle of this tubeless land," retorted Mr. Tubophile, really irritated. "Look here, chum, I've had enough of your tubeless mumbo jumbo. I ask for running 'hot and cold' and you take me to a dirty water hole! Then I ask for a drink of water and you suggest I burrow underground like a rodent. The truth, Sir, is simple. No tubes, no water! In fact, life without tubes is apt to be life without water and that's no life at all."

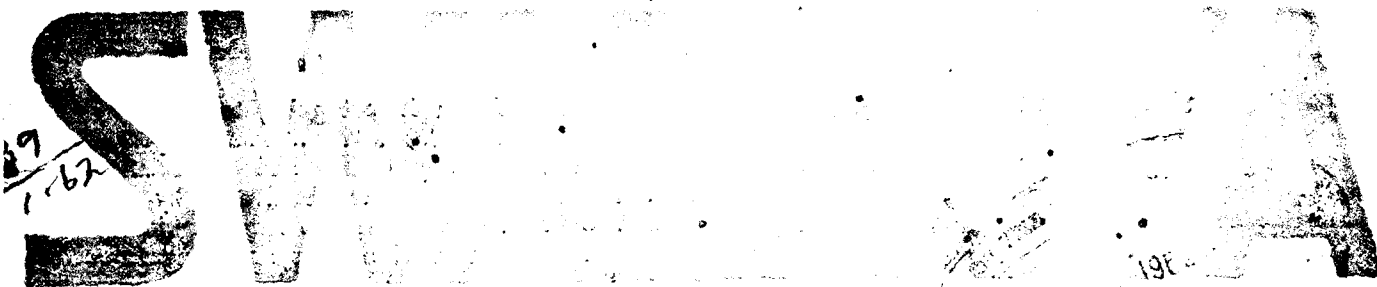
The Indian Tube Company (1953) Ltd.

A Tata-Stewarts & Lloyds Enterprise



ITC-58

Printed by R. Ananthanarayanan & published by T. Sadasivam on behalf of M/s. Bharathan Publications Private Ltd., at the Kalki Press, Kilpauk, Madras-10. Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH



(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)

Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 24

MADRAS, DECEMBER 16, 1961

Price 15 nP

MAKE CRIME PROFITLESS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Long before Lord Acton said it, Kautilya wrote *Balam hi chittam vikaroti* (power corrupts the mind). This cause-and-effect phenomenon therefore was observed in India long ago. Things have not improved since then. Power continues to corrupt!

The newer the power the greater is its nascent corrupting influence. The power that congressmen got in 1947 was a sudden and new acquisition, with all the potency of a nascent element in chemical action.

And this power that came (in 1947) has been tremendously increased in the shape of a by-product of the welfare State, further augmented by the official adoption of socialism as the means to welfare. The power to give or refuse to citizens scope to exercise a profession or follow an occupation or trade is a tremendous power. It is indeed almost equivalent to the power over life and death.

Exercising this power over all the significant sections of the population for a number of years now, the ruling party has indeed suffered what Kautilya put down in simple Sanskrit—*Balam hi chittam vikaroti* (indeed, power causes disorder of the brain).

Now, power is operated in two ways. One is plain hitting. The other is a threat to hit. Of the two, the latter is the more powerful. We are not so much afraid of a cobra that has done its work and spent itself, as of a cobra that

raises its hood and hisses. We tremble before it.

"We shall take over your bus-route" is like the hissing of the serpent with its hood raised. And which bus-owner can withstand the threat? He gives the money demanded for the party.

"Look here, we do not take the bread from out of your mouth for the next five years. We have let you off. Give us your fair share of contribution for our election fund."

Says the licensee to himself: "Why should I not do what I can, during these five years of respite? All-merciful Heaven will look after my family thereafter. Just now the Congress has been merciful and I shall pay up what is demanded". The licensee robs the people, and the party robs the licensee. The *quid pro quo* is all right between the party and the licensee, but it is those who travel by the bus, or consign their freight in the lorry, that pay. People will vote all right if the party organization is furnished with ample funds.

"Your acres would have gone under the ceiling law. But we have provided you with a saving proviso for sugarcane cultivation. Don't you realize what you owe to us?"

Of course, the benefit is fully and gratefully acknowledged and a thousand or two acres are retained intact, production of rice being given up in favour of sugar production—which is to be sold abroad at a loss!

"Do you want the licence application for your fertilizer project to be expedited? Why then do you delay your promised contribution of Rs. 50,000 to the Congress Election Fund? Pay it up and you will get your licence this week." And it is done as promised—as if by magic.

The power taken to give quasi-monopolies to a select few is more full of money-potentiality than power used in favour of or against a whole class. The Congress is not a party of rich people. But the rich quake before it—the harvest is plenty and the reapers are many.

Is it not now clear why the Congress Party considered my demand absurd, that the Government should resign and place the administration in the hands of the President and the permanent officials well before the general elections and until the elections are over and a new government is formed? It carried no conviction, not because there was no precedent for it in other countries, but because such an arrangement would mean giving up the power that plays a significant and wonderfully useful part in the elections.

The whole thing is bad. But the most melancholy part of it is that all this is done without any sense of shame and therefore without any attempt even to cover it up. How can national character survive this?

And what is the plan to spend all these huge sums collected for the party? The People's Represen-

CURRENT EVENTS :

When the Prime Minister runs his eyes over the row of Opposition parties the most infuriating figure he observes is the personality of Rajaji who has just entered on his eighty-third year. Pandit Nehru has come to the stage of monolithic power-consciousness after fifteen years of office, and he cannot now brook the idea of any formidable Opposition when he and the party he rules yearn for perpetual authority. C.R. has emerged from his retreat to check this trend, like the old Roman general who hurried from his country-farm over a similar development at home when at the same time the frontiers of the Empire were being violated with impunity by foreigners infiltrating into Roman territory.

It is a sense of genuine alarm that prompted C.R. to launch the Swatantra Party much to the annoyance of the Prime Minister in command of yes-men anxious for "tickets", so that all could continue to maintain the caricature of democracy with freedom of constant interference with the Constitution at the behests of the Executive. The Prime Minister being a polished gentleman cannot express his detestation by resort to vulgar language, and therefore he retorts by counter-charges that Swatantra represented reaction; that the party was a fossil-survival; that any acceptance of its principles would put back the hands of the clock and weaken Planning which is the Ark of the Covenant for India; that the Tories in England could be deemed a revolutionary party in comparison to the Swatantra movement in India, etc., etc. Further Mr. Nehru, not to be impolite, adds that C.R. spoke in anger, a foible apparently foreign to his own nature. Rajaji replied to the accusation on October 21 by a striking article under the caption "Why I am angry".

Age does not depress Rajaji but what agitates him is the decay in

national standards and the rise of a New Class accustomed to corrupt practices soaking the fabric of society and threatening the welfare of the people. The hoax of catchwords goes against the grain of his experience and political perception. A government in power resting on the creation of rotten boroughs as a sturdy pestilence, angers him, but then he is a crusader who knows no defeat. Whether on his birthday, cakes with 83 candles were ceremonially cut or not, the best wishes of India's millions were there wishing him many happy returns of the day.

An example of two politicians in concert being equal to the task of putting the absentee in the wrong may be found in speeches delivered on the same day by Mr. Krishna Menon in Bombay and the Prime Minister in Calcutta. The Defence Minister maintained that any deviation from his present border-policy against China (who had "stabbed India in the back") would be a mistake leading to suicidal recoil. Characteristically enough he could not avoid a dig at the United States by leaving an assertion open to adverse inference. "It is noteworthy," proceeded Mr. Menon to edify his Bombay audience, "that the Chinese policy should have found no support either in the Soviet bloc countries nor among other Afro-Asian nations." If this combination in UN membership is deducted from the general UNO strength in the present register, what is left of course, is the Western Powers under the leadership of the United States. So, on second thoughts, listeners returning home should have been able to identify the villain of the piece.

Concurrently in Calcutta the Prime Minister, without naming names, denounced impatient people for not realizing that all diplomatic measures should be exhausted before India could contemplate effective action compelling Chinese intruders to vacate

aggression. He did not deny that after September last the Chinese had walked into an additional territory of 2,000 square miles, unresisted; but then, India should be careful and he warned the Chinese (as he does the Portuguese) that patience should not be mistaken for weakness. Warming up to the theme he declared that it was time for the communists in India to make up their mind whether they were loyal to India or devoted to Peking. The protest of the communists that they too are patriots is not found adequate; but there is the patent implication in favour of Mr. Krishna Menon (his right-hand man), namely, that he is no friend of Indian communists. If he were a sympathetic ally and patron of the CPI, does it mean that he is a communist who comes under the bidding of the Prime Minister to choose between allegiance to India and fealty to China? Thus, if the two speeches are read side by side the hand-in-glove tactics becomes clear, but the ordinary elector can hardly have time to sort out the meaning of quibbles and discern the winning of common scores in a perfect partnership game.

In the Rajya Sabha debate on the Chinese steadily strolling into Indian territory, the Prime Minister declared that the need for unity in the country is proved vital. Let it however be made clear that the Chinese expansionists can hardly be deterred by the fear that unanimous opinion in the country gives them no opportunity to strike. Compared with the Chinese menace, the Goa problem is a minor challenge. Advice about vigilance and the closing of the ranks is superfluous when virtually the doors lie open for our neighbours. The build-up of a psychological state of alertness together with formidable postures of political unity in the country are not going to scare them when the authorities wobble and prevaricate over the issues for debating victories, and go the length of declaring that we should learn to live with the problem of the mobile Chinese

THE PRIMARIES OF CIVILIZATION: WORK AND PROPERTY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Mad after material wealth and competing with one another, the nations of the Western world have come to be plunged in unquenchable fear of one another. They have lost their soul. I would have hesitated to say this, for I know and feel how greatly Western peoples as well as individuals among them have proved themselves worthy of the highest respect and belonging to the highest grade of spiritual evolution. But after witnessing the reckless manner in which they have in recent times used their technical advance and their material power to the detriment of world health and the weal of the future generations of humanity, as if there were no world morality or public law or responsibility but only the law of the jungle, I do not think I exaggerate when I say that in what is called the atomic age Western nations have lost their soul. They are in no better case than Adam and Eve after they tasted the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. Having lost their souls, they have lost their way. They grope in the dark without a sense of purpose. They have reduced themselves to simple biological existence having lost the special inheritance of man as distinguished from other animals—the moral sense.

CURRENT EVENTS (contd.)

army for years and even centuries to come. Even if in the elections all the votes go to the Congress and an indomitable all-India party comes into power it is going to make very little difference as far as the Chinese are concerned, since the party steam-roller would probably be turned to pulverise dissidents and consolidate domestic paramountcy to the advantage of those who exploit the dumb masses, bewildered by contradictory pronouncements and the squabbles for tickets to secure seats in the band-wagon.—P.J.

असुर्या नाम ते लोका
अन्धेन तमसाऽवृताः ।
तांस्ते प्रेत्याभिगच्छन्ति
ये के चात्महनो जनाः ॥

The lives of those who kill their souls will be like life in a world without the sun to give light, enveloped in utter darkness.

There are good men left yet among the peoples of the West, and sensibility is still lingering to make them feel sad over what has happened.

These nations wage a cold war against one another; but they also wage a hot war with poison gas against the whole un-offending world. Their souls are banished from the Garden of Eden and are wandering in self-imposed darkness and torment. Truly angels have fallen and all their power has been transformed into evil.

Let us not allow ourselves to be infected. We may be poisoned and perish, but let us not be misguided, too, and lose our souls. Not the West, either the one bloc or the other, but the ancient genius of our people shall guide us to true happiness in freedom and fearlessness as long as we live or are allowed to live.

Let us cultivate friendship and international brotherhood, but it is not good to make any Big Power our big creditor or our spiritual master. We want India to re-gain her moral influence to enable her, if possible, to work for peace, peace that may be truly called *shanti*. The genius of India is *shanti*, tranquillity, and her mission in this world is the conquest of fear by the strength of the spirit within. Let us not by denying the spirit, or by a chronic process of ignoring it, kill it. The Upanishad text quoted earlier has warned us that such killing leads to utter darkness.

The same Upanishad solemnly tells us, in its first verse, how we should live:

ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं
यत्किं च जगत्यां जगत् ।
तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा
मा गृधः कस्यस्विद्धनम् ॥

All this is the Lord, all that is in this world is His. Enjoy what is given to you. Do not covet what is another's possession.

कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि
जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः ।
एवं त्वयि नान्यथेतोऽस्ति
न कर्म लिप्यते नरे ॥

Live all the years you may live, doing work. There is no other way to live but to work. Work in such a manner that you develop no attachment to the profits thereof.

The Upanishad says that life should not be given up and that life is impossible without work. Everyone should work and there is nothing wrong in it, provided one does not develop attachment and greed. It is attachment and greed that cause hatred and fear and loss of soul and darkness. Without attachment work is proper and is itself a form of worship, a fulfilment of man's duty that comes to him with birth.

Any polity based on fulfilment of duty is *dharmic* polity. What is based on greed and envy, what develops covetous eyes on others' possessions is satanic polity. Nature has laid the duty of work on man. It has laid the obligation to respect every honest acquisition of property as something not to be laid hands upon or looked upon with envy. This is the basis of civilization. Without the recognition of the sacredness of property, there can be no ordered society, no freedom, no incentive to work, no progress, no civilization. Therefore, was guaranteed in the Constitution the right to work, to acquire and to hold, and freedom from expropriation.

tation Act has put a ceiling on the expenditure of candidates, but none on party expenditure. So we must only guess what will be done with all the money of the candidates and the money collected by the party which is not bound to submit any accounts to the Election Commissioner. So it is that I appeal to the voters, especially the poor among them, to use the occasion once for all to demonstrate

THE HOUR OF DECISION

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The notion of the ruling party that the democratic system could be converted into totalitarian autocracy is not a stray opinion of political bosses in the Congress. Whilst the Swatantra Convention was expounding the need for adhering to the Constitution without violating the balance of power contemplated by the Founding Fathers, the Prime Minister thought of delivering a blow by *tu tuquo* logic. He charged that the Swatantra leaders were out for a regime of Fascism which would backwardize human progress towards tyranny and the betrayal of welfare objects. Fascism can be equated with totalitarianism which in the Russian version is now manifested as the communist bid for power. The trend towards Fascism and the exaltation of court-cliques amount to a danger which India has to face without fear or panic. As the Swatantra Party's manifesto says: "Once or twice in a generation the call comes to a free people to make a

that bribing is useless and that the bribe-giver cannot be sure of the vote. This is all one can do in the situation. I believe that if there is no guarantee of performance even if a bribe is given and accepted, the motive to corrupt may be greatly reduced. Where the laws do not help, we have to take other steps against debasement of morality—by making bribery profitless.

momentous decision". Mr. Nehru's thesis in favour of unbridled authority is not casually expounded by colleagues like Lal Bahadur Shastri alone, who preaches solidarity in the country at a time of transition and favours the idea that unanimity must be sustained as the sequel to elections.

That the aim is not a passing delusion may further be illustrated, if one may, with all civility and chivalry, recall the episode in Nairobi (Kenya) on Indira Gandhi's goodwill-visit last September. In her simple faith she declared at Dar-es-Salaam for the benefit of the Tanganyika African National Congress that she saw no harm in a one-party system; indeed from the subsequent protest it is apparent that "she condemned having an Opposition party merely to conform to democratic principles". The Congress Publicity Secretary (Frederick Omido) immediately summoned the party for questioning the no-harm doctrine about the one-party system and stressed the intention in Tanganyika of having an Opposition party. There can be no doubt that India's ambassadress of goodwill had the best of intentions, but she had carried with her the obsession that the emergence of an Opposition party was "merely to conform to democratic principles" as outlined by Constitution-makers. Why "merely"? Mr. Frederick Omido protested that the advice was "very unfortunate and uncalled for". The plight of Indians in resurgent African

States is not going to be easily solved, and a long period of adjustment and assimilation should be expected even by crusading liberators. Anything in the nature of Indians exploiting Africans should be eliminated from the economic system which cannot be an over-night performance.

Mr. Omido went on: "She shouldn't claim to be an expert on our political problems here, and the remarks were directed at us. Therefore, we strongly oppose any utterances on her part in trying to dictate to us in this country the form of political set-up which we should follow."

He added: "Unless this remark is withdrawn we will make Mr. Nehru's life very uncomfortable and difficult when he visits Tanganyika".

Africans in their awakening are on the eve of a try at emotional integration, and it should not appear that Indians in domicile want to disturb any image of the future. Countries in the practice of the democratic system have racially to belong to what Americans call "the melting pot", but the ordeal cannot be made less tense by exotic teachings about the content and message of democracy. Prime Minister Nehru has not visited Tanganyika, but anything he says at Nairobi will have to be carefully worded if true Swatantra in that region is to take root instead of any single-party *diktat*. Slogans like "Fascism" and "totalitarianism" in contradiction have no value in the pursuit of peace, but it has become a fixation with the ruling party, intoxicated with power, that they should have a free hand and that others are interlopers in their mission of shaping the country's destiny. There was nothing individually presumptuous in Indira Gandhi's advice offered in Nairobi, but it indicates the mental complex of the Prime Minister when he in a phase of demi-god leadership describes Opposition in the democratic system as the menace of Fascism. Once or twice in a generation the call comes to a free people to make a momentous decision.

CONSULT
RAM MOHAN
TRAVEL SERVICE

For All Bookings
Air - Sea - Rail

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

THE PLANNING CRAZE

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Addressing recently the National Savings Conference, the Prime Minister declared that "no country can escape Planning. Planning is just like a war, which has got to be fought in an organized manner". The Praja Socialist leader Ashok Mehta, speaking at Madras, also said: "Those who suggested that the Plan should be thrown into the sea did not know what the problems were". It is not honest to inject into the public mind the false impression that the Swatantra Party is opposed to all Planning. The party is only opposed to the Planning Commission, a body not responsible to the Parliament for its policies of State enterprise and controls, which utilizes the powers and taxes of the Government to limit the enterprise and investment of the people, on the communist theory that instruments of production belong to the State.

The objection of the Swatantra Party is based on sound experience of planning both in the public and private sectors. In the private sector 50 per cent of the capacity of 27 out of 80 industrial units for which figures are available, was idle last year. The idle capacity of smaller units is higher. In 1961-62 the idle capacity should increase because a provision has been made of only Rs. 80 crores against Rs. 327 crores required for imported components and raw materials. Since all these enterprises have been licensed by Government, they represent, first, a misuse of foreign exchange, secondly an unnecessary diversion of capital and resources, including labour, and thirdly, an increase in the price level to cover the unemployed investment and capacity. Without the assurance of monopoly and of the protection of prices, private enterprise would have been more strictly tailored to what it could produce economically and sell competitively.

In the public sector, the story of steel tells its own tale. Though

a target of 4.5 million tons was set for the Second Plan, the output was only 2.2 million tons, of which only 600,000 tons was from government factories. The failure was due to neglect of co-ordinated planning for coking coal, limestone, refractory bricks and of transport. No private enterprise would have set up factories without making sure of these essentials, so that what is called Planning is exactly the *absence* of it. In the meanwhile, we are importing more steel than we did before the Planning started, in spite of which the shortage has created a thriving blackmarket!

In respect of other public sector enterprises, the story is already known of our penicillin being 1,000 per cent above world prices, our fertilizers 56 per cent above landed cost. The public not only pays taxes and loans for starting these enterprises but also inflated prices to cover extravagant capitalization, inexperience and the

disadvantages arising, economics being subjected to politics in respect of location and almost all details, which private enterprise would watch for economies.

Planning in respect of agriculture, power, transport, social services, shows similar, if not greater, gap between promise and performance. The first is the basis of the economy and the other three, the infra structure for all development but from communist stylised plan, they have been sacrificed to controls and State enterprises, so that the people have had only the shadow and not the substance, as everyone is painfully aware.

The plan of the Swatantra Party is very simple, that the Government should only do what the people are unwilling or *unable* to do. It is based not only on intelligent self-interest of the individual but the confidence that the common people can develop themselves if the Government does not restrict or compete with them, at

(Continued on page 7)



WHO IS THE FASCIST?

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

The Prime Minister as leader of the Congress Party has inaugurated his election campaign against the Swatantra Party by calling it "Fascist". Is it a deliberately chosen epithet or is it the cheap-Jack politician's device of taking the first word of abuse that came to him? It must be the latter, for one cannot believe that a politician who has lived through the era of Fascism could have forgotten the principles and practices of the political party that Mussolini founded. For, even then, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru was an authority on international affairs—at any rate among the members of his party.

As a student and critic of Fascism and the Fascists, he must have made himself familiar with the chief principles of Fascism as enunciated by the founder from time to time. In his book *Fascism*, Mussolini described Fascism as "a way of life where the individual by denial of himself, the sacrifice of his individuality, by his death itself realizes that spiritual existence which makes his value as a man". He called his age "the Fascist age, where people want authority, direction, order". He called the twentieth century "the age of the State, the collective age". Fascism was anti-individualist. Fascism is "for the State—it

is for the individual so far as the individual harmonizes himself with the State". The State has to be active, expansive, if it is to survive, for "the State exists and lives on the measure and the extent to which it develops, for it to stop growing is to die". Defining or rather describing the jurisdiction of the State according to Fascism, Mussolini says "the State cannot be limited to the simple functions of order and protection as is the view of Liberalism; it is not merely a machinery which limits the sphere of individual liberty, it is a form, an interior rule, and discipline of the whole person". Is the Fascist State, then, an absolute State? No, says Mussolini. "A State," he says, "which supports itself on millions of individuals who recognize it or accept it, or are ready to serve it, is not a tyrannical State" and "the individual in the Fascist State is not abolished, but rather multiplied, just as in a regiment a soldier is not abolished but multiplied by the number of his companions in arms". The Fascist State allows individual rights and liberties "but of these the State is the judge, not the individual". And summing up the whole political theory of the Fascist State in the famous speech in the Italian Senate on 11th Nov. 1926, Mussolini pro-

claimed: "According to my idea, according to the idea of Fascism, all is for the State, nothing is outside the State, and above all nothing is against the State".

Does all or any of this sound like the principles of the Swatantra Party? Incidentally, some of the utterances of Jawaharlal Nehru on certain occasions when he does propaganda for the Plans and Planning sound very much like those of Mussolini. Minimum activity to the State and maximum activity to the individual, or incorporated bodies of individuals, is the main principle of the Swatantra Party enunciated and explained in innumerable pamphlets and speeches of spokesmen of the party and lately embodied in its election manifesto. If Mr. Nehru had called the Swatantra Party an anarchist party he would have been nearer the mark—although 'anarchist' would be as much a word of abuse as 'Fascist' as a description of the Swatantra Party.

For the Swatantra Party does not deny all power and jurisdiction to the State and its instrument, the government. In addition to the elementary duties of preserving the people against threats to its existence from within (Home Defence) and from without (External Defence and Foreign Affairs) and providing facilities for the development of its economic life (like roads, railways, posts and telegraphs) and its health (like hospitals and sanitation and drainage) and its elementary education, and the raising of the primaries required for these aspects the Swatantra Party would allow the State and the government do only those things which the individual or corporations of individuals will not do (like irrigation works, hydro-electric works, Defence industries). It will keep the State off business, for business is not the business of governments. Their duty in regard to business is to stand outside so that it could be the judge, the controller, the umpire. The State cannot be the umpire if it joins in the game as player and it cannot be the judge

THE PLANNING CRAZE ...

(Continued from page 3)

their own cost, through new taxes and loans.

The Swatantra Party is also determined to help the common people in a positive way. To the 56 per cent of the population which pays revenue and rent, the party offers complete relief, which will double their net income and strengthen the rural base of the economy. To the 13 per cent of the population, the landless labourers, the Swatantra Party offers opportunities for full employment by activating private enterprise, particularly housing in

villages, through subsidies and loans. To factory workers, it offers participation in capital and "progress sharing" related to the extension of the market. To those with capital and enterprise, it offers the field free from licences and permits. To those with the spirit of dedication, it offers education, health and social services so that government expenditure on the same is shared and reduced. To all it offers the right of self-determination which has always added to the dignity and prosperity of mankind. The Prime Minister should become aware of this plan which is based on democracy and not communism.

magnificent
masterpieces
of modern
architecture
built with
SANKAR BRAND
cement

THE INDIA CEMENTS LIMITED, MADRAS-2

Sold and Distributed by: The Cement Marketing Company of India Limited

if it steps down from the Bench and joins the jury or the Bar.

Such being the political ideal of the Swatantra Party it passes one's comprehension, how the Prime Minister could call the Swatantra Party Fascist. Fascism is totalitarian—like communism. Whatever may be said against the

Swatantra Party it cannot be called Fascist. On other occasions the Prime Minister has called the Swatantra Party feudal, mediaeval, out-of-date. Fascism is not mediaeval, it is very modern, modernistic, the last term with communism is that glorification and idolatry of the State which has

characterized modern political thought from the time of Machiavelli. Strong language, angry words or words of abuse may have to fly to and from party platforms. But the words must mean what they were intended to mean. Politics, even party politics, may not repudiate semantics.

THE DAY BREAKS BRIGHTER TOMORROW

BEARING TOMORROW'S JOY: the strength
in four hundred million limbs.

Today's work. Today's patience.

Burden borne, feet firmly on the ground.

Tomorrow... a little less of care, a little more of joy.

And for HINDUSTAN LEVER, too,
tomorrow begins today.

In the research laboratory, in the factory and office.

Work, patience, care.

To serve tomorrow's homes and the nation's needs
with products that grow better and better.



TODAY AND TOMORROW...
HINDUSTAN LEVER SERVES THE HOME
WITH SOAPS, FOODS, TOILET PREPARATIONS

PR. 35-X32

ILL - TIMED ACTION AGAINST GOA

*Speech of Mr. M. R. Masani, M.P., during the debate
on International Relations in the Lok Sabha on December 7, 1961*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, at this stage, I do not wish to spend the little time that I have at my disposal to take a rambling view round the world or to follow the previous speakers in their endeavour. I would rather deal with one or two matters which are closer to us in our own country and which, I believe, matter more to our people and the lives of our people in our own day. Those who are stuck at Delhi station for trains which are not available because of troop movements in our country may feel that long discussions on disarmament, global disarmament, are not perhaps of the highest relevance at this moment!

Only three days ago, we debated the latest Chinese incursions in our country and that debate left us with two feelings. One was that of unanimous strength in this House, that everything should be done to repel Chinese aggression, that everything should be done to show the Government of China that we are indeed earnest about the assurance given by the Prime Minister that this is the policy of the Indian Government and the people, and that if there should be any further aggression, force will be met by force. This was the result of the debate in this House.

It is true that when the Prime Minister gave his reply, two matters came out which were disturbing. One was the Chinese threat to cross the McMahon Line and to commit greater aggression against India if we had the presumption to strengthen our defences within our own territory. The other thing which caused some dismay in this House was the statement of the Prime Minister, that in reply to a polite letter from Peking suggesting a re-negotiation of the Treaty of Friendship between our two countries, subject to certain conditions being fulfilled, he would be prepared to enter into such discussions.

Well, Sir, stated in that form perhaps the answer is unexceptionable, but the very fact that we should have been so ready to respond to this appeal while aggression continues, while occupation of our soil continues, is something that the country has not taken to very kindly. I hope the Prime Minister appreciates that the only one condition on which there can be any talk with the Chinese, whether in regard to a Treaty of Friendship or otherwise, is the clearing out of our territory in the same

unconditional manner that he mentioned in regard to Portuguese outposts in our country. There can be no negotiation until foreign outposts which are an act of aggression are first removed.

I stress this because the increasing belligerence of the tone of Chinese statements makes one feel that they are not going to allow any little opening, any little opportunity, to pass for renewing and expanding their area of conquest. If we give any opening at all or any opportunity, we must be aware that our enemies across the northern frontier are there ready to strike. Therefore, anything that weakens our position in the Himalayan border, anything that slows down the tempo of the build-up which the Prime Minister told us is in progress, I think the House will agree, must be scrupulously eschewed.

Now, it is against this background that discerning people in this country are concerned about the reports that we read in our newspapers of the military build-up on both sides of the Goa border. The Prime Minister made a statement on this matter in the course of his speech this morning in which he said three things. He mentioned certain provocations that are being held out from the Portuguese side. He then went on to say that preparations were being made for defensive action against any threats that might develop from the other side. And he ended by recapitulating and re-stating the reluctance of our Government and our country to solve any problem, however pressing or just, by anything except peaceful means. I think, Sir, as so stated, the Prime Minister's position on all these three points was unexceptionable and nobody in this House or in this country could possibly take exception to it.

Sir, everyone amongst us stands for the end of Portuguese imperialism, whether in Angola, or anywhere else, and certainly in Goa, in our own country, and we are all looking forward to the day when the people of Goa can enjoy freedom like the rest of the people of India.

But that is not the issue. The issue is one of priorities. The issue, if I may state it, is whether this is the moment, faced as we are today, to give priority to the liberation of Goa as against the resistance and repelling of Chinese aggression from our own soil. That, Sir, seems to me to be the issue of inter-

national relation which is closest to us and which is of the most immediate concern to us today. The demand for immediate military action against Goa is easily understandable, coming from the communist benches. Why? It is quite obvious, that those who would like to take advantage of our involvement in Goa would benefit from the kind of advice that is being given if it were to be followed. Therefore, I say, the question is not what should be done. It is very clear. Goa must come. The Portuguese must go. The question is what should be done today and how it should be done.

Now, Sir, the problem of Portuguese possessions is a long-standing one. We could have dealt with it any time in the last ten years or more. Why then has the present time been chosen to incite our Government to thin our resources of men and material from our Himalayan frontier, where they are badly required, to a remote zone? Will not such a policy expose India to further aggression marked by that same unhappy absence of retaliation and resistance by which every act of Chinese aggression in the last four years has been marked up to this very day? Will not the diversion of these resources and weakening of our northern front mean a great danger to this country which we must avoid and resist the temptation to be drawn into?

Now, about this fact of diversion there can be no question. No less an authority than General Cariappa, the first Indian Chief of Army Staff, said two days ago:

At a time when the nation's troops were dispersed on a world-wide front in such far-flung areas as Gaza, the Congo and Kashmir

—he might have mentioned Nagaland also—

.....he wondered whether it would be safe to embark upon large-scale military preparations along the Goa border.

Then he said:

Any such action might serve to weaken the frontiers and endanger the security of the country as a whole when virtually a much greater threat than hitherto to Indian security had developed from the Chinese communist armies.

General Cariappa went on to point out—that the Portuguese had not threatened to cross the Indian border and attack, while the Chinese had indeed threatened to cross the McMahon Line, and that India did not possess an army of millions to fight on various fronts.

This was reported in the *Indian Express* dated 6th December. Sir, I am not an expert on this subject. I am a layman quoting what one of our highest previous experts on the subject had to say, the first ranking general of our Indian Army after Independence. I think the issue he raises is a very important one. Our troops today are already in action in Congo. We have other fronts which are dormant at the moment—the entire Himalayan front against the Chinese, the Kashmir front, the Nagaland front. How are we to assure,—is there anyone to guarantee us?—that these fronts will not erupt into activity if we get entangled in a military engagement in Goa? Is it fair to expose our armed forces to a new opening, to yet another front, when they are exposed on so many fronts already? Sir, the Government has always given an *alibi* for its supine resistance or absence of resistance saying that we have not got enough men, we have not got enough material in the right areas. Will not this diversion in Goa weaken the already scarce material and men when we are facing far superior odds on our Himalayan frontiers? Will not the imbalance be

aggravated, will not the Chinese take advantage of it?

Sir, Mao Tse-tung's philosophy has been expressed in his notorious remark: "Power comes out of the muzzle of a gun." But, Sir, I do not think Mr. Mao Tse-tung will be very impressed if the gun is turned in the other direction. Therefore, the Chinese giant is only too apt to laugh at us if instead of repelling, instead of fighting that giant, we go and beat up a pigmy, a small "pimple"—as the Prime Minister once quite appropriately described Goa. Sir, can this country of Gandhi be very proud of overwhelming a miserable few hundred men who have no capacity to resist us?

Also, is it wise to assume a push-over in a day or two, as many people seem to imagine sitting in Delhi? The Portuguese are very obstinate, almost perverse people. Being what they are, to assume that we are going to have a push-over in a day or two and there is not going to be any major bloodshed would not be wise. If we get provoked, if we get bogged down in operations and an appeal is made to the Security

Council of the United Nations, is this country with its clean record so far going to defy a cease-fire order by the Security Council? Is our Government prepared for that eventuality? Sir, when we act as a policeman in the Congo, serving the nations of the world, shall we put ourselves simultaneously in the position of an accused at the bar of the United Nations? How shall we reconcile the two roles if we do not how to a cease-fire order? Therefore, whichever way one may look at it, I feel that this venture is marked by pitfalls, and I do appeal to the Prime Minister and the Government not to be encouraged by wrong advisers on this side who have an axe to grind in regard to their allies in China and be swept into this adventure without reckoning the many consequences to our country.

Finally, Sir, we come to this question, as I said, why has this moment been chosen to bring to a head something that has been simmering for over ten years? Why now? That is the question. I do not mind giving expression on the floor of this House to a belief that is held widely in this capital and in this country, that it is a desire to make a demonstration of strength after years of weakness, on the eve of the general elections. Let me quote from the *Hindustan Times* of this morning a few sentences which, I believe, are representative of intelligent thinking in our country:

All that the Government is succeeding in convincing its critics is that it is suffering from a severe case of bad conscience. It wants to prove, after suffering several years of Chinese aggression without firing a shot, that it is capable of action, and because there is natural scepticism in the country about the Government being capable of anything of the kind, it is going about the job in a manner more than somewhat theatrical. The atmosphere sought to be created is of a national emergency at hand.....

It is these antics which give rise to the suspicion already voiced by the Opposition that the Goa emergency is an electoral smoke-screen for the Government's sins of omission in dealing with China. Let the Government be warned, betimes, and Mr. Menon particularly, that there are no easy electoral kudos to be picked up in Goa.

Now, Sir, it is a well-known psychological explanation about people who have not been able to hit back a big bully, hitting a small boy; it is a very

common phenomenon in all boarding schools, whether in this country or any other. In particular, it is believed that the main electoral beneficiary would be no other than the Defence Minister, on whom the guilt of not resisting Chinese aggression is fixed by a large section of public opinion in this country. In England, sometimes, they fix elections immediately after a military victory and call it a "khaki election", a technique with which, I am sure, all students of British institutions are familiar. Here is only one difference, that instead of the election being fixed immediately after a military victory, the military victory may be planned immediately on the eve of the elections that have already been fixed. Now, if the people of India were to believe this, they would consider it not a very honourable thing.

I cannot judge whether this motivation that has been suggested in the newspaper I quoted, and by others whom I have heard in the last two or three days, is fair or not, but I should say one thing that, despite the Prime Minister's explanation today, it is difficult to find a more convincing or plausible cause or reason for this major build up on the eve of the elections. I doubt whether even such a strategy will bring any votes. I for one have too much faith in the intelligence of our voter, particularly in my own City, and I believe that the kind of "khaki election" referred to above is not going to deliver the goods. This would be an unworthy stratagem, and, I am sure, the Indian people would not respond to it.

But, whether the charge is true or false, one thing remains. Precedence must be given to resisting the major threat to this country, and the major and the immediate threat to this country comes from nowhere than from across the Himalayas. Anything that weakens our resistance there will help the enemies of our freedom and security. I do hope that the fears that have been expressed today are groundless and that, consistent with what the Prime Minister said, a peaceful atmosphere will be maintained and nothing will be done which goes beyond the needs of the case. I would wish that in his reply to this debate the Prime Minister would give a clear assurance to this House, that beyond repelling aggression from the Portuguese troops, beyond defending our own frontiers and our own nations, nothing will be done in the way of a major aggressive action until at least after the elections so that the new Government and new Parliament may be in a position to get

the, mandate that is required to do something more.

What I have said has not been very easy to say, nor very pleasant, but I believe it is the duty of those of us who are here to represent the views that we hold and the views of those who hold the same views in this country, and I believe that it is necessary for someone to say this. Let it not be said that nobody raised a voice of warning before we walked into this trap.

I suggest that we act in our own national interest and not just react to provocation. Our Prime Minister has often advised other countries not to be provoked but to hold on to the path of peace. I would suggest that we

apply this warning and this advice to ourselves. Let not the Portuguese decide what we do. I suggest that we take an over-all view of our frontiers, north, south, east and west, take an over-all view of our relations in the world and then decide what we shall do in Goa and not allow the Portuguese to provoke us into doing something. Provocation is easy, but restraining oneself from replying to provocation is difficult. I would like to believe that our Government and our country have the maturity to resist provocation, to stick to the point that Indian soil must be first cleared of a foreign aggressor who has come during the last five years, before we try to undo facts which go back hundreds of years in history.

'KULA' AS UNIT OF FRANCHISE

By NABAKISHORE DAS

The universal franchise guaranteed by the Constitution is the corner-stone of Indian democracy. We are very proud of it, because we had not enjoyed such privilege in India for a long time, after 323 B.C. People in general had never any share in the affairs of the State.

In pre-Mouryan period, when there were many Republics in India, Kula or family was the primary franchise unit. Every eldest adult member of the family was eligible for the franchise right for the entire family. To my mind, this traditional practice seems to be a scientific and sound one. The present system of universal adult franchise is not only expensive, but also unnecessary. It needlessly makes for an extremely individualistic outlook inconsistent with Indian genius. Our constitutional Pundits have merely copied certain foreign practices from the constitutions of the Western countries.

The Indian home is quite different from the European or American home. The family-tie between the parents and the children is very cordial in India. Therefore, it is necessary that the healthy atmosphere of the Indian homes should not be unnecessarily disturbed by adopting the system of universal adult franchise in vogue in other countries.

The political, economic and social problems facing an individual are the same for the entire family. Therefore, there is no need to take the vote of every one of the individuals of a family. It has now become the fashion in India to find as many political affiliations as

there are individuals in one family. Political affiliations are today greatly influencing the family and breaking the harmony and solidarity of the Indian homes! Will it not be wiser, then, to change the franchise right from individuals to the family as the primary franchise unit? It is worthwhile to note that in Switzerland, the women did not like to have the right of franchise. They are of opinion that they can influence their husbands without going to the ballot box. If any adult member holds radically different political views from those of his parent's, he is free to separate himself from the family. My suggestion is not a mere academic one. It is a practical proposition that the mother and children in a household could influence the father without the need to resort to the ballot box. If the family becomes the primary unit of franchise, the harmony of the Indian homes will be preserved in tact and politics will no longer be a cause for disturbance in family relationship. Because we have not nourished the democratic tradition in the past, our party affiliations of today have no roots in our past traditions.

The simple change I have suggested will save much expense and hardship at the time of elections. It is for the political leaders to bestow thought if the experiment could be tried. Even in the limited sphere of gram panchayat and zilla parishad, and municipalities, this system can easily be tried out for its practicability. If it is found successful it may be extended to elections to the State Assemblies and Parliament.

KEEP HANDY AT HOME

**CHILLS, COLDS
ACHES AND
FEVERS**



**Packs of
8 Capsules
in a sliding
container**

SPENCER & CO. LTD.
MADRAS - BOMBAY - CALCUTTA DELHI AND BRANCHES

CAPITAL COMMENTS

LOK SABHA'S PRE-ELECTION SESSION

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: With the end of the Lok Sabha's winter session, the curtain has virtually fallen over the present Parliament, amidst varied sensations over India's foreign policy which has been subjected to new strains and heavy pressures. The Chinese have given no peace to Mr. Nehru, and incidentally to Mr. Krishna Menon, while in respect of the Portuguese, Mr. Nehru's own patience, and what is more to the point, Mr. Krishna Menon's too, has been well-nigh exhausted. The Nehru Government now means business (more than it has ever meant). But first things first, as realists would have it.

Maybe the Congress Party desires that the Chinese should be flung back across the border, from our territory into their own. In fine words, as they say, butter no parsnips, fiery ones blast no barriers or barricades. Of course, the Prime

Minister agrees with his colleagues in the party on the need to call the Chinese bluff or to meet the Chinese menace: of course, Mr. Krishna Menon too makes no secret of his feelings because of the "stab in the back". That does not however mean that they can, or will, go about it in a hurry. For China is a big issue, far too big in our present state of unpreparedness, and any hasty step will prove a false one and do untold havoc. So ours should be a long-range programme and a well-phased one. For the present we should be rather satisfied with stiff notes and carefully regulated measures. Nor should we even, meanwhile, lose our faith in the art and methods of persuasion. Such is the Nehru thesis in regard to the Chinese colossus. To what extent the Congress Party is satisfied it is difficult to say, for it would be misleading ourselves if we merely judge it by its vote. But it is beyond doubt and also extremely significant that Mr. Nehru's foreign policy in respect of China has pleased the Indian communists more than his own partymen.

Again, it has (interestingly enough) suited the Communist Party well to applaud the Nehru Government in giving priority to the question of Goa. Till yesterday we were told that there was no point in fussing too much about the Portuguese "pimple" on the Indian face, since it would inevitably disappear in the wake of the automatic collapse of colonialism the world over. But the Portuguese misbehaviour has made a difference to us, today. It is out of the question that even the Portuguese can be encouraged to mistake India's patience for weakness. We have told them, time and again, that if we willed so, Goa could be overrun in three days. But far from profiting by the hint and walking out of Goa, the Portuguese have been monkeying on the border

and irritating us a trifle too much. It is time that they were told off or ticked off.

Now if some members of the Swatantra Party and newspaper columnists think that the only provocation for a large-scale movement of troops is the coming general election, Mr. Nehru cannot help it. He is rather amazed that such a thing should have come into anybody's mind at all, and that some should have "stooped so low". It is clear that the Prime Minister's own conscience is clear. What is not, however, equally clear is the logic behind the frantic hurry to teach the Portuguese Bourbons a lesson, at this of all hours, when every single step taken by the Nehru Government, or every single word uttered by Mr. Nehru, cannot but be divorced altogether from electoral calculations. Perhaps even any such interpretation would not have been put upon what really should have been accepted with alacrity, as a patriotic duty or a national emergency, but for the complicating factor of Mr. Krishna Menon's personal stake in an area on which the Goa repercussions are sooner felt than elsewhere.

The question is not if Mr. Krishna Menon deserves to be discussed in that light. But the fact is that there are people who are allergic to him, though irrationally. Perhaps he knows it fully well. And Junius should not feel surprised if one day Mr. Krishna Menon will appropriate to himself the story which Lloyd George delighted in telling (though at his own expense) about the man who was honoured for having rescued someone from getting drowned.

When, after the eulogies of the mayor, he (the recipient of the public testimonial) was called upon to reply, he said:

"Really, I have done nothing to deserve this reward. I saw the man struggling in the water, and, as no one else was by, I saw he would be drowned if I didn't save him. So I jumped in, swam to him, turned him over to see that he wasn't Lloyd George, and then pulled him out".

—Pillars of Society: A. G. GARDINER

DEMOCRACY IN SWITZERLAND*

By P. KODANDA RAO

The Indian Constitution envisaged parliamentary democracy. It has been held pretty universally that the party system was essential for democracy, and more so, for parliamentary democracy. Political scientists defend the party system, as against the system of independent candidates, on the ground that it was only when opinions are organized on party lines that they can be effective. The Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, who was a member of the British Parliament and Cabinet, and had first-hand experience and could speak with authority held the opinion that for the effective working of parliamentary democracy the party system was essential. He claimed that the system created robust democracy and guaranteed stable government. He thought that parliamentary democracy worked best with only two strong parties: Government and Opposition. He granted that it had some defects but it had infinitely more virtues.

Public questions do not all receive unanimous assent of the people but divide them into two groups on each: for and against. Those who hold similar views tend to band together. Once formed, they tend to justify themselves by emphasizing the differences between parties and similarities in each party. But as the number of political issues multiply, it is increasingly impossible to form just two coherent and homogeneous parties. Many issues cut across party lines. Often the differences within a party are greater than between parties. To keep the party together, some differences within it have to be suppressed and some opinions denied public expression, which is a denial of democracy itself.

Freedom of speech and vote are essential to democracy. While these freedoms are permitted in the party meetings, which are private and which have no constitutional status, they are denied to the minorities in each party in the duly elected legislature, whose proceedings are public and whose decisions affect the whole community and not the party only. The minority in each party is obliged to vote with

its majority in the legislature. Parliament is reduced to registering publicly the decisions already taken privately in the party meetings.

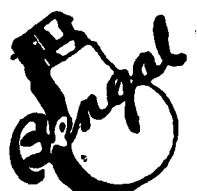
Sir Winston Churchill, perhaps the greatest living Parliamentarian in Britain, has stated that the first loyalty of a member of Parliament was to his conscience, next to his constituency and, only lastly, to his party. But under the party system, the order of priorities is reversed. While democracy demands "all for the nation and none for a party," the party system insists: "each for his party and none for the nation".

The claim that the parliamentary system is the best form of democracy is open to question. America claims to have democracy and to have even two parties, but it has so far not adopted the parliamentary system. In fact, it discarded it deliberately and adopted the Presidential system, when it broke away from Britain. It has so far not veered round to adopting parliamentary democracy as an improvement on the Presidential. It may, however, be urged that since both Britain with parliamentary democracy, and America with Presidential one, have the two-party system, the system is essential for democracy as such. But that too may be questioned. For, Switzerland also is a democracy, which, in the opinion of most competent to judge, is perhaps the best in the world. But it is neither parliamentary nor Presidential, nor has it the two-party system as in Britain and America. It is collegiate or coalition democracy, opposed to party democracy. Hans Huber, Judge of the Swiss Federal Supreme Court, in his book *How Switzerland is Governed* says that Switzerland has become a country of coalitions, and that if a party obtains an absolute majority, it soon hands over, as a rule, a few seats to one or more minority parties. Christopher Hughes, in his book, *The Federal Constitution of Switzerland*, says that the Swiss Confederation has never known the two-party system where Government alternated with Opposition, and that the Federal Council consists, not of one party with a majority, but of all main parties, and that Art. 91 of the Swiss Constitution enjoins that members should vote in accordance with their conscience and not under instructions. He expresses the view that the Swiss Government is noted for its stability, cleanliness, swiftness and moderation, which are virtues essential

Articles published in SWARAJYA, unless specifically marked copyright, may be reproduced in journals, in whole or in part, with or without acknowledgment.

for ordered freedom and in which Switzerland leads the world. Prof. R. C. Ghose, of the Calcutta University, in his book, *The Government of the Swiss Republic*, observes that the most interesting feature of the Swiss party-system is the absence of strongly centralized parties on the American or the British model, that Swiss politics is remarkably free from bitter party rivalry or monopoly of power, that it gives no opportunity or temptation for a political party to distribute patronage or spoils to keep itself in power, and offers little scope for professionalism or demagoguery, and that the administration is highly businesslike and efficient. Prof. Dicey described the Swiss Federal Council as "a Board of Directors appointed to manage the concern of the Confederation in accordance with the wishes of the Federal Assembly." In Switzerland, politics is business and not the sport of political parties.

The Congress-League Scheme of 1961 rejected the parliamentary system and preferred a non-party Executive to govern in accordance with the wishes of the elected legislature; it asked for 'Responsive', rather than 'Responsible', government, even after the Montagu Declaration offered Responsible government. Parliamentary democracy was the unsolicited gift of Britain to India. It was accepted in the spirit in which one did not look a gift-horse in the mouth. The late Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri preferred 'Responsive' to 'Responsible' government for India. He accepted the latter with reservations when it was offered, hoping that when she was free, India would adopt the Swiss system of democracy. It is not too late even now.



The Nation's Best

BENGAL ELECTRICALS CO.
MADRAS-17 — BANGALORE-3



ALMONTINE TOOTH-POWDER
IMPROVED STRENGTH

SUBALA HEALTH SYRUP

FOR HAIR PROTECTION

UNITED CONCERN,
54, BUNDER ST., MADRAS-1

One stockist recognised for a town



NOW YOU CAN INDENT FOR

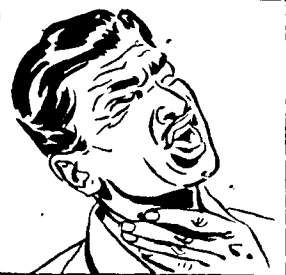
SRI GANESHRAM'S
CHAKRAM
BRAND PICKLES
(To suit Western Tastes)
HOT - SOFT &
SWEET
in 3 Tastes (14 Varieties)
It's A 777 BRAND
Food Product

[Prepared by:]
M/s. R. S. N. IYER & R. S. G. IYER

Enquiries to:
SRI GANESHRAM & CO., MADRAS-1

BARCOTINE the Chocolate Flavoured
Food Beverage for all.

HAPPY-ENDING FEATURE FILM






Sore Throat was Relieved Soon

His throat was sore and burning and his chest hurt terribly. What should he do?

He went straight to his medicine dealer for a bottle of PEPs Throat and Chest Tablets.

He began to suck those delicious PEPs Tablets one by one. The relief was wonderful. Soon the healing vapours had helped to soothe the pain and dispel germs. PEPs Throat and Chest Tablets cleared his sore throat very quickly.

PEPS
THROAT AND CHEST TABLETS
for COUGHS, BRONCHITIS,
SORE THROATS and COLDS

C. E. FULFORD (INDIA) PRIVATE LTD.

Sole Agents:
Dadha & Co., 88, Nyniappa Naick St., Madras-3

SWATANTRA AND FASCISM

The public have become accustomed to a certain lack of balance in the Prime Minister's accusations against the Swatantra Party, but what he says in private meetings of the Congress Parliamentary Party must be taken as probably conveying his real opinions. In such a meeting this week he called C.R. and his friends Fascists.

The line of thought is evident. He takes his own socialism as the only true expression of the interests and will of the poor majority. The Swatantra Party is opposing it, ostensibly for other reasons—but really, he believes, in order to save the private property of the rich from confiscation. In the long run that purpose can be achieved only by dictatorship and terror. The Swatantra Party, he concludes therefore, is making the first moves along a path which, if the party succeeds, must end in Fascism.

It has often been remarked that the Prime Minister's ideas have the flavour of the communist propaganda of the 1930s. This is a case in point. The communists' account of the Fascist and similar parties of that period, and in particular of the Nazis, was stated in exactly these words.

But those words notoriously failed to give the important truth about the Fascist parties. Those parties collected a good deal of money from rich people who were afraid of confiscation, but when they came to power the Fascists, and especially the Nazis, showed little regard for the interests or wishes of the rich. Certainly the defence of private property was not their principal job.

Of the many motives and responses which combined to form Fascism and Nazism, the historian will certainly pick out as more important their part in breaking down the social structure inherited from the past, based on property, the family, and the economic autonomy of the individual, and its replacement by a centrally directed system run by a bureaucracy. Other movements, communism, socialism, welfarism, share this purpose; the chief peculiarity of Fascism was that it combined this powerful social trend with an aggressive nationalism.

How much the Nazis depended upon bureaucracy, and how well they harnessed the bureaucratic machine to their purpose, has been brought out by the Eichmann trial. A sociologist who was present during the trial has given a fascinating picture of Eichmann as the archetype of the bureaucrat.

The prosecutors, he says, misunderstood the accused. They tried to present

him as animated by a fiendish passion for the blood of the Jews, whereas his only passions were to run his office smoothly, to avoid confusion by demarcating its functions from those of other departments, to extend his power, and to rise in the official hierarchy. He might have come out of the pages of Professor Parkinson.

Whatever purpose they fulfil, all bureaucracies are much alike. However they begin, they tend to dominate the public whom it is their official business to serve, to become inhuman themselves, and to infect the whole society with their inhumanity. Marx spent his life protesting against the degradation of man into a commodity. He seems not to have realized that it is even worse if man is transmuted into an entry in a form. A commodity costs money; an entry in a form can be consigned to a gas-chamber without causing the bureaucrat a second thought.

One of the principal objections to socialism is that it is inevitably bureaucratic: it increases the size and power of the bureaucracy more than any other system, even more than Fascism. The Swatantra Party is animated above all, perhaps, by the desire to avoid submission to the bureaucratic trend, to the reduction of human beings to marks on paper. It proposes to maintain private property and independence for the capitalist and the peasant, because that is the only way to keep society out of the grip of the bureaucratic State apparatus.

It is therefore opposed to both socialism and Fascism. It is more strongly opposed to Fascism, in fact, for it upholds democracy and it opposes aggressive nationalism. The accusation that it is itself a Fascist party is therefore entirely baseless, and such a thought could occur only to a man who is dominated by the communist terminology.

—Mysindia

PANDIT
D. GOPALACHARLU'S

JEEVAMRUTHAM

FOR HEALTH & STRENGTH

AYURVEDASRAMAM
(PRIVATE) LTD.
MADRAS-17

FREEDOM OF RELIGION

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

Freedom of Religion is an important fundamental right and is expressly guaranteed by the Articles 25, 26, 27 and 28 of the Constitution.

The description of our Constitution and Government as *secular* in orientation and character by its friends and supporters (Indian and foreign) is expressly accompanied by the explanation that the word does not entail any antagonism to religion as such but that it only means an *impartiality* as regards the different religions professed by Indian citizens. As to why impartiality should be indicated by the word "secular" which has as its more dominant meaning and association as worldly, atheistic and materialist in import is a matter of (needless imitation of) European terminology. Secularism means full anti-clericalism and anti-religion in the West in its primary significance, on account of the opposition of Christianity to State supremacy and its claim for hegemony over the State, that led to long-drawn religious wars. We have no history of that kind and consequently have no need to describe the State's impartiality in terms of secularism.

However, it is acknowledged that the Constitution does intend to guarantee full freedom of religion. Article 25 says "..... all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practice and propagate religion", subject to public order, morality and health. But it goes on to subject the right to further conditions that need careful scrutiny. The right is made subject to *regulation* and *restriction* by the State of any financial, economic, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice. Herein lies a danger. The question arises as to the aims, principles and methods of such regulation and restriction which may result in the nullification of the original

right sought to be protected by the fundamental right.

This sense of danger is reinforced when we contemplate the principles and tendencies underlying the present Religious Endowment Acts in Madras and elsewhere. Under these Acts, governments have taken power to manage the properties of temple trusts and seek to control the activities of the religious authorities of mutts or private endowments dedicated to religion, its propagation and education. This is a clear abrogation of the right of religious freedom. The right carries as a necessary consequence, as Article 26 recognizes, the right to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes, to manage their own affairs in matters of religion, to own and acquire movable and immovable property and to administer such property in accordance with law.

Freedom of religion, therefore, implies (for its full realization in the practical social world) an unfettered right to own, manage and acquire property and to use it freely for promoting religious purposes, such as teaching and public worship, publication of religious books, and the maintenance of preachers, learned persons and schools devoted to teaching and research. Property in such a context is an extension of the body and is an indispensable instrument of action in the social world. The use of such property *cannot be delegated* to others not inspired by the ideas, ideals and dogmas of the faith concerned and not devoted primarily to them.

If the Government appoints *secular* public functionaries, such as endowment commissioners, who usurp these powers from heads of mutts and other religious trusts—mosques, churches, synagogues, mandirs and the like, it will contravene the spirit and letter of Article 26, which *expressly* guarantees such rights of property on religious fellowships. No

SATYAM EVA JAYATE

By

RAJAJI

In Two Volumes

A collection of Rajaji's articles in Swarajya and other journals on various topics from 1956 to 1961. The second volume includes an alphabetical index for both volumes

Available at Higginbothams in Madras and their principal stalls elsewhere, and at Kalki office, Madras and with Kalki and Swarajya agents at Delhi, (M/s. Khanna Stores, 68, Baird Lane New Delhi; M/s. Central News Agency 23/90, Connaught Circus New Delhi-1. Phone: 44762), Bombay, (R. Kannan 26/208, Meena Sadan, Sion-Matunga Road, Bombay-22. Phone: 60011), Calcutta, (G. R. Ramaswamy 11, Govt. Place East, First Floor Calcutta-1. Phone: 23-5067) Nagpur, Poona, Bangalore City, Bangalore Cantt., Trivandrum, Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Tirunelveli, Tuticorin, Madurai, Trichinopoly, Pudukottah, Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Cuddalore, Chidambaram, Vellore, Salem, Coimbatore and Palghat.

Price: Rs. 6/- Each Volume

If sent by post Rs. 1.50 extra for each volume

BHARATHAN PUBLICATIONS PRIVATE LTD.
KALKI BUILDINGS, KILPAUK, MADRAS-10

doubt the proviso to Article 26 reserves to Government the right to *regulate* and *restrict* financial and economic activities associated with religion.

But such association is *too inward* to be dissociated for the right of regulation to be gifted away to extra-religious bodies, particularly bodies like the Government whose *raison d'être* and *differentia* is the application of force. Only he who wears the shoe knows where it pinches. Similarly only the believer can allocate the uses of property to religious purposes in accordance with their aim and intention. Every association formed to subserve a fundamental need and pur-

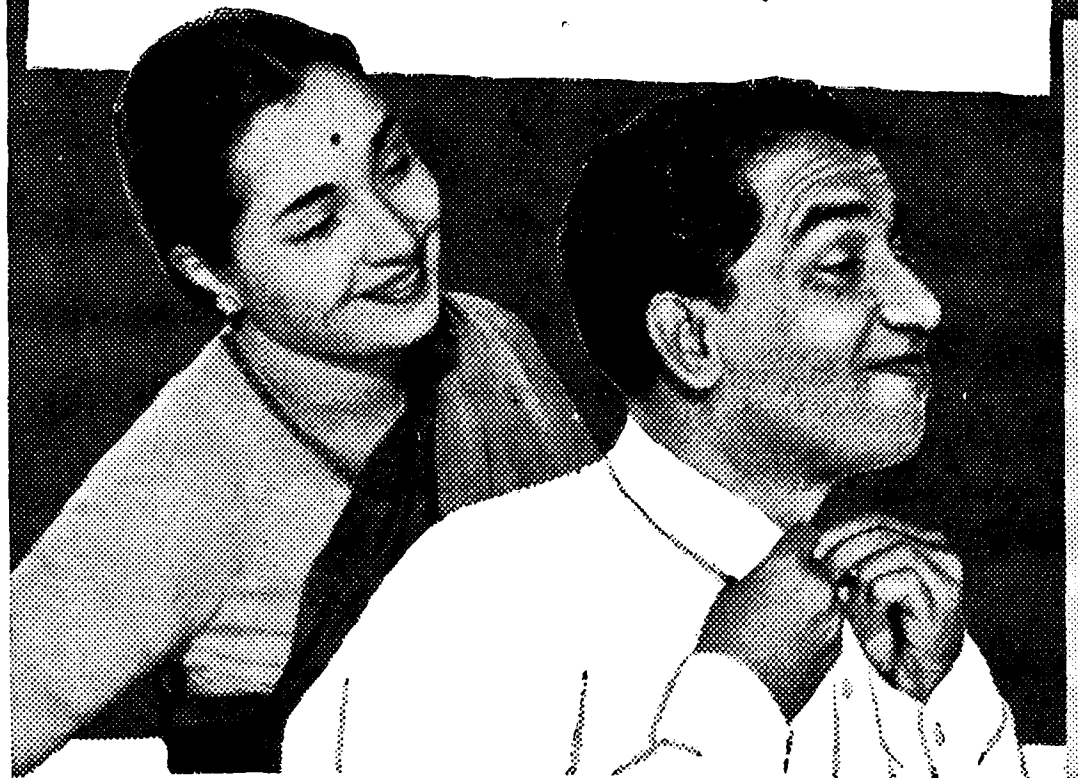
pose of human nature should have its own rights and powers of sovereignty within its own field. It is its inalienable *dharma*.

The State is entitled to interfere with its activities only when the fellowship and its personnel have contravened civil and crimi-

nal laws. Even Buddhist and Jain mutt authorities and claimants for headship have been known to conspire against each other and get each other even murdered! Such occasions entitle the State to interfere. But no State officials should be appointed to manage

religious trust properties displacing religious heads. Nor is the State, a socialist State with its sacrosanct economic Plans, entitled to divert religious funds for social purposes other than those of the religious fellowship concerned.

If you think he's easily pleased...



'...YOU'RE WRONG,' says Mrs. R. R. Prabhu, D/8, Union House, Mahim, Bombay 16. 'And when it comes to clothes...

'Now I wash all his clothes with SUNLIGHT—and he's happy! So am I: SUNLIGHT lathers wonderfully, makes my work so light!

'And everything I wash comes up so white and bright—really clean! Nothing but SUNLIGHT for me!'

Housewives find there's nothing like pure, mild SUNLIGHT to care for clothes. So will you.

Sunlight

IS SO KIND TO CLOTHES

S. 30-X52

A HINDUSTAN LEVER PRODUCT



Dear Reader

At Delhi the talk on December 4 was all about the recovering of Goa and the working of the Government's mind leading to this sudden decision at this juncture, when the belligerency and aggression of China took a fresh leap on Indian territory. Most people pronounced it to be a cheap election stunt of particular value in the North Bombay election contest between the Defence Minister and Acharya Kripalani.

All these years this adventure one-week campaign against an ancient foreign enclave had been ruled out on the ground of our conviction and creed against the use of force on our own initiative. Nothing can be a graver contradiction of our reiterated attitude in respect of violent means for justifiable ends than a march against Goa. Of course one can easily find excuses to cover up an offensive and make it take the colour of a defensive campaign but few can be induced to believe in international or even in Indian circles that the Portuguese are taking steps to invade India. No

one is likely to believe that the Portuguese are seeking a quarrel which they must know can have only one end, in the taking over of Goa by India. If Goa remained so far in Portuguese possession, it is due to our creed of opposition to war and violence.

Juxtaposed against this is the continuing insult and aggression of China which is given the pacific name of a 'border dispute' and against which nothing is being done except making of statements in Parliament to the effect that war solves no problems and we must respect the creed we have inherited from the Father of the Nation.

The *Hindustan Times* of this morning (December 7) carries a pungent attack on the Government's policy under the well-known initials of the editor. It appears to share the same sense of puzzlement as most people feel over this Goa adventure on the eve of the elections.

C.R.

CONTRAST IN ATTITUDES

Following are extracts (excluding those mentioned by Mr. Masani in his Lok Sabha speech, published elsewhere) from the centre page article in the *Hindustan Times* over the initials "S.M.", which provoked the wrath of the Prime Minister:

It is difficult enough to blame this Government for resolute policy-making or for resolute action in pursuit of it. We are no doubt expected to conclude from the noisy movement of troops to the Goa border that the Government is at last reacting as any self-respecting government should to the provocative attitude of the Portuguese of which there are, I believe, several well-authenticated instances.

...everyone knows that Goa is primarily a matter for a political decision. It is not a major military undertaking.

The most reliable information puts the Goa garrison at around 7,000. The

Portuguese component is probably no higher than 1,000. It would be fair to assume that the 6,000 Goan and African troops would not have to be under too great pressure for their loyalty to weaken.

Some precautions obviously have to be taken on a harassed border, but we do not have to go about as if India is in some danger of being overrun by Portuguese troops.

The main danger in the situation is not Portuguese belligerence. The main danger is of the Portuguese losing their nerve and doing something desperate, particularly against the local population, because of a beleaguered feeling.

Certainly, the precautions must include the possible necessity of having to march into Goa. That is mere prudence.

The country must show greater concern than ever if a wholly inconsistent attitude continues to be pursued in

dealing with China. Take, for instance, the Chinese proposal for a new friendship treaty. That the Chinese should think of using the word friendship in relation to us is not very surprising. The communists are capable of worse semantic perversions. It seems the Chinese proposal has been made in very polite language, a circumstance which has so overwhelmed the Prime Minister that he cannot tell them that there can be no such treaty with China in the present state of hostility (a word even Mr. Menon does not mind being attributed to him in the authorized version of his New York talk with pressmen) between the two countries.

There can be only one honourable answer to any such Chinese overture, which is to say that the country has been made to look foolish enough already without having to go on subscribing to the farce of pretending that it can ever regard China as a friend until the aggression against its territory is vacated.

The Prime Minister in defending Panch Sheel claimed that there was no need to be ashamed of it because the Chinese betrayal of it gave us an argument of some advantage. Perhaps the Prime Minister thinks that it will be a stroke of considerable subtlety to get the Chinese to sign another treaty so that we can go on reaping more advantages and strengthening our moral case by showing the Chinese up as habitual delinquents against their pledged word. Maybe, he is right. Maybe, there are other ways to describe subtlety of such high order.

P.M. IS ANGRY!

Referring to the above article in his reply to the debate in the Lok Sabha on foreign affairs on 7th December, Mr. Nehru said:

"Mr. Masani quoted two scriptures: one is a statement by Gen. Cariappa and the other an article in the *Hindustan Times*, stating, if I remember rightly, something about the elections having induced us to take some steps in regard to Goa. I am sorry that even the *Hindustan Times* could have stooped so low as to say that the Government and I, especially, should go about manufacturing a position in Goa because there are elections. I really was astounded and amazed that such a thing should come into anybody's mind. It would be, I say, little short of a crime for any responsible individual to play with the country's future and present conditions in this way. I do not wish to say anything more about it, but there it is."

Would You Colour Water To Prevent The Adulteration Of Milk?

IF milk is adulterated with water, you would find fault with the milk-supplier—not the authority that provides the water! Nor would you suggest that colour be added to water to check the malpractice!

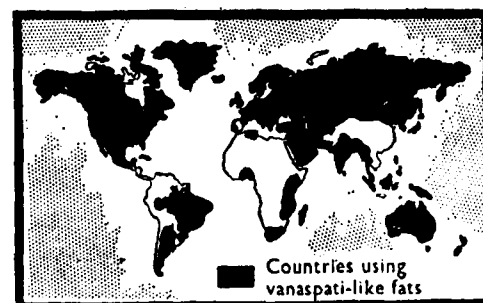
Yet, in a parallel case, where ghee is adulterated with vanaspati, some people agitate for the colouration of vanaspati.

Ghee is adulterated by unscrupulous persons with a wide variety of substances...not with vanaspati alone! Even if the misuse of vanaspati could be checked, by colouration or other device, mineral oils and animal carcass fats would still be available to the adulterator. And these are impure, obnoxious and often injurious to human health!

Two Ways to Check Adulteration

It is therefore meaningless to colour vanaspati, especially when there are two highly practical ways of checking ghee adulteration:

1. By packing ghee in sealed containers—the practice followed for vanaspati and other foods, like milk in some cities.
2. By enforcing the pure food laws adequately, more rigorously. There can be no half-measures with the nation's health at stake!



VANASPATI-LIKE FATS ARE USED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Albania Algeria Argentina Australasia Austria
Belgium Brazil British East Africa Bulgaria
Burma Canada Central African Federation
Czechoslovakia Denmark Ethiopia Finland
France E. & W. Germany Greece Hungary
India Iran Iraq Ireland Israel Italy Japan
Libya Malaya Mexico Morocco Netherlands
Nigeria Norway Pakistan Poland Portugal
Rumania Saudi Arabia Sweden Switzerland
Turkey Union of South Africa U.S.S.R.
U.A.R. U.K. U.S.A. Yemen Yugoslavia.

For more information, please write to:—

The Vanaspati Manufacturers' Association of India
India House, Fort Street, Bombay

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

ELECTORAL ALLIANCES

Sir,—The alliance between the D.M.K. and Swatantra Party will create 'political anarchy', says Mr. Alagesan with seeming disingenuousness. All these years the Congress in its desire to hold on to power has never hesitated to form all sorts of queer alliances. Did it not unite with the Muslim League in Kerala and with Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa? Was there any ideological affinity or similarity with either of them?

But as the Congress dovescotes are alarmed at the prospect of the D.M.K., the P.S.P. and the Swatantra parties forming an alliance, it is said it will create political anarchy.

Why, there is a tacit understanding between E. V. R. Naicker's Dravida Kazhagam and the Congress in the Madras State. Sri Kamaraj himself recently defended the alliance, saying it was not an unholy alliance, though the D.K. is noted for its separatist and communal outlook. Let the Congress first set its own house in order before complaining about others!

There is a wide and common ground for all parties (excepting the communists) to unite and oppose the Congress. They are all opposed to tyranny, insolence and corruption. The P.S.P. is also opposed to Statism of the Congress. These parties oppose the permit-licence-quota socialism of the Congress. They are also opposed to the Congress which has made a secret and unholy alliance with chosen rich men, its extravagance in expenditure, crushing taxation, deficit financing and inflation, and the consequent spiralling of prices of essential articles and consumer goods.

Unless these parties, opposed to the Congress and its ways, unite and form a United Front, the Congress cannot be dislodged from power. All these years the Congress has profited through all the triangular and multilateral contacts.

R. SETHURAMAN

RIGHT TO CHANGE VIEWS

Sir,—An English weekly of Bombay recently published a photostat copy of Rajaji's exhortation to the voters of Bombay North in support of Sri Krishna Menon during the elections in 1957, questioning Rajaji how he could so soon turn against Mr. Menon. It betrays the weekly's ignorance of events since the 1957 elections.

Let me ask a few questions of the editor of the weekly. The Communist Party in Kerala came out successful in

1957, and barely after two years, it was compelled to go out of office. Why did the people of Kerala change their front so soon? I had been a regular reader of the weekly in question since the last six years. Now from this week I have ceased to read it, for the following among other reasons: (1) the weekly now-a-days has not been dealing fairly with controversial issues; (2) it has failed to maintain a "neutral" attitude on many questions, of late. Am I to be dubbed a 'turncoat' on that account? Calcutta P. V. V. RAJAN

A.I.R. AND THE ELECTIONS

Sir,—The Election Commissioner is stated to be evolving suitable criteria over the sharing of broadcast time over All India Radio by political parties during the forthcoming elections.

Any criteria evolved from an estimation of the present strength of political parties can have no bearing on the future set-up of the legislature or Lok Sabha. The practice in Western democracies is to invite the recognized leaders of political parties to broadcast their views, ensuring that there is no disparity between the ruling party and the Opposition. No undue weightage to one particular party should be given

SWARAJYA welcomes comments and criticisms by readers on matters of general public interest. In view of the size of the journal, however, letters should not exceed 300 words. —Editor

under any pretext whatsoever, since it will result in loading the dice against the Opposition. The A.I.R. is a public property. It belongs to no particular party, and so it should treat all political parties alike.

Tiruchi V. VISVANATHAN

TAX BURDENS

Sir,—In the State Assembly, Mr. C. Subramaniam gave some details of per capita income and the tax burdens in this State. A study of the figures will reveal the real picture of the tax burden laid on the people by the present Government:

Year	Income	Tax Burden
1951/52	Rs. 240.73	Rs. 6.64
1959/60	Rs. 316.51	Rs. 11.45
Percentage increase:	32 (abt.)	72 (abt.)

Therefore, it cannot be said at any time that the people in this State are happy under this Government, the tax burden is much on the high side.

A change for better (Government) is, therefore, called for.

Coinbatore M. THIYAGARAJAN

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA LTD.

THE LARGEST INDIAN JOINT STOCK BANK
(Established 1911)

Head Office: MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD, BOMBAY-1
Madras Office: 308-309, LINGHI CHETTY ST., MADRAS-1

Suburban Branches:

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

Fixed Deposits received for one to five years, at attractive rates, which may be ascertained from any of our offices.

N. K. KARANJIA
General Manager

SISTAS-CB-15

ATUL

• DYES

• CHEMICALS

• PHARMACEUTICALS



THE ATUL PRODUCTS LTD.

Atul, via. Bulsar,
Western Railway.

Printed by R. Ananthanarayanan & published by T. Sadasivam on behalf of M/s. Bharathan Publications Private Ltd., at the Kalki Press, Kilpauk, Madras - 10. Editor : POTHAN JOSEPH.

SWARAJYA

(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU).

Editor : POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 25

MADRAS, DECEMBER 23, 1961

Price 15 nP

THE QUERY OF THE TIME

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

I have not any experience of governments and parties and movements abroad, such as others have; but what I have seen and experienced and learnt under the rule of the Congress Party these few years, is enough to make me feel certain that to give absolute powers to the State to control and regulate the occupations and economies of a people, when the State is in the hands not of an individual dictator but of a political party, is suicidal. This being so, it is doubly suicidal to give such power when the ruling party is not balanced by an Opposition strong enough to threaten the rule of the governing party and is ready to replace it, unless that party governs wisely and with restraint.

The character and conduct of an absolute monarch is unpredictable, for individual human nature is made various. But the law of averages is a dependable law and the character and conduct of a party consisting of numerous individuals are quite predictable. The members of a party exercising the absolute powers of the State act as a whole in accordance with the law of averages. We can predict their selfishness, their greed and their unscrupulousness. The absolutism of a political party is far worse than that of an individual dictator.

The leader or leaders of a ruling party are always under the

stress of pressures from below, and their own character as individuals is suppressed and distorted to suit the average of those 'led' by them. Otherwise, the leaders are threatened with loss of power. It is this real and inevitable fact that explains why Sri Nehru acts as he does. For instance, it is said that even when convinced that a certain chief minister is a bad man, he keeps him going against the considered judgment of his close colleagues who investigated and reported to him about that chief minister's misdeeds. It is this inevitable law of leaders being led by the average character of the people making up the party in power that explains many otherwise inexplicable deviations from ideals which are seen even in revered men in the ruling party.

We all know the present average of congressmen's character and aims. Every important leader has confessed it in private; and by force of its volume it is now public knowledge. There is no doubt that the Congress Party consists of men entirely devoted to their own individual careers in the power plane and in the acquisition of the means of a comfortable life for themselves.

"They are all careerists, but what can we do?" exclaimed an ex-President of the Congress to me when I discussed this position with him on an occasion—before

the Swatantra Party was formed. Since then, ever so many 'leaders' have said the same thing to me and to one another among themselves, some of them not free from that very careerism which they deplored in others.

The welfare of the people is the aim of all politics. But the means to achieve this object is conceived differently by those who hope and presume to guide the people. The present Congress leaders including Sri Jawaharlal Nehru are convinced, against all the teachings of Gandhiji, that State regimentation is essential to produce the welfare they seek. They have an unalterable faith in the efficiency and validity of compulsion. This wrong conviction has the inherent character of multiplying itself when met with failure or obstruction. If controls and regimentation disclose defects and unwanted results, the tendency of believers in compulsion as a means to welfare and prosperity is to invent new kinds of regimentation and controls in order to cope with the defects of the old controls. Their mind is closed against radical deviation from the line they had first adopted. If controls lead to blackmarketing and rackets, they would rather add some more restrictions and police measures than try the method of freedom.

The greed and general deterioration of character that have ren-

dered the average of the ruling party worthless lead the partymen to maintain and plead for further restraints on the economy of the people, because permits and controls and quotas are the rich fountain out of which they can slake their thirst and fulfil their desires. And the leaders must satisfy partymen if they wish to remain in power, and as a result the people suffer. It is only when things go thoroughly bad that naked dictatorship takes the place

of parliamentary governance and a single leader takes over. This is what has happened elsewhere and this is what must happen in India, if at the next elections the nation does not give an impressive answer to the query of the time but reiterates its blind faith in Congress leadership, in the leadership of a party which has become a crowd of careerists and greedy men, who have forgotten the scruples which once distinguished them.

HOW THE DISEASE GROWS

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Not much imagination is required to understand how the virus of corruption once introduced into the body-politic, under optimum conditions of growth and fast circulation in the system, tends to become natural, continuously impregnating the entire fabric of day-to-day administration. Though Congress careerists may deny it as accomplices of varying degree, they themselves are exposed to every temptation to practise profiteering deception. Here the ancient adage of *Yatha raja yatha praja* demonstrates itself.

In many insidious ways the spirit and purpose of the Constitution designed by wiser and more disinterested founders have been emasculated with the result that the autonomy of States has become a farce. A number of authorities have sprung up at the Centre, who should be propitiated for putting into operation any developmental advance at provincial level. There is a cluster of 'Welfare' Pandits at the Centre whose combined nod is required for any venture meant for the uplift of the masses apart from exhibitionism for impressing strangers with the spectacular achievements of fifteen years. Structurally, the trend becomes parallel to the imperial vogue of past kingdoms before the unification of India under British rule.

No self-deprecation is meant when we admit that we had with-

in the boundaries of India several empires under many rulers, which even the Moghuls in five generations could not consolidate into a single demesne. In each terrain free from civil strife, there was a system of decentralized authority to enable the king to reign in splendour upon revenues derived from the next rank of zamindars and jagirdars who also, benevolently supine, would distribute favours to minor rajas. The task of exaction was passed on to local myrmidons until the village frontier, where land was held by favour and cultivated by tenants on a share-cropping basis. In this long chain one set of parasites preyed on the other but ultimately it was the king who ruled, setting an example of extortion and reserving to himself powers of levying special taxes, and demanding the production of men to fight his battles when he felt belligerent. There is the familiar story of Raja Birbal being asked by Akbar at a durbar how royal income was dwindling. The Raja picked up a chunk of ice and passed it from hand to hand until it could reach the Emperor who was surprised to see that there was hardly anything to handle! Akbar understood.

With the concentration of power at the Centre against the behests of the Constitution, there are a number of co-ordinate agencies whose patronage should be obtained for any worthwhile

enterprise, especially when we are increasingly dependent on foreign exchange and the procurement of import-licences for 'components'. Officially or unofficially the private entrepreneur seeks favours knocking at different doors. Some go to the Planning Commission; some to the High Command; not a few to the Central Secretariat for the single purpose of getting permits to do something at State-level where the contracts are distributed by another long chain of transactions on a commission basis. At the ultimate stage, the common man is mulcted and paid in four-anna rupees. This gigantic process, which numbs private initiative, breathes a spirit of abject cynicism and it is today difficult to speak in terms of pure economics without intelligent people citing examples of squalid exploitation in the name of Planning. Every one who invests money on Congress tickets cannot help thinking of recoupment, especially when local subscriptions are taken in advance for the journey to Delhi and the canvassing efforts presupposed as necessary in the big offices at No. 7, Jantar Mantar Road. "Shankar" has a telling cartoon in a recent issue of his classical humour-magazine depicting the long winding lane filled with jostling applicants, with ravenous eyes like professional racketeers. This kind of political Dalal Street is the biggest arterial development in the country, not any extension of the road-system which badly requires improvement for the sake of transport. In other words, out of the unwholesome swamp there emerges a species of touts and mercenaries. The ultimate pressure of all these accumulated impacts comes on the cultivator who is advised to work hard, and who is told with unblushing mendacity that he is vastly better off after two Planning periods. It is in order to restore normalcy that the Opposition parties plead for a pause. Unconstitutional centralization and rampant corruption are by everyday experience bound to go double-harness towards perdition.

THE MADRAS BUDGET 1962-63

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Some features of the Madras Budget require stressing, since this pre-election budget may be the pattern for other State budgets to be passed before the elections. The total expenditure is expected to be about Rs. 100 crores against Rs. 59.45 crores ten years ago. The effect of this is not merely in the doubled taxes paid but in the prices which carry much more than the increased taxes. Even Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari had two months ago pointed out that the index of Madras prices was nearly 150 against the all India index of 125. The Madras Finance Minister did not evidently pause to consider if the people of Madras State could bear any further increase in prices, if one might surmise from his ambitious projects which do not benefit them directly or immediately.

The budget is doubtless an election budget. First, there is provision for a monthly pension of Rs. 20 to the destitutes above 65. The amount involved may not be considerable as the population above 65 is only two per cent of the total, in which the proportion of destitutes, who are not beggars, may be inconsiderable. Seeing that the annual income of landless labourers (who form 13 per cent of the population) has been disclosed by the Second Agricultural Labour Inquiry report to be only Rs. 96, will it be right to pay so much by way of pension? And would it not have been better that the Finance Minister provided opportunities for full employment

to all, so that they could take care of their destitute dependents, without having to receive charity?

Secondly, there is provision for interest-free loans to poor students undergoing technical training. In other countries, such students have opportunities for part-time work for the creation of which no thought seems to have been given in our country.

Thirdly, there is the usual gifts, much accentuated, of Engineering Colleges and Polytechnics to various regions. No doubt, the Government has vast plans for industrialization and private enterprises—in so far as power and transport allow—which also require technical personnel, but the supply has been so much increased that India 1961, a government publication, records 70,000 as unemployed on December 1960.

There is a provision for Rs. 12.68 crores for Agriculture and Community Development but it should be known that in spite of great expenditure in the past, the production of foodgrains in the

State is not sufficient to feed the population, making it necessary to open a number of fair price shops. The Government programme has failed notwithstanding the fact that the two most deficit districts, Malabar and South Kanara, are no longer in Madras State. There is an increase of only Rs. 30 lakhs in the provision for electric power, notwithstanding the continued power shortage, which is increasing the idle capacities of most factories, established at great cost and foreign exchange. There is a fall in the provision for large and medium industries, doubtless because previous expenditure has been infructuous. The Plan expenditure on Education shows an increase from Rs. 298 lakhs to Rs. 478 lakhs, which may be fictitious since no trained teachers could be available for the nearly doubled expenditure. The increase in the provision for Labour Welfare from Rs. 10 to Rs. 28 lakhs is too obviously related to the elections, though it may not satisfy the workers whose real earnings have fallen and to whom the Swatantra Party has offered capital

(Continued on page 11)



CURRENT EVENTS :

The US decision to back the UN forces in the Congo without further reservation should be understood in the light of American suspicion that diplomacy in Europe is still capable of voting one way in public and secretly conspiring to sabotage the purpose. The State Department declares that at the request of the United Nations a fleet of Globemasters filled with foreign volunteers and war-supplies (meant at first probably for Cuba during Eisenhower's time) are being rushed to the Congo in order to tame Tshombe and ensure the integrity of the ex-Belgian colony under the control of the Central Government at Leopoldville where Parliament sits immobilized. Now that America is in it, Britain with a wry face extends co-operation, though General de Gaulle, as haughty as ever, stands aloof with his overweight of Algerian troubles. The charge against Britain and France in the Congo is that after the UN vote for effective intervention, they covertly practised obstruction on the spot.

The American has always been apprehensive of double-cross in European diplomacy, and if we re-evaluate the little Suez war it would not be difficult for us to imagine the easy argument of American columnists that the old Adam remains still alive amongst eminent members of the NATO. In July 1956 when Eisenhower and Dulles were in the dark about the Anglo-French plot to deliver a sudden blow to President Nasser and settle the Suez question, the event came as a surprise to Washington. Guy Mollet (socialist) was the French Premier and Anthony Eden, flower of honour, was in Downing Street. Ben-Gurion was master of Israel. It is now established that Israel struck on the usual excuse of provocation from Egypt and concurrently French battalions and British troops appeared on the scene, a development for which the White House was not prepared.

In his indignation President Eisenhower refused to have speech with Anglo-French ambassadors and apologists. The aggressors had assumed the support of the United States; but, on perceiving their mistake, they quitted the scene and Ben-Gurion retired dumbfounded, carrying some Egyptian army-boots as trophy. President Kennedy and Dean Rusk must be presumed to think that Anglo-French diplomacy is still capable of similar duplicity in the Congo, and they have decided that aid should be rendered to the UN forces in the Congo without prevarication.

Of course American troops are not there nor any Soviet "mercenaries", to aggravate the situation. It is hardly necessary to build an explanation on the experiences of Rajeshwar Dayal or the testimony of Dr. O'Brien to surmise that the vote of Britain and France in the UN with its mandate for quelling Katanga was very near camouflage.

Mr. Krishna Menon says that if the Portuguese behave in Goa the way Tshombe does in Katanga, the Lisbon troops would get it as hard as Katanga gendarmerie, but we should not take it as an infallible reading of the situation. Portugal is in possession of maritime-territory and she is a member, however insignificant, of the NATO which is committed to mutual support on complaint of aggression. If there is a serious skirmish, she must be calculating on the routine-functioning of the United Nations drawing a truce line, and an international force indefinitely stabilizing the situation.

Congress lists for the coming elections are being finalized after the filtering of some ten-thousand candidates sponsored by the two wings, ministerial and organizational, registered at State-level. They have turned a blind eye on practices, extortionate and deceitful, in the collection of funds which

Articles published in SWARAJYA, unless specifically marked copy-right, may be reproduced in journals, in whole or in part, with or without acknowledgment.

must now suffice for three elections and three floods, if the candidates adhere to ceilings of expenditure laid down by the law. The plea held out in some quarters that collections from business-houses are spontaneously rendered has been proved hollow. In Andhra where harmony after bitter struggle for selections is reported, the Chief Minister admitted in the State Assembly "that donations aggregating to Rs. 1,30,500 were made between 1956 and 1959 by certain government companies to the Congress Party". In Orissa the Opposition leader vindicated the allegation that "Congress Government was mis-using the funds of industrial concerns, in which the State had shares, for party purposes by appointing Congress partymen as members on the Board of Directors of these concerns". Nobody denies that other parties are also collecting purses offered, but, as Rajaji said, they seek aid as suppliants for a deserving democratic cause whereas Congress fundsters go the rounds with danda in hand, the Prime Minister gazing far on the horizon as if totally unaware of excesses.

The nominal nature of powers drained away from State legislatures as designed in the Constitution may be seen in the warning delivered by the Propaganda Member of the Planning Commission when he hurried to Mysore at the moment the Assembly and Council were debating the Land Ceiling Bill. Mr. Shriman Narayan hectored that if the acreage-scale did not conform to the wishes of the Planning Commission, the Bill would die and the approval of President would not be forthcoming. The words of intimidation weighed. The caution given cannot be belittled because Jawaharlal Nehru the Economist and Planning Chairman, is the same

WHICH IS BETTER AND SAFER?

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

If we must aim at effective decentralization of authority for economic decisions, it will be obvious on an examination of the matters involved, that we cannot attain it in government operations but only in private enterprise. The attempt to give autonomy to corporations brought into existence, not by entrepreneurs but by the decision and nomination of government, will result not in increased efficiency but in increased irresponsibility. There will neither be private interest and competition to check waste and neglect nor even belated parliamentary supervision to fear. If we must have a constant, automatic and effective test of success or failure, the best and only test is the market. TLs is available in private enterprise but is absent in governmentally-operated enterprises. Whatever be the

type of governmental management, monopoly is inevitable; and with it will disappear the salutary check of competition. These are obvious in theory as well as in the demonstrations which we get in abundance of loss and failure, and unsatisfactory apologies and defences offered for inefficiency and losses in State-managed enterprises.

Whatever the merits in the broad lines of development planning when it comes to effective administration, there is really no substitute for a widely experienced feeling among managers that they are running shows of their own and making their own decisions. What makes peasant proprietorship pre-eminently superior to other forms of cultivation of land applies to business and industry also.

CURRENT EVENTS (contd.)

person as the Internationalist and the Prime Minister. President Rajendra Prasad, at the time of launching the Institute of Legal Studies, had suggested research into the question of the balance of powers in the Constitution, especially the margin of discretion contemplated by the founding fathers for the President, but no room has been allowed for individual hesitation under the paramountcy of the present Prime Minister. Shriman Narayan must have been well aware of it when he ventured openly to cow down the State Legislature to toe the line.

Tanganyika, now vested with self-government, has joined the Commonwealth family. Like Nigeria, the country has had some apprenticeship for the transition, in that the administration can be manned by personnel trained under British auspices, unlike the Congo where the Belgians governed without any dream of an

emancipated Africa. Hence there would be no need for UN intervention or indefinite tutelage in democracy to enable the UN to pull out early without the danger of anarchic civil war and the certainty of having completed the mission by making Congo safe for democracy. Lord Home says that he is "not happy about developments in the Congo" but under American pressure the British Government is sending about two dozen 100-lb bombs for the Adoula Government. U Thant, acting Secretary-General, says that UN reinforcements in men and arms are meant only for defensive purposes. Military hardware supplied to Pakistan by America is also shipped under the advice that they are meant strictly for defence purposes; but it is a moot point in such transactions as to who should determine from a distance where aggression begins. And Mr. Krishna Menon is fond of saying that the UN has never yet defined aggression. His advice to Goans is that revolt from within should precede any external aid. P.J.

Again, from the political angle which is of great importance in democracy, private enterprise in charge of the nation's economic life gives a wide choice of career opportunities for young men, and prevents concentration and excessive centralization of political power. Nothing is so grievously suicidal to democracy as the taking over by government of business. It leads to corruption for a certainty.

As for necessary checks, the party in power, whichever it may be, will always be ready to obtain legislative and administrative measures to check monopolies if private enterprise is found to run into that undesirable condition. But no government will be anxious to curtail its own monopoly in governmentally-managed business, be it production or distribution or transport. It is always better for the consumer that government is placed in a position opposed to and in authority to check monopoly and excessive profits than be invested with a direct interest in making profits for itself, and securing opportunities for liberal expenditure to increase the popularity of the party in power with the electorate.

Profit and loss provide a system of incentives to action and a standard for measuring the contribution of the enterprise to the national economy. With all the defects in market economy that may be pointed out and stressed, the market undoubtedly remains a most efficient mechanism.

Edmund Burke wrote with his usual wisdom and detachment in a memorable passage:

Market is the meeting and conference of the consumer and producer, where they naturally discover each other's wants. Nobody, I believe, has observed with any reflection what market is, without being astonished at the truth, the correctness, the celerity, the general equity, with which the balance of wants is settled. They who wish the destruction of that balance, and would fain by arbitrary regulation decree that defective production should not be compensated

by increased price, directly lay their axe to the root of production itself. They may even in one year of such false policy, do mischief incalculable; because the trade of a farmer is one of the most precarious in its advantages, the most liable to losses, and the least profitable of any that is carried on. It requires ten times more of labour, of vigilance, of attention, of skill and, let me add, of good fortune also, to carry on the business of a farmer with success, than what belongs to any other trade.

Thus with all the advantages of a system in which, with decentralization of power to decide quickly and well, we have also an unfailing test and measurement of success and failure, we have in modern times, in addition, a vigilant independent authority left over, namely, Government, to watch against unsocial conduct and to protect the public interest if it is not well served. Large business organizations are not allowed these days to use their assets irresponsibly. Indeed, there is a tendency to overdo the checking.

But it is a well-known fact, on the other hand, that in most cases governments are by no means devoted to unalloyed service of the public interest. In democracies run on party lines, the interest of the party in power and of those that help it, prevails over that of the public. It is always wise, and works to public weal, that the supreme checking authority is not placed in a position of self-interest in relation to the business, but is kept apart. It is the same principle as is well recognized in judicial matters, that a judge should not be himself interested in one side or the other of a suit.

Apart from outright corruption, as an eminent modern writer has written, it is in the nature of democratic governments to respond to political and other pressures. And the political market wherein these pressures are developed and often forged into a simulacrum of public interest is no better than, and has most of the imperfections of the economic market. It is wrong always to identify private

enterprise with selfish irresponsibility, as it would be wrong to assume that government management is always marked by waste, political corruption and stagnation; but the latter assumption is more often right than the former. At any rate, there is a supervisory check and authority in the one case, while we have practically none in the other. The Government can always intervene when any private enterprise seeks to exploit. But if the Government itself becomes the manager of a business, there will be no authority effectively to check mismanagement in time.

This discussion is not a plea for total elimination of government management in every case. There are fields where the State must, with all the imperfections of State-management, assume responsibility. But the aim should be to limit this field and enlarge the field where competition can come in to check abuses. This is the principle which the Swatantra Party stands for.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

PREMATURE DIVISION OF SPOILS?

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: It is now the close of play at the All India Congress Committee Office. The exciting drama of selecting candidates for the State legislatures and the Lok Sabha on behalf of the ruling party has at last ended. It is both a comedy and a tragedy—a comedy of political behaviour and a tragedy of the political system at work.

There is hardly any difficulty for the 75-year old Congress to set up a candidate for every available seat. It has a vast organization; it has immense resources; it has rich experience; above all, it has quite a number of aspirants for its ticket. Its difficulty, on the other hand, lay in dropping nine out of ten—or is it more?—for each seat that needed to be annexed for its own perpetuation in office. But the Central Election Committee has muddled through its mighty task, having found it convenient or expedient to forget all about the conventions and standards of which one had heard so much when the hour of test was remote.

Mr. Nehru himself started talking of a stiff test for the candidates in the field. There was a suggestion that in the case of sitting members, they would be weighed by their legislative and parliamentary record. Then there was talk of introducing new elements and young blood and of giving more representation to "the embroidered sex". Later came the presidential threat that the ten-year rule would be enforced, so that several might automatically go out of the lists.

One by one, each contemplated criterion was given the go-by, thus enabling the Congress crowd to treat the President none too seriously and shout gleefully (if Junius may recall the lines in Omar Khayyam):

*They talk of some strict
Testing of us—Pish!*

*He's a good fellow, and 'twill
all be well.*

Yet right from the mandal Congress committee level to that of the Central Election Committee, there have been tensions, as evidenced by the heaps of "appeals" that came up for final disposal. If only these appeals are ever published, one can have a vivid idea of the gerrymandering that has become the hall-mark of Congress politics. It is hardly surprising that several persons, grown grey in the service of the Congress, were elbowed out with effortless ease by the later-day careerists who are credited with knowing their job. With presidents of Pradesh committees and the chief ministers pulling in different directions in their respective States, it was quite a hard task for the Daniels at the Centre to sit in judgment.

There was certainly no pretension that at any stage in the selection of candidates the Congress could ever live up to the much-proclaimed ideal of a casteless society. Community, caste and sub-caste obsessed the Congress leaders so much that the rank and file in the Congress might well have despaired of the future of the country. For, here were men who were making the welkin ring with the cry of national integration and yet unabashedly feeding the forces of disintegration under their very canopy. Even those bodies which were dubbed by them as communalist had not gone about the selection of their candidates in so blatantly a communal way. No congressman in the know of things can dare deny that the caste of a candidate was a potent, if not a vital, factor in the selections at different levels.

Since, however, the claimants for preferment hailed from all castes in a substantial number, the choice ultimately depended

SWARAJYA

(English Political Weekly)

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY



SUBSCRIPTION RATES

India and Ceylon

One year ... Rs. 7.50

Six months ... Rs. 4.00

Foreign

One year ... Rs. 15.00

Six months ... Rs. 7.50

Subscription prepayable. No V.P.P. except for Ceylon Subscribers

—Manager—

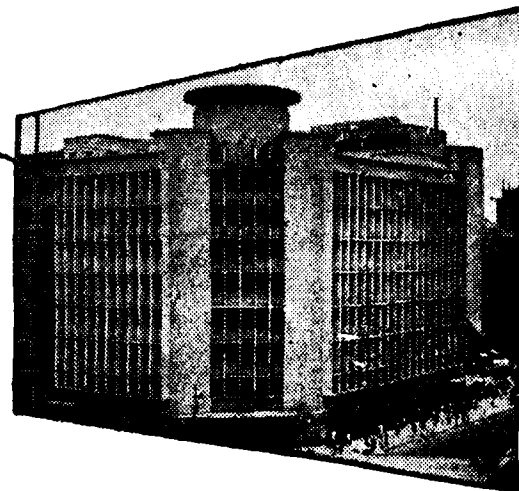
THE SWARAJYA, MADRAS-10

upon one's pull or the pressure one could bring on those who had to say the last word. A Chief Minister like Mr. Kamaraj or a Pradesh Chief like Mr. Atulya Ghose could get those whom he wanted, while in several States there was a regular tug of war between the two contending for primacy in their State. It is in harmony with Congress politics that even before the elections, some are already treated as Chief Ministers-designate. Thus in the South, Mr. Kamaraj is taken for granted but not Mr. Jatti in Mysore. Mr. Sanjivayya is not only fed with no hope but even said to have been privately sounded if Mr. Sanjiva Reddy could rescue Andhra Pradesh out of its leaderless condition—and incidentally rehabilitate himself as its Chief!

Perhaps the line is not so clear but one can understand the anxiety in Congress quarters to have clear ideas of the possible division of spoils, on the assumption that it will be returned to power. But it is not going to be so easy as all that—at least in some States, for example in Rajasthan. Incidentally, Junius wonders if the Maharaja of Jaipur desired to see the Prime Minister the other day—or just had to. Maybe that the interview had no particular significance.

wired for permanence

with
**PARAMITE
CABLES**



OVER 17 MILES OF CABLE IN ILACO HOUSE
CALCUTTA
Contractors: S. K. Mitra & Co., Ltd.

The Indian Cable Company Ltd.
9, Mare Street, P. O. Box 514, Calcutta.

Representatives in India for BRITISH INSULATED CABLES LTD.
Branches: AHMEDABAD, BANGALORE, BOMBAY, COIMBATORE, JAMSHEDPUR,
KANPUR, MADRAS, NAGPUR, NEW DELHI, AND SECUNDERABAD

16, 19A

best to give best to get

Zarina
12.95



Ava
12.95



Ambassador
Style 30
39.95



Joy
9.50-13.50



Toughies
11.95-15.50



Hang out the mistletoe and take just one convenient stop for all your shopping : the nearest Bata store. Here you'll find a cosy selection of footwear right for everybody, for your family and your friends. Bata shoes make the most welcome of gifts, for they give comfort and pleasure the whole year round.

Bata

December 23, 1961

SWARAJYA

9

Dear Reader

I have been sent back to the South by my friends in Upper India hale and sound in spite of all the strain of the receptions and meetings, and the cold weather of that region which I had thought would be too much for me. God be thanked, I am well enough for some more work.

Congress has given up making other claims.)

At Basti where I had programmed to speak Sri K. D. Malaviya had sent two new jeeps carrying anti-Swatantra Party literature, which however did not make impression. It was one of the most enthusiastic meetings I addressed in U.P.

In the Punjab I was taken round mostly to places I had not visited in my previous tour. I addressed meetings at Karnal, Graunda, Panipat, Samalka, Sonapat, Shambu, Rajpura, Patiala, Sangrur, Batinda, Faridkot, Moga, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Riya, Batala and Amritsar. I addressed in all about twenty very large meetings and sensed the tremendous enthusiasm for the party, and strong opposition of the people to the Congress. The peasants' gathering at Riya was a great demonstration.

The situation in the Punjab as far as the Swatantra Party is concerned is now better than when I had last toured in that State. The people are in a better mood to listen to matters concerning economic issues and are not now so greatly absorbed in the local issue raised by Master Tara Singh about the Suba for Punjabi.

After the Punjab tour I rested only for a few hours in Delhi, and proceeded to Uttar Pradesh. At Meerut, Kanpur, Gonda, Basti and Gorakhpur I addressed crowded and enthusiastic meetings. I then reached Hazaribagh—after expressing my inability to add to my engagements at wayside places, where I had not agreed to speak. Banaras was one such place where I would have liked to speak, but there was no time to spare, as I had to fly by special plane to Hazaribagh, where a convention of the Swatantra Party was to be inaugurated by me. The peasants' meeting at Gonda in U.P. was a tremendous demonstration of the party's popularity there, contradicting the claim of the Congress of overwhelming strength. (The

But the Hazaribagh Convention was the crowning event of the tour. Two lakhs of people, all good adult-tillers of the soil, men and women, listened with rapt attention to the speeches, and accorded their approval of the Swatantra manifesto.

I returned to Madras via Calcutta whose humid climate has given me a cold which I shall try to get over, as I am proceeding to Mangalore where Sri Lobo Prabhu has been doing good work for the party.

Sri Sukhadia, the Chief Minister of Rajasthan, is on his defence. He says the princes in Congress camp are devoting their energies to establish socialism, while the members of the ex-ruling class who are in the Swatantra Party are engaged in re-establishing themselves in power. He thinks this will be believed! If anyone, ex-prince or any other, wants self-advancement, he must go to the ruling party. He can find opportunity not in the Swatantra Party, which is yet to build itself and make good, but in the party in office. Would Birlas join the Swatantra Party in order to convert lakhs into crores? No, they would stick to the Congress import-licence-raj. Would Baroda or Bikaner join a new party struggling to grow? No, they would stick to the party ready to purvey favours. Sri Sukhadia's argument cannot hold water.

Sri Sukhadia says the talk about corruption is a red herring to divert people's attention—a strange plea indeed. The corruption that has resulted from Congress poli-

SATYAM EVA JAYATE

By
RĀJAJI

In Two Volumes

A collection of Rajaji's articles in Swarajya and other journals on various topics from 1956 to 1961. The second volume includes an alphabetical index for both volumes

Available at Higginbothams in Madras and their principal stalls elsewhere, and at Kalki office, Madras and with Kalki and Swarajya agents at Delhi, (M/s. Khanna Stores, 68, Baird Lane New Delhi; M/s. Central News Agency 23/90, Connaught Circus New Delhi-1. Phone : 44762), Bombay, (R. Kannan 26/208, Meena Sadan, Sion-Matunga Road, Bombay-22. Phone: 60011), Calcutta, (G. R. Ramaswamy 11, Govt. Place East, First Floor Calcutta-1. Phone : 23-5087) Nagpur, Poona, Bangalore City, Bangalore Cantt., Trivandrum, Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Tirunelveli, Tuticorin, Madurai, Trichinopoly, Pudukottah, Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Cuddalore, Chidambaram, Vellore, Salem, Coimbatore and Palghat.

Price : Rs. 6/- Each Volume

If sent by post Rs. 1.50 extra for each volume

SHARATHAN PUBLICATIONS PRIVATE LTD.
KALKI BUILDINGS, KILPAUK, MADRAS-10

cies is too big a pumpkin to hide in a plate of rice, as the saying in Indian languages goes. The defensive attitude of the Chief Minister of Rajasthan is both a symptom and proof of the growing strength of the Swatantra Party in Rajasthan.

The grandmother of the Jodhpur House, Raj-dadi as she is popularly known, the embodiment of Indian culture and womanhood, who holds all the people of the State as her children and who comes from a farmer's family, knows the truth as to which party is the people's friend and which the Kamadhenu for Big Business.

In spite of the P.M.'s statements, the opinion still prevails that the

timing of the Goa operations is related to the elections. The good-means-for-good-ends formula, for things which have waited for many years, appears to have receded into the background. The best strategy against Portuguese obstinacy is good government in India. In all the former Indian States the tax-burdened people feel that the old regime was better. Let India be well-governed, and Goan people will hasten of their own accord to join their brethren in India and the Portuguese must then yield.

All kinds of inaccurate reports have appeared, I see, about the Swatantra Party's talks with the D.M.K. and the Muslim League and others. It is important to make it quite clear to all that the Swatantra Party can have no truck with the Communist Party directly or indirectly. As regards the D.M.K., in

my opinion the issue of separation of Dravidasthan to which the D.M.K. adheres is an unrealistic element in their politics. I, therefore, do not attach any importance to it, and the Swatantra Party and the D.M.K. should muster their forces together in order to defeat the Congress on the issue of Statism and consequent corruption in Government. There is no question of any alliance but electoral adjustments only to avoid triangular fights are possible and desirable. Neither the President of the Swatantra Party of Tamilnad nor I have as yet (at the time of writing) met any of the D.M.K. leaders or Muslim League leaders. Unauthorized statements in the press about these matters are not to be taken as reliable. Some of them appear to have come from quarters adverse to the Swatantra Party, whose motives may be to create trouble.

I am grateful for all the birthday greetings that were sent to my Madras address when I was away on tour. For the benefit of those who are interested in my age, let me inform them that I finished 83 with this December. Some had put me at 82 and some others at 84 and 85. My correct age is now 83 completed.

The UN on which all hopes of world peace are centred is waging a fierce war on Katanga because the people of that State do not wish to surrender their autonomy. Must federation or integration be enforced by the guns and jet bombers of an arbitration-authority? India (as well as America) should look into the problem again and see if there is not more reason and ultimate wisdom in what appears to be the UK stand than in the present war policy of the UN. We have sent soldiers to fight on behalf of the UN. But that should not make us develop a frenzy over a particular step at settlement. We should give second thoughts to the whole situation. I said this at a Rotary Club meeting during my tour in Upper India and what is happening since then confirms my view. It is a sad and most gloomy affair—this slaughter in an unequal battle to force a particular type of Constitution on a Central African people who do not want it.

My attention has been drawn to an advertisement in a Tamil daily setting out, without the context, a sentence from one of Gandhiji's articles. If Gandhiji's opinion of me is relevant in the present controversies, there is enough material in all of his writings to see what his opinion was about me. Everybody knows that we differed from each other on many occasions. It is poor political propaganda to quote sentences out of context and print them up as advertisements.

C.R.



cup full of cheer

SPENCER'S TEAS

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

For you and your Family to be cheerful buy Spencer's Teas

SPENCER & CO. LTD.

MADRAS & BRANCHES

SPT-4-6A

NEUTRALITY AND FOREIGN TRADE

By T. V. A. MARAR

It is desirable to know whether our economic relations with foreign countries is in conformity with our foreign policy of non-alignment. The barometer of the economic relation between two countries is the volume and variation of trade between them. Therefore, it is only natural to presume that we would have built up considerable volume of trade with Afro-Asian countries, especially with our neighbours, as a solid proof of our neutral policy. But the foreign trade returns of our country tell a different tale.

Trade with our neighbours and friendly countries has not only not increased, but in many cases shows considerable decline. In fact our foreign trade truly reflects the same distorted version of political neutrality. While there is significant and all-round increase in trade with all communist countries, we have not built up any respectable share of our foreign trade with our friendly countries. For example, our trade with East Germany has increased from Rs. 8 lakhs in 1952 to Rs. 564 lakhs in 1959; that is, seventy times, while trade with our neighbour Burma has declined to less than half over the same period (from Rs. 3,114 lakhs to Rs. 1,317 lakhs). Similarly, there is a ten-fold increase in our trade with Hungary (Rs. 30 lakhs in 1952 and Rs. 312 lakhs in 1959) while trade with Ceylon remained static over the same period. Our trade with Poland has increased from about

Rs. 50 lakhs in 1952 to Rs. 761 lakhs in 1959. Trade with Pakistan and China declined between 1952 and 1959, but the reduction in the case of Pakistan is greater than that of China. The figures relating to Pakistan show a decline of Rs. 6,370 lakhs. That is, we traded with that country for Rs. 7,548 lakhs in 1952 but only for Rs. 1,178 lakhs in 1959. The reduction in the case of our Panch-Sheel friend is only Rs. 587 lakhs over the same period (from Rs. 1,855 lakhs in 1952 to Rs. 1,268 lakhs in 1959). Our trade with Afghanistan has virtually been stagnant for the last decade, while considerable trade has been built up with distant Rumania and Bulgaria with whom trade was almost non-existent a decade back. At least one would have reasonably expected larger trade with Yugoslavia than with Poland or Czechoslovakia, but in fact it is only about half of the latter countries in 1959; and the tendency is towards a further decline.

There is considerable decline in trade with USA and Canada, while the reverse is the case with communist Russia. The figures in lakhs of rupees, given below will speak for themselves.

	1952	1959	Difference
USA	39,405	29,086	10,319
Canada	4,184	3,736	448
USSR	283	4,701	4,418

It may be surprising but nevertheless true that our trade with such friendly countries as Egypt and Kenya has greatly declined; in the case of Egypt from Rs. 2,670 lakhs in 1952 to Rs. 1,653 lakhs in 1959. Trade with Switzerland and Austria, the two really neutral countries, reveals a static position or even slight decline. With Switzerland we traded for Rs. 920 lakhs in 1952 but only for Rs. 873 lakhs in 1959; while the corresponding figures for Austria are Rs. 211 lakhs in 1952 and Rs. 219 lakhs in 1959.

Are we following a neutral policy in our economic relations with other countries of the world?

THE MADRAS BUDGET

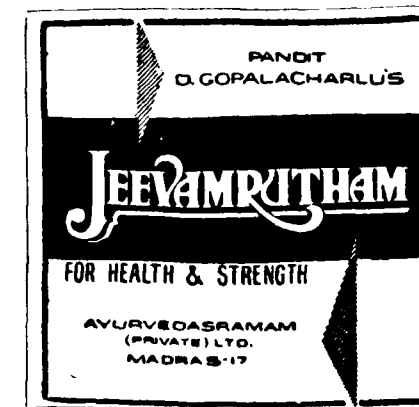
(Continued from page 3)

participation and 'progress sharing'—and may offer ownership houses.

The budget anticipates a rise in the receipts of land revenue by Rs. 38 lakhs. Madras is already suffering from the heaviest incidence of land revenue, Rs. 4.33 crores in 1960-61. The agriculturists are, therefore, not likely to be over-enthusiastic about the Congress, particularly as they will get to know of the Swatantra offer to abolish land taxes, with equivalent reduction in rent where necessary.

In spite of anticipating considerable increases in the State revenues, the budget shows Rs. 7 crore deficit, expected to be covered by greater receipts from the Centre. What is more likely is that the Government will increase its borrowing. This is a self-defeating process as the budget figures of 1961-62 show that the receipts from debt services were Rs. 7.42 crores against an expenditure of Rs. 5.75 crores.

The budget is otherwise also objectionable because it ignores the Third Plan provision, by an increase of Rs. 2.73 crores. What is the use of drawing up a Plan, after three years of work, if the annual budgets are to be independent of it? The budget, which will be eagerly copied by other States, shows how little Congress governments know of finance and how little they care for the results of their extravagance.

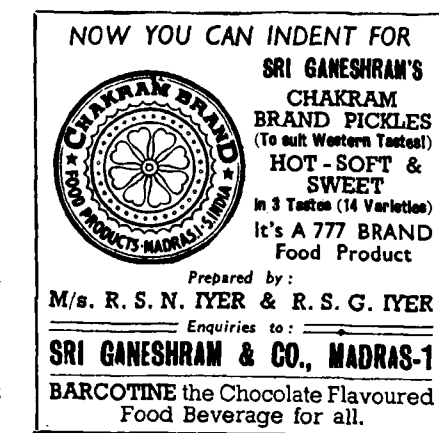


PANDIT D. GOPALACHARLU'S

JEEVAMRUTHAM

FOR HEALTH & STRENGTH

AYURVEDASRAMAM (PRIVATE) LTD. MADRAS-17



NOW YOU CAN INDENT FOR

SRI GANESHRAM'S CHAKRAM BRAND PICKLES

(To suit Western Tastes!)

HOT-SOFT & SWEET

In 3 Tastes (14 Varieties)

It's A 777 BRAND Food Product

Prepared by:

M/s. R. S. N. IYER & R. S. G. IYER

Enquiries to:

SRI GANESHRAM & CO., MADRAS-1

BARCOTINE the Chocolate Flavoured Food Beverage for all.

S. R. V. S.

Surety and Safety in Delivery

Reliability in Transportation

Versatility in imports, exports, clearing forwarding, warehousing etc.

Satisfaction in Service

DEPOTS AND AGENCIES AT:

ANANTAPUR	GUNTUR	NELLORE
BANGALORE	HYDERABAD	OOTACAMUND
COIMBATORE	KARUR	SECUNDERABAD
COONOR	KRISHNAGIRI	SALEM
ERODE	KURNOOL	TRICHY
ERNAKULAM	METTUPALAYAM	VIJAYAWADA

TRANSPORTATION IS OUR BUSINESS

Make it your business to consult us for all your Transport Problems.

We make your transportation economical, expeditious and easy

SRI RAMA VILAS SERVICE LTD.

"DINROZE ESTATE"

1/17, MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS-2

Telegram: "ROADHAUL"

Telephone Nos. 83836, 83837, 83838

STORY OF A STRIKE

By AN OBSERVER

The Swatantra Party, at its recent Convention at Agra, passed a resolution promising to reverse the process of nationalization of transport adopted by Congress governments, if it came to power. In this context, the recent "strike" by the drivers of the transport undertaking of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation, although for a duration of only four hours, has thrown a flood of light on the workings of 'nationalized' transport system, apart from providing a poignant instance of how the administrative machinery of the nationalized transport undertaking in collusion with the trade union of its employees could paralyse the transport and hold people at ransom. In fact the Ahmedabad strike of the bus drivers was more or less the offspring of the tussle between administrative officers of the transport undertaking of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation and the police officers who sought to uphold the law relating to traffic regulations.

At about 8-30 a.m. on November 16, 1961, the drivers of the Ahmedabad Municipal Transport Service went on strike, because the Police had lodged complaints against them for wrong parking of vehicles. This was purely a dispute between the administration of the Ahmedabad Municipal Transport Service and the Police. The drivers were parking the buses at places where they had been directed to do so by the authorities of the A.M.T.S. Therefore, they were not to blame. And the police, for their part, did only their duty by observing the traffic rules and regulations!

The Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation is controlled by the Congress Party and the trade union of the drivers and conductors is affiliated to the Indian National Trade Union Congress. Mr. S. R. Vasavada, General Secretary of the INTUC, is also the President of the Drivers and Conductors' Union. There was, therefore, identity of interest (of course, political) between the transport undertaking of the Corporation and the Drivers and Conductors' Union.

The following paragraph published in the Ahmedabad evening daily *Sevak* (dated 16-11-1961) would show with what lenience a strike by the Congress-controlled trade union is looked upon and how police officers deal with such trade unions:

The Deputy Commissioner (of Police) Mr. Rai Singhani went to the house of Mr. Chandulal Shah (the Secretary of the Drivers and

Conductors' Union) and discussed matters with him.

A Police officer had to go to the Secretary of a trade union controlled by the Congress and possibly persuade him not to carry on the strike! But he was not evidently successful and the strike was put in motion.

After paralyzing the city's transport for about four hours, the strike was withdrawn. On the withdrawal of the strike, the Manager of the Ahmedabad Municipal Transport Service, while explaining the reasons for the strike, stated:

The Police were harassing us for parking transport buses outside Sarangpur Gate, and the strike was the result of that harassment. (*Janasatta* dated 17-11-1961).

It is, therefore, evident that officers of the nationalized transport undertaking, owing to their inability to settle a traffic problem, seem to have hit upon the strategy of bringing about a strike, with a view to bringing pressure on the police so that there may be a relaxation of the order related to parking places. Here is clearly a case of employers and employees joining together to bring about cessation of work, and causing untold hardship and harassment to citizens for whose benefit the transport was stated to have been nationalized.

That the strike had not only the sympathy but the backing of the leaders of the INTUC, will be evident from the following statement of Mr. Chandulal Shah, Secretary of the Drivers and Conductors' Union:

".....due to harassment caused to the drivers by the police lodging

complaints against them, they (drivers) ceased their work but when the drivers were subjected to tyranny by the police for no fault of theirs, what can they do except to strike work?"

Thus in Ahmedabad, officers of the nationalized transport undertaking virtually in collaboration with the drivers and their trade union brought about a strike which caused hardship to people, disorganised business offices, caused missing of trains to travellers, forced compulsory holidays to the schools and colleges. The Government, for political reasons, not only did not take any steps to prevent the strike, or to take action against the strikers, but virtually abdicated its function, submitting to the trade union and nationalized transport undertaking by agreeing to withdraw cases lodged by the police for traffic offences.

It is to be hoped that this incident will be an eye-opener to the advocates of nationalization of industries. The people lose their freedom and protection of the Government as soon as an industry is nationalized.

WHAT COST LACK OF FORESIGHT!

It was time for an effort to strengthen India's international position. Through failing to defend or even to attempt to defend Tibet, and allowing China to pursue an enveloping movement round the north of the country without any show of a will to resist, she has forfeited the confidence of her smaller neighbours. By contemptuously rejecting the offer of a joint defence of the subcontinent against China, she provoked Pakistan to redouble her hostility. The result is a dangerous isolation in Asia.—*Mysindia*

RAM MOHAN

WORLD TRAVEL SERVICE

With more than three hundred correspondents in India and foreign countries, Ram Mohan offers a world-wide Travel Service that includes air, steamship, rail and bus tickets, hotel and resort reservations, escorted and independent tours, sightseeing by motor-coach or private automobile, uniformed representatives to aid patrons while travelling abroad, assistance with passports and visas, accident and baggage insurance and, of course, the famous blue American Express Travellers Cheques.

RAM MOHAN & CO. PRIVATE LIMITED

Kempe Gowda Road,
BANGALORE - 9

362, N.S.C. Bose Road,
MADRAS - 1

POLITICAL PRESSURE ON OFFICERS

A P.T.I. Report from Hyderabad, dated December 17 says:

Mr. P. S. Rau, formerly Chief Secretary to the Government of Madhya Pradesh and for some

time acting Governor of Kerala, yesterday suggested the setting up of a high-power committee of experts to find out "why many of the Collectors-Deputy Commis-

sioners are unable to perform their functions satisfactorily".

Mr. Rau was inaugurating a conference on "the changing role of the district officer (Collector or Deputy Commissioner)" organised by the Andhra Pradesh Regional Branch of the Indian Institute of Public Administration. Mr. M. P. Pai, Andhra Pradesh Chief Secretary and chairman of the regional branch, presided.

It was generally admitted, Mr. Rau said, that administration had deteriorated considerably. "The Collector or the Deputy Commissioner is the king-pin of the administration. Many of them feel frustrated because they are unable to perform their functions satisfactorily either to themselves or to the public for no fault of their own."

Mr. Rau attributed the difficulties experienced by district officers in the discharge of their duties impartially to increasing political pressure on them. He would, therefore, suggest the setting up of a high-power committee of experts to ascertain the facts before remedies could be applied.

Mr. Rau said Independence and the Five-Year Plans had brought about a revolution in the affairs of the country. While considerable progress had been achieved in almost all spheres, discipline had vanished from the class room, office and roads. The district officer was specially affected by all this. "He (district officer) and his colleagues are subject to constant political pressure from all sides, and often find it difficult to discharge their duties impartially. The Collector's responsibilities have increased manifold but his means of discharging have dwindled."

Mr. Rau said he favoured the old system of posting officials to States mostly from outside that State.

In his presidential speech, Mr. Pai said there had been no real or substantial change in the role of the District Collector. But his role was in the process of changing, which was mainly due to the change in the objectives of the Government and the democratic ways of functioning.

QUALITY COTTONS
AT ECONOMY PRICES

SHEETS • PILLOWCASES • COTTON BLANKETS
MATTRESS CLOTH • TOWELS • NAPKINS
BATHMATS • DAMASK TABLE LINEN
DRILLS • COATINGS • SHIRTINGS • PRINTS

• all have the traditional Bombay-Dyeing quality
• they wash and wear well • in white and a wide range of fast colours

BOMBAY-DYEING

Sole Distributors for South India:
Chellarams 3/4 Godown Street, Madras 1.
Abid Road, Hyderabad.
AND AT MANY OTHER SHOPS



G-80. 58

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PLANNING PITFALLS

Sir,—According to a news item from Bhopal the authorities of the Heavy Electricals have admitted failure in achieving the production targets fixed for the current year. Three reasons have been listed for the failure, namely (1) lack of experience, (2) non-availability of foreign raw material, and (3) non-co-operative attitude of labour.

The reasons adduced for the admitted failure provide a sad commentary on the drafting as well as implementation of Plan programmes. The Planners are unfit to hold their offices if they are incapable of foreseeing lack of experience and non-availability of foreign raw material when they prepare the blue-print of any particular venture. Instead of complaining about the non-co-operative attitude of labour, the authorities should investigate and remedy the causes for such an attitude.

We are also told that in view of its slow pace of work and the high costs of production the Heavy Electricals would incur heavy losses in the current year which may continue for several years. Planning for losses instead of for progress is a mark of immature and over-ambitious totalitarian planning. When will our Planners learn to steer clear of ambitions and uneconomic schemes which spell a heavy burden on the nation?

Bombay-1

PIIROZE J. SHROFF

FASCISM OR FREEDOM?

Sir,—Mr. Nehru recently attacked the Swatantra Party's ideology, stating that the party was becoming "more and more Fascist in outlook". But how could a party that stands for "minimum control and maximum freedom" have any truck with even a ghost of dictatorship?

The P.M. failed to understand "how any intelligent person could associate himself with the outmoded ideals of the Swatantra Party." Gandhiji, the Liberator, had said, "Whenever in doubt, follow your heart." Can't the P.M. feel in his heart the validity, and utility, of these very conservative ideals which have contributed not a little to the progress of West Germany, England and Japan, and which the Swatantra Party accepts?

Mr. Nehru prided himself on the "success" of his foreign policy, but, alas, it has made Chinese aggression eminently possible on the Indian soil.

besides making the country meet the threat of unfriendly neighbours like Pakistan, while Tibet has already become one of the first victims of that policy. Danger hangs right over our head."

He enunciated democratic socialism, mixed economy and planned development as the principles of the Congress. But true democracy and socialism are incompatible, and we must choose between them. Swatantra, therefore, stands for individualism—the corner-stone of democracy, mixed economy with a bias towards the private sector, and planning for progress, not power.

He talked about India's "name, fame and progress" going to pieces if Swatantra was supported. Real progress is something heart-felt and gradual. It has nothing to do with ostentation. The house of cards being erected by the Congress must fall to the ground. How can the superstructure survive with a neglected base? Agriculture is the very base of India's progress. It is the source of India's culture. Yet that is being sought to be monkeyed with.

The Swatantra Party is for a solid base with an inexpensive superstructure. Banka, Bhagalpur RADHEY SHYAM ROY

FLOOD DEVASTATION IN
MONGHYR

Sir,—You might have heard about the last devastations by floods of the Monghyr district in Bihar, particularly by the collapse of the embankment of the Kharagpur lake. The lake was built during the time of an old zemindari—the Darbhanga Raj—in 1870-77. This lake was a boon to the people inasmuch as it had been irrigating thousands of acres of land at nominal cost. But when the zemindari was abolished and it was taken over by Government, over Rs. 17 lakhs was spent to rebuild it, and the rate for irrigation was enhanced. It was evidently so badly built by Government that the embankment gave way during the average Hathia rains of October last, completely destroying as many as eight villages, besides rendering over 200 acres of good land useless by the falling of stones from the overlooking hills. The bursting of the embankment and the rushing of water caused also other damages.

A judicial enquiry was called for in this matter but the Government pre-

sumably fearing a verdict adverse to it, refused to hold a judicial enquiry, but gave relief to the affected people to silence them.

The Congress Government's blind projects have proved but harmful to the people, and so the sooner this Government is replaced the better for the people.

DEVI DAYAL RAM

A FANTASTIC ORDER

Sir,—According to a recent press note the Mysore Government has warned its servants that they would be liable for disciplinary action for neglect of not only their wives and children but also their parents solely depending on them.

Domestic peace and harmony can never be achieved by legislation and statute. On occasions of unpleasant domestic disputes, parents or children would prefer to live separately rather than live together under compulsion. Sensible and sane people, whether they are parents or children, would never allow the other party to desert them, tied indissolubly by love and affection as they are.

Fantastic indeed is the invention of the Congress rulers that love and affection, too, can be brought under compulsion and warning.

Coimbatore

Y. V. V.

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

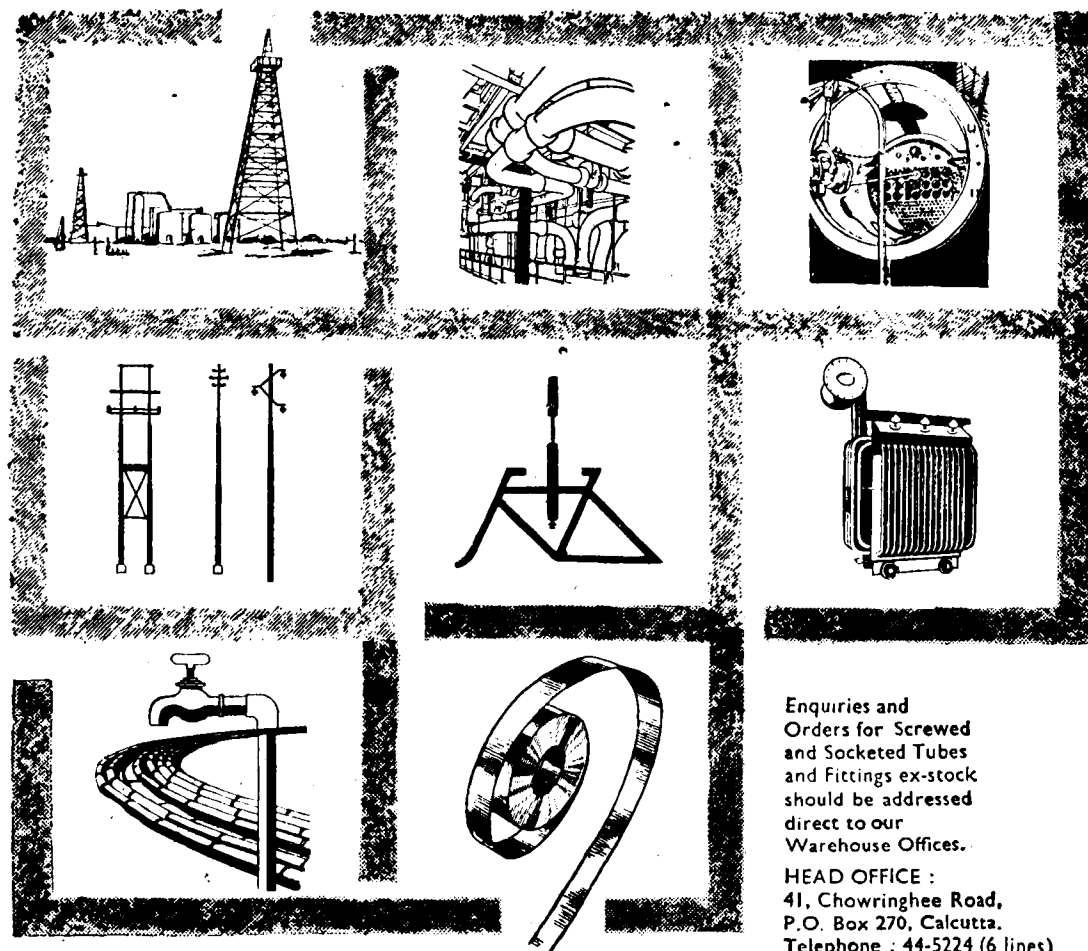
Sir,—The idea of co-operation is not a new thing in India; it is, in fact, in the very blood of Indians. But the Nehru Government is trying to popularize the Co-operative Movement through its corrupt and inefficient machinery, and thereby inviting a national catastrophe. If co-operative farming is enforced in the country, it is sure to create a national crisis in the sphere of our agrarian economy by forcing thousands of agricultural labourers out of employment leading to starvation, while the small landowners would be reduced to beggars.

Soviet Russia had tried it and failed to achieve the hoped-for results and ultimately was compelled to distribute land to the tillers for improving the production.

The instinct of ownership cannot be obliterated in man. Even Mr. Nehru cannot divest himself of instinct. Yet he ventures on a scheme where Stalin had failed. And that is the tragedy of our national life.

AREM MAHANTA

Ba'urghat (West Bengal).



GENERAL SERVICES Screwed and Socketed Tubes, Light, Medium and Heavy (Galvanised and Black) to I.S. 1239 (1958) upto and including 6" n.b., and Pipe Fittings. POWER Hot finished and Cold drawn Seamless and Electric Resistance Weld Boiler Tubes. POLES Tramway, Transmission and Lighting. PUBLIC SERVICES Air, Gas, Water and Sewage Mains. INDUSTRIAL Seamless and Electric Resistance Weld Tubes for Roller Conveyors and other industrial purposes. STEEL STRIP Cold Rolled Steel Strip for manufacturing purposes and High Tensile Steel Box Strapping.

Enquiries and Orders for Screwed and Socketed Tubes and Fittings ex-stock should be addressed direct to our Warehouse Offices.

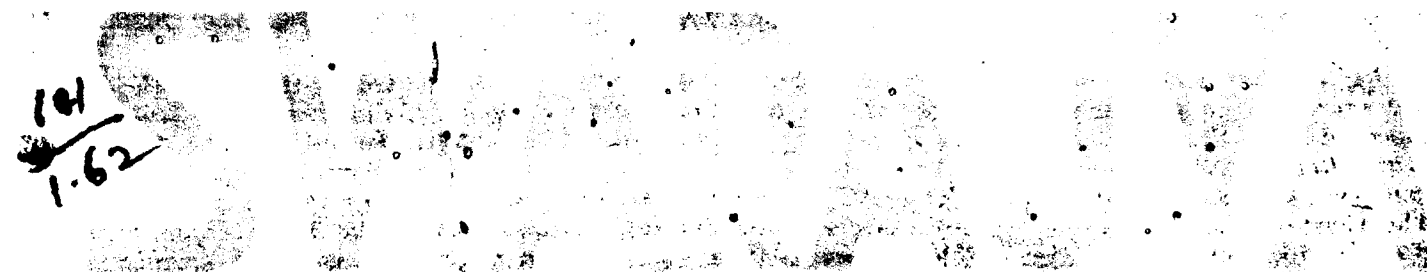
HEAD OFFICE :
41, Chowringhee Road,
P.O. Box 270, Calcutta.
Telephone : 44-5224 (6 lines)

SALES OFFICES AND WAREHOUSES :
Transport Depot Road,
CALCUTTA 27,
Telephone : 45-3611 & 12
18, Fosbery Road,
Sewri, BOMBAY 15,
Telephone : 76121 & 22
15/1, Asaf Ali Road,
NEW DELHI,
Telephone : 223097
WORKS :
Jamshedpur, Bihar

INDIAN TUBE

THE INDIAN TUBE COMPANY (1953) LIMITED
A Tata-Stewarts and Lloyds Enterprise

HTC-39



(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)

Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 26

MADRAS, DECEMBER 30, 1961

Price 15 nP

A LITTLE ARITHMETIC

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

If we could push 'socialism' through effectively to its goal and get all the incomes equally distributed, each one of us in India would get less than Rs. 25 a month! This is the socialist paradise, no story but correct arithmetic, worked out from government statistics. What government tells us is the per capita national income would be the share of each one of us, if equal distribution became the law. Now no one requires to be told that this would lead to national misery and not to national welfare. We have also to deduct all the vast administrative expenditure involved in working out socialism, and this would further reduce the net dividend.

If we do not go that far, but put a limit on the process and divide on the principle of equality only up to a desired point, we may get a little more than Rs. 25 a month each, but it would be undemocratic and untenable; because, putting into motion the principle of equality, you cannot stop with favouring only your favourites and leave the others in the *status quo ante*.

In spite of this laughable character of compulsory equal distribution through State policies, as arithmetically demonstrated above, the general fallacious idea persists in modified forms. Arbitrary levels are set, above which people should be forced to share. Every 'socialist' politician accepting the principle of moderation, sets a limit on wealth a little higher than

his own level! This modified socialism is democratically untenable as already explained.

Forceful sharing of wealth will not only be equivalent to forcible imposition of universal poverty, but will for lack of adequate motive for hard work and vigilance certainly cause a decline in the gross national product. We must, therefore, stop planning and dreaming welfare through redistribution by law or pillage, but should start thinking about how to make people produce more, so that the total income available for voluntary distribution may increase.

People cannot be induced to work and produce more unless we furnish an incentive, and an incentive that is adequate. We have now the opposite of this, a constant threat of what you produce being stolen by law in the shape of increased taxes and legalised expropriations. This is what is being brought about by the socialist pattern adopted by the Congress Party.

Distribution must be managed under freedom so that the incentives for production may be kept intact. The fundamental rights which were guaranteed in our original Constitution were not mere perversities of conservatism as our Congress dictators have been telling their gullible clientele, but were wisely conceived essentials for increased production. These rights are fundamental for progress and

prosperity everywhere in the world and at all times.

A state of equality, even when and if brought about, cannot last longer than a week, if even that. A system of continuous watch and re-distribution would be necessary to maintain the equality. Spies and officials maintained at heavy expense, corruption and tyranny would be the order of the day, as every one who has fled from the tyranny of communist regimes will be able to tell. If the continuous spying and accounting and legislating should indeed be successful, there would be absolutely no incentive to create, make, invent or build. Meanwhile the population will be increasing, making the dividend smaller and smaller. All this is simple and clear, but there is no limit to gullibility and deception under adult suffrage; and it becomes necessary to repeat the simple truth as often as the deceivers repeat their lying promises.

The Swatantra Party's objective is to give to the people of India good government which the Congress Party has failed to give and to restore the original freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution which have been greatly curtailed by subsequent amendments at the instance of the Congress Party. These freedoms are the basic incentives for work, civilization and progress.

The Supreme Court has recently delivered judgments striking down

the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act and quashing certain acquisition proceedings in Uttar Pradesh as being *ultra vires* of the Constitution even as it stands amended. The Congress Party has no respect for the Constitution. The Swatantra Party's objective is to restore respect for the Constitution, to get annulled the amendments already passed and to prevent further Statist attempts to whittle down the freedoms inscribed in the Constitution solemnly adopted by the nation in 1950. The Swatantra Party has been described as a freedom-party, as a conservative party, as a party of vested interests. But it can be most correctly des-

GRANDIOSE IMPULSE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The American expert (M. H. Slocum) responsible for the Bhakra Nangal Dam died a month ago while he was busy repairing breaches caused through amendment of projects and substitution of material by the fraternity of contractors busy with fortune-building. Now comes the news that it has been decided to "beautify" the environments, as if it were an urgent necessity to improve the landscape before fully fortifying the structure against future hazards! In the Sunday Soliloquies of the *Times of India* we have N.J.N. (the editor's name is N. J. Nanporia) giving some details about the plans for aesthetic decoration. The authorities have booked the services of the famous French designer La Corbusier who had beautified Chandigarh with stupendous architecture containing living quarters for Indian families, whose routine and standards of living are not of the order contemplated by Monsieur. There can be no question about the originality and genius of the French artist who, after a separation of many years from the Indian scene, is returning to India to beautify the surroundings which Mr. Slocum had apparently forgotten to adorn during his tenure on earth. N.J.N. states that one

cribed as a party standing for the upholding of the Constitution. The Constitution adopted by the nation in 1950 was in every sense a *Swatantra* Constitution which is now sought to be distorted in order to establish Statism. This can and must be prevented by at least refusing to give to the Congress Party a two-thirds majority in Parliament which it now has and uses dictatorially for amending out of shape all the *Swatantras* inscribed in the Constitution. If the nation desires to keep the Constitution at least from further mischief, it must see that at least a third of the members returned to Parliament are Swatantra members and not Congress or communist.

lakh of rupees net is the fee for the expert, incidental expenses apart, which the visitor could expect according to custom. Somebody seems to have started the hare that there should be a foreign wizard for the purpose, but the question arises whether India is so destitute of garden-designers and horticulturists that we should seek the aid of La Corbusier. The country has the experience of a hundred years of forestry if the problem of planting trees happens to be formidable; and as for the laying out of parks, could any beautification be considered unsatisfactory after a look at Shalimar Gardens? The masters of national destiny must, however, be having a sense of the picturesque together with the glow of innate snobbery enabling them to say that the big guys of the world of art are being employed for monumental execution at fabulous cost. The Medicci of Venice used to rejoice in engaging the services of exquisite sculptors and painters for the ornamentation of their palaces and their cities, so that no successor could surpass their fame.

When India talks so much of talent at home, it seems extravagant to import stylistic skill, however exceptional in quality. If

in some gigantic structure, the Planning Commission or its Chairman feels like installing the picture of a dove, (the bird is the symbol of peace though conceited and quarrelsome in its habitat), is it necessary to go in for a costly contract with Picasso so that an investment of a couple of lakhs could be involved, besides expenses-account? Of course, tourists conducted to Bhakra Dam to realize the strides of Indian progress in the last fifteen years could be proudly told that the parks and the landscape in the vicinity of the head-works had been laid out by La Corbusier whose design of offices and residential flats the visitors, with cameras slung round their shoulders, could later behold on their journey to Simla during the lunch-halt at Chandigarh. Even assuming that Indian artists in landscape and garden-projects are slightly inferior to the Frenchman engaged, could we not be content with their execution at a cheaper cost and with the advantage of encouragement to our own folk? But then somebody got fired with the idea that the superb and the spectacular should be obtained from the international market of all talents. Rupees one lakh is, of course, a flea-bite compared with crores of blue chips on the boil during India's miraculous "transition". It is just a trifle, equivalent to a write-off in official disposal of big accounts during gigantic national reconstruction; but all the same it is a bit thick that the cause of 'welfare' should thus be subserved by whimsical patronage in grandiose moments.



The Nation's Best

BENGAL ELECTRICALS CO.
MADRAS-17 — BANGALORE-3

BEWARE OF WASTING VOTES!

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

With a deposit of Rs. 250 for the Assembly and Rs. 500 for Parliament, anyone can stand for elections. The prize is so considerable, particularly for those who are unemployed or poorly paid, that there is a rush of candidates in Bihar for the Congress ticket, about eight names of candidates for each seat being sent up by the Provincial Selection Committee. The candidates of the other parties, whose prospects are not certain, may be less, but one party is determined to put up candidates in every constituency just to amass an all-India total of votes. The Independent candidates will be disclosed only after nominations but their number may be greater than in previous elections, for three reasons. First, the disappointed Congress candidates are themselves standing as Independents or putting up relations to do so. Secondly, the growing unpopularity of the Congress has encouraged the belief that the Congress will lose a good proportion of its votes which are there for anyone's taking. Thirdly, the

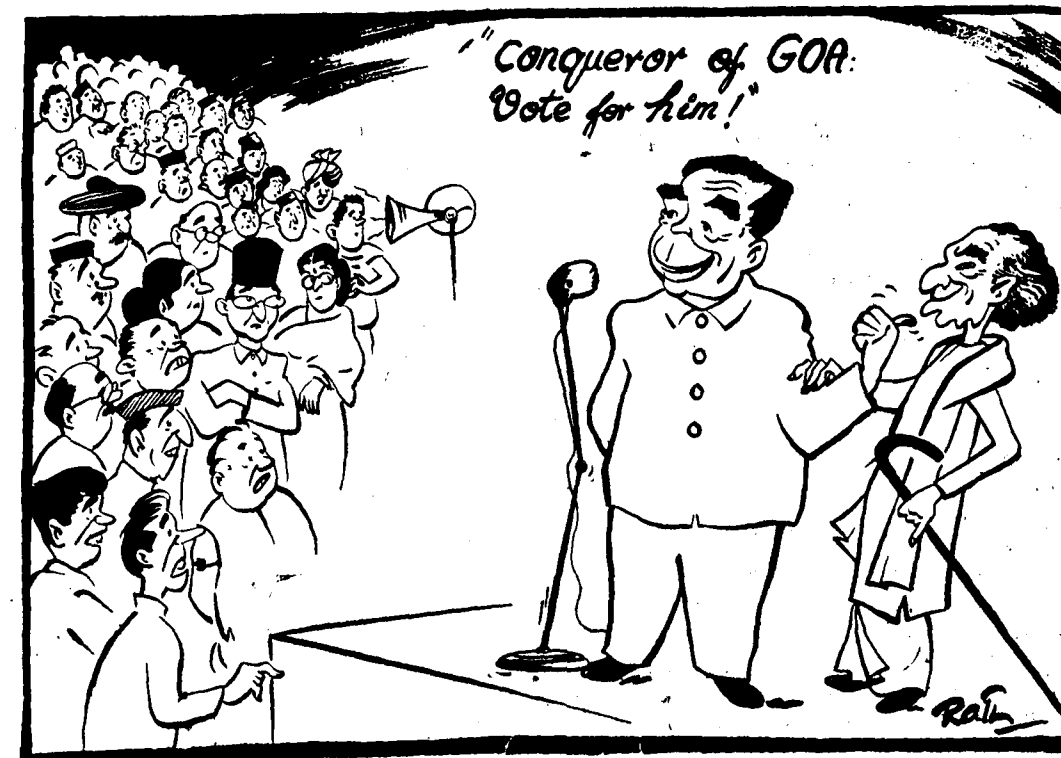
entry of the Swatantra Party and the fuller emergence of the Jana Sangh Party have encouraged the Independents, to think that a small slice of votes—even those of their own castes—will do to win, because the totals of the candidates of national parties will be greatly reduced.

No one seems to think of general objectives. The Congress has set up candidates in all constituencies, without considering its chances, for two reasons; first, because by running more horses than others, it hopes to get enough at least to make a majority, and secondly, in the clash of other parties, its own power and money will tell. The communists think that because the Congress has followed the communist programme so faithfully, they can depend not only on the assured votes of their members but also of those who constitute the pink section in the Congress and in the public. The Swatantra Party is depending on the failure of Congress policies, particularly in the field of economics and foreign policy. The P.S.P.

deludes itself as a happy solution to all this confusion, while the communal parties think that the hard core of their followers will be encouraged by the dismal prospect for other parties.

The simple question which other parties and Independents have to ask is whether they wish communism by itself or by return of the Congress which is committed to communism, to win. If so, every vote they take away from candidates who are likely to win against the communists or the Congress is against their objective to contain communism. The calculus of election votes is not simple. Broadly, the first 'theorem' is that every vote not cast for the party which advances the interests of the voter is a vote cast for the party against him. The importance of this arises from the fact that only about 57 per cent of the votes are cast. The second theorem is that a vote cast for a candidate who does not win is a vote cast against a candidate nearest to him in objectives, who could have won. The third theorem is that the larger the number of candidates, the easier it is for candidates with an assured number of votes, particularly those of organized parties, to win. Fourthly, the larger the number of candidates, the more is the voter likely to be confused about the different candidates' objectives. And fifthly, for every vote cast for personal reasons, like those of caste or locality, the less is the candidate served in respect of his material interests.

Two conclusions arise, first that the Independent candidate frustrates democracy, because his personal ambitions prevent the proper polarization of votes.



CURRENT EVENTS :

Before the liquidation of Duncan, a character in *Macbeth* says: "If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well it were done quickly." The writing on the wall being clear, the Portuguese have surrendered in Goa without bloodshed. A nation intent on military sanctions does not usually announce the movement of troops, and there was natural fear in India whether excessive publicity about plans of invasion might not end in a temporary anti-climax. Until April the Himalayan terrain is absolutely snow-bound and there is every prospect of a pull-out from Katanga after a certain degree of pacification, so that our fighting strength could be augmented against a danger which the Prime Minister himself conceded as being a greater threat to India's Independence and integrity than a hundred Goas put together. The Defence Minister, who had said that the people of Goa should first revolt and free themselves for our army to intervene, has

BEWARE OF WASTING VOTES! ...

The Congress won the Orissa elections perhaps because its own dissidents took away the votes of those dissatisfied with it. Without them these votes would have gone to the parties ranged against the Congress. In the coming elections, the national parties are better organized, for which reason the prospects of Independents are poorer, *though the mischief they may do to other parties may be greater*. Secondly, parties other than the Congress and communists, if they recognize that it is their common aim to disturb the present position, should not reduce each other's votes. Therefore, the central organizations should instruct their candidates to withdraw where their chances are visibly worse than those of other candidates against the Congress and communists. Otherwise, other parties themselves will help the Congress and communists to win.

explained that inside work in Goa had completely paralysed the civil administration and that, therefore, the pre-condition he had mentioned for the entry of soldiers on the spot had been fulfilled. Incidentally, the Prime Minister found occasion to complain that Rajaji was guilty of "a high objectionable thing" when he had remarked that the main peril called for earlier tackling and that the fanfare about armies, even private armies, descending on Goa appeared to be a diversionary order in relation to the timing of D-Day. There is nothing to justify such indignation on party-lines suggestive of second-class patriotism or unworthy tactics as insinuated by the Prime Minister.

Having come into the possession of Goa and other enclaves by the bloodless take-over, we should be prepared for legal anomalies as in the case of Pondicherry which was recently declared by the Supreme Court as being under foreign jurisdiction. After the battle of Dien Bien Phu the French agreed on the truce of 1954, thoroughly exhausted, and the socialist Prime Minister Menderes France wanted breathing time for tackling the next door problem of Algeria. After a technical resistance in Pondicherry and other French possessions, the authorities there proclaimed that they had militarily yielded to *force majeure*, thus putting out of record any claim of cession by consent. The result is that we are still asking for *de jure* recognition, a possibility New Delhi recently read into an ambiguous statement of three French visitors. According to French Organic Law not even a square metre of defined territory can be alienated without elaborate statutory consent in Paris. Succumbing to superior forces is a different matter according to French Law; hence this delay in *de jure* transfer. So haughty is President de Gaulle that all his concept of international deals is so swayed by the old slogan "To the Glory of

France!" that it would be a miracle if he officiates at a complete legal surrender for which we may have to await the advent of the Sixth Republic.

Not dissimilar would be the example of Goa where the Defence Minister Mr. Krishna Menon says that "the job is finished". *Consummatus*? The Portuguese in Goa have laid down arms and the Military Governor functions, but the Law of the Portuguese Republic does not provide for any relinquishment of territory irrespective of the distance of its transmarine location. Not that we should lose our sleep when Mr. Krishna Menon himself asserts after victory that all means are justifiable in the efforts to throw out colonial rulers, and that in the case of Goa, Might has had to reinforce Right so that we have to pipe down in our message of non-violence which now has to be recast into the maxim that we do not rule out *himsa* to gain ends which we needst must win:

The good old rule
Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
That they should take, who have
the power,
And they should keep who can.

The controversy about the fair allotment of time and space in government media for different parties in the electioneering season is not likely to be settled to the satisfaction of all with hardly seven weeks ahead for the polling day. That the ruling party is very much above the practice of sportsmanship in the contest for equalizing opportunities has become patent in every artifice the Congress adopts for the success of its own ticket-holders. Publicity media is under their control and probably the only means of giving a level run would be to decide that no Government media, (broadcasts, documentaries, hired publicity-vans, etc.) should be employed by any party in canvassing votes in the special circumstances of the wretched case in India.

RYOTWARI OWNERS PROTECTED BY THE SUPREME COURT

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Supreme Court has given a decision which will go far to protect ryotwari owners of land in India.

Under Article 13 of the Constitution of India no law is valid if it contravenes any of the provisions of the Constitution relating to the fundamental property and occupational rights of citizens. Under Article 14 neither the Union Government nor any State government is free to practise any discrimination or deny to anyone the equal protection of the laws. Any law vitiated by discriminatory provisions will be declared invalid by the courts and will be void under this article. The main provision declaring this is Article 31. This article was recast once to suit the policies of the Government but it was found not enough, and the Congress majority in power passed further amendments and incorporated them in Sections 31-A and 31-B. The agrarian laws newly adopted at the instance of the Congress Party in all the States were full of provisions which contravened the relevant clauses of the Constitution as originally adopted in 1950. Hence these amendments were obtained by the party in power.

Before the Congress Party adopted socialism, the policy was to abolish zamindaris and other intermediaries but leave alone ryotwari owners of land. Then came further legislation in furtherance of forcible deprivation of property. Estates (or zamindaris as they are popularly called) were deprived of the protection guaranteed in Articles 14, 19 and 31 by the incorporation of a new Article 31-A. And 31-B validated all laws already passed in spite of their being in contravention of the provisions of the Constitution. These articles were thought to cover and validate a number of expropriatory laws recently passed, the Kerala Agrarian Act initiated by the Communist Party being one of them.

The recent judgment of the Supreme Court has, however, rightly struck down the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act. This Act laid down discriminatory provisions under the notion (as stated above) that Article 31-A could cover and validate such legislation. But the Supreme Court has given its decision that although such legislation could be protected by Art. 31-A when it dealt with zamindaris, it was invalid and could not be supported when the attempt was made against ryotwari owners of land, which was the case in point. This decision of the highest court of the land has come as a great relief to the victims threatened by the recent expropriatory laws passed in all the States to carry out the Congress Party's socialist plans.

Now therefore no ryotwari land can be touched in violation of the fundamental rights guaranteed in Articles 13, 14, 19 and 31. This decision of the Supreme Court has put a complete barricade against the campaign of legislative expropriation started by the Congress Party.

Another decision of the Supreme Court in a case from Uttar Pradesh has also upset the plans of the Congress Party. The authority given to the State for compulsory acquisition of land can be exercised under the Land Acquisition Acts only when such acquisition is intended for a *public purpose*. 'Whereas it is expedient' was the old formula for introducing legislation. 'Public benefit' according to socialist doctrine is nothing different from a declaration of opinion as to soundness of policy and is only a substitute for the phrase 'whereas it is expedient' in the old formula of utilitarianism. A public 'purpose' is very different from vaguely conceived public benefit according to the socialist or other doctrine of the party in power. The Congress

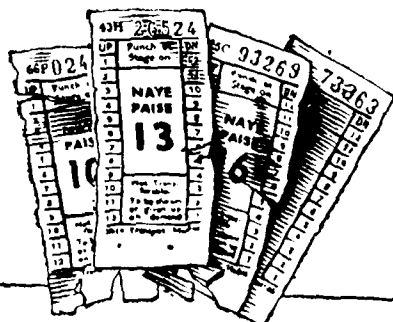
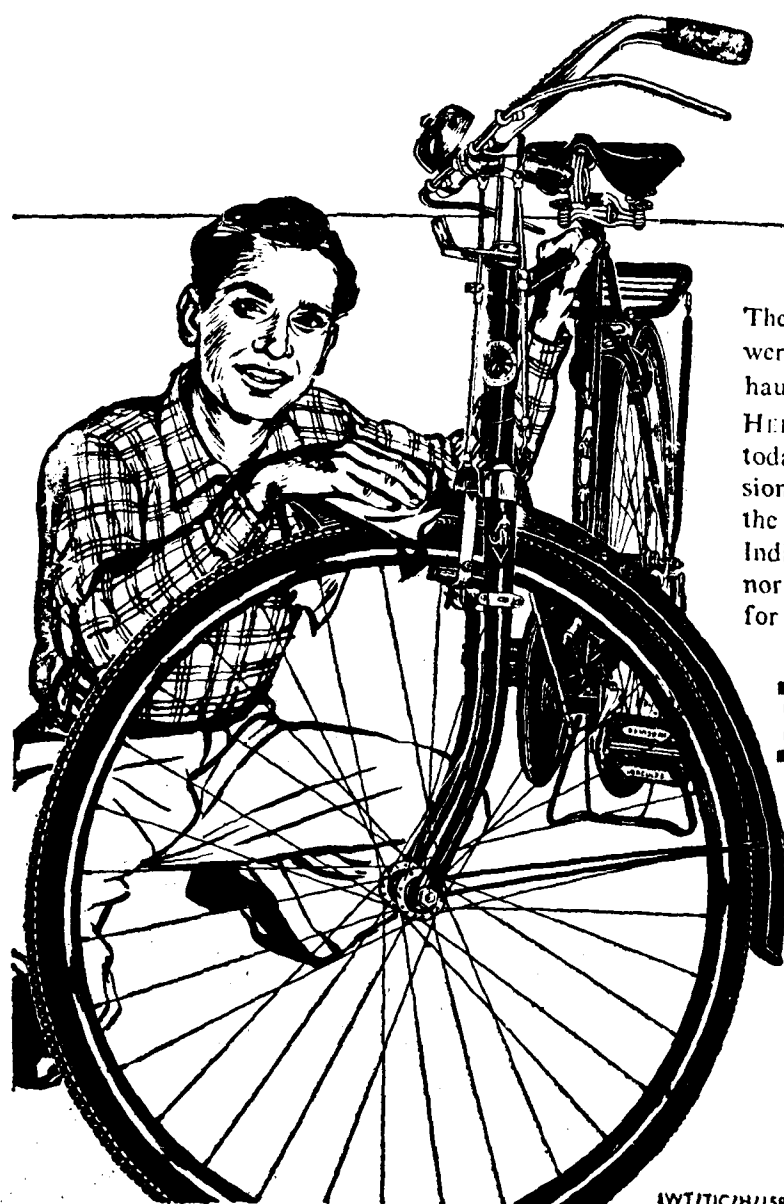
Party desires to reduce disparities in wealth and it proceeds to pass expropriatory laws. But its egalitarian doctrine cannot be treated as a public purpose for justifying compulsory acquisition, although it may be so stated in the objects and reasons of the expropriatory law. The Supreme Court has decided in the U.P. case that the public purpose must be like a hospital, a reading room, a library, an educational institution, or such other concrete thing. The power of compulsory acquisition would not cover a law that seeks to take one man's land in order to distribute it among others, according to socialist or electoral plans in the name of public benefit.

The courts have, by an amendment of the Constitution, been deprived of the power to examine the reasonableness of the restrictions and infringements proposed as well as of the power to enquire into the fairness of the compensations awarded. In most, if not all, of the cases of the new expropriatory laws the compensation fixed is grossly inadequate and amounts to a fraud on the powers given to the legislature. These drastic inroads into the powers of the judiciary have been legalised by regular Constitutional amendments obtained by the majority party, which the Supreme Court cannot question.

One may be sure that the Congress Party will seek further to amend the Constitution to overcome the recent decisions of the Supreme Court protecting ryotwari owners. No amendment of the Constitution can be made unless it has the support of a two-thirds majority. Hence the importance of having in Parliament an Opposition of at least one-third the strength of Parliament to resist violations of the original Constitution on the strength of Congress and communist members' votes. A majority is required to oust the Congress Party from office, but even a strength of one-third is enough to block changes being made in the Constitution and would be enough to prevent further mischief.

"I spent less than
a week's bus-fare on
my **Hercules** last year"

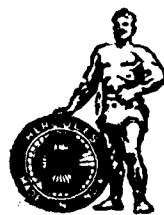
says Krishnamoorthy



The three and a half rupees he spent were just for routine annual overhauling.

HERCULES is the finest bicycle built today. Every component is precision-made to exacting standards at the largest, best-equipped factory in India. That's why with just the normal care, HERCULES serves you for years together.

Hercules
is more than a cycle—
It's a lifetime companion



Made by
T. I. CYCLES OF INDIA
Ambattur, Near Madras

JWT/TIC/H/1582a

TRANSIENCY OF POLITICAL REPUTATION

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The year 1961 is fast receding into the limbo of oblivion. The next to follow is in the offing. Whether the New Year revives old desires or at least removes old fears depends entirely on the will of Providence. It is but natural that the passing hour should find us all reflective.

Indeed there was much in the content of the dying year to make us pause and ponder. It is of the utmost significance that the Nehru Government has not let 1961 slip beneath its feet without unfolding before the world's eye a completely consolidated India, except for what the Chinese have claimed as their own. A liberated Goa may well be described as Mr. Nehru's Christmas gift to the people, while some would like to treat it as a sop thrown to the Indian electorate. That does not seem to be fair to him as the leader of a party which is already pre-occupied in the division of spoils. No fresh spectacular triumph was perhaps necessary to ensure the perpetuation of his primacy in our peculiar scheme of things. It is a different matter that the liberation of Goa from the Portuguese almost seems to have come to mean the liberation of Mr. Krishna Menon from his opponents.

It is certainly his day. He has got the crown—and left the thorns to Mr. Nehru. For, Western reactions to Mr. Nehru on what is still called the 'Goa question', single him out for attack and abuse, leaving Mr. Krishna Menon alone. The question is not whether the Western Powers are fair to him at all: the fact is, however, unpalatable, that he has come in for extremely adverse attention. His political victory is supposed to have been achieved at the cost of his hitherto hardly disputed moral authority as an international mentor. Rightly or wrongly (wrongly as some of us think) the fond image of Mr. Nehru as an apostle of Peace in the line of his own Master, has been rudely shattered.

It is extraordinary how transient political reputations are! It was just a little over a month ago that he was hailed by no less than President Kennedy as a man cast in the mould of two of his most illustrious predecessors. And today we are asked to believe that he has fallen from the heights, violated the code and shown his feet of clay. "Other days, other heroes," as they say.

Not less extraordinary is the violent (not non-violent) shifts in political attachments. We find Mr. Khrushchov who cold-shouldered Mr. Nehru (the 'envoy' from Belgrade) grasping his hand warmly over the fall of the Bastille of colonialism on the Indian soil. And tomorrow, we may find

President Kennedy applauding Mr. Nehru as enthusiastically, if Mr. Nehru will be equally resolute in throwing the Chinese out of the Indian territory. Whether that will at all happen is the question. One has perhaps to await the general election of 1967, as by then our defences will have been sufficiently strengthened. Meanwhile, there should be some satisfaction that Mr. Nehru has, by bringing about the end of colonialism in India, assumed the leadership of the Afro-Asian nations.

It is, however, the West that poses a problem to him and finds him rather rattled. He cannot afford to lose its goodwill if he is keen (as he is) on implementing the Third Plan. He knows that he cannot do without foreign aid, though he has not of course

BOOKS FOR THE TOURIST

Well produced and profusely illustrated, these guide books have all the information, including routes, rates, and accommodation details:

	Price Rs. nP.		Price Rs. nP.
East India Resorts	2.80	Guides to Amritsar, Banaras, Gwalior, Lucknow & Mandu	0.50 each
Guides to Delhi & Rajasthan	2.50 each	Guide to Bombay	0.25
Guide to Kashmir	1.75	The Handbook of India	2.50
Guides to Bombay State, Calcutta, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, South India (Madras and Andhra Pradesh)	1.50 each	Hyderabad: A Guide to Art and Architecture	1.50
Guide to Kulu and Kangra	1.00	Festivals of India	1.50
Hill Stations of South India and Western India	1.00 each	Panorama of India	1.00
Guide to Agra and Fatehpur Sikri	1.25	Set of above 24 books for Rs. 31.75	
		Also available	
		India—A Souvenir Volume	25.00
		India—Pictorial Survey	6.50

Add postage & forwarding etc.

Minimum 10 nP. or 12 1/2% of cost

Registration 50 nP. extra

Orders worth Rs. 25 or above are sent post free

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

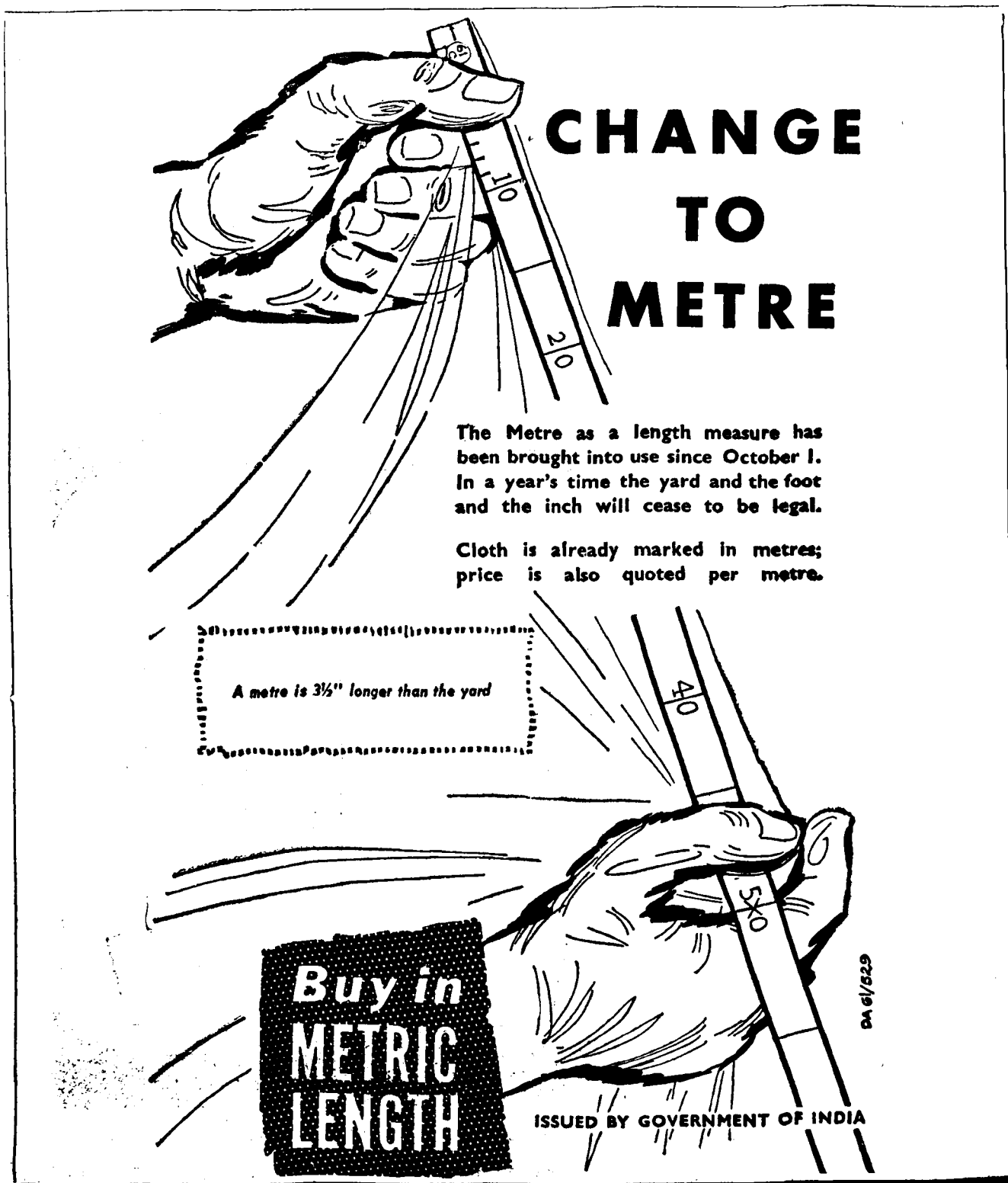
POST BOX NO. 2011 OLD SECRETARIAT, DELHI - 6

wanted it with any strings. He will not act in a huff. It is so significant that Mrs. Kennedy's New Year visit is very much on the agenda.

Nor has he, amidst his pre-occupations, neglected party interests. He is credited with having already chosen the Chief-

Ministers-to-be and seen to it that the dice is loaded in their favour in the matter of selection of candidates. The decision at higher levels to return the present Congress President to his own Pradesh is reported to have resulted in the re-union of Mr. D. Sanjivayya and Mr. A. S. Raju, as a safeguard

against Mr. Sanjiva Reddy's reascendancy. One must always be prepared for such surprises, nor should one overlook the possibility of other surprises at the polls. History, they say, does not (always) repeat itself, though historians are willing to repeat each other!



Dear Reader

The *New York Times* is one of the most, if not the most, independent organs giving world-wide expression to international thought, independent not only in the general sense, but free from bias and prejudices arising out of nationality. India cannot afford to ignore criticism or advice coming from such a quarter. "In the world's present state," said the *New York Times* on Dec. 18, "it is both tragic and childish to invoke force when all that is needed is patience and orderly process". India's action (regarding Goa), it wrote, "aroused dismay and consternation in the administration (in Washington). The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, has abruptly answered peace appeals from President Kennedy and from the UN acting Secretary-General U. Thant, by sending troops into the little Portuguese enclave of Goa. The explanations are not compelling. Apparently the Portuguese have been strengthening their forces in Goa and Mr. Nehru speaks of 'provocative attacks'. But it is hard to see what damage the tiny Portuguese units could do to anything except India's pride. Yesterday's invasion was a long way from the saintly Mahatma's policy of passive resistance. India's exasperation with Portuguese obstinacy, by the pressures on Mr. Nehru with a national election approaching, is understandable enough. It is nevertheless a serious blot on India's record as champion of peace that she should now resort to a military invasion of Goa."

The American government had resolved to call a UN Security Council session on the matter, if Portugal did not do so right away. Portugal appealed for such a session (at the time of writing this—Dec. 19), but a Russian veto came to the assistance of Mr. Nehru. No cartoon can do full justice to the contradictions of our international peace policy arising out of Mr. Nehru's action. India has helped to undermine

the prestige and power of the UN Security Council. It may not be apparent at once but we have paid very heavily in enlightened world opinion for this clap-trap Goa action. India has totally lost the moral power to raise her voice against the use of military power. She can no longer speak as she used to. The veto of the anti-colonialist Soviet Power in the Security Council came to Mr. Nehru's assistance but it is a *damnum haereditas*, a gift which further complicates India's place in the counsels of the world. Some people think that the Soviet Empire is the greatest colonial empire in the world today. China's congratulation on the victorious conclusion of the action against Goa is not entirely disinterested or without serious meaning. It is easy for our representatives in America to shower words of detraction on Mr. Adlai Stevenson and have them cabled to India. But Mr. Adlai Stevenson's reaction is America's reaction.

The Portuguese colony in Goa was an offence to Indian nationalism. But it was not a greater offence than China's exploits on the Himalayan border, certainly not greater than the offence of our customs as to untouchability. Gandhiji abstained from advising force against untouchability, though he detested the latter as a deadly sin. He did not desire that bad things should be ended by bad means, for he foresaw that this would lead to a worse state than what we wanted to improve. Our nationalism has, I fear, led us into impatience at the wrong moment, when in the international world there is trouble brewing everywhere, and we have a mission for promoting peace and a special qualification for fulfilling that mission. The moment may have been thought just the time by those who had an eye on the elections, but, from the international angle, it was a very wrong moment.

Articles published in SWARAJYA, unless specifically marked copyright, may be reproduced in journals, in whole or in part, with or without acknowledgment.

The justification for holding the elections to the Lok Sabha simultaneously with the elections to the State legislatures is public economy and the convenience of candidates. As against this there are fundamental objections of principle and this ought to outweigh the other considerations of economy and expediency.

The issues that should be considered by the electorate in the two sets of elections fall into totally different categories. National issues which should be the subject matter of attention in the Lok Sabha elections are overwhelmed by the feelings on local issues, when things are mixed up in the simultaneous campaigning and polling. The appeal to the same electorate, at the same time, on both the national and the local issues leads to the reducing of the Lok Sabha candidates to depend on and encourage parochial emotions. They become more or less stooges of the candidates for the local assemblies. The direct elections to the Lok Sabha are reduced in reality to an indirect election, as the candidates for Parliament are tied up each to a team of five to seven candidates for the State legislatures, who contest and campaign on local issues. The Lok Sabha candidate is not quite free to explain and press national issues of the greatest importance and divide the electorate on those issues. He has willy-nilly to take sides on local issues which bear more closely on the interests of the voters. A cynicism is developed which is not conducive to democracy. A Lok Sabha candidate graphically put an example to me. He said he may win or lose his seat in Parliament on the question of whether a bus-stand should be in Kamalapuram village or Vedanattam market town, because of the acute question whether the consequent land acquisition profits or losses should go to the

one or the other. Nothing else mattered in the constituency!

*

Of course the expense of Parliamentary candidates will, as things stand now, greatly increase if the Lok Sabha elections are to be held independently of the State elections. But this consideration should give precedence to principle. A municipal election should not be mixed up with an election to the State legislature. Similarly the State elections ought not to be mixed up with the Lok Sabha elections.

If the State should undertake, at its own expense, the greater part of the expenditure which now falls on the candidates, resulting in an undesirable race in extravagance, the total inconvenience and cost to State as well as candidate would be greatly reduced. It is to the interest of the nation that the competitive extravagance now indulged in by candidates and the dominance of money power should be reduced to the minimum by a nationalization of the common part of the electoral procedure. The elections to the central Parliament and those relating to the local legislatures should be held separately and not simultaneously as now.

*

There would be some meaning and reason to combine the election to the State legislatures with an election to the Council of States in Delhi. The Rajya Sabha (or Council of States) was intended to reflect the opinions and interests of the various States. This

object has been frustrated by majority parties utilising the Rajya Sabha as a basket in which to throw all those aspirants whom they do not wish to or cannot, by reason of pressure, provide room for in the State legislatures, or to provide an easy and relatively cheap way to help favoured individuals to attain M.P. status.

The State elections may well be linked, by some method, to the procedure of returning members to the Rajya Sabha from the respective States so that the Council of States may be a real reflection of the interests of the various States. A great deal of thought has yet to be bestowed on setting right the electoral arrangements so as to secure due reflection of public opinion on the issues relevant to each legislature as well as to reduce national expenditure and minimize corrupt practices.

*

Those who have approved of the language formula for schools all over India do not appear to have adequately considered the effect of the formula in regard to the study of Sanskrit. If it results in squeezing out Sanskrit as seems inevitable, the formula may result in injuring the cause of integration and the imparting of moral values. A basic equipment which would enable young men to read Sanskrit literature would bind all India together in a reverence for the past and respect for spiritual values. But the three language formula for the schools combined with the official drive for Hindi, which is kept up notwithstanding all that is stated by the highest authorities, will squeeze out the chances for Sanskrit in Southern India where classical literature of India has continued so far to be popular in spite of the temptations to neglect it. If the three language formula becomes the rule the only place where Sanskrit will be studied will be in purely spiritual study institutions. Sanskrit will be isolated from the life of the generality of our youth. This would be a tragedy. If we desire a synthesis between the spiritual content of

India's culture and modern progress we must not do anything to injure but encourage what will equip our young men, or at least a large number of them, to pursue the reading of Sanskrit literature.

*

There are indications that in order to prop up the Goa case, a witch-hunt will be started about Pakistan's intrigues linked up with Goa. All these stunts may be very useful for purposes of the elections but not for the permanent interests of peace and goodwill, and the defence of India against real and serious border dangers.

*

The conqueror of Goa has opened his Khaki Campaign at Bolpur. Whatever may be the use to which Sri Nehru may put it with the help of the rich English language I respectfully submit he has fallen into a trap. He has definitely, but let us hope not permanently, disabled himself and India from talking any longer about means and ends or the avoidance at any cost of the arbitrament of force for which he had stood all along in every case of liberation and the righting of wrongs. He can no longer do this without raising a cynical laugh against us. China's case for the use of force to recover the islands off her mainland and the thorn in her flesh, the island of Formosa, and ever so many other claims and cases will have to be tackled by others if at all, not by either Nehru or Krishna Menon as hitherto. The question is whether this great loss of moral power can be accounted as worthwhile in the calculation of net gains and losses, especially if we take account of relative urgencies. I fear we shall now be pushed more and more into the communist camp whatever may be the skill of words and the acknowledged richness of the English language and the liberal hospitality of the newspaper columns.

C.R.

NOW YOU CAN INDENT FOR

SRI GANESH RAM'S
CHAKRAM
BRAND PICKLES
(To suit Western Tastes)
HOT-SOFT &
SWEET
In 3 Tastes (14 Varieties)
It's A 777 BRAND
Food Product

Prepared by:
M/s. R. S. N. IYER & R. S. G. IYER
Enquiries to:
SRI GANESH RAM & CO., MADRAS-1
BARCOTINE the Chocolate Flavoured
Food Beverage for all.

COUNTRY GREATER THAN LEADER

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

The party system is a necessary evil in a democracy, particularly in a large country like ours with a preponderantly uneducated electorate. But while we have perforce to live with it, it does not follow that we have to acquiesce in its corruption by politicians for personal, sectional and party advantage at the cost of overall national interests and public morality. Every fundamental right is limited by the demands of public morality even where it is left undefined by law.

The general political situation in the country has for some time now been deteriorating at a rapid pace. We are fast approaching a state of crisis. If the intelligentsia do not rally and reverse the trend of affairs and take control in a democratic, healthy way, public order will not only be gravely threatened but also there is every probability of communists seizing power with foreign assistance, with the inevitable loss of national independence. This is not a groundless fear.

When Stalin was asked for help by the Telengana communist terrorists, it is said he asked them to look at the map and say how in a land-locked area like Telengana foreign assistance could be sent! In China, he could send assistance on account of land contiguity in Yenan province in the north. Today, thanks to our inept (and worse) diplomacy and foreign policy of softness to the communist bloc and general unpreparedness, a vast "Yenan" has made its appearance from Ladakh to NEFA with a land contiguity over a live border of 2,000 miles.

The Prime Minister seems to be still expecting Soviet Russia, out of softness to him and his "Bhai Bhai reception" to Khrushchev and company, to check the Chinese Reds in their designs on India. This is a futile and perilous thought. The Russians had a mutual non-aggression Pact with Marshall Chiang Kai-Shek for years before they openly sided the Chinese Reds after the Japanese collapse. The treaties that the Soviet have scrapped unscrupulously and treacherously in their career of expansion may be counted in hundreds! A time is approaching when the Russians will step up their support to the Indian Communist Party and undermine Nehru's position in the country and Government.

An indication of this coming change in Soviet policy is to be had in the Soviet attitude to the national bourgeoisie. Stalin, in accordance with Leni-

nist strategy, had marked the national bourgeoisie for liquidation after a period of temporary collaboration where necessary. The Soviet *Encyclopaedia* described Mahatma Gandhi as a reactionary collaborator with foreign imperialism and defender of the feudal and bourgeois classes! But since the "Bhai Bhai" days of 1955, the line had softened and Gandhi and Nehru were approved as leaders of the national bourgeoisie with whom communism could co-operate until the time was ripe for converting their bourgeois democracy into the final stage of full proletarian dictatorship under the hegemony of the Communist Party representing the working class. The peasants will by then have been assimilated to the proletariat through the liquidation of landownership and the formation of "co-operatives", rather collective farms as the universal pattern of agricultural work and life.

Today we have Soviet journals reverting to the old doctrine of criticism of the national bourgeoisie. The 'line' is given even to neutralist countries like India, Syria, Burma and Indonesia to step up their opposition to capitalist democracy and to demand liquidation of foreign capital and full socialization of domestic industry and agriculture. The fact that there is no domestic capital and no middle class in the newly enfranchised African States has reinforced this trend. The Soviets now look to full communism and collaboration with the illiterate masses in Africa. We can expect, therefore, a decisive increase in the virulence and intensity of communist campaigns of subversion and demand for liquidation of the old free order in the coming period. To add to this internal crisis, communist China may make further inroads into our territory across the border.

It is reliably reported that when Sri Nehru met Mr. Khrushchev last time in Moscow after the Belgrade neutralist conference, a huge map of the Himalayan ranges was displayed on the wall behind Khrushchev, which prominently showed (for Nehru to see) Ladakh and NEFA and a part of northern Assam as part of China! It is clear that Russia is committed to endorse the Chinese territorial claims against India.

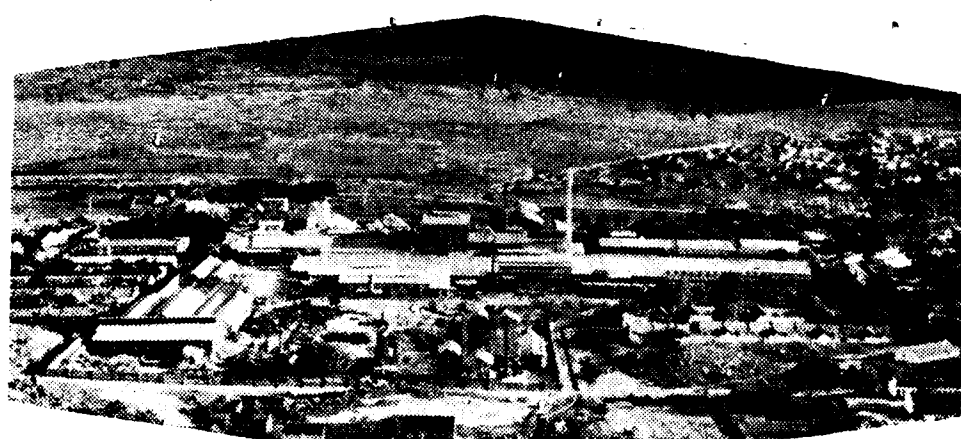
The Third Five Year Plan will accentuate the strain on living conditions and step up the price level still higher. The Congress has mentioned its intention of imposing ceilings on non-agri-

cultural incomes as well! Private capital will come under greater strain. Plantations, Indian and foreign, are likely to be nationalized. The public sector will expand, narrowing the scope for private enterprise. Under these circumstances, the normal customs of party discipline have become inapplicable. The intelligentsia in general and Congress legislators in particular have to do an agonizing appraisal of the situation. They should make a great effort to understand the real meaning and outcome of the Marxist socialism being foisted on the country through the misguided enthusiasm of the Prime Minister. They should make an equally thorough study of international communism. Those who come to see the tragic error of present policies should obey their conscience without hesitation and quit the Congress Party.

Or, as a short term measure, they should summon their integrity and courage and patriotism and ask Sri Nehru to resign his office and choose a new leader from among members of the Central Congress Parliamentary Party. The country is greater than the leader. If such critics are in a minority in that body, they should resign their primary Congress membership and join Opposition parties. Only honest, convinced Leftists should remain in the Congress. Sri Nehru has already asked those not convinced of socialism to leave the party. He is right!

RAM MOHAN
TRAVEL SERVICE
THE FOREMOST NAME
In National and International
TRAVEL
FOR 32 YEARS
Kempegowda Rd., BANGALORE-9
362, N. S. C. Bose Rd., MADRAS-1

PANDIT
D. GOPALACHARI
JEEVAMRUTHAM
FOR HEALTH & STRENGTH
AYURVEDASRAMAM
(PRIVATE) LTD.
MADRAS-17



1936 — Twenty five glorious years — 1961

a tradition of growth

Twenty-five years is a short time in the history of a company, but still, during this brief period, we have contributed several new, daring and dramatic chapters!

A pioneer producer of caustic soda, chlorine and its derivatives—basic chemicals which find application in a host of articles of everyday living like paper, plastics, textiles, vanaspati and soap—the company has grown from modest beginnings to its present stature. Some indication of the measure of its progress is that, to-day, its caustic capacity has risen to 40 tons a day from a mere 5 tons a day.

But that is not all, for, on the tapis, is an 'on-to-100-tons-a-day' programme. In view, also, is the manufacture of a whole range of new chemicals.

And so, the company is growing...from strength to strength...from service to greater service. Its story is a continuing story...with a beginning, yes, but no end!

THE METTUR CHEMICAL & INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION LIMITED

Mettur Dam R.S.

Salem Dt.

Managing Agents:

SESHASAYEE BROTHERS PRIVATE LTD.

THE CHARM OF VIGNHESWARA

OUR NEW RULERS

By Vighneswara (N. Raghunathan)

B. C. Paul & Co., Madras-1.

Price: Rs. 5.

Vighneswara is essentially a man of letters delighting to find raw-material in the wide, mottled pages of the newspaper for his work as at once mind-mould and mouthpiece for his fellow-countrymen. His mind, fed on the vitalizing meats of world-history and world-literature, loves to see a contemporary event placed by the side of an ancient parallel or a local incident set against a background of universals. This way of discovering the general in the particular or tracing the particular to the general is known in Sanskrit as *artha-antara-nyasa* (correlated inference), a rhetorical device said to be a favourite elucidatory artifice of Kalidasa. It brings definition and point to the theme. To this power of presenting a thing in its revelatory perspective, add now a dash of the eye-widening mordancy of Swift and now a dose of the nudging humour of Lamb, now the provocative satire of Venkataswami and now the rapier wit of Neelakantha, you have before you a page of Vighneswara—a page sparkling with genial remonstrance and corrective laughter. And not your risible nerves only, the chords of your soul too are touched by the meaningful twitches of his skilled fingers.

The title of the book emphasizes its political motif. The book shows how Independence to the nation has worked for the stunting of the citizen, how democracy in theory has led to the enthronement of a party in practice and how the freedom promised by the Constitution has turned into a shackle wrought by the administration. But this is not all. The title hides from view the other not less toothsome morsels of this sumptuous menu. Together with the phantasy flights and wobbly foot-paces of our rulers are shown here the reactions of town and country to their undigested ideologies and slapdash programmes of action. "Our New Civilizers" would have been no inexact title, for our rulers of today have put themselves forward as the evangelists of a new civilization, the civilization of mimicking Russia or America, England or Japan, not rocking of the age-old *ethos* and the deep-rooted social milieu of this country. How their influence has been turning out of shape every strand and every fibre of India's life is vividly illustrated in these pages. The poet and the bandicoot, the musician

and the medicine-man, the rustic and the cosmopolite, the panchayat and the Parliament, the minister and the chardatan, the superstitionist and the rationalist, the Pharisee and the latitudinarian, all can find themselves reflected in this chamber of mirrors, with their interesting habiliments on, and in their not less interesting nakedness. There are as many as 183 mirrors, all as faithful as clear.

But it is not a random menagerie. A single thesis is seen sustained by the diversities of the scenes: it is—How Modernism is queering the soul of India. Vighneswara has a distinct and definite point of view from which to evaluate the world and its goods and to judge of its vanities and its vagaries. That view-point is in India's *Swa-Dharma*. Not long ago, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru railed at the leaders of the Swatantra Party as men who knew nothing of either Europe or America. Vighneswara is apparently one of those "Little-Indians" who believe that for an Indian it is more important to know India than to know either Europe or America. He would perhaps add that an Indian's knowledge of India has greater validity as knowledge than his supposed knowledge of any other country. India's performances in Korea and Congo and elsewhere are evidence of the kind of understanding which it is possible for one country to acquire of another. Our worst accusation against Britain was that she could not possibly bring enough insight into the working of our minds. To any ideology or institution of Europe or America recommended to India, the first test that Vighneswara would apply is: "How does it fit into India's scheme of life's values? How will it affect her soul?" He is not one of those glamour-blinded 'progressivists' whose faith in India's scale of life-values can be shaken this way and that by the blasts of communism on the one side or the breezes of hedonism on the other. Much less is he an obscurantist. Only, he would test and judge Modernism before admitting it. Here is a glimpse of the steadfast flame of his lamp:

"The materialist, who makes fun of the romantic's attachment to a golden past that never was, does not realize that he is being guilty of a grosser superstition in bending the knee to the golden future that will never be Avvai, who had to beg her bread, would have scorched with scorn the paternalistic politician who dared to suggest that it would be time enough to think of poetry when

SATYAM EVA JAYATE

By

RAJAJI

In Two Volumes

A collection of Rajaji's articles in Swarajya and other journals on various topics from 1956 to 1961. The second volume includes an alphabetical index for both volumes.

Available at Higginbothams in Madras and their principal stalls elsewhere, and at Kalki office, Madras and with Kalki and Swarajya agents at Delhi, (M/s. Khanna Stores, 68, Baird Lane New Delhi; M/s. Central News Agency 23/90, Connaught Circus New Delhi-1. Phone: 44762), Bombay, (R. Kannan 26/208, Meena Sadan, Sien-Matunga Road, Bombay-22. Phone: 60011), Calcutta, (G. R. Ramaswamy 11, Govt. Place East, First Floor Calcutta-1. Phone: 23-5067) Nagpur, Poona, Bangalore City, Bangalore Cantt., Trivandrum, Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Tirunelveli, Tuticorin, Madurai, Trichinopoly, Pudukottah, Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Cuddalore, Chidambaram, Vellore, Salem, Coimbatore and Palghat.

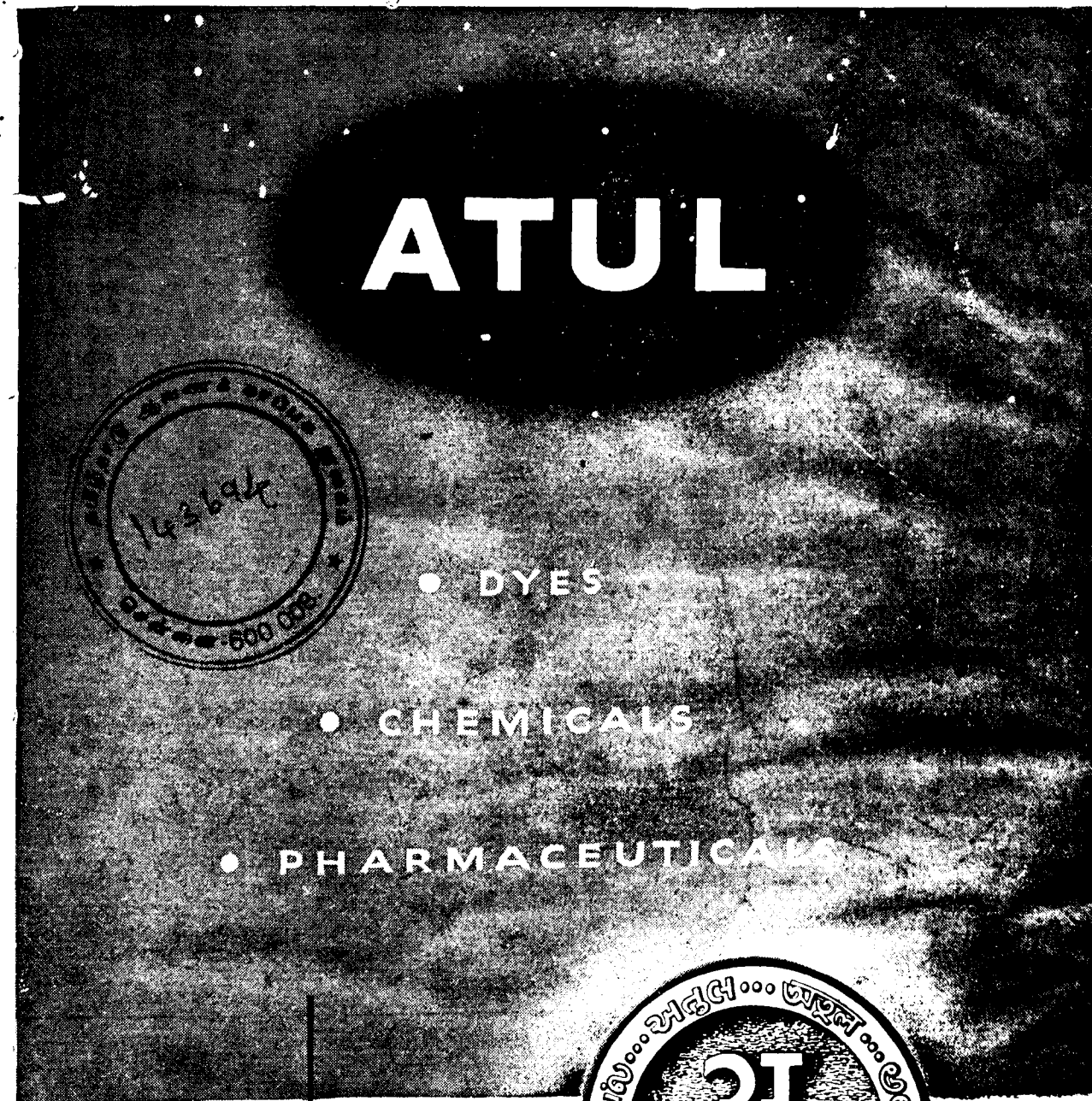
Price: Rs. 6/- Each Volume

If sent by post Rs. 1.50 extra for each volume

BHARATHAN PUBLICATIONS PRIVATE LTD.
KALKI BUILDINGS, KILPAUK, MADRAS-10

she had accumulated a comfortable bank balance It is a pleasant delusion that technology can give men all they wish for Technology begins in war and ends in war. It is stupid to denounce dictators and in the same breath preach the virtues of, say, mechanical birth control. The repudiation of personal responsibility is at the root of the mischief in both cases. Man is a social animal; but his allegiance to society must be freely given. Only by helping to settle the direction of progress and himself falling in step can he get the orderly procession of pilgrims to reach the City of God some day." (p. 214).

This is as compact a summary of Vighneswara's philosophy of life and life's purposes as any that could be made out of this book. It is not a book to summarize at all, because of its having taken a whole world in all its multi-



THE ATUL PRODUCTS LTD.
Atul, via. Bulsar,
Western Railway.

143694

31
155.57
150.61

HAPPY-ENDING FEATURE FILM






Coughing Relieved

My cough got so bad I could not bear it any more. But I did the right thing. I went straight to my medicine dealer for a bottle of PEPs Throat and Chest Tablets. As I sucked these delicious PEPs Tablets one by one, the relief was wonderful.

Very soon the healing vapours had helped to dispel germs. Now I always keep PEPs Throat and Chest Tablets handy.

PEPS
THROAT AND CHEST TABLETS
for COUGHS, BRONCHITIS, SORE THROATS and COLDS
FROM ALL MEDICINE DEALERS

G. S. PULFORD (INDIA) PRIVATE LTD.

Sole Agents:
Dadha & Co., 88, Nymappa Nalok St., Madras-3

furiousness for its province. In every context of that world, Vighneswara's object is to stir thought and foster inquiry. To the service of this supreme object, he brings a rare vigour of phrase and a rare sureness of analysis and analogue. The style captivates you and the inherent interest of the theme keeps you going. When you are weary or feeling bored, in bed or on the road, here is a companion you can turn to without disappointment for enlivening talk and suggestive sidelights on the world you live in.

Here are some samples, picked at random:

"This assiduous attempt to impose on the people fetish-worship of the Congress is not calculated to induce that body to exercise self-criticism." (p. XV) "In a democracy, people require to be reasoned with and not shepherded towards goals they do not see." (p. XVI) "The Indian is not a barbarian dyed with woad, to be compulsorily civilized." (p. XVI) "Those who have declared relentless war on caste have just spawned a new one. The Community of Political Sufferers has its own rules of exogamy and endogamy duly laid down in a G.O." (p. 11) "When a communist discovers his spiritual affinity in a comrade's wife, the party hierarchy will not have him pursuing the affinity to the point of treading on the

corn of bourgeois prejudice." (p. 43) "It is a sure sign of progress that art becomes functionless and ornament takes its place." (p. 51) "Being a democratic body, the (Music) Academy settles *raga lakshanas* by vote Our musical progressives, who seem to be in a majority in the Academy, argue that *raga lakshanas* should be re-defined according to the practice of our foremost musicians; and these by proposition are those whom the box-office crowns." (p. 91) "Predatory cattle have a rich sense of humour." (p. 111) "(Harold Laski) seemed to practise soilless cultivation in politics." (p. 116) "The Ramayana is medicine to the soul. But it might induce permanent allergy to hear it recited in jail as a recipe against recidivism." (p. 161) "He was the strong silent man of legend. His speech at the UN seemed further to exalt his silence." (p. 217) "The handicoot is the supreme political strategist." (p. 329).

So *ad infinitum*. You have character-revealing vignettes and situational piquancies galore. We must now sum up. If our universities have autonomy, let them prove it by sanctioning this book for 'non-detailed' study. Besides learning English and history and literature and social philosophy, the students will enjoy it.

D. V. GUNDAPPA

ANDAL OF KALAKSHETRA

'Religion and Art have ever been twin angels. Let us follow them as they point to the East, where the Maidens of the Dawn are tinting our earth-born clouds with their rose-tipped fingers' said Annie Besant more than four decades back. Today we find how her words were prophetic as well as inspiring. Truly Smt. Rukmini Devi has inherited the spirit that actuated Besant to see a vision of that dawn when maidens with their delicate and expressive fingers and swaying figures will dance their way into our hearts in representing through dance-dramas episodes of permanent value to our moral and spiritual uplift. If Smt. Rukmini Devi had already placed the world of art-lovers under a deep debt of gratitude by her unforgettable creation of scenes from the *Ramayana* of Valmiki, she has not allowed time to pass without another enduring piece like 'Andal' to revive in us the same feelings of exaltation in witnessing the great arts of Bharata Natya and Kathakali blending in the best of their proportions for portraying living ancient themes. Tiruppavai, so dear to the Tamils, represents in

song an eternal thirst. In a considerable measure has been achieved the satisfaction, after seeing the Kalakshetra representation of the story, of a spiritual hunger.

With almost unbelievable finish have the tunes to the verses been set by the veteran *Vaggeyakara*, Sri Pananasam Sivan. If sources of such magnitude and unexceptionable authenticity as the *Chudikodutha Nachiyar Prabandham* and the *Guruparampara Puranam* have been well utilised for evolving a connected dramatised story, the pure and aesthetic fountains of musical lore and *sampradaya* have been happily exploited for embellishing the appropriate tunes. The varying scenes please both the eye and the intellect. The group dances as well as the duets give verve and variety to the movements on the stage. The entire atmosphere gets surcharged with the keenest anticipations of a sense of fulfilment that cannot be described in mere words. The whole thing ends with a serenity which leaves no trace of disappointment.

It is not very time when Smt. Rukmini Devi attempts a new venture that

she has been so much anxious about the outcome of it all as she has been in this. Her heart had been set on producing Andal's life in her own unique way all these years. It is indeed a genuine yearning of hers that has attained its consummation in the 'Andal', which was presented on the 23rd of December. Smt. Sarada in the role of Andal devoted herself much to the divine stirring in a girl's soul of unusual sensitivity. But in the display of her girlish pranks, as in the disturbing of the flour designs on the floor which the women of the place were indulging in, her vivacity

could certainly have matched her portrayal of a strange disturbance in her heart. The dance with the conch (Sankha) also seemed a bit protracted and needed more crispness in the articulation of gestural language.

No greater dream than spreading peace that is the culmination of all human activities is ever inspiring Smt. Rukmini Devi. Her mission will not cease till through her creations she makes life here as beautiful as what every great literature and every great Art would aim at.

MAKARA

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

WHO IS RATTLING THE SWORD NOW?

Sir,—On September 23rd your paper carried an article by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari on the necessities of reducing the "insane bullies of the world" to orderly and lawful behaviour, and I am wondering whether he rightfully includes Mr. Nehru and India in this group.

Our press informs us that India is rattling the sword against Red China, India's troops and planes are killing women and children in the Congo, and evidently it is about to invade Goa on the same pretext that Hitler used to occupy Poland.

Please remind Mr. Rajagopalachari that even though Cuba expropriated a billion dollar's worth of property from US citizens, this big bully, as he calls us, has not as yet sent a soldier, sailor, or airman there.

We have to say that you can stand too close to the forest to see the trees: let us hope that soon Mr. Rajagopala-

chari will be able to get out of the woods.

Florida (US) HOWARD J. KIRKPATRICK

DUTY OF CONGRESSMEN

Sir,—Dr. Raghuvira has set a good example by resigning from his party on the issue of the Defence Minister's role.

Both Sri Nehru and the communists have a common idea with regard to the Congress Party in the present juncture.

Sri Nehru wishes to purge his party of non-socialists. He has even expressed his wish that wealthy persons not convinced of his socialist policies need not subscribe to party funds. This is merely a verbal gesture but is a straw that shows that men and institutions relying on private property and private enterprise will have short shrift hereafter. The ladder will be kicked away now that socialism has come on top.

'Letters' for this section should bear the name and address of the writer, though not for publication; they should not exceed 300 words, in view of the size of the journal.
—EDITOR

The communists, too, wish to divide the Congress Party into its Right and Left affiliations. They are infiltrating into the Congress and are using it more and more as a Front institution for protective colour until they could openly seize power. The Moscow line is now for such infiltrations and for coalition cabinet after the elections by means of creating widespread disturbances and scares, when timid and short-sighted people may veer round to the idea of a National or all-party Government omitting the "communalists", i.e. patriots.

The time is approaching when Moscow will transfer its favour to the CPI as it did in China in the last phase after the Japanese collapse, when it transferred its support to the Chinese Communist Party treating the existing non-aggression pact with Marshall Chiang Kai-Shek as a scrap of paper!

In this crisis, all congressmen who are not convinced of socialism as theory and policy, and of the way it is being put into force here by Sri Nehru through Soviet type Five Year Plans, should resign from the Congress as a matter of conscience. Following Dr. Raghuvira's good example, they should lend support to the strengthening of genuine Opposition parties.

Bangalore

M. A. V.

14369A

woven for year and priced to please

damask table linen

IN DELIGHTFUL DESIGNS

THE BOMBAY DYEING

& MANUFACTURING CO. LTD.

Sole Distributors for South India:

Chellarams 3/4 Godown Street, Madras 1.
Abid Road, Hyderabad.
AND AT MANY OTHER SHOPS