

JL
802, 955 SJ.
N/61. 5

Founded by Khasa Subba Rao

Vol. V. No. 52

MADRAS, JULY 1, 1961

Price 15 nP.

A CRISIS IN DEMOCRACY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The scandals which have been moderately expressed in the public press about the Orissa elections must open our eyes to a very grave danger. What has transpired in this connection is probably an under-painted picture. The reality probably is worse than what Sri Ashoka Mehta and others have stated. Such abuses are grave enough to form a battle-ground and a cause for displacing a party in power apart from anything else. The Constitution itself will become a mockery and wither away if such practices are tolerated without challenge. The entire fabric of parliamentary democracy will go into smoke if crores of rupees are collected by a party in power by exploiting the dependence of people on the party's pleasure for carrying on their economic activities and if such money power is openly utilised in the elections for continuing in office. It is a crisis in democracy graver than many red herrings drawn across the track, and demands urgent attention. Castes and communities, poverty and illiteracy cannot be abolished in a day but this corruption of democracy is an advancing monster far too proximate to be indifferent about. Long-standing maladies and long due reforms are irrelevant in this context of a grave menace to democracy. The monster can be defeated and honesty restored if all those who want democracy join and give battle.

Our Prime Minister came to an abundant inheritance of love but

I fear, and I say it with sorrow, he has wasted it. He has let slogans take the place of sanity. He has allowed the party he had the privilege of leading to become a party of careerist sheep. He has passively encouraged Congressmen to become corrupt until the whole countryside has come to feel it and, what is worse, he has allowed the corrupt machine to grow into an impregnable fortress sustaining itself on its spoils.

An issue of primary importance, which is an issue of morality and a problem of grave constitutional importance, has developed out of the disclosures in the Orissa mid-term elections. These disclosures are no surprise to me or to others who have watched anxiously the trends and the activities of the ruling party during the last few years. But what has transpired in the Orissa elections is enough to open the eyes of even the most sleepy and the most deluded citizens whose simple faith in the Congress has been systematically exploited. The flagrant manner, completely free from all sense of decency or delicacy, in which the Congress Party and its chosen agents in the States, including men holding most responsible positions in the party and in the government, have been using their position and the power behind them to make or mar businessmen, in order to raise immense quantities of money and using that money to destroy democracy at the base has raised a question of urgent fundamental and overriding importance.

There can be no free or fair elections if this power to raise unlimited money and spend it to capture votes is allowed to be exercised by the party in office. The People's Representation Act has been rendered into nullity and the Constitution is rapidly becoming meaningless. It has been converted into a self-sufficient mechanism to establish the dictatorship of the party in office.

This party has in the name of socialism organized a State machinery (supported by legislation and rules) to distribute private monopolies and create milch-cows for the party. There is no chance for any other party, whatsoever its declared policy or ideology to oust the dictatorship of the Congress Party. Money has replaced political debate and made irrelevant every other consideration. All the other parties in the country should realise the danger and face this crisis in our democracy.

The Communists have become aiders and abettors in this process of destruction of freedom. They are waiting like kites and crows for parliamentary democracy to die as a result of the open immoralities and flagrant evasions of the law by the Congress Party. The policies and propaganda of the ruling party will have prepared the field completely for occupation by Communists when that time arrives. Indeed the Congress will have by then quietly transformed itself into a Communist Party already in power and ready to absorb the official Communist Party whole-sale.

Meanwhile we see the spectacle of men like Sri Patnaik in Orissa, who are standing refutations of socialism and symbols of big business and money power, being made into heroes and leaders for the worship of misguided men.

It would be of considerable interest if the Chief Secretary to the Government of Orissa could inform the public in how many departments Sri Patnaik held substantial interests in contracts under the Government of Orissa at the time of these elections, and what contracts he holds in Mr. Krishna Menon's ministry in New Delhi. This is the first time this type of person, one who is thoroughly experienced in making money through Government contracts has become Chief Minister of a State.

It is no longer possible for honest men to be apathetic and allow this dictatorship to grow impregnable and become permanent. It is no longer wise to be engaged in disputations over dogmas and remain disunited intellectuals, leaving the field free for the totalitarian Congress which has thrown all delicacy and sense of right and wrong to the winds, and is openly and without fear of question using its power to collect immense sums and using that money to nullify parliamentary democracy. Those who bask in the sunshine of favours from the ruling party are abetting this process of destroying the Constitution and bringing India also into line with other Asiatic nations whose independence has not developed into freedom but has lapsed back into autocracy.

The gravest issue now is, shall we allow this rape of the freedom of parliamentary elections? It is a constitutional, fundamental and moral issue. It is not socialism for which the Congress stands but a mechanism to feed power-greed. Money has been installed on the Throne at Delhi. It must be resisted if we wish freedom to survive, if we do not desire that independence should rot into foul corruption.

Whether the Swatantra Party wins or loses in this unequal com-

bat, whether the people will rise above the satanic power of money and economic terror and disprove its arrogant assumption that everything will go down before that power, I am determined, if God permits it, to continue to give battle even if I have to do it all alone against this immorality and fraud

P. S. P. ADVOCATES WRONG REMEDY

By PHIROZE J. SHROFF

The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party has severely castigated Congress rule in its draft election manifesto.

Criticizing the home policy the draft manifesto says that Government has failed to convince the people of its impartiality and its responsiveness to the people's wishes. The manifesto adds that national integration is being hampered because linguistic minorities do not feel assured of justice and even-handed treatment, which has spread frustration instead of raising hope and faith. It contends that the ruling party has encouraged caste and communal loyalties which have given rise to the new phase of communalism in India.

It has rightly pointed out some of the drawbacks and failings of the Congress Government. There is no doubt that there is hardly any improvement in the economic condition of the people even after 14 years' of Congress rule. Indeed the condition has much worsened for the people all round and they are being subjected to intolerable hardships and privations. There is an ever-rising spiral of inflation. The prices of necessities of life, like food, clothing and transport, are rising all the time. In urban areas where over ten crores of people live and try to earn their living, there is an unprecedented deterioration in standard of living, particularly of the middle classes. There is an acute housing shortage. Roads are in terribly bad condition, the sewage systems have been disrupted, and often complaints are heard of the domestic water supply having contaminated on that account. Grandiose schemes involving an expenditure of thousands of crores of rupees do not provide employment for people in villages or towns. According to official statistics, unemployment keeps on increasing with the succeeding years of the Five-Year Plans. Apart from it, by investing government officers and politicians of the ruling party with enormous powers, the way

that stalks under the name of the Congress. Because, in all humility, I believe in the ultimate truth of the Upanishad mantra embodied in the Crest of the nation, *Satyam eva jayate na anrtam*. It is *anrtam* that holds power and threatens to hold it for all time. Let us see if *satyam* will ultimately fail. I am sure it will not.

has been paved for corruption and graft on an unprecedented scale.

The Praja Socialist Party's manifesto has correctly pinpointed some of the many shortcomings and failures of the Congress Government, though the party's remedy is worse than the disease it seeks to cure. Ignoring the fact that it is the 'socialistic pattern' which is responsible for all the ills of the people, the P.S.P. advocates a still larger dose of socialism!

The P.S.P. has endorsed the solution suggested by Rajaji in regard to the problem of minorities. The draft manifesto says: "All minorities should have equal right to participate in all spheres of social, economic and political life. Simultaneously they would have the right to practise their religions, organize educational institutions and cultural associations for the promotion of their language, script and literature."

After tasting the bitter fruits of socialism, England, Western Germany, Italy and France have had the wisdom to retrace their steps and adopt a free economy and their new Governments have given the people both economic progress and political stability.

The Swatantra Party has for its objective the realization for this country of both economic progress and political stability even as in the countries already mentioned. It wants to restore to the people their precious fundamental rights in respect of property and pursuit of trade, profession or calling, of which they have been deprived by the Congress Government by hasty and ill-conceived constitutional amendments. It wants to give free enterprise its legitimate place in the life of the people, while releasing the energies of the people for constructive work. It is determined to check the spiral of inflation by adopting tried and successful monetary policies. It refuses to hold truck with doctrinaire ideology, divorced from actual life. Above everything else, it wants to secure for the people their basic freedom and happiness.

A PLEA FOR JOINT BATTLE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

It is too late in civilization's day for any person, clique or group or party to claim that he or they have an *objective* for the nation different from that of others. Political parties deceive themselves or others or both in believing or claiming that their objectives are different from and better than what others work for.

The reality is that people differ from one another not as to objectives but as to *means* and *instruments*. They do not and cannot differ as to the aim of national happiness. Of course there are different ideas of happiness itself but those ideas about what happiness consists in do not differentiate political parties but affect the policies of all parties. The real dividing walls, sometimes rigid and sometimes elastic, are the means and instruments for social happiness—whether they should be this or that in the present stage of progress.

Working this proposition into present day political affairs in Indian democracy, we arrive at this, that the political parties now working in India would do well to clear their minds on the subject and align themselves on a rational and useful basis and not work at

cross purposes. A proper polarization is essential for parliamentary democracy to work satisfactorily. If a leader or a group around him or a party believes that he or they are the best *instruments* for the administration of the country in order to achieve the common objective, then separate activities on that basis are justifiable. Again, if the leader, group or party believes that the particular means contemplated by them for national prosperity and progress differ radically from the means formulated and adopted by others, then there is justification for standing separate and opposing the return of any others to responsibility and power. Otherwise there is no justification for standing apart. Any confusion or hesitation to give up one's own identity and merge with others who believe approximately in the same means and instruments, will only create difficulties for the electorate and produce unwanted results.

The question then is, does the P.S.P. or any other similar party working under the slogan of socialism believe in the policy of permits, licences and regulations adopted

by the Congress Party and is it prepared to tolerate the mischiefs arising therefrom? If so, such a party must set aside egotism and merge with the Congress Party. If any party is of the view that this policy of the ruling party causes more harm than good and progressively leads to the creation of monopolies for favoured individuals and groups, and by blocking free competition acts as a disincentive to productive effort and thereby postpones real economic progress, if it is convinced that such a policy on the part of the ruling party, if permitted by the people, will give it almighty power to maintain its own rule unbroken, thus leading parliamentary democracy steadily and surely to the dictatorship of the party, then it is the clear moral duty of such a party to think clearly, put aside other considerations and help to forge a united front against the ruling party, not dissuaded by minor issues and prejudices.

This is the only course that will bring about a proper polarization. Any other attitude amounts in effect to aiding and abetting the ruling party's conscious or unconscious progress towards totalitarianism. Grave national considerations must lead to clear thinking and sacrifice. Prejudice and egotism are apt to mislead and turn one away from the right decision.



The above sketch of Sri Pothan Joseph and Khasa Subba Rau were found among the late editor's papers.

CURRENT EVENTS ::

Another outbreak of 'linguistic riots' is reported from Cachar and the fusillade of police firing resulted in seven deaths. The Sangram Parishad, not satisfied with the Lal Bahadur Shastri formula, went for direct action. Although much has been said about the Shastri solution, it is not very different from the Pant doctrine which permitted the use of Assamese and Bengali at two levels until the day of linguistic deliverance when Hindi shall be the universal medium. The very repetition of the 'ultimate solution' deprives temporary provisions of their appeal, since the Rashtrabhasha fallacy is obtrusively flaunted.

There is sense in Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer's elucidation of Dr. B. C. Roy's recent dictum that all languages current in India (including sub-languages) are national languages. The palliative course is not to tamper with the *status quo* but allow English to prevail until the efflux of time produces modes of speech which no one can predict. Statutory innovations never have the potency attributed to them by linguistic faddists who imagine that the growth and popularisation of vocabulary can be accomplished by the lexicographers in their cubicles.

Supremo Khurshid of Azad Kashmir is planning a novel form of election with all his probable rivals shored up in a single haul. President Ayub Khan maintains that his writ does not run in Mr. Khurshid's territory and in order to magnify his status the Chota-Sultan declares that none of the commitments of Pakistan, military or diplomatic, binds him. Evidently some surprise is contemplated, and the apprehension is that President Ayub Khan in his July visit to Washington will queer the pitch and revive controversy in the U.N.O. forum. A rift in the Afro-Asian Front so sedulously built-up is then likely to materialize, because we should

not forget that while India has diplomatically ceded Tibet to China, Formosa again to China, and West Irian to Indonesia, hard bargainers like Chou-En-lai, Sukarno, Abdul Rehman Tunku and Nasser have never gone beyond piously declaring that India and Pakistan should solve the Kashmir question by friendly negotiations. Ambassador Rountree's ambivalent statement after Vice-President Lyndon Johnson's visit to Rawalpindi was also to the effect that the U.S. stood by the Kashmir resolutions of the U.N.O., also a set of ambiguous formulas. That young Mr. Khurshid's manoeuvre is something like putting on an act could be proved by a simple test. If anyone including himself wishes to go abroad how does he get his passports, his visa, and foreign exchange, besides health certificates? He must obtain them through the good offices of Pakistan. Such being the case the assumption of sovereignty is a piece of chauvinistic attitudinization to keep the Kashmir frontier in constant jitters.

Professor Humayun Kabir makes a mystery of some understanding between India and Pakistan regarding the India Office Library and its two claimants, India and Pakistan. In the first overtures of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad the India Office Library was demanded on the ground that it was India's; but soon Pakistan woke up asserting that it belonged to both the legatees of British rule and therefore should be divided. The Library itself is in charge of the Commonwealth Secretary Mr. Duncan H. Sandys. But during the visit to London of Pandit Nehru and Field Marshal Ayub Khan for the Commonwealth Conference, it appears that Mr. Nehru spoke about it to the Pakistan President. As to what transpired in their talk, Mr. Humayun Kabir says he is not free to reveal, but that fruitful results are in the offing. Annual visits to London by

both the Ministers of Cultural Affairs and Scientific Research have become a summer feature after the budget season, but thanks to the drift in connection with the allocation of the India Office Library and its priceless archives, a new claimant has appeared, Burma. The academicians of the Rangoon University have started an agitation saying that vast quantities of documents in London pertain to Burmese affairs and that they should be earmarked for Burma. An Indian Professor in Rangoon, Dr. Desai has strongly demanded the return of material of vital importance to Independent Burma which is of course beyond the ken of the Commonwealth Secretary. At this rate, delay might introduce Ceylon to the scene. There are certainly relics of interest to the Sinhalese. A century ago the Viceroy had been Governor-General of a composite territory embracing India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. Likewise the Temporal Power used to reside in the Metropolitan of India, Burma and Ceylon. Trophies from the East attractive to Ceylon are found in London. For the matter of that, the Portuguese—when it comes to quitting—may lodge a plea for a portion of the Library relating to Portugal's connection with India which began five centuries ago. The mere fact that the India Office holds the Library signifies India's ownership as urged by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, would in these circumstances be difficult to establish, thanks to the fragmentation of the Empire. If the name is the crucial test, Burma could as well assert that the Burma Oil Company should belong to Burma, a tall claim. The leisurely pace at which Professor Humayun Kabir proceeds may in the end leave the India Office renamed as a Commonwealth institution, and as days pass optimism fades.

In the acrimonious argument at Cairo about a Neutral Summit Conference, the Indian delegation had to offer the cold shoulder,

but the ultimate result seems to be the emergence of a Little Summit in Yugoslavia. Sharp debates arose as to the criteria of eligibility, and the purpose of the agenda. India's representative, Mr. R. K. Nehru, had a difficult commission, because India as the ideal neutral was expected to set the pace for the newly-liberated Afro-Asian countries. An *ad hoc* selection was proposed, but it fell through for lack of a common assessment of qualifications. We are told that the Prime Minister himself may (it is always a "may") attend the Belgrade sessions in Yugoslavia to retain the Bandung spirit. It is all very well to be neutral but on account of degrees of maturity and self-interest, they cannot agree, whom each nation was "Neutral against". The grouse of some African States is that Indian leadership in neutrality is becoming torpid as she, between the two big Power blocs, seems to take it easy, subsidised by the two rivals with vast economic aid. If

they meet at all, the palaver might throw into sharp relief the negativeness of neutralism, each country professing valour to go it alone.

Except for France and Britain which abstained from voting, the resolution on Angola and other Portuguese possessions overseas was passed by the Security Council, which is a moral victory. The neutralism of the two countries was a transparent piece of equivocation. Dr. Garin, the Portuguese delegate, announced that Lisbon would take no notice of the U.N.O. decision, since it was 'illegal' in trespassing on Portugal's sovereignty in respect of a domestic affair. In the debate, Mr. C. S. Jha, India's spokesman, was slightly vehement in proof of our Goa agitation and the intention of liberating the area by the end of 1961. It seemed to be pitched for the hearing of New Delhi rather than for the persuasion of World representatives. He

charged the Portuguese Envoy with 'impertinence' on some of his remarks, adding that adverse opinion about India should not have come from a person who "had enjoyed the hospitality of my country for years". The reference is to the fact that after the attainment of Indian Independence there was an exchange of diplomats between Lisbon and New Delhi, Portugal being represented by Dr. Garin and India by Mr. P. A. Menon, I.C.S., now our Ambassador in West Germany. A rupture in respect of Goa was recorded, and today we have no diplomatic relations. The point is that while officially Dr. Garin functioned in New Delhi, Mr. P. A. Menon was also in our Lisbon office, "enjoying the hospitality" of Dr. Garin's country on level terms. If we watch the language of seasoned spokesmen at New York and Geneva, we could observe how arguments could be across without recourse to stage-thunder.

SANJAYA.

YOUTH IN SEARCH OF FREEDOM

By LOUIS H. SOLOMON

Something is happening in America that has a real promise for tomorrow.

Some days ago I received a phone call from a charming Greenwich villager, inviting me to an informal gathering at her home.

When I arrived at her home, I found a heartening assemblage of buoyant young people. To me it represented a sampling of young America, aroused.

They were annoyed by the crop of 'welfare state' politicians in positions of power in government.

They were fearful of the growing power of central government, expanding far beyond the intent of the Founding Fathers. They recognized that the extension of the power of government meant corresponding surrender of the freedom of the individual.

They were fearful of the growing taxing power of the central government—taxing not merely for administration needs, for de-

fence, for peace, but for political opportunism. They were fearful of more taxing and more spending as the political expedient of the politician to gratify a voting constituency.

They were concerned about the growing Welfare State and the invasion of the rights of the individual inherent in freedom, for the sake of creating special privileges for others.

They were also concerned about the growing monopoly of organized labour, as reflected in powerful unions, capable of crippling every industry in America.

They feared the regimentation of the workers of America, brain-washed within the organization, deprived of the right to work, except as loyal members of the union, holding the threat that ultimately every job in the nation would be held at the will of the union.

In short, I listened to a review of the great growth of power in

the central government through which the rights of the individual and his freedom were whittled away.

I made some inquiry. I was brought in direct contact with YAF (Young Americans for Freedom) and had lunch with one of its directors. I quote the preface to the declaration of principles adopted by YAF at its first conference:

"Today's students and young people are rebelling against the uniformity, the false security, the infringements upon their liberty which all collectivist systems demand. ..."

It may be that I am overtly sensitive to this group movement, but to me this suggests the rumbling awakening of a sleeping giant, the youth of America, in a movement that may have historical implications.

Their creed is conservatism, a return to fundamental principles in government, a respect for the rights of individuals, determination to recapture the American heritage.—Courtesy Freeman.

THE UNCTUOUS AMERICAN

By POTHAN JOSEPH

I shall not be surprised if a book shortly appears with the caption "The Unctuous American". When the volume entitled "The Ugly American" was published exposing the bumptious trend of amateur diplomats left loose in foreign countries, New York reviewers took pride in saying that only in a country like the United States would such freedom of criticism be found. The story pertains to the spirit of middle-some beneficence on the part of American envoys in a Shangri-la-land imagined to exist in South-East Asia. Such self-caricature inviting the ridicule of contemporary nations was bound to be jarring, but the writer had a reformative purpose to improve the standard of Yankee-representation making it more efficient than the holiday type that emerged at the time of President Eisenhower and his Camp David spirit. The diplomat was dubbed 'ugly' to indicate the air of distance innocuously created between U.S. emissaries and the *hoi polloi* of under-developed regions despite large resources brought for grants and loans. The reaction to the vogue was instantly registered when the Kennedy regime decided on new selections with the halo of Harvard prestige. Indeed the revulsion against past discord has been so extreme that the idea of Kennedy's Peace Brigade is being sedulously canvassed. Here the political missionaries are counting on a roaring welcome which might

not actually materialise all over the periphery of their programme. The key-note of the Dulles policy was to 'contain Communism' in countries already under the Marxian influence as if ideas could be stopped by the *sanitaire cordon* theory. After the end of brinkmanship visions, it is now realised that in the modern world of global intercourse through many media of propaganda, any such attempt would resemble a plan to stop air and light in an estate by fencing it round with barbed-wire entanglements. Such cautions may stop the entry of goats but it just won't work as a protection against the free circulation of ideas. When Harold MacMillan warned the South African Parliament about the 'change of wind', there was a subtle metaphor in his speech which South African racists did not like, but subsequent events have borne out the drift of the Prime Minister's words. Assuming that the ugly American is replaced by the trained type of Yankee familiar with language and delighting in local customs, they have still to surmount a barrier in comparison with the adeptness of the effective Moscow agent. The fresh specimen of Handsome Harry has lopsidedness to rectify. The psychosis of liberal aid to backward countries may partly account for it, namely, the element of naivete on the part of the do-gooder. They still take it for granted that the people of subsidised countries represent an effervescent self ceaselessly appreciative of benevolence. To use the caption "The Callow American" for a new book would be a little coarse though not bad for salesmanship, but the naive and even unctuous element in the inferences of even roving ambassadors cannot be mistaken. To begin with an example I recall the visit of Mr. R. M. Nixon to India as Vice-President to inspire us with confidence in the Eisenhower era whilst Dulles was still alive.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT

There is no copyright in the articles that are published in SWARAJYA, unless specifically stated so by contributors. Reproductions in whole or in part are freely permitted, with or without acknowledgement.

Mr. Nixon landed at the Bangalore air port on a day when there was a rousing football match. By the time he had reached Brigade Road corner, the crowd dispersed in buoyancy over the smartness of the play and the uncommon impartiality of the referee that day. Mr. Nixon halted his car, stood up and turning on his axis *salaamed* all round. The cheers of the happy-go-lucky crowd had nothing to do with Eisenhower or the spirit of anti-Communism but strange as it may seem, when the Vice-President returned to Washington he specifically quoted the Bangalore applause as one of the proofs of India's confidence in the Republican President. The fact was he took it for granted. The latest book by Sherman Adams on the theatrical withdrawal of Khrushchov wrecking the Paris Summit Conference (1960) traces it to Mr. Khrushchov's pique that Eisenhower had a bigger reception in New Delhi—nothing to do with the U-2 incident! Mr. Nixon's naivete was again displayed during the American Exhibition in Moscow when the luxuries of the American home, like television sets, and washing machines were lavishly displayed as if to mortify Soviet citizens in hard circumstances of their struggle to produce elementary commercial goods at popular prices. Mr. G. D. Birla in his Moscow report tells us that the element of snob-exhibitionism spoils the effect. In contrast the recent British Exhibition in Moscow was designed not to advertise superiority, but to furnish samples and goods of utility for impecunious people with the result that the whole stock got sold and large orders for the future booked against the Earl's Court Exhi-

July 1, 1961

bition. The psychology in contrast is significant.

I have given the first-hand story of Vice-President Nixon's impression of a Bangalore crowd, but the naivete is not peculiar to any Republican President as may be seen in the impulsive conduct of the present Democratic Vice-President in his recent transit through India after the virtual write off in Laos where there was more armed demonstration than active intervention to stabilize the neutral status of Laos. I give the story:

New Delhi, May 18 (PTI)—U.S. Vice-President Lyndon Johnson delivered his first public speech in Delhi by the road-side in front of the Red Fort this evening.

Mr. Johnson, who was on his way to see the fort, took the police, newsmen and the people by surprise, when he suddenly stopped his car on the main road, walked into the crowd jamming one of the footpaths and declared: "India and America are friends and they will ever so remain."

An American interpreter, who was following in another car, rushed to his aid and the crowd cheered and clapped as he translated Mr. Johnson's speech in halting Hindi.

Security men had a hard job controlling the people, who attempted to shake hands with Mr. Johnson after almost every sentence.

The joint communique issued by Mr. Lyndon Johnson and the Prime Minister was itself of a googly type full of ambiguities. Mr. Nehru was not apparently particular about capitalising on the event. In my view, it should have been a joint communique signed by Vice-President Lyndon Johnson and Vice-President S. Radhakrishnan since they have a common role in the Constitution. What made Mr. Lyndon Johnson bounce out of the agenda and address a pavement meeting after the extempore style of Khrushchov in New York is difficult to perceive. The incident betrays the dominance of the Naive American who in diplomatic pull cannot be hailed as a dynamic improvement on the Ugly Counterpart now being superseded by a new type of Harvard scholars and sporting economists.

SWARAJYA

7

LAND REFORM LEGISLATION AS ELECTION BAIT

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

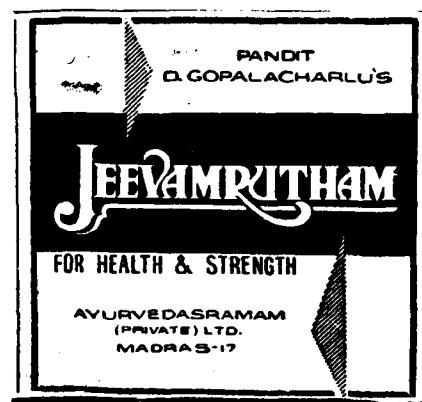
The draft legislation for Land Reforms on which the States have been working for more than four years is again thrown into the melting pot by new directives which the Planning Commission has just issued. It is obvious that the legislation will not be finalised before the elections so that it will remain as a carrot for the tenants and a sword for the landowners, disposing both to play for the favour of the Congress. The complexion of the Congress Party, which had as many as eleven princes among its successful candidates in the recent Orissa elections against fourteen in the Ganatantra Party, is so mixed that land reform legislation which has remained in the air for the last fourteen years may continue to be so for a long time even after the elections. If other parties realised this and made a firm offer confirming existing occupation and fair rents, the uncertainty and complexity of the Congress proposals would be exposed, saving at the same time the right to property, consistently with the economic interests of the country.

The Congress has not been able to deny that the atomisation of land in inalienable basic and family holdings is against the trend in all countries, including communist countries, which is for large scale farming as a means of raising productivity. The inalienability blocks outside investment, which in the past reduced to some extent the financial disparity between town and village. It also reduces the borrowing capacity of the tenants, which accounts for the phenomenal rise in interest rates which has taken place. It is anti-socialist because it permanently blocks ownership of land first to a little over a fifth of rural households which have no land, to a quarter of households which have less than one acre of land, which between them now have only one per cent of the cultivated

land. The injustice to this population has not so far been explained to them as an act of favour of the Congress to the middle class of households because of their political importance. It is this same class which has been disclosed by the reports of the Reserve Bank and recently by the reports of the Central Co-operative Bank of Delhi to have the exclusive benefit of Co-operative loans and Block Development expenditure.

The proposals the Planning Commission is now making to change land reform legislation will come as a shock to those landowners who expected to be treated at least on the same basis as their tenants. First the right to resume land for personal cultivation will be withdrawn. The only concessions made are that owners may be allowed to resume up to a basic holding (one-third of the family holding) and 50 per cent of the tenant's land, up to a family holding. Whether this will constitute an infringement of Article 31 to follow one's occupation will no doubt be raised in courts because even the amendment made covers only dispossession in favour of the state and not of third parties. The expedient of vesting the land for a short time notionally with the State may be found to be legally void.

The second proposal is to follow the Kerala communist legislation and retrospectively declare void transfers of land to relations and others. Like the legislation against the zamindars this will be found void by courts and will call for amendment of the Constitution. The Congress prefers this inverse process because the *de facto* position created by it strengthens the indefensible *de jure* position subsequently. It does not realise the elementary responsibility of a civilized government not to act illegally in the face of the knowledge and experience of the law.



The third proposal is to have a uniform proportion between rent and produce of the land, because at present this varies between one-sixth in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Rajasthan, to one-fourth in Assam, Kerala and Orissa and one-third in several other States. The Planning Commission proposes that it should be one-fourth to one-fifth. This implies an increase of rent in a few States and a decrease in many States. Is such uniformity justified consistently with contractual rights freely entered, dependent on the varying conditions of soil, rainfall and agricultural practices in different areas? The revision will add to the unnecessary employment of staff, litigation and corruption, not to speak of a further estrangement of relations between owners and tenants. This proposal is linked with two others.

The Planning Commission prefers linking rent to land revenue. This is relatively simple and scientific but will not be pursued because too many tenants who enjoy favoured rates will resent having to pay more on account of the general average and the ratio which government themselves will raise, if the connected proposal that rents will be directly payable to government is also enforced. In the circumstances, the offer of ownership has little significance because it does not spell more than permanent tenure rights. In fact, if inalienability is attached, it spells much less. Both the proposals however have good propaganda value because their implications not being understood, they can be made to appear as a great gift from the Congress Party.

The Planning Commission considers that the results of existing Land Reform legislation are disappointing because "collusion and evasion have gone unchecked by the administration". The proper conclusion for the Planning Commission was that the impersonal agency of the State not only deprives the weaker section, sought to be favoured, of the human approach in the various attitudes of agriculture but introduces in-

efficiency and corruption, and possibly politics, in the very alphabet of the economic life of the country which agriculture represents.

The tragedy is that Land Reform has remained in golden mists because few have explained and the people have not understood its implications. All opposition parties, communists excluded, should therefore join in a plan which promises security of tenure

A DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN'S APPEAL FOR UNILATERAL ACTION

Mr. W. H. Ferry, Vice-President of the Fund for the Republic in an address to the American Association for the United Nations made a powerful, unambiguous and unqualified plea for unilateral disarmament from which the following is taken:

I believe peace to be better than war, survival better than suicide, civilization better than barbarism, compassion better than vengeance. Unilateral action represents those virtues better than any other approach that I know about. Unilateral disarmament is far from a perfect solution to history's most tangled conundrum, but there is no perfect solution. Our choice is limited and ranges only from the repugnant to the impossible. The successful continuation of the cold war program for years ahead would be the next worst thing to war itself in its effects. Slogans have been so successfully substituted for the truth that efforts to peep behind them are denounced as treasonable, or as debilitating to the general "will to resist". If public discussion has already become so corrupted, think what it will be after another decade of increasing economic dependence on the arms race and increasing psychological dependence on the image of the enemy.

Under the impact of the arms race, Science has become Prime Minister of the realm. Wisdom, politics, and morals have all been ousted from our highest councils by Science, whose injunction is to do whatever it is possible to do.

and fixity of rents to existing tenants and enforces leadership on owners by making their rights to land and rents dependent on introduction of approved practices in agriculture. Through the instrument of reduction of rent and revenue related to the introduction of such practices, not only the tenants will be gratified and benefited but also the owners and the whole country.

The result is a dehumanization of society and the brutalizing of us all. So far has the de-humanization of man progressed that few even notice any more that wisdom and compassion have gone, and thought is dispossessed by technology. The degrading of our common life is so far advanced that it is hard to imagine a weapon development that would occasion general public revulsion.

Unilateral disarmament is dictated both by practical self-interest and by a moral concern for civilization and the future of humanity itself. These cannot be served by thermo-nuclear war. The third and last world war will produce no victor, only the vanquished. No one has shown how thermo-nuclear war can assure the survival of American institutions and values. Unilateral disarmament would be a great nation's attempt to turn away from technology toward wisdom, away from armed force toward new conceptions of politics and power.

Unilateral disarmament has been attacked as the counsel of cowardice. Yet it would take great courage and vision and confidence in American ideas to put down our arms for the sake of humanity. It takes neither courage nor vision, only taxes, to keep on our present course. Unilateral disarmament is not a simple or agreeable prescription: it is merely the only practical, and the only moral, alternative.—Courtesy: *The Progressive* (WISCONSIN).

ALLOCATION FOR GIRLS' EDUCATION

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

Is the allocation of 11 crores in the Third Plan enough for girls' education? Mrs. Durgabhai Deshmukh thinks it is not enough and pin-pointed her dissatisfaction by resigning the Chairmanship of the National Council for Women's Education as a protest against the shabby treatment which girls' education has received. All those that are interested in girls' education will endorse her dissatisfaction. For what are 11 crores disbursed in five years among 15 States going to do to promote girls' education out of and beyond the backwardness in which it has been allowed to stagnate? It is a tremendously long leeway that girls' education has to make. After 15 years of Congress rule the literacy percentage is only eight for women as compared to that of men which is 25 per cent. The proportion of boys at the end of the Second Plan period to the population in the age-group 6-11 years is 79 per cent while in the case of girls it is only 40 per cent, while at the end of the Third Plan period it is expected that the proportion in the case of girls will go up to 60 per cent against 80 per cent in the case of boys.

And it is this yawning gap that must be filled. The 11 crores allotted to girls' education in the Third Plan period will not do it. If the 89 crores provided in the Second Plan period achieved a literacy of 25 per cent for men and eight per cent for women the promise of 180 crores in the Third Plan with 11 crores for girls' education is not going to accelerate the growth of girls' education at the rate required. That is to say 1/15 of the total provision for primary education is expected to bridge the gulf between the states of boys' and girls' education. All the assurances of the Prime Minister to Mrs. Deshmukh that more liberal provision for girls' education as the result of the intervention that he has promised will not achieve the end. Unless the allocation is quadrupled to Rs. 50 crores for girls' education, the protests and promises of the Minister of Education will not carry us near enough to the goal. To secure this reallocation the expenditure on boys' education need not be reduced. The extra money for girls' education could be got out of the amount allotted to that educational luxury and experiment of doubtful utility—basic education. Three-fourths of the expenditure on basic education may be switched on to expenditure on girls' education without any detriment to sound edu-

cational progress. Similar reduction may be made on expenditure on general secondary education for boys, university education and professional education of university standard. These latter form the superstructure of education—the foundations are primary education—and the foundation of primary education is girls' education.

For, according to the educational maxim, "when you educate a boy you are only educating an individual, when you are educating a girl you are educating a whole family", it is girls' education that is the paramount need. Most of the social and economic backwardness of the country may be traced to the poor progress in girls' education. The very slowness of the progress of primary education and literacy may be traced to the fact that the women in the family are not literate. If they were educated up to the end of the primary stage, they would be interested in the expansion of the education of the boys. And what a difference an educated mother would make to the life of the family and the life of the village! In all backward and underdeveloped countries a dead set is made for the education of girls. As a report on Education in East Africa dated pre-war says, "if men from the primary and secondary schools marry wives who have had no schooling at all or none of any value, the educated fathers will have the greatest difficulty in passing on the benefits of their schooling to the children, and if it is necessary to ensure that the resources spent in raising each generation a further stage shall have cumulative effect on succeeding generations, it cannot be achieved without educating the women". And Mr. Kaymbu, an East African leader, deposed to the Committee, "unless our women are educated our progress is bound to be slow; our houses cannot be sanitary until our women are educated".

In the Prime Minister's letter to Mrs. Deshmukh he assures us that girls' education is one of the most important among the social services. Perhaps he would be more practical with generous allotments particularised in so many crores to girls' education, if he could see that girls' education is not merely a social welfare service but a protective and productive service. Girls' education is of economic importance. If he will refer to the Report of Lord Linlithgow's Commission on Agriculture to which he has made more than one reference, he will find this statement: "In no profession is the fortune of

A CHARTER FOR ANTI-SYNTHESIS

The reorganization of States on language basis is treated as a charter for oppression and partial disenfranchisement of people speaking any other language than that which enters into the name of the particular State. Those who were full citizens until the reorganization are being thought to have suddenly become second class and unwanted citizens. It takes very little time for a mob which has got excited for some reason to pick up this psychology of the local government and commit barbarities. Even in cases when State Governments and State legislatures do not openly go as far as this, they nurse such notions in their minds which affect the State administrations in practice. It is needless to say that this is a crime against national unity. The 'outsiders' in any State are a symbol of the unity of India and of the growing synthesis. The more recent the immigration, the more important is the contribution to synthesis. Far from being treated as 'outsiders', therefore, they should be treated as forerunners of a better order of things and of Indian unity and respectfully accorded fullest mental and external equality with those who speak the nominated regional language.

All States are really multi-lingual as Dr. B. C. Roy says and this misguided charter for oppression and anti-synthesis must be withdrawn and thrown into the sea. The prospects of losing votes in the General Elections should not deter statesmanship from doing the right thing. C.R.

the individual worker, however humble his lot, more dependent upon his own skill and judgment, and in none is the possession of a sound elementary education, and of the balanced and progressive outlook that it imparts, more likely to prove of commercial advantage, than in the profession of agriculture.....Our enquiries into the educational system of India in its bearing on rural development have left us firmly convinced of the great importance to rural development in this country of the spread of literacy among the women of India."

SURF IN THE MODERN HOME...



'THE WAY WE LIVE TODAY...'

says housewife PREMA SOONDERJI of Bombay

'THE WAY WE LIVE TODAY,' says Mrs Prema G. Soonderji of Walkeshwar Road, Bombay, 'we all want new and better things.

'SURF for instance. Today, I am proud of my washing because SURF makes such a brilliant job of it.'

SURF washes everything in the Soonderji home—shirts and saris, towels and sheets.

WHY NOT SURF IN YOUR HOME? SURF cuts your washing work in half, yet gives you washing that's fresh and gloriously white. See SURF's extra washing power at work in your home today.

Surf gives you the WHITEST WASH

A HINDUSTAN LEVER PRODUCT



SU. 11-XM

WISHFUL THINKING

By S. NARAYANA AIYAR

Referring to the progress made by his Plan schemes, Mr. Nehru said at the meeting of the National Development Council: "We come more and more to grips with the subject and find that the subject is more complicated than perhaps we had imagined to begin with, and also the more we advance the more difficulties come in our way. That indeed is almost, we might say, a sign of our advance". This is what one might call wishful thinking with a vengeance. In fact, in any human project, the normal experience is if the people in charge start and go about it the right way, the initial difficulties may seem insurmountable, but as they get their teeth into the job and progress forward, the difficulties tend to disappear, things fall more and more into place, and the working of the project tends to grow smoother. If Pandit Nehru thinks about the matter, he may perhaps realise that the reason why a path, which seemed fairly smooth when he started on it, bristles with difficulties and obstacles now is that he has taken the wrong road in going about this business of hastening the advent of national prosperity, and instead of laying the flattering unction to his soul that his difficulties are a measure of his advance, assess them for what they really are—the inevitable results of his wrong approach.

Nobody denies that the government of a country has a right and the duty to make broad large-scale plans as to the directions in which the general industrial activity of the country is to be guided, to allocate priorities and so on. The contention of the critics of Mr. Nehru's planning, particularly those of the Swatantra Party, is that for detailed planning and execution under one concentrated management and supervision that is being attempted in the name of socialism, the industrial, agricultural and commercial activity of a great country of the dimensions of India is so huge and variegated, a job that it is impossible to conceive of, let alone create and put into function, a body with the necessary competence to handle the job with the requisite efficiency. The bunglings which our planning bodies have perpetrated and are perpetrating, and the difficulties which Mr. Nehru is meeting with and claiming them as indications of progress are ample proof of their contention.

"It is rather difficult to understand that type of mind, because it has

no relation to fact or reality or the thinking of today. ... Apparently the struggles for peace, some people think, can best be achieved without this kind of organised planning, which really means an organised, intelligent and intellectual approach," says Mr. Nehru referring to his Swatantra Party critics. In a sense Mr. Nehru is right, particularly considering the nature of the audience he was addressing which was overwhelmingly composed of prospective candidates for the Congress ticket for the forthcoming elections which Mr. Nehru holds in his hands. Their *thinking of today* is largely confined to the one issue (how to continue in and advance along the power road that the Congress has opened out to them) and our criticism of Nehru's Plans has certainly no relation to it. It is high time that somebody told Pandit Nehru how preposterous it is when he claims a monopoly of an intelligent and intellectual approach to the problem of Indian reconstruction, especially when his methods are called in question by Rajaji. It has long been universally recognised that in the Gandhi entourage of which Pandit Nehru was such a distinguished ornament, Rajaji was the top intellectual. I remember an occasion when Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel told the Congress referring to Rajaji, "there is one thinking man amongst us (the "us" including the entire No-change party which then commanded a majority in the Congress) and he is at Salem." It is in answer to that selfsame Rajaji's criticism of his Plans that Pandit Nehru so habitually flaunts the intelligence and the intellectuality of his own approach to the problem.

"Every country, whatever its policy might be, recognised the importance of planning," stressed our Prime Minister. In saying so in defence of his Five Year Plans and as a refutation of the criticisms of his Plan schemes the Prime Minister conveniently forgot that it is not the class of planning which every country recognised as important that his critics (particularly those of the Swatantra Party) are attacking but his special brand of planning on the communist model with an inordinate dependence on a huge centralised bureaucracy and a series of mammoth Government-owned and Government-operated organisations that consume enormous sums of money and produce precious

little in the shape of results. And on this aspect he has nothing to say.

The two most obvious results so far of the socialist programme which our Prime Minister has been trying to implement with such missionary fervour are an enormous concentration of economic power in the hands of the State organisation which makes the Ministers, their aides and the senior officers of the Government a sort of overlords of the rest of the community. Because of the need of every small industrial organisation to approach a variety of government officials in respect of this permit, that sanction, that other loan or allotment, only people who can hire full time public relations officials can at all hope to do business. The overall result of all this is to concentrate small type business in the hands of fewer people.

While Mahatmaji acted in perfect good faith in placing on Jawaharlal Nehru the mantle of leadership of the Indian nation, every public act of his distinguished successor went against Gandhiji's ideals. It has tended to lower the average of Indian national character. The Government services have as a result of a large number of factors, such as indiscriminate expansion, inadequate training, general fall in educational standards and consequently the average equipment and character of recruits, deteriorated so badly that they are hopelessly inefficient all round with corruption and nepotism rampant.

The Congress politicians and the government servants of the higher grades jointly constitute the new ruling class and are well off and can and do look after themselves and friends and relatives and spend on themselves and their comforts crores of rupees raised in taxes, and crores more begged and borrowed from other countries all in the sacred name of "service to the masses of the people." The masses of the people who are the ostensible recipients of this service groan under the pressure of intolerable poverty and taxation. This is certainly not the Swaraj which Tilak claimed as his birthright. It is certainly not Mahatmaji's Rama Rajya.

Who knows? Real Swaraj may be just waiting round the corner if our millions pick up courage to assert themselves and take the liberty which nobody else can give them. The process will perhaps be hastened by more and more if our younger generation realised that fighting for truth and justice is a more satisfying and in the long run more fruitful path to power than acting as 'yesmen' to those already in power or helping to buy votes at elections in support of Congress candidates.



FOR YOU, MY SON...the great dams that will help us to produce more food, the fertilizer factories that will coax more from our soil, the bridges and highways that will link village and city, electricity undertakings that will power our industries, the hospital that will minister to the sick, the schools and colleges where dedicated men and women will teach our children... This is the India of tomorrow which ACC and India Cements are proud to help to bring into being.

BUILD TO LAST WITH ACC or Sankar BRAND Cement

THE CEMENT MARKETING COMPANY OF INDIA LIMITED • The Associated Cement Co. Ltd. • The India Cements Ltd.

JOURNALIST WITH A MISSION

Many tributes have been paid to Mr. Khasa Subba Rau by public men. Never did anybody deserve them more. I would like to add mine as coming from one who was privileged to move rather closely with him in what might be called the domestic sphere, without actually being a relative.

About twenty-five years ago there gathered around the banner of the *Swarajya*, the daily newspaper, many comparatively young men who, while following the liberal professions, also conceived that they could further the national cause through writing in the Press. Only a few of them were journalists. The rest lent their skill and enthusiasm to the common cause. As the son of one of these, the late Mr. N. S. Srinivasan, I was brought into early relationship with Mr. Subba Rau. There were very few things which the youth could then understand of what their elders and betters were talking and writing about. But I could readily realise that perhaps no one in all that band was more respected by his colleagues than Mr. Subba Rau. His burning sincerity was there for all to see. His simplicity, the total absence of any affectation, even intellectual, his readiness to help every lame dog over the stile made the deepest impression, which the passing years strengthened. Mr. Subba Rau's character was made early. In his case, the youth was the father of the man.

What a noble band that was! Every one of them was prepared to sacrifice his career, and many did, for the national cause. None of them was rich. In fact, as I remember that distant period, not everybody knew where his midday "tiffin" would come from. But come it did. They cultivated patriotism, and literature on a little oatmeal and porridge. They had deliberately forsworn creature comforts and hopes of "promotion", though they were mostly the kind of people who pursue these objectives and are often successful. They took no thought for the morrow, for provision would surely be made. But if they had little money to bless themselves with, they were rich in things of the mind. The amusing part was that, though they were fighting the British, they were brought up on English books. Burke was more familiar to them than Kalidasa, and Mill they could quote from with astounding facility. Shakespeare and the poets were open books to them. They took jealous pride in their knowledge of English literature.

Mr. Subba Rau tended to float, if this expression may be used, through this assemblage of devoted men. He always gave the impression of being in a company, but not of it. That was because of his high idealism. He brought to the common task of liberating the country a burning sense of mission, which naturally took no account of personalities. Vigorous without being vehement, just without being namby-pamby, he always went to the heart of the matter. Straight like a falcon he swooped on the quarry, and would not let it go. Clarity in writing works like lightning, it makes everything blindingly clear. That was perhaps the chief characteristic of Mr. Subba Rau's pen. He was not given to provarication. This it was that earned him his considerable reputation. Indian journalists who have made their mark with the pen are few. But Mr. Subba Rau was one of them.

Many of the younger writers, in fact, owe much to Mr. Subba Rau. He had the happy facility of encouraging them. His own example of careful, conscientious and just writing inspired them to emulation. Furthermore, he went out of his way to make them give of their best. He would accept nothing careless and shoddy. When he was pleased, he was generous in praise. By precept and by example has he been the maker of many a comparatively young writer today.

The death of such a writer and such a man creates a void that cannot be easily filled. To those who were admitted to his friendship (even with his younger contemporaries he could make an art of friendship), it is much more than a void; it is a catastrophe.

N. S. RAMASWAMI

A DEVOTED PATRIOT

Journalism was a spiritual adventure with Khasa Subba Rau. He could not think or write about anything without intense and almost religious passion. It was this characteristic which made him a class by himself among journalists. He was not interested in news scoops or clever tripping up of politicians. But when he felt he was expounding a good cause, he went after it whole-heartedly.

I had the privilege of working with him in *Indian Express*. Our temperaments were different but we agreed that each should be free to deal with current problems in his own way. We got on nicely together as the problems

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

My mother-in-law, Mrs. Khasa Subba Rau, tenders her grateful thanks to all the numerous friends who sent messages of sympathy to the family.

P. VAMAN RAU.

we were interested in were different.

He had a very sensitive mind in which good and evil took exaggerated proportion and this made his writings fascinating. He had no difficulty in changing his opinion about persons and things if his heart told him to do so. He had no necessity to go through the process of rational justification for the change. His emotional make-up made it necessary for him to have a hero and I believe he was never so spiritually satisfied as during his last years when he became a whole-hearted follower of Rajaji. By Subba Rau's disappearance, Indian journalism has lost a colourful personality, a devoted patriot and a fearless advocate of righteous causes.

K. SANTHANAM.

DOYEN OF JOURNALISTS

At a meeting of the Advertising Agencies Association of India, Madras Region, held at the Cosmopolitan Club, Madras on Friday the 23rd June the following resolution was passed, all members standing:

This meeting of the Advertising Agencies Association of India expresses its deep and profound sense of sorrow at the death of that doyen of Journalism and a true friend of Indian Advertising, Sri Khasa Subba Rau.

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

BOOK REVIEW

MANY FACES OF Mr. K.

If there is one leader, more than any other, who has been the centre of the stage in world affairs in the last few years, it is Mr. Khrushchov. Until the American elections began to hit the headlines, the talk everywhere was about his political adventures and personal conquests. For the three or four weeks he was in New York for the U.N. Assembly Session he was making news almost every day, be it on the public thoroughfares or from the hotel balcony, and nearly set the West River on fire. At the General Assembly itself, he stole the show from all the other Prime Ministers and heads of States as much by the violence of his tactics as by the vigour of his personality. His suggestions were bold, though his diplomacy was rude. His actions were inexplicable and his tantrums unpredictable. He dashed about like a bull in a china shop and hurried back home, leaving the spectators gaping dumb-founded at the shambles.

But there seemed to be a method in all this madness of Khrushchov's behaviour. The outbursts were often deliberate, and not too elaborately premeditated. The indiscretions were calculated. Sometimes visible under the rugged and unruly exterior was an undoubted seriousness of purpose, apart from the flair for showmanship and the genius for propaganda. Did he not, after all, win the heart of the Indian Prime Minister breaking through the armour of his idealism and refinement by his aggressively friendly approach? The charm of his bear hug was evidently irresistible, though he could bear his claws and fangs at the slightest provocation and scare away anyone from President Eisenhower and Hammarskjöld to the lesser fry from other nations. What kind of man is this Khrushchov, of whom the world outside was not aware until the death of Stalin? Where lies the secret of his thundering success at home and abroad? What explains his rise to power and popularity?

Some of these questions and others are sought to be answered at length by K. A. Abbas in his well-timed book on Khrushchov based on his three-hour interview with him and against

the background of his frequent visits to the Soviet Union. He supplements his direct information on the subject with the impressions from casual talks with the man in the street of Moscow, represented by a barber, a writer, an industrial worker or a student. Written in a breezy style, the book, however, follows a cinematic pattern of presentation that might impress the adolescent more than the informed. The author presents his subject as essentially a man of the people, a dynamic leader who had awakened the Russian masses from the terrible nightmare of Stalin's dictatorship. He gives him all the credit, or much of it, at any rate, for decentralisation of industry, for the emphasis on consumer goods and light industries, for stepping up food production (and popularising maize cultivation), for improving the livestock (fattening the pigs, in particular) and for the general trend of liberalisation at home. In foreign relations, he is hailed as the inaugurator of a new era of peaceful co-existence with the capitalist nations, of personal contacts with other leaders. He had done his best to dissipate the cold war tensions before launching the peace offensive and giving the call for disarmament, we are told, which is only true, by and large.

It is a bright picture that the author paints of the life and work of Khrushchov. It is, perhaps, good as far as it goes, but it does not go very far. The praise is superlative and unqualified. For many things said, there are many others (probably more) left unsaid. While the rapprochement with Tito's Yugoslavia is made much of, the crushing of the Hungarian revolt is conveniently forgotten. While the debunking of Stalin, after he had been safely locked up in the glass coffin at the mausoleum for three years, is related in glowing terms, the elimination of political rivals like Malenkov, Molotov, Bulganin and Zhukov is hardly mentioned at all. Nor the discomfiture in the Polish compromise.

As a necessary corrective to the gushing paeans and effusive panegyrics, worthy of the official handouts of the Foreign Languages Publishing House, one could turn to the more balanced assessment of Edward Crankshaw in his study of *Khrushchov's Russia*. This work is much better informed on the facts of Soviet life and politics and its analysis of recent changes is by far the more subtle and perceptive. While approving of Khrushchov's domestic policy

as being generally a move in the right direction, he gives the reader the benefit of a searching enquiry into the motivations of every major shift in the urgency of its political context. In spite of the increasing evidence of the iron hand beneath (and sometimes without) the velvet glove, he does not believe that Khrushchov has much in common with his fearsome master. But it is just as well to ponder a little on the following passage: "These miserable nonentities wanted to destroy the Party and the Soviet State ... They raised their treacherous hands against Comrade Stalin ... Stalin—our home; our desire; Stalin—the light of advanced and progressive humanity; Stalin—our will; Stalin—our victory".

Who spoke these frenzied words of adoration? Not Molotov, not Malenkov. But the doughty author of the great indictment of the Personality Cult. It was Khrushchov himself speaking at the infamous trials of 'Trotskyites' in 1937. One could hardly believe one's eyes or ears. It is an interesting point that Crankshaw makes in emphasising the fact that the silent process of debunking Stalin was set in motion by Malenkov himself, long before the official impeachment by Khrushchov. It was Malenkov too who instigated the writers straining under the gag to take courage into their hands and turn satirists, if need be. And he got more in the process than he bargained for!

After the collective honeymoon following the death of Stalin, which was naturally short-lived, it would seem that Khrushchov was using all the political manoeuvre at his command to eliminate Malenkov and company from the way to his capture of the Kremlin. If Malenkov said that nuclear war would end in world disaster, Khrushchov would promptly retort that it would only end the capitalist world and not the Soviet Union. When the one plumped for consumer goods, the other harked back to heavy industries and while the one strengthened the managerial class (of administration) the other countered it by putting the party apparatus on the trim. In breaking the industrial directorate in Moscow and scattering the power among the economic councils in the regions, Khrushchov was decentralising the structure as well as weakening the hands of his rival whose stronghold was the Moscow concentration of administrators. When once Malenkov was safely tucked away in some power station in the arid wastes of Tadzhikistan, Khrushchov began to implement the same discredited measures, without saying it in so many words.

(Continued on next page)

"EDITED BY....."

By SRIVATSA

The name, Mowbray Morris, on the title page of a book may not signify much to modern readers of English literature. As far as could be seen, he made no great name for himself as a man of letters. But if he was not the rose itself, he at least lived near the rose. His edition of Boswell in the "Globe" series is certainly not as well known as that of Dr. Birkbeck Hill. Yet it was his introduction to that classic which implanted in a young mind some twenty years ago a love of English literature which only death could destroy. It came as a relief to the metallic essay of Macaulay on poor Bozzy. This is a violent caricature, but the adolescent mind could not quite realise it, and its effect was rather shattering. How could such a baboon have written such a delectable book? The antidote which Morris administered cured the disease. It was easy to see not only why Boswell came to write the life but also why he could not have failed to write it. When one reads the

MANY FACES OF Mr. K.

The manner in which Molotov was despatched to Ulan Bator and then to Vienna, Bulganin was disgraced and then pensioned off, Zhukov was briefly glorified and then cast away and other rivals (like Kaganovich, Shepilov etc.) neatly eliminated, makes a revealing chapter in the war of succession. Soon after the Hungarian trouble, Khrushchov is supposed to have called the Soviet writers to a garden party and threatened to shoot them down if they went altogether out of hand. This was off the record, of course. To survive in a complex world he must have many faces—one paternal and grim by turns at home, avuncular to new friends in Asia and Africa, Big Brotherly to bloating China, and sinister to the West, though smiling at times.

If Lenin was the liberator and founder, Stalin, the consolidator and defender, Khrushchov may try, in his own way, to live up to the role of the builder of an earthly paradise. Whatever may be the truth of his professions for world peace, it is beyond doubt that he is striving for a prosperous, enlightened and powerful Russia according to his lights, all the while keeping the rival's at a safe distance from the Kremlin throne. If he is not so black as his enemies paint him he is neither so simple as his admirers would have him.

CHITRAGUPTA.

introduction again today, one recognises the essential justness of it all.

A copy of the "Poet's Walk" edited by Morris has happened to fall into my hands. This anthology has the benefit of another introduction by Morris, and the years seem to have been spanned. There is the same reasonable thought, the same invitation to taste of literary delights, the same smooth phrase. If the critic who writes introductions to the books of other people cannot be regarded in a high light, there could be no doubt that, all the same, he does render some useful service, by which not only the young may benefit. The anthology edited by Morris is not what another taste would have made of it. But then anthologies are individual books. Ideally, every reader should edit his own for his own use. As this is not possible, the next best thing to be done is to amass a number of anthologies, to add to Palgrave and Quiller-Couch. It will go hard if, in all this mass, the reader does not find his account. Morris is always a useful guide to taste.

Students, of course, are much beholden to this class of critics. There are fashions in this as well as other things, and A. W. Verity does not seem to be accepted today as the essential guide to Shakespeare that he was sometime ago. In the hands of most students there were to be found copies of his editions, which appeared under the "Pitt Press" imprint. There could have been no better cicerone. His introduction, while simple and suited to the capacity of the young students who read him, nevertheless hinted of the great things in Shakespearean criticism and knowledge that they might read if they chose. It was a happy blending of the useful and the alluring, qualities which also adorned his editions of Milton. Verity was able to withstand the competition of the "Arden" edition, at least with younger students. The latter edition was rather more advanced, and one could indulge if one pleased in the delights of textual criticism. Is it not to Theobald, whom Pope despised, that we owe the famous line, "He babbled of green fields"? A few years later, there appeared the New Cambridge editions. The first volume devoted to "The Tempest" contained a long introduction by Quiller-Couch, which it is a delight to read. Dover Wilson disported himself mightily in the ocean of textual criticism. The volumes, rather dark gray-

brown in colour, look well on the shelf, slim and neat. The Penguins then invaded the field, but Dr. Harrison's editions are limited in scope, providing only the text of the play and a few pages of comment. Across the years Verity still beckons invitingly. It is still a pleasure to read him. He who comes to Shakespeare through this genial editor is certainly fortunate.

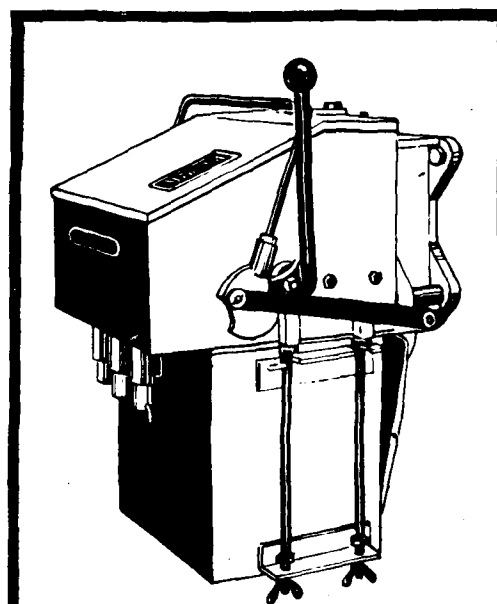
George Saintsbury is nothing if not magisterial. His style has been impugned, and it is, in fact, not very easy to defend it. But his learning and his zest to communicate to others his love of books make him an admirable "introducer" of books, if the phrase may be coined. He provided a prodigious number of introductions to English as well as French books, and they are all worth reading in themselves. Himself somewhat of a character (his "Cellar Books" have been pronounced splendid by the *cognoscenti*), he gloried in other characters. Peacock is caviare to the multitude, but Saintsbury could make even such a mediocre book as "Melincourt" (mediocre when considered comparatively, that is to say, it would have made the fame of a lesser author) delightful, and compel the reader to graduate to "Misfortunes of Elphin", "Maid Marian", and "Crotchet Castle". If it is the function of an editor to create interest in the author that he edits, Saintsbury, for all his eccentricities, must be recognised as the prince of them all.

But he also serves who stands and waits. There are many humble editors of whom no memory remains after the book is laid down. Yet they are also necessary in the kingdom of letters. Some are only called upon to write text-books for tender understandings. But many of them do so remarkably well. Some others are very unobtrusive indeed, and perform the minimum of their functions. All of them have their uses. The literary editor, for all that he has essentially a menial part to play, deserves well of the commonalty of readers.



The
Nation's
Best

BENGAL ELECTRICALS CO.
MADRAS-17 — BANGALORE-3



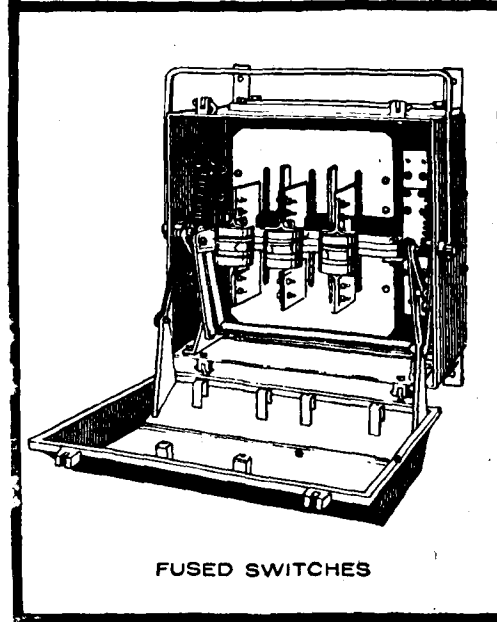
OIL CIRCUIT BREAKERS

EASUN - OTTERMILL OIL CIRCUIT BREAKERS

For LOW TENSION-up to 600 amps.
25 MVA-Rupturing Capacity.
Draw-out or Non-Draw-out type for
wall, panel or floor mounting

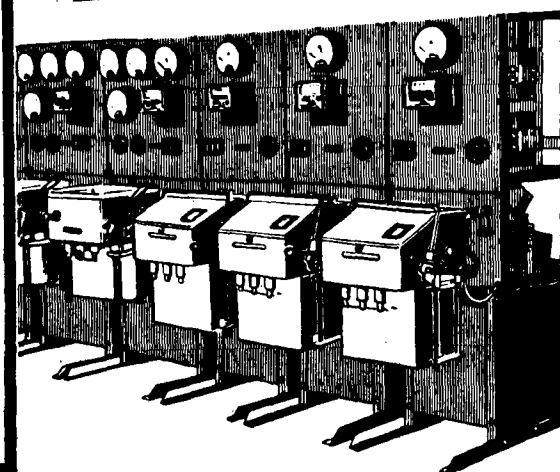
EASUN - OTTERMILL FUSED SWITCHES

For LOW TENSION-up to 400 amps-
35 MVA-Rupturing Capacity.



FUSED SWITCHES

**NOW OFFERED AS
SEPARATE UNITS IN ADDITION TO
COMPLETE BOARDS**



Made under licence from OTTERMILL SWITCHGEAR LTD. OF U.K. by
ESWARAN & SONS (AGENCIES) PRIVATE LTD., MADRAS-16.

Sole Agents:

EASUN ENGINEERING CO. LTD., 5-7, Second Line Beach, Madras-1.

Also at: CALCUTTA, NEW DELHI, LONDON, BANGALORE, MADURAI.

EP

THE PRICE OF A VICTORY

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Not even Russia's Gagarin has suddenly become more glamorous after the adventure of his space-flight than Orissa's Bijoyanand Patnaik in the wake of his spectacular, even sensational, electoral victory. The press which has its own peculiar way of at once recognizing and boosting one who 'does the trick', has started screaming about 'the man who led the Congress to victory' and also familiarizing to the world his likeness. The Patnaik of Patnaiks (for Utkal Pradesh abounds in Patnaiks) is more than Orissa's man of destiny: he is a (if not *the*) saviour of the National Congress, who has shown the path to the Paradise of office and power. He deserves to be more widely, though all about him may not yet be fully, known.

When such a man appears on the stage asking for attention (and applause), it is customary to ascertain "what arms did your man carry in the serried conflicts of his time?" But the time is perhaps not yet when one can know what arms or *astras* Mr. Patnaik carried with him in wresting victory out of frustration and despair and saving his home-State for the Congress. It may still be a trade secret—and politics is today very much of a trade! Of course, it is always open to others to guess, whether wrongly or shrewdly. But no magician shows his hand so easily without creating in the spectators a kind of illusion. And as for Mr. Patnaik, he has, paradoxical as it may seem, not yet recovered from the 'shock' of his success.

The excuse for a rebellion, they say, lies in its success. So it is in the case of a political adventure or electoral gamble. Mr. Patnaik gambled heavily, a trifle too heavily, but then he has emerged unscathed out of the game—and qualified himself for the Chief Mi-

nistership of Orissa as well as for higher leadership in the Congress. It is not surprising that States' leaders elsewhere are after him for 'tips'! "If you wish to know about elections," said Sir Winston Churchill once, "I am the person to tell you." But though he has fought more elections in his life than Mr. Patnaik has done or can ever do, the British statesman's experiences could not have been so strange or sensational or thrilling as the Orissa leader's and he is certainly the person who could tell us, particularly his colleagues in the Congress, about elections.

In the interest of India's political awakening, Dr. Keskar could have asked Mr. Patnaik to talk on the air (not of course, *in the air*) on 'How to Win Elections'—at short notice and despite tremendous odds. But perhaps that will be, in war-time phraseology, 'dropping dangerous hints to the enemy'! Mr. Patnaik may, however, address the next Congress at a secret session, on the subject on which he has emerged as the country's biggest authority. If electoral leadership in the Congress will, however, conform to the Patnaik pattern, there need hardly be any doubt that the Congress will sweep the polls as 'convincingly' in other States as in Orissa—and not less so at the Centre where the stakes are higher.

There is no victory that has not its price. The enterprising Mr. Patnaik knows it to his cost. A gallant bruiser, he will rough it out while it will necessarily take him some time to lick his wounds. If his stakes were high, his sacrifices were great. He is, however, the type of man who, when bent upon a 'win' does not mind the cost, and one who, when he dares, never grudges the throe. Electorally, he has delivered the goods; politically he has to deliver them. He has his plans. He

is endowed with imagination, and with a fine sense of anticipation. He knows that he should keep his party intact and that in order to save it from possible defections, he has got to do a thing or two.

It is in the interests of his party and his own that his chief rival and whilom leader, Mr. Hare-Krushna Mahatab should be placated and rehabilitated. He knows that the so-called inquiry into Mr. Mahatab's activities during election period is just the kind of weapon that is capable of cutting both ways, and may harm both of them. So the shrewd man that he is, Mr. Patnaik is thinking in terms of strategy. He is credited with the desire of finding Mr. Hare Krushna Mahatab safely installed on some pinnacle outside Orissa. It is a good theory that those whom Chief Ministers of States find inconvenient nearer home should be found sanctuaries or sinecure jobs outside. Ordinarily the strategy would have worked. But Mr. Mahatab was supposed to have been indifferent to Dr. B. C. Roy's overtures. Further, he has since gone about the wrong way by criticizing the Prime Minister (which Mr. Nehru could generously forgive) and the Plan (which Mr. Nehru *cannot tolerate*). Yet, from a long-range point of view and in larger interests, Mr. Mahatab may not yet be given up for lost. And whatever he may have lost, he has not, it seems, lost Mr. Patnaik's active support in so far as elevation at a respectable distance goes! In U.P. Mr. C. B. Gupta is supposed to have the same generous intentions in regard to Dr. Sampurnanand.

Incidentally, in the case of some vanquished politicians Governorships may come in handy, for there are some falling vacant. Not all our Governors are reconciled to their lot. They are thinking of other things while others are thinking of the places that they desire to vacate. One thing is certain—all blanks will be filled, no matter by whom.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ORISSA ELECTIONS IN RETROSPECT

Sir,—Certain broad facts have to be emphasised concerning the Orissa mid-term-elections to show whether a real political victory has been gained. The Congress secured only 14.6 per cent of the total votes of the State and yet people are asked to believe that this is a tremendous victory.

In one South American country, it is the rule that if there are more than one party contesting the elections, the party that gains the largest number of votes is given a certain number of seats in the Cabinet; the next largest party is given a certain number and all the others a certain fixed (but reduced) number of seats. Thus in the State of Uruguay, the party which obtains the largest number of votes is given 5 seats in a Cabinet of 9, the next largest party gets 3 seats and the other parties get 1 seat each. This balanced composition of the Cabinet makes it impossible, even if a majority were to be from one party, to override at every stage the minority viewpoint; for if they did so, the possibilities are that they will be thrown out. But when the minority is given an absolute power, it tends to dictatorship.

Madras. V. K. SUNDAR.

EFFICIENCY INDEED!

Sir,—At Rajkot, on June 11, the Union Minister for Industries is reported to have asserted that state enterprises were efficient. In the recent Budget papers it has become known that on an investment of Rs. 708 crores in state undertakings, the return is merely 0.51 per cent. Even if we ignore the reports of the Parliamentary Estimates Committee on state undertakings, wherein a number of instances of gross mismanagement and inefficiency have been pointed out, the poor return on the capital causes serious misgivings as to the accuracy of the Minister's assertion. It is desirable to have an indepen-

dent commission of non-politicians to investigate into the working of state enterprises and report to the nation which is made to finance them.

ARISTIDES.

VANITY FROM BORROWED FUNDS

Sir,—The Aid India Club has given an open cheque for over two billion dollars to the Nehru Government, albeit as loan. President Kennedy has also issued a certificate of good conduct to the India Government on the endorsement of former Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker that "he did not believe he had ever seen money as usefully and wisely spent as American assistance in India".

The average intelligent citizen who follows the developments in this country closely is somewhat bewildered at this testimony and wonders whether Mr. Bunker has been perusing the Audit Reports of the Government itself which have appeared in the press periodically. Each report carries a tale of culpable neglect, losses in crores, corruption and gross inefficiency.

Sugar, the trade in which is the monopoly of the Government, is produced in the country at a cost of Rs. 700 per ton and the Food and Agriculture Minister is finding it difficult to market it abroad at even half the cost to secure the necessary foreign exchange to meet obligations while the Indian consumer is called upon to pay Rs. 1,300 per ton to subsidise the loss and to provide a margin of profit to the Government. So with cement and so will it be with iron and steel. It is just the old proverb of the goldsmith pilfering out of his own spouse's jewel! Every citizen, rich, middle-class and poor has been taxed to capacity directly and indirectly and any further burden will only kill the middle and poor classes who unfortunately happen to be the worst victims of the present policies. How is India going to meet her obligations which are growing every day?

P. S. KRISHNASWAMY.

CONGRESS IS GOING COMMUNIST

Sir,—Whether it is called Nazism, Fascism, Communism or Avadi Socialism the common characteristic is Statism and the resultant gagging of individual liberty and fundamental freedoms.

Considering the achievements of the Congress since Independence, we note that it is a record of dismal failures in internal as well as international affairs.

On financial matters the reports of the Public Accounts Committee show that the Congress is not capable of prudent management of public funds. Owing to the systematic curtailment of the fundamental rights, the soaring prices of essential commodities and the extremely unbearable and increasing tax burden, the Congress has made life miserable for the common man. All lovers of democracy should unite and act conjointly to give a crushing blow to the Congress and Communists at the polls in 1962. Let us hope that we will be able to defend and protect our hard earned freedom.

V. S. MUTHUSWAMY

IS THIS SOCIALISM?

Sir,—Overzealous Congressmen in the States want to out-bid Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in their zeal for socialism by introducing all the ugly features of communism. Take for instance, the proposed land legislation in Mysore, under which a ceiling of 27 standard acres is fixed for the landowner. The stringent condition of self-cultivation is tacked on to such retention, under which a landlord in S. Kanara will not be left a square inch of land, as all land in Kanara is and has been enjoyed, as a rule, through an immemorial tenancy system known as *chalgant*, self-cultivation being an exception. Resumption of land from such tenants for self-cultivation is made impossible and impracticable by several stringent conditions. The landholders as a class will virtually be expropriated without being able to retain even that little extent of their land within the ceiling limit and will have to accept a quantum of compensation which is less even than the solatium granted (in addition to compensation) in ordinary land acquisition cases. Though the amendment to Article 31 vests the power of fixing compensation with the legislature, is it just and moral to give but a nominal compensation arbitrarily determined by the legislature and bearing no relation whatsoever to the value of the land? May be, the landholders are a minority, but they are a considerable minority who would be smarting under such gross injustice. Has the Congress Government any scheme of rehabilitating these dispossessed landholders?

Is it just and fair that the landholders as a class should be expropriated without allowing them even to

enjoy that portion of land within the ceiling limit? It is expropriation to fix a ceiling on land but to decree that even the land left for the owner could be enjoyed only in a particular way, and preventing by stringent conditions free resumption, can have the only intention of depriving the landlords of an honest and honourable livelihood to which they are entitled under the law of the land. I ask Shri Pauditji, with all humility, as to whether this is the Socialism that he wants of his partymen to introduce in the States. I ask the people whether they want to vote such a Congress to power again at the next elections.

Mangalore.

U. C. S. BHATT.

ELECTION AHEAD: CONGRESS TACTICS

Sir,—In a parliamentary democracy what is wanted is fair and free elections. What is the lesson of the mid-term Orissa elections?

Besides the slashing charges of the P.S.P. on the Congress tactics of "colossal misuse of money, large-scale bribery, purchase of votes", I have had confirmation of these charges from other independent sources. While the Congress was nervous about getting 53 seats, they have now secured 82:

The following points have now become clear:

1. The Congress is not going to vacate just prior to elections.
2. The Congress has through its amendment of the company law collected huge sums for election purposes.
3. In the last elections the cost was on the verge of Rs. 40,000 for an M.P.'s seat.
4. In such a climate, there is little chance for talented men of character who are neither rich nor have the backing of money-bags, piled through permits, licences and hot favouritism.

A wag added that everything is fair in love, war and elections. Gandhiji's Congress is now floating over mounting discontent and unconscionable prices. What of it? She has taken a good start in the Orissa mid-term elections. The means adopted to achieve this end will disturb Gandhiji's heavenly rest!

K. R. R. SASTRY.

SUICIDAL TO REPLACE ENGLISH

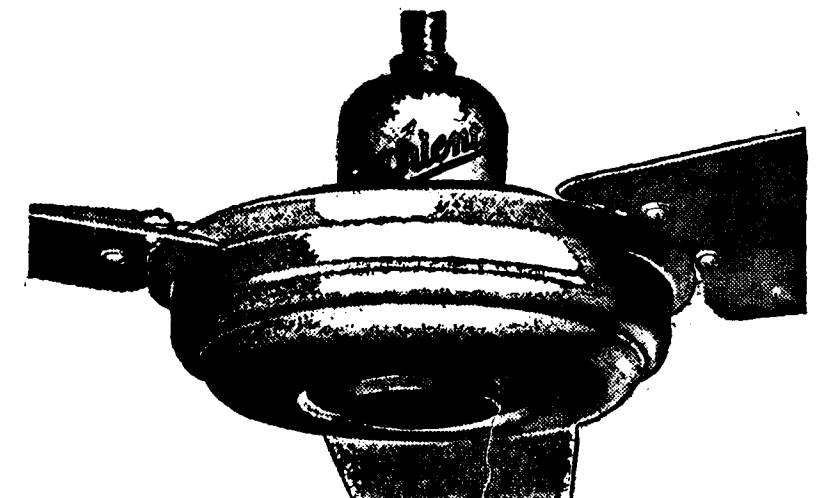
Sir,—I fully support all that Shri Rajagopalachari has written about language under "The Lesson Of Assam". To replace English by Hindi or even

another vernacular will be suicidal not only to the unity of the country but also to the cause of education, the standard of which has already started declining because of the neglect of English in the schools in most of the States. Fanatics of Hindi and the other regional languages have posed a problem to the country, which is more harmful and dangerous than the occupation

of India by the Moghuls or the British. These national enemies have to be fought with the same or more courage, devotion and determination as we did in the fight for Independence. It is a pity there are very few in the country who have the courage and outspokenness characteristic of Rajaji.

Calcutta, June 18.

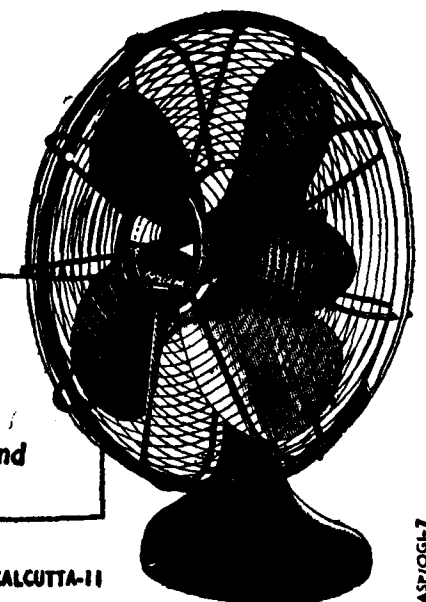
(Prof.) J. M. GANGULI.



BETTER FANS ARE BUILT THROUGH
BETTER ENGINEERING

that is
the
Orient
way

Orient
FANS
Years ahead in looks and
performance



ORIENT GENERAL INDUSTRIES LTD. CALCUTTA-11

AST/061-7

CONSULT
RAM MOHAN
TRAVEL SERVICE

For All Bookings

Air - Sea - Rail

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

ATUL

• DYES

• CHEMICALS

• PHARMACEUTICALS



THE ATUL PRODUCTS LTD.

Atul, via. Bulsar,
Western Railway.

Printed by Ananthamurayyan & published by T. Sadasivam on behalf of M/s. Bharathan Publications Private Ltd., at the Kalki Press, Kilpauk, Madras-10. P. CHAN JOSEPH

Founded by, **Khasa Subba Rau**

Vol. VI. No. 1

MADRAS, JULY 8, 1961

Price 15 nP.

SIXTH YEAR

For five years now I have been raising my voice against the things that go on, warning against dangers shaping against us, and hoping against hope that men and Government may turn from folly and vanity to wisdom. The SWARAJYA's sixth year is also the sixth year of my protest. KHASA SUBBA RAU is no longer available in the flesh to pray with me, encourage, help and bless. But his spirit continues to be watch and ward over his great little journal, which symbolises and expresses the national thirst for SWATANTRA, for the ending of tyranny and suppression, and for the establishment of true freedom which is the natural and straight path to the realisation of man's full potentiality.

The latest victory of the Government party in Orissa marks a crisis. Democracy is in peril. The Orissa stink is enough to rouse the most sleepy among us. The scandal remains unrepudiated. If the party in office is free to perpetuate itself by being in office and using its power during election time, if Ministers, their minions and go-betweens are free to collect funds for the party chest and spend without reference to legal restrictions, and Government contractors are placed at the helm of affairs, then perpetual continuance of the same party in office is certain, and democracy stands shut down.

With this crisis plainly threatening national freedom, the sixth year of this journal begins. May every reader pray with us "Satyam eva jayate, na aurtam", and seek courage and energy from the Source of all power. C.R.

AMN'T I PROSPEROUS?

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

In a permit-licence-raj, often it may happen that some people get a larger share in the total income of the nation than before. Individual businessmen may not only have a feeling of increased prosperity but also entertain an illusion of improved national prosperity. But a larger share to some few, out of a total that is smaller than what it should be, under a free economy is not a ground for preferring a permit-licence-raj. A more even and equitable share in a larger total is what a just citizen should aspire to. Industrialists and others who flourish in the sunshine of the Congress Government ought to realize this. They should look at things as they move in their own affairs. If they do this, they can easily realize how energy and enthusiasm, and even brains, play with increased activity and produce more when there is individual interest than when that is ruled out. What is true in the instances before their eyes is also true in the affairs of the nation, which are conducted beyond their ken. It is reprehensible selfishness to prefer a permit-licence regime to a free economy just because it happens to bring in, at the moment, more money to oneself. National economy and its ups and downs will ultimately react on individual affairs although there is a time lag in between.

Suppose the total earning of a community is Rs. 100, and out of this, forty persons get each Re. 1; the remaining Rs. 60 is available to be

divided among the rest of the community. Suppose, instead, in a permit-licence-raj, eight favoured persons get each Rs. 5, and the remaining Rs. 60 is divided among the rest, eight persons feel that the economy has improved. But the main body of people see no difference. Again if the regulations are further tightened and six favoured individuals get Rs. 8 each, then the rich will have got richer, and the remaining Rs. 52 divided among the main body of the community will give each somewhat less than what they were getting before. This would be so even if the total earning were Rs. 105 instead of Rs. 100. This miniature picture gives the simple arithmetic of the phenomenon of increased national income, but the rich getting richer and poor poorer, in the economy laid down by the Congress Government. And if as a result of loss of incentive, the total is reduced from Rs. 100 to Rs. 95, the fund for the general body would be only Rs. 47 and each of them would be getting definitely less than before, although each one of the favoured class would feel very well off and praise the regime.

All those whom materialist egoism has not made completely blind and deaf to what is going on around them can see how the good, though somewhat lazy, people of this land are being rapidly transformed by the policies of the Congress Government into a nation of busy intriguers, as Silvio Gesell warned long ago.

The Congress Government is exploiting the universal desire for equality of opportunity while incessantly maintaining gross inequality through its policy of permits, licences and quotas. It is obvious that equality of opportunity issues out of the free market and open competition, and not out of favours got through party go-betweens. The two-fold strength of the Congress Party is the immaturity of the electorate and the money support of the permit-licence-quota holders to whom fat monopolies are granted. Heavy taxation is borne easily enough by the wealthy, because through higher prices it is all transferred to the poor consumers below, who bear all the weight of the direct as well as the indirect taxation.

It may take long for businessmen to realize that present money is not the most precious of their earthly possessions, and that their future is written on the wall if they pursue their present policy of making hay while the sun shines. Communism is marching forward, its chariot horses being the Congress policies of confiscation, undermining of fundamental freedoms, permits and licences, and heavy taxation.

A little self-interest, the fear of losing some small present advantage for oneself, is enough to block the large general interest from one's view. Self-interest makes man apathetic about the growing evil of Statism even as a ragged umbrella is enough to hide the great sun and keep the heat off one's head. A couple of square inches of a fan near the eyes are enough to hide the whole world. So great is the power of something near to oneself to make people fail to realize or watch with unconcern a great public evil and allow it to grow unchallenged. It is easy enough to buy peace for oneself in some way and remain content while misrule, corruption and intolerable taxation are getting into an irremovable permanent condition of life in India.

TOWARDS BECOMING A NATION OF INTRIGUERS

The following extracts are taken from *The Natural Economic Order* by Silvio Gesell (of whom J. M. Keynes wrote: "I believe that the future will learn more from the spirit of Gesell than from that of Marx"):

The Natural Economic Order might also be called "The Manchester System," the economic order which has been the ideal of all true lovers of freedom—an order standing by itself without intervention from outside, an order in which the free play of economic forces would rectify the blunders of State-Socialism and short-sighted official meddling.

The choice lies between private control and State control of economic life; there is no third possibility. Those who refuse to make this choice may, to inspire confidence, invent for the order they propose attractive names, such as co-operation or guild-socialism, or nationalisation, but the fact cannot be disguised that all these amount to the same thing, the same abominable rule of officials, the death of personal freedom, personal responsibility and independence.

Shall nature, with iron logic, carry out the process by natural selection, or shall the feeble reason of man—of present day degenerate man—take over this function from nature? That is what we have to decide.

In the Natural Economic Order, selection under free competition untrammelled by privileges will be determined by personal achievement, and will therefore result in the development of the qualities of the individual; for work is the only weapon of civilised man in the struggle for existence. Man seeks to hold his own in competition by constantly increasing and perfecting his achievements. ... Beyond all doubt free competition would favour the

efficient and lead to their increased propagation; and that alone would suffice to ensure the ascent of man.

If, on the other hand, we decide for State control of economic life, we exclude nature from the process of selection. Human propagation is not, indeed, formally handed over to the State, but virtually it passes under State control. The State determines whether and at what time a man can found a family, and what sort of upbringing he can provide for his children. By paying its officials different salaries the State at present intervenes decisively in the propagation of those in its service, and in the future this intervention would become general.

The type of human being which pleased the State authorities would become the prevailing type. The individual would then no longer gain his position by personal capacity, by his relation to other men and to his surroundings; his success or failure would, on the contrary, depend upon his relation to the heads of the party in power. He would obtain his position by intrigue, and the cleverest intriguers would leave the largest number of descendants—endowed of course with the qualities of their parents.

In this way State control of economic life would influence the breeding of men, as changes of fashion in clothing influence the breeding of sheep, and determine the numbers of white sheep and black sheep bred. The authority composed of the cleverest intriguers would appoint, promote or degrade each individual. Those who refuse to become intriguers would fall into the rear, their type would become less numerous and finally disappear. The State mould would form men. A development above the type it produced would be impossible.

UNWANTED CO-OPERATIVES TO INVADE TRADE

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Co-operation is the Bluebeard of the Indian economy, partly because the Government regards it as a halfway house to communism and largely because it spreads political power and patronage to the largest number on the credit and cash of government and of countless small investors. Beginning with credit societies, it has done turns with multipurpose societies, handloom, warehousing, sugar, cotton ginning, joint farming, housing societies and is now thinking of consumer societies, with loans, subsidies and import licences from government. The Natesan Committee has made proposals for the expansion of consumer co-operatives on two presumptions, first, that the Indian economy is incomplete without them and second, the public credit and money is available without limit to set up a three tier organisation of primary stores, the district wholesale stores and the State wholesale emporiums.

Trade in India from the hawkers and the Kiosk keeper, to the small and big shopkeepers in every street and village is, if anything, over-developed and over-competitive. The purpose of consumer co-operatives in other countries was, first, to reduce monopoly, second, to save on costs and third, to serve customers of a class who were prepared to trust each other, on one hand, and to risk their own capital on the other, to be their own suppliers and consumers. There is no monopoly in our trade. Secondly, our trade works on the thinnest overheads, the owners working for themselves in various capacities. On the other hand, the Committee proposes that the Central and the State Governments between them give a subsidy of Rs. 1,200 for each primary store and Rs. 12,000 for each Apex store as managerial subsidy in addition to meeting

the cost of their own supervisory staff. In respect of loyalty of the members, there is not one single consumer co-operative society which depends exclusively on the business of its members. Even controlled commodities, the sale of which alone has enabled the survival of most of the existing consumer co-operatives, are sold to the general public.

The Committee never cared, it appears, to examine the working of existing societies. It could be said with assurance, that there is probably not one of them which is even now not having investigations for embezzlement. At the moment, the Andhra Weavers' Co-operative Society has distinguished itself, even according to the memorandum of four of its directors, by reducing within the last six years its reserve of Rs. 24.35 lakhs and the Government grant of Rs. 34.93 lakhs to the meagre balance of Rs. 17.55 lakhs. It started spending Rs. 5.67 lakhs on a calendering plant five years ago which has still not worked and Rs. 10.67 lakhs on a spinning mill of second-hand and rejected parts, which is regarded as a waste. The 51 co-operative sugar factories are responsible for the present high price of sugar, which if decontrolled would cause them to be liquidated because of their high capitalisation, which their promoters, nearly all from the Congress, may have found to their personal advantage.

What the country is going to pay for the scheme of expansion of consumer co-operatives is difficult to calculate as the number of stores or districts and States to be included is not given. The commitment for each however can give an idea of the crores that will go the way of political subventions. It is expected that each District store will have 100 primary stores and each Apex store at least 200 member-

stores. Government is to participate in the share capital of primary stores to the extent of Rs. 2,500 and of Apex stores of Rs. 50,000. Central financing agencies will provide credit to the extent of twice the owned capital and Co-operative Banks to the extent of four times the owned capital. The losses are to be shared in the ratio of 50-40-10 by the Central Government, State Government and the State Co-operative Bank. For the construction of shop-cum-godown, government assistance is to be given at the rate of Rs. 15,000 for primary stores, Rs. 25,000 for District stores and Rs. 50,000 for Apex stores. Exemption from sales tax, concessions in income-tax, licences for imports of consumer goods and special agencies for the State Trading Corporation are some of the other proposals for assistance.

It passes one's comprehension how the Government of India could appoint a Committee which could make proposals to spend public money for merely disengaging private trade in favour of a small body of persons whose only claim would be their Co-operative label. But this is the story of Co-operation which the public never realises. For instance, the credit given by the Reserve Bank annually has advanced from a few lakhs in 1947 to about 150 crores last year. This is public money, which could have been used to promote enterprises in which people risk their own resources. It has been given at 2 per cent below bank rate, when more than ten times that rate prevails in the villages for that class of borrowers. The Reserve Bank itself has admitted that the borrowers are the limited class of well-to-do farmers. They use their loans to hoard grain and raise prices for the rest of the population. The movement has not dared to claim so far that any significant portion of the money has been used in improvement of agriculture.

There is no probe more urgent than into the money spent and the results obtained from Co-

CURRENT EVENTS :

One of the earliest acts of philanthropy which goes to the credit of Mr. Patnaik, who is a real genius in the art of making money, was the institution of the Kalinga Prize, given to scientists who could interpret the progress of inventions in popular language. Amongst such authors are Julian Huxley, the latest being the Science-columnist of the *New York Times*. It has won a glamour akin to the Nobel Order. The gift of explaining how unexpected phenomena occur and the real motivations of conduct is the subject of research. It would be interesting if the theme assigned for the next award is the secret of Congress Success in Orissa. According to politicians, who freely make use of Mahatma Gandhi's name, means and ends should have an integral connection, a proposition frequently advanced by the Prime Minister. In Orissa, actually both means and ends were pretty foul and the challenge for an enquiry to ascertain the means is likely to end in condemnation, if democracy and clean deals are to have any place in the future of India. Such large scale and notorious evasion and infraction of the election law by a political party on behalf of all its candidates cannot well be left to individual complainants to agitate before the election tribunals but should rather be subject matter for a comprehensive and thorough investigation by the Election Commission and Government on their

Unwanted

operation. Apart from the financial burden, the people have to bear also the economic and political consequences of large sums of public money being spent under false pretences and inadequate control, by and for a few individuals. It is also necessary to properly evaluate the Co-operative movement because of the role given to it in farming. If there is to be Co-operation in the country, it must be genuine and not political.

own initiative. This is particularly so because the party charged with the large scale evasion is the party in office both in the concerned State and at the Centre.

Jeep-transport is not of immense significance in American life; but let us imagine that in the last elections of the United States the Pentagon had placed a tremendous fleet of cars at the disposal of Richard Nixon, Republican candidate, on behalf of President Eisenhower who backed him. The result was a narrow defeat for the Republican party, so narrow indeed that in Indian conditions there might have been a writ petition or some other legal proceedings to invalidate the choice. When mid-term elections were sanctioned for Orissa by the High Command there was a marshalling of 150 jeeps on behalf of the Congress Party. Mr. Ashoka Mehta reported the phenomenon but there was an increase in the number of vehicles without markings, highly suggestive of borrowed transport. The elections over, these jeeps are possibly on their return-journey to Headquarters. A little paint-work would hide the mystery when large numbers of wheeled traffic comes under the patronage of Defence authorities. If a parallel episode had happened in the Party-struggle of the United States last November, there would have been a tremendous uproar; but such trickery is inconceivable in a mature democracy where organisers are accustomed to play the game. Members of the Administration ranging from the President-in-power to the county-judge and post master are all on the alert as guardians of clean legal procedure without any taint of bias or graft. The convention and the practice are maintained without any need of a suspension of authority in connection with polling. But can it be said that after recent experience that the proposal of President's Rule for a short period in India is an unreason-

able precaution against positive jerryandering and corrupt manipulation on a Kalinga scale?

Prime Minister Nehru, on his return from his Manali holiday, remarked sarcastically that he sympathised with the Opposition parties in Orissa because he had no doubt the Congress would win and the others would suffer from a beating. The whole purport of the Constitutional restrictions against the debauch of money-power has been openly flouted, so much so there is no particular shame in the admission of purchase at the elections. When all the non-Congress parties in Parliament combined against legislation legitimising the squeeze for funds from business-firms in the licence era, the excuse of the Home Minister was that in Indian politics they all were accustomed to do it and that those who lived in glass-houses should not throw stones. The graft permitted, it has been well under exploitation for the marshalling of votes. The normalcy of expenditure allowed under the law has been outrageously violated and it runs well above the conjecture of Mr. Ashoka Mehta after the Orissa poll. If it is argued that the rate of inflation in currency negatives ceiling expenditure for a candidate, we might as well despair of even the restoration of decency in public life. The value of money has declined but with what face can the champions of Indian democracy suggest that the quantum of bribery should rise correspondingly? Such problems did not affect results in American elections because there was no need for a moratorium in the power wielded by the ruling party, whereas in India such a precaution in the form of President's Rule is necessary, if we don't want to deceive ourselves and also beguile foreign observers who are sure to see through frauds whilst being politely silent about mercenary transactions.

There is a spasm of alarm in the region of Kuwait, the oil-rich tract operated by foreign concerns

July 8, 1961

who had acquired concessions some decades ago. Abdul Karim Kassim, the Baghdad dictator, has suddenly proclaimed that "the borders of Iraq extend to the South of Kuwait". It has been discovered that for a nominal price at the close of the past century (Rupees fifteen thousands) some Sheikhs of the time had given away Kuwait and that the transaction itself was a piece of forgery which the military junta of Baghdad is prepared to prove. The congeries of Sheikdom are in no mood to accept the version, and as a consequence of their appeal, British warships are on the alert in the Persian Gulf region. The theory of "unequal treaties" is very much prized by resurgent nations tempting them to repudiate ancestral commitments and liabilities. China has shaken off the burdens of "unequal treaties". When were any treaties certified to be signed on precise equal status? The *Pennsylvania Deal* with the original inhabitants of the United States (Red Indians) could at this rate be denounced. So could a controversy be lit all over the world where migrations culminated in the settlement of human communities from the day Adam and Eve had to quit the Garden of Eden for their sojourn on earth, later named by poets as the Valley of Tears.

In Kerala, the censure-move failed and the Pattom Government continues in mid-term power. There was much mud-slinging through the split in the P.S.P. party which has a lot of intellectual prowess and moral energy under tragic erosion. Many of the expositions of Ashoka Mehta and Minoo Masani are difficult to refute; nevertheless their apparent preference for ploughing the lone furrow adds to the bafflement of electoral prospects in India. Swatantra stands for a preliminary stage of escape from Congress totalitarianism which promises nothing but a regime of clique-rule in India, which corruption and charlatanism should not be allowed to maintain. SANJAYA.

SWARAJYA

JOBS FOR RETIRED JUDGES

Andhra Governor Bhimsen Schar's view that judges should not after retirement accept any jobs from Government is sound and worthy of acceptance both by Government and judges. Whatever interest the Government may have in the matter, it would be the best course for judges to consult one another, combine and come to a decision that no judge of a High Court or the Supreme Court should accept such gifts. Like all gifts, these are dangerous gifts, detrimental to independence. Whether gifts come when they are in office or after retirement makes little difference, because prospects of profit are even more mischievous in effect than actual bribery. When one takes the oath of office as a High Court judge, it must be a part of the oath, express or tacit, that he shall accept no office of profit from any authority or private individual thereafter.

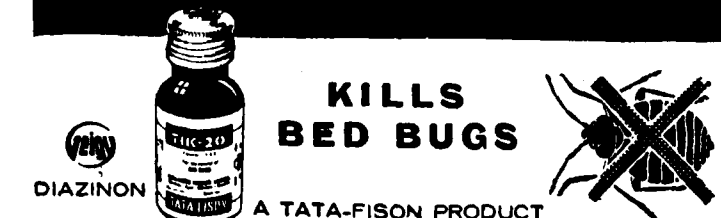
A rumour is current in Madras that a certain eminent Chief Justice who has retired from the bench after a very long, distinguished and all-round admired period of office is being offered an ambassadorship by the Government of India. While I hope this is not true, I must say I cannot reject the story as improbable, knowing as I do the way in which the mind of Delhi works in such matters. On a superficial view it may seem to be a well-deserved honour to bestow on a Chief Justice who eminently distinguished himself in learning, assiduity, and impartiality. But on a deeper con-

sideration it should be obvious that such a gift would be the beginning of the end of the independence of the High Courts. It would set going a great deterioration of that quality which is an integral part of a judge's equipment.

Looking forward to an important job in the gift of the Ministry in office either at Delhi or in a State will undoubtedly affect the public reputation if not the actuality of a High Court judge's independence.

There are of course certain unavoidable powers exercised at some points by Government in the promotion of judges from lower to higher ranks. But this is a necessary evil in the mechanism of democratic sovereignty. It can be reduced to the minimum by the vesting of certain powers in the higher officers of justice and in the acceptance of certain conventions in such cases about advice and recommendation. But necessary evils are no arguments for needless extension of such difficulties. Certainly it is easy to have a rule that no judge of a High Court or Supreme Court shall be offered any job by Government after retirement. This would stop a dangerous trend that has of late disclosed itself, by reason of extensions of service and committee and tribunal jobs carrying salaries being distributed among judicial officers. One of the essential safeguards in democracy is the independence and impeccability of judges and the confidence they engender among people. C.R.

TIK-20



KILLS BED BUGS

DIAZINON A TATA-FISON PRODUCT

INFECTIOUS PRECOCITY

By POTHAN JOSEPH

One of the proud claims of Mr. Nehru is that India had a foreign policy in advance of the attainment of complete Independence. Even before Dominion Status of the Westminster type was envisaged, the Prime Minister, from youth, enjoyed the privilege of speaking in the Congress about the international situation which Mahatma Gandhi had assigned as a subject for his survey, and which, being of no immediate consequence, was similarly ignored by leaders like Vallabhbhai Patel, who, realists, conceded the function as Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's speciality. The survey of the international situation recurred from the time of his attendance at the Brussels Conference of the 'twenties which was by way of a demonstration against vulgar imperialism. Many friendships were then struck on that occasion: Mr. Nehru made the acquaintance of pioneers like Sukarno and Chou-En-Lai who still in correspondence refer to him as "Pandit".

Again, during the Spanish Civil War, Mr. Nehru persuaded his Congress colleagues to send a purse in the name of India to the Provisional (Republican) Government of Negrin, which was eventually blown up by the dictatorship of Franco with whose regime we have now diplomatic relations to stress Portuguese rupture. Official sympathy of the Congress went on record as 'anti-colonialism' long before the novel menace of 'neo-colonialism' put into currency by the Soviet plenipotentiaries in their "Troika" squabbles. Thanks to the model set by Mr. Nehru as champion and *chacha* of oppressed nations seeking liberation, the image of Jawaharlal as the prototype of freedom became imprinted in the mind of a struggling generation. Our nearest neighbour Ceylon with the late Mr. Bandaranayake caught the spirit of Nehru idealism, and throughout the progress of Afro-Asian agitation for an emancipated existence, there was the

figure of Mr. Nehru as torch-bearer wellknown for his wizardry in the prosecution of his foreign policy, and his enthusiasm for being consulted in the creation of a Brave New World.

Almost from childhood when he wore his Little Lord Fauntleroy suit, his vision far exceeded the Indian horizon, and it is in accord with his poetic imagination that he gets excited over space-flights and atomic reactors in the production of thermal energy far in advance of conventional sources.

To light an Indian *beedi* or a Charminar cigarette, an ordinary match is adequate, but we have known of Princes with bejewelled petrol-lighters with built-in transistor for music as a smoker's requisite worthy of the exalted purchaser. Mr. Nehru's mind operates in the way of dashing enterprise and gigantic installations. He was in raptures over the Tarapore venture of Atomic Energy on which he piloted a special vote of Rs. 51 crores outside the Planning Budget. It is the first thing of the kind in all Asia, just as HF-24, recently hoisted in the air, is the first thing of the kind in Asia. One almost wonders whether the fashion of issuing joint communiques after deliberations with foreign V.I.Ps. has not become popular after Mr. Nehru's innovation of it as a clue to the trail of world-policy which has reached its peak in *Panch Shila*. On that occasion, India fared like Moses at the Fair. Thanks largely to the example he set of non-alignment and the grip of UNO leverage, the newly-liberated nations seem to have in sheer admiration adopted his way of thinking and notions of diplomacy. Even the small State of Mali has its spokesman as proud of his sovereignty and neutralism in the precocious fit of freedom.

This wave of precocity is a characteristic feature of foreign

Corporation's Message

The Deputy Mayor of the Corporation of Madras has sent us the following resolution of condolence passed by the Council of Corporation at its meeting held on June 27, 1961:

"This Council places on record its deep sense of sorrow on the sad demise of Thiru Khasa Subba Rao who was a great patriot and fearless journalist, and who fought for the freedom of our country. This Council further resolves to convey its heartfelt condolences to the members of the bereaved family."

policy in the ex-colonial States whose young statesmen look to Mr. Nehru and his evangelical directives which make light of immediate advantages and neighbourly expediences against aggressors in the world, who, as history teaches us, take to the "Forward Policy" once they are in expansion, regardless of pet dogmas about international etiquette. No time is allowed for a seasoned stage of sorting out means and ends, the first fascination of liberationists being the Nehru image. The reason for quarrels over criteria in the definition of Neutralism as proposed for the coming Belgrade Summit Conference of the Uncommitted Nations, is the existence of mental reservations amongst nations who bear the only affinity of having been recently freed from some foreign yoke. Patrice Lumumba's hurry in hailing a Soviet-alliance may be viewed in contrast with the concept of gradualism displayed by Nigeria in her cautious measures of development before cutting capers in a quick flight towards some Summit somewhere for global attention.

Festina Lente (hasten slowly) is an axiom of ancient wisdom, but youth refuses to grudge itself the pride of imitation.

LANGUAGE PROBLEM OF THE STATES

By A. V. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR

The recent incidents in Assam must open the eyes of everyone to the dangers of not solving certain fundamental problems of our national life. It is not difficult to solve the language problem of the States, if there is a proper understanding of it, and if there is genuine nationalistic spirit and goodwill on the part of those who are ruling the country, and the people behind them, to respect the rights and interests as well as the feelings and even the harmless prejudices of the minorities.

It is not wise to cry over spilt milk. It is now too late to think of re-opening the linguistic re-organisation of States. Nor is it tactful on the part of leaders to condemn or decry the spirit behind the re-organisation as linguism, as if one's love of one's own language and devotion to it is unnatural or sinful; of course the spirit of philistinism and hatred of other languages which is found among sections of the people in certain States like Madras is harmful, but this has not received condemnation from responsible quarters.

We have to recognise the existing facts and proceed to devise measures for the solution of the problem of the official language of the States. The most important fact is that though the States have been constituted on a linguistic basis, every such State has a large element of population speaking some language other than that of the majority of the region. Taking the case of Madras, there is a substantial percentage of population speaking Telugu. It has been estimated that their number is about four millions. It is likely to be even more, according to the current census. Those speaking Malayalam form a substantial number, though they may not be so large. In the same way, taking the Kerala State, there is a large number of people speaking Tamil in Trivandrum, Trichur, Alleppey, Cochin, Palghat and other areas. Similarly, in Andhra Pradesh and Mysore there is a good number of people speaking Tamil and Malayalam. When the regional language is declared the official language of a State under the Constitution in a spirit of legitimate linguistic patriotism and adjustment to the needs of the people, and when English which is commonly understood and has been used for long is replaced, the change gives rise to certain difficulties to linguistic minorities. Beyond occasional and vague references, no State Government has given serious thought to solve the language problem of these minorities.

The remedy is simple. In every State, not only the language of the regional majority, but those of minorities also, if they constitute a certain percentage, say for instance 5 per cent or more, should be declared to be the official languages of the State. This is contemplated by our Constitution itself and the linguistic re-organisation of States has not made this need less necessary. Section 345 of the Indian Constitution states as follows: "Subject to the provisions of Articles 346 and 347 the legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of the State" (italics mine). Therefore the proper thing for States that want to enact a law under this Article is to declare that not only the language used by the majority in the State but those spoken by the minorities also as official languages and define the scope of their use. This will give psychological satisfaction to the minorities, without the regional majority language being affected or lowered in importance in any way. For instance, Madras should declare, in addition to Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam also as the official languages of the State and define the purposes for which they should be used. So also should Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Mysore Governments declare Tamil also as an official language of their States and define its use. In Assam, similarly, Bengali should be declared an official language also and more liberal provision should be made for its use, than what was enacted recently, which has brought serious trouble. If the principle stated above is recognised and acted upon the problem of the official language of the States will be solved.

In this connection, the example of Switzerland is worth mention. In that country the languages spoken by the people are German, French and Italian. According to the census of 1931, 71.9 per cent of the Swiss people spoke German, 20.4 per cent French and 6 per cent Italian. Over 90 per cent of the people spoke German in 14 of the 22 cantons and Italian in one, while French was similarly thought not equally dominant in 3 cantons. Prof. Coupland who has given these figures in his book on Indian Reform, quoting W. E. Rappard's *The Government of Switzerland*, states that since 1848 "the principle has been firmly established

THE HANDIEST MEDIUM

In point of chronology, it would be found that instruction in English had long preceded the introduction of Cricket in India. The slogan "Cricket Hatto" from the Lohia Socialists would be inconceivable when even a single modernised State like Mysore has more than one thousand Cricket Clubs to engage the excitement of youth.

The complaint that it is not a Swadeshi pastime (there is no mention of it even in the days of Akbar) would be ridiculous, although on the issue of retaining English, Hindi-faddists look upon that linguistic asset as an abomination of a pernicious character.

There has been, latterly, a pause in the agitation against the retention of English, since (apart from the argument of utility) it is dawning on fogies that this particular legacy of the British is not of a *suddhi* stigma.

In Russia, university students invariably opt for English as the second language, the language of Tolstoy and Pushkin being rich and universal enough to serve the growth of science and literature in the first instance. The choice of English by Russian pupils is not due to the love of Great Britain or fondness for Americans.

In democratic society, we should be prepared for a variety of ideas, but they can function only if there is a balance of healthy forces far from extremist dogmatism. The craze about linguism can be superseded by the preservation of English for national inter-State communications, a process which the lessons of experience have already begun to recommend to our universities on a uniform standard. Fourteen years in the wilderness represent a long enough stretch for reactionaries to realise what must have been obvious to the enlightened who unitedly should now opt for nationalism and progressiveness, with no prejudice against the handiest medium.

—POTHAN JOSEPH in a reverie on Anthony De Mello: Courtesy, *Sunday Standard*.

that all three languages are the 'official' or 'national' languages of Switzerland". Why should not States in India follow this salutary example?

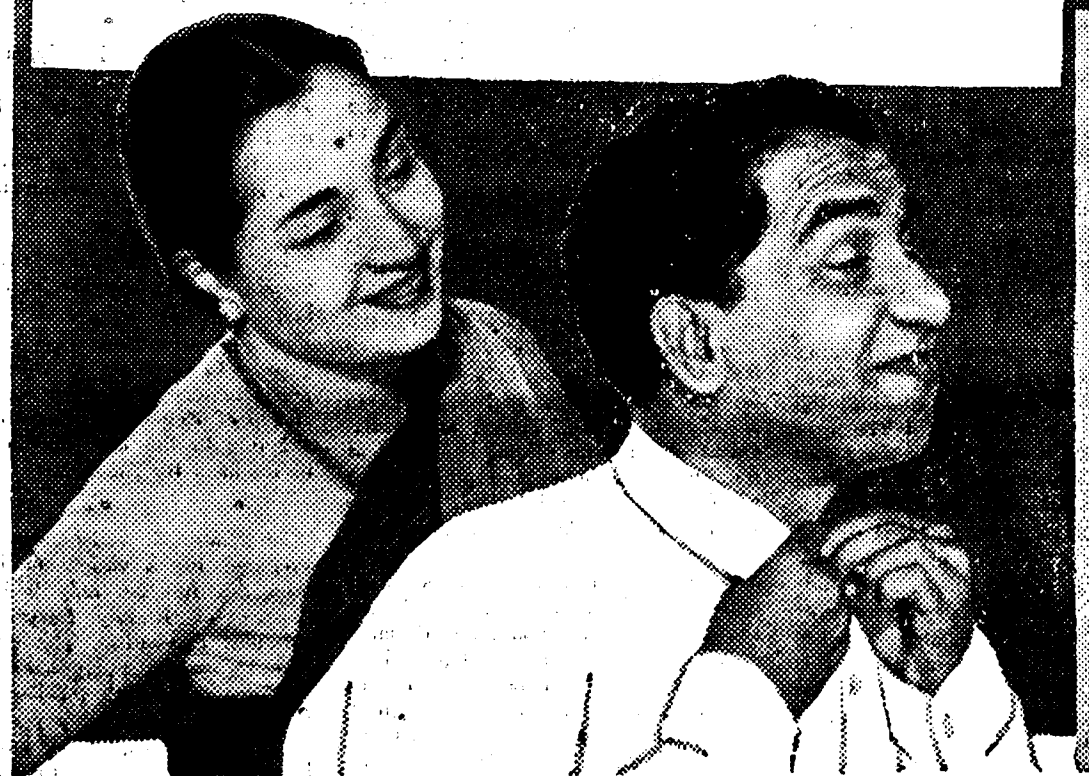
One cannot be sure that because the remedy seems simple and reasonable it will be easily accepted. At present large

actions of people of one State feel and act as if the people of other States are foreigners. This attitude has filtered down to the Ministerial level also in some States as is evidenced by certain types of inter-State disputes and pronouncements on them by Ministers. This spirit which cuts at the root of

Indian Nationalism and the sanctity of Indian citizenship has grown in recent years in many States. Even within the States themselves communalism and casteism have been recognised and adopted as State policy under the pretext of social justice. Unless this state of affairs is changed and the spirit of

the unity of Indian citizenship is religiously fostered, all sorts of problems about language and other matters will arise and create disruptive tendencies. The ruling party has failed in its duty of properly studying and solving the minority problems in its flush of power and party strength.

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

A HINDUSTAN LEVER PRODUCT



CAPITAL COMMENTS

PERSONS, PLACES AND PREFERENCES

By JUNIUS

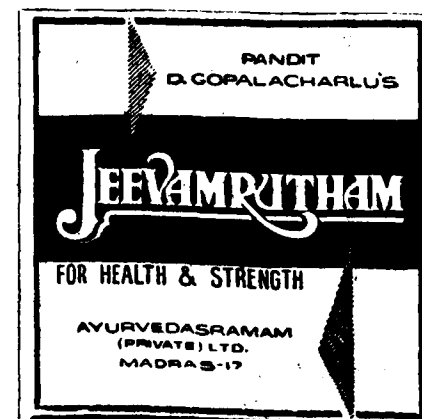
NEW DELHI: Short of an official announcement, there is enough confirmation of our honourable President's decision to step out of the Rashtrapati Bhavan at the expiry of his present term which is the second. He has resisted pressure from interested quarters to prolong his tenure by agreeing to an extension. His reluctance to continue in his high office—the highest within the gift of the nation—is not wholly due to reasons of health or any sense of fatigue, nor is it so much because of his excessive fondness for setting up healthy conventions, while he would certainly not impede their growth in an atmosphere truly congenial for their establishment. It is within public knowledge that the President and the Prime Minister, though their personal relations are extremely cordial, do not, however, share the same political outlook. Even in days when they had fought under the same banner and for the same objectives, they were differently inclined in their ways of thinking. It was possible that differences, temperamental and political caused some strain to both across the recent years, when the clash between Socialism and Sarvodaya became pronounced.

It is not without a certain significance that Dr. Rajendra Prasad is not only slowly winding up at Rashtrapati Bhavan but making plans for Ashram life and Sarvodaya work, so deeply suggestive of Gandhian moorings. It is proof of his political wisdom and moral earnestness that dear old 'Rajendra Babu' has decided, none too soon, to become unfettered and work in his own way for the revival of Gandhism or the reascendancy of Gandhian values. It will be wholly to his credit not to be weaned away from the path he has chalked out for himself by any who, if for nothing more than out of mere narrow parochial interests or regional

considerations, are mischievously inclined to egg him on for another spell of Presidency. It is as right that he should seek to reconcile retirement and the Gandhian way of living as it is just that Dr. Radhakrishnan, who is as ideally situated as he is ideally equipped, should succeed Dr. Rajendra Prasad. There is not to-day another man in our midst who can be mentioned in the same breath for the 'Summit'. It is astounding that there should be yet some Congressmen left who, while openly shouting about national integration as the sovereign need of the hour, are secretly trying to inject the virus of North versus South into the body politic. It is time the Prime Minister was warned against such a junta, however limited, within the organisation he has the honour to lead. It is poor consolation if he feels 'distressed' or 'pained' or 'annoyed' or 'infuriated' at a late stage. He should scotch such ugly manifestations in good time, instead of taking anything for granted if only because he has willed it so.

At the Ministerial level, too, there are perhaps some who, for their own reasons, are not over-anxious to continue in office. Strange as it may seem, Junius knows of at least one Cabinet Minister who is more keen on retirement than on return, though he has not even the excuse of having grown 'grey'. One can only hope that he will have the courage to stick it 'out'. There is interesting speculation in political circles about the two-way traffic vis-a-vis the Centre and the States. At one time Mr. Ashoke Sen was tipped as Dr. B. C. Roy's successor, but now he is talked of more in the context of foreign assignment. It is yet premature to relegate Mr. Morarji Desai to Gujarat or to assign a Central seat to Mr. Chavan. The latter may be a possibility if Governor Gadgil will only fight his way back to Maharashtra.

Whether Mr. Sri Prakasa will continue as the Governor of Bombay or not, he may feel certain that for all his protestations, he will not obtain any release, for his good friend Mr. Nehru is unreconciled to the idea of some men in particular ever remaining out of office—or out of Delhi (thanks to the Rajya Sabha). Talking of the Governors, one should not overlook the Pataskar-susceptibility to the Capital's gravitation pull or the sense of inevitability with which the two Governors who exchanged their places, are to fight the elections. Both Mr. Giri and Mr. Ramakrishna Rao desire to contest for Lok Sabha—and take their chance. Perhaps it is because of a little Andhra over-crowding the Centre at higher levels that the Congress President is credited with the intention of staging a return to Hyderabad. He is also aware of his predecessor's lot in having had to wait indefinitely for something providential to turn up. Mr. Dhebar's friends have been canvassing for him for the Vice-President's place which could have perhaps fallen to him with no great difficulty but for feminine claims that cannot be easily brushed aside. Once he had to reckon (though the day of reckoning had not actually arrived) with Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. Now he has, it seems, to beware of Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. Ironically enough, the only place for which Congressmen will not fight at all, is that of the Congress President. Once coveted and now cursed—indeed once coveted by many and now cursed by any!



BOOKS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ME

[This is the text of a broadcast talk given recently by Rajaji over the A.I.R., Madras.]

What are the books that have influenced me? This question was put to me some fourteen years ago and I then answered it as well as I could. Now that I think it over, I find myself too small truthfully to tackle this question. It is only very great and good men that have been influenced by good books. Others may pretend or

delude themselves that they have followed the maxims of saints. Our hearts are hard and the words of great and good men fall like seed on barren soil. I hesitate therefore to answer this question. One may have admired some great books, one may have been greatly impressed by some writings. But did that admiration or

impression become a real influence? Many have read, admired and been greatly impressed by the *Bhagavad Gita*. But how many of them have been influenced by Sri Krishna's teaching? If any one claims it, he is a saint, or a hypocrite, or a superficial pedant. Subject however to this confession of incompetence, I shall say something about the books which may be said to have given a push or momentum to my life-course.

The books that may be taken to have influenced me are not what I read upon direction or advice but what by accident I came upon.

I found Thoreau's *Duty of Disobedience* on the table of a friend to whose house I went to spend some time chatting. I picked it up from a heap of miscellaneous papers—my friend was a fellow-lawyer with good practice—and found therein what enlarged later into something like a life-programme.

I went to prison once with a very restricted number of books of which one was a copy of *Robinson Crusoe*. Luckily I had not been forced to read this as a school text-book when I was a boy and was therefore enabled, when I was forty, to find in it not a stale children's story-book, but religious inspiration of permanent value.

Another small but great book that I chanced to read merely by accident was *The Trial and Death of Socrates*. It has shaped me as nothing else has done.

A fourth book that affected me as deeply as Socrates was John Stuart Mill's *Liberty*. The unqualified attachment to truth as such is what was impressed on me in both these philosophers.

Lastly I must mention Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations* than which I have found no greater solace in hours of grief or when beset by evil.

May I add by way of caution that it is not English books that made me whatever I am. It is the stories my mother and two aunts of mine amused me with that built me up.

BOOKS OLD AND NEW

By SRIVATSA

When, about a score of years ago, an undergraduate was interviewed by an English professor prior to his admission to the Honours course in a Madras college, he was asked whether he had read many books. The student replied timidly that he had. "How many?", asked the professor, "As much as this", and he indicated a length of space with his two hands. The Englishman was, no doubt, being humorous, though the joke, if any, appeared rather out of place to the student on the rack of anxiety.

It is still a moot question how the well read man, in the popular understanding, may be defined. Mark Pattison once refused the dignity of a library to any collection containing less than five thousand books. Is it possible to prescribe any such number to the man whom the world may consider well read?

Omar Khayyam bargained for a book of verse, a flask of wine "and Thou" for perfect felicity. But that could hardly be considered adequate. On the other hand, we have E. V. Lucas's friend who used to carry ten books to read on a railway journey lasting less than an hour and did so in no spirit of satire against the railways. The truth, of course, is that no quantity as such could be prescribed. Much depends on what books exactly are read, how far the reader benefits from what he reads. These are individual qualities, from which no definitive rule can be inferred. There could be no genuine student of English literature who has not "read, marked and inwardly digested" at least Palgrave, Boswell, Gibbon, Wordsworth, Keats apart from Shakespeare and Milton. Here are infinite riches in a little room. But, of course, it is desirable to extend the limit of one's acquaintanceship, and it is good to place one's claim to be considered well read on as sure a footing as possible. But one question still remains. Is knowledge of contemporary writings to be considered absolutely necessary for that distinction?

There is the diehard who will not look at anything written after Hardy. There is the modernist who will not look at anything before. Both injure themselves, the latter much more than the former. The modernist (to use an ugly expression for the lack of a better) lives so much in the present that he has no use for the past. He is so immersed in the controversies and pas-

sions of the present that he forgets that there is something new under the sun on this aged and rather tired planet, and that the daring heresy of today is but the discarded orthodoxy of yesterday or the day before. He is far more influenced than he concedes even to himself by the fact that to be "modern" is to be fashionable, and that, to his limited imagination, anything "old" must be musty and ugly. He talks of the dead weight of tradition, forgetting that the tyranny of the modern is apt to be no less painful.

But the fact seems to be, some are born to read new books just as some others are born to read only old ones. Those who combine the best of both do exist, but they are comparatively few.

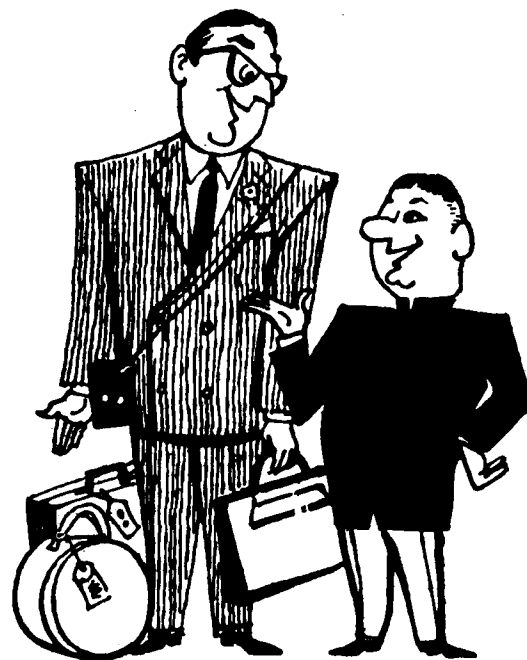
The objection to new books is rather fundamental. So many of these, especially novels, are published every week that no one, unless he should live as long as Methuselah, could hope to do justice to them all. Many are acclaimed, but few are chosen. True literary merit is independent of current prejudices, such as "topicality." The average reader, himself filled with these prejudices, is unable to help himself. He may succumb to fashion, for there is fashion in books as well as in other things. He may fall before the might of the established name, itself set up by common prejudice. He may simply abandon his judgment and do as the herd does. On none of these bases could a book be judged properly. There are undoubtedly some who, filled with the spirit of "modernism", feel themselves perfectly at home with modern books reflecting that spirit. But, in general, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that many modern books, apart, that is, from the delectable works of detection, are popular only because they are modern.

No book should be wholly "escapist" (to employ current jargon), but many modern ones insist aggressively on what is called realism. Reaction follows action, and if many great writers of the past were "realistic", like Dickens and Zola, they were so because they were revolting against the sentimentality, the unreality of many of their predecessors. But the moderns have not risen up in arms against the falsity of a previous age. Their realism is more an instinct with the brutality of the age. To hold up a mirror to nature is one thing; to portray the excesses of society, perhaps

on the brink of extinction, so vehemently, with so much gusto, seems to argue that "realism" is being misused. They are ugly things in the older realists.

But many modern ones seem to revel in them. With gusto do they deal with details which would not be heard in a polite drawing room. Their excuse is always the triumphant one, they are being "modern", being faithful to the spirit of these tortured times. But they confound beauty with mere prettiness. The latter is skin deep, whereas the former is fundamental. It is in their revulsion from little trivial genteelness that they indulge in the opposite sin of brutality for the sake of brutality. It is not argued that the ugly facets of life should be hidden from public view. But wallowing in them, splashing them about so that the clothes of decent folk are stained, is to do no public service. This is to assume that all life is always nasty and brutish, as if gentleness, courtesy, religion and self-sacrifice had never been. One would not so much as suspect the existence of these qualities after reading many modern novels. Your characteristic hero proceeds from one enormity to another, from one meanness to another, serene that he enjoys the approval of his author. In sympathy, the language of many of these novels is anarchic, violent and distorted. Elementary rules of grammar are thrown to the winds, and yet we are invited to admire the glories of modern prose. Many "theories" are propounded in support of these practices.

But it is far from surprising that among the most popular books today are many which deal with the past. Man in this atomic age has little temptation to look to the future. He may at least look back to the past. Modern literature fails to the extent that it will not permit him to do so.



IOB

TRAVELLERS CHEQUES ARE A MUST FOR YOUR CAREFREE TRAVEL

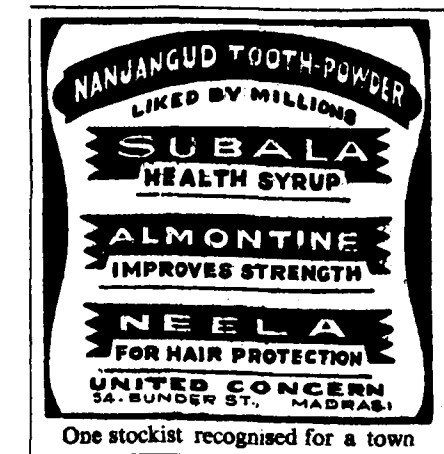
- They are as good as Cash, but only you can cash them
- They are good until used
- Prompt refund in full if lost or stolen
- Available in convenient denominations of Rs. 25/-, Rs. 50/-, and Rs. 100/-

For further particulars, apply to the nearest Branch of the Bank.

THE INDIAN OVERSEAS BANK LIMITED

Central Office: Madras

M. C. Methiah, Chairman C. P. Doraikannu, General Manager



One stockist recognised for a town

CONGRESS IN POWER

PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY

The prestige of the Congress which under Gokhale, Tilak and Gandhi stood very high has now fallen. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has not only ignored the parting advice of Gandhiji to liquidate the Congress by converting it into a *Loka Sangraha Sabha*, but he has fully exploited the high prestige which the Congress had earned in the past. In what respects has the high prestige of the Congress fallen?

The impression has gained ground that the Congress seeks to maintain itself in power through huge expenditure of money in the elections.

The powers at Delhi did not hesitate to resort to *extra-constitutional methods* to put an end to the Communist Government in Kerala. The only proper constitutional way was to have got the Kerala Ministry defeated by a vote of 'no-confidence'. There was neither a breakdown of the constitutional machinery nor an economic breakdown.

The Congress Government at Delhi has paralysed all free enterprise through the Centralized system of permits, licences and quotas.

Through hasty and ill-conceived amendments to the Constitution, the Congress Government has expropriated private property through pitiful compensation, making it not justiciable.

There is so much inflation of currency through that un-moral device called 'deficit financing' that the real value of the rupee (in terms of purchasing power) is less than four annas.

Foreign borrowings from all the world over are at such astronomical figures that the problem of repayment appears well-nigh insuperable.

The warnings of the Public Accounts Committee from time to time have received no attention. There is a pronounced tendency on the part of the Prime Minister to save a colleague of his, however improvident may have been his administration.

No other Prime Minister could have continued in office as in India, if what had happened at the frontier had been kept from the knowledge of his colleagues, not to mention the Lok Sabha, for four years and more.

The story of the resignations of the late R. K. Shammugam Chetty and Dr.

John Matthai, and of Mr. C. D. Deshmukh is a powerful indictment of Congress rule.

Gandhiji could occupy himself with details of life without ignoring or losing hold of the rod of *Dharma*. His heirs sitting at Delhi have no hold on *Dharma* but want to cling to power through every means.

Two terms of office have corrupted the Government in power at Delhi so much that if parliamentary democracy were to survive in India, there is now as never before a paramount necessity for a strong healthy Opposition based upon individual liberty, free lawful enterprise, and absence of the soul-killing devices of controls, permits and licences.

THE PROBLEM OF AMERICAN AID

In a *New Leader* review of George Liska's book on Foreign Aid, Mr. Herbert Feis sets out the perplexities, uncertainties and tangled equities with which the American programme of foreign aid is beset. The problems are classified under eight heads showing as to "why the outcome of well-intentioned effort is often obscure". But, in spite of this, one point appears to have been missed. American Aid goes sometimes contrary to intention and to buttress Statist policy when the ruling party that receives the Aid in a 'developing' country is Statist party. It takes only a little jump at an appropriate moment to go over from Statism to Communism.

American Aid plays a most significant part in the success inventory of the Congress Party in India. It consequently helps in the continuance of the same party in office, in spite of the intelligentsia's opposition to totalitarian and Statist policies. In fact, it threatens to shape the Congress Party's regime into the irremovable dictatorship of a single faction. No doubt it is easy for governments to deal with governments. But it is easy also for governments to utilise all aid for strengthening a dictatorship. The question is whether America is helping the progress of freedom.

When I wrote the above paragraph (in the last week of June) I doubted whether I did not venture too far in my criticism. But it has since received confirmation, as it were, from distinguished academic quarters. As I read in the press reviews of Professor P. T. Bauer's book on *Indian Economic Policy*, I felt I did not rush where angels feared to tread. Professor Bauer of the London University rejects the usual plea that foreign aid to developing countries is an axiomatic duty to be done, regardless of the policies pursued by the recipient governments. He points out that such aid helps the party in power to push India further towards a completely socialised totalitarian economy in which consumers and producers are

(Continued on page 15)

GOVERNMENT -SPONSORED QUACKERY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A Los Angeles jury awarded damages against a firm producing polio vaccine, 6 lakh dollars to a vaccinated boy and 75,000 dollars to his mother. The boy was stricken with polio after vaccination with the firm's polio and completely paralysed. The serum was found to have contained live polio virus.

Apart from the particular case, all these inoculations are based on the supposed efficacy of injecting a certain quantity of live viruses and bacilli into the body of healthy people so as to accelerate the natural defence mechanism against a possible future infection. The unwisdom of the procedure is obvious to anyone who is not a professional serum man.

Quite another aspect of this case is that a court was found in America to evaluate the wrong done and give damages. Can this be expected in our country? Dare any court in India announce its opposition to scientific rashness and folly supported by Government and give judgment against a big doctor or a powerful pharmaceutical firm? A modern form of high-class political snobbery is to bend the knee to science and its professors.

The other day a well-known doctor of medicine who is in Parliament expressed her opinion to me that it appeared to her now that I was right about B.C.G. and that the Government was wrong! It was a pleasant surprise. B.C.G. is a live vaccine and the idea is that the tubercular bacillus has been tamed in it and that it is no longer a deadly enemy but a stimulator of natural defence power. And this, although it is well accepted that an attack of tuberculosis is no defence against a second attack. Many eminent bacteriologists in America and other countries do not approve of B.C.G. vaccination. They have refused to introduce it in America. Over and above the probability that the vaccine has developed several mutations of the bacillus which may be harm-

ful, the proffered statistical data end in a *non sequiter*; there is no proof of any benefit conferred on the people by the B.C.G. vaccination in any country. In the Indian B.C.G. campaign, against the original inaugurating doctors' definite advice, the vaccine is injected with deliberate indiscriminate in numerous 'positive' cases, acting on quantitative arguments with no scientific basis; and what is worse still, there is no follow-up whatsoever. The statistics showing the number of cases

injected in India are therefore worthless and, as I have said more than once, if we substituted Cooum water for the B.C.G. vaccine, we would have the same statistical results as are now presented by the Pro-B.C.G.-wallas. Meanwhile vested interests have grown round the B.C.G. programme; men whose living has got connected with it naturally resist any commonsense attack on B.C.G. The Government is led by persons who are afraid to oppose scientific quackery because they may be suspected of want of loyalty to science and modernity, which is the slogan of the Prime Minister.

BRITISH ECONOMIST SPEAKS OUT

Indian Economic Policy and Development, by Professor P. T. Bauer of London University, offers a strong and detailed indictment not only of India's planning targets but of the methods employed.

Professor Bauer observes that advocates of foreign aid to developing countries have "until recently" considered it axiomatic that aid should be given regardless of the policies pursued by the recipient government. Bauer says bluntly that any suggestion that foreign aid should be granted to underwrite Indian economic planning should be rejected—not because of the cost to the U.S.A. and to the West but because of the cost to India.

Such aid pushes India further towards a completely socialised, totalitarian economy, in which the range of choice of individuals is severely limited, both as consumers and producers, and in which the State is all-powerful. This political result is being promoted by an economic policy the most important parts of which do not promote either a rise in living standards or progressive modifications of an obsolete social structure, but retard them.

The widespread idea that development depends essentially on investment is responsible for enormous waste in all developing countries. By wrongly justifying all expenditure called "invest-

ment", it encourages spending regardless both of cost in terms of alternative uses of resources, and of the repercussions of their transfer. Indeed, in current talk, all expenditure, other than on current consumption or government services, is called "investment" and regarded as productive of income. This encourages (a) wasteful expenditure, and (b) a wide range of controls in the belief that they are necessary to permit a particular level of investment expenditure. These controls are likely to hinder (a) the economic allocation of resources and (b) their growth.

It is his contention that the Government's Five-Year Plans, far from promoting material progress, widening social horizons, and opening up more and more opportunities for the individual to exploit, are actually serving to consolidate the forces of inertia. He condemns the planners' constant over-emphasis on investment in physical plant, and their neglect of the development of human capital, both by formal education and by modifying the traditional attitudes which restrict the activities, energies, and individual enterprise of the people.

The massive investment in establishing capacity in the heavy industries is, says the Professor, unlikely to promote development commensurate with its cost.

Courtesy, *The Eastern Economist*.

READ

Dated July 9, 1961

Chief Contents:

- ★ KULAPATI'S LETTER NO. 235: Increasing Moral Vacuum—'The Tempters' and 'The Tempted'—Corruption among Those in Authority
- ★ WHO IS A BRAHMA-JNANI? — Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa
- ★ HOLD ALOFT BANNER OF COUNTRY'S PROGRESS — Surendranath Banerjee
- ★ BURN UP COMMUNALISM — Dr. Annie Besant
- ★ WHO SAYS INDIA WAS NEVER UNITED? — Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji

and other regular features

Readers who find difficulty in getting the journal regularly are requested to place their orders direct with us

Price Single Copy 30 nP.

Annual Subscription Rs. 6.50

Copies obtainable from all news agents, newspaper-stalls, and railway bookstalls

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN - BOMBAY-7

PHILLIPS cycles

SLEEK, SMART looking PHILLIPS cycles are built to suit the needs of today's active young men. Phillips cycles are made of true-temper steel to withstand the roughest use.

RIDING A PHILLIPS
IS LIKE SITTING ON A
MAGIC CARPET

Renowned the world over for nearly 70 years, PHILLIPS cycles are now precision-built at T. I. Cycles' ultra-modern factory.



T. I. CYCLES OF INDIA, Madras

C. P. I. ON GOA'S LIBERATION

Sir,—The National Council of the Communist Party of India which met at Bangalore, on 22nd June, has adopted a resolution calling for effective action by the Government to liberate Goa, Daman and Diu. Having regard to their antecedents, one has to suspect that this move of the C.P.I. is dictated by their tactic to exploit the occasion for election purposes and conceal their recent anti-national stand on the question of Chinese aggression of nearly 12,000 square miles of Indian territory. Their support to the policy of inaction followed by our Government with regard to Chinese aggression is, to say the least, most unpatriotic. We also know too well what the words 'freedom', 'liberation', and other slogans mouthed by them, mean. The double standard the Communists adopt even in matters concerning the integrity of the nation, depending upon whether the aggressor country is Communist or not, is evidence of their extra-territorial loyalty.

Vadakanerry V. S. MUTHUSWAMY,
V. S. GANESAN

CONGRESS ELECTION FUND

Sir,—It is freely reported that a Union Minister has been repeatedly telling his friends that he will not make use of even one naya paisa collected from the capitalists for fighting his election. If this is a fact, the Minister concerned deserves to be congratulated. But there are frequent reports in the press that the party in power launched an intensive drive quite sometime ago for funds and that, for every favour promised, by way of licence or permit, a certain amount is being openly demanded. The latest form that the drive has taken, it is alleged, is to insist on every panchayat making a contribution to the party's election fund of a minimum of Rs. 100. At this rate, it should not be difficult

The Problem of American Aid

(Continued from page 12)

severely excluded from freedom of choice and in which the State is all powerful. He further says that this undesirable and unwanted political result is being promoted by an economic policy which does not really promote a rise in living standards. Here is a leading economist whose opinion cannot be so easily rejected as perhaps mine.

C. R.

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.

part of the school fees instead of making a farce of voluntary donations.
Kumbakonam K. KANNAN

IS THIS NOT 'IMPOSITION' OF HINDI?

Sir,—Our Ministers and other 'top' people in the Government assure us that Hindi will not be 'imposed' on anybody against his will. But here is an extract from a circular by the Ministry of Home Affairs (D.O. letter No. 2/84/61-H(B) dated 7-6-61 signed by Shri Gajraj Singh, Deputy Secretary to Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi) which tells its own tale:

"Since the Hindi training has been made obligatory ..., it is no longer voluntary for the employees to seek admission and it is the responsibility of the officer in charge of the office department to release an appropriate percentage of staff for Hindi training." (italics mine).

The target-dates also have been fixed for learning Hindi:

- "a) Existing non-Hindi knowing staff of Ministries, attached, subordinate and regional offices—by 31st March 1964.
- b) Existing non-Hindi knowing staff of branch and local offices of the Central Government departments by 31st March 1966".

It is needless to point out how adversely the order affects the non-Hindi knowing staff of the Central Government departments.

Thiruvanaikoil N. NARAYANASWAMY

CONSTIPATION AND PILES

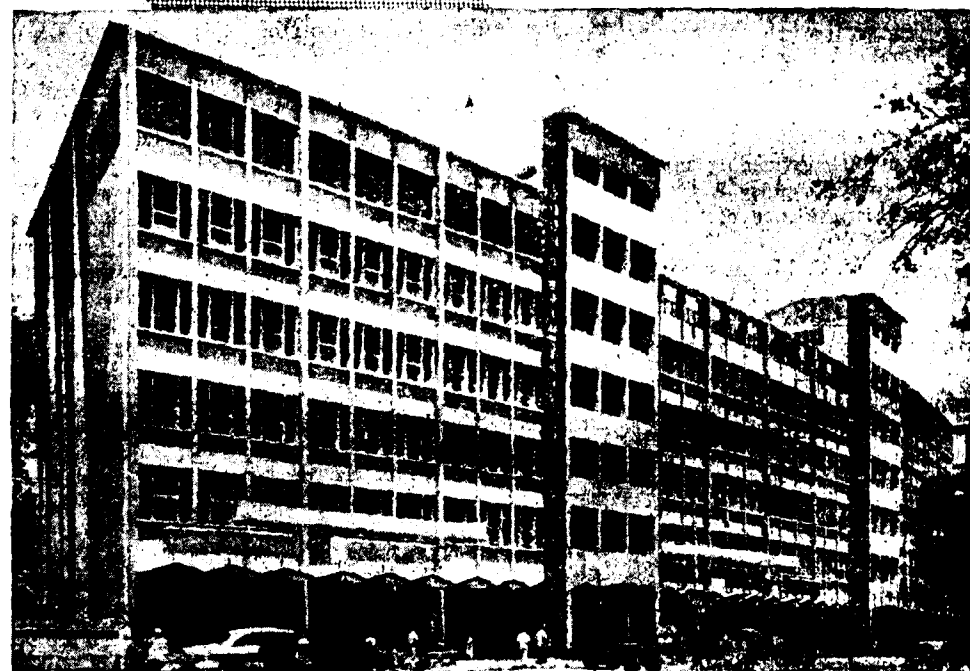
Habitual constipation can cause piles or haemorrhoids, a condition where the veins within and immediately outside the rectum become swollen. Because of the pain it becomes more difficult and distressing to evacuate the bowel. The constipation gets worse and so do the piles with painful fissures. It follows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

DZ 952-a

Hadensa does just that. It brings prompt relief from pain and itching. With its continuous use, the piles shrink and complete relief is obtained. Hadensa, the well-known German pile remedy contains no narcotics. It is nonstaining and is easy to use. A small plastic cannula with instruction for use is supplied in each package. If piles is your problem, Hadensa is the answer. Try Hadensa today. Now Manufactured in India.



SANKAR BRAND'S contribution to changing panorama



SANKAR BRAND
PORTLAND CEMENT

The brilliant conception in concrete, the five-storeyed 'Dhun Building', the star addition to changing panorama of Mount Road, Madras, has been built with Sankar Brand Portland Cement.

THE INDIA CEMENTS LIMITED

Factory: Sankarnagar Regd. Office: 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 Rao

Vol. VI. No. 2

MADRAS, JULY 15, 1961

Price 15 nP

THE QUESTION BEFORE US

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Mr. Karaka has made research and brought the Congress election collections to public notice in the columns of the *Current*. Judged from the break-down figure given for Madras State, it seems to me Mr. Karaka has received correct information. These collections constitute a crisis in national affairs. It cannot be pretended that the Congress Party's collections are for general propaganda, or for running its offices and meeting the travelling expenses of its Presidents and other office-bearers, and other such charges. The propaganda for the party is extensively done by the Government departments and the Planning Commission. The entire sum, or nearly the whole, will be spent on the candidates put up by the party in the various constituencies. Twelve crores thus spent will on the average come to more than ten times the amount allowed by law to be spent on a candidate. This is in addition to what a candidate himself pays out of his pocket. The ruling party proposes to disregard and defeat the purpose of the law in this outrageous degree and manner. This, I say, on the part of the ruling party and the ministers working for that party, constitutes a grave crisis in national affairs.

The economic policy of the Government of India has been transformed into a gigantic electoral machine of the ruling party. I can take an oath on any holy book that but for the policy of permits, controls, licences and quotas, and but for the Congress Party being in office and mis-

using its powers in that direction, it could not possibly have collected a tenth of this amount for its election purposes, and even that would have taken five times the time to collect, besides an army of collectors, which would have consumed a substantial percentage of the collections. It must be patent to the least understanding that the ruling party has made a most un-ethical use of its position and powers.

But ethics apart, it raises this problem for those who believe in democracy, whether under these circumstances it is possible to maintain even the semblance of fair elections. The Congress Party can perpetuate itself through this money for all time. It is a grave crisis which demands consideration by all lovers of the country and of free institutions. Democracy loses all meaning, if the same group can perpetuate itself in power for all time. It can only be called a dictatorship, which, as years pass, will take on more and more of that character.

It can be argued academically that companies and individuals could refuse to donate funds if they chose and that they donate only because they approve of the party. That this is false every giver and every Congress boss and minister who collects knows.

A crisis then faces us. Are we meekly to go down before it, and surrender and assist the cracking up of democracy? It is for all the silent leaders in the country in whom the freedom fire still burns,

to consider the grave situation and act promptly. Not the so-called communalism and other red herrings but *this* is the real crisis in our affairs.

Let us remember that democracy is the golden lid which holds down physical disorders and chaos, and if that lid is off the country will be at the mercy of violence.

I shall end this with a personal appeal to Sri Jawaharlal Nehru. He and I may differ very greatly from each other in political views. We always did, as he has often said. But our mutual regard and affection were not less on this account, and still remain unaltered. At the level of higher values, I do not believe there is any difference between us. I appeal to him to strike this ugly election fund collection down with a firm hand, confiscate the money and put it into his Relief Fund. He cannot be a passive supporter of plans to defeat the law as to the limits of election expenditure. The havoc wrought by the floods can absorb all this money. The power of the State was instrumental in the collection, and the State can legitimately take the money. I appeal to the Prime Minister to use his authority as the uncrowned head of the party and divert the money at once to flood relief. The party should begin with clean hands and on level with other political parties appeal for funds on the basis of the policies for which the party stands and not utilise the ruling party's power for the purpose.

THE PUNJABI ISSUE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Master Tara Singh's contention is that his claim for a Punjabi-speaking suba in the Indian Union is consistent with the policy of reorganized boundaries followed by the Government of India all over India; and his further contention is that the opposition to his legitimate claim by the Hindus of the present Punjab State on grounds of community is really communalism. It is not easy to refute this argument. It is, relatively speaking, a good claim—I say *relatively*, because in my view this linguistic reorganization is bad and must be undone, if we want India to be one and to progress. It should be undone, if not directly, by some indirect method which may produce the result speedily and efficiently. But, as things stand, it is impossible to say that Master Tara Singh's claim is unjust or improper. If it is argued that such reorganization as he desires is not wise in a 'border' State, it is much clearer that this kind of tension, linguistic or communal,—whatever we may call it—is much more dangerous in a border State than anything we may do to pacify a claim.

Master Tara Singh has decided to go on a fast unto death for his demand. He persists, in spite of every argument against this course. It is wrong to imagine that the Andhra State was the result of a fast unto death, or to think that history will repeat itself. History does not repeat itself in that way. The water in the river of history is continually flowing and changing its course. What was in a certain *ghat* yesterday is not there today and what is there today will not be there tomorrow.

Masterji's fast should be a purificatory fast for a definite period, a prayerful fast that men may turn from suspicion and injustice to trust and justice. He should particularly pray that Hindu hearts may see his just and good intentions and that God may dispel suspicions and untruths.

If every Punjabi-speaking constituency votes against the Con-

gress and for a secular party in the next General Elections, whatever may be the vote in the non-Punjabi area, the verdict will be decisive and the Punjabi suba will be a certain fact until all linguistic subas will be scrapped and a more rational system comes into

being. Such a vote will achieve not only the Punjabi suba but will fell to the ground the threatening monster of money power, a monster who seeks to destroy democracy. To defeat the Congress is to strike down the Asura of Money and expose to the world his real inconsequence. It is a privilege which the Punjabi-speaking constituencies of the Punjab should not fail to exercise.

JITTERS ALL OVER

By POTHAN JOSEPH

We are living in an era of nervousness daily enhanced by fresh news of peril. What is going to happen in Berlin by the end of the year? Is there any reality in the confrontation of Afghanistan and Pakistan? In Laos the French have initiated certain claims which make India's intervention extremely difficult. If the International Conferences get into a permanent stalemate, there is the prospect of perpetual distress. There are soft spots all over the world, not Cuba and Berlin alone. The American Embassy newsletter complains that "since the end of World War II, pressure-tactics have been applied against Iran, Turkey, Greece, Korea, Vietnam, then again Libya, Norway and the India-China border". Where counter-pressures have been exerted, we hardly know; but the right of self-determination is flaunted even in Kuwait which was supposed to be a long-term concession which the Sheikhs enjoy as their fatherly possession for all time, and which Mr. Macmillan has undertaken to protect. The whole value of Kuwait lies in the production of fuel, but is oil a lasting resource while we are busy digging and drilling? In his speech at Bangalore on July 3, Professor M. S. Thacker, Director-General of Scientific and Industrial Research, announced before technicians that "an artificial sun could be created to illuminate a city and light a land."

If an artificial sun could be floated, what on earth would be the use of this quarrel over coal

and petrol? Such speculation is not vain when U.K. troops are on the move to the Iraqi border and the problem of Sheikdoms in the Persian Gulf is put into the dispute.

That the Sheikhs have been enjoying immense profit has been the scandal of two centuries and General Kassem declares that the legitimacy of Baghdad's sovereignty should be duly recognised by the inclusion of oil-privileges in her revenue account.

In the Berlin crisis the term 'Self-determination' is reiterated, and two-and-half millions of Berliners claim the right of self-determination with the implied intention that the conquerors in the war retain occupation-rights without termination-clauses at Yalta or Potsdam.

One generation leaves a confused state of affairs for the next, whilst 'claim for peace in our own time' was the song of Chamberlain. The real truth of the matter is that they play for peace in their own time. They never *pray*; their effort is to *prey*.

The right of self-determination centres round the definition and clarity of the 'self' which is hardly achieved even in Israel about which there are colour-complaints from Cochín migrants. How did the word 'Varna' come into existence? The objection to the word 'Vernacular' has a significance although it is a term conveying a world of significance for which mankind will have to pay in gradual stages, but never in a hurry,

ELECTION LAW AND THE CONGRESS

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Leaders of all Opposition parties, including the Communists, have attributed the success of the Congress in the Orissa elections to its money power. Ashoka Mehta has estimated that Rs. 40,000 has been spent on each constituency against a maximum of Rs. 7,000 for a single member constituency and Rs. 12,000 for a double member constituency permitted under the Rules to the Representation of People's Act of 1951.

Election expenditure is very strictly limited, according to Schedule IV. It can be only personal expenditure of the candidate or his agents, including travelling expenditure and salaries, secondly, the cost of printing, advertising, stationery, postage and rent, and, thirdly, any other miscellaneous expenditure. The number of agents and other details in respect of election are strictly limited by Schedule VI. It is a corrupt practice, firstly, to offer any gratification, which includes entertainment and employment for reward and, secondly, to provide transport or its cost to the voters. It is an illegal practice to allow any persons to incur the cost of meetings and propagandas, an exception being made in favour of the institution or organisation supporting the candidate. *It is the mischief of this exception that allows the party to spend money on the candidate, in excess of the maximum fixed.* Even so, as party expenditure is limited to the purposes specified, it cannot by itself frustrate elections, if the law is followed.

Elections are frustrated by the evasion of the law in multiple ways, which, experience such as the Congress has had, can create. Gratification and transport are provided by undesignated, third parties, who are secretly paid in advance, after being instructed to observe a measure of caution and secrecy which, in fact, they do not, on the presumption that the opposing candidate is doing the same thing. Even bargaining and

cash payment for votes take place in circumstances difficult to prove subsequently. What passes for organisation is frequently enlistment of local and caste leaders with money, and promises for shepherding voters to the polls. Bus owners who depend on Government for their routes not only favour Congress voters but discriminate against others in respect of transport facilities. Others who have permits and licences supply refreshments and arrangements.

It might be asked why such obvious malpractices are not made subject of election petitions. The defect is both in law and its practice. In the first place, the exception under Section 125 relating to expenditure by organisations should be deleted, because it is obviously in conflict with the maximum fixed for expenditure by the candidate *and discriminates against poorer parties and independent candidates.* If the Congress majority rejects this reasonable proposal, it should be forced to accept at least, first, that it renders an account of the expenditure incurred in each constituency, secondly, that the items of expenditure may be more precisely defined to prevent, for instance, the use of 162 new jeeps in the Orissa election, under the shelter of 'help in any other way', and thirdly, that a limit for the total of such expenditure may be fixed in terms of the permissible maximum.

Another change in the law may be in respect of the maximum expenditure prescribed, which runs to Rs. 25,000 in Parliamentary constituencies and Rs. 8,000 in Assembly constituencies. No one except the richest can afford this maximum, which means, on one hand, that the candidate has to be financed by his party, or has to think of his expenditure as an investment to be recovered by undesirable means. In any case, democracy is frustrated by money becoming the only test for representation in the legislatures and

government. Also, the limit prescribed is wholly excessive for the permissible expenditure on agents and propaganda, and therefore gives room for diversion to corrupt and illegal purposes. To prevent persons commanding votes being designated as agents, their remuneration may be fixed and the total maximum lowered accordingly. Expenditure on propaganda through literature and meetings could perhaps be excluded from the maximum to be fixed, as it is not liable to abuse.

The practice of the law is frustrated in several ways. In the first place, almost all candidates openly incur expenditure on transporting and feeding the voters, and are therefore not disposed to check each other. Opposition parties must decide to strictly adhere to the law. They need have no apprehensions that the Congress will take advantage of this, if at the same time they organise a vigilance service, and watch and book Congress and Communist candidates who provide free transport and refreshment. In fact, as soon as Congress candidates know they are being watched, they will fall in line. Those who fail to do so can only hope to retain their seats till, on the evidence freshly collected and carefully supported, they are disqualified by the Election Tribunals. This will not only break the money power of the Congress, but will expose it to suppressed resentment of the people for what they have suffered from the wrong policies and corrupt practices of the government for the last fourteen years.

(Continued on next page)

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

CURRENT EVENTS ::

Israel has joined the 'Rocket Club and her first space-rocket put a sodium cloud into the ionosphere fifty miles over the Mediterranean coast. Prime Minister David Ben Gurion watched the exploit from a secret base on the shore. The general suspicion was that the club of space-rocket nations consisted of only eight competitors, but with the present increase, there is no reason why India should refrain.

India has the responsibility of protecting a population larger than 100 times the census-liability of Israel. Pandit Jawaharlal's view that, in spite of Dr. Bhaba's opinion that we could also produce nuclear explosives, we would refrain from having any such equipment becomes super-ideological when the Himalayas have been transgressed.

After the rocket had run upwards, Mr. Ben Gurion exclaimed: "This shows the ability of Israel's scientists. It is all made

in Israel." Conceivably all the manufacture of thermo-nuclear horrors is traceable to the ability of Israel's scientists in Zionist zonal dispersion. Mr. Ben Gurion has promised firings to greater heights which, according to Jerusalem scientists, carry more delicate electronic instruments: they are unavailable for President Nasser in Cairo, where he has condemned the little land of Israel as the 'Germ' to be blotted out.

Four Communist M.Ps from Trichur have telegraphically requested Prime Minister Nehru to make special contributions to the relief of the flood-affected people of Kerala from the Prime Minister's Special Fund. On the same day the Prime Minister has issued an appeal to the public to contribute to his National Relief Fund which, he says, is 'practically exhausted' at present. If the mutual appeal for a two-way charity is to be accomplished, the banks under moratorium could be revived into activity; but as it looks like

ELECTION LAW.....

(Continued from previous page)

It is desirable, at the same time, that our legislators try in the time available to modify the rules to make corrupt and illegal practices cognisable offences. At present, the only official check against them is the submission of the statement of election expenses, which also are checked only in respect of their total and their submission in time. That they are available to the public and the defeated candidates, is no excuse for not seeing to it that elections, which are the foundation of democracy, are according to the law. Every offence against the electoral law is an offence against the whole people, calling for the closest and strongest attention and action of the administration.

If the Congress is unwilling to accept this logical requirement, it may be persuaded at least to agree

that the Election Commissioner and the returning officers, who now see to it that voting is properly conducted in the polling station, also exercise a check to see that the electoral law is observed. If they tour their jurisdictions, accompanied by representatives of the parties, infringements of the rules prohibiting transport and refreshment would be put on the defensive.

The time is short but legislators of Opposition parties can meet together on the common ground of what they have suffered in the Orissa elections and make a concerted move in Parliament and State legislatures to make the electoral law serve the purposes of democracy. Such a meeting can also be the starting point of the democratic front of the Opposition parties against the totalitarianism of the Congress and Communists.

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

mutual teasing between the ruling party and the masquerading supplanters in the next elections, nobody could count on actual transactions. Better invest in election-tickets.

Sir Anthony Eden has been made an Earl by Queen Elizabeth and he goes to the Upper House (House of Lords), whilst Sir Winston Churchill humbly occupies his seat in the Commons. The title assumed by Sir Anthony, who has been made an Earl like Attlee, is not known, but it won't be inappropriate, after the Suez affair, if he were known as Earl Suezide. Morrison is just Lord Morrison.

The course of history changed with the Suez misadventure. It can be called, in President Kennedy's language, as 'a miscalculation' of what others can do when provoked at an emotional crisis. Mr. Frank Moraes in his travel-impressions told us that in Hitler's estimate of foreign diplomats, Earl Eden was the most consummate negotiator. But in the Suez Canal muddle this remarkable sub-genius of a statesman was ditched because of the pedantry of another sub-genius, namely, John Foster Dulles who could have easily finished the Aswan Dam Project on which he exasperated President Nasser into desperate action.

The situation is on the edge in Kuwait over the colossal claim of Iraq that all the oil-territory really belongs to Iraq in spite of misappropriation by Western Powers. Mossadik had similar ideas. The little Sheikhs of Araby who resist the new Khilafet may also be armed with small-size atomic bombs to create hells in oil-wells. P.J.

FALLACIES EXPOSED BY THE FOOD MINISTER

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Of all the misleading slogans of the Congress perhaps the most absurd is its talk about co-operative farming. If it is not deception, it is gross stupidity. Co-operative farming, whether it is compulsory or voluntary or loan-and-subsidy-tempted, amounts to collective farming, and it cannot be of any advantage to the poor farmers concerned or to the nation, unless indeed the proposal is to introduce mechanized farming (cost borne by the State) which may be believed (by some magic) to yield increased crops. Without mechanization, with all these presumptions attached, of what earthly advantage is it to convert individual farmers into a joint body of every one working on everybody's land? Surely it would mean official supervision of doubtful efficiency, and unwilling labour extracted from ex-owners, and a lot of idleness supplanting energetic peasant-proprietor's personal interest.

The Prime Minister once thought that the merging of holdings would dispense with bands and boundaries, which would all be added to the area under plough, an idea which displayed gross though understandable ignorance of agriculture and which was therefore quickly and silently given up. The only possible advantage of collectivization of any sort would be mechanization, if that were possible. But the Food Minister of the Congress Government has spoken out against it, in London. By the bye, India is now self-sufficient in food production, according to the Food Minister; but, strangely, he is,—for what reason God only knows,—spending most of his time wandering among surplus-growing governments abroad.

A report from London published in *The Hindu* says that the Food Minister there declared: "I will not produce more food. The Government's policy is now to increase

the production of cash crops, such as jute, tea and sugar." An *Indian Express* report says that the Food Minister was of the opinion, and stated it in an interview, that there was no chance of more land being put under cultivation in India, except at the expense of forestry. India, Sri S. K. Patil pointed out, had the largest percentage of land in the world under cultivation. Therefore, he said, we cannot have more land under cultivation. And as for increased production on the existing farms through collectivization and mechanization, he firmly admitted that "India which has the largest assured water-supply for the largest irrigated area cannot adopt Western methods of mechanization. It was impossible and was dangerous". The Food Minister declared: "There will be large-scale displacement as a result of extensive mechanization and India will only produce a large army of unemployed men."

It must be a matter of congratulation that the Food Minister of the Congress Government speaks the plain truth, as he sees it, to our newspaper representatives in foreign countries. On the background of these admissions, what is the policy or the ethics behind the talk of co-operation, joint farming, etc.? Is it that we are asked to believe farmers converted into idle receivers of petty dividends will be a source of additional wealth or increased food production? The reader should remember that every link in the above reasoning is from the Congress Food Minister's admissions and not based on my opinions. I hope Sri S. K. Patil will not be disclaimed as a Swatantra fifth-columnist in the Cabinet!

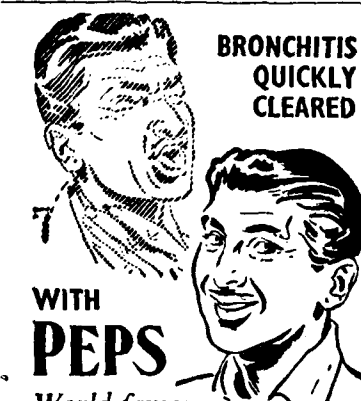
But, however obvious the fallacies, the Congress Party's drive to exploit the credulous electorate through a show of vast money, power and vehicles, ignoring the provisions of the Election Law,

goes on unhampered. Neither farmers nor merchants, nor representatives of any other profession, are in the legislature to help the Congress Cabinet with advice and experience or realities. This has been rendered impossible by the new economic policy. Under the electoral law no one who has any contract with government can be permitted to go into the legislature (except through methods employed by the present Orissa Chief



The Nation's Best

BENGAL ELECTRICALS CO.
MADRAS-17 — BANGALORE-3



BRONCHITIS QUICKLY CLEARED

WITH PEPS

World-famous Throat and Chest Tablets

Sore throat, bronchitis, coughs and colds clear up quickly with PEPS Throat and Chest Tablets. Suck PEPS and feel its healing vapours working... helping to ease pain and remove germs.



PEPS THROAT AND CHEST TABLETS

available at all medicine dealers

C. E. FULFORD (INDIA) PRIVATE LTD.

Sole Agents Dadha & Co., 86, Mainpatti Naik St. Madras-3

THE LESSON OF ORISSA

Minister who has got in, despite contracts), and there is no businessman or industrialist who can carry on without entering into some contract with government, because the 'public sector' is the biggest customer for the production of the 'private sector'. The Welfare State of the Congress Party has produced this result by which all producers are bound to be in some contract or the other for supply to Government and therefore barred from entering the local or Central legislatures. The private sector stands effectively disfranchised. Government and legislation have to be carried on only by those who have no experience or connection with production of any kind, and with the help of the monopoly holders under the favour of the Congress Party's Permit-Licence-Raj.

I believe it was Mr. Lohia who said in his *Mankind* that there are more capitalists, Maharajahs and communalists in the Congress than in all the other parties put together, including the Swatantra Party. Mr. Lohia sometimes shouts unpleasant truths.

This, apart from many other baneful effects of the Permit-Licence-Raj. If the nation is to have good government, it is absolutely necessary to free the country from this mess. Men and women must learn to vote for those whom they ought to support with their votes, and not feel bound to give them away to those who parade their ill-gotten party wealth and official influence, offer refreshment and vehicles, and money.

All this, the Congress bosses will say is negative. "You are just opposed to what we do; what is your positive?" When one is negative to something, one is affirmative to its opposite. If one is negative to filth, one is affirmative to soap. If one is negative to loafing, one is affirmative to working. If one is negative to bunkum, one is affirmative to satyam. If one is negative to collectives, one is positive to peasant proprietorship and to individual attention and hard work.

The Congress, with the power of office and of money acquired through office, puts forward at every one of its election meetings, its 'strength' as an argument in its favour even as Ravana courted Sita in the Ashoka Vana :

"I do not find any other in this world who can stand against me in battle. Look at my overwhelming and unrivalled power!"

*Neha pacyami lokenyam
yo me pratibalo bhavet
pacya me sumahadveeryam
apratidvandvam aahave*

Sita did not choose to be overwhelmed by this power. The Orissa elections have disclosed the *aasuric* strength of the Congress. It must open everyone's eyes to the urgency of bringing this strength to a termination, so that it may not perpetuate itself through this power and extinguish democracy. It can be done if all who abhor such an end come together.

Sri Jayaprakash Narain desires government without political parties. But a movement for government without political parties itself calls for a party having that objective. We are landed in a paradox. It is like the search in technology for a machine for perpetual motion without fuel.

We require a political party which will work for a government without parties. But here is a political party which has definitely reduced party shackles to the minimum and gives maximum freedom to its members. The Swatantra Party is the answer to J.P.'s quest for the Holy Grail. If the Swatantra Party is supported by the people, party-less government, to the extent now feasible, is automatically brought into being.

The Congress President has declared that rebels will not be taken back into the Congress. Hinduism followed this policy and extended the same threat to those who had left or threatened to leave the fold. Once a man left Hinduism, he could never be taken back. But the folly of this

attitude was realised and re-conversion became a regular programme. As a piece of intimidation, it is good enough to frighten weak spirits and hold them as prisoners. But it is poor philosophy to seek to suppress opinion by such threats, playing on the whiteness of your own men's livers. C.R.

OUR TENNIS STAR

It was painful to read some Indian reporters' stories about Krishnan's play in the recent Wimbledon tournament in England. It is difficult to explain the adverse attitude of these reporters; whether it is ignorance of the game or some type of *asuya*, it is not possible to guess.

But it is refreshing to read the magnificent appreciations of the British press of Krishnan's performances, and last but not least, the generous remarks of the Australian winner Laver who said that he found his toughest job when playing against Krishnan at the end of the tournament. Good play consists not in winning but in the playing of the game. Writing down the player who lost the game is mean. The snob seems always to worship 'success'.

Our best wishes to Krishnan who has undoubtedly earned a high place for India in world tennis, as our hockey lads have done and valiantly maintained in world hockey.

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

Mr. NEHRU'S "TAKE OFF"

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

One of the ideas which Mr. Nehru has taken from the latest literature in economics is that of 'take off'. But, as with 'co-operation applied to farming' or 'Government in business', he gives this idea an individual interpretation and application which is fair neither to the idea nor to the country for which it is used. The phrase 'take off' applied to economic development was first used by Rostov, the Russian economist now teaching in the U.S.A. In his *Stages of Economic Growth* (1960) he describes 'take off' as the point in a country's economic history when it starts off on large-scale and rapid industrialization. The 'take off', he describes, is the interval when the old 'blocks and resistances' to steady growth are finally overcome, the forces making for economic progress, which yield limited bursts and enclaves of modern activity, expand, and come to dominate society. And he lays down—as preconditions for 'take off',—that revolutionary changes in agricultural productivity are an essential condition for successful 'take off', for "modernization of society increases radically its demand for agricultural products".

Now, have the 'old blocks and resistances' to steady growth been finally overcome? First of all the urge to improve one's economic lot must become universal among the people. The Linlithgow Report on Agriculture, an authority which Mr. Nehru respects, contains this testimony of W. H. Moreland, administrator and economic historian of India, that "the dominant feature of rural India at the present day is that the will to live better is not a force to be reckoned with except in particular circumstances". What have Mr. Nehru's Governments at the Centre or in the States done to endow the people in our villages with "the will to live better"? What have they done with all the resources of social education open to them in the modern media of the printing press, the radio, the cinema to educate the people of India in this 'economic motive' of life? Has Mr. Nehru with his wonderful appeal and hold over the masses spoken often and long on the need for this change of attitude to life? It is true that he and his Government and Ministers have spoken about the Plans and tried to enlist popular enthusiasm for the Plans. But the fundamental precedent for rousing enthusiasm for the Plans is *instruction* as to why and wherefore the Plans should be adopted.

Even granted that the attitude to economic improvement has changed in the thirty years since Moreland's complaint, how have the people been helped to march towards economic progress? Have the 'old blocks and resistances to steady growth' that Rostov insists are an antecedent to the 'take off' been removed? Has illiteracy been removed—illiteracy which prevents the farmer from reading and making use of the agricultural bulletins and other useful reading matter sent out by the Agricultural Department? Literacy is only 25 per cent for men and 10 per cent for women, and in the rural parts it is still lower. And then, has agricultural India adequate mileage of roads that would connect the village and the farm with the nearest market-town, so that farming could rise from the subsistence to the market level—producing for a paying market rather than for keeping the farmer and his family alive? India at present has a total mileage of 120,500 miles of which only 73,000 miles are all-weather roads, whereas India requires for her economic development 1,000,000 miles of roads. And then what is the state of water-supply, sanitation and drainage, and housing that will improve the health of the agricultural population, and as a result their agricultural productivity? The financial provision for rural water-supply in the Second Plan period was 28 crores as against 53 crores for urban water-supply. The Reports on the Plans are distressingly vague about the number of wells in the villages, and one would be justified in saying that the vast majority of the 500,000 villages in India are without protected water-supply. The record of rural sanitation and drainage is worse. And as for reconstruction of rural housing which at present consists for the most part of one-roomed, untiled hovels, the rate of re-

construction is 5,000 per year for the whole of India against the 50,000,000 houses which have to be reconstructed—it will take 500 years or more to achieve the result required at the present rate of rural housing! And, as for that great obstacle to agricultural productivity, the uneconomic holdings, the record of consolidation of holdings is so poor that in despair Mr. Nehru has turned to co-operative farming—falling into Charybdis to save himself from Scylla.

While agricultural productivity tries to reach the stage when it can feed the whole population, thanks to the adequate extension of roads, canals, railways, in addition to the industries that gather round the building of roads, canals, railways, Rostov would lead a country to the second stage of economic development which would consist in the development of textile mills with the manufacture of textile tools and machines, of railways with the manufacture of not only coaches, but engines, and for the development of the extractive industries (coal and iron etc.) with all the heavy engineering industries connected with them. This second stage also would see the promotion of heavy engineering required by the Defence services (manufacture of tanks, shells, armoured cars, etc.)

It is only after these two stages have reached fairly full development that the third stage—the stage of steel, shipping, chemical industries, machine tools—is provided for in Mr. Rostov's theory of economic progress. This is the stage which Mr. Nehru wants to rush the country and the country's economy through—jumping over the two previous stages with enthusiasm born of emotion but flouting the realities of Indian economic life. Mr. Rostov's theory of the 'take off' may be right or wrong. But one who quotes it, must in fairness to it and the country's economy, observe the conditions and qualifications with which the author has formulated it.

SURF IN THE MODERN HOME...



'THE WAY WE LIVE TODAY...'

says housewife PREMA SOONDERJI of Bombay

'THE WAY WE LIVE TODAY,' says Mrs Prema G. Soonderji of Walkeshwar Road, Bombay, 'we all want new and better things.

'SURF for instance. Today, I am proud of my washing because SURF makes such a brilliant job of it.'

SURF washes everything in the Soonderji home—shirts and saris, towels and sheets.

WHY NOT SURF IN YOUR HOME? SURF cuts your washing work in half, yet gives you washing that's fresh and gloriously white. See SURF's extra washing power at work in your home today.

Surf gives you the WHITEST WASH

A HINDUSTAN LEVER PRODUCT



July 15, 1961

SWARAJYA

9

CAPITAL COMMENTS

CONGRESS ANALYSTS AND OFFICIAL APOLOGISTS

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Mr. Sadiq Ali, General Secretary of the Congress who functions in that capacity without prejudice to his membership of the Rajya Sabha, often calls for public attention by combining official spokesmanship and elder statesmanship with a naivete that should be annoying, if it is not amusing. Having ventured an analysis or interpretation of the recent mid-term elections in Orissa for the A.I.C.C. *Economic Review* of which he is the Editor (to specify his third role), he has arranged for its advance release.

In his current analysis what one looks for in vain is a straight answer to any of the straight questions raised or put by Opposition leaders of eminence. For instance, Mr. Sadiq Ali does not bother, or hardly deems it necessary, to confirm or contradict the statements made in the press about the Orissa hero's contracts and sources of election fund. Perhaps 'mum' is the word when any inconvenient question is to be answered. Evasion is a good political tactic but is a fatal limitation in serious controversy.

Mr. Sadiq Ali, however, refers to the talk of "quick mobilisation of vast resources which brought victory to the Congress" but prefers to dismiss it airily by telling us that "it is wrong to imagine" that the Congress victory in Orissa was due to it. For, says Mr. Sadiq Ali axiomatically, "resources by themselves do not bring victory" and ingeniously adds the proviso, "if the mood of the people is unfavourable to a party". Mr. Sadiq Ali's admission that "a big and well-knit organisation" which the Congress is, can, "as a consequence, command a reasonable amount of resources, when necessary" (how reasonable it is, should be left to one's reasoning faculty!), is rather pathetic, for while seemingly seeking to explain or explain away, he is

rather apologising. Mr. Sadiq Ali need not labour hard to defend what is, on the face of it, indefensible. He should know that the public know all about it.

The Congress victory in Orissa can be easily understood if one turns to Mr. Sadiq Ali in a receptive mood. Firstly, the Congress has "a clear conception of the direction in which it wants the country to move"; secondly, "the appeal of the Congress is still potent"; thirdly, people have "faith in the Congress" as, "with all its imperfections, it continues to occupy itself actively with the big job of liquidating the evil legacy of the past and creating a new social order". If that were so, or as simple as that, it is difficult to understand why the Congress should have made money so potent a factor in sweeping the polls and paid no heed to warnings in the matter of company contributions to party funds.

Mr. Sadiq Ali pompously talks of "the big job of liquidating the evil legacy of the past" but turns a blind eye to the evil practices of the present which will be but a most doubtful legacy to the future. Mr. Sadiq Ali as a staunch party man may take such comfort as he can from the electoral victory in Orissa but as an economist and an analyst, he should also evaluate its 'price'. Orissa's new leader, much to his credit, was supposed to have made no secret of it, in his talks to his friends, at the end of the ordeal.

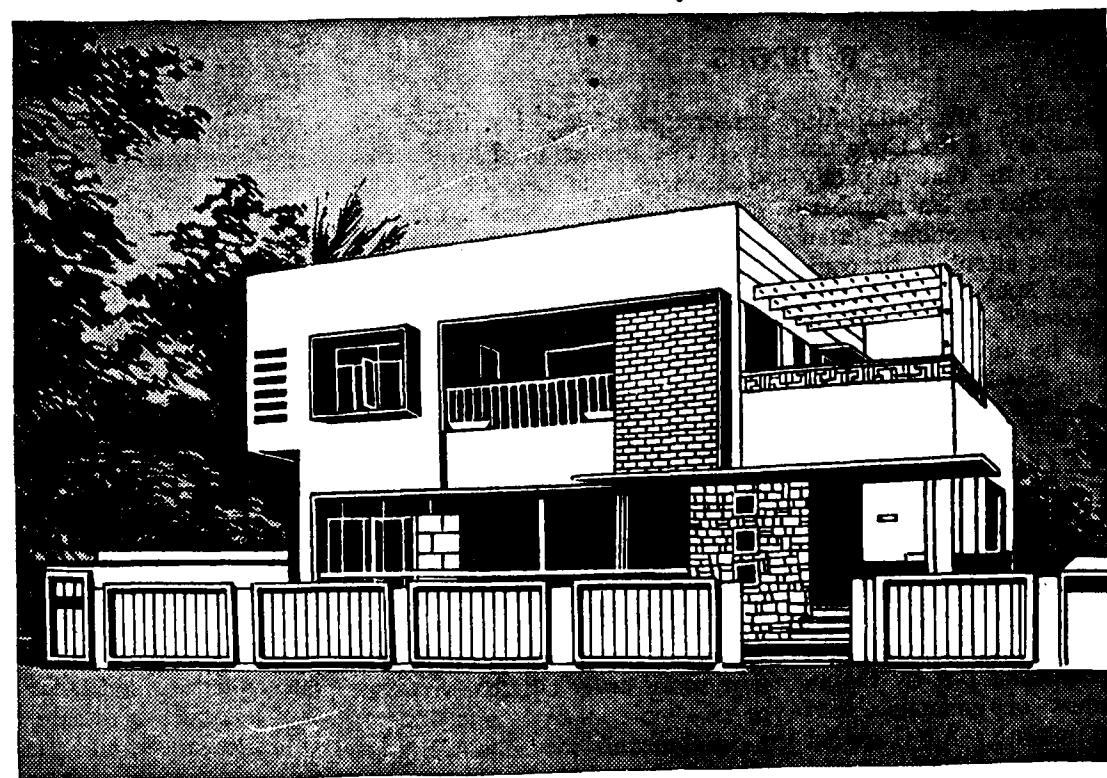
As the General Secretary of the Congress, Mr. Sadiq Ali knows only too well that there is no uniform method of collection of funds at the State level and that each State is inclined to rely on its own ingenuity, with none to check the worst excesses of political pressure and even of a spirit of blatant adventurism. On the other hand, State leadership is

judged by results without any insistence on the rightness of the methods out of which they have accrued, whether in one direction or another. There is nothing that poor Mr. Sadiq Ali can do about it, except analyse a situation from the party angle and step in as a Defender of the Faith.

Why blame official apologists when Mr. Nehru himself has ceased to be squeamish about methods and means if only the ends ensure the survival of the Congress and the perpetuation of its rule? One can now understand why Mr. Nehru had pitied the Opposition parties in Orissa. He knew that they could never beat, nor race with, the Congress in its game of employing *astras*. He also knew perhaps that with an ace pilot in charge of affairs, every thing was bound to end well.

What others know is that where such pilots spread themselves, the only alternative to safe landing is complete crash, and the debris to be swept off by the gales of history. For the nonce it is all right. Mr. Patnaik has made good: Others may even do better (who knows?). Distant observers have equated the Orissa result to a victory for Mr. Nehru while analysts nearer home have interpreted it as an expression of people's faith in the Congress. In a way it is the same for Mr. Sadiq Ali who wants to boost up the organisation and not be accused of any weakness for personality-cult. His irritation—and our difficulty—is that there is one old man who refuses to be fooled and warns us not to be.





A modern residence, San Thome, Madras. The exterior has been finished with SILVICRETE—ACC White Cement.

For greater beauty

use **Silvicrete** ACC WHITE Cement

For that extra beauty, whether you are building a new house or renovating an old one, use SILVICRETE White Cement. There are ever so many uses for SILVICRETE—inside the house, on its outside and in the garden. SILVICRETE brings out the full beauty of terrazzo and tiled floors. It can also be used for making colourful exteriors, gleaming *jallis*, and attractive garden furniture.

Contact:

THE CEMENT MARKETING CO. OF INDIA LIMITED,
Bombay • Madras • Calcutta • Delhi • Indore • Patna • Kanpur
Secunderabad • Coimbatore • Bangalore • Ahmedabad

Silvicrete
ACC WHITE CEMENT

Silvicrete has been specially selected as the base for **Snowcem**—the well-known decorative waterproof cement coating.

THE ASSOCIATED CEMENT COMPANIES LIMITED
The Cement Marketing Company of India Limited

JWT-CML 1941

VERDICT ON THE NEW ENGLISH BIBLE

The New English Bible of 1961 has been appreciatively reviewed in the Indian P.E.N. and a very good quotation is given as a specimen of the style of the book, which is described by the reviewer as simple and smooth. The new version is declared 'a great achievement'. The following from a *New Leader* review, however, throws doubt on that verdict:

The NEB's tone is often quite ludicrous. Jesus chides Martha for 'fretting and fussing' and tells the Pharisees what to do 'when you give a lunch or dinner party' in *Luke*; he institutes the Eucharist in *John* with 'does this shock you?' Paul is charged with being 'a perfect pest' in *Acts*; he asks the Corinthians to 'at least be grown-up in your thinking,' hopes to stay awhile and avoid 'a flying visit' with them, and promises 'I am not going to sponge upon you'; he tells the Ephesians not to copy 'good-for-nothing notions'; he writes to Timothy that deacons should avoid 'double talk' and that a rival teacher is a 'pompous ignoramus'. John the Baptist warns the soldiers in *Luke*: 'No bullying, no blackmail'; the brother of the prodigal son tells their father that the prodigal has returned 'after running through your money with his women'; the soldiers at the crucifixion in *John* say of Jesus's garment: 'Let us toss for it.'

There are, however, many things that modern readers expect of a Bible besides clarity. One is majesty. When the centurion says to Jesus, 'Speak the word only' in *AV*, it has a grandeur that 'You need only say the word' lacks. 'Of course religion does yield high dividends' reads like a vulgar parody of *AV*'s 'godliness' and 'great gain'. Jesus's 'Woman, what have I to do with thee?' to his mother in *John* is majestic and awful, a reminder that primitive Christianity denounced kin ties to exalt cult; the NEB's 'Your concern, mother, is not mine' is merely an Eton boy being snippy.

In short, we have not yet attained to perfection. The New English Bible is selling its three million copies in the year of publication, like the Revised Version in 1885 and the Revised Standard Version in 1951, but if you look on the pulpits next year, what do you think you will find? That same old 1611 book.

POPULATION PROBLEM

By S. RAJU CHETTIAR

The problem of population has assumed in recent times great importance. This is not a modern problem. Even the ancients were faced with it. For we read in the old books that the gods used to hear complaints from Dame Earth that the world population had increased beyond her capacity to bear the strain. On such complaints, God would cause wars to break out to reduce the population, so as to relieve Earth of her oppressive load.

The problems of man are many, and it is moonshine to think that, if he solves the population problem, he will reach the paradise. Other problems are far more grave and complicated and demand early solution. They are either neglected or approached without any clear vision. Even if he succeeds in the technique and practice of birth-control and becomes an expert in the practical use of it, at the end of it all he will meet with disappointment, because the other problems will remain still unsolved.

The Government and the leaders are aware that in spite of propaganda spreading over fifty years not even five per cent of the agriculturists of India have adopted sound and profitable methods. But they expect that their population control measures and endeavours will succeed. So, at the expense of the tax-payer, birth-control clinics are opened, and family limitation institutions are established to achieve a seemingly impossible result of limiting the population. All this is a waste and it also betrays complete failure to understand both the psychology of human beings and the creative purpose of God.

From the individual's point of view, birth-control is advisable on medical or financial grounds. If for medical or financial reasons they adopt birth-control, it stands to reason that they must observe other hygienic laws and practise economy in their life. Such observance and practice will free them from the fear of population increase. We find them woefully neglecting the laws of hygiene while taking to various wasteful habits.

If the people follow a rational life, children would not become a problem, either for the parents or for the government. If they avoid drinks, smoking, races, gambling, and other wasteful habits, if their dress, jewels, furniture and dwelling houses are simple and moderate, and if they pursue know-

ledge and wisdom, and above all have a sense of proportion in their pleasures and amusements, then children will cease to be a problem, nay, they will become an effective means of improving the quality and civilisation of the society.

If a man begins to think that children are to be trained by him as good citizens, the problem of population ceases to be a problem; only when he thinks of limiting the number, especially for selfish reasons and on account of his unwillingness to forego his pet tastes and selfish ends, children become a problem.

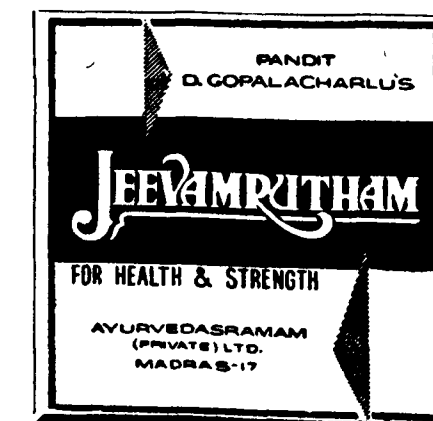
Sir Francis Galton has divided humanity into two groups, the fit and the unfit. He has shown that the fit are in minority and the unfit are in majority and that the rate of increase of the fit is low, while that of the unfit is high.

Does the Government think of this, when it indiscriminately encourages birth-control? Usually the fit being educated and well-informed adopt contraceptive methods and thereby worsen the position.

Experience in birth-control methods will one day prove that man has been pursuing a wrong scent, that he has neglected his duty to live as a good citizen and breed and train his children as good citizens, and that he has neglected his duty to reform himself, to produce essentials and to become a sane and sensible person.

Birth-control, like political freedom, is no solution for man's problems. Unless man obtains freedom from ignorance, illiteracy, toadyism, economic wastes, and immoral and selfish habits, his problems will remain unsolved, in spite of birth-control clinics and birth-control habits.

(All rights reserved)



MANTRAMS

By BHIKKU

The latest of the injunctions for curing the ills of this land is elimination of 'casteism' and 'linguism'. For the time being, these have taken precedence over the refrains on the socialistic pattern, co-operative farming, etc. Inheritances do not change by injunctions. Such panaceas can come honestly only from a person like our Prime Minister who has introspectively said of himself that he failed to identify himself with the unending procession—one "who would separate himself and as from a hill top, apart, look down at the valley below". However, when this counsel is chorused by many Congress high-ups and ministerial mouths, one wonders how much of it is of the nature of mantrams to lay the ghosts that have been raised by the ruling party's own expediences—under or above ground—to sustain its supremacy. The sole target has been success at the elections and cornering of power, and no electoral strategy of whatever nature was out of reckoning. Even disease-germs like malaria and poisons like cobra venom are useful in certain ailments. Of such a category were the alliances of the Congress with the frankly communal Muslim League in Kerala, with the aristocratic and unsocialistic-minded princes in Orissa, and its concordance with the Dravida Kazhagam and its casteistic hatred-potential in Tamil Nad. Casteism in blatant malevolence was displayed by one provincial Congress government when it defined 'backwardness' in its population, so as to single out one particular community, with a view to excluding from the scope of government's educational, employment and other benefits. The Olympians in Delhi did not bat an eye-lid. Tactical garnish only thinly covered basic affinities and prejudices when a minister of Madras, replying to a query from the Central Government concerning deletion of caste and sect from official documents, left the answer diplomatically but nicely balanced in the air, emphasising elaborately on the basic policy of his Government to help the classes which were backward. Delhi is far away and Nehru is safe in his empyrian, to be brought down to earth whenever necessary for catching votes with his shimmering personality and nostrums. For practical wear in the provincial arena, these will not do!

Whatever may be the high ideals and the end products of the socialistic pattern and the Five Year Plans of

Nehruji, in the armoury of his echoing lieutenants they are only handy weapons in the arithmetic of vote-catching by promises of land for the landless, by manipulations of schisms between the worker and the employer, the labourer and the landlord, and the poor against the owning classes. These latter-day manufactured-castes are different, but the ramparts within which they sway, bristle with guns.

Shouting against castes is not like the trumpeting round the walls of Jericho. Caste has its fixture in the instinctive attachment to one's roots, to one's childhood, language, upbringing, diet, worship, marriage, and even disposal of one's body after death. Caste where it denotes a particular calling, has its measureless value in its disciplines of devotion, application, pride in the nuances of craftsmanship and joy in achievement which is only incidentally affianced to profit and reward. These are qualities alien to cross-bred, school-taught practitioners of trades. Concerning these bookish products in the agricultural calling, even in the work-exalting proletarian Russia, Khrushchov scathingly remarked that the young graduates wished to remain in Moscow and other big cities, and when they go to villages, are frightened of cows!

Actually caste exclusiveness and fanaticism had receded into a dull background of formal rituals of little political or economic significance during the two hundred years of British regime. Linguism had no divisive connotation at all in British days, when English out-paced all other languages. It is the post-Independence vote-grab and office-stampedes that have given life and unlovely stature to these institutions. Linguistic chauvinism is a direct product of Congress brand of democracy which degenerates from expedient to expedient, unlike democracy in other countries where it grows from precedent to precedent.

The government, while denouncing casteism vociferously, has curiously founded and fostered an inverted hierarchy of the same by bestowing political, economic and educational featherbeds to those castes which can persuade it to classify as 'Backward'. The generous impulse of undoing past injustices has only tilted the sea-saw the other way in the translation of that impulse into practice by theory-ridden enthusiasts.

In the immediacy of current troubles, especially in the recrudescence of blood

lettings, between the Hindus and Muslims, the rulers do not appear to give sufficient thought to the consideration whether the negation of castes and creeds, even if it was practicable, will bring in the better land of patriotic brotherhood of all, or will only precipitate a narrow interest limited to family or, worse still, to an exaltation of solipsistic individualism which dethrones even parental kinships. Discarding of caste is not the alchemist's elixir for miscibility and fraternity that its proponents aver. Are the caste-emancipated Western-educated and Europe-acclimatised men and women in the land shining lusters of brotherhood? The age-centred exclusiveness amongst them is, if anything, closer meshed. For the average human being, the moiety of self submersing sympathy in caste is a warm extension of the family and blood affinity, which can really be a foundation on which an increasingly larger integration can be built up until it becomes national in its width. The epithet 'to build' here savours too much of man's conscious volition and capacities in this ticklish process. Patriotism and nationhood can bloom only as flowers do in a plant. What lies in one's hand is but to manure and water the plant, to remove the weeds and stones from its vicinity. Only the slow process of trickling seepage, up root and stem, through common objects of love, reverence, pity, laughter, sacrifice, endeavour, artistic and musical appreciation and interliving can evolve in its time that unity that cements a body of people into a nation. If one analyses it, strange are the elements that blend themselves into a harmonious and heart-throbbing whole for such people as the British, compounded of such dissonant things as the sea-sickening English Channel and Dovercliffs, Samuel Johnson no less than William Shakespeare, the London cabby's cockneyisms no less than Oxford's accents, the blear and fog of the metropolis, and even the smelly Smithfield market and the beggar cronies that pretend to sell matches. Forcing the pace is the besetting sin of evangelistic do-gooders like our Prime Minister, and one wouldn't wonder if in the sublime faith in the sovereignty of our legislative bodies, a law is passed prohibiting marriages within the same caste. This would only be a prelude to banning marriages within the same creed. But that would offend susceptibilities other than the docile Hindus, who alone are meat for social experiments in the Congress laboratories. Verily the meek shall in no wise inherit the earth in an adult-franchised democracy of the socialistic pattern.

BURMAH-SHELL REFINERIES LIMITED

MR. L. D. MUDIE'S REVIEW

The following is the statement made by Mr. L. D. Mudie, Chairman, Burmah-Shell Refineries Limited, at the eighth annual general meeting held on 26th June, 1961

Gentlemen :

The Directors' Report and Statement of Accounts for the year are before you. The crude oil intake of the Refinery was 366,035 metric tons more in 1960 than in 1959, with income from refining increasing from Rs. 10.91 crores in 1959 to Rs. 12.33 crores in 1960. As from 1st January, 1960, your Company ceased to benefit from the relief provided under Section 15(c) of the Income Tax Act and in consequence, has had to set aside Rs. 2.61 crores for taxation on 1960 profits as compared with Rs. 1.90 crores charged in the 1959 accounts.

An interim dividend of 15 nP. per rupee was declared and paid in November 1960 on the paid-up ordinary share capital absorbing Rs. 207.3 lakhs and the Board now recommend a final dividend of 5 nP. per rupee which will absorb a further Rs. 69.10 lakhs; Income Tax at 20% will be payable on these dividends.

I do not think further comments are required in respect of the details of our 1960 Statement of Accounts which are set out fully in the documents already circulated to you. I would now like to take this opportunity to give a few figures regarding the growth of Oil demand during the last five years under the dynamism of the Second Plan period and also project this picture into the Third Plan to see what contribution your Company has to make in this context.

In the process of the many-sided development through which the Indian economy has been passing, Oil has effectively played its part. Total inland oil consumption will have risen to about 7.8 million metric tons in 1961 from 4.9 million in 1956, a 59% increase during this period. The percentage rise in consumption has varied from product to product; thus, demand for High Speed Diesel Oil will have risen by 102%, while the demand for Furnace Oil will have gone up by 57%, that for Light Diesel Oil by 48%, Lubricants by 47% and Kerosene by 36%.

There appears to be much support for the view that we should provide for an annual compound growth rate of about 12% during the Third Plan period, as compared to the rate of 10% experienced in the Second Plan. These projections will naturally require revision at regular intervals, but it is generally recognised that energy is an essential overhead of economic growth and the growing importance of oil in the Indian pattern of energy consumption has been well demonstrated during the last decade.

At the meeting of the Oil Advisory Committee held in May this year, a figure of 13.55 m. metric tons was agreed as the likely inland demand in 1966. Including the provision for international bunkers, total demand for refined petroleum products will be about 14.14 m. metric tons representing a crude oil equivalent of about 15.27 million metric tons. The Oil Advisory Committee will review their forecasts at regular intervals and experience may well show an upward revision is necessary. Your Company attaches much weight to these figures, for with such targets before us, the exchange of ideas and plans between the public and private sectors is greatly facilitated, thus leading, it is hoped, to an understanding that a full contribution from both sectors is essential, if the task ahead is to be completed in time.

While opinions may differ in regard to priorities, one incontrovertible fact emerges, namely that to meet a demand of the order of 15 m. metric tons of crude equivalent by

the end of the Third Plan, investment on a large scale in all phases of the business is required not only now but as a recurring need into the long term future. The Oil Industry is highly capital intensive and experience has proved that to find, produce, refine and distribute to the consumer 1 million tons of Oil calls for a capital investment of approximately Rs. 60 crores. It is apparent, therefore, that an increase in consumption by about 7 million tons over the Third Plan period calls for a capital investment of some Rs. 400 crores if this increase alone is to be assured.

Investment is only one aspect of the problem. Equally important is the time factor; here, there are no short-cuts. There is no way of finding oil without drilling; the risk of failure is great and even successful ventures take many years and consume much money before the fruits of success in the form of commercial production of crude oil are ready to reach the consuming market.

From the moment of inspiration, to engineer, construct, staff, and bring on full stream a new refinery, is the work of years.

The distribution of oil presents its own special problems in a country the size of India; here is a railway system doing a magnificent job but nevertheless unable always to cater for the full traffic. The road system is still in the development stage. An oil distribution network must therefore provide innumerable upcountry storage points to ensure the smooth flow of supplies throughout the country.

I am convinced that for prompt, effective action to meet these challenges there is need for a massive effort, attacking the problem from as broad a front as possible, and enlisting help from all who are willing to contribute, on terms which are reasonable and still in keeping with the avowed objectives of Indian economic development.

In his speech at this meeting last year the Chairman said that provided we were permitted to go ahead with our expansion proposal there might be room for further modification in the terms of the 1951 Refinery Agreement in addition to the Duty Protection which we had agreed to forego.

Arising from the above statement the Ministry of Steel, Mines & Fuel informed the Company that the question of revising the Refinery Agreement and a proposal to expand the capacity of the Refinery would have to be treated quite separately and that it would not be desirable to link them together. This letter was dated 14th September, 1960.

In February this year the Company received an official reply to its original proposal for the expansion but in this instance Government stated that they were unable to consider any proposal for the expansion of the refinery in terms of the 1951 Agreement. The letter went on to state that, as the total refinery capacity likely to be available by the end of the Third Five Year Plan period would be about 10.75 m. metric tons and product demands at that date had been variously indicated as 10 to 14 m. metric tons per annum, Government had decided, subject to reconsideration in the light of a more accurate forecast of product demand by the Oil Advisory Committee, that further increase in refining capacity in the Private Sector was not considered necessary. As mentioned earlier, the Oil Advisory Committee has now estimated product demand in 1966, including international bunkers, at about 14.14 m. metric tons.

(Continued on next page)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

DURATION OF STATE LEGISLATURES

Sir,—Two mid-term elections have been conducted, one in Kerala and the other in Orissa. The former took place after an extraordinary dissolution, on the (alleged) ground of 'emergency', which shocked legal opinion.

In the latter instance, thanks to the power of money, though the Congress could not have expected to retain even the 56 seats they had in the legislature, actually won 82 seats, exceeding the most optimistic calculations.

These two are but mid-term elections, and those now elected will have to face again the General Elections of 1962.

The relevant provision, Article 172 of the Constitution Act, reads: "Every Legislative Assembly of every State,

unless sooner dissolved, shall continue for five years from the date appointed for its first meeting and no longer."

Provision is made for an extension by Parliament for a period not exceeding one year at a time, while a Proclamation of Emergency is in operation. Happily there is now no such emergency in Kerala or Orissa.

(PROF.) K. R. R. SASTRY

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN PRIVATE SECTOR

Sir,—Private entrepreneurs were asked to make their own arrangements

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

for their foreign exchange requirements. They were, therefore, obliged to seek the co-operation of foreign industrialists and induce them to invest in their schemes by way of supplying the required machinery. However, in view of the increase in the aid offered by the respective Governments to our Third Plan, the foreign investors have now to curtail their shares of investments in the private sector schemes in India, because they have been asked by their Governments to contribute to their Government's share of aid to India." These observations were made

(Continued from previous page)

Revised cost estimates, which have more recently been communicated to Government, show that the additional million tons of refining capacity will cost only Rs. 2.83 crores, a fraction of the cost of constructing a new refinery of comparable capacity, and that the project to manufacture Lubricating Oil, now stepped up from 60,000 to 100,000 metric tons capacity per annum, will cost Rs. 6.47 crores. The total cost of the two projects has therefore been reduced by Rs. 2.28 crores and I would remind you that there will be no request to Government for foreign exchange, which will be provided from our own resources.

Despite the cool reception which these proposals have received so far I feel they are so sound and their acceptance is so much in the country's interest that we should be optimistic about the final outcome.

It will perhaps be useful again to refer to the sustained increase in Middle Distillate production and reduction in yield of Motor Spirit achieved by your Company between its commencement of operations and the year under review.

	1955	1960
Motor Spirit (% production on crude intake on weight basis)	22	14.9
Middle Distillates (% production on crude intake on weight basis)	33.5	45.1

Continued improvements in manufacturing techniques increased Crude throughput, as already stated, by 366,035 metric tons to a total of 2,843,010 metric tons in 1960, producing an additional 295,000 tons of essential Middle Distillates and only a marginal extra quantity of Motor Spirit. This represents a substantial contribution towards minimising the import of deficit products. Today your Refinery is operating at a rate equivalent to an annual Crude intake of 3 million metric tons and this further achievement is in logical conformity with the concept of utilising the country's capital assets to the maximum—a cardinal principle in a capital hungry world.

While there will be a critical period of product imbalance with a considerable surplus of Motor Spirit following the commissioning of the Gauhati and Barauni Refineries

there are encouraging indications in the longer term. One favourable factor is the development of chemical and fertiliser industries based on a light petroleum feedstock and in this connection a contract has been concluded by our Marketing Associates with F.A.C.T. for the supply of naphtha to their Fertiliser Plant at Alwaye. Also of interest is a contract recently signed by our Marketing Associates with the Fertiliser Corporation of India for the supply of 50,000 metric tons of refinery gas annually to their Trombay Plant.

Before I close, I would like to refer to four further points of interest.

During last year, negotiations were undertaken with Government for permission to manufacture Jute Batching Oil and I am happy to report that the necessary licence has now been received and the Refinery has already commenced production of a high quality which conforms to the very special requirements of the Jute Industry.

Our Marketing Associates are in negotiation with the Oil and Natural Gas Commission for processing at our Refinery indigenous crude from the Ankleshwar oilfields. Many important details have yet to be settled, but the Railway Authorities have in hand the laying of sidings at the refinery site to handle this crude oil traffic in tankwagons.

Your Company offered to train 18 operators for the Gauhati Refinery and also to accept two of their senior staff for study visits. These offers have been accepted and training will commence shortly.

Your Managing Director, Mr. G. B. Stanger, was honoured to accept the invitation extended to him last year by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research to serve as a member of the Governing Council of the Indian Institute of Petroleum. I have no doubt that he will bring to bear on the deliberations of the Council his wide experience in the Oil Industry acquired over many years in different countries.

It remains for me to thank the Managing Director and those who worked for him for the considerable achievements of the year under review. The encouraging financial and technical results referred to earlier are the result of their hard work and ingenuity and in the full expectation that these qualities will be with us in the years to come, we look to the future with confidence.

by Mr. S. Narayanaswamy at a recent meeting at Gokhale Hall.

This would, therefore, mean that there is no real increase in the aid offered, but only a diversion of the foreign aid from the private sector to the public sector, or in other words, from a profitable sector to a wasteful sector. Investment by foreign capitalists in private sector schemes is no risk to the people. Repayment is the concern of the capitalists themselves. Aid on Government-to-Government basis is a risk to the nation as a whole and the people should be concerned about it.

S. KRISHNAN

ADMINISTRATIVE ZONES IN PLACE OF STATES

Sir,—Any attempt to tinker with the problem of communalism will prove futile. I suggest the following measures to eradicate the evil:

- (1) Abolition of the present division of India into States and creation, in their place, of six new administrative zones.
- (2) Each zone should have ministers representing every community.
- (3) Each zone should have a "Zonal Protection Committee" consisting of members of all communities in each zone, with a view to taking all measures calculated to bring about communal harmony by redressing the grievances of the people.

Calcutta-29

P. V. V. RAJAN

DISTRIBUTION OF BETELNUT

Sir,—In the previous October 1960-March 1961 licensing period, established importers were granted a quota of 1% per cent of their best year's import of betelnuts and a 2% per cent quota of the best year's imports of spices. In the current period, each established importer has been granted an *ad hoc* licence for Rs. 500 only, irrespective of the past best year's import.

The State Trading Corporation of India Ltd. is to be given licences to import betelnuts and spices to supplement the *ad hoc* licences issued to the established importers. There are many varieties of betelnuts; varieties in demand in certain regions are not marketable in others. The demand of a parti-

cular variety also depends on festival and marriage seasons. Before indent is placed and steps are taken for the import of betelnuts and spices, the Corporation can usefully consult established importers and the traders, especially with reference to the countries where the particular species of nuts are available for export and the varieties in demand by the public in the regions concerned.

The cut in the import effected by the issue of *ad hoc* licences to the value of Rs. 500 to each established importer

causes hardship to the dealer when he is unable to meet the needs of his customers. The established importers and dealers should be replenished with stocks imported by the Corporation to enable them to meet their needs. In regard to drying, stocking the betelnuts and fumigating them, the special knowledge and experience of the importers might be utilised by the Corporation. The Corporation should also utilise the services of the established importers in the distribution of betelnuts and spices imported by it.

V. V. V. ANANDHAM



for the SANDAL fragrance
that lingers long...

...there's no soap to match METTUR
SANDAL SOAP. Lather loveliness into your skin, endow
your complexion with a youthful glow, treat yourself
to a truly sandal perfume...with METTUR SANDAL SOAP!

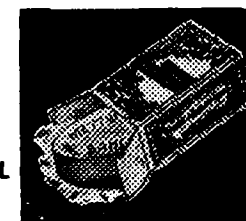
Change over to
METTUR
SANDAL SOAP

and feel the fragrant difference!

THE METTUR CHEMICAL & INDUSTRIAL
CORPORATION LIMITED

Mettur Dam R. S. Salem Dt.

Managing Agents:
SESHASAYEE BROTHERS PRIVATE LIMITED



mc 953

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.

Founded by **Khasa Subba Rau**

Vol. VI. No. 3

MADRAS, JULY 22, 1961

Price 15 nP

FROM MUDDLE TO MUDDLE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The Student Exchange Programme is not thriving at the Indian end. It is reported that in spite of our offer of one hundred scholarships for foreign students to follow advanced studies in India, there is a great shortage in acceptances. The young folk selected abroad show very little enthusiasm, although in India there is a scramble among university students and post-graduate cadets to secure scholarships abroad available in Europe and America. In India recent statistics reveal that there are more applications for admission to technical courses than to the study of the Humanities. Our domestic trend is easily understandable in an age of industrialisation and planning under expert tutelage of foreign technicians who are expected eventually to hand over responsibility to their Indian trainees. In fact the boast of the Hindustan Machine Tools Factory is that the services of alien technicians are no longer required to maintain operational efficiency. What can be the reason for the studentships we offer to foreign youth to dwindle in their attractiveness?

The first and foremost cause is the positive uncertainty of our linguistic politics in relation to the medium of study amongst different universities which, for lack of a uniform policy, makes for deterioration in standards. The main object of youthful interchange is to familiarise the coming generation with developments in different lands and in the practice of social intercourse to dis-

solve racial prejudice and promote the relaxation of international tensions. As for pupils, the definite purpose of adequate training for their careers cannot be ignored. They are of course missionaries of peace who, after fostering goodwill in strange lands and among friendly faces, become the champions of a brave new world. India's educational policy has been empirical and erratic ever since the day of Independence, a large number of Hindi champions struggling to force the pace and capitalise on Articles in the Constitution totally insusceptible of enforcement by the date-line. Amendments to the Constitution have been rushed

with the aid of party-whips to suit the conveniences of the ruling party, but the reorganisation of States and intolerance in linguistic drives have made not only for anarchic claims but also for alarming deterioration in standards. Platitudes are frequently uttered about the growth of languages, the need for a cosmopolitan outlook, and readiness to subordinate differences so as not to divert attention from the implementation of economic programmes with 'flaming zeal'. The wise pledge of the Prime Minister was later ratified by an undivided Congress resolution. There is no doubt the Prime Minister was on the right track when he declared that unless non-Hindi speaking areas positively asked for the introduction of Hindi in their affairs, there shall be no interference with language, including the medium of education, and that in the meanwhile English would prevail as Associate Language with regional experiments untouched. Left to himself, he would give legislative form to his opinion, but there are mental reservations amongst top-leaders. The Pant formula for the pacification of Assam and the Hill States carried the furtive provision that transitional expedients could be tolerated until Hindi at last prevailed over all the contending elements. The Shastri solution is similarly hedged, so that parents do not know whether what is workable should be sacrificed for the ultimate.

Assume that in the International Exchange Programme, a student

"No Meeting Ground"

"Though I was beginning to detect some differences in view-point between you and me, I had no notion whatever of the terrible extent of these differences. I see quite clearly that you must carry on an open warfare against me and my views. The differences between you and me appear to be so vast and so radical that there seems to be no meeting ground. I suggest a dignified way of unfurling your flag."

—Gandhi to Sri Nehru
(Quoted in Atulananda Chakrabarti's book, *Nehru, his Democracy and India.*)

in the Congo is attracted to India, could he opt for the Sylhet University in a region of teacher-strikes, daily processions, hartals, etc., in a battle of words? The same tension without high class demonstrations which end in shooting may be discerned in other seats of learning for lack of a resolute decision in favour of English known all over India, and which holds the States together, which is known for its utility and scientific content and whose vogue in administration has never so far led to riots.

Our Hindi dictionary of scientific terms cannot grip the imagination of many foreign students who are anxious for proficiency in scholarship, besides the reduction of international tensions. As for discipline, the zig-zag course of Authority in India may be discerned in the decision (June 1961) of the Union Ministry of Education to scrap the National Discipline scheme which was started in July 1954. The seven years experiment is over, and it is to be substituted by a new project of the Ministry at "Kasturba Niketan, Delhi, a school for refugee children under the guidance of Mr. J. K. Bhonsle, then Union Deputy Minister of Rehabilitation." When the Prime Minister visited the spot he was touched by the effort to save refugee children, in consequence of which primary training was geared up on that exigency-model. The enthusiasm sagged down and Mr. Bhonsle is returning to politics keen on a constituency for the Lok Sabha on the strength of a Congress ticket from the Punjab. In the reversal of educational philosophy, a new set of pedagogues seem to have captured the helm. They, in essence, want to work on the principle of *mens sana corpori sana*, the mould of the child's mind being shaped by physical culture. The adolescent from abroad would find himself like a fish out of water when higher diplomas emerging from the new-graded institutions contemplate Yoga and mental sublimation as an ideal he could carry with him home; and this, just when the Prime Minister con-

SOURCES OF CONGRESS MONEY POWER

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The report that Ahmedabad millowners, usually the treasury of the Congress, are resisting demands for election expenses of the Congress Party must have upset the budget of the party, which was set for Rs. 12 crores. The example of these millowners is likely to be followed more thoroughly by other business interests less enthusiastic about the Congress.

The change of attitude may be due, first, to the growing conviction that the Congress may not be returned to power and, therefore, the investment will be bad. Though after the Orissa victory such a conclusion may not appear appropriate, the dissensions in the Congress, the dissatisfaction of the masses, the disappointment even in the ranks of the services appear to have reduced the prospects of the Congress. Secondly, the emergence of the Swatantra Party as a better alternative than the Communist and other leftist parties to the Congress has eroded the residuary support which the Congress had so far received. Even the communal parties threaten some of the votes which the Congress commanded.

Thirdly, the capitalists are realising that whatever they may do for the Congress, it does nothing for them, unless it serves its policy of Statism, which will ultimately swallow them. A survey of what industry and trade have suffered during the last one week can explain both the inability and unwillingness of capital interests to please the Congress. On July 3rd the Government

stantly preaches the mental requisites and scientific terminology essential in schools and colleges so that youngsters could be fit for the new era. The Union Education Minister's latest assurance is that elementary education "will receive the highest priority during the Third Five Year Plan". This is a facade to conceal haphazard preparations for life's battle. In

asked the mills to increase production of coarse cloth, ignoring that the market for this is restricted because of the competition of khadi and handloom cloth. The Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce expressed their despair with the 'idle' capacity of existing plants, notwithstanding which the Government was sanctioning new units. The capacity utilised in chrome hides and glassware was only 50 per cent, in bleaching powder 30 per cent, in soaps 56 per cent, among 17 industries which had idle capacities. On July 24th, a number of collieries reported that they were closing for want of explosives which the Government was appropriating for its own use. The Reserve Bank declared a moratorium on two more small banks, without giving reasons for the consequent loss suffered by the shareholders and depositors. Since 1956, the number of non-scheduled banks has fallen from 302 to 258 and may fall to zero, because deposits are being withdrawn from them lest their value should be confiscated, in part, by the policy of the Government in forcibly amalgamating them with larger banks. Unless the Government is engaged in a policy of nationalization by the backdoor, all banks, the big after the small, being amalgamated, the enlargement of the base of bigger banks is directly in conflict with the declared policy of the Government to prevent concentration of economic power. On July 5th, while Minister Malaviya continued to talk about his

the matter of text-books and teachers the doctrinarians appear to have no touch with the realities. The UNESCO is announced as coming to our rescue by establishing "a centre to train Educational Administrators". It is a philanthropic start but it is also an admission of random activities in the first fourteen years of Freedom.

fairly schemes of oil production, it was reported that industrial output which had fallen by 6 to 7 per cent in February, continued to fall in April also. On July 6th, brokers were put out of their trade by a ban on firm allocation of capital issues to them, which will also affect future company promotion. It was also announced that our foreign assets had fallen to a new low, threatening the statutory limit and certainly making the future gloomy for established industries requiring imported raw materials and components. Next day, trade and industry felt that the U.K. was nearing union with the European Common Market, which might cut down our export trade by more than a quarter. At the same time, the Indian Merchants Chamber was shocked that the State Trading Corporation will be allowed to invest in Company Funds which would make it a mammoth organization with monopolist powers. In Bombay, old shippers were dismayed that with the Rupee credit Russia had been allowed to accumulate, it was disrupting the wool trade as it had already disrupted the hides and cashew-nut trade. On July 8th Wage Boards for coffee and rubber plantations were announced, which like other Wage Boards before, will increase wages in industries already on the edge of collapse. On July 9th, the Manufacturers' Association protested against the further expansion of the State Trading Corporation which was not only reducing exports, but was disrupting existing organizations for export. At the same time, Engineering units asked for more and special steels, to be able to carry on.

These details are tedious but they indicate how much even during a single week our economy is storm-tossed, which not only makes private enterprise a form of wild speculation but increases costs and prices which do not allow natural expansion of the industrial base. The capitalists cannot be grateful to the Congress because, even though they have a closed market without limit to the prices, they are living from

day to day. It has also sunk in to them that as the landowners, who once supported the Congress are now being sacrificed, their own turn will come for being atomised in the inevitable growth of the communist pattern. Some of them are feeling the economic strain, because as many as twenty on the top pay 120 per cent as income-tax, from the body of their capital. On the whole, capitalists will only pay donations when they cannot help because of their dependence on Government for the day to day working of their enterprises. They are likely to pay less than before and much less than what the Congress expects.

The Congress therefore is looking for other sources. Its leaders have started collecting in multiples of rupees from the general public, Nehru being photographed making his own contribution of ten rupees. Such is the dependence of the public on Government and the good graces of the Congress that a sizeable amount may be realised from the

MAN OF FAITH

"How often has public calamity been arrested on the very brink of ruin, by the seasonable energy of a single man? Have we no such man amongst us? I am as sure as I am of my being, that one vigorous mind without office, without situation, without public functions of any kind, (at a time when the want of such a thing is felt, as I am sure it is) I say, one such man, confiding in the aid of God, and full of just reliance in his own fortitude, vigour, enterprise, and perseverance, would first draw to him some few like himself, and then that multitudes, hardly thought to be in existence, would appear and troop about him."

— From Edmund Burke's letter to William Elliott, May 1795

population, particularly if petty officials lend secret support. Opposition parties will have to be watchful, informing people that they are not bound to pay to a political organisation, which has done good only to itself and not to them.

Secondly, the Government is increasing the complexity of its rules and the licences issued under them, like those for export promotion, to cash in on gratitude of those favoured while it is warm. It is up to the legislators to ask for a standstill on changes even procedural, until the elections are over.

Thirdly, the Congress expects to milk its licensees and permit-holders on the ground that if they do not pay, their infractions will be booked. Opposition parties should assure honest licensees of protection against victimisation.

Fourthly, official facilities like transport, grants, schemes will be used for securing support for the party. In respect of transport, Opposition parties should keep watch on tours of ministers, which are not for their duties and draw the attention of the Accountant Generals to their duty to disallow public expenditure for party purposes. If enough objections are received from all districts, the Accounts Department will be compelled to pay attention to the misuse of public funds.

Lastly, the Congress may draw upon Memorial Funds like those for Gandhiji and Kasturba. No one knows how they are spent now, apart from employing various individuals with only party qualifications. A demand that these funds should be audited for the information of the public which subscribed to them is long overdue.

The Congress may not be short of funds for the elections because, as old sources dry up, it will create new ones with the power the Government has over the finances and economics of the country. The problem, therefore, still remains of preventing the Congress from spending its funds on any but approved election expenses.

CURRENT EVENTS :

It is bad form to belittle one's own country when abroad, but the contrary tendency to exaggerate patriotic exploits in the processes of "dispelling ignorance" about India can also carry boomerang effects. Minister S. K. Patil, during his American tour, cultivated goodwill and enhanced our economic credit to help us over our difficulties as foreseen in the next ten years, but in boasting success he appears to have committed himself to claims inconsistent with the statistical anticipations of the Planning Commission. By way of colourful reporting he told an audience that for the last twelve years of Independence there has been "no starvation death in India". On the other hand, in the grow-more-food campaign we are officially striving to reach a target of 110 million tons, the present quantum being 80 million tons. The Minister added that "India is self-sufficient in food" and that we are in a position to export cereals. These incongruities have a way of taking root in foreign quotations.

The suggestion that 50 million mendicants get their begging bowls filled with food is a flattering tribute to the charitableness of the Indian people but figures falsify objective appreciation. By a play of words, the Minister tried to impress American Economists that India is not a 'deficit' country but a 'marginal country'. Still it is this margin that has to be filled by the continuous import of wheat and rice released from dollar areas. The American tourist gets disillusioned when he visits India and the precincts of many places of worship where irrespective of denominational religion beggars congregate. Apart from the factual discrepancy, we have to take account of a train of thoughts which puts questions about the elasticities of some of our propositions. A book has been published by Professor P. T. Bauer under the title *Indian Economic Policy*

and *Development* in which, with the aid of analytical tables, he re-values the claims of controlled economy. There is no intention to disparage official enthusiasm for the public sector and nationalized procedure in State investments; but the author gives material to reach the conclusion that "the control system reduces investment, domestic and foreign, obstructs enterprise and favours private monopoly". Further there is a publication by Sir Theodore Gregory with the title *India on the Eve of the Third Five Year Plan*, that merits study by the advocates of State patronage and State trading. Sir Theodore is not a bird of passage. He has a grasp of Indian economy before and after Indian Independence. He says little about graft in association with the licensing system administered by the ruling party. We in India are familiar with it at the approach of elections but he says "what is to be feared at the moment is not the threat of a further general nationalization, but the doctrinaire use of existing powers by the State".

A hard-headed economist, Sir Theodore has no interest in discounting anybody's achievement nor is Professor P. T. Bauer briefed by any Opposition party. Professor Bauer holds that India's extensive controls bode no good to small business; the actual operation of controls, on the other hand, represses initiative and the illusion of a co-operative commonwealth, and equally-distributed income to abolish grades of performance is bound to come to us if we pursue emotional slogans to maintain party-fever.

If actual experience and open claims for the hearing of the world are in discord, the country will have to face the day of Nemesis. Finance Minister Morarji Desai, speaking in Kashmir, advised the new bureaucracy who are being tutored in 'scientific

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

management' that the future of business is in their hands, and the training they receive was meant to promote enterprise for the greater prosperity of the nation. Here again actualities point to a regime of efficiency spoilt from the start with the so-called socialistic conceptions of national welfare contrived on erroneous premises, and fostered through a mammoth system of ill-regulated economy exercised by theoreticians with many new-fangled notions in subserviency to a mass of impracticable dogmas. Morarji Desai in his address wants to double our exports which is an unexceptionable aim but the intoxication of success, already taken for granted, gives him also the complex of permanent party-triumphs.

The Ambassador from Czechoslovakia, Dr. J. Pivonka, gave a press-talk at Bombay describing the industrial enterprise of his country during the course of which he remarked: "Shortage of water and electricity is our main problem. We are erecting an atomic reactor near Bratislava in Slovakia bathed by the Danube to be ready within a year, but then an atomic reactor is no solution to power-shortage." That power cannot be economically developed by the installation of atomic reactors is more or less obvious from the fact that in countries like Britain and the United States they, far from investing huge capital on spectacular reactors, prefer developing conventional sources of energy through the use of coal, water-falls and the erection of dams to cope with power-shortage. In India, under the Prime Minister's insistence, we are putting up the Tarapore Project at a cost (specially voted) of Rs. 51 crores.

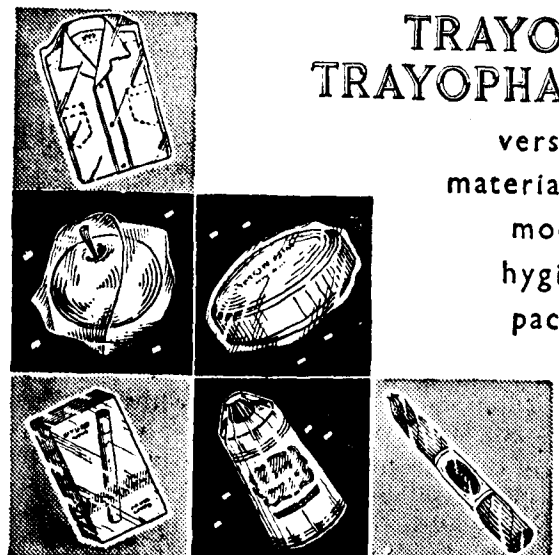
Mr. Nehru is not merely Prime Minister and Foreign Minister but Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, a role in which he takes pride as a pioneer statesman fond of gigantic innovations. When Dr. Bhabha casually observed not long ago that India had the know-how to produce atomic bombs in two years, Mr. Nehru, as the apostle of peace and the organiser of international goodwill, promptly announced that on no account would India produce atomic missiles or thermonuclear weapons, peace being her foreign policy. When he inaugurated the Atomic Reactor, he however took care to announce that the Tarapore venture would be the first of its kind in all Asia, but certain scientific specialists argued in the press that, as a means of augmenting power, it would be prohibitively expensive, and if the capital outlay were put to more familiar forms of creating energy and developing our fuel resources, India would be having better dividends. What inspired the Prime Minister was the vision of the first and biggest Atomic Reactor of all Asia to be established in India. He seeks impacts that would create tremendous impressions rather than choose schemes that subserve the purposes of economy and utility. What cinema-advertisers call 'super-colossal' fascinates him.

The monotonous complaint that the solidarity of the Congress is being marred by "Groupism" is spreading to several States with elections at a short distance. The battle of groupism two years ago was in respect of internal rivalries traced to lack of harmony between the two Wings of the Congress. Which of them wielded more power, the actual Ministry or the Pradesh Committee? The remedy was to send a representative of the High Command to investigate factions locally, and sometimes to take a vote that might result in a change of fortunes. The practice now is for politicians at loggerheads to fly constantly to New Delhi and sub-

mit to a patch-up which, on their return, they find as having given way under the strain of the original tensions or ambitious intrigues. Those inclined to put external pressure were listed in the category of 'dissidents'. Today there is more scramble for tickets than the fight for brief office. Disputes in States like Bihar and Uttar Pradesh fluctuate on the issue of groupism, but the remedy is to say that the position should be 'broad-based'. The Chief Minister of U.P., C. B. Gupta, is also willing to have the situation a little more broad-based including a temporary addition of ministers.

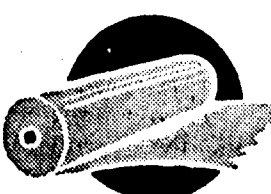
This panacea does not however reassure those who are not in the Cabinet. Their broad-base requires being pampered with a firm proportion of Congress tickets. Nobody has suggested that there should be a reduction in the size of the Ministry, the more being the merrier. The fact of the matter is that the spoils system, which provides for the loaves and fishes of office besides other forms of patronage and exploitation, is taking roots in the country; and the group-totalitarianism implicit in it might turn out to be an incorrigible feature of our democracy-in-decadence.

P. J.



TRAYONS TRAYOPHANE

versatile
material for
modern
hygienic
packing



NOW IN ROLLS FOR HOUSEHOLD MULTIPURPOSE USE

TRAYONS AIDS FOR BETTER LIVING

RAYON TRADERS PRIVATE LIMITED

GRAMS: "CELYARN" 61, SEMBUDOSS STREET, MADRAS-1. PHONE: 21641.

BRANCHES:

Phone: 253. Grams: "CELYARN" 68/416, Main Road, Sevapet, SALEM.
Phone: 598. Grams: "CELYARN" 114/A, South Masi Street, MADURAI.
Phone: 3441. Grams: "RAYONS" United India Building, Avinasi Road, COIMBATORE.

RT-27-5A

IT MUST BE DONE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The elimination of illusions and falsehoods is a necessary condition for arriving at the proper solution of any problem of life, national or individual. Even as strict adherence to truth is necessary in all scientific investigations, and bias and prejudice are fatal, difficult problems of administration call for the elimination of untruth, the avoidance of prejudice and recognition of reality as of supreme importance: this, although there is a deal of falsehood and illusion in politics. Otherwise, all solutions will prove illusory. The language problems that now face the Government of India demand a thorough-going attachment to truth, however unpleasant it may be.

It should be realised that the quarrel is not between languages although men prefer to put it that way. Languages do not quarrel. The issues are between men, groups of men with feelings and families, with ambitions and selfish hearts. Let us realise this fact and we shall then, if we try, be able to find the right solution. The pleas made on behalf of Hindi and the scorn flung at English, have these anything to do with the language issue? No, it is the ambition of Hindi-speaking leaders, their own and that on behalf of Hindi-speaking men in a lower tier. Swords and spears, and flags and flowers, and languages do not hate or love: it is the men who hate and love that carry and use these tools to satisfy their feelings of jealousy, fear, hate and love. We must get behind the misleading facade of lifeless instruments and understand and deal with the hearts of men.

Minority communities in a democratic set-up are under handicaps which cannot be ignored. Majorities are given the right to rule in the States, but they have no licence to oppress as often in their pride they seek to do. The just pain of these minorities is given a bad name, 'communalism',

and is sought to be condemned as unworthy and unpatriotic.

Those of the majority community who accuse the minority groups as being communal, and club together against the latter, are worse communalists than the people who club together in defence against a sovereign majority. Clubbing together for offence is certainly more reprehensible than clubbing for defence. To seek to deprive those who suffer, or believe they suffer, of their right to associate together in defence against an all-powerful majority is the worst form of oppression. To constantly contemplate on the image of a supposed danger and thereby becoming themselves what they oppose and dread, putting on the air of patriotism and nationalism with all power on their side, and to dub the exercise of rights guaranteed in the Constitution as being a communal move, this is truly adding insult to injury. Freedom consists in respecting other people's freedom besides one's own. Other people's freedom, be they weak or strong, few or numerous must be respected. Otherwise, the day will soon arrive when the many, even in one community, will disregard the freedom of the lesser number in that community and tyranny will replace liberty.

Linguistic autonomy is itself an avatar of communalism. It is not the language that exercises autonomy. It is a certain group of people, a community, who are placed on the throne and other groups of people are placed below. It gives sovereignty, limited though it may be, to one community over other communities in that area, language being an incidental, illusory screen. Autonomy based on territorial contiguity and administrative convenience would have given rise to no problems of emotional violence such as we now have to tackle. Assam is merely the acute symptom of a big error spread all over India. Let us officially and unequivocally res-

tore English to the status which it had occupied these one hundred and fifty years. It has nothing but historic connection with the people who once ruled over us. This is the only healthy and real solution. Formulas now going about under various ministerial names are provocative of new troubles worse than the disease sought to be treated. Stick to English and declare the *status quo* unequivocally and all will be well once again and for ever.

We cannot, we are told, undo the reorganized linguistic States. We can and must. The process may now be awkward and round-about; such as zonal clubbing and reorganized autonomy based on a new footing, but it must be done. It will help to put justice and good government on more stable foundations than on the will of the majority in one so-called linguistic area. It is the only way to restore peace and contentment, the only way to strengthen Indian democracy.

Our Tennis Star

India's champion cricketer, Vijay Merchant, writes:

"The better man won. He was too good for me." This is what Krishnan is reported to have said after his defeat at the hands of Rod Laver in the Wimbledon semi-finals. How refreshing it is to hear a great Indian sportsman pay a sincere tribute to his opponent and acknowledge that the better man won. Too often in Indian sports have we found those in authority and in charge of our sporting teams making all kinds of excuses for poor performances put by our sportsmen in international contests. Either it is the weather or the injuries, or ultimately it is the unsuitable food that is offered as an excuse. Rarely is it acknowledged that the better team or player won and our men just were not good enough. It is therefore all the more heartening to find one of the greatest Indian sportsmen paying such a sincere tribute to the man who beat him.

We are extremely proud of Krishnan's great performances during the last three years in international tennis. We are equally proud of his sportsmanship and gentlemanliness. He has truly been a noble ambassador of Indian sport. We wish him still greater success in future.

P.M.'S APPEAL TO THE SERVICES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Prime Minister has made a grave, earnest and in all respects a great appeal to the services. If I point out a couple of matters, it is by way of supplement, not by any means to carp.

He has said that we have arrived after fourteen years of Independence at a critical phase in our national existence. This crisis, let me urge, is a running crisis, running through, all the time, and is not new. It is a crisis of character. Thank God it gives us time and it is never too late to mend. "I appeal to all of them (referring to the governmental administrative machinery) for integrity in the public services. This is not merely an ideal to be aimed at, and thought of, but which has to be practically achieved." Now, I wish (with all respect) to point out that no preaching ever does any good if the preacher does not set the correct example. I am not referring to Sri Nehru, but the party which he represents and which completely dominates the services at the present moment. Never before in the history of these fourteen years of Independence, and the few years of provincial autonomy which we enjoyed before the war and which we surrendered in 1939, did the services so completely abdicate their independence, their sense of justice to party politics as they have done now. The greater is the responsibility of the party now in the matter of integrity and character in general.

I ask in all sincerity and earnestness, does the Congress Party set a good example to the servant whose independence it has completely destroyed? The party particularly at the most significant level, namely, at the level of the States, has utilised the official machinery and official power for secret and enforced collections of funds, of which the services are fully aware and which they know is not proper. The party bosses are using the chief officials for im-

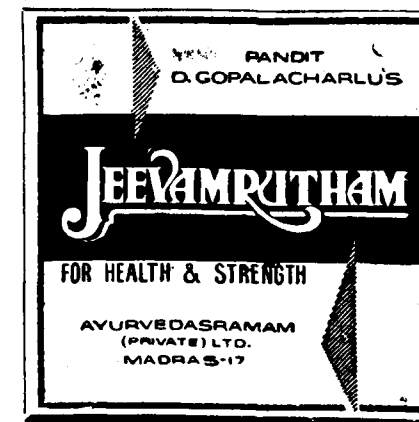
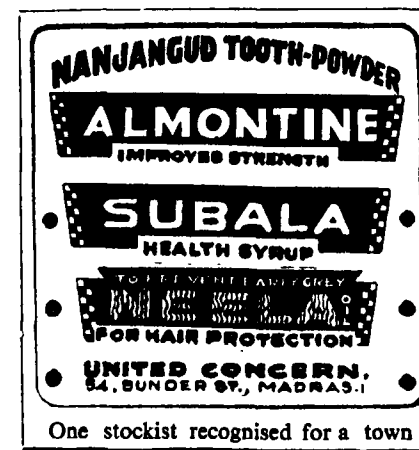
proving the party position in every way, and being educated persons they realise that it is wrong and unconstitutional and therefore dishonest, but they could not say 'no' to the omnipotent party boss. You cannot make accomplices of the bureaucratic machine in unfairness and impropriety and in extracting money from unwilling people and appeal thereafter for exemplary honesty. How can the Party Chief carry conviction when he appeals with all this ugly reality which is known to every junior official and is not only a secret of top rank men?

The Madras Congress organization has decided to deploy the ministers for the Congress election campaign. "Two districts for each minister"—this is the formula. The ministers will be assisted by three or four Congress workers. Does anyone want other evidence to show how official position and power are employed for party and election purposes? Does anyone believe that official impartiality or even integrity can be maintained after such policies are declared and carried out? Why does the organization think of ministers in this connection, ministers who never were great Congressmen apart from the offices they hold?

"Physician....." There is no chance of healing others unless the healer heals himself first. The Prime Minister must bear the cross of his party. It has become a heavy one, I know. But who else is to bear it? Unfortunately, or fortunately perhaps, he is the party, and the party is he. He may be as white as an angel, but the party is black as all the world knows and feels.

One thing more and I shall close this sad sermon. We should of course work for the integration of India. 'Emotional integration', it has been called. Every integration is emotional. Let us work for it. But it is an old, old problem, nothing new. And old problems demand clear thinking and patience. Let us not bring up our

old friends, castes, languages and religions, to hide our present new delinquencies. The Congress Party cannot hide its errors and current shames in a cloud of dust raised about castes and communities. "This integration problem applies," the Prime Minister says, "to linguistic differences also. It is our proud privilege to have great languages." I raise my voice to the highest pitch and loudest volume it can bear to express my concurrence with this sentiment of the Prime Minister. All our languages are great, are good, are sacred. Do not seek to elevate one of them over others. Let the official service continue to be done by English as heretofore. This is the simple key to the problem that has raised its head. Here, too, emotion is all important. Let it be clearly and unequivocally guaranteed that English will continue as heretofore and is not merely serving probation or as a stop-gap; and then all will be well. Let no one language be raised to a sovereign level either



at Delhi or elsewhere, in the many minor Delhis scattered all over India. No one hates English as an office medium. No one imagines we can get on without English as a window for light and air. Even our language quarrels are conducted in English. As

we have accepted Parliamentary institutions from England, let us keep English as our permanent house-keeper. She will not play us false. I have been shouting for this for the last so many years. Let it not be thought that it is a party issue. It is my earnest

advice as an old and experienced citizen of India, who is not less patriotic than anyone else in this great country of ours, one who yields to none in love and respect for Indian institutions, Indian manners and customs and Indian languages.



"...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

A HINDUSTAN LEVER PRODUCT



CAPITAL COMMENTS

CONGRESS FOR THE RULE — AND NO RULES

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The Congress President took a crowded press gathering into confidence last week when he said within the context of the ten-year rule for Congressmen: "Nobody seems to take my suggestion seriously anywhere". It is a candid, if sad, confession to make and it reveals his pathetic plight. That Mr. Nehru himself should have given the lead to his colleagues in not taking him seriously, was the measure of Mr. Sanjiva Reddy's helplessness. Mr. Nehru, it will be recalled, summarily dismissed the Congress President's suggestion as something casual and almost wondered why anyone in the party should be uneasy on that account. On his part (as he made it clear) he was not prepared to commit political suicide. As his colleagues, alike loyal and brave, few Congressmen would be so chicken-hearted as to pull away their tent-pegs.

Mr. Reddy is, however, entitled to public sympathy. For, the suggestion he had dared to make, was first made, in terms however general, by no less a dignitary than the Prime Minister, though for others' emulation. He too was not taken seriously. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy has now a God-given opportunity of growing wiser from others' experience no less than his own. Indeed, he has already shown signs of wisdom by not insisting on the rule. According to the latest 'clarification', there could be no hard-and-fast rule for the retirement of Ministers. And one can be certain that age does not wither a single Congressman, however much custom may make him stale!

If at eighty, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy feels fit to carry on his great work, he should continue to hold the Fort (St. William) in Calcutta. West Bengal needs him as long as he can be in active

service. He should not let himself be ensnared by those friends and admirers of his, who want him, according to some press reports, to aspire for the Presidential laurels. It is the path of prudence to guard himself against the pitfalls of misplaced ambition.

Few men of his generation in contemporary annals could claim so long and sustained a record of intellectual accomplishment and moral idealism, as our Vice-President; fewer have so gracefully won the applause of listening senates and learned conclaves, by their individual contribution to thought and culture which transcend national barriers. Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan belongs to the limited and luminous galaxy of Indian celebrities who have brought honour and distinction to India as a country, alike hallowed by ancient wisdom and inspired by modern urges. Having brought to the service of the young Republic, a tone, a temper and a quality seldom discernible in a political setting, and proved to be a source as much of solace as of inspiration to those around him, he stands alone as the predestined successor to Dr. Prasad.

Of the many problems the Congress is now confronted with, easily the most ticklish one is that of finding a safe seat for Mr. V. K. K. Menon. Should he (be made to) stand from North Bombay again or from his own Kerala, or from Mysore or Rajasthan or Punjab or, let not one forget, Orissa? For, Chief Ministers have come to realise the importance of carrying him on their shoulders and landing him safely. That would enable the winner to be one up against the rest in the race for preferment in the 'court' in Delhi. No decision has yet been taken. Left to himself, Mr. Menon

is credited with the intention of sticking to his constituency and facing the situation. After all, it is the responsibility of the party to work for and secure his victory.

If the other 'K' outside the Congress, Mr. Kripalani, decides to contest the same seat and confront Mr. Krishna Menon, one may turn to North Bombay for the most exciting of electoral clashes. Both will be running a tremendous risk. It may well mean the end of a career, with this difference that in the case of Mr. Kripalani's rout, the damage will be complete and irredeemable. Perhaps the risk is worth taking, for it would not be easy to find a foeman worthy of Mr. Menon's steel, who is prepared to give battle to one who has the backing alike of the State and the Leftist forces in the country, whereas, if luck is in Mr. Kripalani's favour, he will have emerged as one of history's giant-killers. Let the two gladiators meet at Philippi—and have it out.

Who talks of lasting friendships or of eternal enmities in politics? The resourceful Mr. C. B. Gupta is said to desire for his whilom antagonist, Dr. Sampurnanand, gubernatorial elevation at a safe distance. Mr. Bijoyanand Patnaik, who has both to please friends and placate rivals, wants the same good luck either for Mr. Bishwanath Das, from one point of view, or for Mr. Harekrishna Mahatab, from another. It should matter little who is really where, as all of them are for the country—and service on reasonable terms!



Dear Reader

Mr. Sabavala writes in *The New Leader* :

The crisis in Laos brings home to the Indian people, if not to the Government, its increasing isolation in South Asia. Pakistan and Nepal have opened direct negotiation with Peking. Ceylon is less friendly than in the days of Premier S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. Prime Minister U Nu of Burma, who has made his own border pact with China, frequently goes into retreat in a villa placed at his disposal, in China, by Premier Chou En-lai.

There is nothing more depressing than the competition currently going on between Pakistan and India in wooing President Kennedy and his Administration. American papers are clothing in cautious and subtle language their bias for one or the other. The hand-out of the Indian Embassy does not add to the glory of India. The old fable of the two cats and the monkey gets current meaning in this context. It was tragic folly to have treated Ayub Khan's proposal for joint defence with the supreme contempt with which it was rejected. It was amusing, if we had not been ourselves concerned, the way in which we got angry with Ayub Khan. President Kennedy's appreciation of President Ayub Khan as a "friend of immediacy and constancy" is significant, although it may be glossed over.

★

What is this horrible business of selling our sugar abroad at Rs. 35 per bag, while our people have to buy it at Rs. 115 per bag? What extraordinary theories of welfare economy have brought about this strange disparity? One can understand it if our Government party preached the use of *gur* in place of sugar, as Gandhiji pleaded for khadi to replace mill-cloth and wanted all our mill-cloth to be exported abroad. It would have some meaning if we saved a manufactured commodity for selling

abroad and ourselves lived a simple life discarding that commodity. But there is no such propaganda, not to speak of success in it. And why give a subsidy for this sugar export at Rs. 200 per ton on ex-factory price of Rs. 780, so that the State Trading Corporation may have the monopoly of this export trade of sugar? This subsidy is, as every schoolboy knows or ought to know, a tax on the people of India. Must we put paddy-land under sugarcane to carry on this kind of business? We are—it has been calculated—paying Rs. 10 crores subsidy to earn Rs. 16 crores foreign exchange. This and the disparity in price between sugar sold abroad and sugar bought by our own consumers gives us a real indication of what our rupee is worth now. Our great plans and loans, and payment problems, have robbed the rupee to this extent and concealed the crime.

★

It is heartening to see plain, blunt, honest talk, whose-so-ever it may be, appreciated and applauded. Marshal Ayub Khan has scored an unintended triumph in America. He has been acclaimed and applauded by his immediate listeners, by the American Administration and by the American press. His truthfulness was his supreme technique and it has triumphed. He has been described by the leading American newspaper as the 'best witness' which the Administration had heard. He has succeeded in touching the American people's conscience and preventing them from feeling tired of helping others. The Pakistan leader received ovations and accolades from both the parties of America and from Congress formally assembled, which had of late been feeling fatigued in the process of helping people who did not appreciate that help.

Marshall Ayub Khan's triumph—no less a word can express the

quality of his success—is a lesson to India. If we depend on others, let us do so frankly and gratefully. If we do not like dependence, let us not beg or try to intimidate which is an ugly, uncivilized, and unsuccessful form of begging. Let us make up our mind either to be proud and depend on ourselves, or to be friendly, really friendly in a spirit of humility. Dependence and neutrality don't mix well. To be independent and proud we must be humble. To be ambitious without the capital for it, means begging for loans and accommodations; and if we borrow without ability to repay, we borrow again to pay interest, and borrow again and again to keep the payments going in a make-believe way. All this progress in the rake's way is incompatible with real pride or independence. The frankly dependent fellow scores and looks comparatively independent!

★

"Our foreign exchange reserves have touched a new low level. Over the past twelve months the decline is of the order of Rs. 43 crores ... The calculations in the foreign budget have obviously gone wrong somewhere." Thus *The Hindu* commented in a recent editorial. Concern over the immediate payments problem is not the whole story. The question of repayment of foreign loans stares us in the face. Sliding down the inclined plane at this rate, where will it take us finally? Shall we ever be able to repay these foreign loans if every year even the current payment problem gets difficult?

Or is this repayment question to be completely forgotten? The 'take off' that they tell us about must happen when we have still petrol in the tank. Or else, at the end of the runway we shall find the craft stop dead, settled in bankruptcy.

★

The Chairman of the Tariff Commission had made a public declaration that although cement pro-

duction had doubled from 3.83 million tonnes in 1953 to 7.60 tonnes in 1960, there was acute shortage in many areas in the country. He refers to increasing demand. But he also admits the necessity for improving the 'distribution system'. The fact is that a tremendous black market has arisen out of the State's selling monopolies to groups and individuals. The Congress Government imagines that it confers a benefit on consumers by its control, whereas it really confers huge benefits on a certain class of swindlers.

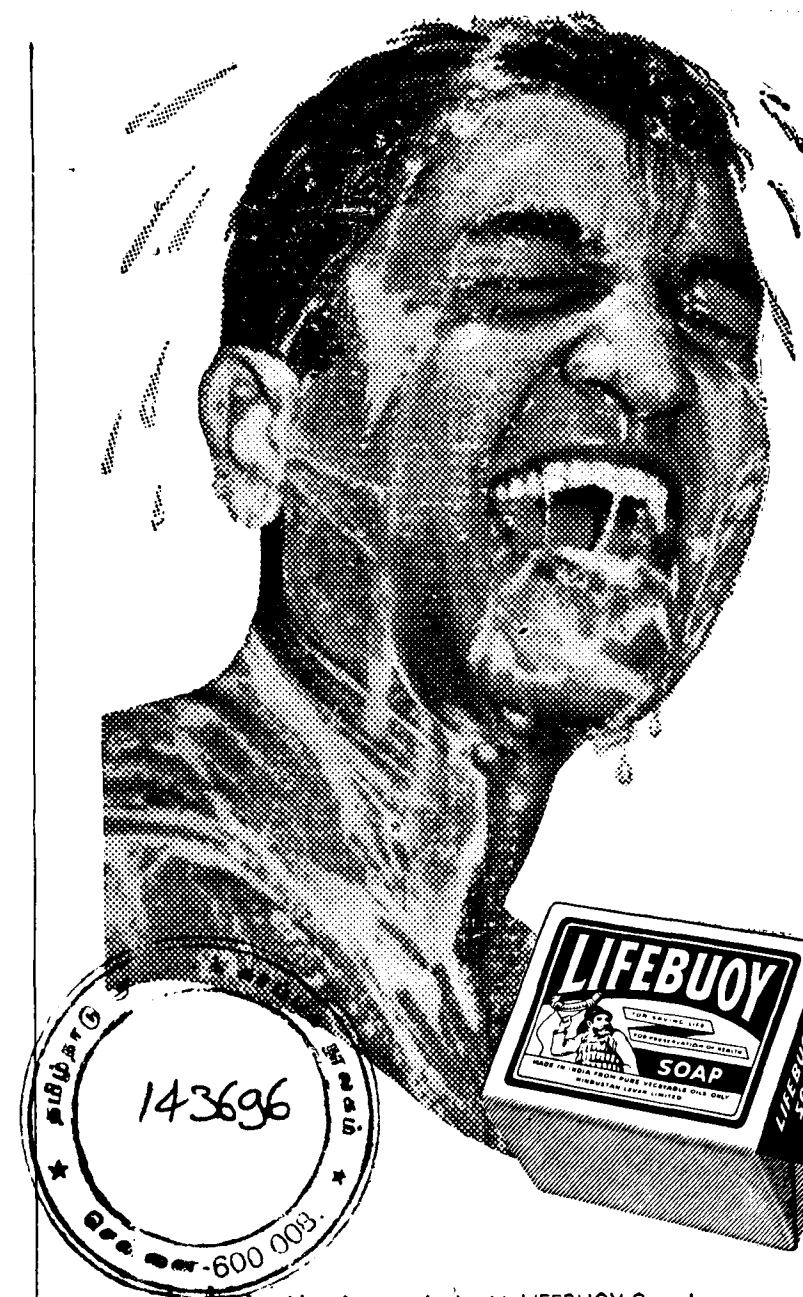
★

A Reserve Bank survey discloses and publicises the unpleasant fact that the aggregate overall deficit of States had widened from Rs. 87 crores in the First Plan period to Rs. 158 crores in the Second Plan and that on the basis of existing taxation the overall deficit of the States is still above Rs. 67 crores. Part of this deficit will be met by withdrawal of securities from reserves and overdrafts. The total of negative cash balances is expected to go up from Rs. 14 crores to Rs. 61 crores before the present year closes. To meet this bleak situation, ten out of fifteen States have made proposals for additional taxation, of which the aggregate yield is estimated at no more than Rs. 17 crores.

★

I am not a friend of the Congress now, that is to say, I want it to be humbled because it is decidedly and obstinately going the wrong way, killing the soul of the people and spreading mass immorality. I therefore welcome its resolve to have a newspaper of its own. I am not joking. The press in general will then be able to reduce the acreage for the repetitive verbiage of Congress ministers and be fairer to the struggle of the Opposition parties to come into the picture.

C.A.



It's fun, it's a joy — a bath with LIFEBUOY Soap!
What a lively, tingling feeling of freshness!
And that rich LIFEBUOY 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!

Where there's
LIFEBUOY
there's health!

JOBS FOR RETIRED JUDGES

By PHIROZE J. SHROFF

Students of Constitutional Law as well as the public generally who want purity, impartiality and integrity in the administration of justice will wholeheartedly support Rajaji when he states that there should be a rule that no judge of a High Court or Supreme Court shall be offered any job by Government after retirement. If the judges of the superior courts start chasing jobs after retirement, they will be caught indubitably in the meshes of jobbery which would warp their judicial independence and impartiality.

It is with a view to ensuring the independence and impartiality of judges that our Constitution gives them security of tenure. Article 124 (4) of the Constitution provides that "a judge of the Supreme Court shall not be removed from office except by an order of the President passed after an address by each House of Parliament supported by a majority of the total membership of that House and by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of that House present and voting has been presented to the President in the same session for such removal on the ground of proved misbehaviour or incapacity." Article 219 (1) (b) makes a similar provision with regard to the judges of the High Courts.

There are Articles in our Constitution which give security to the judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts in respect of their salaries, privileges, allowances, rights in respect of leave of absence and pension. In order that the executive may not seek to influence the judiciary it has been specifically provided that the salaries, etc., cannot be varied to the disadvantage of the judges after their appointment.

These Articles have been incorporated in the Constitution with the specific object of preventing the executive from influencing or controlling the judiciary by a covert threat of

removal from office, or reduction of their salaries, etc., if the judges do not oblige by giving decisions acceptable to the executive. Indeed, without judicial independence democracy, whether of the parliamentary or presidential type, cannot function. Under totalitarian regimes judicial independence is decried as a

bourgeois humbug and a judge can deviate from the party line only at his peril. However, in a democracy the judges are the watchdogs of the Constitution and the fundamental rights of the people, and in order that they may discharge their duty without fear or favour, not only should they be entitled to hold their office during good behaviour, but they should also be free from the temptation of securing cushy government jobs after retirement.

KERALA LAND ACT QUESTIONED

Sri Karimbil Kunhikoman has filed an application for the issue of a writ of mandamus against the Kerala Government on the ground that the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act IV of 1961 is confiscatory and that the Bill which had not become law must be taken to have lapsed on the dissolution of the old Kerala Assembly, and the new Assembly could not take it up at an intermediary stage and continue the proceedings and pass it into law. The legality of the Act is also questioned in the following terms:

"As stated earlier, the Act is intended to deprive the lands of one citizen and give them to another, and the process of vesting or surrender is only a device. The property is not acquired by the Government at all; much less could the so-called vesting or surrender be said to be for a 'public purpose'. Even if the Court should hold that the transitory process is acquisition, the petitioner submits that the State Legislature would have no authority at all for this purpose. Taxation and eminent domain are the only powers of sovereignty for taking the property of a subject. There is no legislative entry for the State to clutch at the purchase price of a citizen's land; nor is there any power under the legislative entry of acquisition to take the land of a citizen without any compensation. The power of eminent domain in all civilised States has always been regarded as including within its fold the concomitant obligation to pay just compensation or the

equivalent in money of the value of the property. And Article 31 (2) of the Constitution does not empower the State to acquire in wanton disregard of the justness of the compensation. The Act is void for lack of legislative power."

What is Slavery?

Herbert Spencer wrote in his *Man versus the State*:

"What is essential to the idea of a slave? We primarily think of him as one who is owned by another.... That which fundamentally distinguishes the slave is that he labours under coercion to satisfy another's desires.... What leads us to qualify our conceptions of the slavery as more or less severe? Evidently the greater or smaller extent to which effort is compulsorily expended for the benefit of another instead of for self-benefit."

Whoever controls an individual's actions can be described as the owner of that individual. To the extent that a person is under the arbitrary control of another or others, to that extent is the person a slave.

Where the political apparatus controls all goods and services, the individual does not own the products of his labour. State socialism, whether Russian or any other brand, has as one of its cardinal tenets the rejection of private property and of personal ownership.

—*Courtesy Foundation for Economic Education (New York).*

THE DETECTIVE

By SRIVATSA

If, as is to be feared, the detective of fiction is being extirpated, the development is much to be deplored. He has fallen on evil days. The American 'realists' have taken him up, and the results have been disastrous. What the United States gave to letters, when Poe practically 'invented' the detective of fiction, it is now taking away. With Poe himself, the investigator was a logician, a thinker even, exemplified by Mycroft, Sherlock Holmes's brother, who would not stir an inch from his club and yet solved problems by sheer ratiocination. A secret crime perpetrated in imagination is really an intellectual problem. In real life, it is sordid and nasty. No decent man would like to be involved in it. But the murder of the bad baronet is something like a problem in chess. It taxes the intellect but does not affect the heart.

The early writers in this genre scrupulously observed this principle. Sherlock, of course, is the principal example of this conformity. Though he did mingle with criminals and often penetrated into their purlieus, the reader seldom has the impression that he himself has done so. He always sits in the rooms in Baker Street. Holmes laid his criminals by the heels through the process of thinking. Chesterton perhaps carried the principle to its utmost length. His Father Brown is what may be called a spiritual detective. It is through detection that he expresses his 'philosophy of life'. In many respects, Father Brown is the crown of detective fiction. He proves that questions of foreknowledge, will and fate could be discussed in the context of what would vulgarly be called crime and criminals. In a word, detective fiction dwells with poetry and philosophy.

The next stage in the development of this fiction was a descent. The capacity to think, and draw conclusions from given facts, is still required of the detective. Miss Dorothy Sayers's Lord Peter Wimsey is a scion of a ducal family, he is prodigiously learned, he has a splendid library, and he has a servant, Bunter, who is not unworthy to be ranked with Jeeves, Sam Weller and Caleb Balderstone (in the *Bride of Lammermoor*). In other words, he is the darling of popular fiction, amazing and delighting millions of readers in a new role. With Mr. Fortune, the creature of imagination of Mr. H. C. Bailey, the idiosyncrasies become much more pronounced. Mr. Fortune perhaps 'moans' more often than any character in literature, M. Hercule Poirot and Miss

Marple, those delightful detectives whom we owe to the fertility of imagination and unflagging energy of Miss Agatha Christie, are atavisms. They reach their solutions through the thinking process. But even so, the purist will be offended by some extraneous considerations imported into the chronicle of their successes. The 'grey cells' of the former and the pretended simplicity of the latter are a good sauce, but your Puritan turns away in disgust from the meal. It was not thus that M. Arsene Lupin ratiocinated.

This was bad enough. But a worse fate has befallen the detective. He is actually confounded with the thriller. This is an insane book in which the interest is confined to a description of the physical process by which the malefactor is brought to grief. Adept writers may be able to create suspense in their readers. But this is not the legitimate purpose of detective fiction. Authors who are not of the authentic tradition have come to depend on the element of 'suspense' to sustain their popularity. There is practically no possible or impossible, feasible or far-fetched, method of dealing death and destruction that has not been employed. Nobody could carry it further without tedious repetition. A form of escape has been attempted. It is to make the detective as eccentric as possible. Even Ernest Bramah, whose stories of Kai-lung cannot be read without at least

suppressed laughter, has imagined a detective who is actually blind, rejoicing in the name of Max Carrados. This, however, has not served the purpose. It merely distracts attention from the fundamental purpose of detective fiction, which is to lay the criminal by the heels through the force of the intellect.

The final blow has been dealt by the American realists. These evocate a scene which is as horrid and confused as a nightmare. The detective is a mass of eccentricities, he lives, moves and has his being in a world full of hateful and violent characters. These employ an incredible lingo, but their actions are even more outrageous. The methods adopted by Perry Mason, for example, would bring a judge in Britain to a premature grave. Only lip service is paid to law and justice; what counts is the superior machination of the lawyer over the District Attorney. It is impossible to conceive of honest detection being carried out under these circumstances. Perry Mason's triumphs may well prove to be the epitaph of the fictional detective.

The bare purveyor of violence is not needed in the contemporary world. His place has, in fact, already been taken by the 'space' traveller. The latter really fills a genuine need. He is a symbol of the desire to escape from the harsh realities of today. If ever the detective is to recover, it must be through adherence to the first principles. The fact has to be faced that the detective of imagination is beyond redemption.

*READ

Dated July 23, 1961

Chief Contents:

- ★ KULAPATI'S LETTER NO. 236: Police Methods in the Punjab — 'The Garewal's Case' — The Career of 'Bold, Bad Man'
- ★ STUDENTS AND PRAYER — Mahatma Gandhi
- ★ UNITY IS OUR DHARMA — Bala Gangadhar Tilak
- ★ MY WORLD VIEW — Sri R. R. Diwakar
- ★ WHAT LIFE HAS TAUGHT US — Smt. Hansa Mehta
- ★ THE GENTLE ART OF CONVERSATION — Sri N. P. Chatterji

and other regular features

Copies obtainable from all news agents, newspaper-stalls, and railway bookstalls

Price Single Copy 30 nP.

Annual Subscription Rs. 6.50

Readers who find difficulty in getting the journal regularly are requested to place their order direct to us

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN - BOMBAY-7

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

MADRAS BEEDI REGULATION ACT

Sir,—Section 40 of the Beedi Regulation Act 32 of 1958 empowers the State Government to exempt any beedi industry in the State from all or any of the provisions of the Act. The Government has (on 3-7-61) notified the exemption of all the beedi industries in the State and their employees from the provisions of Sections 18, 21, 27 and 31 of the Act, for the period up to 30-6-1962. These four sections confer valuable rights on beedi-employees. Section 18 gives them a right to a double wage or overtime work. Section 21 gives a right to a weekly holiday with wage. Section 227 gives a right to a wage or the period of casual leave. Section 11 gives security against improper dismissal. All these rights of labour have been suspended until June 30, 1962. Is the suspension by Government notification legally valid? Is it politically proper? What is the remedy for the resulting situation?

Suspension of statutory labour rights in any specified beedi industry under

Sec. 40 of the Act could only be on the ground of higher interests of society or higher rights of the employee in reference to that industry. The truth and validity of the alleged ground for the suspension are a quasi-judicial issue for decision by an administrative tribunal. The State Government is, in substance, an administrative tribunal under Sec. 40, in reference to the labour rights under Sections 18, 21, 27 and 31. The blanket notification covering all the beedi industries in the State is *ultra vires* and void in law.

The notification confers an unearned boon on the entire body of beedi manufacturers in the State on the eve of the general election. The suspicion is not groundless that it is meant to placate the beedi manufacturers, and is part of an electoral understanding. It is an abuse of State power for the electoral benefit of the party in office. It is virtually open electoral corruption.

Such an open abuse of political power is a challenge to labour and all the rival

A Great Journalist

At its meeting held on June 29, 1961 the Nellore Municipal Council adopted the following resolution unanimously:

"This Council places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sudden demise of Sri Khasa Subba Rau, a great journalist. The Commissioner is authorised to convey the resolution of condolence to the bereaved family."

political parties in the State. The resulting electoral issue is simple and clear, viz., whether a party that commits such a gross abuse of administrative power for electoral gain is to be returned to power. The issue should be properly presented to our infant democracy, if it is to survive.

Tirunelveli A. S. KUPPUSWAMI



start the day
with
HAMAM
the family soap



...and it lasts longer!

A TATA PRODUCT

THY-7 S

ANTITHESIS OF DEMOCRACY

Sir,—Mr. Nehru said recently at Jabalpur that "society had to be organised on socialist lines" and "that all big industries should be either in the public sector or run through co-operatives".

Under Socialism the consumer is no king and what is thrust on him must

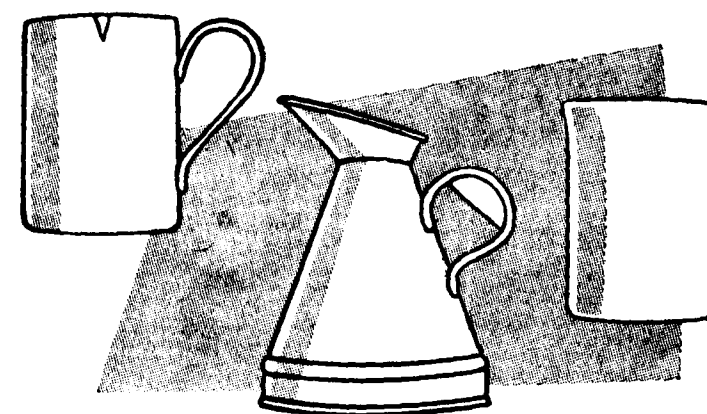
be unhesitatingly received by him, as the tools of production are owned and controlled by the Government.

Illuminating indeed are the words of Ivor Thomas who wrote that "under Socialism, a very large slice of personal income is first of all taken in taxation (because the expenditure of the State

is so much greater under Socialism than under private enterprise), and then the consumer's freedom to spend what remains is limited by a vast complex of controls and rationing. This we regard as being the antithesis of democracy".

Coimbatore Y. V. VISVESWARAN

on to METRIC CAPACITY MEASURES



From APRIL 1, 1961, the use of Metric Capacity Measures is compulsory in the Union Territory of Delhi.

In selected areas in the rest of the country, Metric Capacity Measures have been introduced with option to use old measures for one year.

The unit of capacity is
LITRE

1 LITRE

= 1.1 Seers approx.

= 3 Nazhis approx.
(Kerala)

= 4.5 Olocks approx.
(Madras)

METRIC SYSTEM FOR

Simplicity & Uniformity

ISSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DA 41/109

518/3.61



From
palm leaves



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, Tussorees,
Union Fabrics, Silk Saris etc. etc.

BINNY-

a great name in textiles



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

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.



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

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

JWT/8V/1/1351

Founded by **Khasa Subba Rau**

Vol. VI. No. 4

MADRAS, JULY 29, 1961

Price 15 nP

REAL DECENTRALIZATION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

'Public Sector Enterprises', 'Steps to Improve Efficiency', 'New Approach', 'Too Much of Central Control not Favoured'—these are the headlines in the newspapers that indicate a new attempt being made to improve the efficiency of public-managed enterprises. A plan of 'decentralization' is being hatched. The new approach is said to be, broadly, to free the managements from the inhibitions that now result from too much Central control through rigid administrative and financial directives and rules. The inefficiency of public management is too patent to be denied. This diagnosis is accompanied by the theory that Central management is the cause of the deficiency and, therefore, if management is decentralized, the disease will be cured.

Vain thought, this. The inefficiency is due to the absence of any personal interest in those to whom the responsibility of management is entrusted. This lack of personal interest is a feature as much of local or 'decentralized' management as of Central management. Central control may mean some delay and irksome technical and financial checks and curbs. Removing these checks, curbs and delays will result in more speedy mismanagement, not in better management. Real decentralization will come about only when the State ceases to be the capitalist and the manager, and when individual ownership, responsibility and interest replace the bureaucracy's management. The idea of decentralization is a

thought in the right direction, but what is real decentralization, has not been grasped.

The individual interest is the real remedy and it cannot result from mere decentralization. A hundred irresponsibilities will not be better than one centralized irresponsibility. Responsibility and efficiency issue out of the natural source of it all, viz., real personal interest, and this can be got only when the idea of improving everything by public management is given up and it is kept at the irreducible minimum and individual interest is allowed the maximum scope.

The notoriously poor earnings of the public undertakings relative to capital will not be enhanced by what is called decentralization. There will be more wastage, more graft and more pilferage and local interests developed in these abuses.

For invention, application, economy, vigilance and efficiency in general, we must go from the circumference as far inside as possible, that is, we must reach the Centre, where each works for himself and the nation. In the other way, we shall find each stealing as much as possible for himself from the nation—time, material, work, attention and everything. Decentralization, true and effective, is achieved when you go to the real centre, the man and his family. It is only then that work is free work. All other work is slave-labour, that is, work for some other, who again works for yet some other and so on, in an expanding circle of un-inter-

ested bureaucracy. The Centre at Delhi is the opposite of the real centre. It is the circumference far away from the human centre.

The jerry-built paradise called the socialist pattern is based on some kind of reasoning and takes no note of human nature. "Politics," said Burke, "ought to be adjusted not to human reasonings, but to human nature, of which reason is but a part and by no means the greatest."

Real and purposeful decentralization is done only when the State gives up regimentation and restores to the citizen what belongs to him—what Vibhishan asked Ravana to do. Until that restoration is done, the mischief of centralization continues in one form or other. Decentralization does not consist in greater facilities being given for waste or mismanagement or larceny or laziness, with no one to watch or check. If everything belongs to the State, but the State wishes to decentralize for more efficient production, even from that angle the best form of transfer of authority is to transfer it to him who feels and thinks it is his own, who profits by invention, application and vigilance and who feels when he sweats or worries over it that he is labouring not for anyone else but for himself.

Apart altogether from the arguments of theory about the merits of any scheme of administration of the people's economic life from a Central secretariat at the metropolis, whether the scheme is sound in principle, and supported by what we know of human nature

SITTING ON ISSUES

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

with which every scheme of governance must be necessarily linked, we have it on the authority and evidence of universally prevalent opinion that the system of controls, quotas, permits, and licences, on which such regimentation must rest, has led to widespread corruption of every form. The power to refuse or grant permission, and the power to bring everything to a standstill at any moment (for industry and business depend every moment on supplies of all sorts), must in the nature of things inevitably lead to temptation and consequent corruption of officials as well as the businessmen and the industrialists who must deal with them. That this has happened in deplorable measure already is well known, and is not admitted more openly in official circle just because of pride and false strategy. The administrative machine which Independent India inherited was the finest in Asia and was, in point of character, assiduity and talent, comparable with the administrative machines in Britain, America and other advanced countries of the world. We had a great tradition of loyalty to principles and courage of discussion when any important issues came up for discussion. Alas, all this is almost gone now, and I fear it is irrecoverable unless we change fundamental policies and go through a purgatory. If any scheme of administration and control of the economic life of the nation is thus fraught with danger to character, it is a worthless scheme whatever the mathematics or the economics of it may be. For any scheme or policy, however brilliantly conceived, to produce contemplated results, not only training and talent, but absolute integrity is a pivotal condition requisite. Where the nature of the scheme or policy itself carries the deadly poison of anti-integrity, the plan is a chimera and must be given up. Where a political party is obstinately wedded to such a scheme, the party has to be pushed out of office in the interest of national welfare.

In a narrative of an interview with Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, recorded in a recent book of Ved Mehta, the brave blind boy who has now become a writer of eminence, he refers to the Minister saying that he and his Government practised 'sitting on issues' as a way of solving them. This is an interesting method of dealing with problems. One obviously supposes that the figure of speech is taken from the poultry-yard. But the hen at least, as a result of sitting, produces something—an egg. But the Defence Minister's sitting on issues produces nothing—except perhaps warmth to himself. Anyway it reveals the manner in which he and his colleagues in the Government of India deal with the problems that face the country.

It explains, for instance, the Defence Minister and the Prime Minister's way of dealing with our foreign affairs. The Prime Minister has been sitting and brooding, all by himself, for five years over the incursion of the Chinese into India. And he and his Defence Minister are now 'sitting on' the occupation of 12,000 square miles of territory by the Chinese and think the question will be solved thereby. Of course there is a lot of clucking and cackling, and crowing, during the sitting. While their prototype, the hen, crows only after it has produced the egg, our Ministers do this without producing anything except hot air. Mark Twain, speaking of a certain hen which crowed after laying an ordinary egg, said it crowed as if it had laid a sphero-oid. But our Ministers crow without laying anything, not even the dust they have thrown about with their speeches about what they would do in the future, shutting their eyes or rather sitting on what has been allowed to be done in the past. But an outsider may be allowed to point out that sitting on explosive problems

is dangerous—the blasting things may explode. Napoleon used to say that one thing you cannot do with bayonets is to sit on them. And the bayonets that the Defence Minister is sitting on at our border are not our own—they are the Chinese.

This practice of sitting on issues, we see, has not been confined to the Defence Minister. Evidently, it is a popular method among Congress Ministers. The Ministry of Education has been sitting over the question of the rapid promotion of literacy, satisfied with the attainment of 25 per cent in fifteen years at the rate of one per cent a year, while one of the directives of the policy laid down in the Constitution, which are binding on governments in their political conscience if not by courts of law, require that "the State shall provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution (1950) for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 10 years". We are now in 1960 and only 50 per cent of the boys of this age are in school and only 25 per cent of the girls. The Ministry of Health has been sitting over the Report of the Bhoré Committee on Public Health ever since it inherited this particular egg laid about 25 years ago, without trying to carry out any of its major recommendations into effect. Tired of sitting on this old egg, which promises to become as old as the Chinese egg, it last year thought of changing eggs by creating a new Commission on Public Health. But it seems to have thought better and continues sitting on the old one, considering, I suppose, that the egg you are used to is safer than the one that may be laid in future. Anyway, why should one lose the comfortable feeling that comes from 'sitting on'!

Other directive principles of State policy require that a living wage should be secured to all

MINISTER'S ADVICE TO D. M. K.

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A Minister of Madras State has reiterated at a conference the Congress Party's advice to the D.M.K. not to get into any agreement with the Swatantra Party over the coming elections. It is a curious phenomenon that the Congress should make it its business to advise its enemy about the latter's strategy—as if Hitler had been solicitous for American doctrines and advised the Americans not to join up with the Bolsheviks because their principles were greatly opposed to each other. Speaking generally, what a shrewd opponent earnestly warns you not to do is an indication of what you *should* do. The opponent's fears should indeed be our guiding line. Desperately depending on the split vote for its success, the Congress preaches loyalty to dogma to its opponents.

Now, the anti-Socialism of the Swatantra Party, the Congress Minister says, should be a bar against any arrangement between the D.M.K. and the Swatantra Party. Let us put aside the

obvious motive of this advice for a moment and examine it on principle. The Swatantra Party is no doubt against the Permit-Licence-Quota 'socialism' of the Congress Party. It is emphatically against this kind of socialism which creates and augments private monopolies for the benefit of the party's favourites and fund-suppliers. These private monopolies, in fact, levy additional indirect taxation on the poor. Every rupee that the Congress Party gets from the industrialists and businessmen is an investment, and is recovered with good addition by these industrialists and businessmen from the consumers. This is what I would call additional indirect taxation for party purposes. This kind of socialism need be no bar between any two parties who sincerely desire the welfare of the poor people of our land and who seek to terminate the totalitarian march of the Congress Party. The Congress Party's socialism is a delusion and a snare.

workers, agricultural and industrial, a uniform civil code for all throughout the country, the right to work, the raising of the standard of living, and nutrition. Ministers both at the Centre and in the States have been 'sitting on' these matters for the past 15 years without producing any results. The provision of village roads connecting villages and farms with the nearest market, so as to raise farming from subsistence to market level and thus raise the standard of income and living of the agricultural population, the provision of protected water-supply and the reconstruction of village houses, and the maintenance in good order of minor irrigation works—all to increase the productivity of agriculture—have all been sat upon without anything worth while being produced. Lower-grade technical schools for converting the large number of unskilled workers into skilled

workers, and for improving craftsmanship among the large number of small-scale workers, are yet to be produced at the large and rapid rate required. Essentials, necessities, urgencies have been sat upon and luxuries, like State-managed steel factories, university-grade engineering colleges, and Atomic energy plants have been hatched and danced over. Is all this the outcome of the method of 'sitting on issues'?

Anyway, it is a characteristic political invention of the party in power. No other party, I venture to think, would care to violate its rights of patent in it. It is welcome to a monopoly of the method. How long the people would bear with a party that uses this infertile process of producing national prosperity is a question that will be decided early next year. And on the answer of the electorate to this question will depend the future of this country.

Mr. Bhakthavatsalam may go further and plead on behalf of the D.M.K.—of whose interest he chooses to be a political protector—that the party wants Dravidanad and therefore should make no mutual adjustments with the Swatantra Party, the latter being an advocate of all India unity. Perhaps, he thinks it would be too absurd to go so far as that and fears that it would only expose the disingenuous intentions of all such arguments.

It is a good rule to beware of the enemy's preaching, if you are engaged in a life and death struggle. The battle against statism and totalitarian dictatorship is a life and death struggle. Every year allowed to the enemy adds to his strength. If the creed of socialism must divide and unite people, then should not Congressmen declare friendship and merge with the communists? And make open what now is a hidden, unholy, conspiracy?

EXTRAVAGANCE OF NUCLEAR POWER

Under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) a conference on small and medium power reactors was held in September 1960 at Vienna. The conference made a searching examination of all the aspects of the problem of nuclear power in general through as many as 64 papers presented by scientists from all over the world. One of the papers pointed out that the maintenance costs of nuclear power reactors would be greater than that of conventional ones. A nuclear power reactor has twice as many auxiliaries as a conventional boiler and many auxiliaries are novel and lacking in extensive operating experience.

Following a joint study by the Finnish A.E.C. and the IAEA a report on the "Prospect of Nuclear Power in Finland" was published in January 1961. This report totally rules out the feasibility of utilising nuclear power, the cost being far from competitive.

Another survey was carried out by the IAEA in five Latin American countries, the report of which was published in April 1961. This report suggests that only research programmes on an experimental plant scale would be advisable, and that the construction of nuclear power plants would be premature.

CURRENT EVENTS ::

Mr. Sadiq Ali is Congress Secretary, member of the Rajya Sabha and editor of the A.I.C.C. *Economic Review*. While the Congress is gloating over the lessons of Orissa, Mr. Sadiq Ali has put out an advance-copy of his survey in the Congress organ which has been telegraphed, full text, all over the country, an advantage not enjoyed by non-Congress politicians of superior credentials when they express their views on current developments. Owing to a variety of circumstances, the leverage of the news agency is in the hands of the ruling party, an advantage freely exploited at the expense of Opposition critics whose views are virtually smothered by the technique of selective editing at New Delhi. They seem to have no qualms about pursuing an unequal fight when the media of publicity are collared for party-propaganda, in addition to the financial operations for hauling crores of rupees by means open as well as surreptitious.

In his study of the Orissa campaign, Mr. Sadiq Ali observes that the non-Congress parties in competition had an advantage because they could spend all their time canvassing, whereas the official party in power headed by Congress Ministers could not devote similar attention, seeing that they were tied up to the performance of routine duties absorbing most of their time, only a narrow margin of hours being left to them for addressing the voters. This is a travesty of the truth since the entire official establishment had been geared to be active, the story of preoccupation being a fiction. Even so, the fact that only 15 per cent of the electors voted is witness to the truth that the jerrymandered performance could not be taken as decisive. Where did the fleet of nearly two hundred jeeps heralding the approach of the election day come from? There were other facilities also mobilised beyond

the capacity of Opposition parties. If, on the other hand, there had been a neutral regime of one month with the Governor administering the affairs of the State, there would have been some semblance of fairplay. Considering the trends of Congress monopolism, it is grotesque to invoke the practice in England and America where the party in power impartially remains in office during general elections. They, by long tradition and the existence of the sporting spirit, refrain from malpractices which have become a menace to democracy in India.

Imagine a cricket fixture where one side goes on batting under some rule which keeps that team perpetually on the crease while the opposite Eleven is doomed to bowling without a chance for any of the players to score a run! It would be a melancholy farce bound to result in the very negation of 'playing the game'. For Congress politicians in the game of politics, corresponding advantages seem ever so natural and even the suggestion of an umpire's role comes as a superfluity and a nuisance. Lectures on the 'lessons of Orissa' are not well delivered by our Congress authorities since they have shown no scruples about being above the rules of the game.

Mr. Nehru has suddenly broadcast an appeal to all Ministers and officials to wake up and maintain the integrity of the administration. The fancy that grips him is 'emotional integration' with auxiliary counsel about 'eschewing' casteism, communalism, corruption (if any), etc. At Jabalpur he hinted at the passing of a law penalising 'communal' meetings and the spread of false news as if the executive were not already well-armed for such purposes. He even suggested that at district-level local officers should promptly suppress unpalatable news, but all this fuss is out of place. The very concept 'emo-

To be released shortly

SATYAM EVA JAYATE

Rajaji's articles in SWARAJYA and other journals on various topics written in the years 1950-61 will be published in book form under the above title in two volumes. The first volume will be released on 15th August. The second volume will be ready within a month thereafter. Each volume about 550 pages. Cloth gilt. Price Rs. 6 each volume. Published by Bharathan Publications, Kalki Buildings, Madras-10.

tional integration' is inconsistent with the passion of the ruling party to retain power, without the restraints of democratic conventions. When President Sanjiva Reddy threatens that 'Congress rebels' would be out-castes for good, what is at the back of his mind is the solidarity of the party and the sterilization of Opposition forces. The first requisite for halting the tendencies of disintegration in the country is the discarding of devices for perpetuating clique-power. Foundationally, there must be the assurance of fairplay for the stability of any people or society. Contrary conditions would generate only emotional antagonism. Under Dr. Sampurnanand a special commission has been appointed to promote the latest fad about Emotional Integration. Sub-Committees of field workers are also being hurriedly installed. There is no doubt that questionnaires and seminars would make their appearance. The pernicious premise being the drift towards party-totalitarianism and graft-ridden ramifications, the noble emotions implied in the programme 'are bound to wither under the light of day.

Is it any surprise that the ten-year rule recently promulgated as a directive by the Congress President is being foiled by the holders of vested interests? Marking the resistance of veterans in office, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy has hastened to explain that the issue

ECONOMIC POLICIES OF PARTIES

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Though our elections are influenced a great deal by emotional considerations and organisational efficiency, economic consequences argue for themselves with many voters. If they have not done so fully, it is because changes have been so many and rapid that they have been bewildering, and to some extent deceptive. In the coming elections, unless the damage from floods is overwhelming, the spurt in Government expenditure under the Third Plan is likely to create an impression of prosperity which will obscure the attrition of incomes of all but a small section. It is, therefore, necessary to examine economic policies for a longer period, both on figures and facts.

There is little difference in the economic policies of the Congress, socialists and communists, except in respect of emphasis. The communists laid emphasis on land reform, education and labour amelioration. In Kerala, their land legislation was first held up under objection by the President, and is now under appeal to the Supreme Court, which has issued stay orders. The issues raised in the appeal touch most of the provisions of the Act. Even if the Supreme Court upholds the legislation, or if the Government sub-

sequently amends the Constitution to overcome the objections of the Supreme Court, the cultivators will gain little or nothing on their rents, since government itself profits from the difference of compensation paid by the tenants and payable to the landowners. The tenants lose, first, because the alienability of holdings reduces their borrowing capacity, while the provisions for resumption may reduce the land now in their occupation. Since the land legislation of other (Congress) State governments is not very different from the Kerala legislation, it will be in the interest of tenants if it is stayed till the Supreme Court clears the Kerala Act. It will also be in the interest of tenants if the results of the Kerala Act are studied over a period of time, while permanent tenure and fair rents are given in the meanwhile.

In respect of education, the Communists tried for political purposes, to force teachers on a caste basis on schools, as if all children should be sacrificed so that a few undeserving Harijans should have employment. The net result of trying to nationalize education was on the one hand, deterioration and, on the other, an unbearable burden on the State which has compelled the

of any individual quitting power is optional, an assurance not approved by several leaders who talk of a one-third reservation of tickets for replenishment of the Congress body-politic with 'young blood'. Here also the rampant growth of the spoils system has poisoned politics. Even amongst those anxious to cripple Opposition by unfair means, there must be a maximum of heart-burning and a minimum of emotional integration. Shylock cried in the court: "O Father Abraham! How these Christians love one another!"

The High Command trims doctrines with effortless ease since

everything is 'flexible'. Lengthy argument is not necessary to establish that the rule of grab and intolerance is a standing provocation for which the nation will have to pay dearly if the Prime Minister does not in person apply his prestige for curbing anti-democratic debauch. Reason for the failure of the Emotional Integration as a campaign is the quality of human nature itself, and the warning can be elucidated in the language of Thomas Jefferson in his declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident." The evils of Congress monopolism can be claimed to be self-evident.

P. J.

present Government not only to moderate discrimination against private agencies but to approach them to take over government schools. Other States also are following this policy.

The favour shown to unionised labour in Kerala, including even the suspension of the ordinary criminal law against it, meant that many enterprises closed down, no new ones being started in their place. No private industrialists are disposed to establish industries though Kerala needs them more than other States, because so many are without employment.

The emphasis in socialist policy is mainly in respect of unionised labour. While it is good to set high standards in wages and conditions of work, the socialists ignore, first, that unionised labour is a small part of the labour force, and that favours to it are paid in higher prices by the entire population of consumers. The Congress copies the communist labour policy with a view to securing votes.

Other economic policies of the Congress are competitive with those of the communists and socialists. If they are not as thorough-going, they are more extensive, involving far greater expenditure. The first is nationalization of industry. Already a third of the corporate sector is owned by the Government, while over the rest, its licence laws and taxes exercise a virtual stranglehold. Of the many consequences, the more important are, first, that the Rs. 700 crores invested in State enterprises, which had a return of only 0.5 per cent profit last year, squeeze the population for loans and taxes, reducing not only their living standards but also the money for their own requirements which is now obtainable only at fantastic rates of interest. Secondly, the monopolies created by controls have introduced a high cost economy, the prices being 50 to 100 per cent higher than the world level, which reduces the external market and prevents the internal one from expanding. The economy is only sustained by the

'blood transfusion' of foreign aid and loans, inspite of which only a part of the established industries are employed, notwithstanding the scarcity which is maintaining the blackmarket. There are seeds of catastrophe in our industrial economy, which is not only over-capitalised but so badly located, selected and co-ordinated, that only high taxes, loans and prices can sustain it. There is only one thing for the Congress to do, to leave industry to itself, its own

enterprises being denationalized as soon as possible. This will also ease the foreign debt and exchange position because whatever comes in the country will be on the responsibility of private parties and not of the common tax-payer.

The Congress has also interfered in trade, first, through licences which have fostered the black-market and raised the prices. Secondly, the State Trading Corporation has lost foreign markets and raised the internal prices.

In finance and banking, the never-ceasing changes have hit the common man and allowed the astute to make fortunes. Investments have become gambling, worse than any other forms of gambling the Congress has tried to suppress. The result is a retardation of the economy and high prices, which the common people have to pay.

Even other projects, like irrigation, have been conceived and executed in haste and waste. The recent floods have shown how badly new dams obstruct the watershed and cause disaster. The direction of the Planning Commission that water-rate may be collected, whether the cultivators take water or not, proves that much of the irrigation created is for the Plan, not for the people. In agriculture, much of the expenditure is for educational purposes, which also have not succeeded, as productivity is not higher now than what it was in 1933.

The National Debt was Rs. 949 crores in 1939; on 31st March 1962, it will reach Rs. 5554 crores, excluding Rs. 1,868 crores in various deposits like savings banks, provident funds. It is estimated that the National Debt may reach Rs. 11,000 crores at the end of the Third Plan, which will put on future generations the burden of paying as interest, at only 3½ per cent, an amount of about Rs. 400 crores, so that the talk about serving the future is deception of those who cannot understand. To the extent the debt is foreign, the country is mortgaging its independence because our exports will never be equal to it, for which reason repayment will mean only more borrowing, as the alternative of repudiation will involve us in loss of imports we cannot do without. The present generation is not spared because during the Second Plan the additional taxation was of the order of Rs. 1,040 crores, and during the Third plan it will be Rs. 2,000 crores. This is in addition to the inflation caused by loans. If only the people understood how they are being bled, not one vote would be cast for the Congress.



**Come on, young man,
you don't have to
fight shy of us...**

If you are wondering nervously in which bank to deposit your first Rs. 5/-, rest assured you will be an honoured client in IOB. We believe in friendly, helpful service and no account is too small for us.

**THE INDIAN OVERSEAS
BANK LIMITED**

Central Office, Madras

M. C. Muthiah
Chairman

C. P. Doraianna
General Manager

THE LINK WITH PEASANTS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Everyone keeps talking about caste and the need for forgetting it, thereby prolonging its miserable life. We shall not go into the merits of this battle, or of the means employed and the hypocrisies and hatreds this crusade develops. We have to deal with a new and more evil-bearing caste that is rapidly developing. It is the caste evolving out of school and higher education. Whoever it may be, whatever the pupil's home-life and origin may be, once he goes to a village school and learns a little bit of the symbology of reading and writing, he becomes a non-working *neo-brahmin*. It is only when he fails miserably to obtain some soft job and has spent the best part of his youth in vain endeavour that he re-enters the hard way of living and carries on a frustrated and angry existence. In most instances he fails to re-adjust himself.

This new caste that is developing to the detriment of the nation is not a reason against primary or higher education. It is however a phenomenon of grave importance that must be taken into account when we plan and plot education for the good of the people. Particularly it is an element of importance that should help us to formulate the curriculum of our children's education.

The Prime Minister was near the problem when he recently addressed students of an agricultural college. He deplored the absence of a proper link between the agricultural colleges and the peasants. He wanted students to cultivate the habit of manual labour and keep their hands and legs in good order, and not allow their brains to disable their bodies. But this warning will be wasted if the principle is not kept in mind at the earliest stages of education of our people. In the primary stage it is that we fatally injure our boys by mis-education. Boys born in families to whom hard manual work was the routine are placed in schools where they

are converted and forced into the new caste of labour-haters. Instead of re-organizing and reforming the present non-labouring classes, we are worsening the situation by ruining the good traditions and habits of even those who are good citizens, as they are. No amount of sermonizing, at later stages, can do any good unless we avoid mistakes at the earliest stages.

When the present Education Minister of Madras and myself applied our minds and put forward a reformed scheme of primary education, in order to foster the readiness and aptitude for bodily labour, whatever one's literary and intellectual education may be, the communalists in the Congress made common cause with the dark forces of unadulterated communalism and smashed the project.

They ruined the chances of immediately doubling the pace of elementary education and keeping it free from the poison of bodily laziness that had become a deleterious corollary of literacy. Unwillingly, the Education Minister has suppressed and concealed his convictions so that his political career may not be imperilled. I am not writing this to blame him. What the Prime Minister said recently has furnished a reminder to what I consider to be the most important long-term issue relevant to progress and good culture.

It is not by not working that we can reach any national goal; ninety per cent of national work is bodily labour. The notion that we rise in status in the measure of our running away from bodily labour must be attacked from the earliest stage in the child's education. Even this that I write may be interpreted by the malicious as an attempt to maintain the monopoly of bodily laziness for certain castes. These castes are bound to perish, unless they shed that laziness. I am concerned at the spreading of that laziness among others, and want that mischief to be pre-

vented. The function of literacy should be to add and improve work, not to replace it.

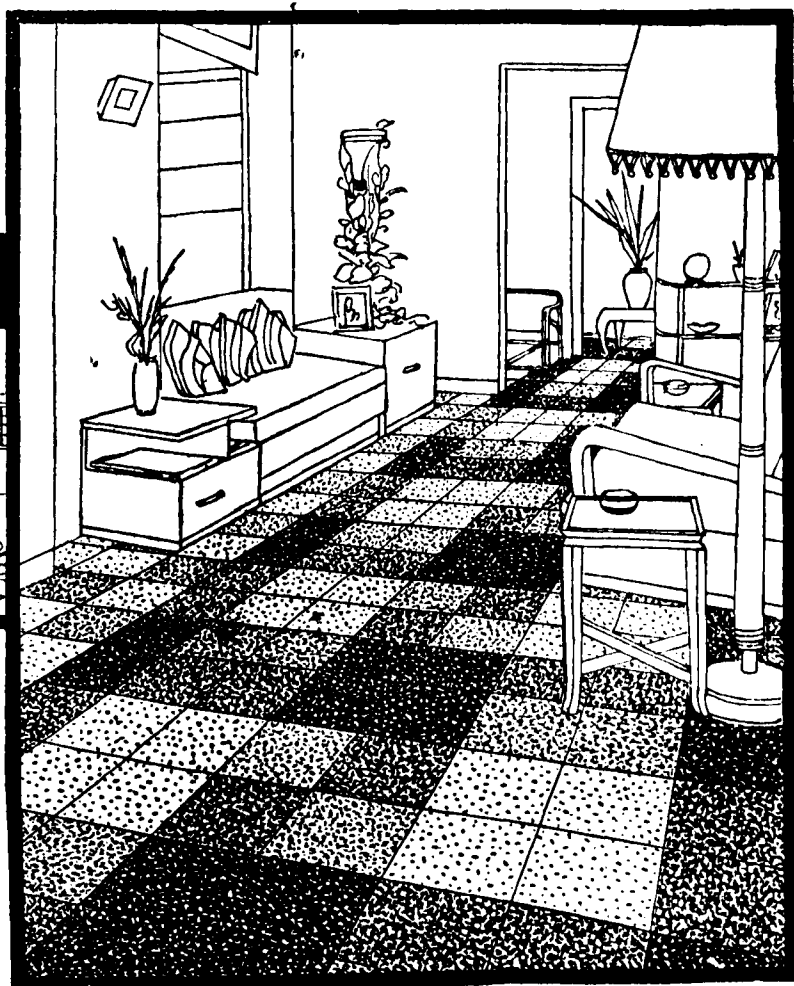
An irrelevant thought issues out of these reflections to which expression may here be given without offending much the principle of orderly presentation of ideas. Agricultural colleges should be linked to the peasants in the country, said the Prime Minister. So also should legislative assemblies and Parliament be linked to the producing organs in the country. Industries including agriculture are left unrepresented in our national assemblies. This is because politics has become a full time profession at all stages, and the producing and servicing professions are effectively excluded from it, except by way of a parasitic and dependent relationship which has more evil in it than good. In the pre-Independence days, professions that were engaged in making national wealth were duly and directly represented in the assemblies, both in the then provinces and at the Centre. Policies were examined critically when they affected those who were directly concerned in industries and agriculture. There is now no link between politics and production, except the baneful link of corruption and graft. Instead of government by discussion, we have government by intimidation and threats of liquidation of producers by non-producers and idle politicians. This is, as I have said before, irrelevant to the subject of this article, but a subject for serious thought along with other fundamental matters.

What in the West is called democracy can never be true in a society where greed grows uncontrolled and is encouraged, even admired, by the people. In such an atmosphere a constant struggle goes on among individuals to capture public organisations for their personal ends. Democracy is then like an elephant whose one purpose in life is to give joy rides to the clever and the rich.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.



WHERE
PRESTIGE
COUNTS...



Silvicrete ACC white cement IS FIRST CHOICE. Whether for sparkling exterior or interior renderings, ornamental designs, or precast units Silvicrete is chosen where prestige counts.

Silvicrete has been specially selected as the base for
SNOWCEM — the well-known decorative waterproof cement coating

Silvicrete
ACC WHITE CEMENT

Contact: THE CEMENT MARKETING CO. OF INDIA LTD.
Bombay • Delhi • Calcutta • Madras • Indore • Patna • Kanpur
Ahmedabad • Secunderabad • Coimbatore • Bangalore

THE ASSOCIATED CEMENT COMPANIES LIMITED • The Cement Marketing Company of India Limited

JWT-CHL 1663

CAPITAL COMMENTS

MAHATAB TO PLAY NEW ROLE?

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Uneasy are the hours and tense the moments at the Capital, with the President of India lying in a private nursing home, following his sudden and grave illness. There is the deepest concern among all sections of the people, from the Vice-President and the Prime Minister, down to the man in the street and the woman at home, which is indeed a measure of the love and esteem in which Dr. Rajendra Prasad is universally held. At the time of writing, it is learnt he is showing satisfactory improvement in health. That it may be given to him to tide over the crisis is our ardent hope; that more years should be vouchsafed to one who has lived a life of dedicated service to the Motherland is our devout prayer.

Amidst the recent distractions in Delhi, quite an important event, in its own way, seems to have passed comparatively unnoticed. Orissa's veteran leader, Dr. Hare Krushna Mahatab who had been for some time on the Prime Minister's 'missing' list, at last mustered up courage to face him, with the full knowledge that Mr. Nehru was most keen on giving him 'a choking'. Since they had earlier met and talked over Orissa, much water had flowed in the rivers of the problem-State: indeed, the river-waters had overflowed the banks, both literally and metaphorically. When Mr. Nehru was campaigning in Orissa, Mr. Mahatab was touring in Assam. Then came the elections out of which Mr. Patnaik emerged as the hero and the saviour, with Mr. Mahatab nowhere in the picture. Yet he could not be left neglected.

Friends intervened and persuaded Mr. Mahatab to take a realistic view of things in the interests of the State no less than his own. He was prevailed upon

to meet the Prime Minister and make up with him. He was also given some sober advice—to take it if Mr. Nehru gave him a bit of his mind, and not to commit the indiscretion of saying a word against Mr. Patnaik, the latest favourite! The interview took place—and Mr. Mahatab, apparently, a good shock-absorber, seemed to have remained intact at the end.

Mr. Mahatab is not lost to the Congress, outside Orissa. The party has need for a man of his stature and experience: it can make the best use of him (of course the best in the circumstances). It will not let him waste his time and energies in Orissa as a potential trouble-maker. The point or strategy is simple: Mr. Patnaik should be left free and Mr. Mahatab should not be. For a ruling party, it should not be at all difficult to sort out and place the pieces on the political chequer-board. It has both the chance and the aptitude.

The ex-Governor of Bombay may go as the next Governor of this or that State in good time. Meanwhile, there is enough work on the organizational front of the Congress, with the elections in the offing and the A.I.C.C. Office in Delhi badly in need of guidance and direction, from veterans who are just at present unfettered. Mr. Dhebar and others have to fight their own elections. There is pressure from unexpected quarters that Mr. Sanjiva Reddy should be released from preoccupations at the Centre, so that he may be in direct, full charge of the Congress affairs in Andhra, first on the eve of the elections and then, God-willing, later.

Even otherwise, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy's hands are full and there is room for division of labour and leadership at the Congress headquarters. Mr. Hare Krushna Mahatab is already a member of

the Congress Working Committee: he has now the additional advantage of remaining unharnessed. There can be found none better, immediately available to set the Congress House in order and tidy it up for giving it a new look. Elections can absorb a lot of talent and energy and Mr. Mahatab is expected to shift to Delhi or visit it more often, for taking a hand in the re-orientation of the party as a fighting force.

Smt. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit will soon be back in India. She has no thought of retirement from politics. The latest speculation in the press couples her name with the Speakership, which office she can fill up superbly, or for that matter any other office. Though she will otherwise settle down at the foot of the Himalayas, her head is sure to touch the heights, if not the very skies overlooking them.

YOUR COUGH WILL GO QUICKLY

IF YOU TAKE
PEPS
THROAT AND CHEST TABLETS

Suck a PEPs and feel its healing vapours at work helping to ease the pain and dispelling the germs of sore throat, bronchitis, cough or cold. PEPs give instant relief and rapid cure.

PEPS contain no dangerous drugs
May safely be given to children
QUICKLY RELIEVES
BRONCHITIS
SORE THROAT
CATARRH
CONGESTION
COLDS and COUGHS
Sold by all medicine dealers
C. E. FULFORD (INDIA) PRIVATE LTD.

Sole Agents
Dadha & Co., 86, Nainiappa Naick St., Madras 3

Dear Reader

Mr. Patnaik has ventured where his bosses feared to tread and proceeds to answer my 'charges'. He says the Congress stepped down from power (along with the other coalition party) before the mid-term elections. He, however, forgets Mr. Nehru, his chief patron and guardian, and the rest of the Congress High Command were in office at Delhi. Without this, would he have won? A tyro can see through this argument.

No collections were made from businessmen, says Mr. Patnaik. He placed an order, he says, for 140 jeeps (never mind if the number did not include the 'stepney' jeeps kept in readiness against accidents). Wherefrom did the Congress Party or Mr. Patnaik get the Rs. 25 lakhs required for placing this lump order? Probably from his own firms and partners. We are told Mr. Ashoka Mehta or I could have got the 140 jeeps by placing an order as Mr. Patnaik himself did and that there was no hanky-panky about it. Surely no one can swallow this assertion or have the maw to digest it. Mahindras must be laughing in their sleeves at this showing of the blind eye to the rules regulating the purchase of jeeps. It is just audacity that anything has to be said loudly to pass among people as truth. Even if Ashoka Mehta or I had the Rs. 25 lakhs to invest we could not get the jeeps as quickly, and all together, as Mr. Patnaik admits he somehow got. Yet the Swatantra Party continues still to be the 'rich man's' party! Someone has written that 'great lies are as great as great truths and constantly prevail day after day'. Still we have it on abundant authority *magnum est veritas et praevalabit: satyam eva jayate*.

★

Fifty years hence, when historians turn back to survey this century and its doings, when the Plans will have 'taken off' and be flying at 200 miles per hour or when the disillusionment will have come and become stale history, they will

judge and write whether it was good, wise or right for an Asiatic nation to borrow such monstrously large sums from abroad; whether when some good men in Britain and Europe planned to unite in a Common Market and, through that first step, to proceed to greater unity, it was right for us to oppose it because it would bring our Plans and payment hopes down like a house of cards. Historians will then make it clear whether I wanted the rich to be richer and the poor to remain poor, or whether it was the Congress Party's permits and licences and quotas which made the rich richer, the poor poorer, the greedy more greedy, and destroyed the classes that guarded our national culture and elevated the mammon-worshippers, and finally brought in the communists and made our country an easy prey for foreign expansionism.

★

At a recent meeting of the committee for languages in U.P. Acharya Kripalani rightly pointed out that it was wrong to regard any particular language as identified with a particular religion. Urdu should not be identified with Islam. Islam in Arabia, Persia, Turkey and Afghanistan is not associated with Urdu. Both Hindu and Muslim writers and poets have enriched Urdu. A long list of Hindus who wrote and enriched Urdu literature has been prepared by Mr. S. N. Faridi and published as a leaflet by the Urdu Samaj Markaz of Agra.

The fact is that language has been picked up as handy and deceptive flag by communities to enthuse their respective armies of civil war. There is nothing gained by arguing about the flags. What we have to do is to argue out the communities.

★

Ignorance is at the bottom of the competitive requests from

many States, for atomic power plants. Dr. Bhabha has said he has no doubt nuclear power stations will be installed in all the competing States in the fourth and subsequent Plans. It is needless to point out the comparative high costs of nuclear power relative to conventional sources of power. Countries which have actually experimented with nuclear power, and have highly informed atomic energy commissions, have given an unequivocal verdict against it, taking into account present costs and future probable developments. But in 'developing' countries, accurate knowledge is also in a developing stage and ignorant demands are being made with no relation to prudence. We do not want this gigantic expenditure; we can ill afford it. There is an old, old child's song in Tamil about a jackdaw spreading out its feathers and dancing, imagining itself to be the forest peacock. Frigates and warships, air craft carrier and submarines, and nuclear power stations, and such like things assort ill with our payments position. Does not the world know that we are cutting, patching and cobbling all day to make both ends of our national life's haberdashery meet? Why this vanity and show? More care on the dangerous Himalayan border, more trust and wisdom on the partition-created border, more humility and less jackdaw dances, these are what may be recommended to people as well as dictators in our developing country.

★

Mr. K. C. Reddy gave a talk in Hyderabad, in the course of which he pointed out that in the Punjab, which was the home of small-scale industries, the per capita income was the highest in the country, and in Bihar, which had a number of heavy and basic industries (perhaps the biggest in India), the per capita income was one of the lowest in the country. Comment is needless. But there is no paradox about this, as the news title announced it. It is the natural law, as all those who criticise the Plans have been pointing out.

We are told authoritatively by Dr. Z. A. Ahmed, member of the central secretariat of the Communist Party of India, at a press conference in Lucknow, that members of the party had decided to defend every inch of Indian territory wrongfully occupied by China. Any school-boy who finds difficulty in understanding the proverb about locking the stable door after the horse is stolen, may now find it easy. The position of the Communist Party, we are further told, is in conformity with the position taken up by the Government of India. No doubt this is so. The member of the Communist Party central secretariat was questioned about the unwillingness of the party to use the term 'ag-

gression' against China. It was elicited that they would use the terms 'incursion', 'penetration' and 'wrongful occupation' rather than 'aggression', as the last term applied to a state of belligerency. Of course, where there is no defence against aggression or attempt to turn the aggressor out, it becomes 'occupation' or 'penetration'. The stage of aggression is past by reason of lapse of opposition. Still the Communist Party will 'defend' every inch of the occupied area. The fact of the matter is that the Communist Party is defending itself, not defending any portion of India.

C.R.

BOOK REVIEW

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

By A. RANGANATHAN

This is a thought-provoking and frank study examining in detail the fundamental concepts of India's foreign policy; and some of Mr. Patel's conclusions are supported by weighty evidence.

In one of his speeches, Mr. Nehru had made this eloquent observation: "Where man's liberty or peace is in danger, we cannot and should not be neutral; neutrality would then be a betrayal of what we have fought for and stand for." Viewed from a purely theoretical angle, this admirable formulation of India's foreign policy would not lend itself to any ambiguous interpretation. Many of the Indian Government's acts, however, clearly reflect two entirely different standards. The Indian authorities vehemently denounced Britain, France and Israel during the Suez crisis, but scrupulously refrained from criticizing the Soviet Union for the way in which it suppressed the rising in Hungary. Mr. Patel has forcefully pointed out this incongruity: "To us Bao-Dai is a French puppet, but Kadar is not a Russian stooge; Dulles is a war-monger, but Stalin is a man of peace.....In Algeria or South Africa we want U.N. debate and intervention." It was particularly unfortunate that India should have voted

against the widely supported U.N. resolution (on November 9, 1956) condemning the Soviet Union. The Indian Government's devious explanation that it was opposed not to the entire resolution, but only to a 'clause' recommending United Nations supervision of Hungarian elections was an essay in sophistry. Again, the specious plea that mere condemnation of the Soviet action would not result in the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, was hardly calculated to add to the Government's reputation. Contrast India's quibbling with President Eisenhower's strong reaction to the Soviet suppression in Hungary and the Anglo-French adventure in Suez, which he roundly condemned as an "act of aggression".

It is surprising that India was not in the least interested in referring the Tibetan issue to the United Nations, although it involved an issue similar to that of the *apartheid* question. It is well to remember that on November 18, 1950, the delegate from El Salvador had called upon the member-States of the U.N. to condemn Communist China for its "unprovoked aggression" against Tibet. But the Indian delegate did nothing more than assure the General Assembly that the problem would be "solved peacefully", since India was a neighbour of China and Tibet, "with both of whom it had friendly relations". Again, India had opposed the inscription of the Tibetan question on the agenda of the General Assembly of the

U.N. in 1959, Mr. Krishna Menon cleverly arguing that any discussion would involve India in the cold war. But Mr. Menon did not evidently think that a discussion of the Suez or the South African issue would do similarly. In fact, South Africa tried to prevent the United Nations from interfering in matters "which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State" under Article 2(7) of the Charter. And yet India raised the South African issue in the U.N., since India's criticism of the racial policy of South Africa was based rightly on the ethical aspects of the question.

The author has correctly emphasized the geo-political significance of Red China's expansion within the framework of the Himalayan States like Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. Indeed, it is necessary to remember that the Chinese road which cuts across our territory in Ladakh (linking Tibet with Sinkiang; to the Soviet dominions) exposes the entire sub-continent to the Sino-Soviet land mass. Mr. Patel is needlessly critical of India's membership of the Commonwealth. In the ultimate analysis, the method of solution to the problem of partnership between Britain and the new Commonwealth of Nations is derived from the Burkean tradition of a liberal approach to political problems.

It has often been asserted (reflecting a holier-than-thou attitude) that India seeks peace based on justice in her quest for non-alignment. Looking over the entire record of Indian participation in the U.N. (ranging from our pro-Soviet attitude regarding the use of the 'veto' which was discussed by the Interim Committee of the General Assembly in 1947 to issues relating to aggression committed by the Big Powers) it is clear that the equivocal attitude displayed by our delegates in grappling with the vital issues of our time (except of course those concerning Western colonialism) has not unfairly exposed us to the charge of being 'neutral in favour of the East'.



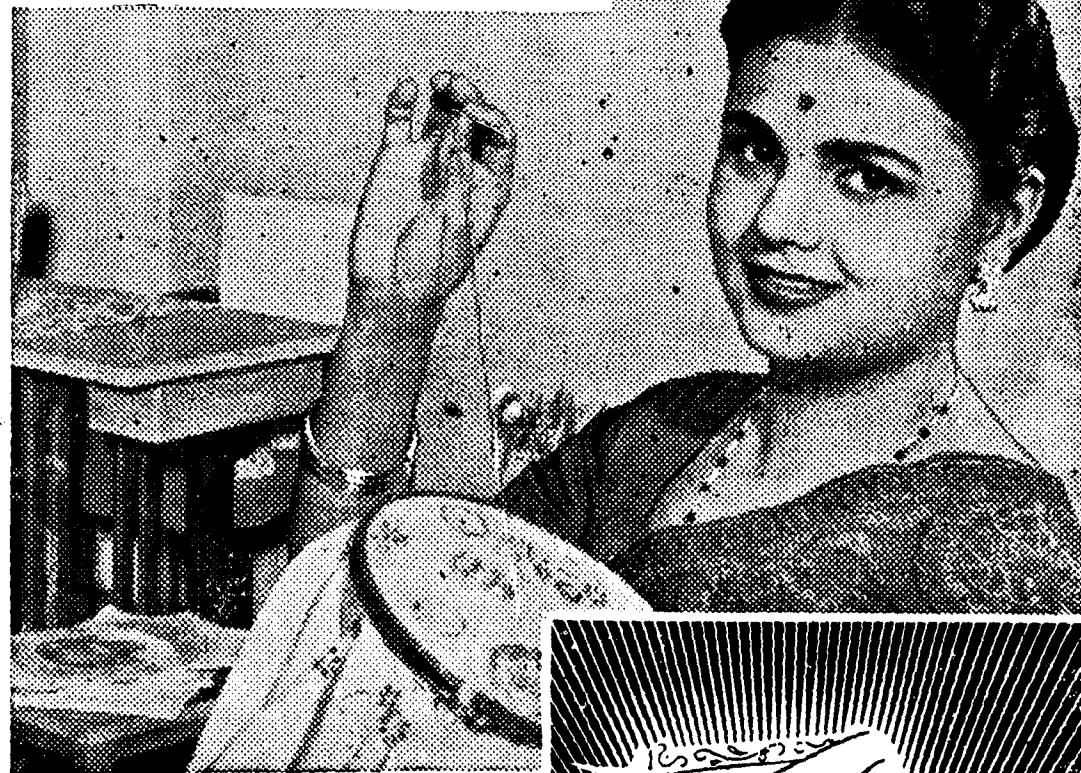
The
Nation's
Best

★

BENGAL ELECTRICALS CO.
MADRAS-17 — BANGALORE-3

Foreign Policy of India—An Inquiry and Criticism. By S. R. Patel, N. M. Tripathi Private Limited, Bombay, 1960, 282 pages, Rs. 15.

SURF IN THE MODERN HOME...



'THE WAY WE LIVE TODAY...'

says housewife PREMA SOONDERJI of Bombay

'THE WAY WE LIVE TODAY,' says Mrs. Prema G. Soonderji of Walkeshwar Road, Bombay, 'we all want new and better things.'

'SURF for instance. Today, I am proud of my washing because SURF makes such a brilliant job of it.'

SURF washes everything in the Soonderji home—shirts and saris, towels and sheets.

WHY NOT SURF IN YOUR HOME? SURF cuts your washing work in half, yet gives you washing that's fresh and gloriously white. See SURF's extra washing power at work in your home today.

Surf gives you the WHITEST WASH

A HINDUSTAN LEVER PRODUCT



BU. 18-XM

July 29, 1961

LOHIA ON ORISSA ELECTIONS

In an article in *The Indian Express*, Sri Lohia writes:

With the Orissa elections, we have probably entered a new chapter of politicking and electioneering in this country. Business, government and party have coalesced. They have never been clearly separate. There was always corruption. What has happened now is a removal altogether of the need for corruption. This has been done by erasing the identities of business, government and party, so that things can be done with much greater ease and dispatch. There is no need to collect election funds from businessmen. The party builds these businessmen from its own ranks. This successful experiment may be repeated in other States in a full-blown way, while the first beginnings have already been made everywhere.

The obvious links between the Orissa jeeps, their Bombay manufacturer, and the Defence Ministry need to be remembered in order to obtain a complete picture of what is in store for the country. Very few people realise the enormity of what has happened in Orissa. The corrupt Congress Left has fought and won a general election for the first time in the country. This Congress Left can outmatch the Praja Socialists, certainly, and the Communists probably, in its 'leftist' utterances. It can fulminate like Peron and other South American orators who held their millions spellbound by their leftist oratory, and the results of whose actions only conserve and corrupt.

Deploing the failure of the Socialist Party, Mr. Lohia makes the following remarks which are indeed of more general application:

Indolence, isolationism, and incapacity for joint work are such obstructions that the best of ideology cannot make headway against them. Elements of higher castes, some of them rich and some not so rich are generally capable of providing leadership, talent, money, sacrifice, tenacity, and the like. Experience has shown that they do not put their resources in the service of a revolutionary renewal of their people (sic, principles?). This dilemma faces not alone the Socialist Party but the people of India as a

SWARAJYA

13

SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS

The following extracts from the front page of the international *Weekly Review of The New York Times* are instructive:

Most Western officials discounted reports that there was any serious rift (between Moscow and Peiping), on the ground that pressure tending to bind Moscow and Peiping together probably were stronger than those pulling them apart. Some in the West tend to wishful thinking about frictions between the two Communist giants. For many months there have been indications—couched in the murky prose of Communist dialectic—of differences between Moscow and Peiping over the proper development of Communism. A conspicuous disagreement concerns international relations. Mao Tse-tung has taken a tough line that does not balk at the idea of war with the West. But Mr. Khrushchov holds that nuclear war has become unthinkable and that Communism can triumph over capitalism through stiff competition under a state of 'peaceful co-existence'.

Last November the two nations agreed on a Moscow Declaration that was widely interpreted as an attempt to paper over this basic dispute. Last week *The Sunday Times* of London published a report by Soviet expert Isaac Deutscher asserting that the Moscow Declaration had burned up in renewed friction. Westerners took a wary view of the report because of suspicions that the alleged Khrushchov communication was a forgery.

There are several factors working to pull the Russians and Chinese apart. But there are also many reasons for them to stick together. One divisive element is the difference in economic development between the two nations. Russia is an advanced country, with a sophisticated industrial system; she therefore has much to lose in a war. China's economy is far more primitive

and the nation has a bulging population surplus; she therefore might hope to gain from war.

But these divisive elements must be measured against the forces tending to hold Russia and China together. They have a common enemy—the West—and the military potential of the Communist bloc would be greatly weakened if the two nations fell out. A break would also deal a shattering psychological blow to Communism. A major Communist propaganda thesis is that a "unified Socialist camp" is on the march and capitalism is in retreat. That thesis could hardly survive the collapse of the Communist arch.

Moreover, Russia and China need each other economically. China draws heavily on Russia for food and machinery to sustain and build her economy, and Russia depends on China as a major market. These centripetal forces make Westerners wary of jumping to the conclusion that signs of friction mean the Moscow-Peiping axis is going to melt in the heat.

Gen. Cariappa's Warning

Gen. K. M. Cariappa, former Chief of the Indian Army, called upon Opposition parties in the country to form a united front against the ruling Congress Party to arrest 'totalitarian tendencies' which, he said, were fast creeping into the nation's political life.

In an address entitled "Let Us Wake Up", Gen. Cariappa told Bombay's progressive group that Opposition groups should not be misled by internal squabbles in the Congress but realise that the Congress would remain in power for "several years to come" if the Opposition groups did not make up for their individual lack of strength by joining up.

Gen. Cariappa said he was sorry to note that Prime Minister Nehru was surrounded by men who were neither loyal to their leaders nor to the people.

TIK-20



KILLS BED BUGS



DIAZINON **A TATA-FISON PRODUCT**



MARRYING AGAIN AT THE AGE OF SIXTY

What is this age-old custom but a renewal of one's life's interest after years of toil and care! It is the wisdom of the ancients to renew your life without the earlier years of anxiety, after fulfilling your duties.

But today the 60th Birthday can mean more to you than a mere ritual. If you have taken an old-age Life Insurance Policy, you start your second marriage with more peace and security than you did before.

We wish you a happy future.



Life Insurance
IS FOR THE YOUNG AND OLD ALIKE

EP/LIC/U/27

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

INDIAN STUDENTS IN THE U. S.

Sir.—Those of us Indians who are here for higher or technical studies have been getting (authentic) reports from our country as to how the authorities there find no use for young men of high academic qualifications. Though we would very much like to place our knowledge at the service of our country, doubts and fears assail us as to the prospects that await us if we should return to India. So depressing seem to be the conditions there that it occurs to us that it might be prudent to settle down in this country itself and lead a happy life, instead of courting disappointment on returning to our country.

An Indian student in the U.S., writing in the 'Letters to the Editor' column of the *Reader's Forum* (under date June 10), in response to an Essay contest, has described the problems of Asian students on their return to their respective countries in these words: "A large number of the students from Asia are Indians and sooner or later every one of them has to face the situation that what most counts is not *what* you know but *whom* you know".

No matter what our qualifications are, we see a lot of difficulties awaiting us on returning to India. However much we might love our country, we cannot easily reconcile ourselves to the prospect of having to go about from one place to another hunting for jobs only to find we are not wanted. Here, in the U.S., we have not got to *seek* jobs, but the firms *hunt* for us, so to speak, the moment we get ourselves technically qualified; and not only do we get high salaries, but we get good treatment. What is the inducement then for us to return to our country?

JAGADISH R. DESAI
Montana, U.S.A.

AN ELECTION STUNT

Sir—A Central National Integration Committee presided over by Smt. Indira Gandhi, the Emotional Integration Committee presided over by Dr. Sampurnanand, and the forthcoming Chief Ministers' conference (to be held in August next and addressed by our dynamic Prime Minister) have all provided striking headlines in 14 dailies in English.

However unpleasant it might be to the ruling party, the responsibility for the forces of national disintegration gaining the upper hand has to be laid at the doors of the Congress Government, for the present deterioration in the country is directly due to its poli-

cies and acts of commission and omission. The Central Government played with linguism, so to speak, yielding to Maharashtra and Gujarat only when law and order could not be maintained and the situation threatened to get completely out of hand. The only language which the Prime Minister could understand seems to be violence, disorder and calculated acts of hooliganism.

The U.P.S.C.'s directive permitting answers either in English or Hindi in the all India competitive examinations from 1963 is *clearly discriminatory*, and it is coming into effect before 1965. There is now a drive going on in the Central Services making the Hindi test obligatory on all employees. This step is certainly not calculated to lead to emotional integration. On the contrary, it is bound to accelerate the pace of *disintegration*.

The Congress Party in the South not only tolerates a political party with its plan of open secession from the Union, but the shrewd Chief Minister of Madras never misses an occasion to openly praise the Dravida Kazhagam leader. It is clear as daylight that a very odd mixture of bed-fellows are coming together to the end of winning the general elections.

The language problem is but one of the offshoots of the *domination* by Hindi areas over non-Hindi ones. North and South jealousies have grown out of the first false step of the North. The lonely voice of the Prime Minister has been in favour of retaining English as 'associate' official language, until the non-Hindi speaking areas decided otherwise. By abruptly doing away with the cementing link (English) and forcing the ill-fitted Hindi down unwilling throats, the Hindi enthusiasts are only accelerating the emotional disintegration and helping regional chauvinism to thrive.

CRIMINAL WASTE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE

Sir.—At a time when we are faced with a grave crisis in foreign exchange, it is nothing short of a national crime to waste our foreign exchange reserves over stupid delegations, consisting of globe-trotting idle industrialists, to hard currency areas to attend some useless conferences which will not serve any earthly purpose.

Will our government explain why half a dozen Rotarians were given fore-

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

ign exchange to attend the Rotary International Conference held in Tokyo from May 29 to June 2, 1961? In what way has our country benefited by sending these Rotarians to Tokyo? We practically export nothing to Japan and there is absolutely no possibility of finding an outlet for our products. Foreign exchange should be given to our industrialists only on the condition that they would subsequently earn more foreign exchange than they have spent. If they are unable to do so, they should be fined at least ten times the foreign exchange they were given.

Will the government also explain why the Indo-Japanese Association was allowed to send a delegation consisting of about half a dozen persons to attend a convention of the Congress for Cultivating Human Spirit held in Tokyo sometime in May last?

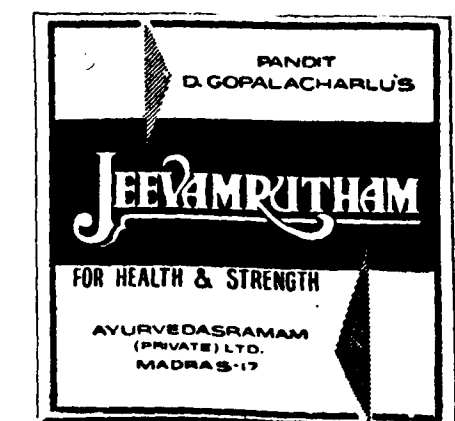
Was the foreign exchange given to members of these two delegations because they contribute lavishly to Congress election funds?

A friend of mine in Tokyo, writes that one of them made an utter fool of himself before a Japanese public, when he failed to sing our national anthem properly. Most of the members of our delegations, he writes, are usually highly westernised and de-nationalised upper strata of our society. These delegations bring only disgrace to our country.

A number of our small-scale industries which are refused foreign exchange to import some essential spare parts, are on the verge of closing down throwing thousands of workers out of employment.

Bombay

RUSI DARUWALA



ATUL

• DYES

• CHEMICALS

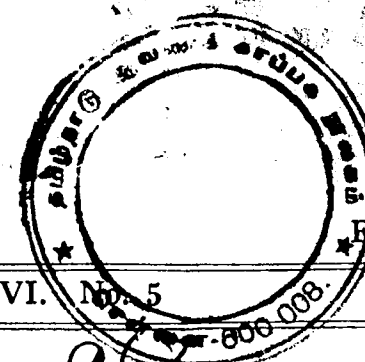
• PHARMACEUTICALS



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.



Founded by Khasa Subba

Vol. VI. No. 5

MADRAS, AUGUST 5, 1961

Price 15 nP

WHY I AM DOING IT

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

When this issue of SWARAJYA reaches readers, the Swatantra Party will have finished its second 'First of August', the day hallowed by Lokamanya Tilak's memory every year, since forty years ago. "Swaraj is my birthright and I will have it," said our Lokamanya. Swaraj is the birthright of every citizen, and we have to save it from the expropriatory hands of a party which has arrogantly confounded itself with the State.

If the dread Tempter of semitic theology plotted to corrupt simultaneously the finest public service corps in Asia and a whole nation that had been brought up by long tradition to follow *dharma*, each individual and group in their respective walks of life, the Devil could not have devised any better plan than the socialist pattern and the permit-licence-quota scheme of economy now enforced in India.

This is not rhetoric. Promising paradise through controls, the Congress Government has contrived to sap the moral stamina of public servants by bringing them into contact with men filled with a newly encouraged hunger for making money in the shortest possible time, by buying a monopoly from the issuing officers, and thereby putting other greedy people at a disadvantage.

Each successful act of corruption feeds the appetite for greater effort in the same direction and a corps of greedy men is built up throughout the country to stand up loyally for a government that thus quickly enriches the shrewd

corrupters, all the time bamboozling the poor that they are serving the cause of their uplift.

And the Devil taking him up into an high mountain, shewed unto him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time. And the Devil said unto him, All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them; for that is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will, I give it. If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine. And Jesus answered and said unto him, get thee behind me, Satan.

If I did not see the Devil in this scheme of contact between officials and businessmen and the issue of small and big relative monopolies going by the fanciful name of 'socialistic pattern', I would not have revolted. But when I saw a great corrupting movement set in motion and all national and individual life brought under its baneful shadow, I felt it my duty to throw away all other considerations, and revolt without enquiry as to whether I shall win or lose in this battle against heavy odds. When one sees a great evil, one must fight it. Otherwise, there is no purpose in life. I am not exaggerating the corruption. I had seen the finest official cadre in Asia working splendidly, and I have seen it now ruined completely under this evil system, and in a very short time. I have seen landslides of moral standards like mountain sides toppling down during an earthquake. I have seen callousness and greed replace all traditional sensibility and restraint, all ideas of *swa-dharma*. My great age and varied

experience have enabled me to see the changes and contrasts, and the consequent distress is great.

This is an attempt to explain why I have broken away from valuable friendships and time-honoured camaraderie, which to many is still a mystery and is cause for distress and adverse comment. The sacrifice of comradeship and affection that I have made now, giving up that precious possession, and earning displeasure and dislike in the highest quarters—these are no less a sacrifice than what I made when I was forty, and full of potential for worldly advancement, gave up my practice at the bar, grieved my aged father, withdrew my children from school and college, and went into the wilderness in 1920.

I have often thought of those days when a spirit of adventure and a passionate abhorrence of foreign rule helped one to undergo any sacrifice, when contemplating the present position in which I have dared to raise the white star against totalitarianism and corruption. One is not helped in this battle against one's own misguided colleagues, by any youthful spirit of adventure or hatred of foreign rule. At every step there is pain at having to do it.

But should we not defend freedom, should we not defend democracy, should we not defend *dharma*? We must not allow India to be debased, mistaking mass selfishness for patriotism. We must love India and learn why we should love India.

We must fight Statism, we must fight one-party rule, which has devised self-generating power to perpetuate itself, and we must stem the tide of greed and corruption. We must bring again into being a cadre of sternly honest officials to administer our affairs as was done till recently. It is a sacred duty, if there be any purpose in life and if we are not just spinning tops, spinning till death overtakes us and we go down to be re-absorbed into dead matter, fools mourning around the body that once was alive. When the morality of the nation and its elite is being undermined, and threatened with destruction, there is no question of any alternative or surrender to superior force. We must fight and protect the soul of the nation from being overwhelmed and destroyed. It is the duty of each citizen to resist it to the utmost without waiting for others or counting the cost. For if the nation's morality is lost, there will be nothing thereafter to save.

"The more independent the nationalized boards, the more they will exercise power without 'accountability'; the less they are independent, the greater the risks of centralization and lack of enterprise."

—KELF KOHEN.

"The free choice of consumer goods and services, free choice of a place to work, free initiative for employers are decisive foundations and free competition an important element of a free economic policy..... Totalitarian control of the economy destroys freedomAs much competition as possible—as much planning as is necessary."

—Manifesto of Social Democrats (W. Germany).

"If you want socialism, you should not say you are against communism."

—NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV

ROWLATTISM REBORN

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Mr. J. J. Singh, once President of the Indian Home Rule League of America, who after Independence settled down in India, has lodged a vigorous protest against the vast scale of detention pursued by the Punjab Government to quell the Akali Dal demand for a Punjabi Suba. Had Mr. J. J. Singh been in the good books of Pandit Nehru like Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon in London, the "Sardar", so well known in Washington, might have been India's Ambassador to the United States. In fact Senator Emmanuel Celler and other friends of India expected Mr. J. J. Singh's selection, but there were other pulls to weaken his legitimate claim. Mr. Singh deplores the vast drive against those who plead for a Punjabi Suba in order to preserve the language cherished by the Sikhs and also to give them an identity conformable to their tradition. In a public statement Master Tara Singh deplores the huge haul of prisoners for arbitrary internment, at a time of peace, when negotiations about language are under way with the Prime Minister. Master Tara Singh is aggrieved over the drastic measures aimed at crippling the Sikhs, when it is established that the demarcation of provinces according to language need not be construed as an anti-national proposition. The key-principle of the reorganisation of States being the test of language, there is no offence attributable to the plea for any remapping consistently with that principle. It was a day of ill-omen when the leaders of the Congress Party piloted the States Reorganisation Bill in Parliament; and in spite of the Prime Minister's pledge to the contrary, a split in a single State created (Maha) Gujarat and Maharashtra.

It is too late in the day to bemoan 'fissiparous tendencies', although we shall have by painful processes to recover the cultural equilibrium and real unity of India cemented by the heritage of a modern language disparaged as

'foreign', as if on the issue of serviceable languages, there could be any *mlecha* taint at any place. Mr. Nehru himself admits it, and in respect of English as 'Associate National Language' (not affiliate) he is committed to the undertaking that the people of no State shall have any dialect of Hindi foisted on them; nor a composite product of the future shall be imposed unless the non-Hindi speaking people of any area opt for it 'enriching Hindi'.

In every error, we have to undergo the ordeal of penance and reparation. As it is, the demand for a revision of sub-State frontiers on linguistic canons cannot be declared as seditious heresy. Such being the case, Mr. J. J. Singh wants to know whether there is any justification at all for jailing a vast number of dissidents by the Kairon Government. Minister Thapa of Nepal says that political suspects who belonged to the Koirala group under house-custody in Nepal do not exceed one hundred people. The rest held as security-risks during an emergency have been released. On the other hand, the number of Gurumukhi enthusiasts and members of the Akali Dal now in the lock-up run to many hundreds. The exact figure has not been divulged, but Mr. J. J. Singh is appalled over the information he has been able to gather.

In the formulation of our Constitution, the founding fathers were careful about the rights and safeguards of individual citizenship, the inspiration being partly British, and partly American. Despotism arrests are permissible only in an emergency defined by the U.S. Supreme Court as "clear and present danger". Under Congress rule in the Punjab administered by Mr. Nehru's favourite Chief Minister, this criterion does not seem to exist, since inconvenient persons are rounded up, on the strength of a law designed for a crisis verging on war or armed insurrection. In their worst days the E.M.S.

AT THE ROOT OF COMMUNALISM

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

There is a plethora of V. I. P.'s speeches and written hortatories deprecating communalism. I do not wish to add to that present-day literature which like anti-sex writing does the opposite of what it purports to do. I shall try to explain what I feel has not been said, and which is important in this connection as well as in the field of education in our country.

Communalism is not a doctrine like other 'isms. Socialism, individualism, communism, monism, dualism, Hinduism, and a host of other 'isms are all names given to some doctrine or other to guide ways of life, government or art, and the like. But communalism is the name given to a disease, not a doctrine or dogma.

It is useful to analyse the disease without an angry or biased mind, for passion does not help any investigation. There were castes and communities in India from time immemorial. They fought one another now and then over a temple or an offensive gesture, but did not compete with one another. The Brahmin had his occupation, the Kshatriya had his; the carpenter, the cobbler, the weaver, the barber, the potter, the smith and others had their respective work and belonged to their different castes, but did not

compete with one another. There were communities and castes but no one talked of communalism.

When the British came to rule the country and became a power which could not be resisted, they began to introduce many new and useful things. Among them, primary education was one. Schools were brought into existence taking in children from all castes and communities and they were all given literacy and a kind of education from which all bodily labour was excluded. Some physical exercises formed part of the scheme of education but not labour as such, that is muscular work for producing useful commodities. The school-going children were all converted, in the course of a generation or two, into non-working citizens. Not only the old non-producing families, but an increasing number of children from all classes, including those of artisans and agriculturists, were all schooled into a new non-working caste which looked down on manual labour of any kind as beneath their new status. With the steady advance of education which has not been shaped to include the habit of bodily labour, we have now, as a result, a completely new caste cutting into all the old castes which have lost their original character. This new caste is solely occupied with a hunt for 'soft' jobs. With the advance of social and public life in general, many new jobs came into existence, which may be classed as 'soft'. But, naturally, soft jobs cannot go on expanding without limit, for they must be supported by wealth-producing labour which is essentially a muscular process. When the demand for soft jobs and the supply get into imbalance as they have certainly got into now, (partly due to a lag in technological progress and to population increase), severe competition sets in, with its emotional adjuncts, greed, envy, jealousy, hatred, anger and

all the other forms of passion, which emerge from *rajoguna* (to use the terminology of our traditional psychology). Soft jobs have multiplied abundantly, thanks to the centralized and bureaucratic system of administration, and they are still proliferating to the great satisfaction of soft-job hunters, but this is not enough to meet the demand, and the envy and hatred are, therefore, on the increase.

A new group of very soft jobs has come into being. These may be called political jobs including every assignment that carries salary or allowances, or power or influence, or status or anything else, which gives the means for emotional satisfaction and opportunity for making up for material wants without bodily labour. The competition for these political jobs is keen. The passions arising out of this rivalry form a new disease, to which the name of 'communalism' is given by those who find it a hindrance in carrying out their own plans.

So when any reformer or philosopher or statesman or minister talks of emotional or national integration to meet this communalism, it is not enough to spout anger against old institutions. The real mischief-maker is a new institution which has come into being without consulting our old social law-givers—the soft job institution. Dislike not associated with competition is one thing. But the antagonism associated with competition is a life and death affair, and that is what we have to deal with when we talk of communalism. Love of one's kin and kind is not a sin or bad in any way for the nation. It would be the basis for a decentralized form of non-Statist socialism. It is competition for soft jobs that makes communalism; and among the 'best' soft jobs are seats in legislative assemblies or second chambers or corporations, or other positions equally soft and rich with political potential which in democracy carries enormous material value.

ROWLATTISM REBORN (Contd.)

Ministry in Kerala declined to invoke the Preventive Detention Act. The gravamen of Mr. J. J. Singh's charge is that promiscuous resort to the semi-martial law provision in the Statute Book, has converted constitutional safeguards into a mockery. He argues that when liberty in the name of a people is exercised by a government in order to undermine the safety and life and liberty of opponents, there is the beginning of Totalitarianism. A nation that fought to end Rowlattism seems doomed to witness its re-birth.

CURRENT EVENTS :

Some days ago pictures were published in the papers showing the Prime Minister as the purchaser of a ten-rupee coupon as his contribution to the election fund, the purpose being to establish that collections were on a modest scale and that the principles of fair play are being scrupulously observed by the ruling party. This demonstration of propriety and the boost for Congress rectitude is, however, hollow when the drive for money to finance the elections is being pursued through the tricks of illicit levy on industrial firms that cannot in a graft-ridden economy dream of alienating the authorities who could make or mar laborious enterprise. The shareholders of the Hindustan Motors Limited have received notice of a Resolution that will be moved in the next General Body meeting of the Company for the approval of shareholders what in effect amounts to sanctioning an outright donation of Rupees 20 lakhs to the Congress Party.* The advocates of Swatantra (indeed and the Opposition parties in Parliament) had pleaded for the avoidance of racketeering when gifts from commercial firms were legitimised under the pressure of the Congress Party which they advertise as the "Poor Man's Party".

The vote for Rs. 20 lakhs is bound to be passed and apart

from some make-believe, the bulk of it is destined to run into the coffers of the ruling party. Businessmen believe in the doctrine of *quid pro quo* and when they invest, they have their own calculations about returns on their grants to the "Poor Man's Party". When such a donation is openly endowed in public, it will serve as a pilot-venture for other business concerns to copy. The ritualistic exhibitionism involved in buying a ten-rupee coupon under lens-light cannot take away from the guilt of appropriating funds for party-aggrandisement. A depressing feature of these performances is that the manipulations of the political lever are known to the champions of democracy, equal opportunities and fairplay, but they turn their back on corrupt devices looking the other way and feigning innocence.

In the course of his trilogy of all India lectures, the theme adopted by the U. S. Ambassador Galbraith at Calcutta was the long-term effects of foreign borrowings. There are some cynics in the Planning coterie who slyly hold that loans from abroad, America particularly, might be left to an eventual write-off in return for the repulse administered by India to the encroachments of communism in Asia. It is hard to accept a position so

humiliating and hypocritical when we speak of the "take-off" stage round the corner. At Calcutta Professor Galbraith said that "India had reached an advanced state of development when she should use capital in quantity effectively but he cautioned against indiscriminate borrowings from abroad". He spoke as an economist without any jealous regard of offers from Soviet Russia and communist countries that stake trade-interests in India, since he summed up his thesis in the statement that "borrowing should not become a substitute for earnings".

Mr. H. V. R. Iengar, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, has struck a note of alarm pointing out that our credit-balance in respect of foreign exchange has reached the lowest level on record and that, if we do not buck up and increase our export receipts, India is bound to be in the doldrums even before the Third Plan, still in flux, starts operation, in nervous dependence on foreign aid. Ambassador Galbraith wonders if improvement in our social conditions does not call for priority of attention so that our borrowing technology could be in consonance with the degree of education among the labouring classes at large, to ensure higher productivity. Probably the spread of more schools and efficient teaching without fads in vocational bias might prepare us for longer strides. Mr. Iengar tells us how changes in the British economy, like entry into the Common Market, curbs on credit and increase in the bank rate, might prejudice Indian exports and cripple our capacity to repay foreign advances. It is a strong indication that we are trusting crutches too much, when we ought to aim at economic solvency and steer clear of "glamour-performances". The danger of drift was apparent in a speech delivered in London by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, the main-spring of Planning in India.

The distinguished Indian economist in his London lecture (July

business of the company or to the welfare of its employees, from time to time, in any financial year up to a total amount of Rs. 20 lakhs or 5% of the average nett profits of the company, whichever is greater notwithstanding the limitation laid down in section 293 (1) (e) of the Companies Act, 1956, provided, however, contributions to any political party or for any political purpose will be subject to the restrictions in section 293A of the Companies Act, 1956."

By Order of the Board,
Per Pro Birla Brothers Private Ltd.,
G. Makharia,
India Exchange,
4, India Exchange Place,
Calcutta, the 8th June, 1961.

—Advertisement in newspapers.

* HINDUSTAN MOTORS LIMITED

Notice is hereby given that the Nineteenth Annual General Meeting of the Shareholders of the Hindustan Motors Ltd., will be held at 8, India Exchange Place, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 25th July, 1961, at 3-30 p.m. for the following purposes:—

To consider and, if thought fit, to pass, with or without modification, the following Resolution:

As Ordinary Resolution:

"Resolved that the Board of Directors be and they are hereby authorised to contribute and/or subscribe to any institution, organisation or fund for any charitable or other purposes not directly relating to the

15) said that India would require 20,000 million dollars as foreign aid to sustain her till the end of the fourth Five year Plan. In terms of *per capita* grants and loans by foreign countries it would approximately amount to £ 10 per head of the population. He admitted that "Indian Planning could have been wiser" but he, cool as cucumber, remarked that "a little bit of competition among developed countries was quite a good thing to induce them to help developing countries". In other words, let the two Power blocs enter into a frenzied mood of rivalry in offering aid; but he gives inadequate weight to the effects of a large number of consortiums installed within the frame-work of India's economic progress. A week before the learned Professor tabled his requisition for 20,000 million dollars, India's representatives in the International Labour Office at Geneva gave an analysis of the future, and uttered the gloomy prediction that, in the interregnum between the third and the fourth Five Year Plans, they estimated that there would be 10 million unemployed people in India, white-collared mostly. Unless planning is so designed and the tempo controlled to meet their absorption

into different vocations as a natural process, we shall be heading for a crisis the like of which we are not inclined to envisage even in talks about population-explosion, despite assiduous campaigns of birth-control.

The controversy about the Sugar Pact between the Pakistan Government and the State Trading Corporation has taken on a recriminatory turn with mutual accusations of backing out from a commitment. The whole question of sugar consignments seems irrational. Out of a surplus of a million odd tons of sugar, India has undertaken to ship large quantities to the United States at a net loss, when the confectionary-candy trade, fruit-preservatives and allied enterprise for internal consumption could be developed for the betterment of domestic standards of living. Whilst we export sugar at a loss to replenish American supplies, let us remember that the Eisenhower Administration had cut off imports from Cuba by way of turning the political screws on Fidel Castro. Now it is announced after the Indo-Pakistan rupture over sugar that Pakistan has contracted with Cuba for large shipments of sugar at a cheaper rate. This triangular

To be released shortly

SATYAM EVA JAYATE

Rajaji's articles in SWARAJYA and other journals on various topics written in the years 1956-61 will be published in book form under the above title in two volumes. The first volume will be released on 15th August. The second volume will be ready within a month thereafter. Each volume about 550 pages. Cloth gilt. Price Rs. 6 each volume. Published by Bharathan Publications, Kalki Buildings, Madras-10.

If sent by post, the charges will be Rs. 1.50 extra per volume. KALKI and SWARAJYA agents at Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Nagpur, Poona and Hyderabad will sell copies free of postage.

involvement must appear to be a matter of bewildering economics, but we suppose shipping interests will not grudge the irrationality of it all, India's political sympathy for Cuba unaffected.

During his brief visit to Bangalore, Mr. Lobo Prabhu gave a lucid exposition of the Swatantra Party's mission and described the electioneering tactics adopted by the Congress to obtain a reactionary verdict. By sedulous propaganda the term 'reactionary' has been foisted on the Swatantra Party, but Mr. Lobo Prabhu made it clear that it is the methods of the Congress Party that are reactionary and unethical. The members of the Swatantra Party, he proved, are the "real socialists" whereas the Congress in spite of its masthead 'socialistic pattern', are crypto-communists masquerading under the tattered cloak of socialism. When Gandhiji spoke of the "socialism of my conception" he had in mind purity of service and extension of the principles of trust and individual initiative. What the Congress has promoted is camouflaged doctrine of communistic purpose, despite the feint of indignant opposition to Marxist comrades.

Restricted acreage for farming and the rule of 'land for the tiller'

JUST OUT

BHAVAN JOURNAL

ANNUAL NUMBER

A BUMPER ISSUE WITH MANY INTERESTING AND INFORMATIVE SPECIAL FEATURES, ARTICLES, COLOUR PLATES Etc.

Price 50 nP. per copy

(by post: 25 nP. extra)

Available Everywhere

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN - BOMBAY-7

are being revived on the authority of Acharya Vinoba Bhave as essential for social justice. The proposition is also quoted as a factor conditioning the success of co-operative farming. The advice is as plausible as his message of redemption for dacoits who are to be weaned away from their evil ways into honest livelihood, in spite of the protest of the Police in Madhya Pradesh that the formula does not help them in their daily duty of restraining robberies in Chambal Valley. On the question of land distribution, the Acharya's *Bhoomi Dan Yagna* movement is bound to have grave repercussions, dislocating the routine of efficient cultivation. Two years ago when the Acharya, described as a 'Gandhian economist', preached in Madhya Pradesh, Mr. R. K. Patil, a politician with practical experience, gave his opinion as follows:

"Acharya Vinobaji's approach to the land problem today is that all

who desire to cultivate land should be allotted an area sufficient to enable him to obtain a bare living. This area has been generally fixed at five acres of dry land and one acre of wet land. This is not an area sufficient to be cultivated by even a pair of bullocks and the holding is, therefore, uneconomic. The consequences of uneconomic holdings are that holders cannot continue on them for any length of time and are unable to find capital for land development. The standard of cultivation, therefore, remains poor and undeveloped."

In effect, slogans like 'land for the tiller' or 'The Sea for the Sailors' or 'The Air for the Aeronaut', are deceptive catchwords. In the task of reconstruction, far-seeing economists have to grapple with the menace of fragmentation. The law of succession divides the land equally amongst the male survivors of a Hindu father, and amongst a larger number of heirs in the case of Muslims, Christians and other minorities. Short of compulsory acquisition of land and collectivization under a regimented economy, what is regarded as a voluntary movement of Utopian scope becomes a self-stultifying hoax.

The rally of youth was one of Hitler's devices to promote dictatorship and neutralise the democratic experiment after the Treaty of Versailles; and largely because of the susceptibility of youth to respond to 'clarion calls', he won the allegiance of youth with the excitement of emotional integration which resulted in the slogan:

"Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Fuehrer." (One Country, One people, One Leader.)

This play on juvenile psychology culminated in the dramatic cry "Heil Hitler"! According to the Congress programme of the electioneering season, it was announced in July that the Youth Congress movement is ready with the offer of one-hundred-thousand volunteers to work as canvassers. Subsequent to the announcement, the programme is to be developed at a Youth Rally to be held on August 9 on the Ram Leela

Grounds when Prime Minister Nehru will address a huge assembly of young men and young women. August 9 has been fixed as Youth Congress Day. Besides an address by Mr. Nehru, there is the feature that Mrs. Indira Gandhi "will inaugurate the Rally." Once New Delhi sets the pace, the move is bound to be copied in all States, not only because Congress leaders want such aid but because of the ardour of youth not to be left behind when great events are on the gale. Apart from the mobilisation of funds on a fantastic scale by the ruling party, there is thus the prospect of youth being, at the cost of academic discipline, enlisted into service for the support of ticket-holders selected by the Congress High Command under the direction of the Prime Minister, who is not even a member of the Working Committee but a mere invitee. The imbalance in the contest is obvious, but then it is only additional evidence of the zeal for the perpetuation of power without scruples of fair-play. P. J.

Monopolism by Public Sector

The President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay said in an address at a general meeting of the Chamber:

"Instead of there being any danger of cartels and monopolies in the private sector, it is the development of the public sector that is disturbing. The proposed changes in the memorandum of association of the State Trading Corporation will actually result in a mammoth organisation with enormous monopolistic powers. Instead of realising the objective—a 'socialistic' order—it (the S.T.C.) has created problems of a far greater magnitude arising out of concentration of economic power in political and bureaucratic hands, which in reality will mean a serious curtailment of democracy. Planners should seriously ponder over the danger of setting up vast bureaucratic organisations with large accretions of power."

CALL TO RETIRED OFFICIALS

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The Government pays pensions to retired officials. The question does not occur to them if they have to do anything in return. If they have served their country on their pay, should they not serve democracy, on their pensions? The rules do not bar them from joining any political party or serving in a political office. Even from the start, the Congress itself felt compelled to enlist the services of retired officials like Gopalaswami Ayyangar, C. D. Deshmukh, V. T. Krishnamachari. If they have since left, and no others have been inducted, it is because the Congress has ceased to think less of the administration of the country and more of the success of the party.

There are many reasons why retired officials should have an important place in the politics of the country. In the first place, having served the people during their employment, they retain an impulse to do the same, in conditions of greater freedom for their convictions. It is not a question of opposing their political masters but of co-operating and correcting them for the greater good of the country. Secondly, officials possess experience both of people and procedures, which those only in politics are denied. Under the British, officials of the highest seniority became ministers, not only because they knew how to control the services but also because they knew the work better. While the legislatures gave them the political balance, they passed it to the services in a most practical way. This synthesis was so successful that they laid the full foundations of democracy, which have enabled the country to survive the mistakes made during the last fourteen years. Since there are retired officials from all departments, their presence in the legislatures and ministries will bring the knowledge and discipline, now conspicuously absent in those elected only on political grounds.

Thirdly, officials who have earned their pensions have proved their integrity and are too late to learn corruption and practise deceit. They have also no need for this, because their pensions assure them a livelihood, independent of politics. In a way, the pensions are a check on their misuse of position. In any case, the very respect that retired officials command, reflects their detachment to cheap gains.

Fourthly, officials can understand democracy, having been its agents. They would avoid what had frustrated them and support what made them give their best. Only the toad under the hoe knows how the hoe should be worked. The present inefficiency, indifference and corruption in the services, of which the public is only too painfully aware, can in a large part be traced to the uninformed and ununderstanding political direction from the top.

The people and the system of democracy have, therefore, everything to gain from retired officials, every one of them capable of playing his part at different levels. The question then is why they do not get elected. The fault is on both sides, more so on the side of the officials. The people tend to associate officials with what they have suffered from the administration, forgetting that the officials may have been helpless, and unwilling tools of it. Officials, on their part, tend to be smug, aloof, afraid of losing what they have. There would be a change in this attitude if more of them set examples of what they could in a democracy. Secondly, officials are afraid of the cost and trouble of elections, particularly as they have no intentions of reimbursing themselves by questionable means. If they followed the election rules strictly, their own expenditure cannot be much and that of their opponents may be restrained, for fear of being shown up as illegal

and corrupt. If they made this clear to the electorate, the support they will receive will be enhanced, the more their opponents spend against the rules. Even if they do not all stand for elections, they can give valuable support to the party which they join and influence it against the ambitions of careerists.

So far, only the Swatantra Party has attracted a few retired officials. In one way, this is a tribute to the party that not only it has broken class resistance but also that it has attracted the best qualified for politics. In another way, it is a disadvantage because the comparative affluence of officials is about the only ground on which it is accused of being a party of the rich. Financial competence is no bar to politics; on the other hand, since Plato wrote, those who have rendered the best service to the people had no need of political office for their livelihood.

A spokesman of the P. C. C. has disclosed that of the applicants for Congress tickets for the coming election, 60 per cent are townsmen engaged in business and trade, including 13 industrialists, 10 bus contractors, three bankers and two newspaper proprietors. Only 20 per cent have shown agriculture as their occupation. Most of them have joined the Congress in recent times. If the next government is not to serve vested interests even more than the present one, retired officials should come in the open to represent values which are fast being lost.

YOUR COUGH WILL GO QUICKLY

IF YOU TAKE PEPS THROAT AND CHEST TABLETS

Suck Peps and feel the healing vapours at work, easing the pain and helping to kill the germs of sore throat, bronchitis, cough or cold. PEPs give instant relief and dispel germs.

Contain no dangerous drugs May safely be given to children

QUICKLY RELIEVE BRONCHITIS, SORE THROAT, CATARRH, CONGESTION, COLDS and COUGHS

Sold by all medicine dealers

C. E. FULFORD (INDIA) PRIVATE LTD.

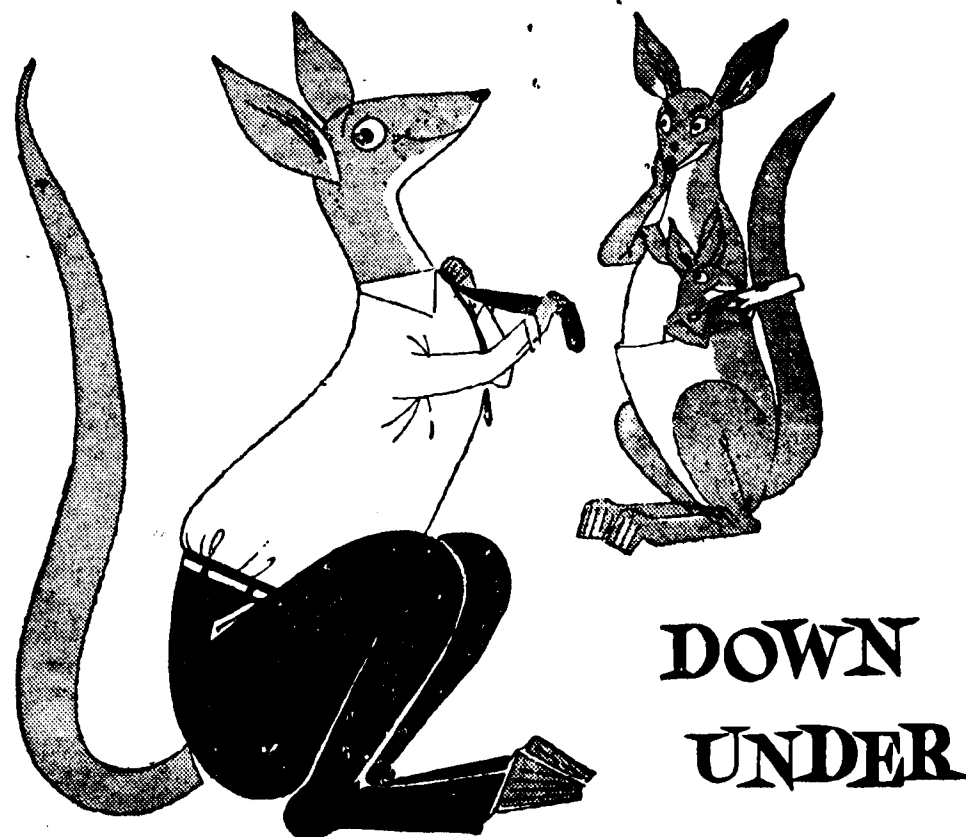
Sole Agents
Raffles & Co., 88, Malabar Street, Madras 2

PANDIT D. GOPALACHARIUS

JEEVAMRITHAM

FOR HEALTH & STRENGTH

AYURVEDASRAMAM (PRIVATE) LTD. MADRAS 17



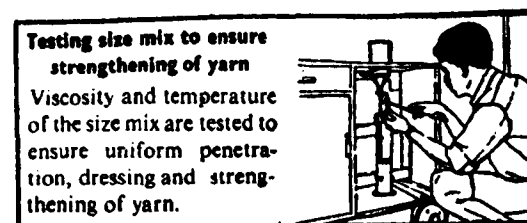
AUSTRALIA, the land of kangaroos and cricketers, is one of the 50 countries importing BINNY'S textiles.

BINNY'S fabrics are made from yarns spun only from cotton of the best quality and are 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.



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

BINNY - a great name in textiles

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 Suits • Tussore • Union Fabrics • Silk Sarees
etc. etc.

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

WT-BY-4-1267a

CAPITAL COMMENTS

MINISTERIAL POLITICS AND PERSONAL EQUATIONS

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The Capital is in a relaxed mood, thanks to the President's recovery and the prospect of his early return to the Rashtrapati Bhawan. There is, indeed, a tremendous relief all over the country that a nation's prayers to the Almighty have been heard and the life of "a great and a good man" has been saved. While much credit is unreservedly given to Dr. Sen and his colleagues for their expert handling of what was admittedly a difficult case, people in general have not failed to notice that a private nursing home was the best available for even the august President of India, while the State has been spending crores of rupees on its own hospitals and medical equipment. The moral is obvious.

The descent one morning of the Prime Minister on the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, with his own plans for its urgent re-organization, has taken Delhi by surprise, and not the least the Ministry concerned. A case is made out that the present requirements call for a separate Ministry of Foreign Trade and the proposal made, or the decision taken, that the Minister for Industry, Mr. Manubai Shah should take it over. Though he will also take with him a few public sector projects which still need his attention, his colleague, Mr. Nityanand Kanungo, till now Minister for Commerce, will take over the Department of Industry.

Not many are taken in by the official explanation that the need to step up exports is paramount and the man to do it is the able and energetic Mr. Shah. While this reasoning is unexceptionable, the reason itself is supposed to be partial. It is assumed that there is more in it than meets the eye. Otherwise, the plea of Mr. Shah and of even Mr. Reddy

that, with the general elections not far away, this is hardly the appropriate time for any such re-allocation of portfolios, would probably have received a better hearing, if not consideration.

There are no two opinions about Mr. Manubai Shah's high ability and unquestioned drive. He has however been, maybe more because of his ill-luck than fault, a target for criticism, in Parliament and outside, because of his so-called leanings. People talk now of some permits given to private firms—but it is not Gujarat or Saurashtra that is mentioned in this context but Kashmir. All this perhaps deserves to be dismissed as idle gossip as the Prime Minister wants him for the new Ministry of Foreign Trade. Maybe Mr. Kanungo is discovered as the right man for Industry at this stage, though he has not so far hit the headlines.

Perhaps it is in a way a tribute to Mr. Nehru's latest 'blue-eyed boy', Mr. Bijoyanand Patnaik, that in informed circles his hand is supposed to be somewhere behind the scenes in this proposed re-organization. Rapid industrialization has been his slogan for Orissa. He talked about it in Delhi with crusading zeal. He is not enamoured of the present direction at the Centre of the Government's industrial policy; at any rate, in so far as Orissa is concerned, none could give him a better helping hand or offer more effective collaboration than Mr. Kanungo. Rightly or wrongly, many here think that it was the unfailing Mr. Patnaik who impressed on the Prime Minister the need for re-allocation of portfolios in the Ministry of Industry and Commerce (alone). It is as good as done.

Whether there is something or not in this story which is current in Delhi, it is undeniable that the

saviour of Orissa has established himself as a man who not only has the ear of the Prime Minister, but can also carry the Prime Minister with him, in at least some of his grandiose schemes. Among Chief Ministers of States, Mr. Patnaik's star is now in the ascendant.

It is typical of the political climate in Delhi that there are some who read in the re-allocation of Industry and Commerce portfolios a simultaneous effort towards the deflation of what has come to be known as the Morarji group at the Centre. After all, whether one likes or not, or however much one may frown, there are groups in the Union Government as much as in the Congress—a Rightist group led by Mr. Morarji Desai and a Leftist one by Mr. Krishna Menon. The one at the Centre, if not the Centre itself, is within Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri's orbit. Over and above all these groups stands Mr. Nehru, moving them all as pawns, on a chess-board—and as incalculable as ever.

There is yet no disposition on his part to apply the same standards to two men or the same rule to two States. In Andhra Mr. Sanjivayya was asked not to talk in terms of ministerial expansion, within eight months of general elections. In Uttar Pradesh, Mr. C. B. Gupta could precisely do what was sternly rejected elsewhere. It is not Mr. Nehru's policy to prescribe the same sauce for all the Congress geese and ganders.

Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, who does not change his mind easily, is understood to have decided to complete his full term as Congress President, without hurrying back to Andhra, either to join his friends or smite his opponents on the eve of the elections. He would rather like election funds to be administered by a committee in each State than by any one individual. Whether he will be taken seriously this time will, of course, depend on the reactions of powerful individuals inside the Congress to the implications of his well-meant proposal.

THE BULGING (AND BUNGLING) BUREAUCRACY

By R. V. RAGHA RAO

It is amazing to reflect how all-pervading our bureaucracy has become in a short span of thirteen years of our Independence, one activity after another, one trade after another having passed into the purview of the bureaucrats. No other country outside the Iron Curtain can rival India in this respect. This transformation has been daringly brought about without even a mild protest from our representatives. Railways, insurance, road transport, civil aviation, and distribution of sugar, cement, chemicals, and petroleum products, and even books in some cases, have all passed into bureaucratic hands from private initiative and enterprise. Even this may be tolerated perhaps, but the avidity with which the authorities seek to take over the distribution trades of all kinds of commodities defies understanding. The scandalous way in which the State Trading Corporation has been making fabulous profits out of cement distribution, is a thing which no civilized country could put up with; yet praise is showered on the activities of this corporation in spite of the fact that in all its undertakings, whether it be jute, tea or manganese, the exports have fallen rather than increased!

The Union Minister for Industries has stated that it is the Government's policy to discourage monopolies and progressively reduce their share in any particular market. Yet the Government is creating its own giant monopolies, with powers hitherto undreamt of by any private monopoly!

We have the sad experience of the result of entrusting the distribution monopoly of nitrogenous fertilisers to

the co-operative societies and agricultural officials. Because of the non-availability of fertilizers elsewhere, a bag of ammonium sulphate, which normally costs Rs. 40, has been openly sold in Andhra Pradesh for Rs. 90; yet no action has been taken against this racketeering. It was the private companies which came to the rescue of ryots to tide over the crisis. But even in this field, the Government has now stepped in, controlling by allotment method the availability of nitrogen to the private firms. The result is that the ryot is no longer able to get either nitrogen or mixtures, unless he agrees to become a pawn in the political game played by high level Congress politicians in every village. The Government of India has wasted the entire First and Second Plan periods by not setting up a single nitrogenous fertiliser factory in addition to Sindri, but has imported crores worth of this product. As early as in 1955, the Burmah Shell Refineries Ltd., made an offer to the Government of India to set up a fertiliser plant near its refineries in Trombay. Owing to disagreement on a small detail, the Government of India rejected the offer. If the company had been allowed to set up a factory at that time, the country could have saved crores' worth of foreign exchange. Now, six years later, the Government has retraced its steps and allowed the private sector to set up nitrogenous fertiliser plants.

The oil industry is vital to the economy of the nation. Every Indian citizen is proud of the progress made by this country in exploring oil. But Sri Malaviya's adamant refusal to

allow the expansion of the capacity of private refineries even by another million tons, though they have made it clear that no foreign exchange will be utilised, is as inexplicable as it is inexcusable. The demand for oil at the end of the Third Plan is expected to jump to 1.42 million tons, on a conservative estimate. If all the refineries planned in the public sector commence production by 1965—which is most unlikely—we will be producing around 92 million tons. No provision has been made to fill up the gap. A legitimate request of an oil company for expansion of its existing capacity at less than half the cost of building a new refinery, is declined on ideological grounds.

Andhra Pradesh has enormous deposits of iron ore. For the last five years or so the Andhra Government has held up mining in the richest parts of the mining belt, refusing to accord mining license to all private parties, stating that its policy in regard to mining iron ore has not been decided. The Government has neither decided to enter the field itself, nor allowed private companies to mine these regions. So the State as well as the country is losing crores' worth of exportable iron ore which will earn valuable foreign exchange. A friend of the writer applied for the renewal of his Certificate of Approval (Mining) for the year 1959. After prolonged and needless correspondence, he was granted renewal valid for 1959, but it was *advised* to him only in May 1960!

The Andhra Pradesh Government has recently nationalized the publication of school text-books. Not being content with it, it has now gone one step further and entrusted the distribution of these books on a monopoly basis to Panchayat Samithis, with the result that boys and parents have to stand in queue before the distributors, while they could have bought them previously from any street-shop. No one objects to Government entering a trade if it feels that private business cannot meet the demand, or if they are making undue profits, but why should they do so on a monopoly basis?

Monopoly and bureaucratisation, the twin evils which we have fought against and professed to eliminate on the advent of Independence, are re-appearing in a more virulent form. The enormous growth of civil expenditure, the creation of giant monopolies with just one stroke of the pen, the concentration of power in the hands of a few bureaucrats, and the consequent confusion and corruption, should be ended forthwith, if this country is not to pass from one slavery into just another form of slavery.

Dear Reader

Twenty lakhs from Birlas' concern and in one lump is enough to demonstrate the falsehood of the claim of the Congress that it is still a 'Poor, Man's Party'. And this public resolution and gift will of course be a standard for levies on other concerns. For honest people the exposure is complete. Nothing but stern resolution by the nation can cope with this plan of the Congress to perpetuate its power and to disregard all decency in the process.

People must ask themselves the question, why does the Congress want to spend such huge amounts when it claims to possess the complete confidence of the nation? Does it doubt its own claim and, therefore, it needs all this money to obtain the national vote? Does any one think that such donations are not an investment? The cost of production will include all this investment for political favours. We can now see why we pay so much for what we buy.

'Heavy water' will be produced at Nangal and half of it will be surplus, to be sold abroad. The Atomic Energy Commission of India hopes to make a profitable business of this 'radio-active' industry. Of course this, like many other calculations, is liable to be upset by production and cost of production in other countries which will not sit idle watching Indian 'progress'.

A fighter aircraft HF24 was produced by HAL of Bangalore. The Defence Minister, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, and later the Prime Minister were all 'exhilarated' when they saw the craft go up. With whom are we going to clash and have some use for this HF24, and then when it meets with a casualty, what then? We are dead against arms races abroad and advocate serenity and peace, but we seem

to forget all doctrine when we come to our own conduct and become as innocent and excited as children supplied with a new toy.

Alongside of this HF24 exhilaration, is another achievement in the H. M. T. at Bangalore, the assemblage of 800 watches out of foreign parts all imported. There is some cause for exhilaration here. Assembling is the beginning. Let us hope the price of imported parts won't go up corresponding with our progress in this line. But then our Government can levy heavy duties on imported watches, making watches of all kinds, both foreign and indigenous, terribly costly for the consumer. Progress has its own vicious circle.

A reliable report from Delhi which has appeared in the press has given notice to the people of impending severe restrictions on internal consumption of all articles and an export drive to cope with the bankruptcy issuing out of indiscriminate borrowing of capital from abroad. A programme is being incubated for reducing cost of production, for, otherwise, whatever may be the velocity of the drive, the commodities will not sell abroad. We know the story of sugar. We cannot subsidise everything and remain solvent. Reduction of cost of production means essentially retrenchment and reduction of wages. No mention is made of the possibility of strikes in this connection. But we are definitely warned that increased restrictions on internal consumption of all industrial production means rise in prices and in black-marketing.

It is remarkable how the tobacco interests run a successful race in advertisement literature with the scientific men's verdict and warning against cigarettes. It looks as if the luke-warmness of the bulk of the scientists is at the root of this disgraceful rout. The

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

net result is that cancer wins, not the tobacco-kings nor science.

We have long articles now appearing in the world newspaper magazine sections, in which advantage and security of smoking only half the cigarette and throwing the rest away are lucidly explained. Thus the warning of science will, instead of reducing the sale of cigarettes lead to an increase. Those who wish to continue smoking but who are afraid of cancer will have to *double* their purchases out of respect for science.

The conclusion is that neither science nor commonsense, nor even finance, but only fashion and snobbery govern men's conduct. It is only if there is an *elite* in a nation who set a good and healthy example of abstinence, and thus it becomes the hall-mark of aristocracy, that men will try to rise in the ladder of status and abstain from evil things. Therefore it was that in old days in India the Brahmin caste, by their many and strict abstinences, spread good habits. The others copied them to rise in the scale of social status. But the Brahmins were displaced by the Western immigrant rules. These became the *elite* and the model for copying. After Independence, things are worse. Indians who dress, smoke, eat and drink, and speak with the accent and behave in the manner of the Western young men who occupy important commercial and technical positions in our developing economy—these are the present day Brahmins who set the fashion in all these respects. Successful Indian youths' ambition today is to smoke, talk, eat, drink, dress and behave like Western youth, never mind cancer, never mind the superiority of an abstinence culture.

C.R.

CONSTIPATION AND PILES

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

be made easier. Hadensa does just that. It brings prompt relief from pain and itching. With its continuous use, the piles shrink and complete relief is obtained. Hadensa, the well known German pile remedy contains no narcotics. It is nonstaining and is easy to use. A small plastic cannula with instruction for use is supplied in each package. If piles is your problem, Hadensa is the answer. Try Hadensa today. Now manufactured in India.

WHY WE BELIEVE IN CLASSICS

[This is the text of a broadcast talk recently given by Rajaji over the AIR, Madras].

Classics are literary works that have attained the highest standards of quality. They are generally old works which are thus classified. This is because recent works have not had time to pass the test—not that inspiration is no longer the source of the life-breath of modern authors.

Once a departed friend of mine and myself were going over the ruins of a very famous old temple. We were on the terrace, when I said to my friend that our ancients knew how to make such remarkably good cement as what we saw in that ruin and commented that it seemed skill of that kind had deteriorated these days. My friend came of an engineering family. He laughed at my observation and told me that old mortar was good because it was old, and that properly mixed modern mortar, too, would set and become as strong as the mortar in the old ruins, if we lived to see it after a century or two. The composition gets harder and harder as time passes, he explained, and so we admire very old buildings. Bad quality constructions disappear and do not come to view at all.

Something like this happens to literary works also. Writings of no value or of poor quality disappeared, specially under the conditions that prevailed in the

old days, when keeping books was difficult. Some writings have great immediate vogue, but soon find their level and disappear. But as the centuries pass, the best writings survive and show their great quality. These are classics.

The lives of people are shaped by such writings. Ideas of right and wrong are greatly shaped by what great writers and poets have written and sung. Our very measuring standards of literary merit are formed on the basis of such writings. So the classics become set as classics, as old mortar sets and shows marble-like hardness. Quality survives and the survival itself enhances its quality. My friend's exposition of good lime-mortar holds good for classic writings also. If Valmiki, Vyasa, Tulsidas, Kalidasa, Kamban, Shakespeare, Milton and the authorised version of the English Bible are classics, it is not only because they are of the highest quality but also because we have built our own minds, so to speak, out of those classics. There is nothing so good to nourish life as the material that has gone to build that life.

I therefore believe in classics. Not that we do not want new writings. But new writings are new writings and classics are a class apart. They sit guard over new writings, vigilantly watching quality. Classics give us perpetual intellectual pleasure re-uniting us with the great souls of the past;

when we read them, they occupy us to the exclusion of the present times, and give us serenity; they elevate our souls. They guard us against vanity, and all other evils. That is why the Sikhs worship the *Book*; why the Muslims revere the *Koran*. So also the Hindus do homage to the *Ramayana* on Saraswati Pooja Day and the Christians treat the family *Bible* as a precious inheritance. They are all the unbroken voice of God, the eternal Watchman and Friend.

Effects of Inflation

Inflation is due to an excess of paper money. It is only the government that could issue paper money; therefore, the government is solely responsible for the abnormal rise of prices. Even an intelligent person can easily be misled about the implications of price control, because the attempts at control give the impression that the government is averse to or condemns the rise of prices and tries to stop it by such controls. The impression given is that somebody else—not the government—is responsible for the abnormal rise of prices.

In furtherance of this... the government usually places the blame upon a specific class of society, selected as target. The target is generally the merchants, especially the retailers who deal directly with the public. These merchants are depicted by the government as men without conscience, whose main concern is to make profits at the expense of their fellow-citizens. They are stigmatized as 'profiteers'.

Throughout 40 centuries of human experience, price controls at their best have always been a miserable failure. At their worst, they have led to famine and disaster. History records at least 40 centuries of human experience with price control. Exchange control is a comparatively modern phenomenon. As in the case of price control, contemporary history confirms that there is not a single instance where exchange control has ever solved the consequences of inflation upon the external economy of a nation.

Price and exchange controls are remedies worse than the malady they are designed to cure. The error lies in mistaking the symptoms for the real cause of the disease, which is the policy of the government of spending beyond its means.

—Benedicto Padilla's speech to Philippine Legislature, 1958 (Courtesy, Freeman.)

LOANS ON EASY TERMS

"There was a time," old Kaspar said, "when loans on easy terms were all reserved for prudent folks or wisely managed firms.

But now a loan is guaranteed to any one who shows a need."

"It seems a very helpful change," said Little Wilhelmine.

"One bad effect," old Kaspar sighed, "was wholly unforeseen.

Inflated prices cost us more

Than interest burdens did before."

—H. P. B. JENKINS, Economist, Arkansas.
Courtesy—Freeman

IRRATIONALITY IN HUMAN AFFAIRS

By A. V. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR

Two problems are now on the headlines. Though they refer to two different countries they are in a way related and must be of anxious concern to all. One is the recrudescence of the anti-Negro trouble in a nasty form in Alabama in the U.S.A. The other is the threatened policy of the present rulers of India to ban communal parties that act politically, whatever this may mean.

A little reflection will show that human nature is an inseparable bundle of impulses good and bad, rational and irrational. It is childish to think that the primitive, unethical and animal content of human nature can be argued out of existence by advocates of reform, religion and morality or suppressed by violence. The irrational element in human nature seems to be a permanent heritage of man, to be reckoned with by rulers and philosophers.

Taking the American Negro question, it is an internal problem of the U.S.A., though its human and moral aspect has world-wide significance. In spite of the best efforts of very large sections of the people of that country and its great leaders, the problem is still alive in the States of the South, in some of them in an acute form. That this should be so in the midst of the surging democratic forces and the unheard of scientific and industrial advancement in a great country is rather odd and seems inexplicable. The highest court of the land has at last unequivocally upheld the rights of the Negroes and their equality with the white subjects, while the Federal Government has shown a commendable determination to uphold the Constitution, which has guaranteed equality to all citizens. But the solution through law courts and State action, though unavoidable and necessary during crises, constitutes only coercion, which never has succeeded in such cases in the long run and leaves behind only bitterness that sometimes aggravates the problem. The real need is a change of heart and outlook on the part of a majority of the Southern whites. The existence of mass prejudice in millions of white people must be deemed more a psychological phenomenon than a mere political problem to be solved by law.

The Negro problem has to be tackled, if at all, by methods that will touch the hearts of the Southern whites and

transform them though it may take a long time to be effective. That the Negro leaders themselves have taken to a form of peaceful satyagraha on the Gandhian model to assert their rights is a good sign. Only a truly religious and idealistic fervour on the part of the white believers in the Negro cause will have a chance of working the miracle.

The corresponding problem in India is that of untouchability and the depressed classes. This has undoubtedly been a serious blot on Hinduism. At the same time it may be stated that at no time in our history had the depressed classes been subjected to the unspeakably brutal mass violence in the shape of lynchings and other barbarous practices to which American Negroes had been victims until a few decades back. Thanks to the labours of Gandhiji and his disciples and other leaders the problem of the depressed classes, in its uglier aspects of untouchability has been effectively solved in most parts of the country. The unseemly manifestations of caste inequalities have also become a thing of the past, though caste hatred is sedulously cultivated by some fanatics in States like Madras.

Now the question raised is whether people belonging to a religion or community as such can organise themselves for participating in political life and safeguarding their rights. We have today organisations for almost all religions, religious sects and castes in the country functioning either actively or in a moribund condition, but liable to be revived at any time. Of late three more

factors, region, language and party, have come into active play. All organisations except parties profess no direct political aims, though they get themselves energised politically during times of election or crises. It is no use hiding the fact that at present the bulk of the people, excepting a microscopic minority of noble souls, have their loyalties towards their religion, caste, region and language in greater or less measure. Even in political parties all these loyalties come into play within their fold. In rare cases where these loyalties are displaced by complete loyalty to parties, the results are no better, because they are interested in fighting for power without scruples about means. Sir Arthur Keith says: "Our political parties are tribal organisations impelled by an implacable tribal mentality". Therefore to disapprove of or condemn the natural loyalties of citizens to their religion, caste, language and region on the part of politicians of the ruling party evidences only their double standards of morality, as they have consistently exploited such loyalties for gaining power and have evinced definitely communal leanings in State politics and administration, especially in the matter of manning and control of the services.

There is one fundamental fact that has been generally overlooked. The present state of communal politics and problems in most States have been the results of and reactions to the policies and administrative acts of the party in power. If it is scrupulously just to minorities on the basis of uniform principles and carries on honest and impartial administration, without showing favouritism of any kind, then communal tendencies may not raise their head.

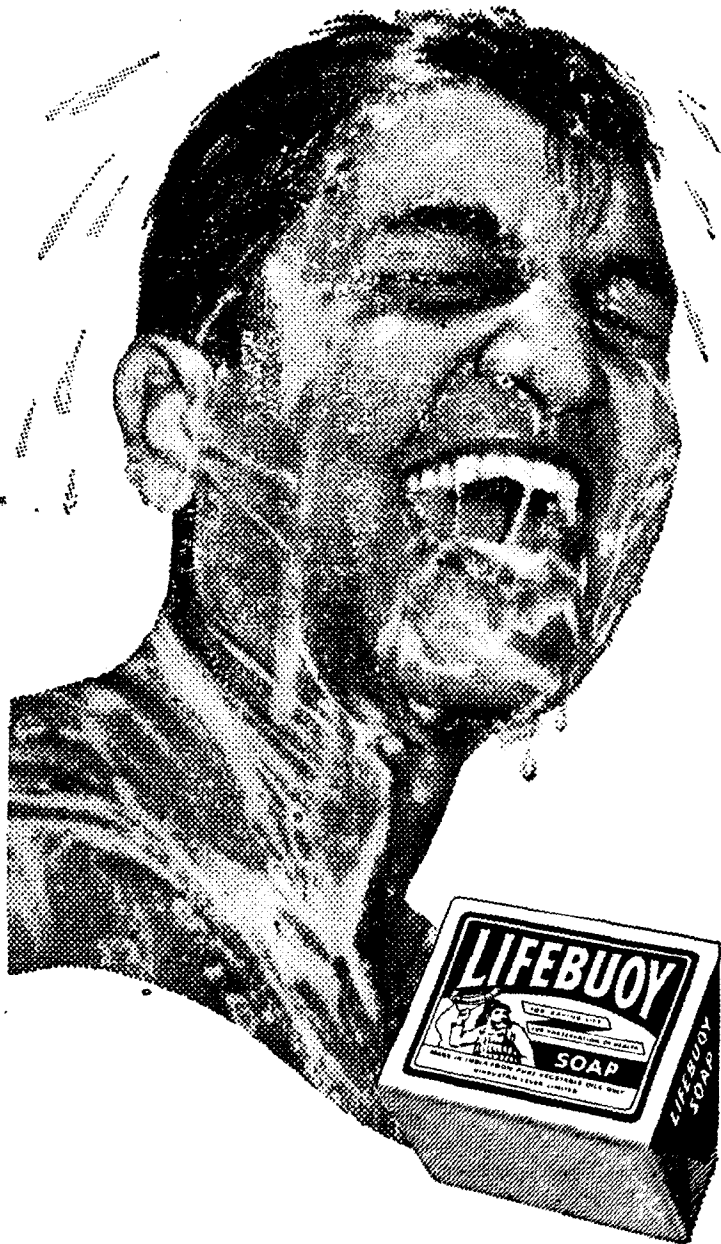
BOOK REVIEW

A JOURNALIST'S JOTTINGS

In this charming and delectable book of essays (most of them published originally in *The Hindu*) Mr. Govindarajan has touched on a variety of topics, ranging from impressions of the contemporary American scene to reflections on the nature of Indo-British relations. He has a keen and sensitive mind, a lucid and agreeable prose style and a gift for narrating his thrilling experience while recording a piece of conversation. The guide who

BRIEFLY NOTED: By S. A. Govindarajan, M. K. Press, Thanjavur, 1961, 64 Pages. Rs. 3.

led the author along the path taken by Paul Revere (immortalized by Longfellow) on his historic ride to Lexington drew on his fertile imagination to depict the prolonged suffering of Paul Revere in the wake of his capture; and the guide grinned when Mr. Govindarajan drew his attention to the words on the memorial which simply mentioned that Paul Revere was released by the British after a brief spell of captivity. This incident recalls to one's mind Herman Melville's attack on the Anglo-philos among the American men of letters and Longfellow's 'Kavanaugh'



It's fun, it's a joy — a bath with LIFEBUOY Soap!
What a lively, tingling feeling of freshness!
And that rich LIFEBUOY 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!

Where there's
LIFEBUOY
there's health!

2. 36-732

A HINDUSTAN LEVER PRODUCT

August 5, 1961

which had sparked off a controversy on "Nationalism in Literature".

Mr. Govindarajan has given us a revealing portrait of Dr. Oppenheimer, who has been aptly described as "A Gifted Scientist and Humanist". This remarkable scientist had joined the University of California since he was 'enchanted' by its collection of French poetical works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. And when the first atom bomb (or 'gadget' as it was then discreetly described) was exploded from the high scaffolding constructed by the Los Alamos Laboratories at Point Zero, an illuminating passage from the *Gita* ("If the radiance of a thousand suns were to burst into the sky, that would be like the splendour of the Mighty One") flashed across his mind. Indeed, the inner workings of his complex mind can be interpreted only in terms of Neils Bohr's "Principle of complementarity." And while Mr. Govindarajan has skillfully captured the atmosphere of the Presidential news conference and the dramatic session of the U. N. during the period of the Lebanon crisis, he has also revealed his sensibility in his description of "A Shakespeare Shrine" at Stratford in Connecticut. No less striking are his assessments of Winston Churchill, Abraham Lincoln, Dr. Samuel Johnson and Sir Hubert Wilkins whose name is ever associated with the Polar expedition; and some of his pieces on the umbrella and the *sari* are written in semi-humorous, informal vein.

In his perceptive review of "Twentieth Century Poetry", he has remarked that the inspiring content of Yeats's youthful poems can stand comparison with the best (including Yeats's later poetry) in contemporary literature. Yeats's remarkable virtuosity was certainly reflected through *The Celtic Twilight*. In the opinion of the reviewer, however, it was only in the solitude of "The Tower" at the top of "The Winding Stair" that Yeats was inspired by "A Vision" of Byzantium.

In his concluding piece, "Thoughts on August 15, 1959", Mr. Govindarajan has argued the case for a liberal interpretation of the history of Indo-British relations. He has emphasized that along with the great achievements of Dadhabhai Naoroji, Gokhale, Tilak, Gandhi, Rajaji, Nehru and Sardar Patel we should remember the contributions of several members of the British community like Hume, Wedderburn, Andrews and Arundale towards the Indian movement for freedom. What, however, impresses one most is the author's breadth of vision and cultured urbanity of outlook.

AIRA

August 5, 1961

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

INTEGRATION OF INDIA

Sir,—The Government of India is firm only when there is little or no opposition from the States but gives way on the least semblance of opposition. Of what use is all this talk about emotional integration, when every State desires to be self-contained?

Andhra wants to have coffee plantations and be self-sufficient in regard to coffee, when there is a surplus of it in India, and a slump in prices. The South desires to be self-contained in regard to sugar when an attempt is being made to export our surplus, even at a loss of crores of rupees. There is similarly dissatisfaction in respect of the location of industries. Every State is anxious to be self-contained in respect of every matter though common-sense and experience would suggest that the industries should be located with due regard to the availability of several items of raw material required for an enterprise and other facilities, and at economic rates. This policy of self-interest may no doubt secure advantages for certain States. In the nature of things all the States cannot enjoy equal advantages, say, in respect of coal or iron ores, bauxite or hydro-electric power, and so on. Is it wise to establish any particular industry in any State, merely to satisfy parochial interests, without due regard for other factors, including expense, which might throw a heavy burden on other shoulders?

The *Ekathvam* (integrated unity) of India is lost sight of in the States' squabbles about the distribution of the waters of the rivers flowing through them; again, there is so much passion generated over particular taluqs or bits of land being included or excluded for the sake of administrative convenience.

Similarly, provincial jealousies have raised their heads and are being en-

couraged in respect of the services. West Bengal does not want the Bihari and the Bihari reciprocates the sentiment, and both of them dislike a Southerner. The several State languages come in handy for fanning differences, the latest stunt being that the P.S.C. examinations may be conducted in English or Hindi, though without question it is calculated definitely to handicap the non-Hindi speaking people.

These issues require to be considered at the highest level and from a broad angle, if the integration of India, whatever the adjective qualifying it, is to be achieved in reality and not remain a distant dream.

K. V. IYER

DOES IT MAKE SENSE?

Sir,—Prime Minister Nehru is the most ardent champion of co-operative farming. The National Development Council is also reported to have decided, at its last meeting, that the ultimate aim of planning should be to eliminate individual ownership of land. If this is the firm policy of the Government, why does it create new ownership of land where none had existed? With its antipathy for individual ownership of land, the government should have placed all new land under co-operative farming. The West Bengal refugees are being resettled in Dandakaranya on new land which was not privately owned by anyone in the past. Why should not the refugees be asked to work that land as a co-operative farm? Instead, they are each being given three (or five) acres of land as individual holdings!

Similarly, the Tibetan refugees who are being settled in Periyapatna are also being given land for individual ownerships instead of being employed in a co-operative farm.

In the light of these facts, how can one believe that the Government is serious in its faith in co-operative farming? If the answer is that they want to 'hasten slowly', the caution should apply more in compelling land-owners into co-operative farming than in putting new land under co-operative farming.

If the Government went slow in this matter, it could judge more objectively how people react to co-operative farming, and whether it would really yield better results. Instead of doing this, the Government create a lot of uneasiness by declaring that a firm decision has been taken in favour of co-operative farming and that there will be 1000 co-

Late Khasa Subba Rau

The Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad, at its meeting held on June 26, placed on record its deep sense of grief and sorrow at the sad demise of Sri Khasa Subba Rau, a great litterateur and renowned journalist of India.

The Andhra Pradesh Congress Political Conference, held at Bhongir last month, had also passed a resolution touching the death of Sri Subba Rau.

operative farms within such a period, 10,000 within the next period, and that ultimately the whole country will be covered with co-operative farms. All this makes no sense.

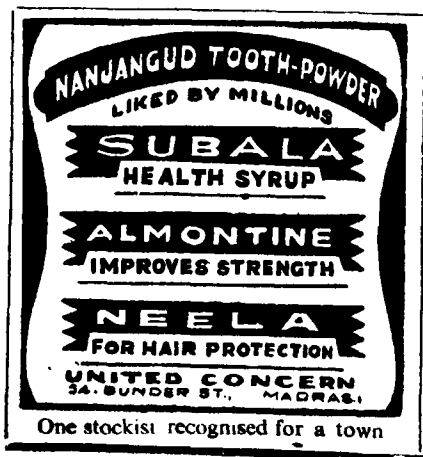
P. H. S. RAO

NON-AVAILABILITY OF TEXT-BOOKS

Sir,—All primary and secondary schools in Madras reopened by the middle of June and, after a scramble for admissions, the classes have settled down for regular lessons.

We are now at the end of July, but some text-books prescribed for different subjects are yet unavailable. Particularly, for the S.S.L.C. 10th standard, the text-book for Tamil could not be had, and it is said it was being re-printed. Hardly six months are now left for the selection examination which comes off in December next. The plight of the unfortunate students can well be imagined. What do the authorities care if their bunglings have brought about this state of affairs?

A PARENT



COMMUNIST CHINA TODAY

By Dr. S. CHANDRASEKHAR,

"A Perceptive and Penetrating Analysis"

200 pages Rs. 9/-

ASIA PUBLISHING HOUSE
AT ALL GOOD BOOK STORES



SANKAR BRAND'S
contribution to changing
sea front



The majestic and commanding
Reserve Bank Building, now
impressively adorning the sea front
of Madras has been built with
Sankar Brand Portland Cement.

**SANKAR
BRAND**
PORTLAND CEMENT

THE INDIA CEMENTS LIMITED

Factory: Sankarnagar Regd. Office: Madras-2

Sold and Distributed by: THE CEMENT MARKETING COMPANY OF INDIA LIMITED

ICT. 901

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 Rao**

Vol. VI. No. 6

MADRAS, AUGUST 12, 1961

Price 15 nP

903/361 THE PROUD MAN'S CONTUMELY

By POTHAN JOSEPH

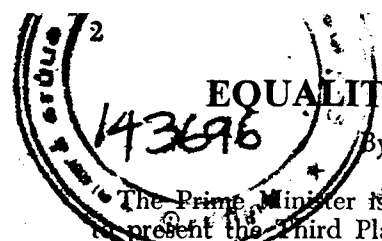
Speaking in scornful terms at non-Congress parties during his visit to Bangalore, the Prime Minister dismissed their claims to recognition and, incidentally, congratulated the Mysore Ministry about the absence of any substantial Opposition, which, according to him, would be an advantage in the official implementation of the Third Five Year Plan. He lashed in fury against the Swatantra Party, saying that it had no following and that, being 'reactionary,' it had no future 'whatever else may happen'. The Plan is still in the stage of 'draft outline' and even in the phase of blue-print calculation, it has been suddenly discovered that the capital resources are likely to run short of estimates by Rs. 900 crores. No deficit in cash-investment daunts the P.M. since he announced his intention to stick to, all the projects. He commended the duty of hard work and the cultivation of 'flaming' zeal to exceed the targets on the drawing board. His sneer at Swatantra came as the equivalent of a verbal grimace, little knowing that the epithet 'reactionary' was completely out of place except for his obsession that slap-dash ideas are mighty progressive. Swatantra is not merely a party but is a movement, and guess-work about the number of followers is hardly the criterion when those alarmed at the hazards of empiricism strictly avoid rabble-rousing rhetoric to rally a following.

When in the early thirties the Liberal Party, led by the late Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, exercised

constructive wisdom, depending on no cheers from the gallery, Mr. Jinnah indulged in jibes at it comparing the party to the Dutch army which, according to ancient jest, consisted of "all Generals and no Privates". The Quaid-e-Azam who knew the value of votes maintained that while the Liberals of the time displayed much practical sense, they could not "deliver the goods". Nevertheless, the Sapruites played a farseeing role in devoting themselves in their non-spectacular task. Among demagogic chroniclers of the time, it was taken that the Liberals just fumbled, being 'reactionaries', whereas agitational excitement had, on their reckoning, won the day. Anyone who had a nodding acquaintance with the pace of political advance in the country knows that the structure of our present Constitution was built round the Government of India Act 1935, and tentative improvements around that frame-work were suggested by these very 'reactionary' politicians who then lacked a following in the market-place. All the same the Liberal perspective had proved a masterly contribution which only an ungrateful posterity can belittle or superciliously describe as retrograde. In assessments of the past, those who had borne the burden of such reproach like the Liberals, are not likely to find a place in the biographies of national heroes sponsored by the Government of India and the Publications Division; but Gandhiji entertained profound respect for the opinion and leadership represented by

leaders who did not command "Ki-Jai" reception. The lack of following should not appal the leaders of the Swatantra movement, because its purpose is not to beguile credulous folk and capture office overnight; but they really are alarmed at speculative ventures at the cost of the people at large and also the drift towards national demoralisation with the current riot of permits, quotas, graft, legalised extortions, election-racketeering by the ruling party, and the distortion of democratic processes, in order to obtain perpetuity in clique-power. Vehement utterance of platitudes and campaigns of self-glorification have put some people on the alert.

Recently, Dr. Erhard, Vice-Chancellor of Germany and Minister of National Economy, published a book entitled *Prosperity Through Competition* which has just been translated into English (Asia Publishing House) and which tells us of the 'reactionary' ways by which the Federal Republic built her prosperity in ten years. Individual incentive and personal enterprise form the key to West Germany's recovery, whereas all the stunts of collectivization and regimented production in East Germany resulted at the same time in decline. Foreign visitors to West Germany are compelled to gasp when, after seeing marks of progress in the Federal Republic, they cross the check-post and have a look at the plight of relative penury produced by the pseudo-socialistic exertions of East Germany. Apart from diminution of individual freedom, the mere



EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY?

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The Prime Minister is expected to present the Third Plan to Parliament on the first day of the August session. While at Manali, he himself is reported to have drafted the introductory chapter, stressing on equality of opportunities as the basis of the Plan. Since a Plan of 900 pages (including its two predecessors) may not be read by many, it is necessary to examine precisely what equality of opportunities has been achieved so far, and is likely to be achieved under the Third Plan.

The scheduled classes and tribes are most deficient in equality of opportunities. The First Plan provided Rs. 32 crores, the Second Plan Rs. 91 crores and the Third Plan is providing Rs. 100 crores for backward classes. The programme for them has been the usual one of community projects, co-operative societies, scholarships, and hostel stipends. It is notorious that welfare projects have touched the scheduled classes least. In respect of education, not more than 5 per cent of the enrolment is of scheduled classes and tribes, while in respect of government employment, if menial posts are excluded, the proportion is less than 1 per cent.

Their overall economic position has deteriorated, as the Second Farm Labour Inquiry disclosed that daily wages have fallen from 104 nP to 88 nP. If the Prime Minister really wants equality of opportunity for this more than one-sixth of the population, is he prepared to alter the Third Plan to provide regular employment to it, at least at minimum wages? Only by diversion from State industries and gigantic dams, which he himself recently admitted had failed, public and private projects could be activated in the villages to provide full employment for them, as the beginning of equality of opportunity.

Secondly, the rural population as a whole has lost viability by land reforms which have conferred inalienability to those in possession. One-fifth of rural households which own no land and a quarter which hold less than an acre have no prospect of obtaining land. Economically, villages are discriminated because the ceiling on income of Rs. 3,600, and the blocking of outside investment which inalienability implies, have permanently condemned the villages to the economics of poverty. Side by side, the rates of interest have begun to soar.

THE PROUD MAN'S.....

scare of Khrushchov's threatened peace-treaty has driven as many as one thousand East Germans a day into avenues of escape to the West.

At Manali the Prime Minister was reported to have drafted the preface to the Third Five Year Plan, as he was not pleased with the introduction composed by the experts of the Planning Commission. It is a last-minute face-lift for a haggard debutante. He would do well to have a quieter week-end when he could study Dr. Erhard's work and other critical commentary on what he calls flexibility in pragmatic approach. In the daily experience of the people of India, the price of commodities has been steadily

rising by 6 per cent every year, despite blatherskite about 'holding the price line' and imaginatively increasing national output through co-operative ventures free from the 'reactionary' influence of incentive as a force in economics. The Swatantra movement stands for opposition to carbon-copy stunts which, in sum, comes at a mirage for attracting mass-votes. These chimerical schemes, egotistical predictions, insanitary politics and erratic contempt for those outside flunkie-coteries, and other features of transition, must liquidate themselves in the ordeals of experience. For the P.M., Swatantra is a mock-slogan, but there is a message of hope and liberty in the movement.

while the taxes both direct and indirect are adding to the erosion of income. Equality of opportunity has, therefore, been denied to 82 per cent of the population, for the sake of towns and gigantic projects.

In the services, merit is no longer the basis for appointment, while nepotism vitiates promotions. In committees and public bodies, which have inordinately increased, not even five per cent of the appointments have gone to those who do not belong to the ruling party.

In industry, competition is eliminated by licences in favour of State enterprises or existing enterprises. New entrants, who are few, have not only to satisfy officials but are practically screened on their services to the ruling party. In day to day working, discrimination persists in respect of the many controls maintained by government.

In trade, the licensing system favours an infinitesimally small number of monopolists with opportunities to raise prices in a closed market, not to speak of profiteering in the black market. The State Trading Corporation, which by itself is a big encroachment, adds favouritism in the appointment of its agents. Otherwise, all enterprises are subject to the numerous laws and controls, which by themselves and the way in which they are exercised, deny equality of opportunity.

Lastly, all self-employed persons earn less, the net output per head reported for agriculture being Rs. 500, small enterprises Rs. 800, professions Rs. 700, and domestic service Rs. 400 against Rs. 1,700 in factories, Rs. 1,600 in Railways, and Rs. 1,100 in government service. The policy of Statism of the Government is increasing the differences, subjecting self-employed persons also to endless inflation in prices, without compensation of dearness allowances.

The loss of equality of opportunities has arisen from the economic policy of the Congress Government. In fact, the so-called mixed economy is worse than

THE CHALLENGE WE MUST MEET

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Concentrated attention on the repayment of our foreign loans is the present slogan. And it is right. The cry is, however, worded commercially so as to avoid the evil smell of bankruptcy. It is concentration on the 'promotion of exports'. The hope is that we raise exports not only to keep the difficult current payments position going but also to save enough, to clear some day the Himalayan sum of borrowings from the West. Our exports to Asian countries do not help in this. We must undersell in Europe and America. We have been clearly warned to expect higher prices for all commodities for buyers in India—for all commodities, because one can't pay higher for certain commodities and sell one's things at the same old prices. It means a rise in all prices and also many, many more curbs and controls and prohibitions in the internal market which again necessarily involve scarcity and more extended black-marketing, as we have been authoritatively warned. Competition in the export market certainly means

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.... both communism and capitalism. The Twenty Year Plan, which the communists have just declared is stated to be based on the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need". While the needs of the people have never been considered, even the groups which have been favoured have not been made to contribute according to their ability. For capitalists, even the American Ambassador (who favours planning) has stated that consumption-needs in a democratic pattern were more important than competition in industry with advanced countries. Our Planning has proceeded not in the interests of the people but in the interests of the party. Everywhere there is evidence of frustration and it is sheer effrontery for the Prime Minister to speak of equality of opportunity.

selling at rates below the rising cost of production in India, which means fresh direct taxation and heavier indirect taxation. Let us remember that all finance is produced by the suffering people and not by the Finance Minister or the Congress Party, whatever may be the illusions created. The party issues pamphlets, thought to be cleverly written, defending the borrowing from abroad and the printing of money at Nasik. These modern imitators of good old Mohammed Bin Tughlak, the genius who printed leather money, these modern Tughlaks do not produce real money at their press. The shadow money that they pump into the economy are advances taken from enhanced prices of all articles in the Indian market, so that the common folk who buy what they need to carry on, so as to keep their children alive, pay the exact amount of the printed money and more through the prices they pay for everything: and prices are minted out of sweat and tears. Thus are our foreign loans to be repaid. Wishful planning not based on resources and proper credit founded on export potentiality as good businessmen would plan, but based on mere cold war conditions—this has led to this terrible result. The castles in the air ridiculed in the fables cost only a little physical jolt or dislocation when the dreamer wakes up; but the cloud castles our Government has been diligently building has cost a great deal of debt, with consequent real national misfortune and misery.

These castles in the air are not even well-built shadow castles, but are jerry-built. They are indeed a challenge to all of us, as the P.M. has said. He is sure it is going to be met by the people of India. Yes, they will meet it because they are helpless. They will pay through the nose for it. For until a man dies, there is blood in him that can be squeezed out directly and indirectly. It is

SATYAM EVA JAYATE

By

RAJAJI

Volume One Now on Sale

560 pages - Cloth Gilt

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.

This is a collection of Rajaji's articles in Swarajya and other journals on various topics from 1956 to 61 in two volumes

Price: Rs. 6/-

If sent by post Rs. 1.50 extra.
Second Volume will be released in October at the same price.

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

not the industrialists that pay taxes. It is the people who buy from the industrialists who pay both what the government takes from the industrialists and the businessmen, and what their greed and their fears of disfavour and oppression make them pay to the political party behind the Government. The ultimate cashier is the common man, who pays in blood and tears for all the other people's payments, by way of taxes and for so-called donations to party funds. To expect repayment of foreign loans by a supreme effort, at increased exports, is like a householder hoping to repay old family debts, when he is unable to meet even his own daily bills.

The challenge must be met—by voting against a party which has deceived and corrupted the people, and which has forgotten its duty to care for the welfare of the people, in its hunger for perpetuating itself in power.

CURRENT EVENTS ::

Mr. Kingsley Martin has been one of India's winter-guests who is keenly aware of the Prime Minister's sensitiveness over adverse remarks about India's planning success; in fact, all V.I.Ps from abroad visiting India seem briefed to speak in praise of the sense of giganticism magnifying his projects in the perspective of Asia, and Mr. Nehru for his part quotes the compliments of foreign observers in contrast with the criticism of his own countrymen about the cost of stupendous feats. It is bad form to speak in sympathy with the tax-payer who is bidden to tighten his belt. In a recent re-appraisal of India's 'big leap', Mr. Kingsley Martin asks whether "New Delhi would not have been wise to spend less on public works", his line of reasoning being based on the actual worth of prodigious performances.

The Ford Foundation reports reveal that the gap between population-growth and food-production is rapidly increasing. The community-projects into which so much idealistic effort has been poured, have failed to give the peasants that sense of participation in building a new India which is the only cure for the caste-system and the traditional village stagnation. The continued dominance of Nehru's personality disguises the political dangers; the corruption and internal dissen-

sions of the Congress Party, the threat of linguistic disintegration and the possibilities of army-rule and an ultimate communist inheritance are all matters which Indians talk about amongst themselves, but about which the West commonly maintains, a discreet silence.

As a high class modernist free from superstitious notions which are supposed to distort the vision of most of his countrymen, Mr. Nehru declared in his recent press conference that he was a 'pagan'. Mr. Khrushchov in his pavement speeches of last September in New York taunted President Eisenhower about his belief in God, and it would seem that there is an air of high scientific omniscience if scorn is poured on people who retain faith in the conception of a Creator and the moral governance of the universe. The notion that secularism, carried forward, matures in paganism (India is a mature country as Pandit Nehru is fond of saying) and exalts one in contrast with 'reactionaries', is pretty jejune. In its earliest use the term pertained to beliefs in the Roman Empire of idol-worshippers, particularly religious of polytheistic tendencies. The Declaration of Independence in American history has, in its Preamble, the clause about the des-

tiny of the country 'under God'. It is not of the essence of superb rationalism to speak in scorn of godliness, and indirectly suggest 'reactionary' tendencies amongst human beings who, without surrender of pure reason, refrain from boasts of paganism. Nevertheless such affirmations may be impressive amongst juveniles in the space-age. In true evolution there is no soaring merit in the denial of what might seem primitive amongst those who are content with deistic postulates, and who feel no elation in self-worship which is the core of paganism.

In his zest to step up exports and arrest the tide of danger, the Prime Minister proposes that the Union Minister of Industry should have an independent portfolio in care of Foreign Trade. Minister Shah recently held a conference of the Local Productivity Councils, (not to be confused with the N.P.C. which is an abbreviation for National Planning Council as well as National Productivity Council) told the whole lot of them at New Delhi that instead of functioning in the interests of productivity they were active in the interests of self-publicity. Forty-three semi-stipendiaries were present, and Mr. Shah asked them how their reports consisted of nothing but the pictures of office-bearers and the speeches they made during the previous twelve months. Except for the office-bearers who function at the cost of the tax-payer, the publications on the table could not be rated as an edifying form of literature. The Minister asked them to give in future an account of the productivity register through their agency, threatening them in the alternative with the creation of 'a special committee' in order to assess feet-dragging progress. From the scramble of political patronage underlying the agenda for busy-bodies, the probability is that the special committee would itself place on the table an album beginning with the photographs and speeches relating to the Conference of 1961.

For Service & Security....

PANDYAN BANK LTD.

Central Office: MADURAI

THE BANK THAT SERVICE BUILT

TO-DAY'S SAVINGS FOR TOMORROW'S NEEDS

Save with PANDYAN Where Most People Save
In PANDYAN You Have Additional Benefits

Contact the Nearest Branch

83 OFFICES SERVE THE PUBLIC

S. N. K. SUNDARAM
Managing Director

August 12, 1961

Far from the Prime Minister implementing his pledge that there shall be no extension of Hindi in non-Hindi speaking regions unless and until those areas, on their own request, favour Hindi for administration and education, there is a tendency towards covert imposition regardless of the lessons of linguistic tension in the country. On July 27 a fiat was issued by the Home Ministry. On the question of the universalisation of Hindi as the supreme language of India, the present Home Minister is as much adamant as his predecessors in the Home Office from Uttar Pradesh, who have learnt nothing from the frustrations and futilities of enforcement despite that enigmatic solution for Assam called the Shastri Formula. These sly decisions are not going to make for fairness and efficiency, not to mention the great fad of the hour, emotional integration. Nevertheless, the substance of the latest firman, departmentally contrived, should be assessed. All Central Government employees below the age of 45 have been asked to

learn Hindi within the next five years so that they can carry on their work in that language by the end of 1965. The Government has taken a series of steps to implement the Presidential Order on the progressive use of Hindi in addition to English for official purposes of the Union under Article 343(9) of the Constitution. The Government has decided to permit noting on files in Hindi as an experimental measure in selected sections of the Secretariat where the bulk of the staff has a working knowledge of Hindi. To start with, the use of Hindi for noting will be introduced on files dealing with Hindi correspondence. The use of Hindi will also be permitted for noting on files in local offices of the Central Government located in Hindi-speaking areas.

These steps are designed to ensure that by the end of 1961-62 all Hindi letters are replied to in Hindi and that by the end of 1963-64 Hindi is used in addition to English for correspondence with States which have adopted

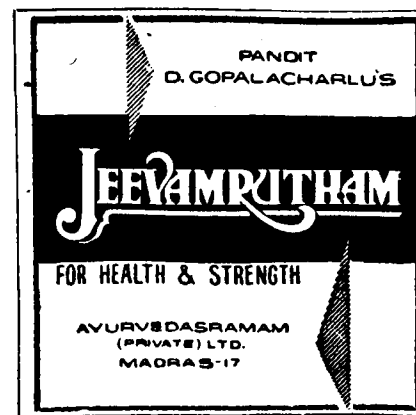
Hindi as their official language. Three other decisions taken by the Government are: publication of Government resolutions in Hindi also; use of Hindi in addition to English for headings of forms and registers; and publication from 1962-63 of parts of the Government of India Gazette in Hindi also.

This concession of five years, is going to be another shock-absorber in the process of harmony; indeed an aggravation of 'fissiparous' tendencies which integration specialists are expected to nullify through miraculous means underlying 'plan-mindedness'. In nursery stories there are fables about "Brer Rabbit" who is extra adept amongst small animals in professing indifference to intrigues in the farm-yard. At each pause, there is the parenthetical remark "Brer Rabbit lay low and said nuffin". As Prime Minister of India with a word to keep and peace to maintain, he cannot afford to play the role of Brer Rabbit, lying low and saying nuffin. P.J.



The
Nation's
Best

BENGAL ELECTRICALS CO.
MADRAS-17 — BANGALORE-3



Now on
Sale

ANNUAL NUMBER
August 6, 1961

CONTENTS

* Kulapathi's Letter No. 237: The Moral Fibre—Cinema: The Destroying Agent—The Cult of Sex and Crime * Para and Apari Vidyas: Sri Sankara Bagavatpada * Nature of Moksha: Sri Madhvacharya * Lord's Name: Bhakta Mira * Love of God: Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa * Begome Ye All Karma-Yogins! Sri Aurobindo * My Philosophy of Life: Mahatma Gandhi * Our Debt to Vyasa: H.H. Jagadguru Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi * Why God? H. H. Pope John XXIII * Symbology of Nataraja: Sri B. R. Rajam Iyer * Lessons of Somnath: Dr. Rajendra Prasad * The Aim of Religion: Dr. S. Radhakrishnan * National Unity: Sri Jawaharlal Nehru * Science, Philosophy and Religion: Sri C. Rajagopalachari * Appeal to Film Industry: Smt. Lilavati Munshi * Growth of Parliamentary Democracy in Britain: Earl Attlee * Leadership in War and Peace: Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery * The Ultimate Truth: Sri Panrimalai Swami * What Life Has Taught Me: Sri V. V. Giri * Ideas That Have Influenced Indian Life: Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar * Vedanta Desika: Sri M. V. Harihara Aiyar * Krishnavatara: Uddhava's Trials: Sri K. M. Munshi * The Religion of Zarathustra: Dr. C. Kunhan Raja * German Literature Today: Dr. F. W. Hellmann * Visual Illustrations of Indian Melodies: Prof. O. C. Gangoly * Classical Dances and Dance-dramas of India: Sri Mohan Khokar * Hydrotherapy: Dr. P. Raghubhai Shastri and other regular features

FRONT COVER: LORD VISHNU: inside four colour plates

Obtainable from all Newspaper Stalls and Railway Bookstalls

Price: 50 nP. per copy

Published by: BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, Chowpatty Road, Bombay-7.

MADRAS PANCHAYATS AND AUDIT

By A. S. KUPPUSWAMI

An audit note for 1960-61 on a village Panchayat functioning under Madras Act 10 of 1950 contains the following: "324 objections involving Rs. 14,108.55 are pending settlement for the period from 1951-52 to 1959-60. Some of the objections indicate defalcations of collections and misappropriation of Panchayat funds. The executive officers are presumably evading settlement of objections." In reference to 1960-61 the note states that "the exe-

cutive officers Sri — apart from indulging in squandermania, have completely neglected collection work. Not a single register was maintained properly." The note also contains other serious charges. This audit note is fairly indicative of the administrative level of quite a number of village Panchayats in the State.

Rule V of the Audit Rules under Act X/1950 empowers an auditor to disallow and surcharge illegal payments, and to

charge against the person concerned the loss to the Panchayat arising from misconduct or negligence. An appeal lies from the auditor's orders to either the Principal Civil Court or the Inspector of Panchayats at the option of the appellant. A simple order of the Minister concerned empowering the auditor to exercise the statutory powers under Rule V, will meet the needs of the situation. The rule is based on the wholesome principle of an independent quasi-judicial audit of public accounts as a guarantee for administrative rectitude and administrative justice. The auditor is the watch-dog of the public exchequer. A proper audit secures the Rule of Law in the sphere of public finance. It is both a test and guarantee for good administration. The Audit Rules should have given the normal audit power of disallowance and surcharge, etc., to all auditors, instead of depending on individual orders of the Government in respect of specified Panchayats. The rule suffers from a basic error in that respect. To make matters worse the Minister has slept over his duty under Rule V to issue an order empowering the concerned auditor to perform his legitimate audit function. Thus the Minister is constitutionally responsible for the big loss and maladministration of the Panchayat as disclosed by the audit report.

The Ministry's administrative blunder in reference to Panchayat audit does not stop here. The statutory Audit Rules under the new Madras Panchayats Act 35/1958 completely ignore the wholesome function of the auditor as already described. There is no counterpart in the new rules to the old Rule V mentioned earlier. The audit watch-dog of the new Panchayat exchequer cannot bite. It cannot even bark. The new auditor cannot even report to the Panchayat the loss, waste or misapplication of its funds or other property due to misconduct or negligence, with the names of the persons concerned, as the auditors under Rule III of the old Audit Rules under the Act 10/50 could do. Those who misuse Panchayat funds and other property under the new Act 35/58 need not have any fear of the auditor interrupting their work.

This is a grave danger to good Panchayat administration. Our infant democracy and our new masters, who are new to public administration, have to be duly educated by the political parties and all lovers of social health in the country. The need for an independent quasi-judicial audit of public accounts cannot be ignored except at our peril.

TWO EMINENT ECONOMISTS SAY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

I wish all men, voters and rulers and their disinterested admirers as well as their supporting licence and permit holders, pondered a little over what Professor John Kenneth Galbraith, U.S. Ambassador to India, recently said at a meeting in Calcutta. His advice and warning should carry some weight, even if what I have been writing and saying so much to the displeasure of my old comrades in the Congress should come to naught. The eminent Ambassador unequivocally expressed his adverse views about borrowing technology and capital from abroad and our trying to plant in our country the Western pattern of advanced industrialisation. Surely Prof. Galbraith is not a suborned witness for the Swatantra Party! Nor can his advice so seriously tendered be brushed aside as coming from an ill-informed or biased stranger.

"Borrowing is no substitute for earning by exports," he said. Arithmetical budget-makers working in the secretariats eager to help ministers with what they like are making just this mistake which Prof. Galbraith deprecates. "I venture to think," he said, "that any friend of India will view with some concern the rather uninspiring behaviour of Indian exports in the last five years." The genius of English idiom is under-statement. The American Ambassador could not properly use stronger language than this to point out the running error in the Plan policy.

Aid, however generous, Prof. Galbraith said, cannot be a substitute for the independence and self-confidence that actual achievement in production and export gives. National advance depends on this confidence. The psychology produced by unendingly begging for aid retards national advance.

Prof. Galbraith pointed out that much of the technology of the

West represents an accommodation to labour shortage or other special requirements of those countries. Professor Galbraith was clear in his opinion that these labour-saving technologies should not be taken over by countries whose resources are too scarce to be invested in costly equipment, and should be saved for other and immediately necessary purposes. On the other hand, India's labour resource is not in deficit but is bulging in unemployment, and on that background labour-saving devices have no meaning and are harmful. Surprisingly (or perhaps not surprisingly) the Professor agreed with so-called old-fashioned people in India, who still insist on the use of the potential of manual labour so abundantly available in preference to buying modern machinery from abroad devised to meet labour shortage in those countries. It is principally the exhibitionary complex and ambition to finish the execution of grand schemes quickly, and secure spectacular effects, that prompt importing of Western labour-and-time-saving equipment and technology, when traditional manual labour could do the same things, though it may take a great deal more of time. In this, our rulers are not inclined to copy or learn from the example of China. Tempted by a desire to see things completed "in one's own life-time" and to have opening ceremonies and publicity campaigns, costly technology is paid for and the nation is made to sign to enormous debts incurred on that account. If we could discharge the debts, that is, if we had capacity for earning enough by our exports to meet the obligations so incurred, one could understand the thing. But there is neither need for such extravagance nor hopes of discharging the debts involved. And worst result of all, our unemployment problems are only aggravated. Many institutions and services

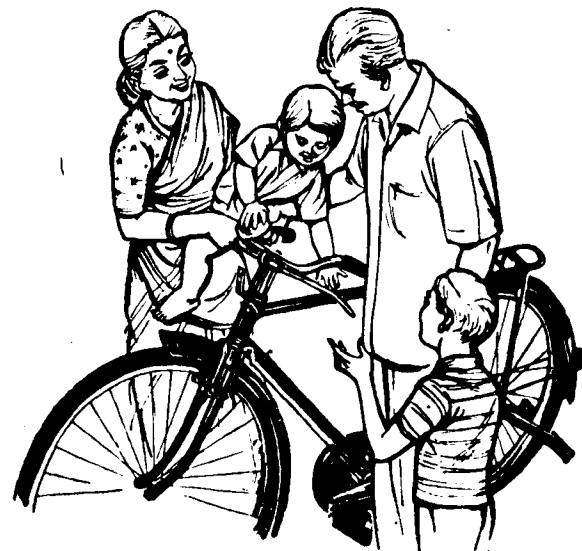
Articles published in SWARAJYA, unless specifically marked copy-right, may be reproduced in journals, in whole or in part, with or without acknowledgment.

which we seek to establish in India in imitation of Western countries, are "luxuries which developing nations can ill afford". (I have used Prof. Galbraith's own words.) The eminent American Ambassador has done valuable service in speaking out so frankly instead of indulging in the usual pleasant remarks about the Government's achievement which foreign visitors think it is their proper duty to make.

Another eminent statesman's remarks made at Istanbul in 1955 offers equally strong support to the Swatantra Party's position as to the inefficiency and evil results of government undertaking industries which private enterprise is prepared to take up. Mr. Eugene Black, Chairman of the World Bank, said in the course of that speech what needs no comment to show its appositeness to our affairs:

"And even in cases where a government may go so far as to start an industrial enterprise, I think every effort should be made to put the venture into the hands of private capital and private management as quickly as possible. For rare exceptions do not disprove the often illustrated rule that it is not in the nature of government to act with the flexibility or the attention to business considerations that is required of good industrial management. And —successful or not—so long as the enterprise stays in government hands, it does not stimulate the growth of similar enterprises, because private investors who could finance them are not willing to try to compete with government. The net result of these State ventures, more often than not, is to restrict the growth of production—or, in other words, to defeat the very purpose they seek."

Now you can buy many things you have always wanted, with the help of IOB Personal Loan Scheme



If YOU want to buy cycles, sewing machines, radios, electric fans, scooters, motor cycles, electric mptors, furniture, sanitary equipment, refrigerators, air conditioning plants, motor cars and professional equipment, contact any of our branches.

Write for a folder which gives full particulars of this scheme to your nearest IOB branch or to:

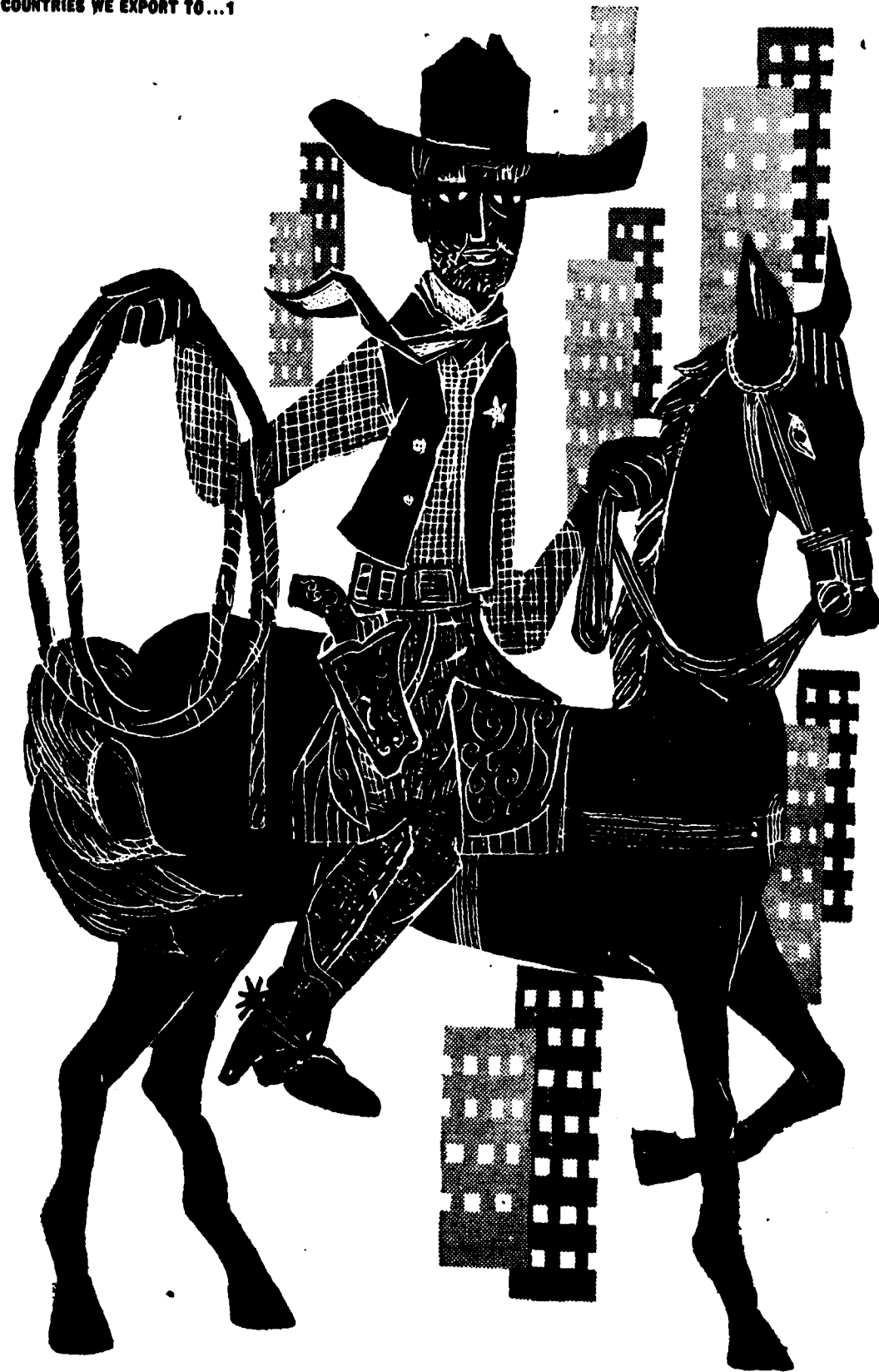


THE INDIAN OVERSEAS BANK LIMITED

Central Office, Madras

M. Ct. Muthiah, Chairman C. P. Doraikannu, General Manager

IWT-108-54 Rev.



THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA HAS FROM JANUARY TO JUNE 1961 PURCHASED 590000 PAIRS OF FOOTWEAR

FROM *Bata* INDIA

August 12, 1961

SWARAJYA

9

CAPITAL COMMENTS

POINTERS AND PORTENTS

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: In between the return of the President to the Rashtrapati Bhavan and of Members of Parliament to the Capital for the monsoon session, Delhi was deluged by the heaviest cloud-burst that any August had in 72 long years. The city could not simply stand it. Roads were sunk in knee-deep water; a few children were drowned; some houses were brought down to solid earth; several families were rendered homeless. Failure of electricity has become chronic in the city by now. It was no cheery picture for the seat of a government.

The Union Government has, however, got accustomed to the groans of the people on various counts. It would rather let them resign themselves to a "mood of apocalyptic fatalism". After all, the Planning Commission has put the signature to—and the seal on—the final draft of the Third Five Year Plan which the Prime Minister will have (by the time this appears in print) presented to the Lok Sabha. What more could be done to ensure our future, even if the present be bleak and trying?

All portents indicate that a crisis of atmosphere, if not a crisis itself, is developing, now that Master Tara Singh intends to carry out his threat of a fast-unto-death on the Punjabi Suba issue. Nobody seems to have been able to convince him of the un-wisdom of his step, nor has Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon succeeded in frightening him out of his wits by proclaiming his readiness to meet the challenge. The blanket order issued by the Punjab Government, on all newspapers in the State, banning publication of news or views, relating to or connected with Punjabi Suba or the fast in connection with it, or the language controversy or partition of the State,

seems to be indicative more of the panicky state of mind of the State Government than of its resoluteness.

Immediately, it will have two adverse effects on the administration. The Kairon Government will lose the sympathy of the press which is jealous of its freedom; it will also win more sympathy for the Akali leader. Surely this is not what the Punjab Maxwells are aiming at, in their zeal to suppress all news about Master Tara Singh and the Punjabi Suba issue.

Meanwhile, powerful mediators have appeared on the scene—the PSP Leader Mr. Asoka Mehta, the Sarvodaya leader, Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan and the Maharaja of Patiala. But there seems to be no prospect of any settlement nor of any easing of existing tension, because of Akali intransigence at one end and of Government's stiffness at the other. Both sides are getting prepared for a show-down, with

what consequences to normalcy in the Punjab, no one knows.

Whether Master Tara Singh will abandon his fast at some stage, as a result of any gesture from the Prime Minister which does not seem to be likely, or will eventually court martyrdom, there are bound to be, in either case, serious repercussions, not only on the general election in the State but on its inter-communal relations for a long time. If, by any chance or a miracle, no need will arise for the supreme sacrifice of his life by Master Tara Singh, there will be country-wide relief.

It is hardly surprising that M.P.s. have begun to feel the strain of political uncertainty in view of coming elections. Not all of them even know whether they will be given their party tickets and where exactly they have to do the nursing of their electorates.

Even the Speaker of the Lok Sabha whose seat should not be normally contested by any organised party, according to well-established conventions, is not over-sanguine of being set up as a

(Continued on page 15)

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 STREET, MADRAS-1

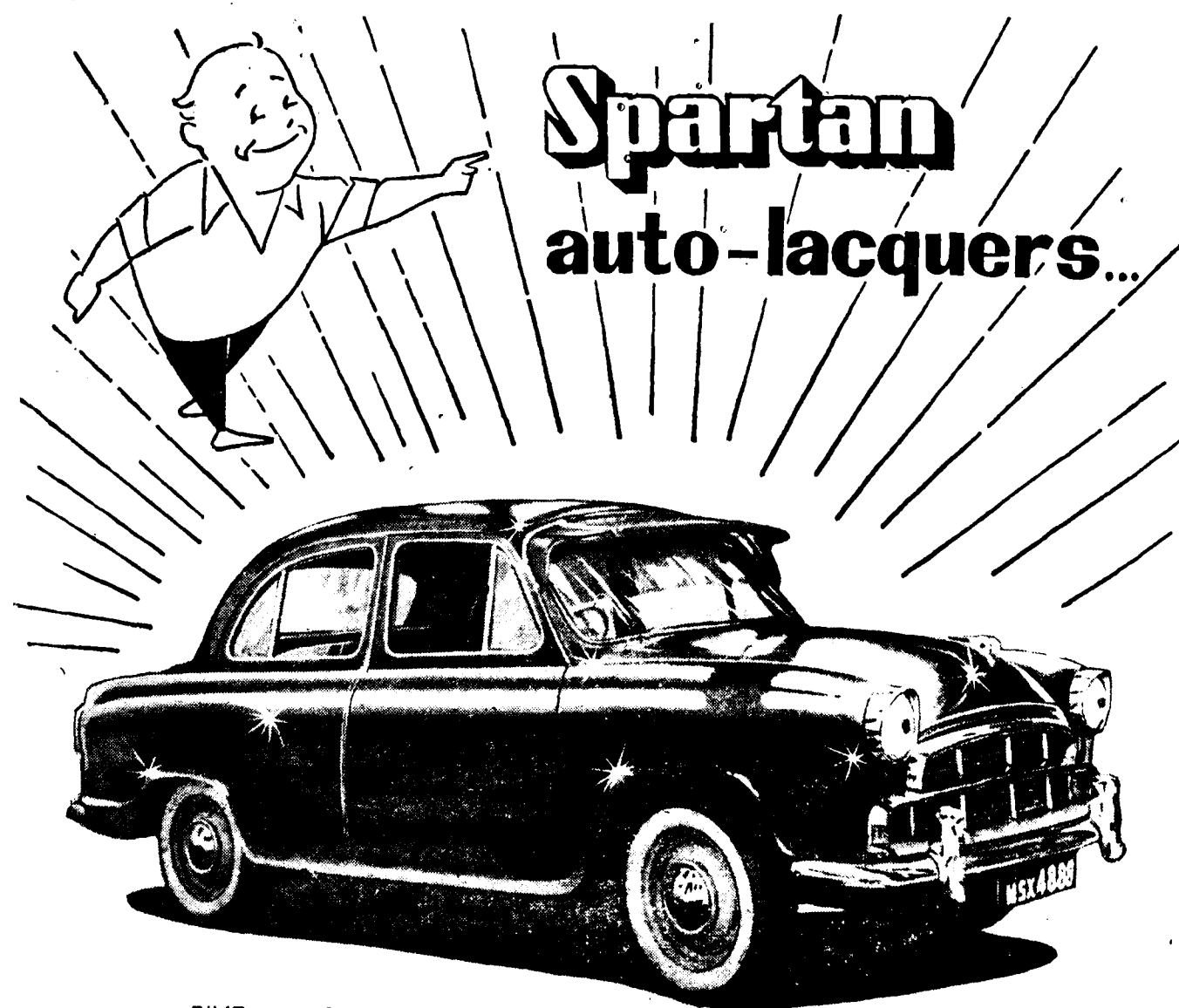
BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

Sir Homi Mody, K. B. E., (Chairman)
Cooverji Hormusji Bhabha Esq., (Vice Chairman)
Dharamsey Mulraj Khatau Esq.,
C. P. Wadia Esq.,
Chimanlal Bapalal Parikh Esq.,
Sir Jamshetjee Jeebhoy, Bart
Jaykrishna Harivallabhdas Esq.,
Shiavax Sorabji Khambatta Esq.,
Nani Ardeshir Palkhivala, Esq.,
Nityanand Mangesh Wagle, Esq.,

Fixed Deposits received for one to five years, at attractive rates, which may be ascertained from any of our offices.

SISTAS CB-16

N. K. KARANJIA, General Manager



...ensure FIVE star features:

- ★ Depth of shade
- ★ Ease of application
- ★ Extreme durability
- ★ Lasting shine
- ★ Uniform quality

First to manufacture in India and still first



ADDISONS PAINTS & CHEMICALS LTD.,
Sembiam, Madras-11.



APC-64-b

Dear Reader —

From among the enlightened friends of democracy *cum* freedom, Madras has lost two stalwarts. Professor T. K. Doraiswamy Aiyar was one of the earliest and staunchest promoters and advisers of the Swatantra Party, and never missed a meeting which his health could permit attending. He was a great friend of the Founder-Editor of the SWARAJYA. The movement has lost one of its ablest exponents. In Speaker Dr. U. Krishna Rau, too, I have lost a true and unfailing friend. He was one of the true-born and foremost congressman of the Southern region, who knew how to organize without resorting to dubious ways, and who was an able minister and parliamentarian, whom I put in office first in the Ministry for undivided Madras in 1952, and who fully justified my choice. He proved his worth as a Speaker, to which great position he was unanimously elected later. His and his good and able father the late Dr. U. Rama Rao's services to the national movement, during the worst days of British repression, can never be forgotten by the people of Madras so long as history is remembered.

These recent losses seriously affect the quality of our public life, when democracy has begun to forget its essential restrictive responsibilities and to assert only its sovereign power, straying away from the path of rectitude in order to generate power for cliques to perpetuate themselves in power.

Some friends and admirers of the late Mr. Khasa Subba Rau have instituted a Khasa Subba Rau Memorial Award at the Bombay College of Journalism, Bombay. This Award will be given every year to the student standing first in the paper on Principles of Journalism.

"Cold war approach must be eschewed; people's minds should

be directed towards co-operation," said Prime Minister Nehru to an international gathering of teachers. How many days before this—it was less than a week before, I believe—we saw an exhilarated Prime Minister looking up as HF-24 went up from HAL at Bangalore? One may not object to the assembling of a light, fast-flying supersonic or floating an aircraft carrier bought from Britain at an enormous cost. But why broadcast the 'exhilaration' over it? The appeal for dropping the cold war 'approach' and those shouts of exhilaration are not in tune with each other. They are contradictory in our ears and must sound funny in foreign ears. Let us remember that Asia is not all plain sailing for India, as once it had been. There is a busy fault finder on the other side of the ceasefire line who, too, now has the international ear, though much to our annoyance. Let us fight the cold war sensibly and earnestly but without exposing our weak and contradictory points. Or let us not give jejune advices. Let us wisely hold our tongues.

Before anyone condemns Master Tara Singh's demand for a Punjabi-speaking State on the ground that it would tend to disintegration, one should remember that Master Tara Singh has more than once said that he wants a linguistic State for Punjabi, because the Congress Government has given it to every other linguistic area in India. "Scrap the linguistic reorganisation everywhere, and I shall not ask for a Punjabi State," has been Tara Singh's insistence and challenge all along. This becomes very relevant in the serious study of the case for national integration that is now being proposed by the Prime Minister.

At the root of the present condition in India, which the Prime Minister has been deploring, just before the general elections, there

is no single factor so malignantly potent for mischief and disintegration as this theory of linguistic autonomy, and administration based on that theory. The Punjabi Suba and Master Tara Singh's fast would at once disappear from the scene if the linguistic distribution of States were seriously taken up for re-alignment as a first step towards national integration. The P. M. would be killing two birds with one shot.

In the ruling circles there is a lively consciousness now of having run the nation into debt rather freely. And so the talk now is 'export, export'. Export what? Export everything; tighten your belts! So a minister has been specially earmarked for exports. Some people think this is some palace intrigue for personal advancement. I do not think so. It is a gesture to satisfy the foreign economists who have been getting rather blunt these days about our borrowings and our poor export show. But the appointment of a full-time minister cannot produce commodities. Ministers can sermonise, regiment and harass; they cannot produce. But it is a good gesture for the time being to support a claim that Government is doing all it can to increase exports.

If the confusion and want of political education exhibited by a young doctor who came to me to give a small donation for the party were to be an index of the general understanding of my writing and talks, I must have lost whatever clarity of expression I possessed once. "I read all that you say in the SWARAJYA. I am convinced and alarmed at the prospect before us, as a result of Congress rule. But I do not see what one should do to remedy the situation. I am filled with fear but do not know what to do." Surely my message is clear enough: Make up your mind to cast your vote against this regime. Do not be misled by the false dilemma presented by Congress propagandists that if you do not vote for the

Congress, the communists will come in. The communists will not come in if you give your vote for the Swatantra Party. You can trust the Swatantra Party to undo all the mischief and take the country forward and without damage to the freedom of action that is necessary for individual initiative and exertion. Do not be frightened or hypnotised by money or power, deliberately exhibited in order to frighten you into obedience. Be brave. You *can* and *should* cast your vote as you think it right, you should not be frightened by what you think others may do. Do not act like the weak-willed slave of a mesmerist and vote as you are told others may do. The Congress is only as strong as you make it or allow it to become. Do not add to its strength by your vote.

Many eminent investigators of communist policies have warned us against the myth of communist China being a threat to Soviet Russia. The wishful story still continues to deceive men. Suzanne Labin has produced an English rendering of a French book of interviews recorded from Chinese refugees in Hong Kong, which not only covers much ground by way of revelation of real conditions in China but also points out how the communists exploit the fabrication of a conflict between China and Russia to gain political advantages and increase Western confusion. There are more than a million refugees from communist China in Hong Kong. The book disproves the notion that a visa to China or Russia is

all that is needed to understand what is going on there. The myth of the great success in Chinese agricultural production is now in no need of being disproved. The communist claim that, though the people may suffer today, they are at least better off than they were in the past, and that future generations will be much happier as a result, is the prototype of the Congress government's claim in India.

"In much of our present planning," says Prof. Galbraith, "we set targets for visible physical accomplishment. This is probably the easiest and certainly the smallest part of the task. Targets are equally practicable for managerial performance, labour productivity, costs and returns. It is of the greatest importance that a modern development plan be as complete in respect of these goals as any other." This is a general remark. But what he considers to be of major importance to which he gives the name of 'invisible' achievement is just what the government and semi-government concerns of our 'public sector' grievously and continuously fail to accomplish. Again, Professor Galbraith remarks, rather caustically and topically, "Cheap bicycles are more important than cheap automobiles. An inexpensive electric lighting system for the villages is better than a high-capacity system which calls for equipment the people cannot afford". Finally the eminent Professor said: "The distinction between a planned and unplanned economy has little meaning. The

economy of the U.S.A. which believed in free enterprise is 'planned' to a greater extent than that of India which is committed to a socialist pattern of society."

This must be terribly unpleasant in the ears of the powers that be in India. Here is an American gadfly that occasionally stings usefully, while paying the usual polite and sweet diplomatic congratulations.

It is gratifying to read that Mr. Frank Cousins of the Transport and General Workers' Union of England is again at it, and taking steps to push forward the policy of unilateral action in respect of eliminating nuclear weapons. It looked as if the British Labour Party had lost itself in ambiguities, and in effect giving up the struggle.

This movement against nuclear weapons being based on moral grounds cannot be given up for any reasons based on the argument that "the other fellow has it". This argument leads to a vicious circle that can never be cut and to world disaster sooner or later. The only solution for any malady which has taken the form of a malignant vicious circle is unilateral action. This is the undiscovered lesson of all human experience. It is not a minor or an individual welfare issue, but one that involves the welfare of all mankind and civilization; the only answer to the evil that menaces civilization being unilateral action. The mounting danger that threatens the world now calls for supreme courage even as Hitler's lunacy and evil power called for supreme courage twenty-two years ago. Today the courage called for is the courage for unilateral action. I hope there are some few in Britain and America who will lead their respective nations to this great form of courage which will as surely lead to victory in the moral field as Churchill's leadership in war did in the defence of liberty against Hitler. In spite of every seeming impossibility, unilateral action being the only remedy, it must be taken. There is no greater form of courage, no great-

August 12, 1961

August 12, 1961

SWARAJYA

13

er valour, no greater adventure in the pursuit of civilization and happiness, no nobler proof of manliness in the face of the present menace than to take unilateral action. The first step in it will bring about moral and spiritual results which will convince all doubters, and demonstrate that what seems impossible can by supreme courage be proved to be utterly practical.

This is not a parochial outburst, but only a piece of factual observation of some importance. Whenever you move in towns and cities in Madras and Kerala you see women, men, donkeys and carts carrying loads of clothes collected for washing such as you can see nowhere else in India. All this is good for civilization as well as for the textile trade, for much washing means more buying. The mill textile is eroding the ground from under the dear old handloom and still continuing its destructive process, but the weaver is manfully defending his position. The dhobi is his friend, for mill cloth can never stand the continuous washing which the handloom product can bear and people know it. The cottage weaver is here in the South able to stand the attack of the power looms because here men, and more particularly the women, have not lost all taste. The government could easily come to his aid but it has strangely refused to do it and covers its partiality for the wealthy mill-owners with a number of devices looking like aid to the handloom, but which go really to benefit the master-hands that manipulate what is called co-operation, leaving the individual self-dependent artisan in want and distress and debt. The powerful mill cloth threatens soon to envelop the handloom in its destroying flames, and those who realise the significance of the immense population depending on the handloom and only the handloom, and the greater reality of men and families relative to the meaninglessness of mere commodity, must soon accept the wise policy put in the mouth of Hanu-

man. Inadvertence is unwise in respect of a growing fire. Whether the weaving families realise it or not, whether they vote for the Swatantra Party or not, this party is pledged by its fundamental principle to support this large and ancient population with an unbroken record and tradition of self-dependence and hard work, who are spread all over this vast continent, in towns and villages, including Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and every other community, living an honest independent life, putting no kind of burden or strain on the State for carrying on their occupation.

There is a form of brinkmanship—which is no less brinkmanship because it is practised by so-called neutral nations. They carry every now and then a gesture of going over to one side or the other, and proceed almost up to the brink and thereby levy terms for 'aid' in alternation from both sides. This is not very decent practice. It is based on the principle of brinkmanship evolved by Dulles and creates a chronic distrust which hangs over to the detriment of international goodwill.

While the net profits of the Cement Industry and the Associated Cement Companies were going down, year after year, the Government of India was making high profits by State trading in cement, said Mr. N. Dandekar, Managing Director of the ACC in Bombay, at the public inquiry by the Tariff Commission into the question of the revision of cement prices. The Government has harvested a net profit of Rs. 13 crores in less than four years.

And the Government has made all this in addition to taxation without contributing in any way to the production of cement. Let us never forget all this profit the S.T.C. has made goes into the price the consumer pays for an almost essential element in the construction of even the lower middle class houses. State trading began with the promise of making things easier for the consu-

mers. People's memories are terribly short and rulers of democracy can with impunity commit greater crimes than any Maharaja or Sultan of ancient times could. Even public disapprobation becomes inarticulate, provided money is liberally spent by the party in power at general elections out of funds collected from its 'welfare State' victims. And so a particular party recruiting itself with power-hungry men, year after year, and generating for itself strength from the strength of the State, will go on reigning for ever. Wise men who love real democracy must say

na vardhamaano'gnirupekshitum kshamah

It is not wise to be indifferent about a growing fire. It will be beyond control later on. And yet some feed that fire with their own fuel.

C.R.

How Commonsense Succeeds

It is my firm conviction that we shall retain a free enterprise economy only for as long as the State protects freedom. If, on the other hand, free enterprise complains that that would be an unfair limitation of freedom by the State, then I can only reply that this is to misunderstand freedom, if in the name of freedom and with the dogma of freedom it is believed that freedom itself can be suppressed.

As there is in the State, that is in the political social structure, an order based on basic constitutional law which regulates the life of man and his relation with others, so there is for the economy. Here responsibilities are clearly divided. The businessman is responsible for his own business; there he can rightly demand that his activities should remain free from all State intervention, in fact, that he may enjoy and exercise real freedom of enterprise and freedom of manoeuvre. I am at the head of those supporting the businessman in this demand. But the State alone must carry responsibility for economic policy. We know where it leads to if these two functions are confused.

—From *Prosperity Through Competition* by Ludwig Erhard.



NATIONAL INTEGRATION

The following is the text of a statement issued by the Swatantra Party on August 1, at the conclusion of the two-day meet of its Parliament Sub-Committee at Madras:

"By a resolution of its General Council passed on July 30, 1960, the Swatantra Party drew the attention of the country to the fact that the policies initiated and persisted in by the Congress Party, in the face of opposition from outside as well as from saner elements within its own ranks, had resulted in a parochial and disintegrating tendency throughout the country, weakening the united strength of the people. The Swatantra Party also appealed to the people to reinforce its efforts in resisting this process of national disintegration.

"The warning so given remained unheeded by the party in power. The incidents in Cachar, the tension between Assam and Bengal, the recrudescence of communalism, the bid for new States and the growth of regional chauvinism, all indicate that under the present regime, and by reason of its policies, disintegration has been on the increase.

"It is generally forgotten, by those in power in most of the States, that India is a mixture of racial, religious and linguistic groups living in harmony and that national solidarity requires that the component States should do nothing to disturb this pattern but

should help the process of synthesis.

"Linguism, to which the Congress surrendered when the linguistic States were set up, was considered a transient and harmless phenomenon. However, it has emerged as an aggressive weapon and protective cover for the majority in power in a State to place all the minorities in the position of permanent aliens. Legislation, executive authority and State patronage are all brought into play to practise discrimination against minorities, thus creating problems affecting the peace and progress of the whole country.

"The linguistic majorities in the States are coming to look upon their respective States as their exclusive property to be defended against other States, leading to mutual distrust between State and State and State and the Centre.

"Each State government is trying to implement the policy of giving even higher education in the regional language and, in effect, denying unwilling minorities equal opportunities. In the result, national consciousness, which is a product of English education and the common struggle for freedom, rendered possible on account of the leadership of the English educated minority, is fast growing dim.

"Efforts to force out English from the higher administrative and judicial spheres, before Hindi is accepted as an all-India substitute, have been leading to antagonism between North and South. If this policy is persisted in, this feeling will grow more acute and cause further disintegration.

"Several universities in the country are switching over from English to the regional language as the medium of instruction. As a result, the psychological and social unity of educated men and women all over the country, which has rendered Indian na-

tionalism possible, is being undermined under pressure of regional linguism working for the dubious glory of the particular region.

"The State governments are further developing an insular outlook even in regard to economic development, aiming at self-sufficiency regardless of natural facilities and in complete indifference to waste. This is paving the way for autarchy which is likely to disrupt the country's economy as a whole.

"The time, therefore, has come to drive home in unmistakable terms the truth that the administrative, educational and economic advance of the country, whether left to the Centre or the State, is a national concern and that language is only one and not the sole or the most important element in this context.

"Communalism is another unfortunate malady which has come to the fore in recent months. The implications of a democratic system are that, while religious communities should be free to organize themselves for social and religious purposes, any attempt on their part to enter the field of politics through such organisations is fraught with grave danger. All realists must see that this will only preclude the members of those communities from the opportunity of being absorbed into the body politic as citizens of a free country.

"The situation in the country as a whole demands immediate rethinking on the part of everyone who desires to arrest the process of disintegration. The issue of national integration must be removed from the sphere of party politics and a national and non-party programme for integration, positive in its content, should be devised.

"At the same time, this issue should not be allowed to divert the attention of the people from vital economic and social issues and from the immediate task of opposing Statism, which is the greatest enemy of freedom."

Pointers and Portents

(Continued from page 9)

Congress candidate, on the distinct understanding that, in case of Congress victory at the polls, he will be its nominee again for the Chair. All that one knows is that the Congress President has asked him categorically to apply for a seat, if he wants one, and deposit the sum of Rs. 2,500, so that he may take his chance, presumably just like any other. He has since done it. It is almost certain that, in case the Congress 'bosses' are not thinking of him in terms of Speakership again, Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar will be invited to fill one of the gubernatorial thrones, his own mind having been prepared for the alternative.

Once again, Mr. Krishna Menon is inevitably in the news. It is still not certain where he will stand or which State he will honour by seeking representation from it. The Bombay North suburban constituency is his first preference while unluckily he is not its first choice. The mandal Congress committees of the constituency have put Mr. Indradan Oza, a former President of the District Congress Committee, above Mr. Krishna Menon—and incidentally created a problem for the Central Election Committee which has the last word on the subject of final selection of candidates. Delhi cannot overlook the stark fact that North Bombay has preferred localism to the high distinction of having as its representative in the Lok Sabha so outstanding a man as Mr. Krishna Menon who, apart from being in full charge of India's Defence, has the ready ear of the Prime Minister.

The Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee is reported to have offered the Calicut-Cannanore constituency to Mr. Krishna Menon: some other States may have done likewise, for these days, he is not without friends among the Chief Ministers of States. Yet, out of considerations of prestige and pique, he may,

with the blessings of the High Command, stick to the North Bombay constituency, in which case he may have to reckon with the former Union Finance Minister, Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh.

It will be, in all probability, a straight contest, with all the Leftists, apart from congressmen, backing Mr. Menon and the rest siding, Mr. Deshmukh. If Mr. Menon has the advantage of now being in power, Mr. Deshmukh has the distinction of having earlier resigned on the Bombay issue

and upheld the cause of Maharashtra.

The daily paper projected by the Congress under its President's inspiration, has alas, already shrunk to the modest dimensions of a weekly! Whether even that will after all come out or recede into the limbo of oblivion ere it has emerged, is now the question. There seems to be a strange fatality about Mr. Sanjiva Reddy's proposals. When decisions precede deliberations, destiny is apt to play its own tricks.

When the millions
celebrate
the 15th independence day

Co-optex which successfully
contributed to the first
and second five year plans
by producing its quota
of cloth, now looks
forward to the third
five year plan dedicating
itself to its two fold duties
to produce more cloth
in new fashions and styles
and to provide employment
to the millions of weavers.



Co-optex
HANDLOOM
FABRICS
for dress & furnishings

the madras state handloom weavers'
co-operative society limited
balasundaram buildings pantheon road egmore madras-8

HADENSA

FOR
Piles

AVAILABLE EVERYWHERE

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.

Founded by **Khasa Subba Rau**

Vol. VI. No. 7

MADRAS, AUGUST 19, 1961

Price 15 nP

WHAT IS IN STORE FOR US

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

964
3-61

Independence week again. Grim irony marks a coincidence of this year's Independence celebration with most serious blows and further threats to the freedom of the citizen. Wrong policies are growing wronger and wronger in frantic self-defence. As each year's flag-hoistings and parades are fanfaronaded, State-socialism and concentration of all power in the hands of officials, at all levels, grow in scope and virulence, thinning out the courage and sense of freedom in the citizen's soul to vanishing point. Happy are those builders of India's Freedom who have disappeared from the terrestrial scene and do not have to grieve.

The Third Plan has been presented to Parliament, and a fairly full summary has been furnished to the press. The papers carry the warning in a headline: "Extra taxes are inevitable". They could well have added another headline: "Controls of all kinds are inevitable". The objects stated make attractive reading but it is not "socialism, without regimentation", as claimed by its sponsors. This is an obvious impossibility, being a contradiction in terms.

No doubt the preface to the 770-page essay 'bears the Nehru imprint'. A close study will reveal the curious fact that there is nothing in the long summary to enable one to see how the benefits claimed for the socialistic dogma are planned to be achieved. Leaving aside the rhetoric and the vague promises of a happy India, the hand-out deals

only with how a huge amount of money is planned to be invested in public enterprises, and how it is hoped the money will be found. An amount of Rs. 11,600 crores has to be raised. Of this Rs. 1,200 crores will go to meet expenditure on staff and the like, while Rs. 200 crores will be set aside to help selected private enterprises. The assignment for investment in the public sector is Rs. 6,100 crores as against Rs. 4,100 crores envisaged for the private sector. We shall not go into the merits of the distribution of this 6,100 crores among the various items of the public sector. We are concerned with the inevitable taxation, and the inevitable regimentation of all private enterprise and the inevitable curbs on all consumption goods and on all services. Mr. Nehru's thesis is that the socialist pattern, which it is his mission to impose on India, will not involve the commonly conceived concomitant of suffocating regimentation. This is an impossible notion and, as a promise, it is bound to turn out to be a deception. It is as impossible to have the State socialism he has planned without suffocating regimentation as it is to spend money without earning it. We cannot eliminate the evils of regimentation from the socialistic pattern of Mr. Nehru, which is State socialism.

So also is it plain that we cannot push this Plan through, without murderous taxation. This taxation and its effects will defeat the Plan itself. For there will be

no adequate scope or incentive for private enterprise which is an integral part of the proposed Plan.

The crying need of the hour is reduction of taxation and greater scope for saving and for investment, with personal responsibility and incentive in private enterprise canalised, if so desired, by the State and its assumed wisdom. But what is being proposed is the maintenance of the present burden and addition of fresh taxes. All savings are to be rigorously and compulsorily mopped up to be put in the yawning mouth of the public sector, leaving but little incentive and little scope for private creative effort, and even that little scope is to be put under numerous curbs and restrictions with the inevitable result of private monopolies for a few favoured persons.

We know how efficient and frugal public management has proved to be! There is no ground for believing that any improvement will be effected in that direction. Thus, we may be sure that a good percentage of the mopped up resources will go down the drain.

A Himalayan plan of securing foreign aid is an integral part of the Plan. It is admitted that foreign assistance to the extent of Rs. 2,200 crores is necessary to make both ends of the Plan meet, over and above a modestly estimated deficit financing programme of Rs. 550 crores.

The plan for repayment of this foreign debt of Rs. 2,200 crores

is not indicated in any manner specifically, or even vaguely, although payment of interest (it may be assumed) will somehow be provided for in the annual budgets. These foreign loans cannot hang over the nation's head without ill effects. This single element is enough to vitiate the validity of the Plan, although constant repetition and familiarity have served to reduce the unpleasant feeling of bankruptcy and dependence.

The Plan makes it explicit that both direct and indirect taxes must be increased, in order to get it through. The minimum *additional* taxation envisaged in the Plan is Central taxation to the extent of Rs. 1,100 crores and the States', Rs. 610 crores. It may be fairly inferred that the greater part of this additional burden will be imposed through indirect taxation, for it is only in that way the Government can hope to make a big sum. Indirect taxes impinge on all the vast population poor as they are, but the law of multiplication gives importance to indirect taxes on commodities, from the Finance Minister's view-point.

Direct taxation reduces disposable incomes and indirect taxes reduce the quantum of goods and services that can be bought against spending. Both these, the Plan points out, will keep consumption down—which is what the Government wants, whatever privation and misery it may mean to the people.

Apart from any repayment question, the annual balance of payments demands an export of Rs. 3,700 crores during the period of the Plan or Rs. 740 crores per year over and above the external assistance annually relied on to the extent of Rs. 520 crores. The export drive calls for every kind of curb on internal consumption, which is sought to be exercised through reducing income by direct taxation and increasing the cost of commodities and services by indirect taxation. Controls and quotas, and curbs of all kinds must, therefore, be expected as the inevitable consequences of the Plan. The dependence on the

favour of officials at all levels is insufferable even now. The third Plan will make the position much worse. There is fair warning in the Plan of this most demoralising development. Corruption will assume *Visvaroopam*. Difficulties and annoyances, it may be taken for granted, are understated in the presentation of the Plan. But even the understatements are enough to make one realise what is in store for the people.

"Restraints on the growth of internal consumption are an essential condition of a successful export drive. Domestic consumption must be held within reasonable limits in order to increase export surpluses." What is a reasonable or unreasonable limit in each case will have to be decided by the officials concerned and the assistance of M.L.As. and M.Ps. will play a large part in this assessment of reasonableness. Again, we are warned, "the possibilities of significant and even disturbing price rise cannot be entirely eliminated"—a mild way of putting the certain consequences of the restraints and curbs that are, and will in increasing measure be, put in action. "In certain sectors," we are told, "physical allocations and direct control may become necessary."

We are told there will be a large measure of delegation of authority and flexibility of operation in respect of the public sector. This will be the new policy, in order to meet the unanswerable charges of inefficiency in the public sector. It is small comfort to know who exercises authority. In the issue between Central and delegated authority, what will certainly suffer is the sense of answerability. State management is bound to be marked by the well-known features of waste and neglect, whether the official at the spot is allowed to do it or he waits for orders from the Centre. Parliamentary control will be practically nil, and belated discoveries and confessions will not help the nation. The only solution for the problem of efficiency is the personal interest developed

in private enterprise and not delegation of authority. Official hunger for power may exhibit itself in suggestions for a greater measure of delegated authority. But the result will be greater corruption and irresponsibility, and Parliament which is the only possible forum for investigation will be unable to do anything for a variety of obvious reasons.

Enough is said in the Plan for shrewd labour leaders to expect cutting down of wages and new restraints on collective bargaining in all public sector units. But in that field, the Government has a powerful opponent to cope with, unlike in the case of the helpless consumer and taxpayer.

If all this bootless hurry, impossible promises, and contradictions are intended to prevent the people from being lured into communism, surely it would be more sensible and proper to expose the falsehood and the deception and the inevitable evils of communism, and educate the people against it than to indulge in parallel or identical impossibilities and deceptions and violations of freedom, and in grinding taxation and destruction of incentives, and a regime that generates widespread uncertainty and despair.

A daily paper has a leading article, bitterly criticising the Plan on its merits and its basis, but winds up despairingly, saying we cannot, however, allow the Plan to fail because all our economy is mortgaged to it, and it would mean a complete collapse of the national economy if we now allow it to prove its own invalidity. This is the predicament to which we are reduced by allowing totalitarian plans to be made by the ruling party, covering successive long periods totalling 15 years of national life and to commit the people and their economy to it. And now this Plan explicitly refers to a further chain of advance commitments by fourth and fifth plans leading up to 1976, almost touching the twenty-first century. These five-year or fifteen-year plans are by their huge and irrecoverable commitments in advance suited for

CHALLENGING HIMSELF

By POTHAN JOSEPH

With his genius for the dramatic the Prime Minister had before the opening of Parliament on August 7, held the ceremony of signing the finalised version of the Third Five Year Plan, a compilation reported to run upto 800 pages if the contents are going to be indexed for the convenience of foreign investors, the public sector and the private sector (now under the squeeze of the State Trading Corporation), and permit-racketeers. The function of Pandit Nehru signing the report was solemnly photographed (and published), with the Planning Minister Gulzarilal Nanda at the right hand and Finance Minister Morarji Desai, on the left. Usually when important signatures are affixed to documents, there is a clutter in the rear comprising secretaries, deputy secretaries and some non-entities, but it was obviously decided that, on a momentous occasion like defining our future for the next five years, a unique departure from

routine would be more impressive, with personalities who count in the Lens Light. After signing, Pandit Nehru announced that it was "a challenge", a challenge which "will be met". Bombastus Furioso once proclaimed a challenge in the following words after pulling off his boots:

*"Who dares this pair of
boots displace
Must meet Bombastus face
to face"—
Thus do I challenge all,
the human race.*

Who throws the challenge? Bombastus. Again who frames the challenge? Bombastus. In the inauguration of the Third Plan by signing it like a ritualistic observance at the week-end and in placing it on the table in Parliament on opening day, two personalities constituting One, hit the eye; Mr. Nehru figures, firstly, as the Chairman of the Planning Commission who submits the report to Pandit Nehru as Prime Minister of India, who in the capacity of the Leader of the House, produces it for approval and applause of the Lok Sabha, which the Chief Whip is in a position to guarantee after a few effervescent speeches in odd corners of the House. Once the resolution is adopted, the whole nation is committed to its implementation, with a flea left in the ear for any one who dare meet the Congress Prime Minister face to face.

The picture containing the Omnipotent Trio might have been drawn by a mediaeval Italian artist. Some of the Roman pictures recently clarified reveal on the canvas faces not apparent to the naked eye. In the classic portrayal of Mr. Nehru, Mr. Nanda and Morarji Bhai, there is a lot of vacant space above, where an artist developing the scene and the theme could place clouds of witnesses in the top-corners consisting of Cherubim and Seraphim, with angelic faces, blessing and trumpeting the epoch-making

event, namely, the publication of the Third Five Year Plan with preparations, invisible, far in the rear for the design of the Fourth Five Year Plan already mounted in a draft-frame.

The present compilation is one of those volumes that could be discussed without reading it, because we have had miscellaneous segments of the Plan in the periodical meetings of the National Planning Commission, professorial symposia, departmental seminars, and speculative forecasts about resources in relation to targetry. There is the financial target and again the physical target, but irrespective of ascertainable means, the authorities have clung to various projects and dubious clichés about flexibility of programmes and the pragmatic approach.

The planners' Bible, now deposited on the table, is said to be free from rigidity, and fortunately for us the Kennedy Administration has deviated from the past when Washington used to make foreign aid into provision for cramped yearly budgets; but now there is the prospect of offers spreading for years, enabling us as recipients to devise long-term ventures, string-free of course. Virtually it looks underwriting costs without infringement of India's sovereignty. The Prime Minister has been so resentful in the past of any suggestion that Indian planning is on an over-ambitious scale, a remark which in the unpoetic language of economists merely reflects anxiety about meeting deficits when capital is too small to cover multiple enterprise.

Thanks to the morass of hand-outs and multifarious literature available in New Delhi on future accomplishments, people have become so familiarised with new terminology that they could guess what is on without even an advance copy of the "challenge that must be met". There has been shuffles and re-shuffles of priorities which make for equivocal responsibilities as between the Centre and the States. In addition

(Continued on next page)

CURRENT EVENTS ::

If winter comes, can spring be far behind? If consortiums are welcomed as the fabric of national economy and productive enterprise, can condominiums be indefinitely stalled? In simpler language, a consortium means an international banking or financial combination which controls wealth-producing operations, whilst condominium represents joint-sovereignty over a country in the exercise of development. The Anglo-French Condominium over Egypt was devised for common security of vested interests. Cash-advances against the Khedive's signatures on paper called for consolidation. That is why nervous creditors, not content with annual dividends, drift to the precaution of receivership curbing the rake's progress. The Grand Moghul in India entered into various trading agreements with the British, the French, the Dutch and even the Portuguese, but rivalry among incipient rulers was keen; wars in Europe had their repercussions in India where foreign stakes had to be protected in divisive environments. The political sequel was the substi-

tution of the Charter of Queen Elizabeth I by Queen Victoria's reign.

In our forced marches towards the welfare State, we are getting indebted and involved in multiple fronts, even accommodation from little Denmark being 'hailed'. The consortium-principle in respect of big industries is being clamped on the economy, though it looks incongruous as a feature of the socialist pattern. Besides individual credit agreements with foreign countries, State by State, we have institutions and ventures fostered by joint-management, the consortium; but the manipulations of communistic aid are not proceeding hand in hand with the operators in mutual aid pacts represented by the other camp. Professor Mahalonobis chuckles that it would be a good thing if well-developed countries on tap indulge in rivalry doing us good and unburdening themselves of excess-possessions for the benefit of backward nations. Krushchov's challenge is: "Let us compete and see which system proves superior!" But the activities of

Power-blocs are bound to project themselves politically into the fate and future of beneficiaries and parasites. The wars of the Carnatic consisted of a reflex of European conflicts. A Berlin explosion may not turn out to be a local disturbance. If winter comes, can spring be far behind? Masterminds with contrary ideologies are poised in the country like Lions Rampant. And there are other marauding creatures in the old forest which are not exactly dormant. As Ambassador Galbraith warns, borrowings are no substitute for earnings.

Twice when proposals were made recently that Congress ministries should be enlarged, the Prime Minister intervened with the objection that when general elections were round the corner it would not look well if jobs are multiplied. Mr. Bijoyananda Jha, Chief Minister of Bihar who succeeded Dr. Sinha (deceased) pleaded with the High Command for permission to increase personnel in his Cabinet, but he was over-ruled on the ground of improper timing and aggravation of groupism. In Andhradesa there was persistent demand for addition in the Ministry but Mr.

CHALLENGING HIMSELF ...

tion to the sporting spirit of the Kennedy Administration, we have the support of Aid-Plans and Public Law 480 which render rise in domestic prices and meagre advance in national savings, into a non-frightening spectre. Pamphleteering is expected to enlighten the nation as people tighten the belt and pay up an extra Rs. 800 crores of fresh taxation to start with.

No one in India could wish for any failure in planning calculation; but there is fear of our exceeding the limits of elasticity in the chase for glamour. The evaluation made of categories like heavy industries, development projects, national extension blocks, collective farming, co-operative progress in terms of the Ooty

seminar, etc., etc., and also the talk of high-power directives to keep consortiums spinning—all these pose difficult programmes even for specialists. In sanguine moods of meeting the challenge voiced by the Prime Minister, there should still be some limit to self-congratulation. For instance, Shriman Narayan, a member and bugleman of the Third Five Year Plan, has just delivered a lecture in New Delhi on what he calls the educative value contemplated by the planners, alleging that its pursuit would "sustain and strengthen the moral, ethical and spiritual values in individual as well as public life". It requires an uncommonly thick hide to be immune against sharp criticisms of a contrary character from experienced observers that current activities in a permit-

cum-graft ridden regime, under monopolist party-rule, tends to wreck integrity in the administration. There is no place for such sermons.

Some pious people who believe in the literal inspiration of the Bible are accustomed to open the Holy Book at random and pick up a verse as guidance for the day, regardless of irrelevancy to some imminent problem. Like the appearance of a burglarious gang from the roof. The present Planning Commission's Report, with its medley of diverse notions canvassed and listed during the last five years (the volume is still in stencil-form), could be opened at any page and a passage lifted as apt wisdom of the hour to expedite the advent of the socialistic pattern, now so tardy in the uptake

Nehru put his foot down and the Chief Minister, for his part, would not budge from his right of selection contested by a local clique. While on principle proposals were shelved, we have the astonishing spectacle of a little drama of deviationism in the Prime Minister's domestic arena in Uttar Pradesh. The Gupta Ministry which had also at the start espoused a conservative and anti-waste policy, has now sprung a surprise. The Lucknow correspondent of *The Hindustan Times* prefaces the announcement thus: "Another group of nine—the fifth since Chief Minister C. B. Gupta assumed office in December last—was added to the Gupta Government today". How it worked out into a prodigious expansion, including patronage on the eve of the elections, is explained by the correspondent even though it is not wholly intelligible. The following extract from the newspaper version may, however, be given:

The additions are Mr. Chaturbhuj Sharma, Mr. Jagmohan Singh Negi, Mr. Govind Sahai, Dr. Jawaharlal Rohatgi, Mr. Rauf Jafri, Mr. Malkhan Singh, Mr. Nawal Kishore, Mr. Bhagwati Prasad Shukla and Mr. Ganesh Lal Choudhry.

Of these, Dr. Jawaharlal Rohatgi and Mr. Rauf Jafri, who are Deputy Ministers in the present Government, have been promoted Ministers of State.

All of them except Mr. Ganesh Lal were sworn in by the Governor, Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, at Raj Bhavan this evening. Their portfolios are yet to be allocated. Mr. Ganesh Lal was sworn in by the Chief Minister.

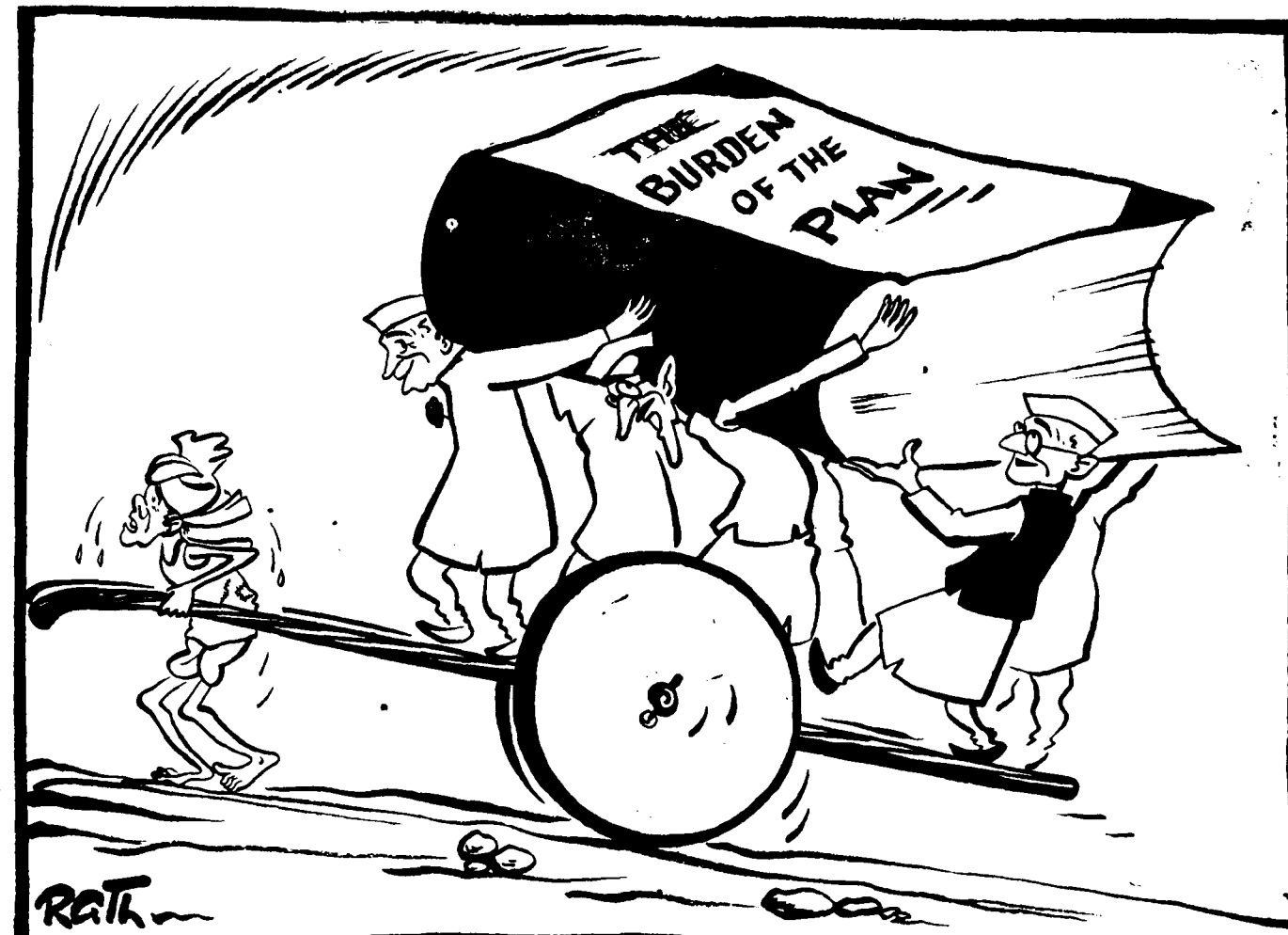
The strength of the Ministry is now 30, as against 28 in the Sampurnanand Ministry. There are seven Cabinet Ministers, 11 State Ministers, nine Deputy Ministers, and three Parliamentary Secretaries.

It is learnt that seven of the State Ministers will have Cabinet rank. They are entitled to attend Cabinet meetings. The seven are: Mr. Mangla Prasad, Mr. Muzaffar Hussain, Mr. Ram Murti, Dr. Sita Ram,

Mr. Kailash Prakash, Mr. Algurai Shastri and Mr. Chaturbhuj Sharma.

Asked by newsmen after the swearing-in ceremony if the expansion of the Ministry was still a continuing process, Mr. Gupta replied: "Yes". It was to lighten his load that he had expanded the Ministry.

It is a new crew signing for the pre-election voyage, the total strength expanding to a level exceeding 30 stipendiaries though it is unlikely that within the brief time before them the individuals gazetted would be able to do anything memorable. The fact of the matter is that the Premier and the High Command, in proclaiming strict rules, do not feel bound to abide by them. Still there is no apologetic vein in proclaiming rules which are more honoured in the breach than in the observance. When there is top-heaviness created in a system, the justification made by the ruling party is that the ministry has been 'broadbased' for safe equilibrium—which, as Euclid said, is absurd. —P. J.





PENNY WISE

A telegram means urgency. So give the complete address and make sure that it reaches quickly.

If the address is not adequate, the telegram is likely to be delayed.

You can be penny wise and yet avoid risk of delay if you address your telegram to his telephone number e.g. "Bannerji TF 31670, New Delhi". The telegram will be read out to him on telephone as soon as it reaches Delhi.

The address, TF 31670, is charged as one word only.

HELP US SERVE YOU BETTER

Posts & Telegraphs Department

DA 60/1960

CONSPIRACY AGAINST COMMON MAN

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The Plan which has just been released only fills the outline of the draft released fourteen months earlier. It would appear to be the strategy of the Planning Commission that no one will read the 770 pages of the Plan, so that the headlines published created the impression that the country is taking off to conditions of plenty and greatness. The only possible attack on the Plan, which Parliament will consider from the 21st of this month, could therefore be through exposure of the fallacies on which it rests.

The first fallacy is that socialism is the keynote of the Plan, when really almost every provision is part of a conspiracy against the common man. The wholly wrong idea, too readily borrowed from the communists, is propagated that socialism is State ownership of the means of production. This ownership has not increased the quantities or reduced the prices of what the common man consumes. It may have added to the profits of the connected class of licensees and contractors, who are clever enough to please the Congress and cheat the Government. On their account, the maintenance imports come to Rs. 740 crores, exceeding the total of exports, even in 1954, of all the finished articles, which almost satiated the consumers, at prices less than half the current ones. On their account, an additional taxation of Rs. 1,710 crores is to be imposed, which will skyrocket the prices as the first instalment in the current budget has already shown the effect of such taxation. The common man will have further to face increase in prices, so that exports can be created for sale at competitive world prices from consumption reduced by prices deliberately increased. In addition to this, Rs. 550 crores will be drawn from expansion of current revenues, Rs. 800 crores from loans, Rs. 600 crores from small savings, Rs. 265

crores from provident funds and Rs. 105 crores from raising the price of steel, which will all add to the inflation.

In return for this the common man is expected to have 17.5 ounces of food, 17.2 yards of cloth and some housing if he is an unionised worker or a member of co-operative housing society. Fifteen years after Planning, he will not be much better than fifteen years before because, in 1939, he had more food than he could consume, 15.75 yards of mill cloth, and housing which has not been reduced by the increase in population. Even in this, there are complications. The 63 percent of the population which is engaged in cultivation is the only one subjected by the Government to foreign competition. Grain prices, therefore, are now depressed comparatively with the prices of the articles which the cultivator has to buy. The American supplies, which will be beyond the storage capacity available, may prove destructive of grain prices, if the monsoons continue to favour the increase of our own production. The common man, and particularly the cultivator, invidiously subject to foreign competition, will, therefore, be the fodder of a plan in favour of State enterprises, and licensed production and sale. If this point is not established in Parliament, our democracy will fail because its representatives know not—what they should—that socialism to be meaningful is increase in the consumption of the people and not increase in the production of government.

For agriculture, irrigation and community projects there is the colossal provision of Rs. 1,718 crores, on a pattern which has not changed since the First Plan and which is admitted not to have produced results. The increase in production during the last three years is a gift of the monsoons,

SATYAM EVA JAYATE

By

RAJAJI

Volume One Now on Sale

560 pages - Cloth Gilt

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 28/208, Meena Sadan, Sion-Matunga Road Bombay-22, Phone: 60011), Calcutta, (C. 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.

This is a collection of Rajaji's articles in Swarajya and other journals on various topics from 1956 to 61 in two volumes

Price: Rs. 6/-

If sent by post Rs. 1.50 extra.
Second Volume will be released in October at the same price.

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

because it is admitted that in the preceding two years there was a fall of 6 and 4 million tons, in spite of all that the Plans had done till then. Community projects only employ staff which tend to make cultivators regard their own duty as a favour to the government. Irrigation, as the Evaluation Committee has just pointed out, is utilised only 57 per cent of its capacity in minor projects and to a lesser extent in major projects. Mr. Nehru himself, after considering the flood damage at Poona, declared himself against dams. Ninety-five per cent of the seed farms are working at a loss and most do not supply the seed required. Ferti-

lisers no doubt increase production but are subject to the most extensive black-marketing. The productivity of our agriculture, which the Food Minister himself rated at one-fourth of comparable countries, requires incentives. The incentive of price is denied to it, first, because the middlemen retain the increase in prices by buying during the glut following the harvest; second, the Government with its procurement and buffer-stocks, stops even compensating increase in prices when seasons reduce out-turn, and, third, whatever the cultivator buys is rising out of proportion in price. The best thing the Government can do for agriculture is to leave it alone, so that like other enterprises it finds its place and price in the new economy.

The industrial programme for heavy and other industries completely ignores, first, the existing power and transport shortage, second, the foreign exchange requirement not only for the capital goods, but the recurring one for maintenance imports and, third, the jigsaw that has arisen from establishment of units without assurance of both input and output, which is leading to idle capacities on one side and undisposible production, like sugar now and steel, in the near future, on the other. If the programme is not still-born, it will be a

monster feeding on the rest of the economy.

The price policy rests on the assumption that 'inflation' is inevitable in a developing economy. Nothing can be further from reason and fact. A developing economy, which creates the goods which people require, actually reduces the prices and improves variety and quality. It is only a communist economy which starves public demand for its own requirement, which unfortunately we have been following, without being aware of it. Controls, both fiscal and physical, are of no use because even in our recent history, the prices only fell for two years during the last twenty, when controls were withdrawn. The future is foreboding, because the greatly enlarged public sector will starve the private sector which supplies the people of their requirements. Not only will there be no capital for the private sector, including agriculture, but services like power and transport will be monopolised by government.

Much stress is laid on exports, not only to pay for capital goods and the loan repayments for them but for maintenance imports of industries already established. The hope is idle that all the administrative devices contemplated will raise the exports in any way. Firstly, we are so completely

priced out of foreign markets that almost nothing we manufacture can sell without subsidies for a long time, even if its quality can ever become comparable with that of more advanced countries. Secondly, the idea that markets can be found in Asia, Africa and South America ignores that the economy of these countries is the same as ours, and they have all to sell and buy exactly what we have. Thirdly, the Common Market which will supersede Commonwealth preferences will increase taxes and competition for our exports. Fourthly, our foreign policy has antagonised our customary purchasers, while the communists, who buy very little, try at the same time to disrupt traditional buyers by over-bidding with the rupee credit available with them.

The Plan is tendentious and immature. It may not even serve the purpose of election propaganda, if the common people realise how they are being sacrificed. Much will, therefore, depend on the maturity of the criticism in the press and in Parliament.

SUB-PARTY FUNDS

Mr. Durga Das writes in an INFA article:

As for internal weakness of the Congress Party the evil is being attacked from two directions. The practice of individual members of the Party having each a large election fund at his disposal has been found to be at the root of groupism. Of course it is an old practice. Maulana Azad, Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and Pandit Pant had such separate funds for party purposes. Now it is felt that this practice should be given up and that all funds, by whomsoever secured, be put in a common pool and administered by a committee in every State. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy is the protagonist of this view and he wishes to enforce it, to begin with in Bihar and West Bengal. But the evil exists in all the States and has to be tackled with firmness, for quite a few vested interests have grown round these war chests. For instance, rival business houses finance chests while the money is used to create and sustain group politics.

For Service & Security....

PANDYAN BANK LTD.

Central Office: **MADURAI**

THE BANK THAT SERVICE BUILT

You need money for business.
Sure, you need yet another —

a contact with
PANDYAN

83 OFFICES SERVE THE PUBLIC

S. N. K. SUNDARAM

Managing Director

FROM ONE FALSE STEP TO ANOTHER

By P. H. SESHAGIRI RAU

The Swatantra Party has been crying itself hoarse asking the Government to place before the country its plan for the repayment of the huge foreign loans, but there has been no response to this demand. Events, however, show how the wind is blowing and what the country is in for. The Government has apparently decided to blunder along somehow, hoping for the best. The sugar deal is a case in point. The policies of the Government have priced all our exportable commodities out of the foreign market. Ordinary trade has, therefore, become impossible, and the country is forced to adopt the same methods that totalitarian countries do in such circumstances, viz., trade at a loss. Foreign exchange has to be earned if the present rate of imports is to continue. In addition foreign exchange is required for the repayment of our foreign loans and interest thereon. And this has to be done at any price. The sugar deal is only a beginning.

As the instalments payable become heavier, more and more commodities will have to be 'dumped' on foreign markets at a loss to the country, and also at the loss of the goodwill of other countries who are exporting the same goods. We remember how the whole world was cursing Japan for having 'dumped' its goods in the export market to earn foreign exchange. As the pressure for foreign exchange increases we shall be forced to export whatever commodities are acceptable to our creditors, and this whether the country is surplus in that commodity or not. The price we get, under such distress sales, will be only the world price and not our internal inflated price. Hitler's Germany had to pass through this distressing experience. We are being promised plenty in the near future if only we will tighten our belts now. But what will really happen is that when the factories in which

we are investing begin to produce, the time will have arrived to export the produce to repay our debts! Our creditor countries may import from us even those goods in which they are surplus, if that is the only way they can get repayment of their loans! So, the repayment of the heavy foreign loans will be another contributing factor to shortages that this unfortunate country will have to face for many, many years to come. Of course, in the wake of shortage come high prices. It is significant that the Third Five Year Plan warns us that we should be prepared for a further increase in prices.

It is a universally accepted economic law that control in the price of even a single commodity will ultimately lead to the entire economy becoming a control economy, and even end in complete totalitarian control of production of all goods. This is technically expressed as the extension of controls, both vertically and horizontally. The Union Food Minister observed the other day that he had called for an increase in the production of sugar, but it was achieved in a manner that he had not envisaged. He expected an increase in 'productivity', that is, increase in the production per acre; instead, the farmer diverted more acreage to sugarcane from rice and wheat, and so increased production. He is reported to have added that he is con-

sidering steps to prevent more land being diverted from rice and wheat to sugar-cane.

So, there you are. You interfere with free market economy, give inflated price to a particular crop—sugar-cane in this instance—and when the farmer tries to get the benefit of it you have to prevent him doing so. Conversely, if you try to hold down the price of a certain commodity, the production of that commodity will be abandoned. Ironically enough that commodity generally happens to be one that is vital to the nation, like food-grains. So you have to force the farmer to grow that particular crop and to grin and bear the sight of his neighbour prospering by growing a more paying crop. Human nature being what it is, the farmer will sulk; and the next step will be to force him under the lash. This is no fanciful picture but what the logic of economics and human nature will drive us to if we insist on abandoning the free market economy and playing with controlled economy.

The story of sugar has at least these two lessons for us and is a pointer to what we are heading in for. The party in power is power-mad and refuses to see even the writing on the wall. If the country at least learns the lessons that this simple case has to teach, and calls the government to account, it can still save the situation. If planning is permitted to go ahead, based on fantastic borrowing from abroad and controlled economy within, the country is asking for all the ills of a totalitarian State.



sprey

sprey



KILLS
FLIES AND MOSQUITOES

A TATA-FISON PRODUCT

FAIRY TALE ECONOMICS

By PHIROZE J. SHROFF

In keeping with its usual policy of feeding the people on promises instead of giving an authentic record of its achievements, the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. has published a blue-print of its economic programme for the coming twenty years. Though the communist regime has been operating in the U.S.S.R. for almost forty-five years, it has signally failed to raise the standard of living of the people. For almost two generations there has been a chronic shortage of consumer goods, and even the bare necessities of life in Russia and the standard of life of the people is about the lowest in Europe.

The blue-print reveals that the framers of the plan are ignorant of the normal laws of economics and even simple principles of arithmetic. The plan says that, during the coming twenty years, the State will make available to the people free housing, transport, bread, gas and electricity. It will provide a great number of free social services. According to the plan, various kinds of everyday services, such as house-cleaning, will be made available to the people without any charge. The plan, however, omits to say who will clean the houses of the house-cleaners. Presumably, they will clean one another's houses in addition to tidying up the houses of the general public. Incidentally, it seems very strange that in a 'classless and egalitarian' society, there should be a separate caste of house-cleaners. Cannot all householders with their families attend to the essential work of their own house-cleaning? Or, is it that the house-cleaning service by humble folks is to be provided for the "new class" of the communist hierarchy?

While claiming to give to the entire nation of twenty crores all these free goods and services, the Plan proceeds to say that at the same time all taxes will be abolished, prices will be reduced, wages will be raised, and working hours will be drastically curtailed. This seems to be strange economics and stranger arithmetic. If the Soviet Government proposes to abolish all taxes, reduce prices, raise wages, and at the same time reduce weekly hours of work, from where does it propose to obtain the wherewithal to pay for the goods and services which are going to be provided free to the entire community? Does the U.S.S.R. propose to exploit the captive nations in East Europe and drain them of their goods and resources?

It is well known that the housing situation in Russia, particularly in larger towns, is one of the worst in Europe. In Moscow the accommodation space provided work out to 60 square feet an individual. A family of four persons cannot secure larger accommodation than 240 square feet and that, too, if it happens to be at the top of a long list waiting for shelter over its head. Even assuming some lucky families can secure this extremely limited accommodation, they have to share baths and sanitary arrangements with other families in tenement houses. It is extremely doubtful if Russia would be able to build enough number of tenements during the coming twenty years to house its teeming millions, a great number of whom still live in overcrowded slum conditions, especially in industrial areas.

Russia has not yet solved the urgent problem of clothing its millions. The clothing of the mass of the people is shoddy. Cloth in Russia is very expensive and costs five times as much as in India for a similar type and quality of textile material. An ordinary suit costs Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200, a shirt costs about Rs. 100 and a pair of shoes costs Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 or more. Russia has to rely to some extent on an underdeveloped country like India to get enough number of shoes. In extensive rural areas, the Russian masses have to go without shoes or make do with improvised pieces of thick cloth and strings to serve as shoes, especially during the hard winter months.

The food situation in Russia is far from satisfactory. The Russian people live mostly on bread and some vegetable and strips of meat or fish if and when available. According to a distinguished Indian who visited Russia recently, vegetables are not available in Moscow from September to the following June and that the price of tomatoes, for instance, shoots up to Rs. 15 per seer.

If this is the economic picture in Russia after 45 years of communist rule, the tall talk about what she is going to do during the coming twenty years is just economic fairy tale intended to fool the gullible and confuse the wavering. And what has the blue-print to say regarding food production during the coming twenty years? It says that "in order to fully satisfy the requirements of the entire population and of the national economy in agricultural produce, the task is to increase the aggregate volume of agricultural production in ten years by about 150 per cent and

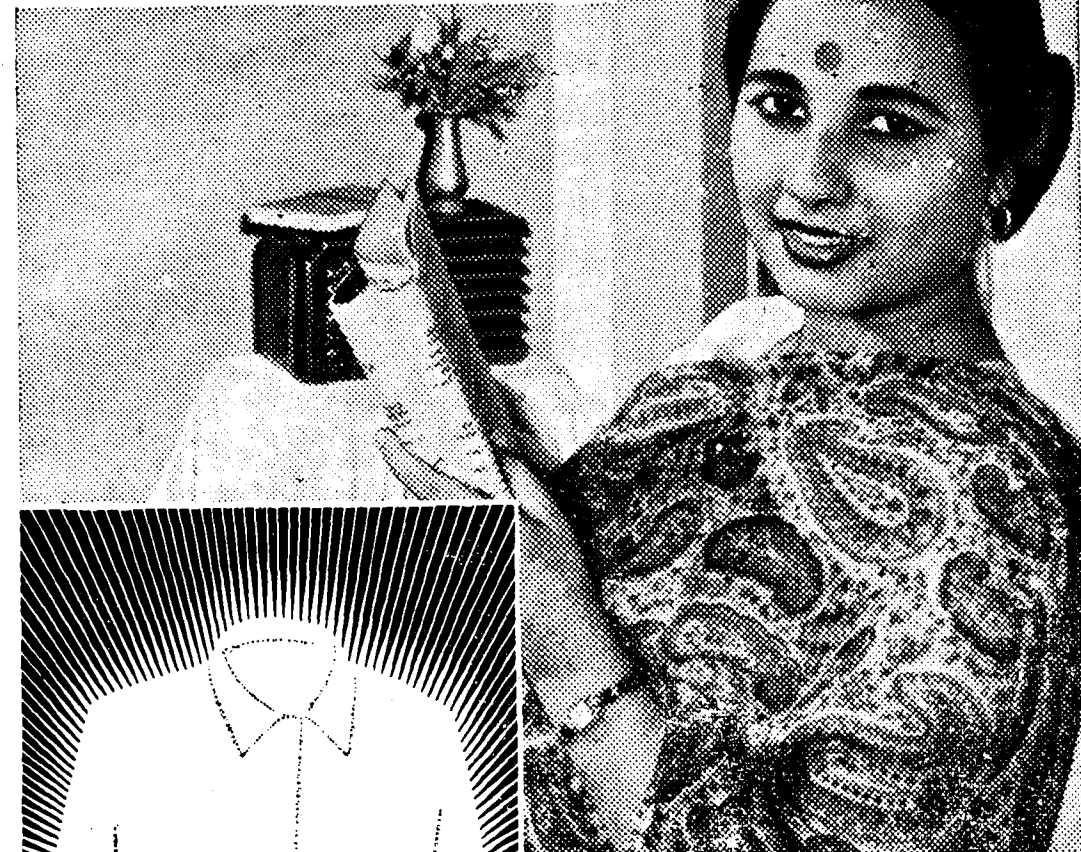
in 20 years by about 250 per cent." What more admission is needed to show that in respect of agricultural production, things are not satisfactory at present in the U.S.S.R.? The figures reveal a serious shortage on the food front. If it is necessary to increase agricultural production by 150 per cent in the coming ten years when the population will increase only by 15 or 20 per cent by then, it means that the present Soviet agricultural economy lags behind by over 50 per cent of the current requirements. In other words, the Soviet people are half-starved if the admissions in the new blue-print are to be properly interpreted.

Contrast this with the agricultural production in the U.S.A., where enormous production of food-grains, dairy produce including milk, butter, cheese, eggs and meat, and nutritive foods like fruit and vegetables, has far outstripped the demand. The U.S.A. is in the happy position of not only meeting entirely its own requirements but also able to supply food to many countries in the world.

The position of the U.S.S.R. is just as bad in respect of its industries as it is in respect of its agriculture. According to the blue-print "the national income of the U.S.S.R. in the next ten years would increase nearly 150 per cent." Now, we have been frequently told that the U.S.S.R. would catch up with the U.S.A. in point of total national output in ten years. The present output in the U.S.S.R. is only 40 per cent of the output in U.S.A. According to unbiased observers, it is actually much less than 40 per cent. It has also to be remembered that a great part of this output consists of armaments and spectacular projects, like putting man into space. If Russia were to utilize a fraction of the amounts she spends on armaments, grandiose schemes like space exploration and cold war propaganda with hundreds of radio stations and international subversion, she would succeed in raising to some extent the very poor standard of living of her own nationals.

The communists want to enslave the world and subjugate it to their ideology by false indoctrination and subversive propaganda. The present blue-print is currently the biggest link in the gilded chain of propagandist cold war. However, the communist system stands condemned by a scrutiny of its own blue-print. One wonders if the economists, who inadvertently permitted tell-tale statements about the current sorry state of Soviet agriculture and national output, will be hauled over the coals as saboteurs and wreckers of the promised Soviet Paradise.

SURF IN THE MODERN HOME...



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

says social worker Mrs NOREEN AMOLIK
of Bombay

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

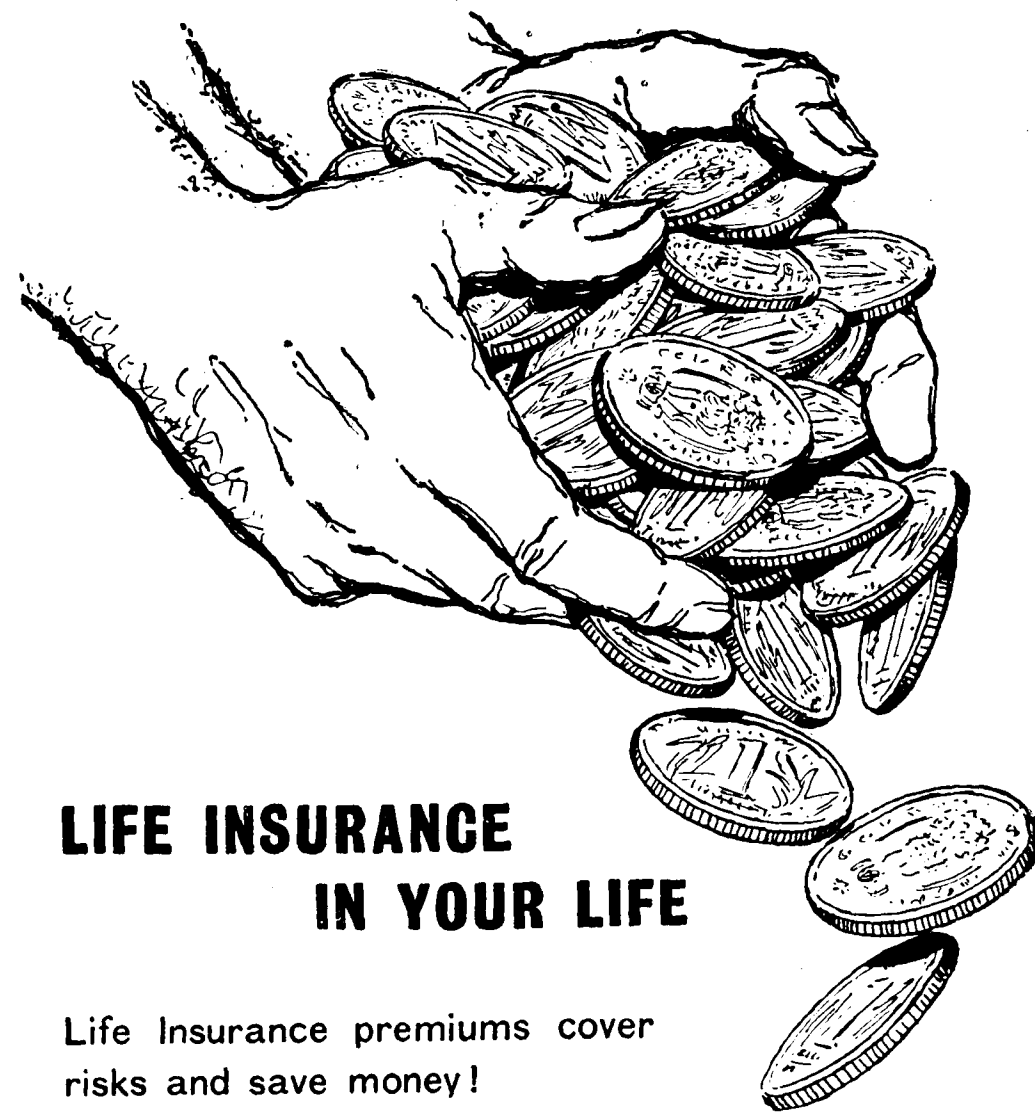
'Take SURF now. It is a symbol of progress in so many homes that I have visited. I use it myself, so I know what a blessing it is with the daily washing.'

'SURF washes beautifully white : Saris, shirts, household linen, everything.'

MODERN HOUSEWIVES AGREE—SURF washes whitest ! Why not SURF for your home ?

Surf gives you the WHITEST WASH

A HINDUSTAN LEVER PRODUCT



LIFE INSURANCE IN YOUR LIFE

Life Insurance premiums cover risks and save money!

Life Insurance protects your family whether you live or not and also assures you:-

- freedom from worry
- a guaranteed income during retirement
- money for your daughter's marriage, and
- funds for your son's education.



PLAN TO BUILD YOUR FUTURE THROUGH
Life Insurance

EP/LIC/U/2

Dear Reader

I have written an article on the Third Plan which appears on the front page. The long and the short of it is that the ruling party has decided to continue to take advantage of the cold war and borrow huge sums from abroad and entrust them to the thriftless management, answerable to no one, of the public sector. The previous course of the Plans commits the nation to this and so it must be continued, we are told, through a fourth, fifth (and probably a sixth) Plan too. We are given notice of further grinding taxation, more soaring prices, scarcity of consumer goods, and an added dose of the omnipotent rule of officials in day to day life. The chain of Plans and the commitments to policy constitute an instrument for the perpetuation of the rule of the same party. The precarious payments position abroad is saved from a breakdown by external assistance obtained from time to time. Eleven thousand six hundred crores to be got and spent is grand but inside this fanfare lies creeping bankruptcy.

★

The Congress Party has not added to its good record by the most recent bans on information issued by the Punjab Government. Because the P.M. condemns the agitation for the extension of the principle of the linguistic division of States to the Punjab area, although it has been applied to all other areas in India, the Kairon Government has issued a ban prohibiting the publication in any newspaper in the Punjab of any news item relating to the Punjabi Suba demand or the fast by Master Tara Singh. A ban on the entry into the Punjab of any newspaper in India, which publishes such news, is also contemplated as a logical consequence of the ban on the Punjab newspapers. All this is no doubt within the powers given to a local government. But laws are not intended to be used for the purpose of suppressing fundamental rights

guaranteed in the Constitution, or for the purpose of political tyranny. These infractions of law in the highest sense are the logical corollaries of one-party rule. Those who made the Constitution in 1950 had thought Indian citizens would pride themselves, saying "where else shall we find such liberty of action, thought, speech or laws which protect us so well?" Alas that the lamp of liberty lighted by the Constitution in 1950 has begun to burn so dim "that you can't see to read by it". Here in the Punjab "it flickers and smokes very gloomily".

Maladies of the body politic are not alleviated or cured by suppression of the symptoms. In fact, it makes the cure more difficult. National integration has been demonstrated as an impossibility as long as these language islands, which have been brought into existence, are allowed to remain as such. Let the whole scheme of delegated authority based on the foundation of the majority language of the area be scrapped, or let the Punjabi area have its little autonomy like other similar areas, and be dealt with along with other linguistic States, when it should become possible to undo the mischief.

★

I am against regional autonomy based on majority language. Linguistic demarcation is contrary to the whole trend of modern India where a widespread synthesis is in operation. It is anti-progressive, as was clearly seen by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru in the unfortunate case of the break-up of Hyderabad which he helplessly allowed to be done against his conviction. But it is unjust to deny the linguistic demarcation in a particular case, because it would give a slight majority to a particular community.

★

The export of sugar has given rise to a 'crisis', as it is called in government circles. It is not a crisis but a shame. Our sugar

is to be compulsorily exported, maintaining a high internal price in spite of surplus—and in spite of, be it remembered, land going under this money crop, which should otherwise have been under rice or cereals to reduce the food deficit. This exported sugar is to be sold abroad necessarily at a big loss, because there is a lot of cheaper sugar available elsewhere, with which we must compete, the loss being put on the heads of sugar consumers in India for a third part; and for the rest, it is to be put either on the cane-growers who will get less price to that extent, or on the sugar manufacturers who put it again on the consumers or on the general tax-payer, if finally the Government generously gets out of the mess, agreeing to give a 'subsidy'. Let us never forget the big truth that what the Central Government agrees to give as a 'grant' or a 'subsidy', or some other variation of it, is in reality an additional tax on the people. Nothing can be got from governments (be they at the Centre or in the States) except from what the people pay to one or the other. These tempting gifts and grants and subsidies are all transfers from the till into which A to Z of all grades of tax-payers pay. No grant or subsidy comes from the skies. It all comes from the people and lowers their 'standard of life'. The formulae in which the financial operations of governments are clothed are all deceptive sugar-coating of the bitter pill of taxation. In the process of transfer from the general tax-payer to the subsidy-receiver, a big fraction goes down the drain in administrative charges, wastage and pilferage involved in all such circuits of money among a money-hungry people.

★

The story of sugar is the story of every export at a loss, more or less. And this, not to speak of the difficulty of finding a market in advanced countries for our generally inferior articles. Imagine our trying to sell our aircraft assembled in Bangalore, or our watches assembled in Bangalore or else.

where. It would be a grand achievement to sell a Vizag made ship to the British or the Americans.

The world is one and we should submit to a division of labour and skill, based on long experience and patient practice, and available nearby resources. If we try to disregard the law of division of labour in a unitary world, in our ambition to do everything that everybody does, and call prudence by the name of reactionary backwardness, we arrive at taxation and yet heavier taxation and a lowering of standards of life.

We have an aircraft carrier bought out of the British dump, after cutting down our sterling balances by a substantial amount to pay for it and for its reconditioning. God knows or rather Lord Mountbatten knows to what use we will put it beyond parade. And now we are planning to have atomic reactors whatever be the expense, for that is the latest fashion in industrial advance, and we have a few persons who have specialised in that branch of physics who can be illustriously engaged in that expensive line of civilization. It were cheaper to export these experts to foreign countries which can

afford the luxury of atomic reactors and employ them.

Major Gherman Stepanovich Titov spent 25 hours circling in a spaceship round the earth at a height of 165 miles from the earth's surface. It is a great achievement and the efforts of other technically advanced nations in this field have come nowhere near this Russian achievement. If this race in technical advance were to replace the race in the invention and production of destructive weapons which are a menace to human life and civilization, it would not only be 'exciting and exhilarating' but most welcome. Unfortunately, these victories in the field of physical science and technology are closely and inevitably attached to destructive military thinking and doing, and it is an alarming exhibition of prowess and invention and far from exhilarating.

As for a sense of proportion, it is true 165 miles above the earth's surface is a great deal and a rate of 290 miles per minute is enormous. Of course at 165 miles above one can see more of the terrestrial sphere than at 30,000 ft. in a plane. But this verification is not much of a gain. The real resulting fact is military fright among nations already nervous to breaking point.

INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE?

The extraordinary increase in Japan's rice output—noted in the F. A. O. "Commodity Review"—provides a conspicuous demonstration of the superiority of an agricultural system based on private ownership over the collectivized systems of communist countries.

Ten years ago Japan was a heavy importer of rice, and Japan's foreign-exchange expenditures on food were a major factor in a chronic foreign-trade deficit. Today Japan's rice production exceeds her needs, and in fact disposal of the surplus has become a problem. By contrast, lagging grain production is a perennial problem in the communist bloc. This year the shortage of cereals is notably severe, particularly in communist China and East Germany.

Taiwan is another Asian area that reinforces the lesson of Japan. There, following a land-reform programme, similar to that carried out in Japan and State sponsorship of improved methods of cultivation, per-acre yields paralleling Japan's have been achieved. A surplus is available for export despite a sharp annual increase in population.

Methods used in one country are not always suited to adoption in detail in another. But underdeveloped countries would do well to look to Japan, Taiwan and successful Western farm practices rather than to the collectivized communist systems for which some show an affinity. — *The New York Times* (editorial page of July 30, 1961).

If we remember the distance of the stars and the nebulae, which light takes millions of years to cross, this conquest of a height of 165 miles is infinitesimally little and we may still retain our humility. At the other end of the mystery of the universe is the atom which has been sought to be split up into its ultimate parts. The latest winner of the Nobel Prize for Physics, Dr. Glaser, has announced his confession that scientists have found to their dismay that all their work in this direction only helps deepen the mystery of nature.

The South African Nationalist Party has admitted that Indians in South Africa have become a "permanent part of the population," to use the language of the minister who spoke on behalf of the Government of South Africa. The idea of repatriation to India has been abandoned. It is time this frank admission is taken as a lesson by Sinhalese chauvinists in Ceylon, who have been responsible for terrible uncertainty and avoidable misery for the large population of Indians in Ceylon who have settled down there exactly as the Indians of South Africa have done. Those who were instruments in the development and progress of the island and who choose to remain as permanent citizens, should be permitted to do so in peace if not honoured and treated with becoming gratitude. True the South African white people have a plan of *apartheid* about the citizens of Indian origin in South Africa. But that is based on the notion that the Indian immigrants are not civilized enough and should not mix with the white immigrants, either by reason of colour or manners, or both. But in the case of Indians in Ceylon there is no difference in colour or manners or racial origin, and in that respect South Africa need not be copied by the majority party in Ceylon. Whether a citizen really intends to be a Ceylon citizen should be decided by him, and should not be treated as doubtful fact to be adjudicated on by an adverse tribunal. This is

obvious justice but often even obvious justice gets clouded through passion and prejudice.

The Attorney-General of India after his recent visit to Moscow had some pleasant things to say about the communist regime's judicial system, in particular the institution of an executive officer to look into cases of gross injustice and unfair treatment. There are similar officers in some Scandinavian countries and a plea was once put forward in the SWARAJYA for appointing such an officer in India also where executive unfairness and misconduct go very often without judicial remedies. In a regime where the party plays a very dominant part it is necessary to have such an officer to moderate injustices.

As against the picture given by the Attorney-General, we have an interesting *Reuter's* report that Judge Horst Hatzar of the East German Supreme Court has just fled to the West with nine members of his family and said that in East Germany "the administration of law has sunk to such a level that one is ashamed to be a lawyer."

The Attorney-General seemed to appreciate the part that popular courts play in Russia. The tendency of enlightened opinion in India is to abolish even the jury and the assessor institutions and this leaning is based on much experience. We have to remind ourselves of the two classic cases of 'justice' meted by the crowd to Socrates and to Jesus of Nazareth. People's courts are unsafe trustees of the rule of law which requires passion to be reduced to the minimum.

It is hard to remove a fallacy which has spread wide and stuck deep root. But like determined husbandmen who resolve to clear their fields of prickly pear, we must eliminate what we have found to be a fallacy.

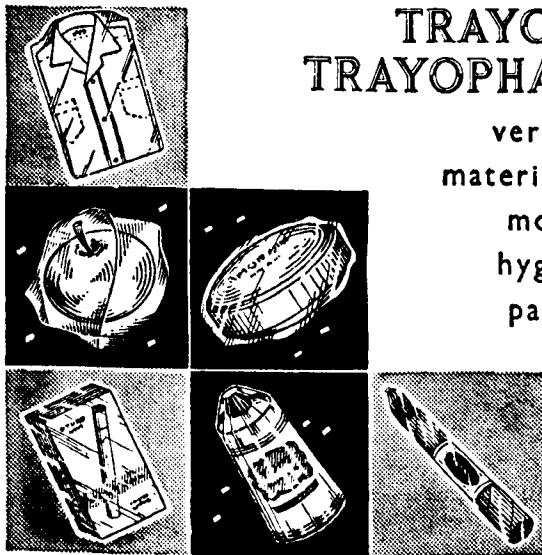
A basic virtue does not become a vice if political ambition finds it to be an impediment in its way. Love of family and love of the larger but intimate circle to which

you belong by birth and marriage are not vices, but are praiseworthy attitudes of life, which have survival value in the evolutionary struggle. That attachment to one's family is not to be condemned or ignored is easily admitted. But attachment to the next concentric circle has come to be treated as unpatriotic. Instead of recognizing such attachments as an inevitable fact and building on them for the time being, until such attachments are dissolved by the march of culture and time, we have been taught to ignore them and proceed as if they did not exist, thus generating widespread hypocrisy and unreality. Love of one's community is a virtue and

not a vice. It is a brick which can help us to build. It is a fact as true as the earth we stand upon, and it is futile to ignore it and build on something that is not true and does not exist.

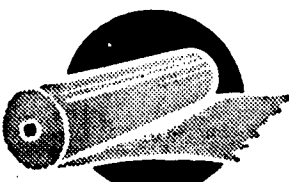
There was more wisdom in the British regime which formerly organized the army regiments on communal *esprit de corps*—on the factual basis of communities, Sikhs, Jats, Rajputs, Marathas, etc., than in our premature and fallacious notion that we have abolished communal feeling and can build, ignoring it.

C.R.



TRAYONS TRAYOPHANE

versatile
material for
modern
hygienic
packing



NOW IN ROLLS FOR HOUSEHOLD MULTIPURPOSE USE

AIDS FOR BETTER LIVING

RAYON TRADERS PRIVATE LIMITED

GRAMS: "CELYARN" 61, SEMBUDOSS STREET, MADRAS-1. 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, Avinasi Road, COIMBATORE.

RT-27-5A

CAPITAL COMMENTS

ANTICIPATIONS AND EXPERIENCES.

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: One more Independence Day has come and gone. At the end of 14 years of Independence, the country is faced with problems, some of which should never have arisen since Sardar Patel passed into history as the grand consolidator of India. If today our fears outweigh our hopes, we should ask ourselves where and how things have gone wrong.

That on the eve of the fifteenth Independence Day, chief ministers of States should have been frantically summoned to the capital to evolve formulae for the emotional integration of the people, and devise measures for fighting individuals and groups advocating and propagating secession of parts of India from the Union, is enough evidence of the rot that has set in, despite the uninterrupted rule of the country by a party which was once so much under the sway of the Mahatma's moral idealism and which is yet led by a man not individually unequal to the call of the times. But, alas, Mr. Nehru for all his greatness, has allowed himself to be so much carried away by his ideological fervour that he has let things drift—and men drift away, so long as one Plan follows another and the country remains maligned in the sphere of power politics.

Neither loss of territory, nor loss of prestige seemed to make any big difference in his perspective which is so much coloured by his vision of socialism. He believes that the successful implementation of the Third Plan will usher in the millennium. He believes that unto this end the Congress should continue to be in power, whatever be its lapses and limitations. He also believes that everything is wrong with every other party and that the Congress alone can lead the country to prosperity.

To what extent actualities warrant his conclusions is a diffe-

rent story. Nobody says that he merely revels in fancy. But he is not incapable of amazing self-deception, at least sometimes. Let us, for example, turn to the story in Uttar Pradesh. Only recently he expressed the satisfaction that the Congress in U.P. had shown signs of improvement under the stewardship of its new President, Mr. A. P. Jain. Within a couple of days of his sanguine assessment of the position in his home State, there were reports in the press of 'denunciatory speeches' by the so-called 'dissidents against the ruling faction', of 'increasing factionalism at the lower levels' and of some 'strategy' planned by ex-ministerialists for execution when Mr. C. B. Gupta will have to face a censure motion. All this only shows that Mr. Nehru's earnest and eloquent appeals to his men to "pull together and work in cohesion and unity" have but fallen on deaf ears.

This is no new phase in recent Congress history. Only experience seems to have taught Congress leaders little. Here is Mr. Nehru's recipe for Congress success at the polls:

They should select those who were most suitable and those who observed fully the principles of the organization. They should also create an atmosphere where the people recognised that the Congress had selected competent persons.

One would feel amused at Mr. Nehru's pious hope that this would ever be done, when candidates are presumably being chosen because of their allegiance to this group or that rather than out of any other consideration.

Unfortunately, his own handling of affairs where his is the last word has not been above criticism. It is at his own bidding that the Congress Parliamentary Party has denigrated, if not debunked, deputy leadership. Where one man after another who could function as second in command, had till recently given that office no small

prestige, there will now be two dummies. This is rank injustice to the aspirants to the place as well as to the party. But Mr. Nehru has willed it so—and it is the end of the matter. Of course, he has, as a good democrat, left it to the party to take or reject his advice.

It is the Congress Parliamentary Party that has so amended its constitution as to let in two deputies in the place of one and leave them as mere 'bony wonders'. Whether this was because of Mr. Nehru's horror of a fierce duel between two senior colleagues or because of his instinctive antipathy to the one who was once being built up as his successor, Mr. Nehru, as *The Times of India* editorially observed, "seems to have failed the country and even his party". But we will be told that it is no business of ours to make any fuss over a purely internal arrangement or adjustment.

The Congress President, who shares his leader's faith in the destiny of the Congress, has again hit

MANJANGUD TOOTH-POWDER
ALMONTINE
 IMPROVED STRENGTH
SUBALA
 HEALTH SYRUP
 TO PREVENT EARLY LOSS OF HAIR
NEELA
 FOR HAIR PROTECTION
UNITED CONCERN.
 54, GUNDER ST., MADRAS-1

One stockist recognised for a town

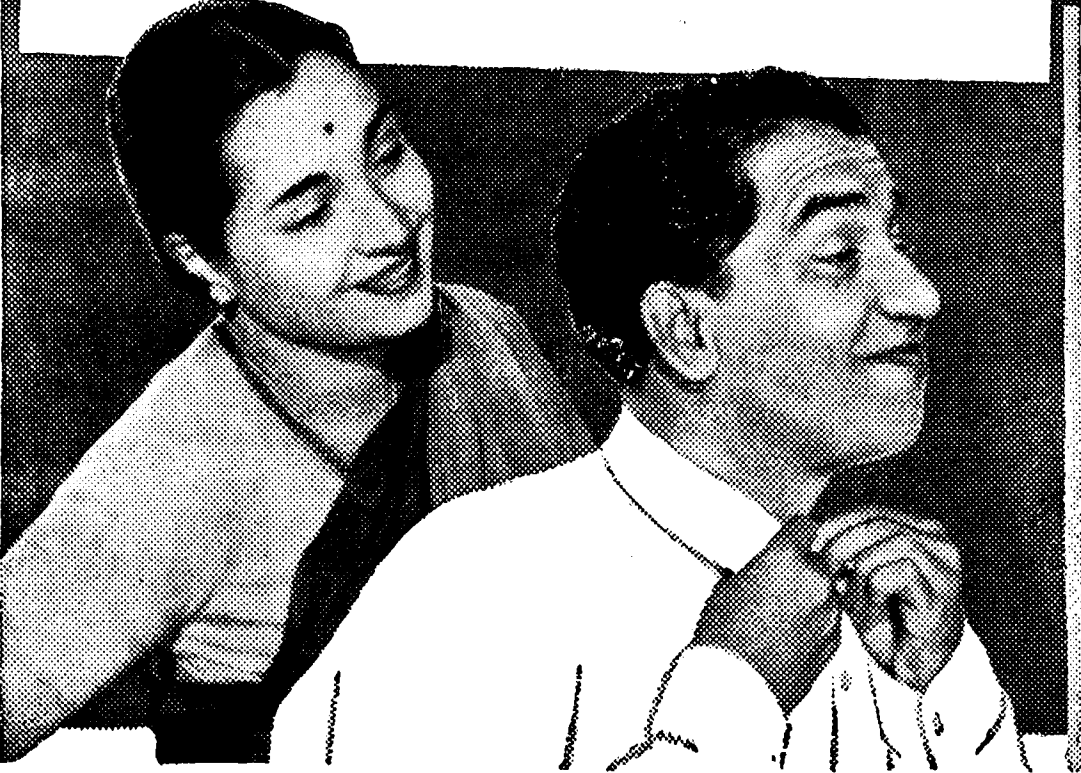
SRI GANESH RAM'S
777 BRAND
 TASTE
SRI GANESH RAM'S
SAMBAR & RASAM
 (2 Separate Powders)
MADRAS CURRY-POWDER
 (Garam Masala)
PICKLES, PAPPADS, APPALAMS
 Prepared by:
M/s. R. S. N. IVER & R. S. G. IVER
 Proprietors of:
SRI GANESH RAM & CO., MADRAS-1
 Await our **CHAKRAM BRAND** PICKLES
 Prepared to Suit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

the headlines recently by one more of his fantastic statements. He said that if any other party accepted the Congress policy and undertook to follow its programme, the Congress would be prepared to give up office and

power in its favour. The statement does not make any sense. He should, however, know how others are impressed. "Mr. Reddy's offer", says *The Tribune*, "is either altogether fatuous or it has been made by him with the ton-

gue in his cheek." There is something more for him: "Mr. Sanjiva Reddy holds a most important office, but it appears that he is not above employing stock devices known to politicians to win cheap popularity."

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

A HINDUSTAN LEVER PRODUCT



BOOK REVIEW

A TRUE DISCIPLE

THE SPIRIT'S PILGRIMAGE

Mira Behn. Orient Longmans.
338 pp. Rs. 15.

This is the autobiography of Madeleine Slade who, in response to a call which she felt implicit in a casual conversation with the late Romain Rolland, became Gandhi's devoted disciple. The younger daughter of an English Admiral, Admiral Slade, who was at one time commander-in-chief of the East India station, Madeleine early showed promise of a refreshing freedom from attachment to the things which members of her social class cherished. She was, even while a mere girl, far from interested in society life with its dinner parties and balls and the like, while her sister Rhona (who married an I.C.S. officer who served for years in Madras) loved them. She did not care for jewellery either. Her solitary moment of regret at not having cared for jewellery was when she found that what she had of it was far too little to fetch the money she would have liked to send to Gandhi. She had with her but a diamond brooch given her by her grandfather on her twenty-first birthday. She sold it and sent the proceeds, £20, to Gandhi by cheque, as a thanksgiving offering on the successful completion of Gandhi's twenty-one day Hindu-Muslim unity fast at Delhi in the early twenties of this century.

It was an ardent interest in music and particularly in Beethoven that took her to Romain Rolland who then had in the press a book on Gandhi, who, he told her, was another Christ. That meeting confirmed her intuition that there was something which she would have to reach. The call became explicit and absolute when she had read Romain Rolland's book. She was to go to Mahatma Gandhi, who served the cause of oppressed India through fearless truth and non-violence, a cause which, though focussed in India, was for the whole of humanity. That was the beginning of a twenty-three year long dedication to Gandhi the man and the cause. The story of her adaptation of herself to *ashram* life at Sabarmati is told with an engaging and unaffected candour. She says: "Because of my devotion to Bapu, I disciplined myself so completely that I actually believed that I liked it." There was indeed much that hurt her and pained her, much that caused her days of anguish but there was no hint of remorse, and none of frustration. The personality of Gandhi resolved for her every diffi-

culty that almost inevitably arose from the nature of her own early upbringing and the rigour of the routine that Gandhi had imposed on the inmates of the *ashram*. There is in these accounts of Gandhi's life in the *ashram*, of his visit to London for the Round Table Conference, of his views on non-violence and a variety of other matters, no trace of sentimentality, no attitudinising, no affectation. The narrative is marked by a resolute simplicity and restraint such as characterized the Mahatma's own reaction to matters great and small, and which were expressive in him of an inner harmony that was in its measure, as absolute as any that the greatest saints of all time have achieved.

The episodes in the struggle for freedom which Mira Behn deals with give us a measure of the tremendous, the awe-inspiring magnitude of the burden that Gandhi carried. That struggle was, for all its apparently mass character, an almost exclusively one-man affair. The spiritual force which sustained the struggle then came from Gandhi and Gandhi alone, and alas, it seems now to have quite spent itself out, after Freedom has been won and its architect is no more. We can sense something of the gulf that separated Gandhi and his older lieutenants, Vallabhbhai, Rajaji and Rajendra Prasad from Jawaharlal Nehru and the younger leftists who now are reaping the harvest of the victories that Gandhi won and who seem to have converted the whole structure and policy of Government in the country into a massive repudiation of the Mahatma and his ideals. Herein is also conveyed, a sense of the grievous failure of Gandhi's message to hold even some of his closest associates in the Freedom struggle. Truth and non-violence have, alas, been given the go-by. Little remains of all that Gandhi strove so strenuously to put into the building up of free India's national life. The spinning-wheel which Gandhi had put on the flag of the nation when it struggled for its freedom was pushed out, let us remember, long before the particular misguided assassin fired bullets into Gandhi's body.

Though primarily concerned with telling the story of her own pilgrimage of the spirit, Mira Behn has given us in this book a richly satisfying testimony to the splendid agonies and strivings of one of the few Indians of India's age-long history, of whom it could be said that they were authentic voices from the very depths of India's soul. S.R.

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

PANDIT
D. GOPALACHARLU'S

JEEVAMRITHAM

FOR HEALTH & STRENGTH

AYURVEDASRAMAM
(PRIVATE) LTD.
MADRAS-17

Use daily

neem

TOOTH PASTE

The only
tooth paste
containing active
ingredients of NEEM
combined with essential
medicaments used
in any modern
tooth paste

neem

CALCUTTA
CHEMICAL
CALCUTTA-29.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

A MISPLACED CRITICISM

Sir,—In the letter published in SWARAJYA of July 29, Shri Rusi Dharuwala complains how the Government of India is itself responsible for criminal waste of foreign exchange, which the country could hardly afford, by sending to foreign countries various profitless delegations, mentioning among them the cultural delegation also.

I am afraid the criticism has been misdirected in so far as the cultural delegation is concerned. I think that cultural delegations, at any rate, if the personnel is properly selected solely on their being true representatives of Indian culture and traditions, with a broad outlook, there is not the least doubt that they would help to further better understanding and appreciation between India and the foreign countries they visit, and result in interchange of thought and outlook to mutual advantage.

Far from stinting money for such cultural delegations, the Government of India should provide the necessary foreign exchange (and every kind of assistance) for the next Congress for Cultivating Human Spirit which is periodically held in Tokyo and is sponsored by the International Foundation for Cultural Harmony.

If there has been "criminal waste of foreign exchange", the charge must be laid squarely on the present Government of India, whose economic and other policies have brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy, though all the while vaunting itself with 'big achievements'. If we are faced with a moral crisis and spiritual degeneration, it is the ruling party that must be held responsible. It is high time the public woke up and realising where the country is being led, turn out the party in power at the next general elections.

Bombay

PREM NATH

REMEDY FOR LINGUISTIC FANATICISM

Sir,—Regarding the very valuable suggestions of Sri A. V. Subramania Aiyar in his article on "Language Problem of the States" (published in SWARAJYA of July 8) many of us must agree with the sound principle that the States should declare more than one local language as official, in consideration of the interests of linguistic minorities. But it is impracticable to implement the suggestion.

Instead of declaring more than one different set of vernacular languages as

official languages in the various States, it would be quite proper and quite feasible to have English continue as the official language in all the States as well as for the Union administration. The suggestion about 'the handiest medium' must receive the attention of the authorities as "the craze about linguism can be superseded by the preservation of English...". It is the intoxication of linguism in India that really needs a prohibition policy, to be directed against linguistic fanaticism, very urgently and effectively, in the interests of national integration.

Not only for inter-State communications, but within the States as well, the 'handiest medium' (English) should be adopted as the official language. The local dialects or languages may as well be used as before, with this difference, of course, that the user is no longer the slave he was, but the master of all the languages he chooses to use as and when necessary for his purposes—secular, cultural or spiritual. We do not stand to gain in stature except in quarrelsome confusion and we do not lose in prestige except in our *a priori* imagination of inferiority complex, by eschewing the English language from official recognition, whether at the Centre or at the State level. Even if more than hundred years of slavery and dependence preceded the last "fourteen years in the wilderness" for us, we must now be shaking off all feelings of inferiority complex and false prestige, by continuing English as our official language.

Srikulam SUNDARNARAYAN PATNAIK

PERMITS FOR CEMENT

Under the above caption the following letter by Mr. T. S. Jayaraman of Villivakkam (a suburb of Madras) has appeared in *The Hindu* (p. 4, col. 5, 11th August issue), which throws light on the hardships to which people are put, on account of the permit system for cement:

The Government have introduced the permit system for cement and the authorities vested are the Tahsildar and the District Collector. The Tahsildar wants (1) an approved plan, (2) a certificate from a qualified engineer for the requirement of cement to the proposed construction, and (3) Village Munsiff's certificate for the ownership. Plans are not usually drawn and constructed in villages where the Town Planning Act is not in force. An instance was reported to me that a qua-

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

lified engineer wants Rs. 25 to issue a certificate, the victim in this case being a Village Munsiff himself. What would be the plight of the poor public if the authorities insist on such certificates which can be got only on payment of large sums?

BRONCHITIS QUICKLY CLEARED

WITH
PEPS

World-famous
Throat and Chest Tablets

Sore throat, bronchitis, coughs and colds clear up quickly with PEPs Throat and Chest Tablets. Suck PEPs and feel its healing vapours working... helping to ease pain and remove germs.

PEPS THROAT AND CHEST TABLETS

available at all medicine dealers

C. E. FULFORD (INDIA) PRIVATE LTD.

Sole Agents:
Darha & Co., 86, Nainappa Naick St. Madras-3

HADENSA

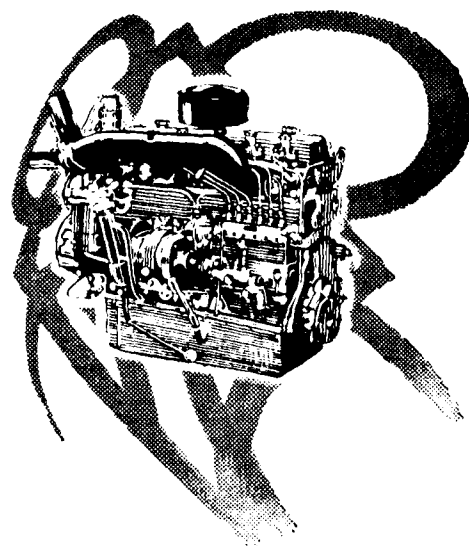
FOR
Piles

AVAILABLE EVERYWHERE

Perkins

**For every power
requirement**

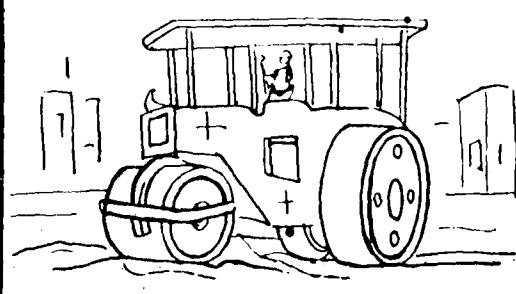
Commercial vehicles or Agricultural Tractors or Road Rollers—there's a Perkins 'P' Series Diesel Engine for every application.



Manufactured in India by:

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

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



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**

Vol. VI. No. 8

MADRAS, AUGUST 26, 1961

Price 15 nP

THE COMMON SCRIPT PLAN

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

It is unfortunate that the lesson has not yet been learnt by those whose thinking has been atrophied by political and executive power—that where emotions are touched and the co-operation of differing minds are required, compulsion has the effect contrary to what is desired. The adumbrated plan of the Congress bosses, who met recently to devise ways of bringing about integration, that the people of India may be asked to use Devanagari script even for their own regional languages and that every boy and girl, besides being grounded in his or her mother-tongue and English, must be compelled to learn two other Indian languages, one of which must be Hindi, is a project that is neither practicable nor likely to induce goodwill or unity but is certain to create hostile passions and misunderstanding. I shall not speak of Bengal or Assam or Orissa. I should give expression to what I am certain will be the reactions in the South, about which I am relatively better qualified to speak. The proposals will evoke the uttermost anger in all circles, including those who are deeply sensible of the need for national integration and unity of all India, and are as interested in the culture of our land as any patriot in the North pledged to loyally supporting the fancies and projects of the ruling party.

The talk of making Devanagari a common script for all the languages scheduled in the Constitution is extremely foolish. Let

me not presume to enquire whether the Bengalis or the Assamese, or the people of Orissa or Andhra or Karnataka will agree to write in Nagari for the benefit of their respective people. So far as Tamil is concerned, this is an impossible idea. It is as impracticable as the other project of romanization, to which westerners would be inclined to give support for just the same reasons as make the Hindi people favour a plan of nagarization. As for promoting good feelings, this project is about the worst that can be adumbrated for the integration of minds. It will rouse bitter animosity. I cannot be less frank in my expression if I wish to give honest advice.

Nagari was not the script even for Sanskrit in all parts of India, where it came in times immemorial as a language without a script. Sanskrit was written in the Bengali, the Telugu, the Tamil Grantha and Malayalam alphabets in the respective regions. The notion that it came with the Nagari script is utterly wrong. It is the modern universities and the Bombay publishers who helped to make Nagari universal for Sanskrit.

Tamil has a literature as old as, and as admired and loved by Tamil people, as Sanskrit itself. It has served the cause of culture and religion in the South in equal measure with Sanskrit. The Tamil people will never accept the Nagari script for their language, whatever advantage drawing-room planners may see in it. The classics of Tamil cannot be re-

written in Nagari without damage to their beauty and their appeal. Any attempt to put the Nagari script idea into practice will cause a greater rift and disintegration than anything else that could be conceived of by hasty non-Tamilians in their patriotic zeal.

The English people have not accepted the rationalization of English spelling, in spite of most eminent advocacy. There is something that cannot be overlooked—what may be called the commitment of mass literature and the continuity of education from generation to generation. Script change is obviously harder than change of spelling. I cannot imagine that any modern Tamil writer's brain will work if he begins to write in Nagari.

National integration is something to be achieved in the mind by infectious goodwill, and not by the imposition of a common dress or a common script or a common beard or a common language, or by any other device relating to externals. Effects should not be mistaken for causes. The mind is the seat of union or disunion, and it cannot be reached except by continued generosity, kindness and trust. Shortcuts make matters worse and make a long way longer still.

There is also a proposal regarding secondary education, to make every one compulsorily learn two modern Indian languages, besides the mother-tongue and English, and that one of these two additional languages should be Hindi. It is an ingenious attempt to dis-

FRANKENSTEINS IN PLANNING

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

tribute trouble in an even way, so as to create an impression of impartiality. Apart from how far anyone will succeed in compelling all Hindi-speaking children to learn a South Indian language, this project would hurt the claims of Sanskrit, the study of which is so essential as a moral and cultural integrator in addition to English. If any formula regarding two additional languages should be thought of, it would be best to provide that one of them should be Sanskrit or Hindi. After all Hindi is only Sanskrit 'corrupted'. This should fairly meet all requirements and assist the march to integration and progress.

It is a pity that, in the deliberations of the Congress bosses over such matters, the Tamil Congress leaders do not play their part effectively. I know that their views do not in the least differ from what I have expressed here, but they seem somehow to be overawed or bamboozled by phrases such as 'ultimately', 'not now', 'gradually', and so on. The responsibilities of regional representation get affected by the disproportionate pressure of a single party mentality. I do not wish to put it at worse than that. A little more courage on the part of the Madras ministers would help wisdom as well as the cause of integration.

Frankenstein was a mechanical monster which took life and destroyed not only its creator but many others. The question for careful consideration is whether our Plans contain ingredients which will destroy not only the Congress Party but the people. In spite of its 774-page report, the Third Plan is completely deficient in examining the results of the first two Plans. It may be expedient politically to maintain an impression that no mistakes have been committed, but it is economically inexorable that the process of trial and error is recognised. If not, mistakes will assume the proportions of disasters, which will also be felt politically.

In the agricultural plan, there are many ingredients of disaster. Through the policy of land reforms, the predatory spirit has begun to replace the productive one. Class hatred has been sparked not only between landlords and tenants but between tenants and labourers, because the sense of property has been destroyed. Secondly, the atomisation of agriculture, under a maximum income of Rs. 3,600 annually, has perpetuated the economics of poverty for 82 per cent of the population living in villages. Thirdly, lavish expenditure through Co-operation and Community Development has created expectations contrary to the spirit of self-help, on one hand, and the sense of mistrust in improvements because of their general failure, on the other. The confusion of values has just been completed by the introduction of Panchayat raj which has given power to the greed, communalism and political ambitions of the selected few. History may record that, among the greatest crimes of the Congress Government, was its discrimination against the villages.

The expenditure on irrigation in the first two Plans was Rs. 1,400 crores to which the Third Plan will add Rs. 650 crores. Against the increase of 38 million acres

expected from the first two Plans up to 1958-59, the net area irrigated was only 5.9 million acres, and even up to 1960-61 the area expected to be irrigated is only 9 million acres. The position is so desperate that the Planning Commission has instructed that irrigation dues should be collected, whether water is taken or not. Just at present, large areas live in terror of being flooded out by hastily constructed dams like Pan-shet and Hirakud, not to speak of the dams in Kashmir, one and all of which have been washed away. The country needs irrigation, but before the money of the people is used its success should be assured on technical and economic grounds more than on political ones.

There is a claim that the production of power has been trebled by the first two Plans. This is not borne out by the evidence of power cuts, a constant feature of recent years. It cannot be related to increase in industrial production, the index number of which showed till 1960 an increase of only 67 per cent. In any case, much industrial capacity remains idle for want of power. The rot has been introduced in electricity by nationalization, both production and distribution being a matter of indifference to officials, except on political or personal grounds.

Similarly the expenditure on Railways during the decade, which exceeds the expenditure during the previous century, has increased the track by only about one-thirtieth and that mostly for State enterprises. Even though challenged by another ministry, the Railways have not been able to reduce wagon shortage during the last six months. At the same time, Railways have thwarted the growth of road transport, which is also subject to discriminatory taxes and the threat of nationalization.

There is a provision of Rs. 1,470 crores for industries in the pub-

TARA SINGH'S FAST

Master Tara Singh did not choose to accept my advice to convert his fast into a prayer-fast for effecting change of heart in the Hindu mind and for the dawning of a sense of justice in Delhi. I can only pray fervently (and ask others to do so) for some Divine intervention. God does not require the consent of us mortals for His intervention. May Master Tara Singh's life be somehow saved!

And may the Sikh community, who gallantly stood by the nation in the freedom struggle, hold their souls in patience. Their present energy and success in peaceful industrial endeavour have equalled their past patriotic sacrifices, and they are in every respect an example to the rest of the people of India. Let the Hindus not forget they are as devout worshippers of Hari as any Hindu devotee. It is stupid for either Hindus or Sikhs to look upon one another as belonging to different creeds. The Sikhs are a denomination of the great Hindu community, whom the Hindus should be proud to acknowledge as brothers in faith.

The inevitable consequence of what the Prime Minister has seen as the undesirable results of the linguistic re-organization of States is that an enquiry should be made, as soon as possible, about what can be done to counteract

In respect of education, the mere pursuit of statistical increases, has reduced quality to the extent of reducing the value and popularity of education. Further increases in the schooled but not educated population will create unmanageable problems from educated unemployment.

Almost everything planned has the marks of immaturity which, in the affairs of a continent like India, contains the potentials of disaster. The least that Government can do is to stand still on the Third Plan, until it can be justified in terms of the results of the Second Plan.

lic sector, when a large provision in the previous two Plans has not even added 2 per cent to the gross national product. The inefficiency and breakdowns of these industries is well known but what has not been realised is that the taxes and loans of the people invested in these industries obtain a return of only half a per cent; secondly, that there is no organic pattern, so that some industries like sugar and steel will produce what cannot be consumed, being to that extent a drag and not a taking off point for the economy; thirdly, that the interest payments and the cost of components of these interests practically mortgage all the exports the country can produce; and fourthly, that they are parasites on other industries and agriculture since they squeeze their capital and increase inflation.

Industries in the private sector, as a result of being selected by Government and protected against competition, are over-capitalised for which reason the prices of their production are nearly double the world level, which reduces their internal market and extinguishes the external one. They will not survive competition, being for that reason a drag on future industrial development.

In respect of labour, the distinction made between the organized and unorganized sections for political reasons, is not only unfair by itself but is the source of strikes in the public and private sectors, from which the country is never free.

Trade has been infected by licensing which has led to black markets and constantly rising prices. The State Trading Corporation has disrupted existing connections, particularly foreign ones, which may have already passed to other countries. The Russian rupee credit has enabled that country by ruinous competition to complete the disruption. The result is that we do not have even the foreign exchange to meet the imports required for established industries—a position which must become worse when U.K. joins the Common Market.

these evil results and help the process of synthesis going on among the people of India, and stop the spirit of isolation and mutual opposition among linguistic States. If such an enquiry is started, it will be a valid and convincing reason for Master Tara Singh to await developments, and give up his present fast based on a demand that is consistent only with the present linguistic reorganization of States. It is to be hoped that the Prime Minister will consider this suggestion, in order to prevent an acute situation developing in the Punjab.

The venerable Chairman of the Punjab Swatantra Party, Sardar Uddham Singh Nagoke, has been arrested under the Preventive Detention Act and sent to Yole Camp in the Kangra district. Not a shred of reason for the application of the Detention Act against him has been offered; unless, indeed, it is that he has many times been jailed in India's freedom struggle, and he is now head of the Swatantra Party in the Punjab. That he had several meetings with Master Tara Singh has been mentioned. So also had many others who had wanted to dissuade Masterji from his fast. This and other arbitrary arrests to come are, however, the 'logical' sequence of the repressive policy of the Punjab Congress Dictator, for which he has been given full authority by the Congress High Command. It is most deplorable.

C.R.

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

TASTE
SRI GANESH RAM'S
SAMBAR & RASAM
(2 Separate Powders)
MADRAS CURRY-POWDER
(Garram 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

CURRENT EVENTS ; :

Whilst nations are in a hurry to be in the front of the bandwagon by performing the Big Leap vaulting over five-years and seven-years at a stretch, the Soviet Prime Minister has given a picture of Russian achievements, on the screen of 1980, through socialistic enterprise. In a document of 180 pages (our Third Plan runs to 774 pages), Mr. Khrushchov envisages his socialistic pattern of society where abundant food is served free to the people, no taxes are paid, and where in addition to a large number of holiday amenities and early pensioned case, the day's labour does not exceed five hours' exertion. Even in the cabled summary what inspires the Soviet dictator is his passion to prove that in a matter of years the communist system is going to outstrip the free enterprise economy (viciously rubbed in as capitalism, colonialism, militarism, imperialism, etc). He sticks to his description of the U.S. as a spent runner living on the reputation of past performances.

President Kennedy happens to be extremely sensitive about the challenge, and in his first press conference after the Vienna disillusionment, he devoted the interview to prove that the United States would continue to outproduce the communistic bloc and reeled out a few statistics to establish that even at the end of the century, the rival confederation of communists would be left far, far behind. In this competitive argument for pride of place, the vision of 1980 (when the present prophets cannot be alive) looks gorgeous. Meanwhile, there are a number of explosive corners on earth where the blow-up of both sides would start by miscalculation—trouble-spots like Laos, the Middle East, North Africa and the highly inflammable area of Berlin. If ten years ago some Russian scientist had foretold the feats performed by Vostov I and Vostov II, he would have been condemned for a crank suffering from fren-

zied imagination. There is no safety in predictions, and all the contents of our own tome of 774 pages carries a lot of expendable stuff. Physical disarmament, however, excites these astrologers in high places who dabble in statistics regardless of the mechanics of social movements and the functioning of human nature. The most comic comment heard after Mr. K's display of conditions in 1980, consists of a Washington columnist's inference that Russia is not likely to start a fight over Berlin, at the risk of losing the enjoyments he forecasts for the Paradise of 1980.

What is picturesque and gigantic, even if it is not viable or immediately necessary, grips the imagination of some people. On August 5, a New Delhi communique announced that the Planning Commission had authorised the department of Atomic Energy to go ahead with a project according to which Canada and India have "agreed to make a joint-study of the cost of building a large-scale multi-million-dollar nuclear power-station of Canadian design in India". The study on the first round would cost 50,000 dollars advanced by India for the vital heat-and-electricity programme, although the coal problem in India cries for prior attention as fuel resource. The project is spectacular, the first in Asia, the criticality being dependent on uranium for Canada.

Mr. S. K. Dey has been lashing around the country holding seminars for the spread of co-operative farming and panchayat-raj, but from his own confessions experiments are on the edge, and large allotments will be required instead of miraculous profits materialising as per estimates. The mechanical cultivation section of the Agriculture Department of the Maharashtra State, has in a report just released admitted that it has

been running at a loss since its inception, although the section was reorganised three times. Activities are at a standstill; and we are told that the Government "is now contemplating expansion of the activities of the section; the Government is also deciding to confirm 64 out of the 150 employees of the section whose services had been of a temporary nature; and, therefore, the resulting sense of security and stability must go a long way towards success". The very expression "Nagpur resolution" about co-operative farming passed by the A.I.C.C. at Nagpur is supposed to be a magic panacea for agricultural backwardness; and when it is added that the project had been certified by the Ooty Seminar, there is a thrill of sanctity and certainty in the proposition. There is the hypnotic spell of Congress economics succeeding, which still requires to be dispelled.

Not long ago Mr. C. Rajagopalachari had raised the question whether it is right or expedient to keep the doors open for High Court judges to look to preferment from Government. We understand that the question received the attention of many High Court and Supreme Court judges and their opinion crystallised into the appreciation of C.R.'s warning. At the recent meeting of the chief ministers in New Delhi, the Union Home Minister announced that they were in favour of "a certain number of judges being drawn from outside the States". The Law Commission recommended and the Government accepted the institutional principle that the Chief Justice must be a competent "outsider", to avoid involvement in State politics and maintain the uniformity of the legal system which above all is vital to integration in terms of the English language sustaining statutes. Very recently Governor Bhimsen Sachar of Andhra Pradesh addressed the Indian Law Institute at Hyderabad, when he stressed the importance of the members of the judicial service refusing public office as a gift from government after

THE CLIMATE OF INTEGRATION

By B. R. KUMAR

It is an obvious truism that, in the last analysis, no problem can really be solved except by going back to first principles, to the 'nature of things', as the Greeks said, to the 'essence of things' as the Gita says. That is after all the difference between the 'doctus' and the quack—the one goes to the root of the matter, the other to mere symptoms. And that is the fault of all the nostrums that have been suggested by our politicians to arrest our 'disintegration' and hasten our 'integration'; they do not go to the nature of things, to the root of the matter, they mistake the *symptom* for the *cause*.

The two words 'integration' and 'disintegration' are used in connection with biological organisms—as distinguished from mechanical products—and it is the essence of all biological life that it grows from within, as it is the essence of all mechanical life that it is assembled from without. Hence disintegration and integration are not processes that can be either halted or imposed from without; all that the wise legislators and wise men can do is to create a climate in which the one will be halted and the other flourish. Man cannot, with all his capacity of producing the hydrogen bomb, 'assemble' a single mosquito; all he can do is to create marshy soil in which the insect is born and flourishes in the nature of things. Or conversely, he can create con-

retirement. His Excellency observed with regret:

I hope I am wrong but it appears to me that small cracks have become noticeable here and there in the proverbial cloistered life of some judicial officers in the country.

Stop the rot. Incidentally, one recalls how at the time of the Minto-Morley Reforms when the Governor's Executive Council was allowed a minimal quota of one Indian, the late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, a brilliant puisne judge was selected. Without reference to personality, the principle of it was promptly challenged. The late Dr. T. M. Nair led a protest, then considered truculent, saying that such promotion for a member of the judiciary, however distinguished, should never be treated

ditions in which the mosquito cannot breed and grow—and thus create a climate of health. But the assumption of all our nostrums is that our integration is a mechanical product, and can, therefore, be brought about by a basketful of parliamentary enactments; much like what Arthur Young wrote about the enthusiasts of the French National Assembly—"they think a Constitution is a pudding to be made from a recipe". Parliamentary democracy of the English pattern has been a hopeless failure in France, because constitutions cannot be made from a recipe; they grow in the social soil of the people. It is because our present rulers ignore this fact that they are unable to find right remedies.

If then integration is an organic growth and must grow from within, all that our rulers need do, and can do, is to create a climate of integration; that is the only purpose of politics. And the first requisite of this climate is a philosophy of stability. Unfortunately, our rulers have been brought up and waxed to their present power and status under a philosophy of revolution—and hence revolutionary pose and talk have almost become the breath of their nostrils. But fundamentally the essence of life is stability. Revolution may be a necessity when the balance of nature has been upset, but it is only a means, not an end. Without a philosophy of stability there can be no integration, for integration implies a nucleus round which the parts integrate, which itself must be stable. England and the U.S.A. are perhaps the two most notable examples of an integrated people, and, in each instance, this integration has been a process of internal growth in a favourable climate; all their revolutions have been only the recovery of a right; all their philosophers have been conservatives. Our "children of the revolution"—as the Prime Minister once styled himself and the members of his party—must get over the delirium of their revolutionary past, if they want national integration. The second requisite of a climate of integration is a general feeling of equality of all citizens before the law, which implies the absolute impartiality of the State as between not only the different classes of citizens, but as against the State itself. Congress rule during the last 14 years has been based on anything except this sense of absolute impartial justice. On the con-

and created a new *elite* of its own party members. Intrigue, favouritism, greed, jealousy, envy—these are not the emotions on which integration can be built. The foundation of emotional integration is a general feeling of friendliness for all one's neighbours—and these cannot be evoked if there is a general sense of favouritism and nepotism in the air. The State must be an impartial and loving friend of all—and not merely the patron of some favoured few. Both in Rome and in England, it was the supremacy of the Law that was at the root of integration. Congress rule has been a curious paradox of arrogant overlordship of the Centre as against the States and the people, and arrogant exclusiveness of the States as against each other and against minorities within their boundaries. And our wise rulers wonder, why we are disintegrating!

The third requisite for national integration is economic stability; the physical counterpart of the mental and spiritual philosophy of stability. Of the many causes given for the disintegration of the Roman Empire, the most important was the economic instability brought about by constant and universal spread of inflation. Inflation is not merely a material jugglery for transferring a surplus from the people to the State; it is a moral corrosive; it reduces a whole people to a state of terror and frustration. To the



The
Nation's
Best

★

BENGAL ELECTRICALS CO.
MADRAS-17 — BANGALORE-3

PANDIT
D. GOPALACHARI

JEEVAMRUTHAM

FOR HEALTH & STRENGTH

AYURVEDASRAMAM
(PRIVATE) LTD.
MADRAS-17

extent that history is the result of economic forces, inflation deliberately puts a premium on anti-social activities, which in the very nature of things must lead to disintegration.

In a famous cinema picture of Charlie Chaplin, a boy precedes him and breaks the glass of shop-windows, and Charlie appears on the scene a

little later and undertakes to repair the damage. Our Congress rulers have been acting much in the same fashion. For 14 years they have been shouting slogans, and setting in motion policies that must inevitably lead to disintegration—and now they come forward to point out the fact and offer to repair the damage! They deplore

casteism, linguism, provincialism, greed, jealousy, blackmarket, moral decay, corruption, nepotism and a host of other such ills, which they declare we are suffering from, and want us to forget the fact that they have been the absolute rulers of the country during the very period when these ills assumed aggravated form.

The day
breaks brighter
tomorrow



WHERE a child laughs with eyes like
the clear rays of sunlight, and the strength of thunder
in his limbs...there is a home.

In a home dawns the man of tomorrow. A tomorrow
that will bring a little less of care, a little more of joy.

Today and tomorrow...Hindustan Lever serves the home
with soaps, foods, toilet preparations.

DR 21-552

MORGANATIC STATUS FOR ENGLISH

By POTHAN JOSEPH

A morganatic status has been assigned for the English language in the Chief Ministers' Conference (August 11), when hectic measures were being forged at New Delhi for "liberal and generous safeguards for linguistic minorities"; they also resolved to constitute "a high-level committee to promote national integration and watch over the working of the safeguards". With hardly six months to go for the elections, and the overweening zest of the ruling party to perpetuate power, we may expect all kinds of wonder-drugs to nurse back a sick economy, and win a landslide against any Opposition, particularly the Swatantra Party adjudged by the Prime Minister as "reactionary", without any future.

Panicky amendments of the Criminal Law to curb disharmony in the country (traceable to divergence in views) preoccupy Parliament, but the campaign being of all-India range, this committee is installed at a high-level; and, no doubt, it will be high-powered considering the exigencies of an overnight rally for votes. Precautionary steps are mounted fast, and on the linguistic front of disintegration, the cure consists of the co-existence of languages with paramountcy for Hindi in the long run. Uttar Pradesh leadership on the Hindi issue has not been disturbed, since eventually and in the long run, the Unity of India is to be subserved by the universalisation of Hindi, with English temporarily tolerated as *lingua-franca* of India. Any threat of separatism will be treated as a Katanga movement of break-away tendencies, calling for drastic action, such deviationism being treasonable.

To anticipate a quick process of national agglutination under the care of a high-powered syndicate with amendments in the penal law to suit the programme, is to hypnotize the masses and put off the national responsibility of undoing the root-mischief of

the real concept underlying States Reorganisation in 1954.

In discursive language, the resolution on the subject goes round and round the whole controversy over the retention of a serviceable and progressive language that holds India together, minimising factionalism.

Dr. B. C. Roy's prescription is that when, in a State more than five percent of the population have a particular dialect as their mother-tongue, it should be recognised as a national language in a polyglot country; the Pataskar device favours a strength of 70 per cent in the population belonging to contiguous areas as a test for boundary-markings. The Shastri formula to compose differences in Assam has been given the cold shoulder, although it is customary to talk of the Shastri formula with its ultimate consummation in Hindi (in Devanagari script).

Such a medley does not augur well for any phase of all-India integration, because the six months' honeymoon must end in a rude awakening, since the issue had not been rationalised but merely sentimentalized.

The Prime Minister's undertaking is that there shall be no imposition of Hindi in education or in administration, unless the people of the non-Hindi speaking areas take the initiative and approach the Centre for the implementation of their wish. There is reason for sympathising with Mr. Nehru on his difficulties of legislation to redeem his word, but his immediate obsession is the winning of the elections. Such being the priority, the position resembles the stand of Mr. Chester Bowles in his New Delhi speech. When press correspondents questioned him about America's attitude towards several developments in Asia, the Under-Secretary of State fussily argued that the immediate problem was "Berlin", its priority claiming attention in the first place. If Mr. Nehru does not make

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

good his undertaking to minorities, the obvious excuse is that priority of election-claims is tied up with the hot-house imperative of national integration in the hands of a Special Committee, high-levelled and high-powered, and possibly preceded by a seminar.

The attempt to invest the English language with a morganatic status is, however, chimerical when the reasonings endorsed by the chief ministers at New Delhi are intrinsically weighed and not played as an electioneering stunt. When King Edward VIII was in trouble over the Mrs. Simpson affair, the idea of a morganatic marriage without Court-status for the spouse was vigorously canvassed by some romantic die-hards. I have an idea that Winston Churchill, a friend of King Edward from childhood, had in his intense loyalty some sympathy for any artifice that would retain the King in the Buckingham Palace; but he earned the opprobrium of the Baldwin group by his attitude towards the "constitutional crisis". When the solution was commended, both Prime Minister Baldwin and the Archbishop of Canterbury made up their minds and declared that there could be no such thing as a morganatic alliance, and such a thing could not be improvised as a royal convenience since a pledge of undivided faith could alone seal sanctity and security in any solemnization.

The act of grudgingly bowing before the English language as an "associate" inmate in the harem—to be eventually discarded like Hagar from the House of Abraham—amounts to the staging of a melodrama, the theatre-management imagining that the audience consists of dunder-heads occupying free seats. This jugglery in tactics is an insult to adult mentality.

After the elections. What?

CAPITAL COMMENTS

HAPPENINGS IN THE PUNJAB

By JUNIUS.

NEW DELHI: Things are happening in the Punjab—as anticipated as well as otherwise! The dismissal of a colleague of his, by the Governor of the State, presumably at his instance is one more feather in Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon's cap or turban. For the arrest of the local Swatantra leader under the Preventive Detention Act, the "credit" wholly goes to his administration. When the Swatantra leader, Mr. Ranga, approached the Home Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, for permission to go and see Mr. Nagoke, he was politely asked to apply to the Chief Minister of the State, which means that the Centre has given a free hand to the 'provincial satrap'.

Yet behind the scenes in Delhi, policy-makers are busy exploring a way out of the impasse in the Punjab. They will not of course yield to Master Tara Singh; nor would they like to have his death on their hands. They feel that something must be done to avert the crisis. Their minds are said to be moving in terms of a high-power commission which will enquire if there was really any discrimination against the Sikhs as alleged, and will also, on going into the Suba question, give a finding whether a unilingual State should be carved out of the Punjab or the Punjab could continue to be a bilingual one. An announcement about its appointment should mean the end of the Akali Leader's fast.

From experience nobody need feel surprised that the vigour which characterised the Prime Minister's observations on Goa at home or Angola abroad (in his opening and concluding speeches on the Foreign Affairs debate in the Lok Sabha) seemed to wilt away when he raised his voice on East Berlin. Not for the first time had the fear of having to say possibly something harsh on the Soviet Government held him back

from venturing too far. It may be recalled that, while at the time of the Suez misadventure, he spoke at once of international gangsterism, he was all reticent on the harrowing conditions in Hungary. This attitude of his persists: it may not be international, much less deliberate, but somehow it happens so. From him the French or even the British cannot, it seems, expect the same consideration or latitude, as the Russians or even the Chinese can.

Mr. Nehru's reluctance to be outspoken on the issue of Berlin might have been due to more than one reason. Perhaps he has not yet come to any firm conclusion, amidst the mutual recriminations of the Soviet Government and the Western Powers. Or, perhaps, he thinks he can (if it is not already hinted that he should) help to evolve a formula which will pacify (though it may not satisfy) both the blocs. He is still lucky in not being distrusted by either, and he can perhaps do a better job than any other man in his position. He has the additional advantage of being able to carry the neutral nations with him in his quest for solutions to international problems.

Quite a marked shift in our foreign policy was noticed in his approach to the problem of Goa. Congressmen will not be slow in pressing to their advantage, in the election campaign, the merger of Dadra and Nagar Haveli in the Indian Union. After the country-wide frustration arising out of loss of huge territory elsewhere, the return of two small chunks back to "the arms of the Motherland", came in handy for some face-saving. The talk of the liberation of Goa is now both louder and braver. The Prime Minister no doubt refused to be hustled in the process that had begun. He also discountenanced moves for raising a private army or a volunteer corps unto that end. Yet he made it clear that he would not rule out

SATYAM EVA JAYATE

By
RAJAJI

Volume One Now on Sale

560 pages - Cloth Gilt

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.

This is a collection of Rajaji's articles in Swarajya and other journals on various topics from 1956 to 61 in two volumes

Price: Rs. 6/-

If sent by post Rs. 1.50 extra. Second Volume will be released in October at the same price.

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

military action, though he had frowned at members who were once making such suggestions. This is a radical departure from the stand he had taken earlier.

Some time back Mr. Kripalani asked Mr. Nehru in the Lok Sabha why India should fight shy of armed intervention at home in defence of her own territory, if she had no objection to send troops to assist the U.N. in Congo. It would be even more relevant to ask him now why military action should be ruled out in the case of the Chinese aggressors, when it could not necessarily be ruled out in Goa for its liberation. Surely, the Chinese are not less objectionable to us than the Portuguese, though colonialism jars more on our ears than communism! If the

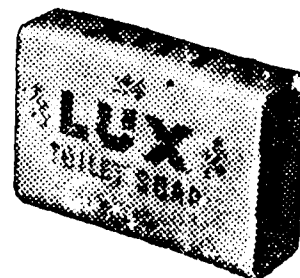
PURE, MILD **LUX** IN
4 RAINBOW COLOURS
AS WELL AS THE WHITE YOU LOVE!



'Each colour so enchanting—I love them all'
says VYJAYANTHIMALA

Colours you'll dance to! LUX in Pink! Green! Blue! Yellow! All with gay matching wrappers. And there's your White too. Each is your favourite LUX, pure and mild, so good for your complexion. Be your merriest—with LUX in 'rainbow' colours.

THE PURE, MILD BEAUTY SOAP
OF THE FILM STARS



A HINDUSTAN LEVER PRODUCT

LTS. 86-X54

BOOK REVIEW

COMMUNIST CHINA WITH THE LID OFF

COMMUNIST CHINA TODAY

By S. Chandrasekhar

Asia Publishing House, Rs. 9.

We have had a number of people going from India to China at public expense. One set of them have given us reports of a new heaven on a new earth that they have discovered there. The other set have seen things as they are—but for some reason or other have kept the discovery locked in their minds. Dr. Chandrasekhar is not one of them. He spent the winter of 1958 in People's China "visiting a dozen major cities, a few villages and 4 communes", going as far as Harbin in old Manchuria, Lanchow in the West, the gateway to Central Asia and Shanghai in the East. He has sampled China fairly inclusively and here is the impression that he has brought of the China made by communism.

He starts off with agriculture, still the most important and widest-spread industry of China as it is of India. It is through co-operatives as a half-way house to collectivization (an experiment, by the way, which the Congress Government in India wants to try, with or without fear of the same trend). There were in 1956 about 1,300,000 co-operatives, leaving only a small number of the 500 million peasants out of the movement. Through co-operatives and the recently organized communes they have achieved an increase of 60 per cent in yield of food-grains. But how much of this is due to co-operatives and communes one cannot say, for water-conservancy, improvement of the

soil, application of fertilizers and better seeds have also contributed to the increase—and these are possible with individual farmers also as in Japan.

The commune is not merely an agricultural institution. It is a social institution with a larger scope intended to revolutionize the social organization of China. China had been for centuries a nation of sturdy individualists. A typical commune, the Chi-li-ying commune, described by the author, comprises 68 villages composed by 12,133 households with a total population of 57,551 people; the land, the houses, the farm implements, the cattle, the industries are all owned and managed by the commune; the children are put, the babies at creches, the little children (4-6) into kindergartens, the older children (7-16 years) into co-educational schools—who spend their school-time in schools and the rest in their respective boarding houses. The husband and wife, father and mother are housed in rooms in large communal tenement houses, and there are "happy homes for the aged". Everybody is accommodated in neat little places and everything done for them by common overhead arrangements—kitchen, restaurants, wells, hospitals, dispensaries over which the individual has no control or say. Everything is found for him or her—not perhaps in the quantity or quality he or she would like. But what a saving in work and worry! So it is in the jail or in the ant-hill!

Industrialization is proceeding apace, but Dr. Chandrasekhar discovered that

most of the large products (cars, trucks, buses, textile machinery, locomotives, radio and television sets) were made in Russia or in Russian-sponsored-and-equipped factories and bicycles and wheelbarrows were the only industrial products "made in China". One relieving feature of the Chinese industrial system is that the gap in salary between the director and other bosses of the works and the workers is very small.

Women in communist China have been steam-rollered into equality with men, with the same blue coat and trousers for either sex—equality to the point of uniformity. The relations between the sexes are on business lines and has become, Dr. Chandrasekhar seems regretfully to note, prim and puritanical. Prostitution—and this is one up for communist China—has been practically abolished, men and women are busy producing. But manual labour still continues to be, as in the China of history, the monopoly of women.

The new Education of communist China at least has some useful lessons for India. The difficult and laborious Chinese script is being romanized. Agricultural and trade technical schools abound. Every child has to spend a certain number of hours a week in manual training. Of course, higher education is State-controlled and State-directed, and directed towards the spread of the evangel of communism.

China's population position is not happy in Dr. Chandrasekhar's view. Marriage has become even more universal than before and a growing population is the deliberate policy of communist China. But unlike India, communist China insists on adult marriages. But contraceptives and contraceptive factories are available and account together with the encouragement of marriage and a large population, for what Dr. Chandrasekhar calls the meandering policy of the communist government. And he relates the population of China to its aggressive foreign policy. In the last but one chapter on Tibet the author denounces the current foreign policy of China. In the final chapter, Sino-Indian relations is the subject and he advises that in view of what has taken place in recent months, India's foreign policy towards China ought to be changed. Is this a step towards an all-round change? Dr. Chandrasekhar does not say but he hints at it when he says that "the real struggle of the future in Asia will not be between India and China but between democracy and freedom on the one hand and communism and its tyranny, on the other".

M. RUTHNASWAMY

HAPPENINGS IN THE PUNJAB

Portuguese who claim the right of passage to their former enclaves are to be "ejected at great speed" which is but right, it is not less right but even more logical that the Chinese intruders should not be denied the same courtesy. But no such hope was held out by Mr. Nehru.

It seems that in regard to the Chinese issue, his mood was one of realism, while in respect of Pakistan and Portugal it was rather one of emotion. China admittedly needs to be dealt with on a long-time basis. Portugal, on the other hand, is a fast crumbling proposition. As for Pakistan, it is not in India's interests that the immediate neighbour should become too

much of an obsession. Mr. Nehru's mind is now definitely moving in favour of India's military build-up on a reasonable scale, and for strictly legitimate purpose. His readiness to buy arms and planes wherever they are available, wholly in the interests of India's security, should go quite a long way in reassuring the people that Indian defence is in no way neglected. While nobody would suggest that there has been anything like an attempt to trim foreign policy for public favour, one may feel that the new "shift" is quite a big sop to the Prime Minister's partymen, when they are hard put to impress the electorate that the destinies of the country are safe in their hands.

Dear Reader

"I am the State," said Louis XVI and was surprised at the attempt to make a difference about it. So also does the Congress Party believe about itself that it is the State and that it is ridiculous for any one to doubt it. The August 15 festival has been celebrated all over the land once again, as if it were the Congress Party's anniversary function. Flags have been unfurled and hoisted, and festoons hung, so that all people may believe that the festival is altogether and exclusively a Congress boost.

This objectionable ambiguity of the tri-colour, and of all festivals in which it forms an essential part, is a menace to parliamentary democracy. The Defence forces and the Civil services are all being indoctrinated in this scheme of identifying a particular party with the State. Such a confusion would not be tolerated in England or America.

As against the open indulgence in this ambiguity of flags and festival, it is amusing to see that the Election Commissioner is finding it difficult to give the Swatantra Party equal facilities with the Congress in the matter of symbol and voters' lists. We are told that we did not secure three per cent of the votes at the last elections (when we were not born!) and so we cannot have the facilities which the Congress Party will enjoy in these respects. The Election Commissioner hesitates to accept the principle of equal opportunities to a party that challenges the Congress Party's claim to rule at the Centre and in the States. Some test or other, he thinks, must be invented against new parties in place of the inapplicable rule arbitrarily enunciated without any legislative authority.

★

Congressmen are tackling the language problem. The fact is they are suffering from two minds about it. Reason and judgment pull them one way. Obstinacy pulls them in another direction. They

have almost arrived at the truth. But they shrink from it like a man who has decided on a plunge-bath in winter but shrinks from it on approaching the cold water. They have seen that English is the inevitable solution for the problem of effective integration of all parts of India into one understanding nation. But as they are making the discovery, they are frightened by it and add "until Hindi is sufficiently developed" etc., etc., etc. To confess an error and retract requires courage—and only God gives that courage. These until's and if's must go. There is no use burdening the truth with if's and until's.

I have argued and written quite enough on this subject. I must now leave the work to others. It is as much their concern as mine, and recent happenings have removed the mist and enabled every one to see the path clearly. Unfortunately, the Prime Minister who sees clearly has a congenital inability to get things done rightly. It is a relieving feature that quite a few others, too, have now begun to see and speak nearly as they should. Let us hope for co-operative courage to emerge and save India from disintegration. English has integrated and united us and it is an essential element in the unity we have forged. It is not good or safe to kick off the ladder by which we climbed up. Hindi is good. It is spoken by a large number of good people. But it is not good enough for the requirements of governments and universities. It has not coped with modern knowledge in its own right. Let us not in our myopia disable the youth of the nation from giving of their best as they should all over India, irrespective of the language islands we have been stupidly seeking to perpetuate.

The latest hand-out of the Press Registrar shows that the circulation of English newspapers in India calculated from figures available for 1960 is 11½ lakhs. As against this the circulation of

Hindi newspapers is less than 7½ lakhs. The figures for the Southern languages, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam papers, total more than 13 lakhs. Newspaper reading is a fair index of the relative potential of languages as a means of communication among those interested in public affairs. The overwhelming vogue of English is obvious from the above figures. The relative position of Hindi as against the languages of the South is also interesting.

★

It is surprising that people talk of holding the price line even after the announcements contained in the Third Plan—wherein everything is being organized to make prices soar. 'Holding the price line' is not a physical circus performance. It is a phrase to indicate the stabilising effects of government operations on the prices of commodities. The Third Plan is a total contradiction of any intention to hold the price line. Arbitrary ukases will just push things into the black-market. It has come to my notice that even government departments sometimes buy in the black-market. It is then called the 'free' market.

★

"Big Rise in Foreign Balances" is a recent cheerful headline in the newspapers. In small print the explanation follows that the increase was because of credits received from the International Monetary Fund. This so-called rise is round about Rs. 55 crores.

★

Strong objection has been taken to Mr. Chester Bowles's statement that America would come to India's aid if there be a communist military attack on India. Because this would be an infringement of our non-alignment! The doctrine of non-alignment, it appears, demands that we should be left alone if the communists attack us. The stupidity of dogma and the illusions of self-importance cannot go further. How one wishes that half this pride were exhibited in non-acceptance of

aid from sources addicted to the cold war and our nation not led into Himalayan indebtedness!

Non-alignment does not stand in the way of Madras children being fed at mid-day by America, as advertised in photographs and letterpress, or in the way of our begging for rice instead of wheat from America.

annual interest charges in the foreign loans account, which should go into our annual budgets of expenditure in the future, and how it would compare with the anticipated Defence expenditure, and how both together will compare with the total budget.

It would be of some use to those who study the Third Plan to know what will be our total

Whatever the needs of India may be to fill up the gap that yawns between minimum requirements for the third, fourth, fifth and



We are 'rather proud of ourselves

TODAY, banking is almost a public utility. Its success depends on its ability to give friendly and helpful service.

We modestly believe that our progress shows that our clients, whether they are industrialists, exporters or just men who want to deposit Rs. 5/- in a Savings Bank account, realise that in IOB they have an institution that has made friendly service the basis for all their activities.

THE INDIAN OVERSEAS BANK LIMITED

Central Office, Madras

M. C. Muthiah
Chairman

C. P. Doraiswami
General Manager

succeeding Plans and the maximum limit of taxation already reached, Mr. Saund of the American Senate has by his amendment (which was accepted by the Senate) brought to international notice the need to guard parliamentary democracy against the totalitarian method of committing a country to particular policies and particular expenditures for long periods of five, ten and fifteen years in advance. This is what is happening now in New Delhi, which makes the elections a meaningless farce as in communist countries.

C.R.

Voters' Ignorance of Facts

Socialism is the class policy of the government official and the politician. It increases their numbers, their power and their patronage. It is opposed to the class interest of the owners of property, whom it eventually deprives of their property.

In India a clear majority of the population are property-owners, and vast numbers of others aspire to that position. The number of government officials and politicians of the level to exercise power, together with all possible aspirants to such positions, is a fraction of one per cent. The workers in organised industry, numbering a few per cent, are also traditional supporters of socialism.

There is no reason to doubt that if the question were put to the electorate honestly, they would vote very nearly according to their interests as outlined above. That is to say, the electorate would be overwhelmingly and unalterably opposed to socialism. Yet that policy is being put through in their name. Such a thing can be done only by concealing the essential facts.

As for equality and freedom, it is already clear that the tendency of the State economy, with its vast, centrally controlled apparatus of experts and managers, must be opposed to both.

But the failure of the socialistic second Plan has not led to any revision of false ideas. The third Plan is far larger, and more socialistic. As the Prime Minister said when he signed it, it is a challenge. It is indeed: a chal-

ROOT CAUSE OF VIOLENCE

By K. S. RAMAMURTHY

Do we want to give violence a permanent place in our body-politic? The present trends in the country and the way the rulers are handling our affairs provoke this question. The recent ban by the Punjab Government of publication in the Punjab newspapers of any kind of news relating to the Punjab Suba is so thoughtless that it is calculated not to maintain peace and order in the State but deliberately to provoke the people to take to violence, to find an excuse, it would seem, to suppress the movement. *The Statesman* says editorially that "the Government remains wholly preoccupied with curbs—such sweeping and indefensible ones as the ban on news are worthless and stupid like stopping all cars entering the Golden Temple and requiring each driver to disclose his identity and licence number as though to enter the temple were a motoring offence". When people are driven to desperation, it is extremely

difficult to contain them. There is no sense in condemning violence after it has taken place, while nothing is done to prevent its occurrence. The acts of the Punjab Government will not only aggravate the already existing bitter feeling amongst the Sikhs but also have grave consequences for all communities, if good sense does not prevail in time.

Much of post-Independence violence could have been avoided if only the governments both at the Centre and in the States were not so lacking in imagination. If the Government had listened to reason and did the right thing at the right time, Bombay would have been spared of so much bloodshed. Having started on the path of linguistic division of the country, the Government must have followed the logic of its own acts. But it would not. In Assam one day Bengali is granted equal status with Assamese. The demand for Punjab Suba has as much logic behind it as did, say, the demand for the crea-

tion of a separate Telugu-speaking State. Master Tara Singh's fast-unto-death, if persisted in, is of the same character as was Potti Srimulu's, and no less moral. These are all the natural consequences of the forces let loose by the Government itself. But it will not accept the logic of events except when people are driven to the point of madness, resulting in the breaking of heads. And precious time will be wasted in the hunt for unacceptable formulas.

Demonstrations are resorted to as effective means of drawing the attention of Authority to grievances. If the Government moves quickly, probes into the nature and cause of a grievance, and acts with wisdom but firmly, bearing in mind its character, a major cause for violation of peace could be dealt with. The Government takes long to look into anything, takes longer to act, and even then it acts only half-heartedly. Or it adopts the other extreme of acting too soon, and with a bang! The events leading to the creation of the Andhra State and the recent happenings in Assam are cases in point.

(Continued on page 15)



start the day
with
HAMAM
the family soap



...and it lasts longer!

A TATA PRODUCT

SURF IN THE MODERN HOME...



'THE WAY WE LIVE TODAY...'

says housewife PREMA SOONDERJI of Bombay

'THE WAY WE LIVE TODAY,' says Mrs Prema G. Soonderji of Walkeshwar Road, Bombay, 'we all want new and better things.

'SURF for instance. Today, I am proud of my washing because SURF makes such a brilliant job of it.'

SURF washes everything in the Soonderji home—shirts and saris, towels and sheets.

WHY NOT SURF IN YOUR HOME? SURF cuts your washing work in half, yet gives you washing that's fresh and gloriously white. See SURF's extra washing power at work in your home today.

Surf gives you the WHITEST WASH

A HINDUSTAN LEVER PRODUCT



SU. 18-X54

August 16, 1961

ROOT CAUSE OF VIOLENCE (CONTD.)

Two lessons have been taken to heart by the Government if resort to violence by the aggrieved were to be avoided. It does not matter if Authority is in the wrong; it is as likely to act wrongly as anyone else does. But Authority will do well to listen to protests, look into demands, and see if anything is wrong anywhere and set matters right if it could; in any event, it would act wisely if it accepted a demand which commonsense will tell that it cannot be put off for long. People should never be driven to desperation. That is the

second lesson. It will be provoking incitement to violence if Authority should try public patience too long and too often. A minister who not merely runs the transport system badly but tells the people that they have no right to expect any improvement as it was already the best in the world, will be courting trouble, because he refuses to face facts. People as a whole do not take to violence except under extreme provocation and helplessness, when they feel that nothing could be worse than the existing state of affairs, and resort to violence. Wisdom consists in reaching

SWARAJYA

15

a settlement betimes and not allowing things to get out of hand.

We can avoid people taking to violence to seek remedies for wrongs, only when Authority tries to carry conviction to the people that reasonable demands will always be met, and not by flourishing the big stick. The genuine difficulties of minorities should not be overlooked by the majority in a State. If the majority uses its sheer strength of numbers to get all things done in its own way, the minority will willy-nilly take to the path of violence as a ready way of getting justice done.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

ELECTION EVE ETHICS!

Sir,—Readers of the recent press reports of the speeches made by Mr. Nijalingappa and Chief Minister Jatti at the reception accorded to them by the Chamber of Commerce, Bangalore a few days ago, would have rubbed their eyes before they could believe what they read. The Pradesh Congress President is reported to have told the gathering, in all seriousness, that the Congress stood for strengthening the private sector and that it would give all help to private entrepreneurs to start new business, and to expand existing ones. When the Third Plan has stated, in unmistakable terms, that, during the plan period, the private sector would be cribbed and confined till it is ultimately replaced by the public sector, has provided considerably higher resources for the public sector, and has given a big boost to co-operative societies—another means of stifling private enterprise—by increasing the provision for co-operation from Rs. 4 crores in the Second Plan to Rs. 18 crores in the Third Plan, what authority has the President of the Pradesh Committee to make a statement *contrary* to the declared policy of the Government?

When the Road Transport Corporation of Mysore was inaugurated on August 1, it was announced that road transport in the State will be *completely* nationalized before the end of the Third Plan. Is this "fostering private enterprise"? Did Mr. Nijalingappa imagine that the memory of his audience was so short that they could not remember even what was dished out to them by the Government of Mysore only a week before?

The performance of the Chief Minister was even more stunning. He is reported to have told the audience that he understood that the commercial community had some grievances (!) and that he was ever ready to listen to

them and to remedy the defects in procedure, if any. He is also reported to have promised that he would hereafter set apart every Saturday for this purpose. Could the worst critic of Government expect anything more magnanimous from even the most benevolent Government? But the sceptic will ask "Where was all this solicitude for the commercial community all these four years and more? This is all baby feeding on the election eve." The performance of both the principal guests was really an insult to the hosts.

We have a recent instance of similar election tactics in the Lok Sabha also. When the question of preference to be given to backward classes came up, the Government spokesman is reported to have said that the Central Government does not approve of caste being the criterion for determining backwardness. That statement was intended to satisfy those who do not like the criterion now applied. But the votes of those who swear by caste have also to be retained. That group was mollified when the Minister went on to say that decisions already taken on the basis of caste will not be interfered with as admissions to colleges for this

year were over. Again, the sceptic will ask "Did this caste basis determining criterion for backwardness come to the notice of the Centre unexpectedly as a bolt from the blue? If the Centre was not taken unawares, was it not aware that admissions to the colleges generally take place in the month of July? Why did you not take action earlier? Are you not trying to placate both the groups on the eve of elections for the purpose of retaining their votes?"

We shall have more of these *election eve ethics* as succeeding months pass.

Bangalore

P. H. S. RAO

BANE OF LINGUISM

Sir.—A friend of mine working in the Reserve Bank of India, Bangalore narrated to me what might seem to be an insignificant event. A civic conscious staff of the Bank sent round a circular calling for contributions for flood relief. Sharp came the query from other members of the staff as to whether the amount collected would be spent in Tamil Nad or Kerala or Karnataka, and many of them declined to contribute to such a fund, as no reply was received to the question. It was a pity that a purely humanitarian gesture floundered on the rock of linguism.

Bangalore City

D. S. B. MANTAN

ATUL

• DYES

• CHEMICALS

• PHARMACEUTICALS



THE ATUL PRODUCTS LTD.

Atul, via. Bulsar,
Western Railway.

JL
m2, NSSST
N61.5